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ELIAMEP Objectives

ELIAMEP's mission is two-fold: The Foundation provides a forum for public and political debate on issues of European integration and international relations and it conducts scientific research that supports policy makers in making informed decisions. In pursuing these objectives, ELIAMEP:

- Conducts research on topics pertaining to European integration, the future of Europe and international relations with special emphasis on transatlantic relations, security, migration, human rights, good governance and climate change issues. Its geographical area of interest includes the wider Southeast European, Black Sea, Mediterranean and Middle East regions;
- Contributes to the public and political dialogue on the aforementioned issues;
- Provides decision-makers, both in the public and private sectors in Greece, Europe and beyond, with authoritative and independent information, analysis and policy proposals;
- Trains professionals (civil servants, politicians, journalists and academics, among others) in a variety of areas such as European integration, conflict prevention, management and resolution skills, monitoring of democratic elections, civic participation, civil society building, as well as the role of the media in democratic, inclusive and tolerant societies;
- Raises public awareness on issues of European integration, foreign policy and international affairs;
- Briefs foreign journalists, diplomats, policy analysts and delegations from military academies visiting Greece;
- Participates actively in international partnerships and networks as well as to the debate on the future of Europe and of transatlantic relations.



MESSAGE from the Director General

2008 has been a special year for ELIAMEP, as the Foundation celebrated its 20th anniversary. During the year we tried to assess our past work and to think hard about our future course. Among key decisions taken were the further development of our cyber-activities (website and blog), an additional emphasis on brief, policy-oriented publications (ELIAMEP Thesis) and an effort to further “internationalise” the Foundation by increasing the number of non-Greek researchers employed by ELIAMEP.

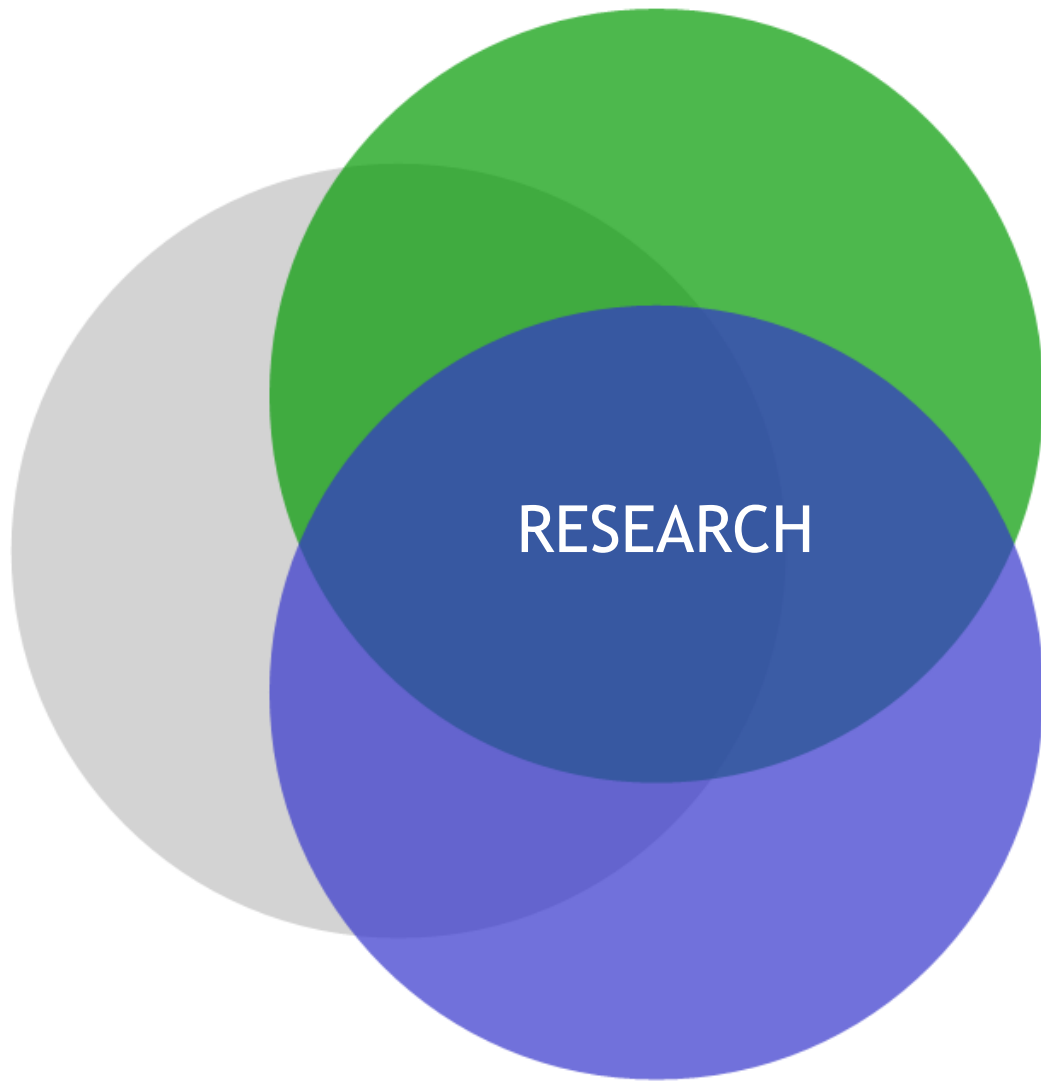
What did not change is ELIAMEP’s continuous involvement in its traditional areas of interest, namely developments in the European Union, Greek-Turkish relations, Southeastern Europe, and the Middle East, as well as the role of the transatlantic community in stabilising regions in Europe’s periphery.

At the same time, we noticeably increased our activities in areas such as migration policies and politics; minorities and human rights, security sector reform, climate change and its impact on global and regional stability, and energy security. Hopefully, this trend will continue in 2009. Despite our gradual shift to electronic publications, a substantial number of books, articles and research papers have been published, in addition to four issues of the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies.

The difficult economic environment for states, citizens and NGO notwithstanding, ELIAMEP has an ambitious agenda for 2009. Areas of priorities will include European integration and Europe’s role in the world (with an international conference being scheduled for June 2009), migration, human rights, transatlantic relations (the main theme of the next Halki International Seminars), climate change, security sector reform, energy politics and, of course, developments in the Balkans, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean/Middle East. The Cyprus problem and efforts to resolve the name issue between Greece and FYROM will also keep us busy in 2009. We are planning a number of roundtable discussions, conferences, policy reports, “Track-II” activities and training seminars. And we will be seeking to promote institutional cooperation in our neighborhood through the strengthening of networks.



Thanos Dokos





RESEARCH

Research is one of the two main tools ELIAMEP uses for achieving the objectives outlined above. Training seminars of varying format and content is the other.

ELIAMEP has undertaken extensive research in areas such as: European integration and enlargement; comparative political, economic and military developments and conflict resolution efforts in Southeastern Europe, the Black Sea area, the Caucasus, the wider Mediterranean and the Middle East region; migration, civic participation and social inclusion; transatlantic relations; climate change and its impact on human security; good governance and human rights; and energy security. Over the years, ELIAMEP has devoted considerable human resources both in time and efforts to Greek-Turkish relations and the Cyprus issue, with an emphasis on strategies of tension reduction and conflict resolution.

ELIAMEP's research is conducted in the form of individual or team projects by the Foundation's research fellows and associates. ELIAMEP's approach to research involves identifying possible contingencies and scenarios, and formulating realistic policy- recommendations to specific policy challenges that are, or will soon be, at the top of the national and European policy agendas.

ELIAMEP has identified four major research fields:

1. European Integration
2. National, International Security and Regional Developments
3. Transatlantic Relations
4. Migration

European Integration

The field of European integration is traditionally one of ELIAMEP's key research areas, which focuses on political and institutional developments related to EU enlargement and to a further deepening of the integration process. In 2008 ELIAMEP conducted and participated in numerous research projects covering issues related i.e. to the French, Czech and Swedish trio EU presidency between July 2008-December 2009, the future of Social Europe, the prospects of differentiated integration in an EU 27+, the EU's neighbourhood policy, the perspectives of "flexicurity" in European labour policy, or the implementation of judgements issued by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). During 2008 ELIAMEP researchers participated in many international conferences and seminars and produced numerous academic and policy-oriented publications.

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



Research Projects

Think Global - Act European

ELIAMEP participated in a project organised by Notre Europe and the Fondation pour l'Innovation Politique (Fondapol), who brought together a group of European think tanks with the aim of working out recommendations to the EU's trio presidency between July 2008-December

2009 including France, the Czech Republic and Sweden. The "Think Global - Act European" (TGAE) project brought together 13 renowned think tanks including besides ELIAMEP the following European think tanks: Bruegel, Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Centre for European Reform (CER), demosEUROPA, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), European Policy Centre (EPC), EUROPEUM, Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies (SIEPS), and Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). The TGAE report including an introductory summary and all papers provided by the participating think tanks - among them five pieces from ELIAMEP - was presented on 23 May 2008 in Paris. This public event brought together high profile political personalities and was held in partnership with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Paris, the Aspen France Institute, the newspaper Les Echos and the internet media Euractiv.fr. The TGAE report served also as a basis of discussions at the Third European Think Tank Forum organised by Notre Europe, Institut Aspen France and Fondation pour l'Innovation Politique (Fondapol) in Paris on September 19-20, 2008 with the partnership of the OECD. The conference entitled "What European Policy Outlines for 2020?" took place at the OECD and hosted around fifty international participants.



EU Consent - Wider Europe, Deeper Integration?



Our work in the context of the EU CONSENT Network of Excellence concentrated on "Economic Integration: Approaches, Lessons and Visions for the Future". The ELIAMEP team has been studying different methods, through which political integration has been furthered with the help of economic instruments in the past, and is exploring the extent to which this may continue in the enlarged and enlarging EU. The team has been working on the challenges and opportunities for the future of Social Europe and has also specifically concentrated on the financial sector and mainly

the integration of the European banking system as well as cohesion policy in Southeast Europe.

RECOWE - Reconciling Work and Welfare



In 2008, ELIAMEP continued its participation in the Network of Excellence RECOWE (Reconciling Work and Welfare), now in its third year. The network, which is composed of experts and academics on social and employment policy from all over Europe, convened as usual in its annual assembly to present new scientific work and decide on management issues. In this assembly, which took place in Oslo in the second week of June 2008, ELIAMEP was represented by Dimitri A.

Sotiropoulos, who presented a long paper on the multiple roles of the European Union in shaping the social and employment policies of its Member States. The paper was based on a longer report which was submitted to the network as a deliverable in March 2008. Dr. Sotiropoulos participated in the meetings of Work Package no. 4 of the network, which focuses on the development and current condition of employment-friendly welfare states in Europe. ELIAMEP also participates in Work package no. 1 of the same network, which focuses on labour relations and conditions of work in contemporary Europe. Researchers involved in this package met in Edinburgh in December 2008 to discuss the “politics of flexicurity” in Europe. In this workshop, Dr. Sotiropoulos presented a paper on the politics of flexicurity in Greece. The research plans for 2009 include an elaboration of this paper on flexicurity, plus new research on the Europeanisation of social and labour policy. More concretely, new research will investigate the extent to which resources of the European Union (tools of policy making, regulations, funds and relevant discourse) have been used by Greek decision makers in the area of welfare and work, in order to promote reform.

An EU “Fit for Purpose” in a Global Age

ELIAMEP has become actively involved with the Policy Network in London and the European Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science in the project “An EU ‘Fit for Purpose’ in a Global Age”.

The project focus is on four research and policy clusters:

- Enlargement, neighbourhood and identity
- Internal security and migration
- Economic governance in the single market and Euro-zone
- Competitiveness, sustainability (demographic as well as environmental) and social cohesion

In each of these clusters, the project addresses the following questions:

- Is it a valid assumption that current economic, social and cultural trends demand a new, more coherent and consistent EU policy framework?
- What are the “pros” and “cons” of further EU integration in the respective areas?
- What are the critical policy choices to be made, reflecting a political judgement of where policy progress may be possible?
- What is the degree of convergence of interests and values within the EU in these areas and are differences the product of inter-country or partisan divisions?
- Would it be possible to justify further steps in EU integration to the European public? And if so, how might their legitimacy be enhanced?

Through a series of seminars in different European countries, including Greece, two high-profile conferences in London and Brussels, and the participation of leading European academics and politicians, this initiative will lead to a collective volume of policy papers on a wide range of EU policy choices post-2009.



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE ■



policy network

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

JURISTRAS studies human rights litigation and domestic processes of implementation of judgments issued by the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). The project seeks to identify and explain the variable effects of ECtHR judgments on national laws, politics and policy-making in Austria, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Romania, Turkey and the UK. It investigates whether and under what conditions Strasbourg Court judgments trigger broader domestic reform and expand justice for individuals and communities. The project mainly centres on cases in which individuals file a complaint against states on claims that the latter violate their right to privacy and family life, religious freedom, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and association and the prohibition of discrimination (Article 14 ECHR). Cases brought by politically and socially marginalised groups are studied as well. During the second year of the project, all partner teams produced case-study reports following in-depth empirical research in each country reviewed. The reports analysed the resources and structures of legal support for the individuals resorting to the Court, described the mechanisms and processes of implementation of ECtHR rulings, assessed the individual and general measures adopted by domestic authorities in order to comply with the Court's judgments, and identified the factors leading or constraining effective implementation. The ultimate aim was to reach a better understanding of the impact of ECtHR case law on domestic human rights discourse. The reports have been uploaded, and are free



to access at the project's newly created website <http://www.juristras.eliamep.gr>.

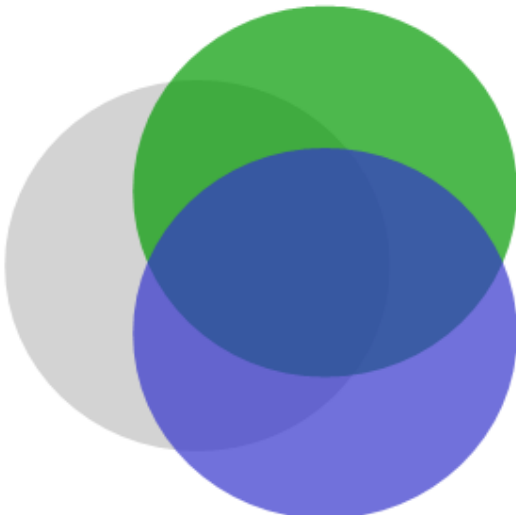
The case-study reports allowed for succinct cross-state comparisons, with emphasis on five policy areas directly implicated in the rights claims raised in Strasbourg: equality and non-discrimination, gender rights and sexual orientation, minority rights, immigrants' and asylum seekers' rights, and religion-state relations. A general comparative report with a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the implementation of ECtHR rulings has also been produced. During the second year, a collective volume edited by Dia Anagnostou and Evangelia Psychogiopoulou has been prepared, based on the research that was carried out during the first year of the project. The volume is entitled "The European Court of Human Rights and the Rights of Marginalised Individuals and Minorities in National Context" and it will be published by Brill/Martinus Nijhoff.



Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellowship

Since 2007 ELIAMEP is holding a Research Fellowship on European affairs with the support of the John F. Costopoulos Foundation. The fellowship aims to particularly promote the research and policy oriented activities of ELIAMEP in the fields of European Integration and the future of the EU. ELIAMEP's ambition is to launch more research fellowships aiming at educating a new generation of scientists, researchers and experts who will staff international organisations, public and private sector entities and university departments.

In October 2007 **Janis A. Emmanouilidis** joined ELIAMEP as the first **Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow**. In the course of 2008 Janis A. Emmanouilidis published a series of articles, opinion pieces and reports and actively participated in numerous conferences and seminars. He was also part of various scientific and advisory groups including for example the L'Esprit de Sel Group, a small advisory group invited by Marek Siwiec, Vice-President of the European Parliament, and a US-European Working Group on Security and Defence jointly initiated and organised by the Bertelsmann Foundation and the RAND Corporation. He also coordinated ELIAMEP's participation in the "Think Global - Act European" project organised by Notre Europe and the Fondation pour l'Innovation Politique (Fondapol), which brought together a group of 13 leading European think tanks with the aim of working out recommendations to the EU's trio presidency between July 2008-December 2009 including France, the Czech Republic and Sweden. Finally, Janis A. Emmanouilidis was editor of ELIAMEP Thesis, which is a new publication series launched in May 2008 covering topical issues related to EU integration, to Europe's role in global affairs and to important developments in international affairs.





Publications

“Conceptualizing a Differentiated Europe”, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, ELIAMEP, Policy Paper, PP010, 2008 (in English)

In this paper, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, argues that the European Union requires more different speeds if an EU 27+ wants to remain effective. The increasing economic, financial, social and geopolitical heterogeneity among EU countries, diverging political objectives and expectations concerning the future path of integration, and the need to respond to the pressure from third countries aiming to join the European club while enlargement fatigue is widespread call for a higher degree of differentiation. The question is not whether there will be a differentiated Europe, but how it will be or rather how it should look like.



