

ELIAMEP TIMES

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ELIAMEP in 2009

2008 leaves a 'difficult legacy' behind. There has been a confluence of crises during the year: (a) an international political crisis as the so-called BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China) and other emerging powers are quietly or openly challenging the American and Western political and economic hegemony (b) yet another crisis about the future of the European Union (EU) after the negative vote in the Irish referendum (c) the global financial crisis. One should perhaps add the issues of energy, climate change and increasing food prices, which will probably evolve into permanent features of the international system. It is still too early to attempt to assess the magnitude of the impact of the financial crisis and to predict the duration of the recession that will certainly follow.

Despite the difficult economic environment for states, citizens and NGOs, ELIAMEP has an ambitious agenda for 2009. Areas of priorities will include European integration and Europe's role in the world (with an international conference being scheduled for June 2009), migration, human rights, Transatlantic relations (the main theme of the next Halki International Seminars), climate change, security sector reform, energy politics and, of course, developments in the Balkans, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean/Middle East.

We are preparing a number of bilateral "strategic dialogue" meetings with institutes from emerging global and regional players (Russia, China, Iran, etc.) and we are exploring the idea of establishing an Observatory for monitoring EU-related developments in Turkey, a country and a topic of great significance for Greece.

Finally, we are planning a number of both academic and policy-oriented publications and we hope that by early 2009 the transformation of our website and blog section will have been completed, providing us with an efficient tool for presenting our work and for creating a forum for debate on important contemporary issues.

*Thanos Dokos,
Director General*

HALKI INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS 2009:**CURRENT AND EMERGING SECURITY CHALLENGES IN EUROPE'S NEIGHBOURHOOD:****WHAT ROLE FOR TRANSATLANTIC INSTITUTIONS**

Dodecanese island of Halki (next to Rhodes), 17-21 June 2009

*Organised by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) in cooperation with the Balkan Trust for Democracy in Belgrade
Supported by the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS)*

This year's Halki International Seminars will focus on the role of the transatlantic institutions in helping local stakeholders address security challenges in the Middle East, the Black Sea and Southeastern Europe. Both traditional regional conflicts and new security issues, such as climate change, migration, energy, and the effects of globalization will be addressed. Discussions will concentrate on assessing current transatlantic strategies and drafting future policies for the stabilization of turbulent regions and the resolution of conflicts. The seminar format, as is always the case with our annual Halki International Seminars, will be highly interactive and will include break-out working groups and roundtable discussions.

Call for participants

Applications are welcome from policy-makers, academics, journalists, diplomats, members of parliament and young researchers (post docs and PhD candidates). Please complete the Halki Application Form and email it to halki@eliamep.gr. The form can be downloaded from www.eliamep.gr

Deadline for applications: 3 April 2009



RECENT EVENTS:

**Globalisation, Europe and Greece
Thessaloniki, 18 December, 2008**

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

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

Professor Anthony Molho from the European University Institute in Florence commenced his speech on globalisation by rejecting the idea that globalisation is only about the present and the future. He also underlined its historical aspects. Globalisation has exercised deep influence on the course of human history. To support his argument, he gave three examples of primitive or fundamental globalisation, beginning from 3.000 B.C. to some centuries ago: The use of the bow and the arrow, the use of a common numerical system and the use of tobacco. Professor Molho concluded by pointing out that globalisation is a fluxionary, long-term phenomenon, whose beginning coincides with that of mankind.

According to **Professor Theodore Couloumbis, ELIAMEP's Vice-President of the Board**, globalisation works like a knife. It can kill as much as it can save a life. It is certain that the crisis we experience will lead to a total reformulation of the international economic and eventually political system. The essence of globalisation

was balanced with 'laissez-faire'. However, he concluded, due to the current depression, the market could not heal itself. The gap between the wealthy and the middle class has increased significantly, raising inequality in the developing countries. Unfortunately, traditional measures to fix the situation are losing their effectiveness. Therefore, we experience a governmental intervention through states or an intergovernmental one through IMF, WTO and the World Bank. In order to balance the market, we need globalisation: A globalisation of constant negotiations, mutual exchange of information, construction and upgrading of effective international institutions. In other words, we need more democracy.

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

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



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

**American Presidential Elections
2008: Vote for Change
Athens, 13 November 2008**

The election of Mr. Barack Obama as the next president of the United States of America has been characterised as one of many firsts. First African-American president, first rejection of public funding for the campaign, one of the longest and most expensive campaigns. On the occasion of the conclusion of the American presidential elections ELIAMEP organised a lecture with **Mr. Rick Ridder, President and Co-founder, RBI Strategy and Research, Denver** on the changes brought by the 2008 US presidential elections.

