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## ELIAMEP Objectives

ELIAMEP's mission is to provide a forum for public debate on issues of European integration and international relations and to conduct scientific research that contributes to a better informed and documented knowledge of the European and international environment. 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

*2007 was a successful year for ELIAMEP as demonstrated by its increasing participation in research projects, networks of institutes and international fora and its visibility in the Greek and international media.*

*I am also pleased to report that one of ELIAMEP's projects -in the framework of the 'Europe for Citizens' programme- aimed at engaging citizens across Greece in an interactive discussion on the future of the EU and European values received the European Commission's Golden Stars Award. ELIAMEP maintained its involvement in its traditional areas of interest, namely developments in the European Union, Greek-Turkish relations, Southeastern Europe, and the Middle East. In addition, the role of the transatlantic community in stabilising regions in Europe's periphery remained a focal point for our activities.*

*At the same time, the Foundation has upgraded its 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.*

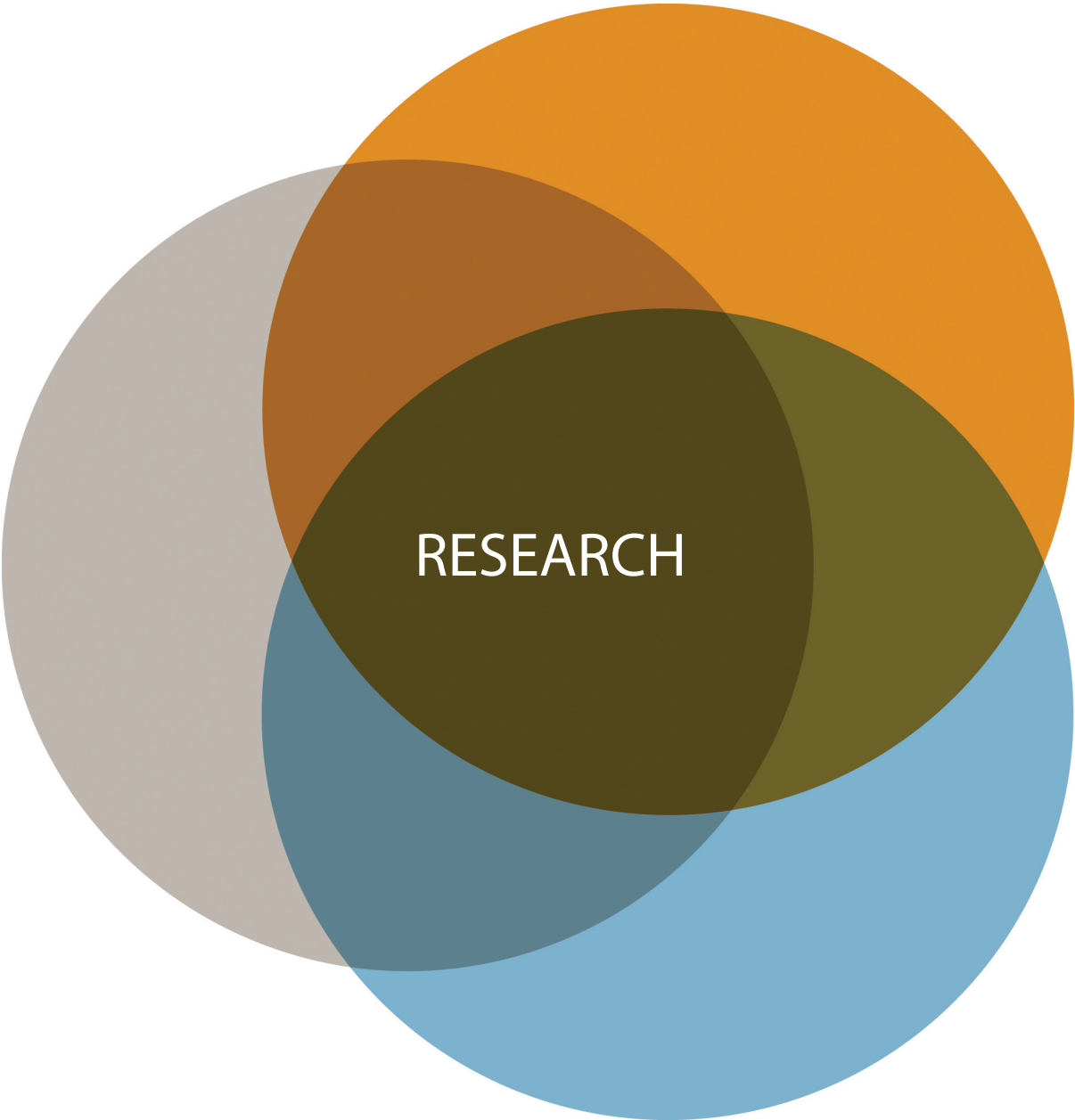
*In the context of our research activities, a substantial number of books, articles and research papers have been published, in addition to four issues of the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies.*

*ELIAMEP continued to put strong emphasis on "Track-II" activities and training seminars, as well as policy-oriented projects and publications.*

*In 2008 ELIAMEP will celebrate its 20th anniversary. This occasion provides a good opportunity to assess the past work and activities of the Foundation, and to re-define its present priorities and future courses.*



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. Regional Developments, National and International Security
3. Transatlantic Relations
4. Migration

# European Integration

## INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

### ELIAMEP Receives European Commission's Golden Star

ELIAMEP's initiative aimed at engaging citizens across Greece in an interactive discussion on the future of the EU and European values received the European Commission's Golden Stars Award.

ELIAMEP's project **Communicating EU Values Across Greece** was organised in the framework of the 'Europe for Citizens' programme. The European Commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Youth, Mr. Ján Figel', presented the Golden Star Awards to ten projects that have encouraged active civic participation on EU issues in Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Poland, Slovakia, Sweden and the UK. The award ceremony took place in Brussels on 8 November 2007 during the Europe for Citizens Forum 2007. Commissioner Figel' remarked: "I am very pleased to see the levels of commitment and inspiration that characterise today's prize-winning projects. My warmest congratulations go to them. Their innovative character and enthusiasm clearly show the side of Europe which inspires, unites and spreads the message of tolerance and mutual understanding."

Communicating EU Values Across Greece launched a dynamic campaign in a number of cities and islands on the substance of the EU Constitution, EU values and the future of the EU. In addition, a special event for the Greek media was organised in Athens while special attention was paid to engage the three main immigrant populations in Greece -Albanians, Bulgarians and Russians, NGOs and immigrant organisations in an interactive debate on EU values. An "easy-reader" booklet on the EU published in Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian and Russian contributed to this effort.



*Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General of ELIAMEP receives the Golden Stars Award from Ms. Brenda King, European Economic and Social Committee. From left to right Mr. Napoleon Xanthoulis, Students Association for International Affairs-SAFIA, Ms. Elli Siapkidou, ELIAMEP and Professor Panagiotis Liargovas, Hellenic Center for European Studies-EKEM*



## RESEARCH PROJECTS

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 that find state authorities to have breached provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) trigger broader domestic reform and expand justice for individuals and communities. The project mainly focuses on cases in which individuals file a complaint against states on claims that the latter violate their right to privacy and family life (Art. 8 ECHR), religious freedom (Art. 9 ECHR), freedom of expression (Art. 10 ECHR), freedom of assembly and association (Art. 11 ECHR) and the prohibition of discrimination (Article 14 ECHR). Cases brought by aliens and individuals asserting a minority belonging, cases raising gender issues and cases that in one way or another disclose discriminatory practices are studied as well.

During the first year of the project, all partner teams produced state of the art reports (Strasbourg Court Jurisprudence and Human Rights in the Country under Study: An Overview of Litigation, Implementation and Domestic Reform), which sketched the broad contours of litigation patterns in Strasbourg and offered a first glimpse of national authorities' attempts to implement ECtHR decisions.

Abridged versions of the country-based state of the art reports were published in a collective volume (The European Court of Human Rights, Democracy and Minorities: An Inquiry into Litigation and Domestic Implementation in Nine Countries by the European Commission). In cooperation with the Bulgarian and Romanian research teams, the coordinator, Dr. Dia Anagnostou, also prepared a theoretical report, entitled Supranational Rights Litigation and the Domestic Impact of Strasbourg Court Jurisprudence. The purpose of the report was to conceptualise processes and mechanisms whereby legal norms of human rights diffuse domestically through Strasbourg Court decisions, and single out the factors and conditions which are likely to contribute to implementation of Strasbourg decisions and bring about policy change.

Since June 2007, the empirical phase of the project has been running, devoted to the preparation of nine case-study reports for each country under examination. These reports will: a) assess national patterns of rights litigation in Strasbourg; b) evaluate state compliance and domestic implementation of Court judgments; and c) examine the impact of Court rulings on domestic legislative and policy reform.

EUROREG - Changing Interests and Identities in European  
Border Regions: EU Policies, Ethnic Minorities and  
Socio-political Transformation in Member States  
and Accession Countries



The EUROREG project (European Commission, FP6-506019, September 2004-August 2007) studied the links between European economic integration and ethnic minority mobilisation. It explored the effects of European integration on territorially concentrated ethnic minorities and their politics, as well as on their relations with national majorities and the state. The selected cases studied included nine cases of minority inhabited regions: Austria and the Burgenland region, the Basque country in Spain, Northern Ireland, the Slovene minority in Italy, and the region of western Thrace in Greece, Slovenia and its Italian minority, the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia and Romania, and the Muslim minority in southern Bulgaria.

The project examined whether and how changing opportunities and constraints induced by EU regional economic and human rights policies, alter patterns of local political participation and economic activity of local ethnic minorities and national majorities, their relations with national and ethnic political parties and state administration, as well as minority political and cultural demands vis-à-vis the central state. We also examined their influence on how local minorities and majorities view their identification with a national or ethnic community, their rights and

obligations as citizens of a state, as well as how they conceptualise 'Europe.' Best practices that promote minority-majority dialogue and co-operation were also identified and disseminated. Through the comparison between member states and accession countries we sought to cast light on the processes of social, political and economic transformation taking place in new EU member states.

The first collective EUROREG publication appeared in January 2007:

Anagnostou, D. Triandafyllidou, A. (guest editors) (2007) Regions, Minorities and European Integration, Special Issue in the Romanian Journal of Political Science, vol. 7, no. 1, January 2007.

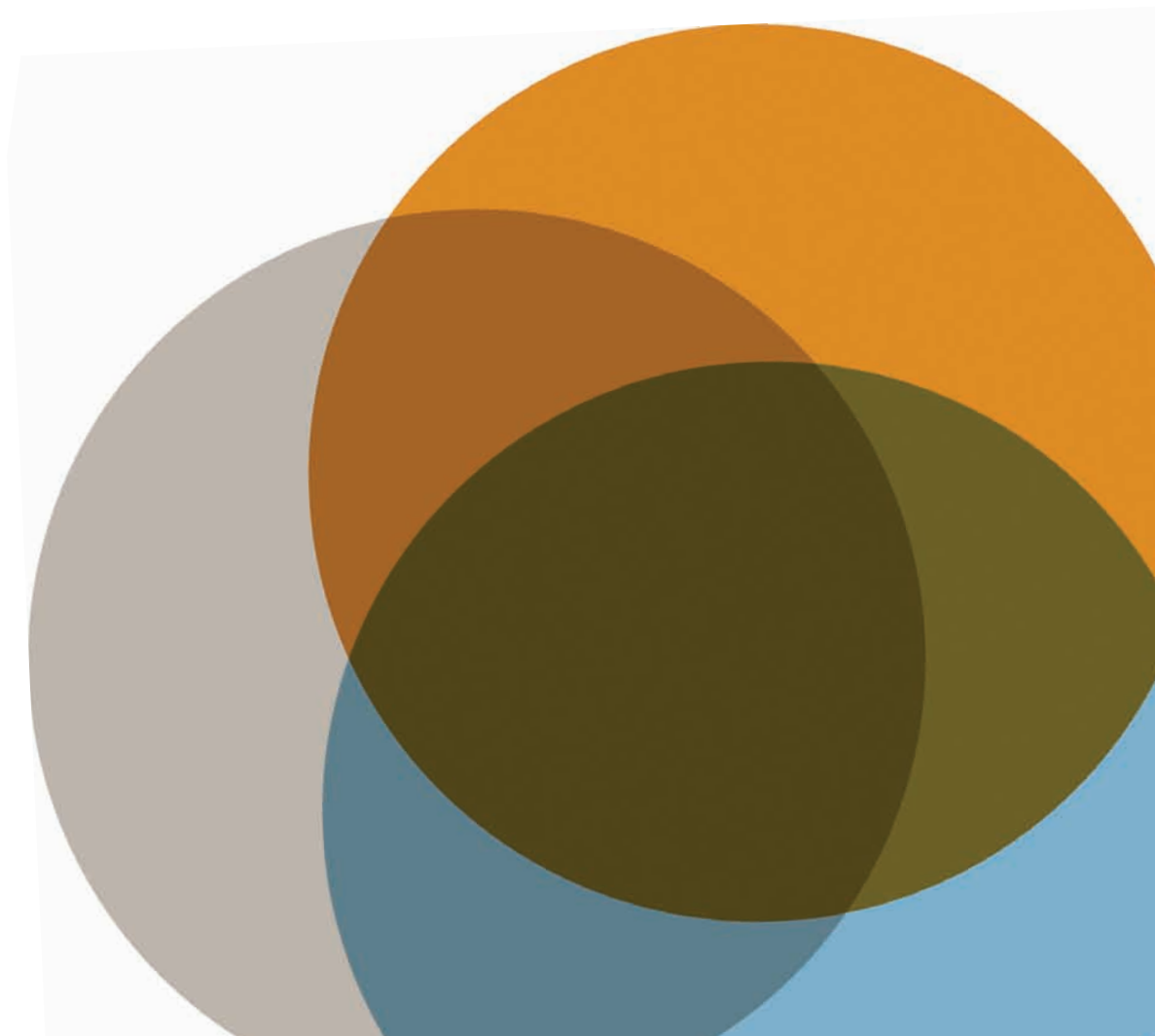




## STAVROS COSTOPOULOS RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

**Janis Emmanouilidis** joined ELIAMEP in October as **Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow**. His research interests will focus on the political and institutional reform of the enlarged European Union, the perspectives of differentiated integration in an EU 27+ and on issues related to the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. Between 1999-2007 Janis was a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Applied Policy Research (C•A•P), Munich. Prior to that he was a Research Fellow at the Institut fuer Europaeische Politik (IEP) in Bonn. **The fellowship is funded by the J.F. Costopoulos Foundation.**

**ELIAMEP also organised a number of events on economic and political issues relevant to European integration and the future of the Lisbon Treaty. Among these, the following public lectures, workshops and conferences contributed to a vivid debate on issues that are high on the political agenda in Greece and within the EU.**





## PROMOTING REFORMS



### Higher Education

Athens, 31 January 2007

ELIAMEP completed an empirical research on higher education in Greece in order to contribute to the public debate underway in Greece on university reform. The project consisted of collecting and analysing statistical data, conducting fieldwork research as well as interviews in various universities. Public opinion perceptions and the views of specific groups, and in particular students, graduates and employers were examined. A comparative analysis of other European countries' experience in tertiary education was also conducted in order to frame the present reforms and challenges in this field.