“Differentiated Europe: Nine Recommendations”, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, ELIAMEP Thesis 1/2008, (in English)

In the first issue of ELIAMEP Thesis Janis A. Emmanouilidis discusses the prospects for differentiated integration in an EU 27+. The author argues that the European Union (EU) will require different speeds, if the enlarged and politically, economically and geopolitically more heterogeneous EU wants to remain effective. Emmanouilidis holds that the future path of differentiation will not be dominated by one single model of differentiation. In practice, we are rather likely to witness the application of many and diverse types of flexible integration, ranging from the creation of a new separate Union to very limited forms of closer cooperation between a small group of EU members within and outside the EU framework. But which path towards a more differentiated Europe should be followed? Which forms of differentiated integration should be avoided and which preferred? Emmanouilidis formulates nine recommendations to answer these questions.

“Fall of the Berlin Wall 2.0? - Political Effects of and European Responses to the Financial-Economic Crisis”, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, ELIAMEP Thesis 4/2008 (in English)

In ELIAMEP Thesis 4/2008 Janis A. Emmanouilidis discusses the potential political consequences of and European responses to the current financial-economic crisis. In more concrete terms, the paper argues that the current turmoil might lead to (1) a further decline of US dominance; (2) a redesign of global governance in favour of emerging powers; (3) an increased pressure on Europeans to rise to the challenge of global affairs; (4) more self-contemplation in an increasingly inward looking atmosphere; (5) a re-politicisation of the economy; and to (6) a new battle of ideas within and among countries about what kind of policies are “right” or “wrong”. In response to these potential consequences of the crisis, Europe or more specifically the EU should (1) promote “effective multilateralism”; (2) speak with one voice in financial institutions; (3) intensify economic cooperation in the framework of a more effective “Economic Union”; (4) develop a more balanced and mature relationship with the U.S.; (5) initiate a coherent globalisations strategy (Global Europe 2020); and (6) further politicise European policy-making.



Events

Europeanisation: New Research Agendas Athens, 8 February 2008

ELIAMEP organised a seminar on “Europeanisation: New Research Agendas” with **Dr. Paolo Graziano**, Assistant Professor, Istituto di Economia, Bocconi University, Milan. Dr. Graziano presented the various aspects of Europeanisation, which is not just a mere theory about institution building and European integration, but also a ‘tool’ that helps us understand what happens after EU policies are adopted in member states. Thus, we move beyond the traditional international relations approach to comparative politics and economics. Dr. Graziano underlined that Europeanisation provides us with a better understanding of EU national policy making, multilevel governance and the transformation of state. Europeanisation has already triggered interesting debates and it will play an important role in re-defining the European research agenda.



From left to right: Dr. Paolo Graziano and Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou

Serbia and the European Union Athens, 1 April 2008

ELIAMEP organised a lecture delivered by **Mr. Bozidar Djelic**, Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia on “Serbia and the European Union”. In his lecture, Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Bozidar Djelić, addressed two main issues that he considered would determine the outcome of Serbia’s forthcoming elections on May 11th 2008, as well as its European course: (1) the unilateral declaration of Kosovo’s independence; and (2) Serbia’s economic development including the steps towards harmonisation with the EU accession targets. Mr. Djelić particularly emphasised that the progressive pro-European party is facing great domestic opposition because of the European Union’s stance on Kosovo’s independence, as well as the cumbersome negotiation process for candidate countries. Nevertheless, he asserted that he believes that it is better to be present and negotiate, than to be absent, stating that the disagreement over this issue was the main reason for which the current government has fallen. Referring to Kosovo’s unilateral declaration of independence, he clearly stated that Serbia does not intend to recognise Kosovo’s independence neither now, nor in the future. However, he emphasised that Belgrade wishes to negotiate with Pristina with the intention to grant Kosovo a status of full autonomy. He also affirmed that although the EU’s decision to maintain a diplomatic mission in Kosovo has reduced EU popularity, his European focus remains unchanged. His view is that Serbia must remain committed to its European future for it not only ensures its long-term success in all areas, but it is the best chance it has to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity. To this end, Mr. Djelić affirmed that Serbia is at least on

an equal foot with other candidate countries and he emphasised the importance of Serbia joining the EU as well as the significance of Europe's support, especially given the straining conditions that the pro-European movement is currently facing in Serbia.

*From left to right: Mr. Bozidar Djelić
and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP*



United in Diversity? European Integration & Political Cultures Athens, 17 April 2008

Following the recent publication of the book “United in Diversity? European Integration and Political Cultures”, (London, I.B. Tauris, 2007), edited by Dr. Ekavi Athanassopoulou, the Eleni Nakou Foundation and ELIAMEP, organised a debate on the theme of the book on Thursday 17th April 2008, at the European Parliament Office in Greece. The invited speakers were, Professor Vincent Comerford, National University of Maynooth, Ireland, Professor George Schöpflin, Member of the European Parliament, Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats, and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, University of Athens and President of the Board of Directors ELIAMEP. The speakers - all contributors to the collective volume “United in Diversity? European Integration and Political Cultures” - focused their attention on the following main issues: Despite the weakening of the nation-state the EU has not managed to win the hearts and minds of the Europeans. National political cultures still remain strong. How far can European integration proceed when politics at a European level do not reflect a shared political experience of the European peoples and therefore a generally accepted political culture?



*From left to right: Professor Vincent Comerford, Professor George Schöpflin,
Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, Dr. Ekavi Athanassopoulou and Dr. Erik Holm*

Citizens' Rights in the EU: The Role of Ombudsmen Athens, 28 May 2008

ELIAMEP, Citizens' Union Paremvassi and the Citizens' Movement for an Open Society organised a lecture with Professor Nikiforos Diamandouros, European Ombudsman on “Citizens' Rights in the European Union: The Role of Ombudsmen”. Professor Diamandouros informed the audience about their rights deriving from European law. He argued that European law is an integral part of domestic law and public administration is

obliged to comply with it. The problems that most member states face mainly focus on the implementation of European law and its integration in national law policies. The European Ombudsman is an independent, external mechanism dealing with complaints against public authorities. Unlike a court, an ombudsman normally has no power to make legally binding decisions. The fact that an ombudsman can only persuade, not compel, makes it possible for the institution to complement the courts in a number of ways. Specifically, in reacting to complaints, an ombudsman can apply broader review criteria, be more accessible, and use more flexible procedures than a court. An ombudsman can also be proactive in ways that are not possible for a court. The European Ombudsman was created by the Treaty of Maastricht, which established Union citizenship. One of the rights of citizens (or legal entities) of the Union is to submit complaints to the Ombudsman regarding maladministration by the EU institutions and bodies, with the exception of the courts acting in their judicial role. Most complaints refer to lack of transparency, failure of correspondence, possible unlawful activities or personnel matters. The role of the European Ombudsman is highly esteemed in the context of civil society and should be reinforced not only on a European level but also on a regional and national level with regional and national ombudsmen respectively.



From left to right: Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP and Professor Nikiforos Diamandouros

Ten Years of EMU: Greece and the Two-Track Danger **Athens, 18 June 2008**

ELIAMEP organised a roundtable discussion on “Ten Years of EMU: Greece and the Two-Track Danger” with: Professor Nikos Christodoulakis, Athens University of Economics and Business and Former Minister of Economy and Finance, Professor Ploutarchos Sakellaris, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Ministry of Economy and Finance and Athens University of Economics and Business, Professor Gikas Chardouvelis, University of Pireaus and Financial Adviser, EUROBANK EFG, and Professor George Pagoulatos, Athens University of Economics and Business. Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, University of Athens and President of ELIAMEP, co-ordinated the discussion.

Professor Christodoulakis initiated the discussion by reviewing the circumstances that led to the creation of the EMU. He pointed to the current EMU successes, like the convergence of the economic cycles in the eurozone members and the increase in investment from and towards Euro-zone countries. However, he stressed, the completion of EMU has also seen increasing social inequality, and the trends of income convergence and regional convergence have been reversed. This has created a North-South divide: While the North has seen underinvestment and surpluses in the balance of payments, the countries of the South, including Greece, experience overinvestment and balance of payment deficits. Turning to policy recommendations, Professor Christodoulakis maintained that although the Lisbon agenda provides general

guidelines, it is not a centrally co-ordinated policy with targeted actions e.g. to promote productivity. Instead, he suggested that the Stability Pact be extended to include measures of foreign investment, GDP and income flows and indexes of income allocation and market competitiveness. Overall, he concluded that the problem is a question of increasing the competitiveness in the regional markets within the EU rather than a problem of inflation as often suggested. However, the monetary policy pursued by the ECB so far is one which only aims at price stability.

Professor **Sakellaris** placed emphasis on the economic aspect of EMU, focusing on the case of Greece. He argued that as long as the economic policy remains decentralised and uncoordinated the problems will persist. He maintained, however, that in the short term inflation does create a problem of competitiveness in Greece, combined as it is with the low levels of savings and labour productivity. Overall, he asserted that the sustainability of the EMU depends on following an effective fiscal policy at the national levels.

Professor **Chardouvelis** noted that while a convergence has taken place between the economies of the eurozone, there is a divergence of incomes within and between countries. In Greece, specifically, he asserted there are three major issues: (1) a public savings deficit; (2) social inequality; and (3) a current accounts deficit. In his final remarks, Professor Chardouvelis affirmed that while Greece may see inflation rise to 4.5% in the next couple of years, it will suffer less by the present economic crisis because of the highly competitive financial and banking market. However, Greece's current economic situation characterised by overconsumption and underproduction is not sustainable in the long-run.

Professor **Pagoulatos** characterised Greece an example of southeastern European capitalism at its worst. Greece's economy suffers from high levels of undeclared labour, long-term female unemployment (twice the EU average), late entrance in the labour market and early retirement. Social expenditure, mainly comprising of pensions, is inefficient, Greece's research levels are one of the EU lowest, while education and training provided by the Greek educational system do not seem to match the market needs. He argued that to recover from this disadvantageous position, Greece needs reforms. Some of them may be provided within the framework of implementing the Lisbon Agenda, in the form of Community regulations. However, further reforms are necessary. Given the Greek society's aversion to reform and the lack of trust in the public administration, the establishment of independent agencies and semi-autonomous bureaus within the Greek state would be a good starting point.

The discussion that followed was rich in content with several distinguished personalities taking part, including Mr. Constantinos Simitis, former Prime Minister of Greece. Mr. Simitis asserted that Greece's problem is political rather than economic and it is a problem shared by the rest of Europe, commenting that the way out would require political encounters.

From left to right: Professor Gikas Chardouvelis, Professor Nikos Christodoulakis, Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, Professor Ploutarchos Sakellaris and Professor George Pagoulatos



Globalisation, Europe and Greece
Thessaloniki, 18 December 2008

On the occasion of its 20th anniversary ELIAMEP organised a Roundtable Discussion on “Globalisation, Europe and Greece” in Thessaloniki—Greece, in collaboration with the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the University of Macedonia. **Professor Anastasios Manthos, Rector of the Aristotle University** and **Professor Ilias Kouskouvelis, Rector of the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki** delivered the opening remarks.

Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP’s Board of Directors, gave an introductory speech entitled “The War of Ideas and the Role of ELIAMEP”. In his speech Professor Tsoukalis argued that Greece has been going through a process of adjustment in a rapidly changing European and international environment, not always without pain or difficulty. ELIAMEP strives to keep a window open to the outside world, while also playing an active role in the battle of ideas at the European level.

Professor Anthony Molho from the European University Institute in Florence commenced his speech on globalisation by rejecting the idea that globalisation is only about the present and the future. He also underlined its historical aspects. Globalisation has exercised deep influence on the course of human history. To support his argument, he gave three examples of primitive or fundamental globalisation: The use of the bow and the arrow, the use of a common numerical system and the use of tobacco. Professor Molho concluded by pointing out that globalisation is a fluxionary, long-term phenomenon, whose beginning coincides with that of mankind.

According to **Professor Theodore Couloumbis, ELIAMEP’s Vice-President of the Board of Directors**, globalisation works like a knife. It can kill as much as it can save a life. It is certain that the crisis we experience will lead to a total reformulation of the international economic and eventually political system. The essence of globalisation was balanced with “laissez-faire”. However, he concluded, due to the current depression, the market could not heal itself. Unfortunately, traditional measures to fix the situation are losing their effectiveness. Therefore, we experience a governmental intervention through states or an intergovernmental one through IMF, WTO and the World Bank. In order to balance the market, we need globalisation: A globalisation of constant negotiations, mutual exchange of information, construction and upgrading of effective international institutions. In other words, we need more democracy.

Professor Ioannis Voulgaris from Panteion University in Athens, focused more on Greece and globalisation. He asserted that we are experiencing the first major crisis of modern globalisation and we have experienced its impact in numerous aspects: financial, energy, environmental, social. Globalisation is a long-historic procedure, and it is neither linear nor irreversible. Greece’s course was fairly good from the beginning of the 19th century onwards. Globalisation has signaled a deep change in the Greek society and politics. The question here lies on how Greece will be able to adjust and be incorporated in the new dynamics of global capitalism. Professor Voulgaris stressed four changes that occurred during the last years: (1) Multi-level governance and multi-centric systems of power; (2) transformation of the structure of capital accumulation characterised by the peripheral organisation in South-east Europe; (3) new class and social connections of production; and (4) formation of identity. We can put it somehow like this: “Greece always travels with the best and fastest train there is, but she is a passenger in the last wagon that always arrives late and barely makes it on time”, Professor Voulgaris concluded.

Mr. Nikos Efthymiadis, President of REDESTOS Efthymiadis Agrotechnology Group and former President of the Federation of Industries of Northern Greece, Thessaloniki moderated the discussion.



From left to right: Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, Professor Ioannis Voulgaris, Professor Theodore Couloumbis, Professor Anthony Molho and Mr. Nikos Efthymiadis



National, International Security and Regional Developments

Since its establishment, those areas have been at the core of ELIAMEP's research and activities. In 2008 the Foundation was quite active, through projects, meetings, conferences and publications in the field of security, putting special emphasis on energy security, peacebuilding activities and security sector reform, climate change and the impact on human security, nuclear proliferation in the Persian Gulf and the wider Middle East, developments in the Balkans and the role of Greece, Greek-Turkish relations, the problem of Cyprus, and relations between the EU and Russia in light of the Caucasus crisis.

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



Research Projects

Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP)

2008 saw the launch of the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP). IfP is a consortium led by International Alert and funded by the European Commission that draws together the complementary geographic and thematic expertise of 10 civil society organisations (and their networks) with offices across the EU and in conflict-affected countries. Its aim is to develop and harness international knowledge and expertise in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding to ensure that all stakeholders, including EU institutions, can access strong independent analysis in order to facilitate better informed and more evidence-based policy decisions. ELIAMEP is a partner to this consortium and the ELIAMEP team coordinated by Thanos Dokos concentrates primarily in research on capacity building, training in peacebuilding activities and policies, and in security sector reform.



IFP CAPACITY-BUILDING CLUSTER
COUNTRY CASE STUDY: GREECE
TEN YEARS OF GREEK
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION
AND PEACEBUILDING:
Challenges and recommendations

Ruby Gropas
November 2008



INITIATIVE FOR PEACEBUILDING



In this context, Ruby Gropas authored a report assessing Greek development cooperation and peacebuilding and the factors that have influenced Greece's approach to development and human security. In the past decade, Greece has been transformed from a recipient of international and European aid into a donor country and has become particularly active in emergency humanitarian assistance. In order to meet its declared targets by 2010, however, priority lies in further developing an integrated, comprehensive and participatory approach to Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) and in tripling its current funding in this field. In the present period of economic downturn, governments need to be encouraged not to shy away from their international commitments to fighting poverty and promoting human development, peace and security. This report therefore identifies the areas where there is a need for further capacity-building both within the ODA system and among the Greek civil society sector, and puts forward a number of policy relevant recommendations for Greek and EU authorities and for the Greek

NGO community active in the field of development co-operation and peacebuilding.

Climate Change and Human Security (CCHS)

In the context of Greece's presidency of the Human Security Network (June 2007-May 2008), the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs assigned ELIAMEP as the coordinator of four policy studies on the impact of climate change effects on vulnerable groups. The studies were commissioned to the following highly accredited organisations:

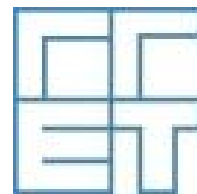
- The Institute for Environment and Human Security of the United Nations University (UNU-EHS) located in Bonn (Germany): climate change effects and human security at volatile regions with specific reference to environmentally forced migration.
- The Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) in New York (U.S.): climate change effects and human security at volatile regions with specific reference to gender equality and women.
- The Innocenti Research Center of UNICEF based in Florence (Italy): climate change effects in children and broadly in childhood with particular emphasis to the Least Developed Countries (LCDs).
- The Climate Change Research Group (CCRG) of the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) in London (UK): international cooperating strategies required for the confrontation of climate change effects in global level.