It was the first campaign fundamentally devoted to the personalisation of politics:

A coherent campaign with a clear message: A new campaign style

The first act begun already during the primaries and the contest between Ms. Hillary Clinton and Mr. Barack Obama. Obama's campaign remained faithful to its message, "change", while adjusting it from "change we can believe in" to "change we need" as the campaign proceeded. These slogans differentiated him from the other candidates. He represented real change as opposed to his opponent in the primaries, Hillary Clinton, also implying he could deliver this change, as opposed to his republican opponent, John McCain. Moreover, Barack Obama's campaign focused on the importance of correct judgment, as opposed to experience. This focus served him well as the financial crisis unfolded. While Obama remained consistent to his choices and proved to be a calm and convincing candidate, his opponent faltered. He appeared to be making wrong judgments on all fields, including the choice of his Vice-President, Sarah Palin, which following the initial wave of support, proved to be a mistake.

A large nationwide door to door campaign: Enhancement of civic virtues and participatory politics

During the run-up to the elections, Obama's campaign, actively demon-

strated this perceived change by engaging people directly, more than any other candidate did. Personal expressions were not fought against, like the infamous "I'm in love with Obama" song. Door-to-door campaigning was about what the people had to say, individuals were encouraged to express their own views and opinions about the program the next president elect should follow.

Expansion of an online network of grassroots activists: Use of power of the internet to transform government and politics

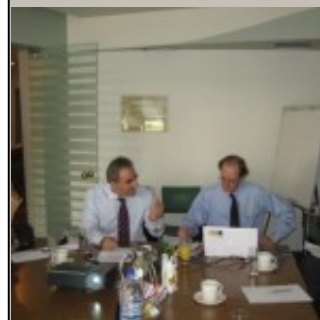
Social networking including 'My space', 'Facebook', blogs and e-mails were some of the resources used in addition to the more traditional means of communication. This was in contrast to his opponents' choices, and ultimately gave his campaign an essential edge. Obama won the vote of the people aged 18-35 by 66% while he gathered 5 million volunteers and 3.1 million contributors, indeed representing a 'change' on the way presidential campaigns are organised.

Barack Obama appears to be charismatic, indeed, but how will he deliver? As was discussed during the lecture, the president elect is not expected to make extensive foreign policy moves before the stabilisation of the American economy. And when he does he is not expected to deviate widely from the traditional democratic foreign policy.

Obama managed to switch Americans back on to politics, an accomplishment that has raised high expectations around the world, may entail disappointments and certainly signifies a challenge.

**Priorities of Georgia's Foreign Policy after the August War
Athens, 6 November 2008**

The crisis that unfolded in the Caucasus region in August has reshuffled political thinking in the West with respect to the future steps to be taken in relations with Russia but has also raised questions as to how Georgia's foreign policy will be shaped in the aftermath of the war. **Ms. Eka Tkeshelashvili, Foreign Minister of Georgia**, provided



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



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

insight on the impact of the crisis on the course of her country's foreign policy, in a lecture organised by ELIAMEP.

Russia and the ceasefire agreement

To date Moscow has not completed the pullout of its troops in the buffer zones established around the breakaway areas of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, which leaves Georgia in a difficult position. According to Ms. Tkeshelashvili the only way Moscow can restore its reliability as a diplomatic partner is by fully meeting its obligations as stipulated in the EU-mediated ceasefire agreement between the two countries. Furthermore, Georgia would have to be reassured that its sovereignty and independence as a nation are respected by Moscow.

Georgia and NATO membership

Even though Georgia was not admitted to the MAP process in the Organisation's last summit in Bucharest, NATO's Secretary General has confirmed that both Georgia and Ukraine will become NATO members eventually.

Georgia will continue NATO accession endeavours as it hopes to see its security and territorial integrity safeguarded through partnership. Moreover, a seat in the Alliance would mean a great deal to Tbilisi in that it would receive acceptance on 'this path Georgia has taken'.

Responding to members of the audience who argued that NATO membership doesn't bring Georgia anything and that the EU would constitute a much better framework with its power of soft politics and security guarantee, Ms. Tkeshelashvili noted that prior to the war the EU had never signalled that Georgia would be encouraged in such a direction, but applauded the EU's efforts for a cessation of hostilities.

Georgia intends to continue on the path of independence and would not voice disagreement in case of a new PCA between Europe and Russia. However, the EU should clarify to Russia that "Moscow will not get away with its disproportionate reaction in the war of August".