Following the publication of ELIAMEP's Policy Paper on Higher Education in Greece in the New European and International Environment, a follow-up public discussion between representatives of the academic community was organised on the autonomy of the Greek Universities.

### Breaking the Waves - Rethinking the Labour Market

Athens, 7 November 2007

The Danish Embassy in Greece in cooperation with ELIAMEP and KANEP (Greek Labour Academy) organised a symposium on "Breaking the Waves – Rethinking the Labour Market." On the basis of the successful Danish labour market model, the so-called flexicurity model, this conference aimed at providing insight into the ongoing Greek labour market reform processes and identifying relevant conclusions from the Danish experiences for the Greek case. High level key note speakers from Denmark and Greece participated. Around 100 participants representing a broad range of the relevant labour market actors in Greece attended the conference, including labour union representatives, parliamentarians, civil servants, organisations, academics, and journalists.



## OTHER EVENTS



### The European Constitution after (a Period of) Reflection

Athens, 12 March 2007

**Nikos Koutsiaras, Senior Research Fellow of ELIAMEP** and Lecturer at the University of Athens presented his new Policy Paper on the future of the European Constitution. The policy paper includes a discussion of the core challenges posed by the Constitutional Treaty, an assessment of the alternatives proposed during the period of reflection, and puts forward a set of scenarios and recommendations for the reform treaty.

## Europe and the Role of Civil Society

Athens, 29 March 2007

The Citizens' Movement in cooperation with ELIAMEP, the Citizens' Union PAREMVASSI, Evropaiki Ekfrassi, the Mediterranean Information Office for Environment, Culture and Sustainable Development (MIO-ECSDE), PRAKSIS and WWF Greece organised a conference with guest speaker **Mrs Margot Wallström, Vice-President of the European Commission.**

## Growth and Competitiveness in Europe: A Case for a Strong Cohesion Policy

Athens, 29 March 2007

ELIAMEP organised a lecture delivered by **Prof. Dr. Danuta Hübner, European Commissioner for Regional Policy.** Professor Hübner presented the evolution of European regional policy, from the changes it underwent to the role of regional policy today, in response to new global challenges and developments. The notion of convergence, competitiveness along with multi level governance and regulatory changes were the key factors of its success. As we are heading to the future, the merging of convergence and competitiveness and the implementation and use of new tools will constitute regional policy a major development tool inside and outside the EU. Additionally, Professor Hübner referred to the progress which has been made by Greece in participating in major initiatives of the EU's regional policy. Finally, she underlined the opportunities that regional policy offers for wider cooperation with regions and cities, and for the creation of a regional network around Europe.



*Prof. Dr. Danuta Hübner,  
European Commissioner  
for Regional Policy and  
Professor Loukas Tsoukalis,  
President of ELIAMEP*

## Foreign Policy Challenges for the European Union

Athens, 18 May 2007

In a closed discussion held at ELIAMEP, **Mr. Michael Gahler, Vice-President, External Affairs Committee, European Parliament** discussed with Greek academics and experts on EU affairs on the foreign policy challenges faced by the European Union at present.

## The European Union's Soft Power: A Force for Change

Athens, 24 October 2007

ELIAMEP organised a lecture delivered by **Mr. Carl Bildt, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden.** Minister Bildt spoke about EU's soft power as a force of change. Hard power may win wars but it is not adequate for the task of peace building. European integration is the only lasting guarantee of peace and prosperity for tortured regions such as the Balkans. Therefore, the issue of Kosovo, the approach of Europe towards Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia and FYROM and of course Turkey should be dealt in this context but with sharpened edges. Minister Bildt also reminded us that our neighbourhood extends to the Middle East. Europe's advantages, such as the fact that it is the world's largest integrated economy, the process of



*Mr. Carl Bildt, Minister of  
Foreign Affairs of Sweden  
(left), and Professor Loukas  
Tsoukalis, President  
of ELIAMEP (right)*

integration, and our close ties with our neighbours can be used against the big issues that the world confronts today, such as environmental change, terrorism, and energy security. Thus, the European Union can and should become more actively engaged in addressing these issues by using its own assets.



*From left to right: Professor Yiannis Valinakis, Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, Professor Panayiotis Ioakimidis and Mr. Stavros Lambrinidis*

### What Does the Reform Treaty Mean for the EU?

Athens, 17 December 2007

The central issue of this public discussion was the new Reform Treaty (Lisbon Treaty) which was signed in Lisbon on 13 December 2007. The core questions that were discussed by the panellists **Professor Yiannis Valinakis**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Professor Panayiotis Ioakimidis**, University of Athens and Member of the Board of ELIAMEP, and **Mr. Stavros Lambrinidis**, Member of the European Parliament, Socialist Group were the following: Does the Lisbon Treaty contribute to a more democratic European Union? Does it make European policy-making more efficient? And what role can it play as the starting point of a discussion on the future of Europe?

# Regional Developments, National and International Security

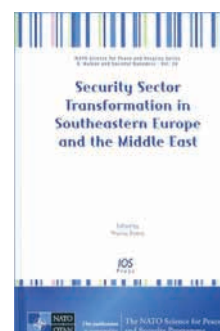


## PUBLICATIONS

In the spring of 2007 ELIAMEP completed a study on **Integrating Greece into the European Security Architecture: Greek Security Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**. The study aimed to provide a comprehensive overview of Greek security policy in terms of description of the regional security environment, threat assessment, defence planning, defence industry, current and future procurement decisions, participation to the European security architecture, soft security threats and challenges and policy options. The analysis of trends, threat assessment, predictions and recommendations were on a medium- to long-term basis, covering the next ten years (keeping, of course, in mind that ten years in the extremely fluid current international system is a rather long-time and many predictions and policy prescriptions may become quickly outdated and obsolete). The study was publicly presented on May 7<sup>th</sup> at the amphitheatre of the War Museum.



In the context of ELIAMEP's continuing commitment to the issue of Security Sector Reform in SEE, the Black Sea and the broader Middle East, the Foundation published a new collective volume, entitled **Security Sector Transformation in Southeastern Europe and the Middle East** (Thanos Dokos ed., Kluwer Publishers, Amsterdam). The volume was the outcome of two seminars organised by ELIAMEP in Tirana (27 - 29 February 2004) and Halki (7-11 September 2005) with the support of NATO's Science Programme. ELIAMEP is planning new workshops in the context of the Halki International Seminars, as well as other meetings with our counterparts in Southeastern Europe, the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and in close cooperation with the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP), the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI), and the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCO).





## RESEARCH PROJECTS

### Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP)

In 2007 ELIAMEP joined the EU funded Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP). IfP draws together the complementary geographic and thematic

expertise of 10 civil society organisations (and their networks) with offices across the EU and in conflict-affected countries. IfP partners have joined together to develop and promote international knowledge and expertise in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. IfP is a thematic project, exploring a number of cross-cutting issues in specific regions across four continents; emphasising the inclusion of those affected by conflict in influencing national and international policy debates and ensuring a stronger link between policy and practice.

The themes are: 1) mediation; 2) regional cooperation on environment, economy and natural resources; 3) security; 4) democratisation and transitional justice; 5) gender; and 6) capacity building and training.

In the context of these themes, IfP's activities include:

- **Collaborative, evidence-based research** linking policy and practice.
- **Policy dialogue** at all levels (local, national, regional and international) and between representatives of all relevant stakeholders.
- **Capacity-building** and shared learning for and amongst local and international civil society organisations, think-tanks and academic institutions, relevant governments and bi-lateral/multi-lateral institutions.
- **Training** and awareness raising to promote and enhance skills and knowledge amongst all target beneficiaries.

Geographically, IfP covers - in addition to EU Member States - the Balkans (Albania, Kosovo, Serbia) and Ukraine; the South Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, including the territories of Nagorny-Karabakh, South Ossetia and Abkhazia); the Middle East (Israel, Jordan, Palestinian Territories); Africa (Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan); Asia (Nepal, Aceh, Pakistan) and Latin America and the Caribbean (Andean region, Haiti, Guatemala, Honduras).

ELIAMEP will be particularly involved in the security cluster and in the cluster on capacity building and training.



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

This project is funded by the General Secretariat for Research and Technology (75% EU funds and 25% national funds). It addresses the importance of the connection of the natural gas pipeline networks of Greece and Turkey, not only for the economies of both countries but also for the European economy and European energy security. In the first phase of the project, Greek, Turkish and English bibliography on natural gas markets, energy security and regional cooperation were examined. Data on the Greek and Turkish natural gas market and transport infrastructure were collected. Emphasis was given on the technical characteristics of the natural gas pipeline connecting Turkey and Greece, as well as the pipeline which will connect Greece and Italy, thus providing the European natural gas market with access to non-Russian natural gas. In-depth interviews were organised with executives of the Greek natural gas company DEPA, the Turkish natural gas company BOTAŞ, as well as experts of the Energy Institute of Southeastern Europe (IENE) in Athens.

## Climate Change and Human Security

In the context of Greece's presidency of the Human Security Network (2007/2008), 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): international cooperating strategies required for the confrontation of climate change effects in global level.

The project is funded by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



## EVENTS

### Linking Environment, Development, Stability and Security

Athens, 15 June 2007

ELIAMEP and ELLINIKI ETAIRIA co-organised this conference linking environmental degradation and security. The consequences of climate change were discussed and international best practices in the field of Green Diplomacy were identified.

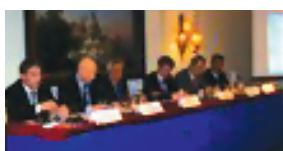


The Secretary General for International Economic Development Cooperation of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs **Mr. Theodoros Skylakakis**, referred to the EU environmental approach as a leading paradigm offering strong incentives for environmentally friendly future technologies. **Mr. Wouter Veening**, Director of the Institute for Environmental Security, examined a further relationship between environment and security, and how this can affect regional balances. **Dr. Ben Slay**, Director of the UN Environment and Security Initiative (ENVSEC) pointed out that environmental protection and development are two sides of the same coin. **Mr. Costa Carras**, President of ELLINIKI ETAIRIA, argued that the environmental crisis has altered the concept of security. **Professor Dimitris Lalas**, Professor Emeritus of the University of Athens, advocated for all countries to actively engage in environmental protection initiatives, while **Professor Michael Toman**, Johns Hopkins' University, emphasised the disagreement and confusion, which surround Greenhouse Gas mitigation options. In turn, **Mr. Dimitri Zenghelis** from the Stern Review Team concluded that global warming could have the same economic costs as the First and Second World Wars. **Professor Lucka Kajfez – Bogotaj** from the International Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) emphasised that the impact of Climate Change is likely to increase due

to increased frequency and intensity of extreme weather events. In this context, **Mr. Kyriakos Mitsotakis**, Member of the Greek Parliament, focused on the Greek case, advocating the creation of a separate Ministry of Environment, and **Mr. Alexander Carius**, Director of Adelphi Research Institute, outlined his vision of a new world order with security threats leading to increasing numbers of fragile states due to resource distribution. Subsequently, **Ambassador Sverre Stub** of the Royal Embassy of Norway recalled the Rio summit in 1992, where Green Diplomacy was initially launched. **Mr. Alessandro Villa** from the External Relations Directorate-General of the European Commission (EC) noted that the EC has prioritised the full integration of environmental issues and objectives into EU policies. In effect, Environmental Cooperation is an instrument of Crisis Prevention and Peace building. This falls within what is defined as “soft power”, which distinguishes Europe from many other international actors. Finally, **Dr. Tina Birbili** presented a series of recommendations including: the need to update the mandate of the UN Security Council, to deal with these new challenges; upgrade UNEP’s role; strengthen the EU’s role as a broker in international negotiations over foreign policy and climate change.