An edited policy paper was presented by ELIAMEP at the annual meeting of Human Security Network in May 2008. The policy paper has been distributed to high ranking officers, experts, NGO representatives and other relevant stakeholders as a useful guideline for the aiding of vulnerable groups with the appropriate instruments and measures.

The Connection of Natural Gas Networks of Greece and Turkey: Impact on Economic Cooperation and European Energy Security

From January 1st to June 14th of 2008, the second part of the ENTER Project funded by the General Secretariat for Research and Technology, entitled "The Connection of Natural Gas Networks of Greece and Turkey: Impact on Economic Integration and European Energy Security", was carried out. More specifically, the European Energy Security Policy was examined as this was laid down in European Commission's directives, decisions and policy papers. Moreover, information on the European natural gas market was studied. Research was conducted on the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the market, its actual and future importance in comparison with other energy sources, the prospects for growth and investment, and the economic and geopolitical implications of the connection of Greek, Turkish and Italian natural gas networks. Thanks to these activities, the project's final goal has been accomplished and the final report has been prepared answering all the questions of the research project.





Publications

“Climate Change: Addressing the Impact on Human Security”, Thanos Dokos (ed.), ELIAMEP-Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 2008, (in English)

This collection of policy papers deals with the impacts of climate change to human security with specific reference to vulnerable groups in developing regions. In particular, the papers examined the impacts of climate change to children, women and environmentally induced immigrants with reference to the societal instability and the human insecurity in a global level. The urgent need for sound mitigating measures was underlined; it was also emphasised that the developed countries, but also the whole international community, need to implement cooperative strategies.



“Security and Strategic Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Confidence-Building and Conflict Prevention”, Stephen C. Calleya and Dimitris K. Xenakis, ELIAMEP, Policy Paper, PP011, 2008, (in Greek)

This study provides with a comprehensive overview in the field of security and strategic co-operation in the Mediterranean. By assessing both the post-Cold War international and regional security environments, as well as, the framework of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation that has been established through the various regional initiatives that have seen the light after 1989, mainly the Barcelona Process but also the Mediterranean initiative taken by the French President Sarkozy, Stephen C. Calleya and Dimitris K. Xenakis deliver concrete proposals for the cultivation of a common regional security culture, the development of early warning mechanisms and the establishment of a conflict prevention network, as well as, the strengthening of Euro-Atlantic cooperation in the Mediterranean.



“European Energy Security and Natural Gas Pipelines in Southeastern Europe: A New Field of Greek-Turkish Cooperation”, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, ELIAMEP, Policy Paper, PP012, 2008, (in Greek)

This study focuses on the role of Greek-Turkish energy cooperation as a vehicle of increasing competitiveness, regional development and cooperation. This study begins with an examination of the Greek and the Turkish natural gas markets. It continues with an overview of European energy policies, in particular with relation to European energy security. Special attention is given to natural gas pipeline construction projects which aim to relieve European energy dependency on Russia, increase



the natural gas supply to the European market and increase the role of Southeastern Europe as energy transportation hub to meet increasing natural gas demand and reduce energy dependency on Russia. European authorities need to promote the realisation of projects contributing to the diversification of natural gas supply, alongside improving their relationship with Russia, two targets which are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

“Natural Gas Corridors in Southeastern Europe”, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, ELIAMEP Thesis 2/2008, (in English)

In the second issue of ELIAMEP Thesis, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis analyses the natural gas corridors in Southeastern Europe. The question of European energy security has brought attention to the strategic significance of Southeastern Europe as a transport hub of natural gas and a key region for European energy security. In his paper the author examines the prospects of three gas pipelines: (1) the Turkey-Greece-Italy (TGI) Interconnector; (2) the Nabucco pipeline; and (3) South Stream. The paper ends with a number of conclusions and recommendations.



“Searching for a Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle”, Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP Thesis 3/2008, (in English)

In ELIAMEP Thesis 3/2008, entitled “Searching for a Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle”, Thanos Dokos explores possibilities on how to cope with the challenges posed by the Iranian nuclear programme. For this purpose, he analyses Iran’s motives and security considerations, Iranian domestic politics and the nuclear issue, the potential consequences of an Iranian nuclearisation, the available options for defusing the crisis, the role of Europe and he ends his paper with a number of key recommendations: (1) de-emphasise the nuclear question; (2) withdraw the precondition of Iran suspending its enrichment activities before any meaningful negotiations take place; (3) adopt a “dual track” strategy: emphasise the possible gains, while quietly explaining the possible cost of heavier sanctions; (4) based on the “Iraq and its neighbours” format, initiate a dialogue to discuss perceptions about regional security challenges; participants should include GCC countries, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, the U.S. and the EU; (5) the US should use backdoor channels of communication with Iran to prepare the ground for any public initiative by President Obama; 6) whereas any initiative can only come from the West, Iran should shun its hostile rhetoric and present its own visions and proposals for regional security; (7) the proposal for the creation of a regional/multinational enrichment centre should be re-introduced; and (8) GCC countries should put forward local initiatives for confidence building in the Gulf region.





Events

The Use of Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes

Athens, 22 January 2008

ELIAMEP organised a closed discussion on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes with **Mr. Achilleas Adamantiadis, Professor Emeritus, George Washington University and World Bank Advisor** on energy and environmental issues. Mr. Adamantiadis presented the reasons for the revived interest in nuclear energy internationally and its economic dimensions. The case of France, which is the most successful country in implementing nuclear energy, was discussed. Moreover, the case of Greece and parameters that affect its position on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes were discussed. Particular attention was paid to the role of public opinion, the availability of human resources, accordance with the Kyoto Protocol and EU legislation, and relations with neighbouring countries and especially Turkey.



Mr. Adamantiadis discussing with a group of experts

Decision Making in the 21st Century: Philosophy at the Roots of Decision Making Trees

Athens, 28 February 2008

The Alumni of the University of Edinburgh in cooperation with ELIAMEP organised a lecture on “Decision making in the 21st century: Philosophy at the roots of decision making trees”. The main speaker was **Professor Theodore Skaltsas, University of Edinburgh and Director of the “Archelogos” Projects**. **Mr. George David**, on behalf of the Alumni of the University of Edinburgh, delivered the welcoming remarks and **Mr. Alexis Papahelas, Managing Editor of “Kathimerini”** moderated the discussion. Professor Skaltsas pointed out that the purpose of the “Archelogos” Projects is to map agreements, arguments, debates, and decisions. The basic tool is an arguments’ chart. Computer supported argument visualisation applications are designed to help select and understand information and conceptual patterns. Archelogos has established a network of international cooperation with distinguished philosophers, experts in argumentation and researchers in artificial intelligence from leading universities throughout the world. The main area of application of Archelogos Projects is ancient philosophy.



From left to right: Professor Theodore Skaltsas, Mr. Alexis Papahelas and Mr. George David

Recent Developments in the Balkans: Consequences for Regional Stability
Athens, 5 March 2008

John Fraser, Senior Analyst on Balkan Affairs, Privy Council Office, Ottawa and Adjunct Research Professor, Institute of European and Russian Studies (EURUS), Carleton University, presented a Canadian perspective on the Balkans to a group of academics, diplomats and journalists at ELIAMEP. He argued that perceptions about the Balkans today remain based on perceptions that were built in the 20th century. The situation, however, is very different and the region is not as volatile and fragile as it tends to be perceived. He discussed the role of external actors in the region and the importance of regional cooperation. Furthermore, Professor Fraser concentrated on the implications of recognition and non-recognition of Kosovo for regional stability. Kosovo's declaration of independence and the subsequent reactions of the US, the EU Member States, Russia and the other countries in Southeast Europe were at the centre of the debate that followed. Canada's position on Kosovo's independence was also closely examined, particularly in terms of its use as a precedent by other parts regions, including Quebec.



Professor John Fraser in the centre discussing with a group of academics, diplomats, journalists and ELIAMEP experts

Developments in Southeastern Europe
Athens, 17 March 2008

A group of distinguished diplomats, former Ambassadors, journalists and experts on Southeast Europe were invited by ELIAMEP to a working meeting with **Dr. Janusz Bugajski**, Director of the New European Democracies Project and Senior Fellow with the CSIS Europe Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, to exchange views on political challenges facing the countries of Southeast Europe and on the US primary elections. Dr. Janusz Bugajski's discussion concentrated on the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties and implications for US foreign policy during the next Administration. Iraq, the situation in the Middle East and relations with Russia were also at the centre of the discussion. In addition, the need to define a new strategic concept for NATO by 2009 was underlined and the implications of the Bucharest NATO Summit were discussed.



From left to right: Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General of ELIAMEP and Dr. Janusz Bugajski

Serbia in Crisis

Athens, 8 April 2008

Introducing the topic **Mr. Laza Kekic, Regional Director for Central and Eastern Europe, Director for Country Forecasting Services, The Economist Intelligence Unit**, argued that Serbia's elections mark a period of crisis for Serbia after Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence. Markedly, it was the differences over Serbia's future course following the crisis in Kosovo that led to the collapse of the, until recently, powerful Serbian government. Therefore, according to Mr. Kekic, instability is almost guaranteed whatever the outcome of the elections. Describing the context, Mr. Kekic acknowledged that the main issue that will determine the outcome of the elections is the question of Kosovo and the orientation of the opponent parties as to this issue. On the one hand the pro-European bloc mainly represented by the Democratic Party (DS) together with a coalition of smaller parties, has identified the target for EU accession as the main priority for Serbia. On the other, the three other main parties, the Serbian Radical Party, the Socialist party and the DSSS party have all placed the issue of Kosovo at the top of their election agenda, as a question of national sovereignty. He argued that the anti-EU, nationalist-populist coalition and the Socialist party siding with the DS had equal chances of electoral victory. Nevertheless, Mr. Kekic argued that other than Kosovo, the agenda of both parties is rather empty rendering both coalitions rather fragile, to a larger or smaller degree. Moving on to the likely consequences of the elections outcome, he affirmed that while Serbia will unquestionably be in a period of crisis, it will mainly be a political one, without this posing a threat to Serbia's solid democratic foundation. Additionally, even if its economy might be affected in the short term mainly from the reluctance of new investors to enter Serbia's market, it will not face an economic crisis. In the likely scenario that the "nationalist" coalition wins, EU integration will be put on hold. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Kekic, it is not in the interest of either side to close the doors. The prospect of market liberalisation and more freedom of movement for Serbia could function as a negotiation card for moderation in Kosovo. As to the latter, Mr. Kekic argued that as long as the number of states that have recognised Kosovo remains small, the issue remains open for Serbia, even if in the long term it is most probably a losing battle, while EU's role in the region also remains to be seen.



Mr. Laza Kekic with Professor Theodore Couloumbis and other experts at ELIAMEP premises

Developments in the Balkans and the Role of Greece
Athens, 10 April 2008

*From left to right: Mr. Evangelos Kofos,
Mr. Panagis Vourloumis, Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis,
Mr. Pavlos Tsimas and Mr. Stavros Lygeros*

Recent developments in the Balkans and the formation of new political balances place Greek foreign policy before significant challenges. In this respect ELIAMEP organised a panel discussion on “Developments in the Balkans and the Role of Greece”. Speakers at the panel were Mr. Panagis Vourloumis, President and CEO, OTE S.A., Dr. Evangelos Kofos, Special Advisor to ELIAMEP, Mr. Stavros Lygeros, Journalist



“Kathimerini” and Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Member of Parliament, New Democracy Party. Mr. Pavlos Tsimas coordinated the discussion and addressed questions to the speakers.

In his introductory remarks, Mr. Tsimas underlined the three most important developments that have occurred in the Balkans recently: (1) Kosovo’s declaration of independence; (2) Albania’s and Croatia’s NATO accession; and (3) the exclusion of FYROM from NATO’s Balkan enlargement. Dr. Kofos tried to describe the new Balkan environment, where states no longer belong to rival coalitions, but forge their own identity either through bloody conflicts or consensus agreements. As a result, Greece has new neighbours which face different problems and present new opportunities.

Dr. Kofos also referred to ELIAMEP’s contribution to the negotiation between Belgrade and Prishtina on Kosovo’s status. Since 1995, several ELIAMEP proposals were discussed in the framework of international fora and conferences on various topics including those of cantons, the status issue, the preservation of religious monuments and the protection of minorities. According to Dr. Kofos, Kosovo today is under a supervised independence from the international community. Kosovo may sign bilateral agreements, but it is not a member of international organisations. This constitutes a significant challenge in both political and economic terms. In this context, Greece should continue working towards a common approach inside the EU.

Mr. Vourloumis presented the Greek economic activity in the Balkans through direct investments, trade and state aid. Economic cooperation contributes to good neighbourly relations and economic development, and promotes Greek businesses to the international economic environment. Increased economic ties with the Balkan countries can become a useful tool for Greek diplomacy, as long as political developments are taken into consideration. According to Mr. Vourloumis, Greek companies will not risk investing in Kosovo due to their interests in Serbia, the lack of sufficient infrastructure in Kosovo and the existing complex legislation which deters investments.

Mr. Mitsotakis pointed out the questionable sustainability of an independent Kosovo, because of its

dependence on other states for security, political stability and economic survival. Russia's position inside the Security Council will determine, according to Mr. Mitsotakis, Kosovo's future. As long as Russia poses a veto, Kosovo will not be accepted in the United Nations. He noted with regret EU's failure to embrace the Balkan states after the fall of communism. In the discussion that followed, Mr. Mitsotakis expressed the opinion that Greece should not connect the name dispute issue with FYROM with Kosovo's independence. He stressed that Greece is not isolated after the NATO Bucharest Summit, but rather that it continues to have a strong negotiating position vis-à-vis FYROM. Concluding, Mr. Mitsotakis expressed his doubts over the acceptance of a name solution by the Greek public opinion.

Mr. Lygeros reiterated that Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence creates a de facto situation never encountered before. He questioned the US role in the Balkans noting that this constituted a way to deter Russian influence in the region, by obliging them to bind their security to NATO. An unequal separation could be the answer to the situation in Kosovo, since the idea of a multi ethnic Kosovo does not seem to function. With regard to the NATO Summit, Mr. Lygeros mentioned that Greece used political arguments that convinced its European partners thus avoiding extreme positions. According to Mr. Lygeros, Greece should state its exact position on the name issue and avoid getting involved in a procedure of rejecting proposals.

Policing Changing Communities

Athens, 14 May 2008

ELIAMEP and the British Embassy in Athens organised a lecture delivered by **Sir Ian Blair QPM, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, UK**, on "Policing Changing Communities". In his speech, Sir Ian Blair stressed the fact that in a changing globalised world, every western country's police authorities are faced with challenges and opportunities created by massive migration. The changing character of migration movements and its potential social implications must be taken into account for the more efficient use of police means and law enforcement services. Under these circumstances the right approach towards equality and difference becomes more important for the police than for any other state service.



From left to right: Dr. Thanos Dokos, Sir Ian Blair and Ambassador Simon Gass

Cyprus and Divided Societies
Belfast, 20 May 2008

Queen's University Belfast and ELIAMEP organised a multi-disciplinary workshop on "Cyprus and Divided Societies." The workshop hosted over forty researchers from across the globe interested in factors that help or hinder conflict resolution in divided societies and about eighty participants including a delegation of teachers from English School Nicosia. The keynote address was delivered by **Professor Emeritus Herbert Kelman**, a Boston-based social psychologist who has brought together groups from conflict areas for decades, primarily in Cyprus and Israel/Palestine. **Dr. Neophytos Loizides from the School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy** said: "Queen's Belfast is among the pioneers in the comparative study of divided societies and currently sponsors four ongoing projects comparing conflict resolution in Cyprus and Northern Ireland. The conference was an opportunity to share common lessons particularly at a time we Cypriots search for a new framework to resolve our problem. We were motivated by a desire to bring other experiences into the Cypriot one and learn from each other. Following the success of the workshop, we aim to create an international learning network focusing on the comparative study of Cyprus and divided societies." **Dr. Ioannis N. Grigoriadis from ELIAMEP and the University of Athens** said: "This workshop facilitated exchange of views and interaction between Cypriot, Greek and Turkish scholars. Queens University Belfast is based in a city wounded by perennial communal conflict, but also determined to overcome divisions and build a common prosperous future for all its citizens. This symbolic message was of particular pertinence to Nicosia and Cyprus in general. The workshop was also very timely given recent increased interest in the resolution of the island's conflict." Presenters underlined comparisons between Cyprus and other divided societies particularly investigating the impact of Europeanisation and media in divided societies, the role of religious actors, institutional design and social psychological dimensions of conflict. The workshop was part of a series of events organised by Queen's University, Belfast to celebrate its centenary anniversary and the 10 year anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement. The conference also considered the role of social political psychology in understanding conflict in divided societies, and launched a new Masters Degree in Political Psychology at Queen's. The course, which is the first of its kind in the UK and Ireland, will be available at Queen's from September, 2008. The workshop was sponsored by the School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy, the School of Psychology and the School of Planning, Architecture and Civil Engineering of Queen's University.