Main priorities of Georgia's foreign policy:

- Georgia's top priority is to get Russia to meet its ceasefire obligations and fully withdraw from the buffer zones.
- NATO membership is a priority for Georgia and a way for safeguarding its security.

Commonalities of the Eurasian Seas Athens, 3 November 2008

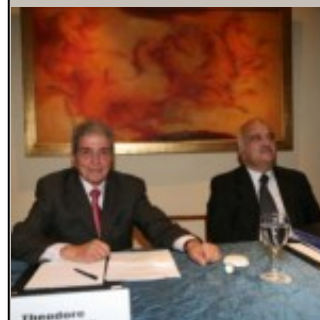
With the ongoing global financial crisis taking its toll in Western and Central Europe, the Mediterranean and North Africa, and the Black Sea, and in times of rising water and energy scarcity, a new kind of multilateralism is needed. In a lecture organised by ELIAMEP, **HRH Prince el Hassan bin Talal of Jordan** dilated upon the potentialities of cooperation and development among countries pertaining to the broader Mediterranean area.

HRH proposed the development of a social regional charter for the region of the Eurasian Seas in the form of a water and energy community for the Mediterranean, Black and Caspian Sea regions. This new variety of multilateralism would address energy and human security through shared management and reshaping of regional commons in the area.

Important component of such a new interactive policy is promoting the research and use of renewable energy sources (solar, hydro and wind energy). Projects such as DESERTEC constitute laudable steps in that direction. Furthermore, existing energy plants can be used for energy production and water desalination, which could provide potable water and enhance irrigation.

With respect to the aspect of developing regional commons, HRH applauded efforts to form a Regional Development Bank, which should have an asymmetric character i.e. focus on empowering the poor, building on the example of the Zakat Fund.

Last but not least the speaker called for the establishment of a 'non-governmental organism', a network of people in the Eurasian Seas region,



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

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which would act as a forum to discuss commons of the Eurasian Seas as it could serve as a mechanism of conflict prevention.

The proposal would address three of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG's), namely eradicate poverty, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development.

The main policy proposals encapsulated:

- Promote research and utilization of renewable energy.
- Develop a regional charter of energy and water in the Eurasian Seas region, focusing on the human security aspect.
- Form a Regional Development Bank.

ELIAMEP launches a new project on "Collecting Societies and Cultural Diversity in the Music Sector"

At the request of the European Parliament, ELIAMEP will produce a study on "Collecting Societies and Cultural Diversity in the Music Sector". The purpose of the study is to examine and assess how EU copyright policies are affecting (and might affect in the near future) national collecting societies, artists and hence, the variety of musical works available on the market.

The study will seek to reach a clearer understanding of the effects of different collective management models on cultural diversity by providing information about a) the value of repertoires; b) existing flows of intra-Community and international trade in music; and c) the financial support granted by collecting societies for cultural endeavour. Research will be conducted in six EU Member States (Belgium, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain and the UK) and will draw on a broad data collection exercise, followed by economic analysis.

For more information, please contact Dr. Evangelia Psychogiopoulou: epsy-chogiopoulou@eliamep.gr.

eliamep.gr / blogs.eliamep.gr

ELIAMEP recently launched a **new and more user-friendly website** aiming at renovating its digital and web presence. Our intention consists of engaging in academic and policy relevant research in a more collaborative manner and promoting a dynamic interactive space where research results become more accessible.

Through the **collective blogs section** ELIAMEP aims at enriching scientific dialogue in areas related to its research and educational activities. ELIAMEP blogs host short research-based analyses and policy-related commentaries, up to 500-1000 words, by actors involved in the public sphere (academic scholars, researchers, experts, policy makers, journalists etc.) on timely issues at the European and international level. In order to serve as an intellectual and policy bridge among members of the wider research community, and between them and citizens, ELIAMEP blogs host free contributions, parallel contributions to a research or policy thematic issue, comments on academic publications, book reviews, 'blog-dialogues' on controversial subjects, presentation of research results, comments on research initiatives/research projects and interviews (audio or video). Contributions are welcome and deeply appreciated (in Greek or English).

Dr. Filippa Chatzistavrou, is now the Editor in Chief of ELIAMEP's website. Dr. Chatzistavrou is a lawyer and has a PhD in Political Science. She conducts active research in France and has wide experience in disseminating research results.

ngo.gr

ELIAMEP became a member of ngo.gr, a website recently launched by a group of Non Governmental Organisations and Foundations aiming at providing the opportunity to NGOs to form partnerships with other NGOs which share common principles and work in relevant fields. The founding institutions are: Hellenic League for Human Rights, ELIAMEP, Citizens' Union PAREMVASSI, Evropaiki Ekfrasi, PRAKSIS and Citizens' Movement for an Open Society.