### The Mine Ban Convention: A Decade On

Athens, 14 February 2007



*Mines are a global security problem that calls for a risk-management approach*

On the occasion of the Mine Ban Treaty’s 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the Embassies of Australia, Canada, and Norway in Athens organised in co-operation with the Hellenic Aid, the Norwegian People’s Aid, and ELIAMEP a panel discussion on “The Mine Ban Convention: A Decade On”. The panel consisted of **Mr. Per Nergaard**, Director of the Norwegian People’s Aid Mine Action Unit; **Major Ioannis Promponas** of the Ministry of Defence; **Dr. Stamatios Papadakis**, an orthopaedic surgeon with experience in immigrant landmine victims on the border with Turkey; **Mr. George Kapopoulos**, journalist and Senior Advisor at ELIAMEP; and ELIAMEP’s Director General, **Dr. Thanos Dokos**.

All panellists agreed that the Treaty demonstrates an indisputable success story. Nevertheless, although public and political awareness have been raised through the emergence of think-tanks, improved methodologies, and impact assessment treatments, the lack of a feasible ‘plan of action’ on a global level remains. It was argued that anti-personnel mines do not function independently. They are a symptom of regional instability and irresponsible behaviour on the mine-producing countries’ part. This results in a large number of war casualties being attributable to small weapons, such as landmines, which nonetheless, create high velocity injuries (landmine projectiles have twice the velocity of a bullet). Moreover, the effects of this instability in far away mine-affected territories may hit home faster than one would assume, given today’s rapidly globalising world. As a result, anti-personnel mines constitute both a national and an international security problem. In the discussion that followed with more than 120 diplomats, representatives from the media and civil society who attended this event, there was a wide consensus that regardless of how much pressure the international community applies to mine-producing countries, it is still difficult to keep an eye on insurgents and war lords. “A land mine is a perfect soldier: ever courageous, never sleeps, never misses.” Although considerable policy-level changes need to be made, they should also be accompanied by a substantial change of mentality.

## Energy Issues in Southeastern Europe

Athens, 23 April 2007

A closed discussion was organised by ELIAMEP with invited speaker **Achilleas Adamantiadis, Professor Emeritus, George Washington University, Washington DC and Adviser to the World Bank on energy and environmental issues**. Professor Adamantiadis spoke to an audience of twenty experts on the Balkans and on energy matters, Greek ministry officials and civil society representatives. The discussion focused on the growing importance of energy for the region's economic development and quality of life. Professor Adamantiadis presented on the need to develop functional energy markets and efficient and secure energy networks. He emphasised the need to secure a multiplicity of resources, suppliers and demand. The round-table discussion that followed debated the cost and safety considerations of nuclear energy for Greece and for SEE while significant attention was paid to the need to further invest and develop renewable and alternative sources of energy. The potential for hydroelectricity, Aeolian energy and lignite resources were discussed in the context of each country in SEE.

## Dynamics of Peace and Prosperity

Athens, 26 April 2007

ELIAMEP organised an event with invited speaker **H.E. the President of India, Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam**. President Kalam delivered a lecture on the dynamics of peace and prosperity at a very diverse crowd of over 200 diplomatic representatives, politicians, journalists, academics, and civil society representatives. He approached the subject of peace from a profoundly spiritual perspective, underlining the importance of sharing knowledge and demonstrating solidarity and understanding. He stressed the importance of individual initiative on matters such as environmental protection and societal cohesion.

The Indian President argued that peace and prosperity (that cannot be defined in purely economic terms) is not a utopian goal but can be achieved through a three-dimensional approach that combines: (a) education, (b) the transformation of religion into a spiritual force, and (c) an economic development that focuses on eliminating disparities at all levels of society. **Professor Theodore Couloumbis**, Vice-President of ELIAMEP, moderated a vivid discussion with the audience that focused on the challenges of jointly promoting peace and prosperity, on the challenges of environmental degradation and population growth, and on the need, at times, to distinguish development policies from partisan politics.



*H.E. the President of India, Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam (left) and Professor Theodore Couloumbis, Vice-President of ELIAMEP (right)*



### The European Future of Serbia and Kosovo

Athens, 22 May 2007

The **Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation** in cooperation with ELIAMEP organised a lecture delivered by **Dusan Sidjanski, Professor Emeritus, University of Geneva and President of the European Cultural Centre**. Professor Sidjanski referred to the region's political and diplomatic developments and how these have affected perceptions towards and within the Balkans. An active role in the region for the EU, coupled with cooperation between Belgrade and Prishtina were underlined as the key factors for viable and independent states. The importance of protecting minority rights as well as the rights of the refugees and IDPs were equally emphasised in the discussion that followed.



*From left to right: Professor William Hale, Professor Selim Deringil, Professor Thanos Veremis, Professor Udo Steinbach and Dr. Ioannis N. Grigoriadis*

### Current Political Developments in Turkey

Athens, 1 June 2007

ELIAMEP organised a panel discussion with **Professor Selim Deringil**, Bogazici University (Istanbul), **Dr. Ioannis N. Grigoriadis**, Assistant Professor at Isik University (Istanbul) and Research Associate at ELIAMEP, **Professor William Hale**, Visiting Professor at Sabanci University, and **Professor Udo Steinbach**, University of Hamburg and Director of the German Institute for Middle East Studies. The discussion was moderated by **Professor Thanos Veremis**, Vice-President of ELIAMEP. The political crisis and the 2007 elections in Turkey with the ensuing debate over secularism were at the centre of the discussion. The presentations concentrated on the causes behind the current crisis, the electoral trends and the role of the AKP in Turkish politics. The social and political meanings of the massive demonstrations that were organised across Turkey prior to the June elections were also analysed in depth through an interactive discussion with the audience that consisted of approximately 100 journalists, diplomats, university students, ministry officials and other academics. Finally, the Kurdish issue, both in Turkey and across the border in Iraq, was discussed in terms of its implications for democracy in Turkey and relations with the United States.

## Developments in the Caucasus

Athens, 5 July 2007

In a discussion jointly organised by the International Centre for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS) and ELIAMEP, **Mr. Peter Semneby, EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus** presented an outlook on developments in the Caucasus. Mr. Semneby pointed out that economic growth and foreign direct investment has been picking up. The most impressive progress is in Azerbaijan, while Georgia and Armenia have double digit growth rates. In terms of political stability in the area, recent parliamentary elections in Armenia were a cause of concern in Brussels; however, there was no serious instability. The EU's commitment to supporting political stability and promoting initiatives aimed at strengthening independent media and human rights standards was also underlined. In spite of these positive indicators, substantial problems, with significant cross-border implications, continue to characterise the region. Mr. Semneby expressed the need for regional cooperation and the creation of common interests among these nations, arguing that current fragmentation and closed borders must be overcome as "the welfare and stability of one state depends greatly on the welfare of the others."



*From left to right:  
Dr. Dimitrios  
Triantaphyllou, Director  
General of ICBSS, Mr.  
Peter Semneby, EU Special  
Representative for the  
South Caucasus, General  
Secretariat, Council of  
the European Union and  
Dr. Thanos Dokos,  
Director General  
of ELIAMEP*

## Imperial Hubris – The Thinking Behind the Decision to Invade Iraq

Athens, 17 October 2007

ELIAMEP in cooperation with the Kokkalis Foundation organised a public lecture delivered by **Professor Tony Smith, Cornelia M. Jackson Professor of Political Science, Tufts University and, Senior Fellow, Centre for European Studies, Harvard University**, on the occasion of the publication of his new book *A Pact with the Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal of the American Promise*.



*From left to right:  
Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director  
General of ELIAMEP,  
Professor Tony Smith,  
Cornelia M. Jackson  
Professor of Political  
Science, Tufts University  
and Senior Fellow,  
Center for European  
Studies, Harvard University,  
and Dr. Dimitris Keridis,  
Kokkalis Foundation*

# Transatlantic Relations

ELIAMEP's main transatlantic activity for 2007 were the Halki International Seminars which focused on four issues: (a) the current state of transatlantic relations; (b) the regional security environment in Southeastern Europe, the Black Sea and the Middle East; (c) functional security issues, namely: security sector reform, energy politics and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and (d) the role of great powers in dealing with security challenges.

The gap between the capabilities and expectations of transatlantic relations was pointed out: although capabilities have increased, expectations have not been met. This division of labour should operate along the lines that the Balkans are a European responsibility and that the Europeans should take over from NATO, whereas in Afghanistan the US and NATO have a more leading role to play. In this light, the transatlantic relationship should be interlocking and not interblocking, while alliances should be taken more seriously as means of addressing problems and regional relationships. Multilateralism is the current norm in International Relations, with the US, the EU, China and Russia acting as different poles for different reasons. The EU and the US should do more to promote security around the world and that the latter should consider a recalibration of its objectives and strategies.

## Research Fellowship

ELIAMEP Research Fellow, **Dr. Ruby Gropas**, undertook a four month fellowship as **Southeast Europe Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington D.C.** During this fellowship, Dr. Gropas concentrated on Euro-Atlantic relations, EU enlargement and its implications for Southeast Europe.



From left to right:  
Dr. Thanos Dokos,  
Ms. Fotini Tomai,  
Dr. Ivan Vejvoda,  
Mr. Minos Zombanakis,  
Dr. Ian Lesser and  
Dr. Konstantina Botsiou

## The Marshall Plan, Sixty Years On: Would a New Peace-building Plan Work?

Athens 21 March 2007

ELIAMEP organised a panel discussion on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Marshall Plan and the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Memorial Fellowship Programme of the German Marshall Fund of the US with **Dr. Ivan Vejvoda**, Representative of the GMFUS and Director of the Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade, **Ms. Fotini Tomai**, Director of the Service of Diplomatic Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, **Dr. Konstantina Botsiou**, Lecturer, University of Athens, **Dr. Ian Lesser**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund, Washington DC, **Dr. Thanos Dokos**, Director General, ELIAMEP. **Mr. Minos Zombanakis**, Member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP moderated the discussion.

# Migration



## Integration and Multiculturalism

European societies are characterised by growing ethnic and cultural diversity as a result of immigration. During 2007, ELIAMEP carried out research on how multiculturalism is defined in the public debates and in educational policies. The Foundation also organised a significant event on inter-cultural education in Greece involving teachers, education specialists, and policy makers.

Two research projects are currently underway at ELIAMEP that focus on different aspects of multiculturalism and the challenge of immigration: (a) **EMILIE: A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship. Legal Political and Educational Challenges**; and (b) **MULTICULTURAL EUROPE: Policy, School Dynamics and Youth Identities in Germany, England and Greece**.



**EMILIE** explores a European approach to multicultural citizenship through a comparative study of 9 EU Member States with different experiences of immigration and integration in the field of education, equality and protection in the workplace and the challenges of political and civic participation.

During 2007, our work concentrated mainly on exploring how 'difference' is defined and debated in the public sphere (the media and in the parliamentary debates) in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom. Nine national reports present the public debates on multiculturalism in these EU Member States and explore the reactions to the Mohammed cartoon crisis.

Our team also conducted empirical research on the intercultural dimension of education policy with a focus on secondary education. The EMILIE consortium explored the different approaches to multicultural education, the challenges of religion and religious education, language of origin classes, and the relevance of the European dimension in multicultural educational agendas of the EU Member States. This empirical research included interviews with policy-makers, teachers and education specialists and aimed at identifying factors that influence the education policies of the EU Member States in accommodating and managing diversity, as well as the kind of institutional support that is required to effectively implement multicultural agendas.

Recent EMILIE publications:

**Working Paper: Cultural Diversity in Greek Public and Political Discourses** by Ruby Gropas and Anna Triandafyllidou (in English)

**Policy Brief: Greek Education Policy and the Challenge of Migration** by Ruby Gropas and Anna Triandafyllidou (in Greek & in English)

The research project EMILIE is funded by the European Commission, DG RTD and is of a 3-year duration (July 2006-June 2009). EMILIE is coordinated by ELIAMEP and the principal researchers involved are Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas. Daria Lazarescu was an intern with this project during the spring of 2007.

ELIAMEP also co-organised a conference on **Intercultural Education. Educational and Teaching Experiences** in June 2007 in collaboration with the 1<sup>st</sup> Intercultural Gymnasium of Athens. During this conference, secondary school teachers and students of immigrant background from different schools in Athens exchanged opinions on their experience with intercultural education programmes and initiatives.



**MULTICULTURAL EUROPE** addresses the challenges arising from Europeanisation and migration. It explores how European integration, diversity and citizenship are intertwined in school curricula of subjects like history, geography and citizenship education, and within the discourses of German, Greek, English as well as EU education policy officers and contributes to a larger debate on the future of multicultural Europe.

The research project is funded by the European Commission, Marie Curie Action for the Mobility of Researchers and is of a two-year duration (December 2006 - November 2008). The principal researcher involved is Daniel Faas while Anna Triandafyllidou is the Scientist in Charge of this project. Daria Lazarescu has worked as an intern during the first half of 2007 and Foteini Kalantzi was employed as research assistant, during the second half of 2007.

During 2007, our work focused on the relevant literature on national identity and citizenship education, Europe and European education as well as multiculturalism and multicultural education in Greece. We also identified, collected and preliminarily analysed the relevant Greek, German and English geography, history and citizenship education curricula and interviewed a total of 25 policy officers in Greece, Germany, England and in Brussels within the DG Education and Culture.