*Professor Evanthia Lyons, Queens University Belfast, invites
Professor Herbert Kelman, Harvard University, to deliver the Workshop's Keynote Lecture*

International Conference on Climate Change and Human Security
Athens, 29 - 30 May 2008



The Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with ELIAMEP organised a 2-day conference on Climate Change and International Security in the context of Greece's 2007/2008 Presidency of the Human Security Network. The effects of climate change and in particular, the future challenges for the Mediterranean region were at the centre of this event.

The conference was inaugurated by **Ms. Dora Bakoyannis**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic and the Deputy Minister for the Environment, Physical Planning & Public Works of the Hellenic Republic, **Mr. Stavros Kalogiannis**. The Secretary General of the World Meteorological Organization, **Mr. Michel Jarraud** and the Deputy Executive Director of the World Food Program, **Mr. John Powell** addressed the major challenges of climate change for the Mediterranean and referred to the European Union's policy on bio fuels and its relevance for the greenhouse gas effect.

Climate change and migration was the focus of the first session. The Director of the UN Institute for Environment and Human Security, **Professor Jamos Bogardi** presented a policy paper on "Human Security, Climate Change, and Environmentally Induced Migration." In the discussion that followed, **Mr. Alexandros Zavos** - President of the Hellenic Migration Policy Institute, **Mr. Rashid Khalikov** - New York Director of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and **Mr. Demitri Zenghelis** - member of the team of the Stern Review on Economics of Climate Change, argued that there is an intensive debate going on, on whether environmentally induced migrants—"climate refugees" or "environmental refugees" or "environmentally displaced people," ought to be included in international treaties or whether there is a need to develop a new international convention that would recognise individuals or communities whose displacement stems mainly from environmental factors.

In the second session, the Deputy Director of the Programme Division at the United Nations Children's Fund-UNICEF, **Ms. Vanessa Tobin**, presented a policy paper on "Climate Change and Children: A Human Security Challenge" in which she underlined the importance of education and raised concerns regarding vulnerability, risk and protective mechanisms for children. Professor of Cancer Prevention & Professor of Epidemiology at Harvard University, **Dr. Dimitrios Trihopoulos**, in turn noted that climate change effects will further exacerbate the structural weaknesses of the welfare state in developing countries.

The Vice-President of Women's Environment and Development Organization, **Ms. Irene Dankelman** launched the third session with a policy paper on "Gender/Women, Climate Change and Human Security." The particular challenges expected to be faced by women in volatile regions and especially in developing countries were at the core of this session's debate and the Secretary General for Gender Equality of the Hellenic

Ministry of the Interior, Public Administration and Decentralisation, **Ms. Eugenia Tsoumani** reiterated that a global perspective that brings together gender equality concerns, human security and the effects of climate change is needed.

The inter-dependence between Climate Change, Human Security and Development Cooperation policies was the focus of the conference's second day. The Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, **Mr. Petros Doukas**, concentrated on the side effects of climate change for social coherence of developing regions, and the representative of the International Institute for Environment and Development and Director of the Climate Change Group, **Dr. Saleemul Huq**, gave a paper on "The Impact of Climate Change on Human Security." Similarly, the Representative of the UN Office for the Least Developed Countries (LDCs), Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States, **Ms. Harriet Schmidt**, emphasised the need for economic aid and knowledge transfer for LDCs, while the Executive Coordinator of the UN Development Programme, **Mr. Yannick Glemarec**, noted that unless a common effort towards climate change's effects on human security is adopted, unilateral initiatives will be of limited value. The Permanent Representative of Grenada to the UN and Chairman of the Alliance of Small Island States, **Dr. Angus Friday**, agreed though underlined that the developed countries should take the lead in this common initiative since they are principally responsible for greenhouse gas emissions. The need for action was reiterated by Professor of Atmospheric Physics at University of Athens, **Mr. Christos Zerefos**, who urged for a behavioural change towards a low carbon economy.

The material that was presented at this conference has been published in an edited volume and is available from ELIAMEP.

The Quality of Democracy in Greece: A Preliminary Assessment **Athens, 13 June 2008**

ELIAMEP organised a discussion with **Professor Costas Danopoulos**, Political Science Department, College of Social Sciences, San José State University. Professor Danopoulos presented his current research on the quality of democracy in Greece. He identified three interconnected levels on which the quality of democracy can be addressed: Democracy as a procedure, the content of democracy and the responsiveness of the system. Measuring these parameters against Greece's political culture, he argues that in terms of democratic content, which translates in high liberty and equality standards, Greece ranks quite high. However, in terms of democratic procedures and accountability, democracy in Greece has a lot of room for development. Specifically, he asserted that the rule of law is very problematic in Greece, as independence of the judiciary is not always guaranteed, while the responsiveness of the state officials and the elected figures is also rather weak.



*Professor Costas Danopoulos
with Professor Theodore Couloubis, Vice President of ELIAMEP' Board of Directors, and other experts*

Iranian Nuclear Proliferation
Athens, 28 July 2008

ELIAMEP organised a discussion with **Ambassador Greg Schulte, Permanent Representative of the US to the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Office in Vienna**. According to Ambassador Schulte, Iran's nuclear ambitions constitute a major challenge, not because a nuclear-armed Iran would necessarily ever use a nuclear weapon, but because Iran is considered today as a major challenge in the Middle East: a major sponsor of terrorism, an opponent to the Middle East peace process, a country that is fomenting insurgency and violence, in places like Lebanon and Iraq. For these reasons there is much concern about how Iran's leadership would act if it gained access to nuclear weapons. Ambassador Schulte also expressed concerns about whether Iran's neighbours may also decide to pursue nuclear weapons, or at least a nuclear weapons capability, resulting in a possible nuclear arms race in the region. The goal of the US along with European governments is to achieve a diplomatic settlement, which means convincing Tehran to abandon pursuit of technologies needed to build nuclear weapons. At present, negotiations are based on a dual track strategy combining negotiations with sanctions and isolation. The US diplomat underlined that both approaches are required for a successful diplomatic endeavour. He argued that the negotiation process could start with a freeze for a freeze. This is the idea of their freezing the installation of additional centrifuges for uranium enrichment. And at the same time the Security Council would freeze additional sanctions. Ambassador Schulte concluded by pointing out that this is not a dispute between Iran and the US, rather it is a dispute between Iran's leadership and the rest of the world.



Ambassador Greg Schulte and ELIAMEP's Director General Dr. Thanos Dokos in the centre discussing with a group of experts at ELIAMEP premises

China and India: Asia's Two Emerging Giants and What It Means to the World

Athens, 7 October 2008

ELIAMEP in cooperation with the Embassy of Japan in Athens organised a lecture and discussion with **Ambassador (ret.) Sakutaro Tanino, Former Ambassador of Japan to China and India, Vice President of Japan-China Friendship Center, Advisor to Toshiba Corporation** on “China and India: Asia's Two Emerging Giants and What it Means to the World”. The emergence of China and India as new economic giants in the Asian continent was the main focus of Ambassador Tanino's lecture, who attended to three core aspects: providing profiles of the two countries, pointing out similarities and differences and drawing attention to the potential risks and difficulties China and India will have to tackle as rising economic powers. China has the largest population in the world and is known for excelling in the manufacturing industry. India, on the other hand claims the title of the world's largest democracy and it shines in the area of software technology. Both have shown high economic growth in the last years and have skilled yet inexpensive work forces at their disposal. However, the two countries are also experiencing environmental degradation and show discomforting signs of corruption as well as a widening disparity between rich and poor. With respect to what differentiates one from another, it was noted that while mass poverty and discrimination against women constitute causes for concern in India, China has depleting water resources, unemployment and a raging fake goods market to tackle. Finally, Mr. Tanino briefly introduced a few scenarios on China's future development. According to the Goldman Sachs Report of 2003, China and India could be the largest economies in the world by 2050. Economic growth could bring about a political liberalisation of China, and perhaps even lead to a transformation of structure of the political system - an eventuality, though, which remains to be seen.



From left to right: Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, ELIAMEP's President of the Board of Directors, Ambassador (ret.) Sakutaro Tanino and Mr. Takanori Kitamura, Ambassador of Japan to Greece

Euro-Russian Relations after the Crisis in the Caucasus

Athens, 29 October 2008

Three weeks after Russia completed the pullback of its troops from the buffer zones in Georgia and in light of the upcoming Greek Chairmanship of the OSCE, a group of experts from the economic, political and security field participated in a closed discussion held at ELIAMEP on the ramifications of the Caucasian crisis on the EU - Russia - Greece relations. The aftermath of the crisis finds Europe divided in its relations with Moscow and has substantiated calls for a common European energy policy. France supports a return to 'business-as-usual' strategy and along with Germany, Spain and Italy a further integration of Russia into the European system within the negotiations for a new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA). On the other hand, Poland, Sweden, the Czech Republic and the Baltic countries emphasize the dangers of depending on Russia for energy supply and advocate a much more adversarial approach to Moscow. The latter raises concerns on how the relation between the EU and Moscow will be affected by the Czech presidency of the EU in 2009. The speakers agreed that Europe and Russia are destined to remain natural partners mostly due to their interdependence. Russia has found in Europe its greatest partner in terms of natural gas export and Europe relies on Russian gas flowing into the continent (North Stream, South Stream) as there is no alternative supplier that can adequately meet Europe's energy needs. Participants discussed a number of proposals for policy action including the following: (1) promotion of the idea of a common European energy policy; (2) enhancement of further negotiations on the new PCA; and (3) development of a substantive ongoing dialogue with Russia on energy matters.

Speakers: Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director-General ELIAMEP, Professor Panayiotis C. Ioakimidis, University of Athens; Member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP, Mr. Konstantinos Maniatopoulos, Chairman, Institute of Energy for South-east Europe, Dr. Charalambos Tsardanidis, Director, Institute of International Economic Relations, Dr. Christos Kollias, Associate Professor, University of Thessaly and Mr. Nikolaos Toskas, Major General (ret.). Professor Theodore Couloumbis, Vice President of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP moderated the discussion.



From left to right: Mr. Konstantinos Maniatopoulos, Dr. Charalambos Tsardanidis, Professor Theodore Couloumbis and Dr. Christos Kollias

Commonalities of the Eurasian Seas

Athens, 3 November 2008

With the ongoing global financial crisis taking its toll in Western and Central Europe, the Mediterranean and North Africa, and the Black Sea, and in times of rising water and energy scarcity, a new kind of multilateralism is needed. In a lecture organised by ELIAMEP, HRH Prince el Hassan bin Talal of Jordan dilated upon the potentialities of cooperation and development among countries pertaining to the broader Mediterranean area. HRH proposed the development of a social regional charter for the region of the Eurasian Seas in the form of a water and energy community for the Mediterranean, Black and Caspian Sea regions. This new variety of multilateralism would address energy and human security through shared management and reshaping of regional commons in the area. Important component of such a new interactive policy is promoting the research and use of renewable energy sources (solar, hydro and wind energy). Projects such as DESERTEC constitute laudable steps in that direction. Furthermore, existing energy plants can be used for energy production and water desalination, which could provide potable water and enhance irrigation. With respect to the aspect of developing regional commons, HRH applauded efforts to form a Regional Development Bank, which should have an asymmetric character i.e. focus on empowering the poor, building on the example of the Zakat Fund. Last but not least, the speaker called for the establishment of a 'non-governmental organism', a network of people in the Eurasian Seas region, which would act as a forum to discuss commons of the Eurasian Seas as it could serve as a mechanism of conflict prevention. The proposal would address three of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG's), namely eradicate poverty, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development.

The main policy proposals encapsulated: (1) promote research and utilisation of renewable energy; (2) develop a regional charter of energy and water in the Eurasian Seas region, focusing on the human security aspect; and (3) form a Regional Development Bank.



*From left to right: Professor Theodore Couloumbis
and HRH Prince el Hassan bin Talal of Jordan*

Priorities of Georgia's Foreign Policy after the August War

Athens, 6 November 2008

The crisis that unfolded in the Caucasus region in August has reshuffled political thinking in the West with respect to the future steps to be taken in relations with Russia but has also raised questions as to how Georgia's foreign policy will be shaped in the aftermath of the war. **Ms. Eka Tkeshelashvili, Foreign Minister of Georgia**, provided insight on the impact of the crisis on the course of her country's foreign policy, in a lecture organised by ELIAMEP. To date, Moscow has not completed the pullout of its troops in the buffer zones established around the breakaway areas of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which leaves Georgia in a difficult position. According to Ms. Tkeshelashvili, the only way Moscow can restore its reliability as a diplomatic partner is by fully meeting its obligations as stipulated in the EU-mediated ceasefire agreement between the two countries. Furthermore, Georgia would have to be reassured that its sovereignty and independence as a nation are respected by Moscow. Regarding Georgia's NATO membership Ms. Tkeshelashvili said that even though Georgia was not admitted to the MAP process in the Organisation's last summit in Bucharest, NATO's Secretary General has confirmed that both Georgia and Ukraine will become NATO members eventually. Georgia will continue NATO accession endeavours as it hopes to see its security and territorial integrity safeguarded through partnership. Moreover, a seat in the Alliance would mean a great deal to Tbilisi in that it would receive acceptance on 'this path Georgia has taken'. Responding to members of the audience who argued that NATO membership doesn't bring Georgia anything and that the EU would constitute a much better framework with its power of soft politics and security guarantee, Ms. Tkeshelashvili noted that prior to the war the EU had never signalled that Georgia would be encouraged in such a direction, but applauded the EU's efforts for a cessation of hostilities. Georgia intends to continue on the path of independence and would not voice disagreement in case of a new PCA between Europe and Russia. However, the EU should clarify to Russia that "Moscow will not get away with its disproportionate reaction in the war of August".

Main priorities of Georgia's foreign policy: (1) Georgia's top priority is to get Russia to meet its ceasefire obligations and fully withdraw from the buffer zones; and (2) NATO membership is a priority for Georgia and a way for safeguarding its security.



*Ms. Eka Tkeshelashvili and Professor Theodore Couloumbis,
Vice-President of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP*

Transatlantic Relations

ELIAMEP considers a healthy transatlantic relationship as one of the cornerstones for European and global stability. In 2008 there were high expectations for a change in transatlantic relations, as a result of the US presidential elections in November. In this context, a number of roundtable discussions and other events have been organised in 2008, focusing, among other, on America's role in the evolving world order, alternative views of the world by US and Russian scholars, US green diplomacy, Transatlantic Trends in view of the US-Russia crisis, and US presidential elections. The role of the transatlantic institutions in managing crises and resolving regional conflicts in Southeastern Europe, the Black Sea and the Caucasus, and the wider Middle East was the key theme of the annual Halki International Seminars, organized by ELIAMEP for the past 19 years.

For more information see: <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/category/transatlantic-relations/>



Events

America's New Challenges in One Superpower World Athens, 31 March 2008

ELIAMEP organised a discussion with **Professor G. Calvin Mackenzie, The Goldfarb Family Distinguished Professor of American Government, Colby College, Waterville, Maine** on “America’s New Challenges in One Superpower World”. Challenging from the outset the title of his presentation, Professor Mackenzie argued that the world that is emerging in the 21st century is a world of diffused powers between different powers rather than a unipolar one. He kicked off the discussion by enumerating four parameters that he believes will define international relations in the 21st century. The first parameter is the growth in world population putting a further strain on natural resources. The second is the growth of technology and the opportunities it creates for interaction across borders, effectively rendering them much less substantial. The third parameter is the “Information Revolution”, which has created the unique circumstances of easily producing, communicating and consuming information. The final parameter is America’s status as a military superpower, which at least in the foreseeable future will remain unchallenged, even though the world is likely to become multipolar in the fields of economic and technological development. Characteristically, he noted that the military budget is scheduled to triple in the following decade. In parallel, Professor Mackenzie argued that we will observe a further trend towards the “privatisation” of military combat stemming from the need to counter terrorist networks. The role of the USA as a military superpower should therefore be two-fold: (1) to protect itself against terrorism; and (2) to act as a stabilising force in the world. However, this should be approached not as the “bully”, but rather as the “strong kid” in the neighbourhood protecting weaker states from threatening powers. Finally, he argued that the USA should also concentrate on using diplomacy to promote peace and America’s core values, ultimately aiming to improve the country’s global image. Foreign aid, according to Mr. Mackenzie is an effective tool in this direction. To this end, he asserted that the forthcoming presidential elections will determine the course of America’s strategy that is expected to change, both in terms of internal as well as external politics.



*From left to right: ELIAMEP’s Research Fellow Dr. Ruby Gropas
and Professor G. Calvin Mackenzie*

Alternative Views of the World

Athens, 23 June 2008

This event was organised in honor of **Mr. Minos Zombanakis**, Member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP. The discussion was moderated by **Professor Theodore Couloubis**, Vice-President of the Board of Directors at ELIAMEP.

Ambassador Robert D. Blackwill, Former Senior Official in the National Security Council and Member of the Board, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, analysed the challenges that the next US administration will find itself faced with on the international level and the changes that are likely to occur in the country's foreign policy, mainly with regard to the tense situation in the wider Middle East. He concluded that despite what one may think nowadays there is a potential for progress and that success will depend on the next president's ability to choose the right people for crucial posts.