The challenges faced in the field of active immigrant participation in contemporary European societies have been at the core of our work on migration, mainly through the research conducted in the **POLITIS** project that was concluded in 2007. POLITIS aimed at understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants.

In May 2007, ELIAMEP organised a public conference in Athens on **Immigrant Participation in Public Life: European and Greek Experiences**. This conference brought together politicians, immigrant activists, human rights activists, academics, journalists, NGO and trade union representatives and students in a lively, interactive discussion that concentrated on experiences in immigrant integration policies and immigrant participation in public life of so-called 'new' reception countries. The distinctive experiences of Greece, Italy, Ireland and Portugal, where integration priorities have entered the public debate only recently, were compared in order to identify lessons learnt and best practices. The conference focused on the state of immigrant integration in Greece, which has a large immigrant population that has self-organised and is gradually becoming active in Greek public life. This public debate on the civic and political dimensions of immigrant participation in Greek public life was very timely particularly as mainstream civil society organisations and political parties are gradually taking steps towards the immigrant communities.

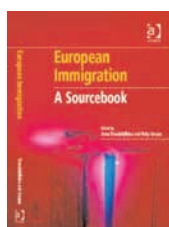


*From left to right: Dr. Dita Vogel, POLITIS Project Coordinator, Oldenburg University, Dr. Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow at ELIAMEP and Dr. Abel Ugba, School of Social Sciences, Media & Cultural Studies, University of East London*

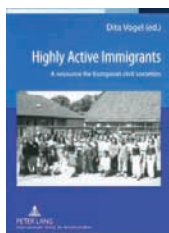


POLITIS was a 3-year project funded by the European Commission Research DG, Sixth Framework Programme, Thematic Priority 7.

In addition, the results of the POLITIS project have been published in two volumes:



**European Immigration: A Sourcebook**, Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas (Eds.) (London: Ashgate, 2007) provides a comprehensive overview of the immigration situation in 25 EU countries.



**Highly Active Immigrants: A Resource for European Civil Societies**, Dita Vogel (Ed) (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008) presents the comparative findings of the project regarding the factors that affect immigrant civic activism as well as the modes and nature of immigrant

participation in civic life in European societies.

ELIAMEP plans to continue its research on the legal, social and political challenges posed by migration in Greece and the European Union throughout the next year. More specifically, in the context of the EMILIE project, we will be concentrating on the legal dimensions of immigrant integration in the EU with special reference to discrimination protection in the workplace.

### Irregular Migration

In September 2007, ELIAMEP launched a new project aimed at creating a database (including both data and estimates) on irregular migration as well as in depth case studies on 13 EU countries. The project **CLANDESTINO** focuses on Greece, Italy, France, Spain, The Netherlands,

the UK, Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and three transit countries: Ukraine, Turkey and Morocco.

CLANDESTINO is funded by DG Research of the European Commission (FP6, Thematic priority 8.1) and is coordinated by Anna Triandafyllidou. Dr. Thanos Maroukis is the principle researcher in this three-year project and has been conducting fieldwork interviewing policy makers and collecting data relevant to the question of irregular migration in Greece and in Europe.

CLANDESTINO aims to provide an inventory of data and estimates on undocumented migration (stocks and flows) in the EU countries and discuss the ethical and methodological issues involved in the collection of data, the elaboration of estimates and their use. It also aims to propose a new method for evaluating and classifying data/estimates on undocumented migration in the EU.

### Migration Policy

Our research work on contemporary international migration has also focused on migration policy development and governance. In this context, our work has been two-fold. First, ELIAMEP has coordinated a project on migration systems **MIGSYS** offering insight into the connection between immigrants' plans and strategies of mobility, adaptation and survival, on one hand, and receiving country policies, on the other. And second, ELIAMEP is participating in a new research consortium exploring migration policy development in southern and central eastern European countries aimed at identifying the factors that influence policy making and to forecast migration flows in Europe for the years to come (IDEA).



Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas coordinated the MIGSYS project that was funded by the Metropolis International Network and the Swiss organisation PME (Population, Migration and Environment) and completed in September 2007.

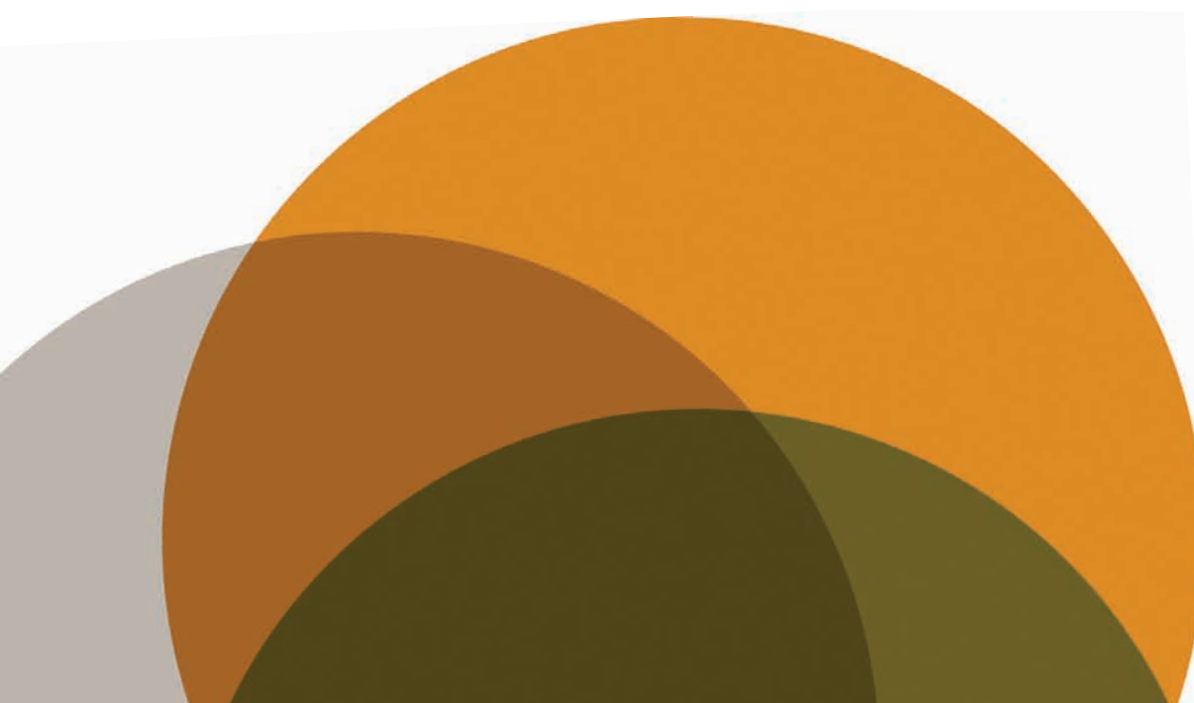
MIGSYS analysed four migration systems and covered 14 countries. More specifically, we studied the experiences of Poles and Ukrainians in Germany, Greece, Italy, Hungary and Poland; the experiences of Moroccans in Belgium, France and Spain; the case of Turks in the Netherlands and the UK; as well as the case of Mexicans in the US and Canada. These case studies will be published in a Special Issue in the *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* in 2008.

As a follow-up to this project, we will be organising a workshop in order to further pursue research on whether and how migration policies affect migrants' plans and actions. This workshop will be held in Athens in October

2008 and will be funded by the European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop.

Finally, Greek migration policy has been at the epicentre of our research through our participation in the **IDEA** consortium. The ELIAMEP team, coordinated by Anna Triandafyllidou, and involving Thanos Maroukis, Michaela Marouf, Marina Nikolova and Daria Lazarescu, conducted extensive research and interviews with policy makers and other relevant socio-political actors such as migrant organisations and trade unions. The IDEA team has explored the consequences of state policies on legal and irregular migration in Greece and its relationship with the labour market.

IDEA is also funded by DG Research of the European Commission (FP6, Thematic priority 8.1) and preliminary findings will be published on ELIAMEP's website by mid 2008.





# EVENTS AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES

## Annual Lecture 2007

### Prospects for Peace in the Middle East and the Role of Europe

Athens, 20 September 2007

ELIAMEP organised its Annual Lecture delivered by the Rt. Hon. Lord Patten of Barnes, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and former EU Commissioner.

In the opening of his lecture on Prospects for Peace in the Middle East and the Role of Europe, Lord Patten mentioned the Greek poet Constantine Cavafy and his insights into political activities. He then turned to the analysis of the Roadmap for Peace in the Middle East, which was proposed by the Europeans in 2003.

Prepared by the Foreign Ministry of Denmark, which then held the EU Presidency, the Roadmap for the Middle East was a solid first step in a gradual approach to restore peace. The Roadmap was precise and there was a timetable on the introduction of confidence-building measures. More importantly, the steps to be taken by the one side were not a prerequisite for steps to be taken by the other side. It was about parallelism not sequentialism.

However, the Roadmap never stood a chance, following the appointment of Mr. Abrahams as US Representative at the UN Council, by G.W. Bush. What followed was extensive building of settlements in the West Bank, and the rise of the Israeli security fence. Current violence in Gaza is neither unpredictable, nor wholly unprovoked.

According to Lord Patten, there is no peace process anymore, at the moment. The European Policy in the Middle East is just a process of successive meetings of the Quartet.

Europe should have a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Unfortunately, a Common Foreign and Security Policy goes right to the heart of the issue of national sovereignty. Even in the Amsterdam Treaty, although supranationalism was introduced, sovereignty of the member states remains.

The EU occasionally has a common external position, as for example is the case with enlargement, the most successful projection of the EU's "soft power". However, in other areas of external relations, it is not easy to get 27 national governments to work together and agree on a common position that is much more than a lowest common denominator.

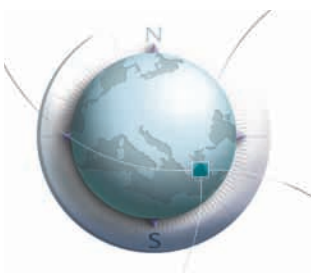


*The Rt. Hon. Lord Patten of Barnes, Chancellor of the University of Oxford and former EU Commissioner (left) and Professor Loukas Tsoukalis, President of ELIAMEP (right)*

However, Europe should attempt to have a common foreign policy, especially since the EU's humiliation in Yugoslavia and in the light of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the rise of new economic giants in the East. Europe should have a distinctive common foreign policy in the Middle East and particularly in Israel and Palestine. One that is distinctive and bold and that attempts to bridge the gap between European rhetoric and action in the Middle East. In particular, Lord Patten argued that:

- The European policy in the Middle East and any road map for peace in the Middle East, should involve all the parties (Iran, Syria, Hamas, Hezbollah, Saudi Arabia) and not just Israel and Palestine.
- There should be a settlement on the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria.
- Hamas should be involved in any settlement in Gaza or the West Bank. Hamas, he noted would not be the first group which has used violence for political ends and then gained its respectability.
- Relations between Lebanon and Israel should be restored; otherwise there will be no settlement in Palestine.
- The Saudi Peace Initiative can be accepted as a starting point.
- There should be a national unity government in Palestine.
- The EU should be clear that it is ready to jump start to state building for Palestine.

Such a European policy in the Middle East would break the current policy of inaction, it would restore the credibility of Europe in the Arab world, and would limit the consequences of complete disaster in Iraq. Europe should have a more honest policy. This kind of policy would restore the credibility of Europe in the Arab world and would be a wise move. "However", wondered Lord Patten in his closing remark, "are the Europeans wise?"



#### **Halki International Seminars 2007**

#### **Re-defining Security in SEE, the Black Sea and the Middle East: Searching for New Ways to Address Regional Security Problems**

Rhodes-Greece, 12-16 September 2007

The Halki International Seminars (HIS) are the pride and joy of ELIAMEP, forming the core of its training activities for young leaders. The Seminars have been held annually since 1990 on the small island of Halki, in the Aegean Sea (off the island of Rhodes). The primary purpose of the Halki International Seminars is to promote the exchange of ideas and experiences in order to achieve greater understanding and forge links among young political and economic decision-makers, researchers, academics, journalists and other professionals interested in international affairs. This purpose is pursued through offering training packages on the processes of European integration and enlargement; civil society-building, conflict resolution and regional cooperation.

This year's Halki International Seminars focused on four issues: (a) the current state of transatlantic relations; (b) the regional security environment in Southeastern Europe, the Black Sea and the Middle East; (c) functional security issues, namely: security sector reform, energy politics and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and (d) the role of great powers in dealing with security challenges.

On the current state of transatlantic relations, the participants debated whether there is a common approach and long-term vision between the US and Europe and on what basis should the current state of affairs between the US and the EU be re-negotiated. Kosovo's status, its implications for Serbia's democratic process and the region's overall stability, as well as the importance of a unified EU position on these issues were among the core points negotiated. The Black Sea Region's regional identity was questioned, while assessments of the situation in the Middle East ranged between 'grave but not necessarily hopeless' in the case of Palestine, and 'pessimistic' in the case of Iraq. It was argued that Iraq, as a major regional issue and a major international security issue, if left to drift might develop into another Afghanistan. There are two possibilities: a violent partition or a set of interim arrangements which would be negotiated, established and guaranteed by the international community. The best scenario would be an interim arrangement of sharing of resources and territory along the lines of ethnic communities.