Dr. Andrei Kokoshin, Member of the State Duma of the Russian Federation and Chairman of the Committee for the CIS' Affairs and Relations with Compatriots, presented a view of the world from the Russian perspective, illustrating how Russia is continuously improving its political, military and economic position and regaining a leading role in the international arena. He concluded that Russia is ready to cooperate with the USA and Europe on matters of global interest, as long as some thorny issues, such as the NATO enlargement to the East, are resolved.

Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, University of Athens and President of ELIAMEP, referred to Europe and the P(eaceful)-P(rosperous)-P(owerless) Syndrome it seems to be suffering from, which minimises its weight and role in a world of rapid changes. He concluded that in order for Europeans to take their place on the global stage they will have to identify their common values and interests and establish the adequate institutional framework to defend them. Should the common denominator, however, prove too low to allow them to face challenges successfully, the prospect of a two-track Europe might draw nearer.



From left to right: Ambassador Robert Blackwill, Dr. Andrei Kokoshin, Professor Theodore Couloubis, Mr. Minos Zombanakis and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis

Discussing *Transatlantic Trends** 2008 in View of the West-Russia Crisis and the Coming US Elections
Athens, 16 September 2008

Dr. Thanos Dokos with

Dr. Ian Lesser discussing with a group of experts

ELIAMEP organised a discussion with Dr. Ian Lesser, Senior Transatlantic Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the US. “Public opinion remains doubtful about transatlantic relations despite official improvement”- was one of the main conclusions of the public opinion survey *Transatlantic Trends 2008**, the key findings of which were presented by Dr. Lesser. The report which examines American and European attitudes toward the transatlantic relationship, addressed four topics: (1) the Bush administration’s legacy and coming US elections; (2) views of transatlantic priorities and challenges; (3) US voters ahead of presidential elections; and (4) Turkish perspectives. With respect to how transatlantic relations will be influenced by the upcoming change of administration in the US, the public on both sides of the Atlantic believes they would show improvement under Obama and remain the same under McCain. Regarding transatlantic concerns, there seems to be concurrence that issues of economic and energy security have precedence over other issues. Furthermore, “concern about Russia has grown - even before Georgia - and NATO is viewed somewhat more positively”, the survey concluded. Roughly 80% of voters in the US who are favourable of presidential candidate Barack Obama believe that they are more likely to be affected by global warming in the next ten years though only 28% of them perceive climate change as a priority for the next president. 50% of voters in favour of McCain on the other hand, consider international terrorism a main issue the next US and European leaders should address. Finally, offering a perspective on how Turks perceive transatlantic relations, the survey concluded that after a year of friction they are slightly warmer toward US and EU, but ‘inward looking’ and distrustful when it comes to international ties.



**Transatlantic Trends* is an annual public opinion survey examining US and European attitudes toward the transatlantic relationship.

America's Cultural Heritage and Green Diplomacy
Athens, 8 October 2008

ELIAMEP and ELLINIKI ETAIRIA, Hellenic Society for the Environment and Cultural Heritage organised a lecture followed by discussion delivered by **Ms. Colleen Graffy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy** on "America's Cultural Heritage and Green Diplomacy". Ms. Colleen Graffy can be hardly described as the typical diplomat, with a rigid posture and a manner full of typicalities. She addressed the audience of the closed discussion in a very lively manner, without hesitating to laugh or frown. She tried to present another perspective of the US policy on green diplomacy, an issue on which the United States have been condemned so many times by other nations for not trying so hard - mainly because of the refusal to sign the Kyoto Protocol. For this reason, she used the best way she knows to do so; public diplomacy. According to Ms. Graffy, public diplomacy is "how governments do communicate with the people of another country, how they communicate their policies, their values and their culture". Nowadays, the means to communicate the policies (internet, TV) play a major role in their formulation. Above all perhaps is how this message is received. So, when we talk about public diplomacy, we basically mean 24/7 media and relationship building. The US is engaged in the latter through cultural diplomacy, sports diplomacy, educational exchanges, and green diplomacy. On the latter, Deputy Secretary of State Graffy stated the opinion that US does much but doesn't communicate them well; also that domestic decisions are perceived differently in the outer world. That's where public diplomacy comes to fill the void. In this context, she presented a series of initiatives, such as the exploitation of solar and wind power, the methane recovery, as well as the Asia - Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate. She called upon the key economies and industries to change their technology in order to produce climate friendly emissions.

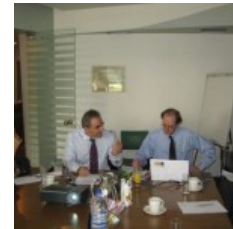


Ms. Colleen Graffy discussing with a group of experts at ELIAMEP premises

American Presidential Elections 2008: Vote for Change

Athens, 13 November 2008

The election of Mr. Barack Obama as the next president of the United States of America has been characterised as one of many firsts. First African-American president, first rejection of public funding for the campaign, one of the longest and most expensive campaigns. On the occasion of the conclusion of the American presidential elections ELIAMEP organised a lecture with **Mr. Rick Ridder, President and Co-founder, RBI Strategy and Research, Denver** on the changes brought by the 2008 US presidential elections. It was the first campaign fundamentally devoted to the personalisation of politics. The first act began during the primaries and the contest between Ms. Hillary Clinton and Mr. Barack Obama. Obama's campaign remained faithful to its message, "change", while adjusting it from "change we can believe in" to "change we need" as the campaign proceeded. These slogans differentiated him from the other candidates. He represented real change as opposed to his opponent in the primaries, Hillary Clinton, also implying he could deliver this change, as opposed to his republican opponent, John McCain. Moreover, Barack Obama's campaign focused on the importance of correct judgement, as opposed to experience. This focus served him well as the financial crisis unfolded. During the run-up to the elections, Obama's campaign, actively demonstrated this perceived change by engaging people directly, more than any other candidate did. Personal expressions were not fought against, like the infamous "I'm in love with Obama" song. Door-to-door campaigning was about what the people had to say, individuals were encouraged to express their own views and opinions about the programme the next president elect should follow. In addition, social networking including "My space", "Facebook", blogs and e-mails were some of the resources used in addition to the more traditional means of communication. This was in contrast to his opponents' choices, and ultimately gave his campaign an essential edge. Barack Obama appears to be charismatic, indeed, but how will he deliver? As was discussed during the lecture, the president elect is not expected to make extensive foreign policy moves before the stabilisation of the American economy. And when he does he is not expected to deviate widely from the traditional democratic foreign policy. Obama managed to switch Americans back on to politics, an accomplishment that has raised high expectations around the world, may entail disappointments and certainly signifies a challenge.



From left to right: Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General of ELIAMEP and Mr. Rick Ridder

Migration

For half a decade now, ELIAMEP has been actively contributing to the Europe-wide debates and efforts to devise policy responses aimed at addressing social and political challenges posed by migration within our rapidly changing European societies. 2008 saw the migration area of study grow and consolidate further. We expanded and diversified our research projects in the fields of migration policy, irregular migration and integration through our three ongoing research projects, a European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop organised in Athens, numerous participations in international conferences, academic publications and a series of policy reports. Moreover, we extended the outreach of our ongoing research through a series of on-line debates we pursued with members of the Greek academic community, civil society representatives, representatives of migrant associations and other civically active citizens through ELIAMEP's English and Greek blogs.

For more information see: www.eliamep.gr/en/category/migration



Research Projects

Integration and Multiculturalism

In the context of the EMILIE research project coordinated by ELIAMEP on aspects of multiculturalism and the challenge of immigration, our team focused on three different policy areas in 9 EU Member States during 2008. We studied the intercultural dimension of education policy in secondary education; the legal challenges arising from migration-related cultural diversity with special reference to the workplace and the application of the two EU Directives on anti-discrimination and equal opportunities; and the challenges of political participation for migrants in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom.

The research findings of the EMILIE Consortium were presented at a Think&Act Conference on “Social Cohesion in Europe” held in Madrid, a number of European policy and academic conferences in different EU Member States, and in a ‘Talks on the Hill’ workshop of the Asia-Europe Foundation in Singapore on “Ethnicity Mobilised: The Dilemma of Multicultural Politics”.



CITIZENS AND GOVERNANCE IN A
KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY



The FP6 research project **EMILIE - A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship. Legal Political and Educational Challenges** is funded by the European Commission, DG RTD and is of a 3-year duration (July 2006-June 2009). Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas in ELIAMEP coordinate the EMILIE research consortium composed by eight more European Universities and research centres. For project reports and policy papers visit the EMILIE web site <http://emilie.eliamep.gr> see also <http://blogs.eliamep.gr> and <http://blogs.eliamep.gr/en/>.

Migration Policy

The creation of a European immigration policy is rather complex, especially taking into consideration the diversity between the EU member states. The fact that different areas of Europe have been transformed from countries of net emigration to countries of net immigration during different time periods and within different circumstances, including their geographic positions, makes this process even harder. The socioeconomic conditions of this transition as well as the policy responses to the new situation varied significantly between the countries of North-Western, Southern and Eastern Europe which lead to a range of structures of immigration and impacts on labour markets.

Within this framework a better understanding of the causes, characteristics and effects of previous and current migration processes as well as a comparison of the institutional, administrative and political conditions of migration in the receiving countries is necessary for the planning of appropriate migration management policies.



ELIAMEP is a partner in the Research Project IDEA which brings together 11 Universities and research centers from nine member states with a view to address the questions raised above. In particular the project investigates the causes, characteristics and impact of migratory flows in the new European immigration

destinations - Southern and Eastern Europe - comparing with challenges faced by 'established' immigration countries in recent decades, those of 'new' hosts in southern Europe with again the challenges that lie ahead for Central and Eastern European emerging immigration countries. The project addresses historical, political and economic factors that shape migration processes. One of its main aims is to provide for a model forecasting migratory trends in selected parts of the European Union.

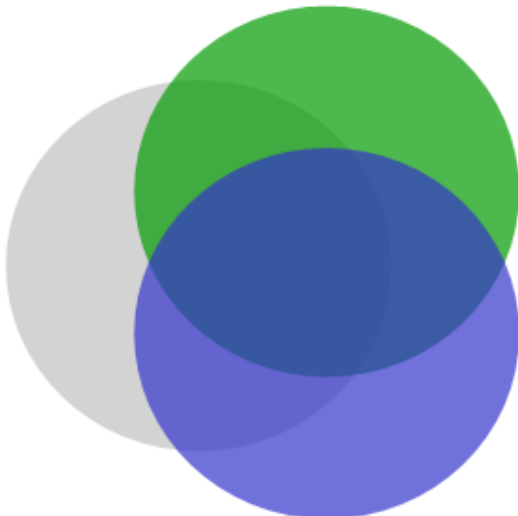
As regards policy analysis, the ELIAMEP team has assessed both management and control policies implemented in Greece in the past 15 years. The special features of Greek immigration policy have been highlighted including its lack of proactive measures, the bureaucratic hurdles that immigrants face, the salience of the informal labour market for migrant work and the ambivalent role played by political parties and public opinion in the development of the Greek migration policy have been discussed in a Project Report and a Policy Brief produced by Anna Triandafyllidou and Michaela Maroufouf.

The ELIAMEP research team has also engaged into an extensive empirical study of specific migrant groups, their social and demographic features, their networks and their mechanisms of insertion in the Greek labour market. Daria Lazarescu and Marina Nikolova have completed a study on Romanian and Bulgarian immigration to Greece with a view to assessing whether and how EU accession has changed the migration projects and living/working conditions of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in the country. Michaela Maroufouf has studied Polish immigration and its development in recent years also assessing whether and how EU accession and free labour market access has shaped this group. Currently, Michaela Maroufouf and Marina Nikolova study the patterns of migration of Ukrainian and Georgian women and men living in Greece while Daria Lazarescu and Francesca Broersma investigate the Southeast Asian immigrant to Greece (Pakistani and Bangladeshi citizens). The above research work on migration policy and on specific migrant communities has been presented at academic forums, in the media (see www.eliamep.gr/en/category/migration and in the ELIAMEP blog (<http://blog.eliamep.gr> and <http://blog.eliamep.gr/en>)

The FP6 research project **IDEA - Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries as New Immigration Destinations in the European Union** is funded by the European Commission, DG Research and is of a 30-month duration (2007-2009). IDEA is coordinated by the Centre of Migration Research of the University of Warsaw. The ELIAMEP IDEA research team is headed by Anna Triandafyllidou.

During 2008 we further pursued our research work on contemporary international migration mainly in the field of migration policy development and governance. In this context, ELIAMEP convened a **European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop** in October 2008 on migration policies which included sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, migration and international relations experts from Europe, Canada and the United States. The ESF exploratory workshop on migration studied whether and how the implementation of specific policies (i.e. management/control and migrant integration policies) affects the plans and actions of individual migrants (and their families). We also considered whether and in what ways different types of migrants (labour migration, family reunification, temporary work, commuting migration, legal vs. irregular migration) were affected by specific policies in Canada, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, Poland, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Moreover, comparative research coordinated by ELIAMEP on the connection between immigrants' plans and strategies of mobility, adaptation and survival on the one hand, and receiving country policies on the other in 14 different countries, resulted in a Special Issue published by the *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* on "Migrant Strategies and Migration Policies: Comparing European and North American Experiences" (Vol.1: 3, 2008, Edited by Anna Triandafyllidou).



Irregular Migration

Irregular migration is a phenomenon that goes hand in hand with the expansion of border controls and stricter entry regulations on people's movement. Migrants' determination to enter the EU, in particular, can neither be stopped by legal (re-)framings of their movement nor by stricter enforcement measures that question the human rights values upon which modern democracy rests. Host economies, on the other hand, more or less need and absorb irregular migrants 'embarrassing' the governments' rhetoric on the matter and their policy effectiveness. Against this background a clear picture of how many the irregular migrants are and how irregularity is produced is missing.

As a matter of fact, estimates and guesstimates of irregular migration in Europe 'travel' freely and uncritically among experts, journalists and policy makers without it being clear who produced them first and how. Their source may not be clear, their direction, however, definitely is: these numbers are routinely used as a means of arousing public anxiety about migration and exercising pressure for policy responses.



CLANDESTINO

Developing a scientific framework in which data and estimates on undocumented migration can be interpreted and assessed is what the research project CLANDESTINO that is currently underway at ELIAMEP is about.

In an effort to provide EU policy-making with more reliable data, the CLANDESTINO project

aims to create a database on irregular migration whereby a new method for evaluating and classifying data/estimates on undocumented migration in the EU is proposed. Central to this venture has been a conceptual definition of irregular migration that discloses the different pathways into and out of its irregular character in different countries.

Our work during 2008 concentrated, first, on mapping and assessing the methodologies and ethics around the creation and use of estimates of undocumented migration respectively. Following up from that, case studies were conducted in 12 EU Member States and 3 transit migration countries. Their aim was to critically explore the sources of data and estimates of irregular migration and, in particular, the validity and reliability of the methods used in their production. In doing so, they analysed why and how migrants become irregular and whether and how they can achieve legal status, touching thus the political and economic regime framing migration. The estimates evaluated in and created by these case studies were classified accordingly and incorporated in the aforementioned database.

The FP6 research project **CLANDESTINO - Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends across Europe** is funded by the European Commission, DG Research. Anna Triandafyllidou is head of the CLANDESTINO research consortium that is composed by 5 other European Universities and research centres. The principle researcher working on Clandestino in ELIAMEP is Thanos Maroukis.



Publications

- “The Governance of International Migration in Europe and North America: Do Migration Policies Meet the Migrants?”, Anna Triandafyllidou (ed.), Theme Issue, Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies, vol. 6, no. 3, 2008
- “Migration in United Europe”, A. Triandafyllidou and R. Gropas (eds), Kritiki (forthcoming), (in Greek).
- “Muslims in 21st Century Europe: Structural and Cultural Perspectives”, Anna Triandafyllidou (ed.), Routledge (forthcoming), (in English)
- “Economic Migration in Greece: Labour Market and Social Inclusion”, Thanos Maroukis, Papazisi (forthcoming), (in Greek)



Online Dialogue

The two blogs launched by ELIAMEP in 2008 provided an additional forum for our migration team to disseminate research findings and policy recommendations and to engage in an interactive dialogue with representatives of the migrant civil society in Greece and the academic community. Challenges facing second generation migrants, multiculturalist and naturalisation policies, the effects of migration on the economy and irregular migration were some of the themes debated.

For more information see: <http://blogs.eliamep.gr> and <http://blogs.eliamep.gr/en/>



EVENTS AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES

ELIAMEP's 20 Years Anniversary Celebration and Annual Lecture 2008

Athens, 22 October 2008

Professor Mario Monti

2008 marked ELIAMEP's 20th anniversary which was celebrated on the occasion of the Foundation's Annual Lecture. This year's lecture was delivered by **Professor Mario Monti**, President of Bocconi University in Milan and former European Commissioner who focused on "The Challenges Facing Europe and the Role of Think-Tanks". The lecture was preceded by a speech from ELIAMEP's President, **Professor Loukas Tsoukalis** on "The War of Ideas and the Role of ELIAMEP".



Greece ranks today in the 24th position in the UN Human Development Index, featuring among the most advanced countries. However, this degree of development together with the fast pace of social and political changes taking place in the world, is not always adequately reflected in the mode of governance and the state institutions, while the people are increasingly disengaged from politics. This phenomenon, however, is not only confined in Greece. On the contrary, it constitutes the source of the battle "of power and ideas that now takes a new turn after the recent political and economic developments" according to Professor Tsoukalis. The transfusion of global developments in the Greek context is at the centre of ELIAMEP's activities, being a think-tank equally active in the Greek and European space. The role of think-tanks in Europe was the axis of Professor Monti's lecture around which he developed an analysis on the role of the EU facing the challenges of globalisation and the current financial crisis in particular.

Concerning the financial crisis and the reaction of the EU, Professor Monti emphasised that Europe responded, maybe not so quickly but efficiently, in a way that according to The New York Times surpassed the US. This efficiency was a "high moment of politics" and the result of an impetus of activism by the European Council headed by France under the presidency of Nikola Sarkozy. Professor Monti underlined the importance of a strong Presidency, in this case the result of coincidence, which proves in his opinion the importance of empowering the European institutions. Arguably, the immediacy of response cannot be based on luck - it should derive from organised procedures and institutions. As in the past, crisis has once again brought the sense of urgency to overcome different national perspectives in the EU. Political impetus should therefore become an instrument for further progress and advancement of European rules and processes. If the opposite

were to happen, it might lead to the gradual deconstruction of the system of trust built between the member states, given that European rules place all members on an equal platform, and ultimately the weakening of the EU.

In the upcoming period, the financial crisis will also bring forward a larger question, regarding the efficiency and value of market economy. Indeed, while there is a need for more government intervention in the finance sector in particular, governments should not throw away the huge investments and reforms that have rendered domestic markets more flexible and competitive and safeguard social equity. In this respect, globalisation indeed poses a challenge. That is the unsustainable effects of unequal income distribution and the weakness of governments to respond to the needs of the “temporary losers of globalisation”. The EU and its institutions should therefore function as a vehicle for further cooperation in developing a coordinated tax policy on the European level and an example for the construction of a global system of governance, the necessity of which is evident today more than ever. In such a system the work of ELIAMEP together with other think tanks in organising and analysing political thought on European developments will be increasingly important in the process of European governance, Professor Monti underlined.

The lectures were preceded by the projection of a **short documentary on the Foundation’s 20th anniversary** (available at <http://www.eliamep.gr/en/frontpage/top-story-2/video-20-years-eliamep/>) and were followed by an event with music from the Balkans and the world. Many distinguished personalities, old and new associates and friends of ELIAMEP honoured the organisers with their presence.

The event was organised with the support of the National Bank of Greece.



Halki International Seminars 2008



Regional Flashpoints and Transatlantic Policies

Halki-Greece, 25-29 June 2008

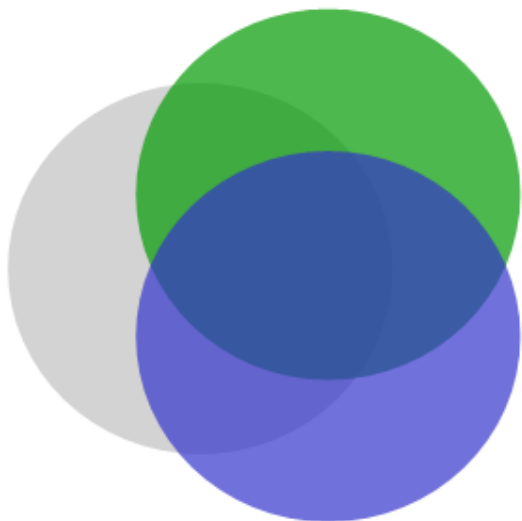
This year's Halki International Seminars commenced by examining the transatlantic alliance in context, and in particular, "high" politics, policies and priorities. The first session assessed past policies and future priorities of the transatlantic partners while the second session focused on external perceptions of the EU and NATO, questioning the extent to which the transatlantic alliance contributes today to regional and global security.

The core of the Seminars was devoted to regional challenges and the role of the transatlantic alliance, starting with the situation in Kosovo and the Western Balkans in light of developments that have taken place since the beginning of the year. A shared point was that the stability and future development of countries in the region depends both on their European perspective and NATO membership, as well as the internal strengthening of their institutions and their democratic legitimacy. Russia's influence was also referred to as a crucial factor for the future shape of the Western Balkans due to its economic investments and energy supplies, as well as its position on the Kosovo issue. Discussions during the second day focused on the "frozen conflicts" in the Black Sea Region and the Caucasus and similarities were drawn with the situation in the Balkans. Moreover, panel discussions were dedicated to the regional challenges in the Middle East, particularly as regards the Kurdish question and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the prospects for "peace in our time" all participants held a rather pessimistic view as to the prospect of a solution in the forthcoming future. Naturally, as the sensitive nature of the subject suggests, the views that were expressed varied in character and intensity. Characteristically, all participants agreed on the fact that the international community has to be actively engaged in order for a peaceful resolution to be plausible, while in the regional context it was expressed that both sides have to focus on their internal problems in order to find common grounds of rapprochement. The final day of the seminar started by focusing on Iraq, Iran and the Gulf region, discussing the need for regional security architecture. A common theme that emerged was that the Iraq war has affected the regional balance of power, enabling Iran to considerably strengthen its position. Nevertheless, it was also argued that Iran itself is heading towards a period of change in its internal balance of power, with a new, transitional, generation of politicians that is expected to trigger change in the system. This forthcoming process of change, while crucial, is not yet understood by analysts outside Iran. The final session of the seminars was devoted to revisiting the transatlantic initiatives in the regional conflicts discussed during the seminars, including views and perceptions from both Brussels and the regions. An overview of current and future policies was thus provided from the perspective of the EU, the Middle East and the Black Sea, including remarks on the future challenges NATO will be called to address. While the success of certain projects such as the EU initiative "Union for the Mediterranean" remains to be seen, it was asserted that any prospects for conflict resolution in the Middle East depend both on the adoption of common initiatives by Europe and the United States, as well as the adoption of the idea of political liberalisation by regimes in the Middle East.

The seminar was organised in cooperation with The Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade and was supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS), Washington DC, Hellenic Aid - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, the National Bank of Greece, Athens, OTE S.A. (Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation), Athens, NATO's Public Diplomacy Division, Brussels and the Dodecanese Prefecture, Rhodes.



*Opening remarks by Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General of ELIAMEP,
and Dr. Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director of the Balkan Trust of Democracy in Belgrade*



European Seminars 2008



The EU and its Neighbours: In Search of New Forms of Partnership

Sounio - Athens, 3-6 July 2008



Education and Culture DG

At a critical juncture in time, ELIAMEP and the Bertelsmann Foundation brought together around 45 leading thinkers, policy-makers and journalists from 24 different EU and non-EU countries to brainstorm about the future relationship between the European Union and its eastern and southern neighbours. The participants discussed whether the neighbouring countries and the EU have been able to fulfil each other's expectations and deconstructed the strategic objectives that drive cooperation and partnership. The current state of the EU's neighbourhood policy was also assessed. This part of the seminar focused on the deficiencies and the strengths of the existing instruments and fora and asked whether novel approaches are needed or whether the existing ones merely need to be optimised. In more concrete terms, the conference explored the potentials of the new "Union for the Mediterranean" and specifically asked whether this new "Union" has the potential to enhance cooperation between the EU and its neighbours in the South or whether it will rather be nothing more than the old "Barcelona Process" in a new disguise. Potential fields of cooperation between the EU and its neighbouring regions were considered. Particular attention was given to the areas of energy, education, agriculture and migration and to projects which can be mutually beneficial. The conference's final session discussed the perspectives of possible alternatives between full membership and non-membership. This part of the seminar asked whether concepts such as a "privileged membership", "partial membership", "limited membership", "extended associated membership" or a "Pan-European Confederation" are viable options.

The conference was supported by the European Commission, DG Education and Culture, Jean Monnet Programme.



Conference participants discussing topics related to the EU and its neighbours at the high-level meeting at Sounio



PUBLICATIONS

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

Policy Papers

- **“Conceptualizing a Differentiated Europe”**, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, ELIAMEP, PP010, 2008, (in English)
- **“Security and Strategic Cooperation in the Mediterranean: Confidence-building and Conflict Prevention”**, Stephen C. Calleya and Dimitris K. Xenakis, ELIAMEP, PP011, 2008, (in Greek)
- **“European Energy Security and Natural Gas Pipelines in South-Eastern Europe: A New Field of Greek-Turkish Cooperation”**, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, ELIAMEP, PP012, 2008, (in Greek)

ELIAMEP Thesis

In May 2008 ELIAMEP launched a new publication series, ELIAMEP Thesis. This new series covers topical issues related to EU integration, to Europe's role in global affairs and to important developments in international affairs. ELIAMEP Thesis will be published several times a year and its length will not exceed five to seven pages. The new series complements ELIAMEP's Policy Papers, in an effort to produce short and timely pieces of analysis and recommendations on topical issues and current developments. In 2008 the following four issues were published:

- **“Differentiated Europe: Nine Recommendations”**, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, ELIAMEP Thesis 1/2008, (in English)
- **“Natural Gas Corridors in Southeastern Europe”**, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, ELIAMEP Thesis 2/2008, (in English)
- **“Searching for a Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle”**, Thanos Dokos, ELIAMEP Thesis 3/2008, (in English)
- **“Fall of the Berlin Wall 2.0? - Political Effects of and European Responses to the Financial-Economic Crisis”**, Janis A. Emmanouilidis, ELIAMEP Thesis 4/2008, (in English)

Working Papers

- “The Evolution of Franchise Terrorism: Al-Qaeda”, Katya Leney-Hall, ELIAMEP, WP01, 2008, (in English)
- “The Preventive War Doctrine and the War in Afghanistan: Crisis Management or War Conflict?”, Alexandros Koutsoukis, ELIAMEP, WP02, 2008, (in Greek)
- “Common Security in Outer Space: Envisaging an Effective Arms Control Regime”, Ioannis Tziouras, ELIAMEP, WP03, 2008, (in English)

Occasional Papers

- “Simple Lessons in Danish or the Functional Operation of the Labour Market”, Sophia Michalaki, Kyriakos Filinis, ELIAMEP, OP08.001, 2008, (in Greek)
- “Ethnic Pressure Groups (lobbies) and American Foreign Policy”, Alexandros Kentikelenis, ELIAMEP, OP08.002, 2008, (in Greek)
- “The Return of Satellite Weapons”, Alexandros Kolovos, ELIAMEP, OP08.003, 2008, (in Greek)



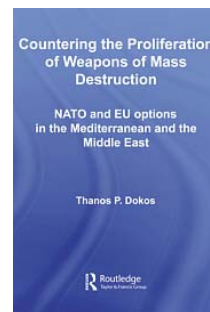
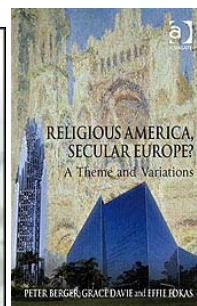
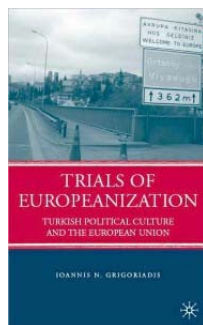
Books

“Climate Change: Addressing the Impact on Human Security”, Thanos Dokos (ed.), ELIAMEP-Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 2008, (in English)



Publications of ELIAMEP's Researchers

- “Countering the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction”, Thanos Dokos (ed.), Routledge, 2008
- “United in Diversity?: European Integration and Political Cultures”, Ekavi Athanassopoulou (ed.), I.B. Tauris, 2008
- “Trials of Europeanization: Turkish Political Culture and the European Union”, Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008
- “The Governance of International Migration in Europe and North America: Do Migration Policies Meet the Migrants?”, Anna Triandafyllidou (ed.), Theme Issue in Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies, vol. 6, no. 3, 2008
- “Religious America, Secular Europe?: A Theme and Variations”, Peter Berger, Grace Davie and Effie Fokas, Ashgate 2008



Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies



During 2008 we had the opportunity to enrich and expand the interdisciplinary scope of the *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* further and to significantly widen our subscription and readership base. Currently in its ninth year of publication, the Journal has established itself as a core academic reference for the regions of the Black Sea and Southeast Europe.

Atlanticism and Europeanism in Southeast Europe; human rights issues; gender aspects of migration; transformations in the Russian and Ukrainian fisheries sector; challenges facing public administration reform in Romania were some of the issues explored in the Journal along with historical articles on violence in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Balkans; on a reconceptualisation of the Caucasus; and a set of papers on trade and economic relations between Greece and the FYR Macedonia.

Moreover, two Special Issues were published. Panagiota Manoli edited a Special Issue “Revisiting the Black Sea Region” (V8N2, June 2008) which includes critical assessments of the European Neighbourhood Policy and of the US policy in the region while also focusing on specific issues such as EU relations with Azerbaijan. George Georgiadis edited a Special Issue entitled “Europe’s unfinished transitions:

The convergence-divergence debate revisited” (V8N4, December 2008) that presents a comprehensive look and a broader comparative perspective of the transition in the Western Balkans and Eastern Europe. The papers published in this Special Issue argue that at present, EU policies towards its periphery are path-dependent and largely reflect policy choices made in the critical years between 1989 and 1993; and that in fact, only partial convergence has been promoted because EU policies have been geographically and geopolitically differentiated from the very beginning of the transition process. Contributions concentrate on the changing nature of EU conditionality; the role of the European Agency for Reconstruction; the stability of political institutions through the examination of cross-national democracy and governance indicators; the reform of the penal system in Albania, Ukraine’s transformation and the ENP; and the role of external determinants as the explanatory variables of convergence or the lack thereof.

All articles published in the JSEEBSS undergo rigorous peer-review, and the Journal is included in the ISI Social Science Citation Index since 2007.

Useful info about JSEEBSS: To submit a manuscript, contact:

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LIBRARY

Information and Documentation Centre

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

Library's collection includes scientific books and journals (printed and electronic form), offprints, booklets, CD-ROMs, DVDs, working papers, yearbooks, thematically directed in the cognitive field of social and political sciences. More specifically, its collection consists of approximately 7,000 titles of books and 45 titles of foreign and Greek journals, as well as an additional 360 titles of foreign and Greek journals acquired through the exchange of publications with corresponding institutions in Greece and abroad.

During 2008, ELIAMEP's library focused on the electronic cataloguing of its monographs according to the international bibliographic standards and the enlargement of its collection. It also continued to collaborate and exchange publications with other related Greek and foreign institutions. In addition, over 150 users including researchers, students and academic staff visited the library for research purposes.

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

Funding



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



NETWORKS

During 2008, ELIAMEP maintained its institutional networking and international presence through its participation in various networks such as: the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission - EuroMeSCo, Initiative for Peacebuilding - IfP, Arab Reform Initiative - ARI, European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies - EINIRAS, European Policy Institute Network - EPIN, International Relations Security Network - ISN and Black Sea Research Network. Since 2008, ELIAMEP participates in Think Global - Act European, a network of European Institutes of International Relations. ELIAMEP is also a partner in the EU funded Networks of Excellence EU-CONSENT and RECOWOE.





PARTNERSHIPS

College of Europe

Hosting the Greek Selection Committee for the College of Europe, ELIAMEP provides Greek students with the opportunity to continue their studies in the Master's Programme of the College of Europe. The College of Europe is a centre of academic excellence offering five one-year programmes leading to a Master's degree and operating in two campuses, in Bruges (Belgium) and Natolin (Poland): Politics/Administration, Law, Economics, and EU International Relations in Bruges, and an Inter-disciplinary programme in Natolin.



Partnership with Bilgi University



ELIAMEP provides the channel for recruiting Greek students for the Master's Programme in International Relations with a concentration on Greek-Turkish Relations at Istanbul Bilgi University, through the Greek Selection Committee for the Master's programme. The Master of Arts Programme in International Relations aims at combining a solid foundation in the discipline of International Relations, with an area of concentration on Greek-Turkish relations. The curriculum is designed to reflect these two principal objectives of the programme by enhancing the students' general knowledge of theory and practice of international relations and by enabling them to specialize in the politics and international relations of Greece and Turkey. The programme offers courses in the theory of international relations, foreign policy analysis, policy and politics in Greece and Turkey, and nationalism, from a comparative perspective. The two-year graduate programme is intended for future academics, diplomats, journalists and government officials, working or planning to work on different aspects of Turkish and Greek studies.

Istanbul Bilgi University's Turkish-Greek Studies Division, as well as the Master's Programme, is the only one of its kind, not only in Greece and Turkey, but internationally. Through a full schedule of activities and the engagement of key figures in the field, the programme has already quickly become a point of reference for Greek-Turkish studies on both sides of the Aegean and beyond.