The 2007 HIS also concentrated on a number of thematic issues. On energy security opinions underlined the strategic importance of energy for the transatlantic partnership and concerns were expressed regarding Russian monopoly. Regarding WMD proliferation the very structure of the Middle East is at play. A "cascade effect," is possible with a nuclear Iran spurring the GCC, and Turkey to pursue similar programs. Perhaps in Iran's case, the most important consequence of its attaining nuclear capability is that it would set a precedent – it would join the NPT, break it and get away with it. There was extensive discussion during the conference on the issue of Security Sector Reform (SSR), including the different SSR experiences in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Kosovo, Ukraine and United Arab Emirates. The speakers presented the determining factors, challenges and limited successes of their countries' experiences on security sector by revolving around 3 main questions: (a) What are the drivers for SSR for these countries? Are those drivers sustainable? (b) How is SSR understood in these countries? and (c) What is the state of SSR in these countries? Finally, Russia's perspective on current international relations was presented in depth as was the future of EU-Russian relations, EU enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy.

This seminar was a NATO Advanced Study Institute and it was organised in co-operation with the Balkan Trust for Democracy and the Arab Reform Initiative, and with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the US, the Hellenic-Aid-Ministry of Foreign Affairs, OTE S.A., the Dodecanese Prefecture and the Region of South Aegean.



*From left to right: Dr. Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director, Balkan Trust for Democracy, Belgrade, Dr. Thanos Dokos, Director General of ELIAMEP, Athens, Dr. Basma Kodmani, Executive Director, Arab Reform Initiative (ARI), Paris*

## European Seminar 2007

### Global, Social and Political Europe

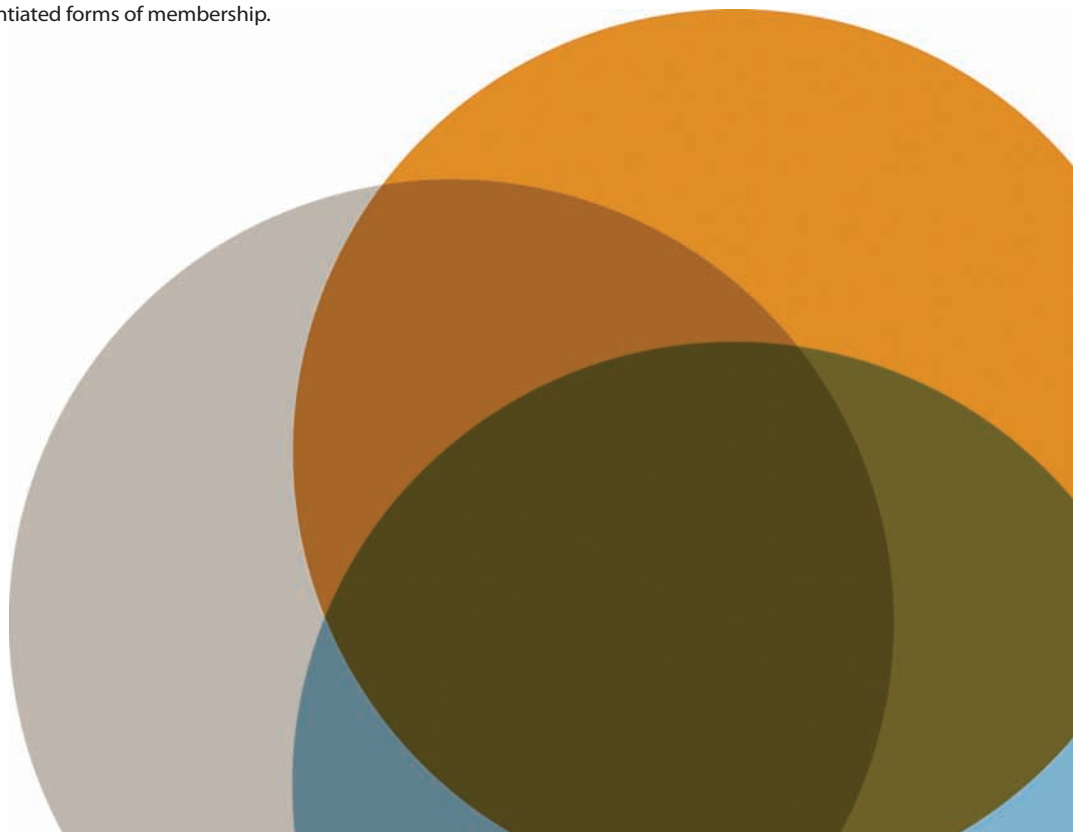
Nafplio, 28 June – 1st July 2007

Following the June 2007 European Council, ELIAMEP brought together a group of 40 leading thinkers and policy-makers from different European countries to brainstorm on three core dimensions of European integration -the global, the social and the political- and discuss alternative ways forward.

This conference also led to two core publications. The first is an Occasional Paper by Loukas Tsoukalis on Global, Social and Political Europe. The second is a compilation of commentaries and position papers by some of the participants. Yves Meny, Pawel Swieboda and Kalypso Nicolaidis commented on the Treaty revision and institutional reform. Jean Pisany-Ferry, Michel Foucher, Ulrike Guerot and William Wallace wrote on Europe as a global actor. Xavier Prats-Monné, Iain Begg and Nikos Koutsiaras tackled the question of whether there is a social Europe while Stefano Bartolini and Helen Wallace debated on how much we can politicise the EU? Finally, Janis Emmanouilidis and Jan Zielonka argued for differentiated forms of membership.



*From left to right: Dr. Achilles Mitsos, Former Director General of the European Commission, DG Research, Brussels, Professor Hellen Wallace, London, Mr. Quentin Peel, Editor, International Affairs, Financial Times, London, Professor Stefano Bartolini, Director at RSCAS, European University Institute, Florence and Mr. Pawel Swieboda, Director, demosEUROPACentre for European Strategy, Warsaw*



# 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 Occasional Papers, Policy Papers and Postgraduate Notes, all referring to contemporary international issues.

## Policy Papers

### ELIAMEP Policy Paper no. 8

"The fate of the European Constitution after a period of consideration", Nikos Koutsiaras with the research contribution of Anna Vallianatou and Elli Siapkidou (in Greek)

### ELIAMEP Policy Paper no. 9

"Greek security policy in the 21st century", ed. Thanos Dokos (in Greek, with an executive summary in English)

## Occasional Papers

### OP07.01

"The development, questioning and reform of European social state: Is the economy stupid?", Nikos Koutsiaras (in Greek)

### OP07.02

"The modern Turkish reality and the role of the army in state structures", Spyros N. Litsas (in Greek)

### OP07.03

"Intelligence services in the national security system: the case of EYP", Pavlos Apostolidis (in Greek and English)

### OP07.04

"Global, social and political Europe", Loukas Tsoukalis (in English)

## Postgraduate Notes

### PN07.01

"A historical institutionalist analysis of the Security and Defence Policy of the European Union", Kouris Kalligas (in Greek)

### PN07.02

"The constitutional convention as a consensus-building formula for institutional reform issues: An assessment", Stamatia-Evagelia Iosif (in Greek)

### PN07.03

"Issue analysis: the 2008 US presidential elections and Greece", Zander N. Li and Colin J. Motley (in English)

## Publications of ELIAMEP's researchers

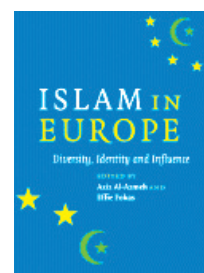
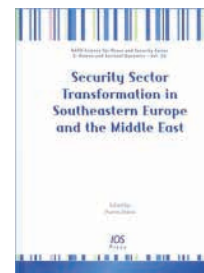
"Security Sector Transformation in Southeastern Europe and the Middle East", Edited by Thanos Dokos, 2007, IOS Press

"European Immigration: A Sourcebook", Edited by Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas, 2007, Ashgate Publishing

"Islam in Europe", Edited by Aziz Al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas, 2007, Cambridge University Press

"The Integration of Cultural Considerations in EU Law and Policies", Evangelia Psychogiopoulou, 2007, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers

"Regions, Minorities and European Integration" Special Issue in the Romanian Journal of Political Science, vol. 7, no. 1, January 2007, Anagnostou, D. Triandafyllidou, A. (guest editors)



### Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies



Useful info about JSEEBSS:  
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106 76 Athens, Greece  
[ruby@eliamep.gr](mailto:ruby@eliamep.gr)

During 2007 we had the opportunity to expand the scope of research and policy relevant articles published in the Journal even further. Research from very different disciplines examining issues concerning the Balkans and the Black Sea regions and thirteen insightful book reviews on new publications concentrating on these regions were included in our four issues.

The impact of EU integration and various aspects of the Europeanisation process were examined in areas as different as migration policies in Romania or Croatia's markets and the country's economic growth. In fact, economics, integration trends in the banking sector, competitiveness pressures for SMEs and the challenges of attracting foreign direct investment were explored in a series of articles by experts in these fields concerning Bulgaria, Croatia and Serbia. Moreover, articles based on empirical research were complemented with articles drawing from actual 'on the field' experience. In this light, we published a very practical analysis on how practitioners and businesspersons can mitigate investment risks in post-communist markets and a set of recommendations on what 'to do' and what 'not to do' in these environments.

Peacebuilding and security policies in the Balkans and particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina were also issues explored in the Journal during 2007. The concepts of security and democratic peace were studied in depth from a theoretical perspective and in the framework of Turkey's EU accession and Turkey's relations with Greece and Russia.

Security was also examined from the viewpoint of its energy dimension in the second issue of 2007 (V7N2, June 2007). In this issue that was dedicated to energy security, ensuing geopolitical considerations in the wider Black Sea region and Russian's energy diplomacy were critically analysed, as were EU priorities and the Union's CFSP in this area.

The 2007 Special Issue, edited by James Gow and Madoka Futamura, concentrated on: "Dark Histories, Brighter Futures? The Balkans and the Black Sea region – EU frontiers, war crimes and confronting the past." This special issue included perspectives on the role of religion in these regions, the relationship between peace and justice, the functions of fear and terror, and the legacies of war crimes or genocide. In this context, the legacy of Srebrenica, the role of terror and impunity in Chechnya, the relationship between external pressure and Turkish discourse on the Armenian issue as well as cultural representations of atrocity and repentance were explored.

Finally, starting from 2007, the Journal has been included in the ISI Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and will receive its first Impact Factor in 2010. The Journal will be indexed and abstracted in the following: The Social Sciences Citation Index®; Social Scisearch®; and the Journal Citation Reports/ Social Sciences Edition.

## 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 magazines (printed and electronic form), offprints, booklets, CD-ROMs, DVDs, working papers, yearbooks, thematic directed in the cognitive field of Political and Social Sciences. More specifically, its collection consists of approximately 6200 titles of books and 41 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 **2007**, 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 at the EINIRAS Network (European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies).

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



**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

In 2007 ELIAMEP continued its institutional networking and international presence in the framework of its membership in a number of networks such as the: Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission - EuroMeSCo, Arab Reform Initiative - ARI, Initiative for Peacebuilding - IfP, European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies - EINIRAS, Strademed International Association, Balkan Communication Network, and European Policy Institute Network - EPIN. ELIAMEP is also a partner in the EU funded Networks of Excellence EU-CONSENT and RECOWE.





## PARTNERSHIPS

### College of Europe

ELIAMEP provides the channel for recruiting Greek students

for the Master's Programme at the College of Europe through the Greek Selection Committee for the College of Europe.

The College of Europe is a centre of academic excellence, with five one-year programmes leading to a Master's degree and it operates 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 in Greek-Turkish Relations at İstanbul Bilgi University through the Greek Selection Committee for the Master's programme. The Master of Arts Program in International Relations aims at combining a solid foundation in the discipline of International Relations, with an area of concentration in Greek-Turkish relations. The curriculum is designed to reflect these two principal objectives of the program by enhancing the students' general knowledge of theory and practice of international relations and by enabling them to specialise 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 comparative perspective. The two-year graduate is intended for future academics, diplomats, journalists and government officials, working or planning to work on different aspects of Turkish and Greek studies.

### Institutional Partnership Programme

In 2007, ELIAMEP continued its Institutional Partnership Programme launched in 2004, an initiative for private sector entities, diplomatic representations in Greece, business associations and other institutions, aiming at creating a wide network of institutional members as well as securing financial support for our work and providing a solid basis for our activities.

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

ELIAMEP would like to thank its Institutional Partners for supporting its work: ALOUMINION DE GRECE S.A.I.C., ALPHA BANK, A.M. NOMIKOS S.A, Bank of Greece, CHRYSSAFIDIS S.A., Coca-Cola Hellenic Bottling Company S.A., EFG Eurobank Ergasias S.A., ELGEKA S.A., FOURLIS Holdings S.A., HELLENIC PETROLEUM S.A., INTRACOM Holdings, J&P AVAX S.A., LAVIPHARM S.A., MAHO S.A., MAMIDOIL-JETOIL S.A., NAVARINO RESORTS, OTE S.A., PAKO S.A., P&K Securities A.E.P.E.Y., PLANET S.A., TITAN S.A., VIVARTIA S.A., YALCO S.A., Embassy of Canada, Embassy of Japan, Representation of Taipei, Royal Embassy of the Netherlands.

### American Marshall Memorial Fellowship (MMF) Programme – 2007

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.