Building on the initial experience of a series of successful academic and policy-oriented events, the Programme aims at fostering institutional collaboration between the academic and policy communities of the two countries. Events organised with a view to contributing to the spirit of rapprochement that characterises the current state of bilateral relations comprise joint seminars, conferences, summer programmes, and exchange of students and scholars. Within this framework, the Programme hosted in 2008 the Former Prime Minister of Greece, Professor Costas Simitis, who gave a public lecture on "Democracy and Diversity in Europe".

American Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) Program 2008

ELIAMEP is the Coordinator of the Marshall Memorial Fellowship programme in Greece. The MMF programme aims at creating a network of young European and American leaders in an attempt to strengthen transatlantic relations. The German Marshall Fund (GMF) awards more than 100 Marshall Memorial Fellowships each year to leaders in politics, government, business, media, and the non-profit sector who travel and explore people, societies and institutions on the other side of the Atlantic. During their visits, American and European Fellows meet formally and informally with a range of policymakers and prominent members of the business, government, NGO, and media communities.

In 2008, 10 American MMF fellows visited Greece in two groups, on 18-22 February 2008 and on 13-17 October 2008. The program is structured around the fellows' professional interests and includes a



number of group meetings with senior state and government officials, businesspersons, NGO leaders and members of local administration. Moreover, each fellow attends individual appointments according to his or her stated preferences.

In 2008 visits were organized among others with Mr. Theodoros Skylakakis, Secretary General, General Secretariat for International Economic Relations and Development Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Costas Carras, President of the Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and the Cultural Heritage and representatives from the US Embassy in Athens. Outside formal meetings, an important aspect of the program is the organisation of cultural visits at the two cities. In Thessalonica this included a visit at the village of Nymfaio, the Vergina archaeological area as well as the Jewish Museum and the Museum of Byzantine Culture, while in Athens a walking tour of modern Athens was organised in addition to a visit of Acropolis and the ancient market.

The year 2008 also marked the 10th Anniversary of the American Marshall Memorial Fellowship Program. To this occasion, ELIAMEP organised a panel discussion attended by the Greek MMF, members of the Greek Selection Committee and Mr. Craig Kennedy, President of the GMFUS. The discussions gave the opportunity to former and current fellows to exchange views on the program while giving further insight on the planning of the program for future Marshall Memorial Fellows.

Onassis Foundation Programme of Scholarships for Foreigners



Since 2001 ELIAMEP has been cooperating with the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, within the framework of the Onassis Foundation Programme of Scholarships for Foreigners. In the context of the cooperation agreement between the two Foundations, Onassis Fellows use the Onassis workplaces at the ELIAMEP premises and have access to ELIAMEP's library.

ngo.gr



With the cooperation of a team of NGOs and Foundations, including ELIAMEP, the common website ngo.gr was created in order to give, to any NGO that wishes, the possibility to search and locate other NGOs with same or similar aspirations, aiming at any type of cooperation, occasional or long-lasting.



ELIAMEP in the PRESS

One of ELIAMEP's main objectives is to raise public awareness on issues related to foreign policy and international affairs. It is within this context that the Foundation's academic and research staff has had a continuing and dynamic presence in the media, both in Greece and abroad, all through 2008.

Numerous articles, written by ELIAMEP's researchers and associates, were published not only in well-known Greek dailies, such as *Kathimerini*, *Ta Nea*, *Eleftherotypia*, *To Vima*, and other high-circulation printed media, but also in the international press, for example in the innovative online news magazine *Real Clear World*.

Furthermore, ELIAMEP's representatives were also invited by foreign media, such as *Radio Netherlands*, the *German National Television*, the *New York Times*, the online edition of *Der Spiegel*, *Russia Today*, the *Deutsche Welle* and the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, as well as a significant number of Greek radio/television stations, newspapers and magazines, to comment on crucial issues and developments related to European and foreign policy and international relations.

The fact that, as shown by the summary above, both Greek and foreign journalists turn to ELIAMEP, when covering issues of regional and global interest, testifies to the Foundation's credentials and its significant contribution to independent information and analysis.





MULTIMEDIA

www.eliamep.gr

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

One of ELIAMEP's main goals for 2008 was to support the renovation of its digital presence. In a world becoming increasingly oriented toward virtual access, ELIAMEP redesigned its web presence providing enhanced functionality for users. Progressively, the official on-line presence of the Foundation was enriched with new initiatives mainly on the collective blog section, such as scholars' contributions on specific topics, video interviews with experts or policy makers, and focused analyses on controversial policy matters. Moreover, ELIAMEP launched the "Ambassadors' Discussion Forum", a discussion forum on international relations and politics, and two blog Columns. The "Book Presentation Column" proposes online synopses of recent social sciences publications and the "International Column" provides a selection of interesting articles or interviews originally published in other international and European media portals.

Furthermore, ELIAMEP aims to establish content partnerships with on-line newspapers in Greece and European / international information portals. These partnerships can be vital in enhancing the dissemination and increasing the visibility of ELIAMEP research activities.

This dynamic context has already led to the increase in the average number of unique visitors. According to the latest statistics data, the average number of unique visitors per month is 13.000, most of them coming from Greece, United States and Europe.

ELIAMEP's digital presence optimisation is an ongoing process involving active participation of all members of the Foundation. Our principal aim is to establish a web-based environment where creative / viable ideas and action potentials are generated and consequently to promote a kind of "academic activism".





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Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow

Janis Emmanouilidis
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Marina Nikolova
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Turkish Politics

Activities of ELIAMEP's Research Team

In February 2008, **Dia Anagnostou**, Senior Research Fellow, presented the results of the EUROREG project in the Conference on Social Cohesion, held in Charles II University in Madrid, and gave a lecture on "Europeanisation and the Protection of Minority Rights: Institutional Mechanisms and Domestic Effects", at the Hertie School of Government in Berlin. In early May, she participated in the fourth consortium meeting of JURISTRAS in Berlin, which was organised by Bielefeld University. From mid-May through the end of June, Dia was a Visiting Fellow at the Law Department of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. On 25-26 September 2008, she presented a paper entitled "Does European Human Rights Law Matter?" at the conference "The European Legal Field" held at the EUI, Florence. On 30 October - 2 November she participated in the 5th JURISTRAS consortium meeting which took place in Istanbul, and on 16 December, she presented the results of the JURISTRAS research project at the conference "Human Rights in European and Global Perspectives" organised by the Centre for European and Policy Studies in cooperation with the European Commission in Brussels. Dia Anagnostou has been awarded a Fernand Braudel Senior Fellowship by the EUI for the spring semester of 2009 and a Marie Curie Fellowship for 2009-2011.

Ekavi Athanassopoulou, Senior Research Fellow, participated in a brain- storming meeting on 2-3 December in relation to the joint TESEV-ELIAMEP policy paper on "Turkey-Greece Co-operation in the 21st Century".

Professor **Theodore Couloumbis**, Vice President of the Board of Directors, participated in a number of ELIAMEP events. He chaired the session of the public lecture of HRH Prince of Jordan el Hassan bin Talal on "Commonalities of the Eurasian Seas" held in Athens

on 3 November 2008. He also coordinated the discussion on "Priorities of Georgia's Foreign Policy after the August War" with Ms. Eka Tkeshelashvili, Foreign Minister of Georgia, held in Athens on 6 November 2008. Professor Couloumbis has been continuing with his monthly column entitled "Triti Gnomi" with the Athens daily, Kathimerini.

Lia Deligianni, ELIAMEP's Library & Publications Coordinator, attended the International Library Conference on "Designing Libraries of the Future" organised by the Goethe Institute in Athens on 10-11 June.

In January 2008, **Thanos Dokos**, Director General, participated in the Gulf Forum 2008 on "Gulf Security: Views and Options," organised by the Gulf Research Center (GRC) in Riyadh. Later in the month he attended a meeting of EuroMeSCo's Steering Group and Steering Committee in Rome. In March 2008, he participated in the 2008 Brussels Forum, organised by the German Marshall Fund of the United States. He also lectured at the "2008 American Studies Seminar" organised by the American Embassy and the Institute for International Relations, in Athens. In April he attended a seminar on "Iran after the Elections", organised by the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris and later in the month he participated in a conference on "The Western Balkans in 2008" organised by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Tutzing, Bavaria. In May, Thanos Dokos attended a meeting of the Greek-Turkish Forum in Istanbul and organised an international conference in Athens, in cooperation with the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on "Climate Change and the Impact on Human Security". He also edited a policy paper under the same title. In June he organised a training seminar in Athens on Mediterranean security for young diplomats from Greece and OSCE's Mediterranean partners, in the

context of Greece's presidency of the OSCE. He also participated in a conference on the "Role of Intelligence Agencies", organised by the Hellenic National Intelligence Service, and at the end of the month coordinated the Halki International Seminars 2008, organised by ELIAMEP at the small Aegean island of Halki, near Rhodes. During this period, he lectured at the Diplomatic Academy, the National Security School and the Joint War College, in Athens and Thessaloniki accordingly, and he contributed an essay on "Arms Race in the Mediterranean" in the 2008 Mediterranean Yearbook, published by the Barcelona-based CIDOB and IEMed. In July 2008, and again in December, Thanos Dokos attended international meetings on Middle East Regional Security and Cooperation, held in Athens. In September he attended the 2008 Global Strategic Review, organised by the IISS in Geneva, and later in the month a conference held by the Balkan Trust of Democracy in Belgrade and a NATO Advanced Research Workshop in Skopje. In October, he attended EuroMeSCo's General Assembly in Amman, an Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP) Directors' meeting in Brussels and was a discussant at the EU Institute for Security Studies' annual CFSP conference in Paris. In November, he attended a meeting of the Arab Reform Initiative's Secretariat in Madrid and was a speaker at a conference on Energy and Foreign Policy, held in Athens. He also briefed a visiting delegation of Indonesia's National Resilience Institute on regional security developments and coordinated a panel on "Climate Change and the Impact on Human Security" at the annual conference of Transparency International that was held in Athens. During this period, he lectured at the National Security School, the Joint War College and the Naval Academy, in Athens and Thessaloniki respectively, organised two training seminars for Ministry of Defence officials, and published an ELIAMEP Thesis on "Searching for a Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle".

In January, April and June 2008 Janis A. Emmanouilidis, Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, participated in three meetings of the US-European Working Group on Security and Defence, a project jointly initiated and organised by the Bertelsmann Foundation and the RAND Corporation. In January, he attended the second EU Governance Forum organised by the European Policy Centre (EPC) and chaired by Simon Hix. In April 2008, he participated in a seminar organised by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations (Clingendael) entitled "Exploring the Scope of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP): Towards New Forms of Partnership?" In May he published the first issue of the new publication series ELIAMEP Thesis on "Differentiated Europe - Nine Recommendations". Together with the other members of the L'Esprit de Sel Group, a small advisory group to Marek Siwiec, Vice President of the European Parliament, Janis A. Emmanouilidis presented a report on "Giving Globalisation a European Face" to the European Parliament on May 14, 2008. On May 23, 2008, Janis A. Emmanouilidis participated in the launch of the report "Think Global - Act European" (www.tgae.eu) in Paris. In June, he published an ELIAMEP Policy Paper entitled "Conceptualising a Differentiated Europe". In July 2008, he participated and spoke at an international conference entitled "The EU and its Neighbours: In Search of New Forms of Partnership" organised by ELIAMEP and the Bertelsmann Foundation. In this context, he also published a paper discussing alternative forms of how to associate and integrate neighbouring European countries into the EU beneath the level of full membership. In September 2008, he spoke at the 18th Economic Forum in Krynica, Poland, and at the 3rd Think Tank Forum organised by Notre Europe, Institut Aspen France and Fondation pour l'Innovation politique (Fondapol) in cooperation with the OECD in Paris. In November 2008, Janis A. Emmanouilidis participated and spoke at an international conference in Tbilisi, Georgia, which

explored the perspectives of a European strategy for the Southern Caucasus. On November 21, he was discussant at the 12th Europaforum organised by the Austria Institute for European and Security Policy (AIES) in Vienna, Austria. On 27/28 November 2008, Janis A. Emmanouilidis participated in a meeting of the L'Esprit de Sel Group in Kiev, Ukraine. In December 2008 he published an ELIAMEP Thesis entitled "The Fall of the Berlin Wall 2.0?", which discusses the political implications of the current financial and economic crisis for the EU.

Daniel Faas, Marie Curie Research Fellow (FP6), chaired a session on "Sociocultural Dimensions in International Settings" at the American Educational Research Association Conference in New York on 28 March. At the same venue, he also presented a paper on "Toward a Multicultural Europe? Analysing Geography, History and Civic Education Curricula in Greece, Germany and England". On 30 April, he guest-lectured at the College Year in Athens - a study abroad programme for US students - on "Citizenship and Cultural Diversity in Europe and North America". Dr. Faas also participated in the fourth EMILIE project meeting in Riga in early May and presented two papers at the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Conference in Istanbul in late May. Together with Nicola Savvides of Oxford University, he co-authored a paper on "European Identities: A Comparative Analysis of Young People's Responses at a State School and a European School in England". His latest articles were published in the British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 29, No. 1 (January 2008) and European Educational Research Journal, vol. 7, no. 1 (March 2008).

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Research Fellow, presented a paper entitled "Politics of Secularism in Turkey: On the Redefinition of a Contested Concept" at the 9th Mediterranean Research Meeting, Tuscany on 12-15 March 2008. He also participated in the Wilton Park

Conference "Turkey's Accession Process to the European Union" held in Istanbul on 31 March-3 April 2008. He presented a paper entitled "Europeanisation of Minority Rights: The Cases of Greece and Turkey" in the CES-METU Workshop "Experiencing Europeanisation", hosted by the Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara on 24 April 2008 and gave a presentation on intercultural dialogue at the EuroMeSCo Seminar "Capitalising on Euro-Syrian Relations: From Tensions to Cooperation" which was held in Damascus on 15-17 May 2008. He published the following book chapters entitled: "Greek and Greek Cypriot Views of Turkey's Accession to the European Union: On the Endurance of a Spectacular Paradigmatic Shift" in Meltem Müftüler-Bac and Yannis A. Stivachtis (eds.), 'Turkey and the European Union: Dilemmas, Constraints and Opportunities' (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2008) and "Europe Overshadowed: Reciprocity as a Race to the Bottom in Religious Freedom" in Othon Anastasakis, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Kerem Oktem (eds.), 'Under the Long Shadows of Europe: Greeks and Turks in the Era of Post-Nationalism' (Leiden: Brill, 2009). He also published an ELIAMEP Thesis in July 2008 under the title "Natural Gas Corridors in Southeastern Europe and European Energy Security". He participated in the EuroMeSCO Annual Conference which took place in Amman on 15-16 October 2008, the EU-Turkey Observatory Conference in Berlin on 5-6 December 2008 and a conference on EU-Turkey relations organised in Nicosia by the Glafcos Clerides Institute of Euro-Democracy on 18 December 2008.

Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow, presented EMILIE's research findings on multicultural education in the EU at the Think&Act conference in Madrid on "Social Cohesion in Europe". In February, she participated in two meetings at the EU-ISS in Paris on "European Interests and Strategic Options. Bringing together EUISS & EU Think Tanks", and on "Democracy, Transition & Reform: What Role for the EU?" In the

context of the Initiative for Peacebuilding project that ELIAMEP is a member of, Ruby participated in a management meeting in Brussels in early March and also in the training on Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice. She gave a lecture on EU integration in the Jean Monnet seminar series at the University of Athens organised by the Centre for Comparative Educational Policy and Communication in March 2008 and a talk on Croatia's EU accession at IDOS' graduate seminar series on the Western Balkans in Athens (May 2008). In April 2008, she participated in an international conference organised by CEREM in Paris on "Comment Sécuriser le Développement Durable en Méditerranée? - l'Union pour la Méditerranée". Ruby also participated in the "Think Global - Act European" initiative launched by Notre Europe and Fondation pour l'Innovation Politique that brought together European Think Tanks to produce proposals for the next Council Troika and co-authored a paper with Janis A. Emanouilidis on "Combining Pragmatism and Vision - The Future of EU enlargement". In June, Ruby gave a talk on "Pax Europaea: EU Challenges and Prospects in Eurasia, Africa and the Middle East" at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington DC and also took part in the conference on "Transatlantic Perspectives on the Wider Black Sea Region" also organised by the Wilson Center. In July 2008, she participated in the conference co-organised by ELIAMEP and the Bertelsmann Stiftung "The EU and its Neighbours: In Search of New Forms of Partnership". In the context of the network, Initiative for Peacebuilding, Ruby published a paper assessing Greek Overseas Development Assistance entitled "Ten years of Greek Development Cooperation and Peacebuilding: Challenges and Recommendations". She co-authored two project reports with Anna Triandafyllidou on discrimination in the Greek workplace and the challenge of migration, and on political challenges arising from migration in Greece in the framework of the EMILIE project. She also took part in an EMILIE project management meeting in Paris

in late November. Ruby participated in the European Science Foundation workshop hosted by ELIAMEP on migration policies, and co-authored a paper (along with A. Lyberaki, M. Petronoti and A. Triandafyllidou) comparing European and North American experiences with migration policies in the Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies. Also in November, she spoke on the impact of the financial crisis on the future of the Western Balkans at a workshop organised by the Bertelsmann Stiftung with the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Challenges for the next EU Presidency, while in early December, she participated in a workshop part of the 'Talks on the Hill' series of the Asia-Europe Foundation in Singapore on "Ethnicity Mobilised: The Dilemma of Multicultural Politics".