American Marshall  
Memorial Fellows 2007.  
Group picture

#### From the 2007 Marshall Memorial Follows' visit to Athens: A Letter, by an American in Athens

By Michael E. Webber, Ph.D.

American Marshall Memorial Fellow (2007) of the German Marshall Fund  
Associate Director, Center for International Energy & Environmental Policy  
Jackson School of Geosciences & Department of Mechanical Engineering  
The University of Texas at Austin

*"We Greeks invented Democracy and you Americans messed it up!" That's what Greek-American Arianna Huffington told a few hundred disenchanted political activists in Los Angeles a few days before George Bush's second inauguration in 2005. By that time, Arianna Huffington was already famous as a commentator, columnist, and unsuccessful candidate for Governor in California, where she lost to Arnold Schwarzenegger. I had the honour of introducing Ms. Huffington to the crowd that day, and was eager to hear what she would tell us. I had no idea she would be so blunt, critical, articulate, passionate, and knowledgeable. I have wondered since that day whether this was typical for Greeks or whether she was an exception.*

*Nearly two years later, I had the great fortune to be selected as a Marshall Memorial Fellow, which gave me the opportunity to travel around Europe for over three weeks in March 2007, including a five-day stop in Athens.*

*Within an hour of my arrival into Greece, my taxi driver berated me and my fellow Americans for failing to take action on global climate change and missing all the potential economic gains from the green energy revolution. He informed me that because of our sluggishness, he was going to profit handsomely beginning the following week when he would quit his job as a driver to open a company installing solar panels. I did not expect such a blunt, critical, articulate, passionate and knowledgeable taxi driver. So I guess Arianna Huffington was an accurate introduction after all.*

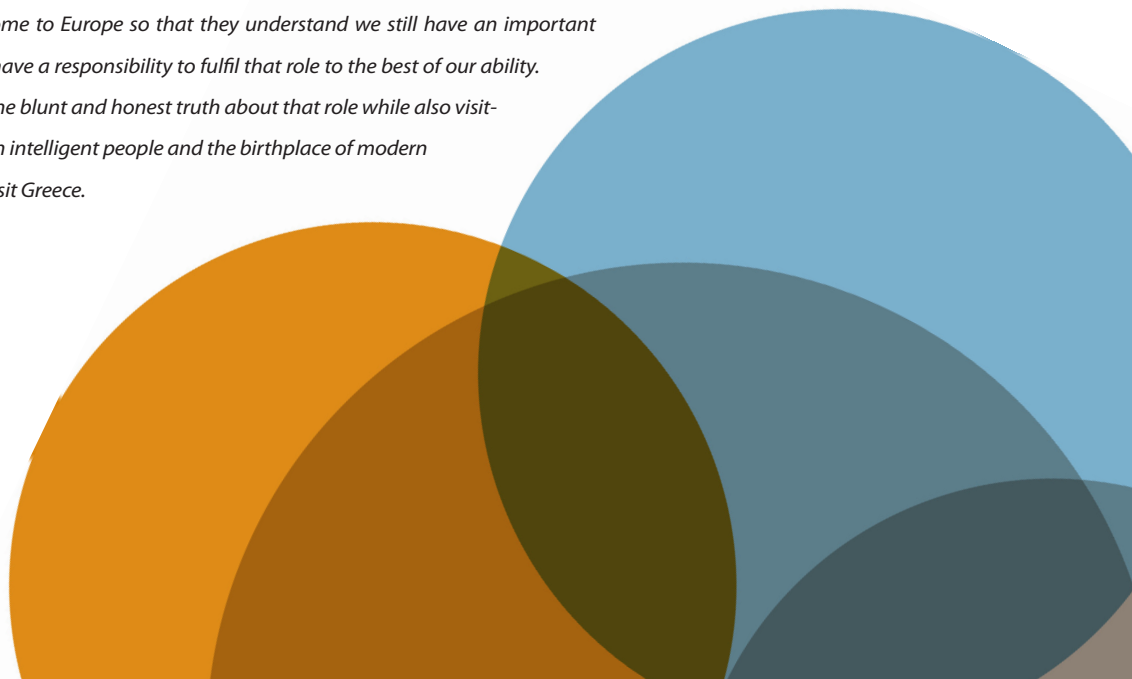
*It is a healthy exercise for Americans to visit Europe - and particularly Greece - given its special role in our cultural, political and philosophical history. As a stereotype, most Americans do not travel outside of the United States, and so we miss a critical perspective of observing America through the lens of Europe. If Americans travelled to Europe, they would be impressed when they learn how much Europeans know about America, especially in contrast with how little we know about Europe. They might be surprised to discover that modern European anti-Americanism is not comprised of a dislike for America, rather it's a form of mourning for the loss of American moral leadership. I observed widespread sadness about America's transformation from a nation that stands for liberation and prosperity to one that stands for oppression and death, which is how Greeks observe the war in Iraq.*

*At a discussion session in Athens in late March entitled "**Sixty Years after the Marshall Plan**," this combination of sadness and Greek forthrightness was on full display. One of the Greek panellists directed his criticism straight to the United States Ambassador who was present, saying simply, "The U.S. has lost its credibility". It takes courage - rather, it takes a Greek - to feel comfortable publicly criticising an ambassador. And the passion was genuine. Greeks desperately want strong American leadership on every front - energy, global climate change, counter-terrorism, human rights, you name it - but they feel America has let them down over the last few years. They feel our go-it-alone-and-lead-with-the-fist foreign policy flies in the face of our values in a way that comes across as patronising and bullying.*

*As one blunt, critical, articulate, passionate and knowledgeable Greek Marshall Memorial Fellow told me at dinner, "Maybe it's a good thing that America has been so openly hostile to its European allies, because as a consequence we learned that America's support for Europe cannot be taken for granted." Maybe he's right; maybe our primary foreign policy accomplishment over the last several years has been to tell the world's citizens they shouldn't count on the U.S. as a moral leader anymore. And that makes me sad.*

*These conversations were eye-opening for me and I can't help but conclude that it would be good for Americans to come to Europe so that they understand we still have an important role in the world and we have a responsibility to fulfil that role to the best of our ability.*

*And if they want to hear the blunt and honest truth about that role while also visiting a beautiful nation with intelligent people and the birthplace of modern civilization, they should visit Greece.*





## ELIAMEP in the PRESS

One of the core objectives of ELIAMEP is to raise public awareness on issues related to foreign policy and international affairs.

In this framework, ELIAMEP's academic and research staff has a solid and dynamic presence in the media in Greece and abroad. Approximately 150 articles authored by ELIAMEP's researchers and associates were published in Greek daily newspapers such as Kathimerini, To Vima, Ta Nea and other high circulation printed media and the international press such as The Financial Times and The Los Angeles Times. ELIAMEP's representatives were invited in Greek and foreign television networks, such as TV5 (France), DW (Germany), and E National Television Skopje, as well as on interviews in BBC World, German & Dutch National Radio and a significant number of Greek radio stations and television networks, to comment on topical issues and developments related to European and foreign policy and international affairs. ELIAMEP's active presence in the media demonstrates its contribution to independent information and analysis.



## MULTIMEDIA

Visiting ELIAMEP's website [www.eliamep.gr](http://www.eliamep.gr) on a regular basis is the best way to learn about our work and activities. ELIAMEP's website has a great number of unique visitors who have increased from 764 in October 2005 to over 10,000 in December 2006 and have remained at this level until September 2007 according to the latest statistics available. The average number of visitors per month is 45,000, including unique and multiple visitors. Most of them come from the United States (65%), Greece and European countries.

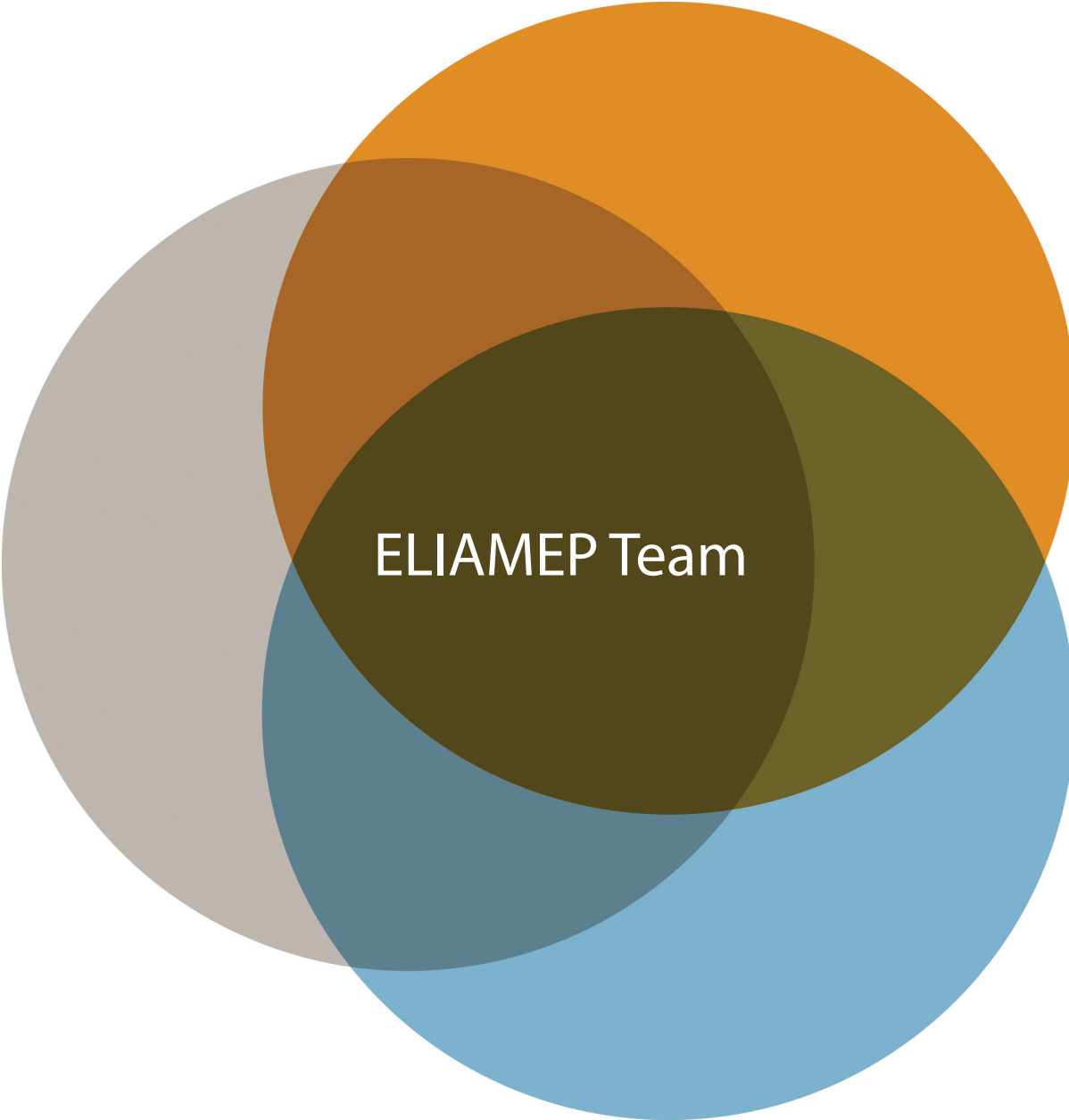
Following the success of its website in the last three years and on the occasion of its 20 years anniversary, ELIAMEP is launching a new interactive website in 2008.

### [www.eliamep.gr](http://www.eliamep.gr): Renovation, Innovation

ELIAMEP is re-considering, re-working, re-designing its digital presence. Our aim is not simply to create a livelier and more user-friendly website. Our aim is to explore new possibilities of interaction and of disseminating the research results of the projects we are involved in through the use of digital tools.

The first steps, involve the creation of a collective blog section, a space promoting policy-related commentary on current international affairs. At the same time, the main website of our institution, [eliamep.gr](http://eliamep.gr), will be re-launched with a drastically new interface and structure. The new [eliamep.gr](http://eliamep.gr) aims to become something more than an electronic archive of all the activities of our institution. It is currently being redesigned as a dynamic interactive space that will allow us to collaborate with relevant stakeholders and get feedback from active citizens in the constant effort of setting and adapting our research goals and priorities.

We see the improvement of ELIAMEP's digital presence as an ongoing work in progress, engaging with academic and policy relevant research in a more collaborative manner and making its results more accessible to the wider public.