Thanos Maroukis, Research Fellow, is working on the research project CLANDESTINO regarding estimates on undocumented migration. In January 2008, he completed a case study on the integration/exclusion channels of the new Muslim communities of Greece. During the same month he took part in the meeting of the IDEA project. In March, he attended a conference on the "Intercultural Dimension in Life-long Learning Education" organised by the National Centre of Verification of Ongoing Occupational Training (EKEPIS) and the Institute of Labour (INE) of the General Confederation of Workers in Greece. During that period he also attended two seminars organised by the British Embassy in Athens around the issue of tackling extremism in the European changing communities. In April, he participated in the conference-workshop "(Irregular) Transit Migration in Europe: Theory, Politics, Research Methodology and Ethics" organised by COMPAS, Oxford and Koc University, Istanbul. He co-authored with Professor Anna Triandafyllidou the paper "Immigration Flows and the Management of the EU's Southern Maritime Borders: The Case of the Greek Islands" to be published in the collection of the CIDOB Foundation (Spain): 'Immigration Flows and Management of the UE's Southern Maritime Border'. In

June 2008 he presented a paper on “Europe’s Policies on Migration” at the Seminar for Young Diplomats from the OSCE Mediterranean Partners and OSCE Members of the OSCE Chairmanship Quintet. In December 2008, he concluded the study regarding estimates on undocumented migration in Greece in the context of the research project CLANDESTINO. This study will be published in 2009 in the book edited by Anna Triandafyllidou, “Irregular Migration in Europe: Myths and Realities”. In September 2008, he participated in the 2nd meeting of the CLANDESTINO project in Hamburg. In November, he gave a lecture on Irregular Migration in Southern Europe at College Year in Athens. In mid November, he disseminated the findings of this work in the paper “Social Capital in Low Status Jobs: Staying In, Moving Out and How? Reflections on the Migrant-supplied Care and Domestic Services Industry in Greece” presented at the conference “Post-Immigration Minorities, Religion and National Identities”, organised by the Centre for the study of Ethnicity and Citizenship, University of Bristol, UK. In December 2008, he published the paper Maroukis, T. & Triandafyllidou, A., “Immigration Flows and the Management of the EU’s Southern Maritime Borders: The Case of the Greek Islands” in Documentos CIDOB Migraciones, No. 17, Immigration Flows and the Management of the EU’s Southern Maritime Borders, 2008, Barcelona: CIDOB, pp. 63-83. During the same month, he and Martina Fava of the NGO ‘Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants’ discussed the findings and policy suggestions of the Greek case study on irregular migration with Greek State officials, NGOs and selected journalists working on the field of migration.

On 25-27 September 2008, Professor **George Pagoulatos**, Senior Research Fellow, presented a paper (co-authored with Spyros Blavoukos) on “Coalition Building in the EU: The Rise and Decline of the ‘Southern Bloc’”, at the ECPR Standing Group on the EU, Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU

Politics, University of Latvia, Riga. On 17-18 October, he participated at the LSE/Policy Network/ELIAMEP project meeting “An EU ‘Fit for Purpose’ in the Global Age”, in Hydra, and gave a paper on the topic: “What Role for the EU in the Regulation of Financial Capitalism?” The revised project contributions will be published as a collective volume in 2009-2010. In October and November 2008, Professor Pagoulatos was one of several international experts who contributed to the working paper of the Spanish ‘Fundacion Ideas’, “New Ideas on Facing the Financial Crisis”, presented to Prime Minister Zapatero prior to the G-20 meeting in Washington. On 30 October 2008, Professor Pagoulatos participated in an open panel discussion at the Karatzas Auditorium of the National Bank of Greece, organised by the European Union Studies Association of Greece (EUSA-Greece), on the topic: “International Financial Crisis and Europe: Tentative Conclusions”. In November 2008, he appeared on several television channels commenting on the US elections. On 2 December he spoke at the launch of the Greek edition of Mark Leonard’s book “What China Thinks”.

In January 2008, **Elizabeth Phocas**, Deputy Director of ELIAMEP, participated in the preparatory meeting of the Balkan Communication Network which was hosted by TASAM in Tekirdag.

From January to June, **Evangelia Psychogiopoulou**, Research Fellow, conducted a series of interviews with state officials, Greek judges, Parliamentarians, consultative human rights bodies and independent authorities, as well as lawyers and NGO representatives within the frame of the JURISTRAS project. On 8-9 May 2007, she participated in the 4th JURISTRAS consortium meeting (Berlin), and delivered a presentation on litigation before the European Court of Human Rights against three states party to the ECHR: Greece, Austria and Italy. Her article “Accessing Culture at the EU level: An Indirect

Contribution to Cultural Rights Protection?” was published in ‘Cultural Human Rights’, a volume which was edited by Professor Francesco Francioni and Professor Martin Scheinin. At the end of May, Evangelia joined UNESCO as a consultant within the framework of the programme implemented by the Section of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the preparation of the second ordinary session of the Intergovernmental Committee of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. She will be closely associated with the elaboration of a study on preferential treatment for developing countries, in the light of Article 16 of the Convention. In the framework of the JURISTRAS project and together with Dia Anagnostou, Evangelia completed the case study on supranational rights litigation, implementation and the domestic impact of the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in Greece. The resulting report a) inquires into litigation and legal mobilisation before the ECtHR; b) describes the mechanisms and processes of implementation of ECtHR rulings; and c) examines the factors which constrain or conversely promote efficient implementation of ECtHR case law. In September 2008, Evangelia authored an article entitled “The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the European Community: The Competence and the Implementation Quest”. Her work will form part of a collective volume edited by Professor Toshiyuki Kono, Professor Jan Wouters and Dr. Steven Van Uytsel. Within the framework of the programme implemented by UNESCO on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, on 11-12/9/2008, Evangelia took part at the working session on preferential treatment in the field of culture for developing countries. On 31/10-1/11 2008, she participated in the 5th JURISTRAS consortium meeting, held in Istanbul, and on 8-12/12/2008, in the second ordinary session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions,

held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Since December 2008, Evangelia has been entrusted with the scientific and management tasks associated with the preparation of a study commissioned by the European Parliament on “Collecting Societies and Cultural Diversity in the Music Sector”.

In July, Dr. **Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos**, Research Associate, participated in the annual conference of RECOWE (Reconciling Work and Welfare) which took place in Oslo. This is an EU-funded network of excellence in which ELIAMEP participates, focusing not only on European Integration but also on national welfare policies. Dimitri presented a new paper on the alternative roles of the European Union in fostering the European Employment Strategy and the Open Method of Coordination and on the advantages and disadvantages of these two policy tools. In October, he gave a paper on Greece in the conference on “Southern European Democracies: Legacies of the Past and International Constraints”, organised in Lisbon by the Portuguese Institute of Social Sciences. And in December, he gave a paper in a workshop at the University of Edinburgh, also linked to RECOWE. His talk was on “The Politics of Flexicurity in Greece”. Finally, also in December, Dimitri participated in two panel discussions in the context of ‘Money Show’ at the Athens Hilton Hotel, namely a panel on European Integration, where he presented a new book written in Spanish by Stelios Stavridis, and a panel on civil society in contemporary Greece.

In February 2008, **Anna Triandafyllidou** gave a talk on “Greek Education Policy and the Challenges of Migration,” at the Graduate Seminar of the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Migrations (CEDEM) at the University of Liege in Belgium. She was an invited speaker on “Migrant Empowerment through Civic Participation of Foreign Residents in 25 Countries” at an International Seminar organised by the Hellenic Ministry of Interior in Athens, on 30 March 2008. In April

2008, she delivered a talk on “Long Term Immigrants in Greek Society” at the 9th Symposium of the Association of Studies on Constitutional Law Aristovoulos Manesis in Ioannina. She also chaired a Session on “The Eastern Mediterranean Transit Migration Space”, at an international IMISCOE conference on Transit Migration in the European Space organised at Koc University, in Istanbul, on 18-20 April. In June 2008, she participated as invited speaker at a roundtable on “Migration, Security and Migrants’ Rights” in the context of an international symposium on Migration from a National, European and Global Perspective organised by the UniCredit Venice Forum and the Foundation Giorgio Cini, in Venice, and she also gave the final lecture on “Multiculturalismo e Integrazione degli Immigrati: Una Prospettiva Europea”, at the Summer School on the Sociology of Migration organised by the University of Genova and the University of Turin in Genova. She was invited to give a talk on “Irregular Migration and the Management of the EU’s Southern Maritime Borders: The Case of the Greek Islands”, in a workshop on “Climate Change and Migration. The Human Security Risk in the Mediterranean Region”, at the 13th International Anti-Corruption Conference, 30 October-2 November 2008, Athens. She also presented a recent study based on the EMILIE research project with regard to “Discrimination in the Greek Labour Market. The Case of Immigrant Workers” at a conference on “Employment and Integration of Migrants into Local Contexts” organised by Harokopeio University of Athens, in Athens, 31 October 2008. On 6-7 October 2008, she gave a seminar on “Can Europe Make History?” at the University of Aarhus, School of European Studies and International History, in Denmark. In early October she also convened a European Science Foundation Explotatory Workshop on “The Governance of International Migration”. The workshop was held in Athens at ELIAMEP with the participation of 17 experts from North America and Europe and was fully financed by the European Science Foundation. On 27-29 November, she co-organised the fifth EMILIE project meeting on immigrant political rights and political

participation, which was hosted by the Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) in Paris.

Loukas Tsoukalis, President of the Board of Directors, was appointed as a member of the high level group of experts on World 2025 set up by the European Commission and as a member of the Academic Committee set up by the President of the European Parliament. He was invited to join several European organisations and think tanks as member of the advisory council. He is also co-chair of a new project on the EU in the Global Age launched by Policy Network, the European Institute of the LSE and ELIAMEP. The first meeting of this project was held in London on 22-23 May in which he presented the main paper. He also wrote papers for Europe’s World, the publication of Italianieuropei, and for the collective project of leading European think tanks (Think Global-Act European) among others. He lectured at the University of Potsdam on 22 January, spoke on the “Choices for the EU” at the meeting held by Policy Network and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in London on 7-8 February, participated in the Progressive Governance Summit in London on 4-5 April, spoke on “More Politics into EU Policies?” at an EPC meeting held in Brussels on 7 April, delivered the concluding keynote address at the 50th anniversary conference of the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki on 24 May, and spoke on the “Political Dynamics of Europe” in Istanbul on 24 June. He chaired the introductory session and made the concluding remarks in the conference jointly organised by ELIAMEP and the Bertelsmann Stiftung on “The EU and its Neighbours: In Search of New Forms of Partnership”, held in Sounio (Greece) on 4-6 July. He lectured on European political economy and transition economies at the seminar for young leaders from southeastern Europe in Neuhausen (Germany) on 6 September. He took part in the last meeting of the high level group of experts on the World 2025 set up by the European Commission and wrote a paper on “Thoughts on Governance and Power in the World

System". He spoke on "Changing institutions and the challenge for democracy" at the conference on "The Future of Social Democracy" organised by Policy Network and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and held in London on 15 September. On 13 October, he participated in the steering committee meeting of the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute in Florence, and on 16-18 October he participated in the seminar held in Hydra (Greece) as part of the project "An EU 'fit for purpose' in the Global Age", jointly run by Policy Network, LSE and ELIAMEP. He spoke on the "Battle of Ideas and the Role of ELIAMEP" at the 20th anniversary celebration of the Foundation held in Athens on 22 October. On 4 November, he spoke at a conference held in Brussels on the 10th anniversary of the passing away of Constantine Karamanlis, organised by the Foundation of Constantine Karamanlis and CEPS; on 5 November, he spoke on "The EU in a Changing World: Challenges and Choices" to members of the Danish Society for Foreign Policy in Copenhagen; on 6-7 November, he took part in the meeting of the Council members of ECFR; and on 7-9 November, he took part in the meeting of the Trilateral Commission in Paris, in which he chaired the session on "Mastering Global Challenges: The Role and Responsibility of Rising Global Actors". He also took part in the panel discussion on "Imaginer de Nouveaux Instruments en Faveur de la Cohésion Sociale et du Dialogue Social" organised by the French presidency of the EU in Paris on 12 November. On 24 November, he participated in the annual conference of BEPA of the European Commission and spoke at the post-summit briefing of

the EPC in Brussels. On 25 November, he took part in the seminar held at Sciences Po in Paris as part of the project "An EU 'Fit for Purpose' in the Global Age". He also spoke at the 20th anniversary event of ELIAMEP in Thessaloniki on 18 December.

From January to June, **Stefanos Xenarios**, Research Fellow, was involved in the coordination of the project "Climate Change and Human Security" implemented by the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs in cooperation with ELIAMEP, in the framework of the Greek Presidency of the Human Security Network. On 17-18 January he attended an experts' consultation meeting in Florence, organised by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) Innocenti Research Centre. On 1-2 February Stefanos participated in the Symposium "Climate Change, Environment and Sustainable Development" organised by the 'Vima Ideon' in Patras. From April to June, he supervised the publication of the four policy papers prepared in the framework of the Climate Change and Human Security project. The final version of the policy papers and a concise compilation of the most significant climate change and human security reports were bounded in a book format entitled "Climate Change: Addressing the Impact on Human Security" edited by Thanos Dokos. The book was distributed in the International Conference on Climate Change and Human Security held in Athens on 29-30 May and in the parallel Annual Ministerial meeting of the Human Security Network conducted on 30 May. On 20-25 May, Stefanos also took part in the Euro-Mediterranean Youth Forum on Water and Intercultural Dialogue, held in Turin, Italy.



FINANCIAL STATEMENT

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

HELLENIC FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN AND FOREIGN POLICY
NON-PROFIT PRIVATE LAW ENTITY
BALANCE SHEET AT 31st DECEMBER 2008 (FISCAL YEAR 01/01/2008-31/12/2008)

ASSETS

B. FORMATION EXPENSES

4. Other Formation Expenses

C. FIXED ASSETS

II. Tangible Assets

3. Buildings and leasehold improvements

6. Furniture and fixtures

Total Tangible Assets

III. Investments and other Long-Term Receivables

7. Other long-term receivables

Total Fixed Assets (CII+CIII)

D. CURRENT ASSETS

II. Receivables

1. Trade Debtors

11. Sundry Debtors

III. Securities

3. Mutual Fund Shares

IV. Liquid Assets

1. Cash in hand

2. Cash at bank

TOTAL ASSETS (DII+DIII+DIV)

E. PREPAYMENTS AND ACCRUED INCOME

1. Prepaid Expense

GRAND TOTAL ASSETS (B+C+D+E)

LIABILITIES

A. EQUITY

IV. Capital Reserves

1. Reserve (surplus) of prior years

2. Reserve (surplus) of closing year

Total Equity (AI+AIV+AV)

B. PROVISIONS

2. Provisions for contingent liabilities

Total Provisions (B1)

C. LIABILITIES

I. Long Term Liabilities

2. Bank Loans

II. Current Liabilities

1. Trade Creditors

5. Liabilities for taxes-dues

6. Social Security Organizations

11. Sundry Creditors

Total Liabilities (CI+CII)

D. ACCRUALS AND DIFFERED INCOME

1. Accrued Expenses

GRAND TOTAL LIABILITIES (A+B+C+D)

APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT AT 31st DECEMBER 2008
(ACCOUNTING PERIOD 01/01/2008-31/12/2008)

I. TRADING INCOME/EXPENSES

INCOME

Grants & Sponsorships

Donors

Income from Conference Participation Fees

Total Trading Income

Other Services

GRAND TOTAL TRADING INCOME

MINUS: 1. Administration expenses

Salaries

Fees

Electricity, Communications, Insurance, etc.

Taxes & Stamps

General expenses

Direct expenses for projects

Depreciation of assets

Partial Operating (surplus) Results

PLUS: 4. Income from interest

MINUS: 1. interest on Bank Loans

Total operating (surplus) Results

II. PLUS/MINUS: EXTRAORDINARY & NON OPERATING INCOME/EXPENSES

1. Extraordinary Income

1. Extraordinary Expenses

TOTAL PROFIT

Minus: Total Depreciation of assets

Minus: Depreciation on operating cost

NET PROFIT BEFORE TAXES

AMOUNTS OF CLOSING YEAR 2008	AMOUNTS OF CLOSING YEAR 2008
Net results/surplus of period	-164.890,74
(+) : Balance from prior years results	953.556,34
TOTAL BROUGHT FORWARD	788.665,60

Athens, 17 February 2009

THE HEAD OF THE ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT
IOANNIS POULAKIS