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### ELIAMEP staff

**Thanos Dokos**, *Director General*

**Elizabeth Phocas**, *Deputy Director*

#### Senior Research Fellows

**Ekavi Athanassopoulou**, Lecturer of International Relations, Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens  
*U.S. Foreign Policy, Turkey, Israel, Organised Crime*

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

**Nikos Koutsiaras**, Lecturer, School of Law Economics and Political Sciences faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens  
*European integration, Employment and Labour Market Policy, Social Policy, EMU and Macroeconomic Policy*

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

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

#### Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow

##### Janis Emmanouilidis

*European Integration, Common Foreign and Security Policy*

#### Research Fellows

##### Daniel Faas

*Multiculturalism, Europeanisation, Education and Immigration Policy, Youth Identities, Citizenship*

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

##### Ruby Gropas

*Human Rights, European Integration, EU Foreign Policy, Balkans, Migration*

##### Thanos Maroukis

*Migration, Social Theory, Labour Markets*

##### Evangelia Psychogiopoulou

*EU/EC Law, Cultural and Media Policies, Human Rights, Institutional Aspects*

##### Stefanos Xenarios

*Environmental Economics*

#### Junior Research Fellow

##### DElli Siapkidou

*European Integration and Institutions, Democratic Deficit, European Public Opinion*

**Christianna Karageorgopoulou**, **Development Coordinator**

**Nina Papaioannou**, **Head of Administration**

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

**Giorgos Kapopoulos**, Journalist, ERT Channel, Imerisia, Athens

**Evangelos Kofos**, Historian / Expert on the Balkans, Athens

**Alkis Kourkoulas**, Journalist, ERT Channel - TO VIMA, Athens

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

**Byron Theodoropoulos**, Ambassador (ret.); Former Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens

**Charalambos Vlachoutsicos**, Investment Consultant in the Post-Communist Countries of the Balkan and the Black Sea Region, Visiting Professor, International MBA, Athens University of Economics and Business, Athens and at the Stockholm School of Economics Russia in St. Petersburg

#### Research Associates

**Jens Bastian**, PhD, Economist, European Agency for Reconstruction, Thessaloniki  
*Balkan Economies*

**Effe Fokas**, PhD, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK  
*European Identity and Religion, Theories of Nationalism*

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

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

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

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

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

**Sappho Xenakis**, PhD, University of Oxford, UK  
*Organised Crime*

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

#### Junior Research Associates

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

## Activities of ELIAMEP's Research Team

**Dia Anagnostou**, Research Fellow, co-organised with Anna Triandafyllidou the EUROREG final event in Brussels in April 26, on "Regional Development and Majority-Minority Relations in a Changing Europe." Dr. Anagnostou presented the project's findings to members of the EU policy community, and on April 27, she attended the final consortium meeting also held in Brussels. On May 3-6, she took part in the JURISTRAS 2nd consortium meeting in Siena, Italy. At May 2007, during the European Consortium of Political Research Joint Session Workshops, in Helsinki, Finland, Dia presented a paper on Constituting and Politicising Turkish Ethnicity in Southeast Europe: An Institutional Approach to Minority Politics in the Post-communist and European Context", in the workshop on "Community Conflicts and European Integration." On 21 September 2007, she participated in the seminar "*L'Europe des Cours: Loyautés et Résistances*" organised by the Institute of European Studies at the Free University of Brussels. She presented her paper "Domesticating the European Court of Human Rights: Political Approaches to Supranational Judicial Impact at the National Level", to be included in French in the volume "*L'Europe des Cours*" forthcoming by Bruylant (2008). In October, within the frame of the JURISTRAS project, she conducted interviews at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, and participated on 19-21 October at the JURISTRAS consortium meeting in Vienna.

**Theodore Couloubis**, Vice – President of the Board, spent the first three months of 2007 at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (Washington, DC) as a policy scholar with the Southeast Europe Project of the institution. He also gave a series of lectures in Vancouver, San Francisco, Sacramento, New York City and Washington DC. The New York and Washington lectures were sponsored by the Onassis Public Benefit Foundation of the USA. Following his return to Greece, he participated in a number of ELIAMEP sponsored events, including chairing the session of the public lecture of India's President, Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam on 26 April 2007. He also served as a member of the organising committee and speaker in the opening session of the conference on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Constantine Karamanlis, on 5-9 June. He was part of a team of Greek academics who visited Taiwan in October to be briefed on the status of its economic relations with the rest of the world. In November, Professor Couloubis lectured at the Foreign Service Institute, US Department of State on "Greek—

Turkish Relations in the Aegean". He has been continuing with his monthly column, entitled "Triti Gnomi", with the Athens daily, Kathimerini.

In January, **Thanos Dokos**, Director General, attended a preparatory meeting of the Conflict Prevention Network and a EUROMESCO Steering Group meeting, both in Brussels. He also took part in a conference organised in Athens by the University of California (UCLA) on "Mideast Regional Security Dilemmas: Searching for Solutions." In February, he attended the 2nd International Energy Summit "Tilting the Global Balance" organised by the Economist in Athens and organised a training seminar for military officers in the city of Xanthi. During spring, he lectured on Greek-Turkish relations at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy's International Training Course in Security Policy, attended the Annual Conference of the Arab Reform Initiative hosted by the Centre for Strategic Studies/ University of Jordan in Amman and participated in the GMFUS' Brussels Forum (29 April 2007). Thanos participated in the meeting of the Greek Turkish Forum and the Turkish-EU Observatory, organised by Sabanci University and ELIAMEP in Athens and in June he presented a paper at an international symposium on "Turkish Studies Today", organised by the Department of Turkish Studies, University of Athens. He attended the Fourth Poverty Reduction Strategies Forum organised by the Hellenic Aid-Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the World Bank and DFID, held in Athens, and took part in a roundtable discussion on Turkey organised by the EU Institute for Security Studies. He also organised an international conference on "Linking Environment, Development, Security and Stability" in Athens and briefed a delegation from the Spanish Defence Academy on regional security developments. In July, he briefed members of the Foreign Policy Association on regional security, and chaired a panel on the Middle East during the "Crisis Management International Conference Athens", organised by the Hellenic Ministry of National Defence. In September, he presented a paper on WMD proliferation developments at the Halki International Seminars. In November, he participated in a meeting of the Greek Turkish Forum in Athens and the Tbilisi Summit 2007 organised by GMFUS and the government of Georgia, and organised a training seminar for military officers in the city of Kozani. He also participated in the annual conference of the EU-ISS on "Effective Multilateralism and Engaging with the New Global Players" in Paris, where he also attended the Arab Reform Initiative's Secretariat meeting. In December, he organised a training seminar for military officers in Athens

and participated in a conference organised in Athens by the University of California (UCLA) on Middle East Regional Security and Cooperation. He also attended two management committee meetings of the Initiative for Peacebuilding (IfP) in Brussels (in October and December 2007).

**Janis A. Emmanouilidis** started to work as Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow at ELIAMEP in October 2007. In November, he participated in a conference organised by the European Centre on Foreign Relations (ECFR) in Sofia, Bulgaria. The event covered the political developments in Georgia, the EU-Russian relations, the EU perspectives for the Western Balkans, and the potentials for synergy in the Black Sea region. On 21 November 2007, he took part in a meeting of the *L'Esprit de Sel Group*, a small advisory group to Marek Siwiec, Vice-President of the European Parliament. The Group discussed the details of a joint report on Europe 2020, which is scheduled to be published in early 2008. At the end of November 2007, he participated in a meeting of the European Policy Institutes Network (EPIN) in Brussels, where more than 30 EU experts discussed the perspectives of a (further) politicisation of the EU. In December 2007, a paper he wrote together with Franco Algieri (CAP, Munich), on the capacity of the EU 27 to act in a changing international environment was published in an edited volume called *Das neue Europa*.

**Daniel Faas**, Marie Curie Research Fellow (FP6), participated in the European Education Policy Network Meeting on "Defining the European Education Agenda" in Cambridge, on 11 January 2007. In March, Dr. Faas took part in the second EMILIE project meeting and on 12 April 2007, he gave a talk on "Reconceptualising Identity: The Ethnic and Political Dimensions of Contemporary Youth Identities" at the British Sociological Association Conference in London. Daniel delivered his first report of the "Multicultural Europe" project, investigating the relationships between Europe and migration-related diversity at the level of policy-makers and within geography, history and civic education curricula in Greece, Germany and England, in the context of the newly-established ELIAMEP research seminars. On 18 May 2007, he presented a paper on "Between Eurocentrism and Euroscepticism: A Comparison of German and English National Political and Student Responses to the European Education Agenda" at the European Union Studies Association Conference in Montreal. Daniel presented a paper on racialised discourses amongst fifteen-year-olds in four English and German schools at the European

Sociological Association Conference in Glasgow and the British Educational Research Association Conference in London in September 2007. On 5-6 October, he took part in the third EMILIE project meeting in Barcelona where he also gave a talk on educational policies regarding migration-related diversity in England, Germany and Greece. On 1 December 2007, Dr. Faas chaired a panel on "Migration, Mobility and Social Inclusion" during the third European Education Policy Network Meeting in Leuven. His article "Turkish Youth in the European Knowledge Economy: An exploration of their Responses to Europe and the Role of Social Class and School Dynamics for their Identities" was published in *European Societies*, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 573-599 (September 2007).

**Ioannis N. Grigoriadis**, Research Fellow and Lecturer at the Department of Turkish & Modern Asian Studies, University of Athens, contributed a paper entitled "The Europeanisation of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey" at the 8<sup>th</sup> Mediterranean Research Meeting, European University Institute, Montecatini Terme, Florence. On 9 May 2007, he presented a study entitled "The Orthodox Church and Greek-Turkish Relations: Investigating the Impact of an Ambivalent Actor" at the 35<sup>th</sup> European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Joint Sessions of Workshops, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, 9 May 2007. On 1<sup>st</sup> June 2007, he participated in a public panel on Turkish political developments organised by ELIAMEP. On 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2007, he presented a study on "The Instruction of Republican Turkish History in a Turkish Private University" at the Inaugural Conference of the Department of Turkish Studies, University of Athens. He co-authored with Mr. Antonis Kamaras a study entitled "Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Turkey: Historical Constraints and the AKP Success Story," which was published at *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 1, January-February 2008, pp. 51-66. He also authored an article entitled "On the Europeanisation of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey," which appeared at *Mediterranean Politics* Vol. 13, No. 1, March 2008. On 9-10 November 2007, he participated in the Turkey-EU Observatory Conference in Lisbon. On 20 November 2007, he presented a paper entitled "Friends No More?: The Rise of Anti-American Nationalism in Turkey", at the 13<sup>th</sup> Middle Eastern Studies Association (MESA) Annual Meeting, Montreal. On 23 November 2007, he presented a paper on "Greek-Turkish Cooperation in Natural Gas" at the Energy Security and Critical Infrastructure Protection International Conference organised by EURISC in Bucharest.

**Ruby Gropas**, Research Fellow, gave a paper on immigrant civic participation and naturalisation at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in March 2007 and presented the research findings of the POLITIS research project on active civic participation of immigrants to the Federation of Latin American Immigrant Organisations (in Barcelona) as well as the EMMEDIA conference organised by the University of Athens in May 2007. She also took part in the final conferences of the POLITIS project at the European Commission and the European Parliament in Brussels. Ruby also participated in the Annual EU-CONSENT Historian's conference in Rome in March 2007 on the occasion of the EU's 50 years celebrations. In collaboration with Anna Triandafyllidou, Ruby organised two international workshops in Athens: one on Migration Systems (in the context of the MIGSYS project) and one on European Approaches to Multicultural Citizenship (for the EMILIE project). She also presented a paper co-authored with Anna on "The Athens Mosque Controversy" in mid-June in the framework of ELIAMEP's research seminars and gave a talk on multiculturalism and Greek educational policy on 20<sup>th</sup> June at a conference on Multicultural Education in Athens. Dr. Gropas also spoke on "Recent Developments in EU-Turkish Relations" in the course of a training seminar for military officers in Xanthi and took part in a brainstorming meeting on Albanian Nationalism at the EU-ISS in Paris (Feb 2007). In late April she presented a paper on the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne at a Conference for the Hellenic Diplomatic Academy organised by the Law Department of the Democritian University of Thrace in Komotini. From August to December 2007 Ruby was a Southeast Europe Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington DC. She undertook research on "US-EU Relations: Enlargement and Change". During this fellowship in Washington DC, Ruby worked on Transatlantic relations, particularly in the context of Southeast Europe. She presented a paper at the Wilson Center on "America and Europe: The Impact of EU Enlargement on Trans-Atlantic Relations" on September 13, 2007. Ruby also participated in the conference organised by the Woodrow Wilson Center (the East European Studies programme and the Southeast Europe Project) in cooperation with Anatolia College of Thessaloniki on "Greece, the Western Balkans and the European Union" on November 30<sup>th</sup> -December 1st in Thessaloniki, Greece.

**Christianna Karageorgopoulou**, Development Coordinator, participated in the Annual Conference on "EU and NATO Acting Together in SEE—The Role of NGO Networks" organised in Bucharest in June 2007 by the

Balkan Communication Network (BalkanNet).

**Nikos Koutsiaras**, Senior Research Fellow, participated in the annual meeting of the EU-CONSENT Network in Brussels. He also wrote a paper on "How to Spend It: Replacing the Globalisation Adjustment Fund with a Labour Market Modernisation Fund" for Team 3 of EU-CONSENT.

**Thanos Maroukis**, Research Fellow since October 2007, is working on the research project CLANDESTINO regarding estimates on undocumented migration. In the EuroMesco annual conference in October, he presented a paper on the conflicting co-existence of migration and economic policies and its consequences for both the migrants and the ageing EU. He also participated in the third EMILIE project meeting in Barcelona. In the context of the interim ELIAMEP seminars, he presented the paper "Informal Domestic Labour and Migration: An Opportunity for a Different Labour Market Perspective" to be published within 2008. During November, he presented a study on the methodological challenges of conducting research on the field of State Immigration Services, in the Conference "International Practices on the Economic and Social Integration of Migrants" organised by KEPET, University of Crete. In December, he participated in the Conference-Workshop "Untold Stories of FP7" regarding proposal preparation and management matters of EC Calls, in Budapest.

**Elizabeth Phocas**, Deputy Director, represented ELIAMEP at the Preparatory Workshop of the Annual Conference of the Balkan Communication Network which took place in Bucharest on 3-6 May 2007. During October - November 2007, she participated as a Senior International Fellow, at a graduate level seminar on the third sector, philanthropy and community foundations at the Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society of the City University of New York. In December, she participated in the Conference-Workshop "Untold Stories of FP7" regarding proposal preparation and management matters of EC Calls, in Budapest.

**Evangelia Psychogiopoulou**, Research Fellow, participated in a round-table discussion on the launch of the EU Culture programme 2007-2013, organised by the European Commission, DG EAC, on 3 March 2007 in Brussels, and in a conference on "The Protection of Cultural Diversity from an International and European Perspective", hosted by the Law Faculty of the University of Maastricht and the Boekman Foundation on 18-19 March 2007 in Maastricht. Evangelia also took part in the 2nd consortium

meeting of the JURISTRAS research project that was held in Siena on 4-5 May 2007. For the purposes of the JURISTRAS project, she prepared a state of the art report on "Strasbourg Court Jurisprudence and Human Rights in Greece: An Overview of Litigation, Implementation and Domestic Reform", which was presented on 14 March 2007 at ELIAMEP's research seminars. She also authored a policy report on "Minorities and the EU: Human Rights, Regional Development and Beyond" in the context of the EUROREG project, which explores the effects of European integration on territorially concentrated ethnic minorities and their politics. Evangelia joined the European Commission's Directorate General Education and Culture as a policy officer from June 2007 to December 2007. Her main responsibilities regarded the accommodation of cultural diversity concerns in the EU's internal market, competition, information society and external policies. Evangelia also took part in the third consortium meeting of the JURISTRAS research project, held in Vienna on 19-20 October 2007. She presented a draft paper on "Supranational Rights Litigation, Implementation and the Domestic Impact of Strasbourg Court Jurisprudence: A Case Study of Greece", co-authored with Dia Anagnostou.

**Elli Siapkidou**, Junior Research Fellow, took part in two meetings of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures held in Athens in April and July 2007. She also co-organised ELIAMEP's seminar on "Global, Social and Political Europe" in Nafplion (28 June - 1 July 2007). Elli presented a paper on "Legitimacy of the EU and Consent: Does One Go without the Other?" at the 4th EU CONSENT PhD School in Spetses (July 2007).

**Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos**, Research Associate, co-organised with Attila Eräp (METU, Ankara) a workshop on the Europeanisation of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus in February 2008 in this year's "Mediterranean Workshops", which took place at the European University Institute in Florence and in Montecatini Terme. In May, Dimitri gave a paper on civil society and NGOs active in migration policy in a conference on migration at the University of Athens and also spoke on social capital in Greece in a conference organised at the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki. In June, Dimitri participated in a conference which took place in Warsaw and was organised by the network "Reconciling Work and Welfare" (RECOWE). ELIAMEP is a partner of this network, and the paper presented at the conference was co-authored with George Pagoulatos and Myrto Stassinopoulou. In the same month, Dimitri travelled to Hong Kong and participated in a conference

on comparative public administration, where he delivered a paper on the administrative models of Western Europe. In September, he participated in the bi-annual conference of the European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR), which took place in Pisa and delivered a paper on governance in Southern Europe. In June and in November, he participated in two conferences which took place in Bratislava and in Budapest on the comparative study of European parliamentary and business elites. Dimitri is in charge of a similar study in Greece and is conducting empirical research with Greek parliamentarians and businessmen, with the help of a team of colleagues. In November, he gave a paper on Greek civil society and political patronage at a conference which was organised by the University of the Aegean in Mytilini. Finally, in December he gave a paper on the "Bologna Process" in a conference on European educational policy, which took place in Brussels.

In April 2007, **Anna Triandafyllidou**, Senior Research Fellow, was appointed Assistant Professor at the Department of Social Administration of the Democritus University of Thrace. She will hold the position of Sociology of Migration and Migration Policy. Dr. Triandafyllidou presented the results of the research project "Does Implementation Matter? Informal Administration Practices and Shifting Immigrant Strategies in four Member States", at a conference on Citizenship and Identity in the European Union, organised by the National Research Council (CNR) and APRE agency in Rome on 27-28 March 2007. She was guest plenary speaker at a conference on "Africans in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Ireland. A Multidisciplinary Analysis", organised by Trinity College, Dublin, on 13 January 2007 in cooperation with the POLITIS research project. She presented her work on "Active Civic Participation among Sub-Saharan Africans in Europe. Transcultural Capital or Transcultural Community Building?" In April 2007, she chaired the European Conference organised by ELIAMEP and hosted by the European Commission under the auspices of the EUROREG project on "Regional Development and Minority Majority Relations in a Changing Europe" (26 April 2007, Centre Albert Borschette, Brussels). She was also a guest speaker at the conference on "Citizens Making Europe", organised by the European University Institute History department, in honour of Professor Bo Strath, at the Badia Fiesolana, San Domenico di Fiesole on 7-8 June 2007. She presented her work on "Are Europe and the European Union Relevant for Immigrant Activism?" and on 16 May 2007 she presented her work on Europe and Immigrant Activism at a policy conference hosted at the European

Parliament and organised by the Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe under the auspices of the POLITIS project. Together with Ruby Gropas, Dr. Triandafyllidou also organised an International Conference on "Immigrant Participation in Public Life: European and Greek Experiences" in May 2007 in Athens under the auspices of the POLITIS project. Dr. Triandafyllidou participated at an International Policy Workshop on "Inequalities of Integration. The British Experience in Comparative European Perspective," organised by Policy Network in London, on 27 November 2007 with the participation of the UK Minister for Welfare and several migrant integration experts and NGO representatives from Britain and other countries. She was also invited to speak on the topic of "Naturalisation and Migrant Participation in Public Life" at a Conference on International Practices for the Socio-economic Integration of Migrants organised by the Xenios Dias consortium in Athens on 22-23 November 2007. Dr. Triandafyllidou was a Guest Plenary Speaker, at a Training Seminar, on the Writing and Evaluation of Research Project Proposals for the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Commission, organised by Q Platon and the Alba Business School for Graduate Studies with the participation of the European Commission, in Athens, on 22 September 2007.

**Loukas Tsoukalis**, President of ELIAMEP, took part in a round table discussion on the French Presidential elections and European policy organised by the Fondation d'Innovation Politique and the European Policy Centre in Brussels on 6 February, the annual forum of the Bertelsmann Foundation held in Berlin on 26-27 February, and the meeting of the Group of Political Analysis of the European Commission on 27 February. He spoke on the European economy at the conference organised for the Presidents of EU national parliaments in Florence on 22 March, on the occasion of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, on EU and the Balkans at the annual conference of the Vienna Institute of International Economics on 23 March, and on Europe and globalisation in Lisbon on 26 June, on the eve of the Portuguese Presidency. He gave a series of lectures as visiting professor at Sciences Po in Paris, the College of Europe in Bruges, and the Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales in Madrid. Member of the organising committee and speaker in the concluding session of the conference on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Constantine Karamanlis held in Athens on 5-9 June. He also organised the ELIAMEP seminar on "Global, Social and Political Europe" held in Nafplion on 28-30 June. Loukas Tsoukalis participated in

a seminar organised by Policy Network and the Center for American Progress on "Globalisation, Growth and Social Equity" in Washington DC on 1-2 October, which brought together senior policy makers and academics from the two sides of the Atlantic. He lectured at the Hertie School in Berlin on 17 October, he spoke on "L'Europe sera sociale ou ne sera pas" at the plenary conference of the EU-Consent programme in Brussels on 19 October, and on "L'Europe et la mondialisation" in a panel discussion with the French Minister for European Affairs at the annual congress of the European Movement- France in Rennes on 24 November. He chaired the plenary session in a seminar on flexicurity organised by the Danish Embassy in Athens, in collaboration with ELIAMEP and KANEP on 7 November. He took part in a panel discussion on Greek higher education on the same day. He also chaired the discussion on European budget reform led by Commissioner Grybauskaitė, with the participation of leading Greek politicians and representatives of the social partners, held in Athens on 30 November. He also took part in the seminar organised by BEPA of the European Commission on "Change, Innovation and Distribution: Social, Political and Economic Trends and Threats" held at Lac de Genval (Brussels) on 4-5 December, and in the seminar on "Globalisation, Risk and Inequality" organised by Policy Network in Brussels on 5 December.

**Stefanos Xenarios**, Research Fellow, attended the 2<sup>nd</sup> Conference of European Development Days, devoted to economic development and climate change effects. The European Commission, through the Commission for Development and Humanitarian Aid, organised the second edition of the European Development Days 2007, which took place in Lisbon between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 2007. Xenarios also attended the Economics of Climate Change Seminar at the British Ambassador's Residence on 23 November 2007. The conference focused on the economic impacts of climate change by referring to the Stern Review (2006) and the disproportional costs of inaction in relevance to the lower cost required for adaptation and mitigation measures. Stefanos developed an extended report for the Conference "Linking Environment, Development, Stability and Security" organised by ELIAMEP and the Hellenic Society for the Protection of the Environment and the Cultural Heritage (ELLINIKI ETAIRIA) on 15<sup>th</sup> June 2007 in Athens.



# Financial Statement

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

## BALANCE SHEET AT 31st DECEMBER 2007 (FISCAL YEAR 01/01/2007-31/12/2007)

### ASSETS

	Amounts of closing year 2007		
	Gross Value	Depreciation	Net Book Value
<b>B. FORMATION EXPENSES</b>			
4. Other Formation Expenses	7.784,00	4.914,00	2.870,00
	7.784,00	4.914,00	2.870,00
<b>C. FIXED ASSETS</b>			
II. Tangible Assets			
3. Buildings and leasehold improvements	1.094.428,61	273.607,15	820.821,46
6. Furniture and fixtures	330.824,44	269.339,01	61.485,43
	1.425.253,05	542.946,16	882.306,89
Total Tangible Assets	1.425.253,05	542.946,16	882.306,89
III. Investments and other Long-Term Receivables			
7. Other long-term receivables	419,10	0,00	419,10
	419,10	0,00	419,10
Total Fixed Assets (CII+CIII)			882.725,99
<b>D.CURRENT ASSETS</b>			
II. Receivables			
1.Trade Debtors		132.822,00	
11. Sundry Debtors		639,25	133.461,25
III. Securities			
3. Mutual Fund Shares		0,00	0,00
IV. Liquid Assets			
1. Cash in hand		68,47	
2. Cash at bank		333.348,25	333.416,72
TOTAL ASSETS (B+C+D)			466.877,97
<b>GRAND TOTAL ASSETS (B+C+D)</b>		<b>1.352.473,96</b>	

## PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT AT 31st DECEMBER 2007 (ACCOUNTING PERIOD 01/01/2007-31/12/2007)

Amounts of closing year 2007		
I. TRADING INCOME/EXPENSES		
INCOME		
Grants & Sponsorships	1.270.181,22	
Donors	89.691,95	
Income from Conference Participation Fees	0,00	
Total Trading Income	1.359.873,17	
Other Services	0,00	
GRAND TOTAL TRADING INCOME	1.359.873,17	1.359.873,17
MINUS: 1.Administration expenses		
Salaries	266.123,41	
Fees	71.312,75	
Electricity,Communicatios,Incurance, etc.	24.584,02	
Taxes & Stamps	29.243,35	
General expenses	22.626,24	
Direct expenses for projects	678.780,82	
Depreciation of assets	68.016,78	
	1.160.687,37	-1.160.687,37
Partial Operating (surplus) Results		199.185,80
PLUS: 4. Income from interest	9,90	
MINUS: 1. interest on Bank Loans	22.501,19	-22.491,29
Total operating (surplus) Results		176.694,51
II.PLUS/MINUS:EXTRAORDINARY & NON OPERATING INCOME/EXPENSES		
1. Extraordinary Income	300,00	
1. Extraordinary Expenses	0,25	299,75
TOTAL PROFIT		176.994,26
Minus: Total Depreciation of assets	68.016,78	
Minus: Depreciation on operating cost	68.016,78	0,00
NET PROFIT BEFORE TAXES		176.994,26

**BALANCE SHEET AT 31st DECEMBER 2007 (FISCAL YEAR 01/01/2007-31/12/2007)**

**LIABILITIES**

**Amounts of closing year 2007**

**A. EQUITY**

IV. Capital Reserves

1. Reserve (surplus) of prior years	776.562,08
2. Reserve (surplus) of closing year	176.994,26
Total Equity (AI+AIV+AV)	953.556,34

**B. PROVISIONS**

2. Provisions for contingent liabilities	10.101,12
Total Provisions (B1)	10.101,12

**C. LIABILITIES**

I. Long Term Liabilities

2. Bank Loans	329.640,74
	329.640,74

II. Current Liabilities

1. Trade Creditors	16.024,53
5. Liabilities for taxes-dues	21.436,61
6. Social Security Organizations	19.245,89
11. Sundry Creditors	2.468,73
	59.175,76
Total Liabilities (CI+CII)	388.816,50

**GRAND TOTAL LIABILITIES (A+B+C) 1.352.473,96**

**APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT**

**Amounts of closing year 2007**

Net results/surplus of period	176.994,26
(+) : Balance from prior years results	776.562,08
TOTAL BROUGHT FORWARD	953.556,34

Athens, 28 March 2007  
THE HEAD OF THE  
ACCOUNTING  
DEPARTMENT







ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ & ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ  
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