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ABOUT US

Dia Anagnostou, Senior Research Fellow, presented a paper entitled "Does European Human Rights Law Matter?" at the conference "The European Legal Field" which was held on 25-26 September 2008 at the EUI, Florence. On 30 October - 2 November she participated in the 5th JURISTRAS consortium meeting which was held in Istanbul, and on 16 December, she presented the results of the JURISTRAS research project at the conference "Human Rights in European and Global Perspectives" organised by the Centre for European and Policy Studies in cooperation with the European Commission in Brussels. Dia Anagnostou has been awarded a Marie Curie Fellowship for 2009-2011.

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

Professor **Theodore Couloubis**, Vice-President of the Board of Directors, participated in a number of ELIAMEP events including chairing the session of the public lecture of HRH Prince of Jordan el Hassan bin Talal on "Commonalities of the Eurasian Seas" held in Athens on 3 November 2008 and coordinating the discussion on "Priorities of Georgia's Foreign Policy after the August War" with Ms. Eka Tkeshelashvili, Foreign Minister of Georgia, held in Athens on 6 November 2008. Professor Couloubis has been continuing with his monthly column entitled "Triti Gnomi" with the Athens daily, Kathimerini.

In July 2008, and again in December, **Thanos Dokos**, Director General, attended international meetings on Middle East Regional Security and Cooperation, held in Athens. In September he attended the 2008 Global Strategic Review, organised by the IISS in Geneva, and later in the month a conference held by the Balkan Trust of Democracy in Belgrade and a NATO Advanced Research Workshop in Skopje. In October he attended EuroMeSCo's General Assembly in Amman, an Initia-

tive for Peacebuilding (IfP) Directors' meeting in Brussels and was a discussant at the EU Institute for Security Studies' annual CFSP conference in Paris. In November, he attended a meeting of the Arab Reform Initiative's Secretariat in Madrid and was a speaker at a conference on Energy and Foreign Policy, held in Athens. He also briefed a visiting delegation of Indonesia's National Resilience Institute on regional security developments and coordinated a panel on "Climate Change and the Impact on Human Security" at the annual conference of Transparency International that was held in Athens. During this period, he lectured at the National Security School, the Joint War College and the Naval Academy, in Athens and Thessaloniki respectively, organised two training seminars for Ministry of Defence officials, and published an ELIAMEP Thesis on "Searching for a Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle".

In July 2008 **Janis A. Emmanouilidis**, Stavros Costopoulos Research Fellow at ELIAMEP, participated and spoke at an international conference entitled "The EU and its Neighbours: In Search of New Forms of Partnership" organised by ELIAMEP and the Bertelsmann Foundation. In this context he also published a paper discussing alternative forms of how to associate and integrate neighbouring European countries into the EU beneath the level of full membership. In September 2008 he spoke at the 18th Economic Forum in Krynica, Poland, and at the 3rd Think Tank Forum organised by Notre Europe, Institut Aspen France and Fondation pour l'Innovation politique (Fondapol) in cooperation with the OECD in Paris. In November 2008 Janis A. Emmanouilidis participated and spoke at an international conference in Tbilisi, Georgia, which explored the perspectives of a European strategy for the Southern Caucasus. On November 21, he was discussant at the 12th Europaforum organised by the Austria Institute for European and Security Policy (AIES) in Vienna, Austria. On 27/28 November 2008 Janis A. Emmanouilidis participated in a meeting of the *L'Esprit de Sel Group*, an advisory group to Marek

ELIAMEP's team in the second semester of 2008

Some news about us

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Siwiec, Vice-President of the European Parliament, in Kiev, Ukraine. In December 2008 he published an ELIAMEP Thesis entitled "The Fall of the Berlin Wall 2.0?", which discusses the political implications of the current financial and economic crisis for the EU. For more information please see also www.eliamep.gr/en/stavros-costopoulos-research-fellowship/

Dr. Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, Research Fellow, has published a book chapter entitled "Europe Overshadowed: Reciprocity as a Race to the Bottom in Religious Freedom" in Othon Anastasakis, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Kerem Oktem (eds.), 'Under the Long Shadows of Europe: Greeks and Turks in the Era of Post-Nationalism' (Leiden: Brill, 2009). He also published an ELIAMEP Thesis in July 2008 under the title "Natural Gas Corridors in Southeastern Europe and European Energy Security". He participated in the EuroMeSco Annual Conference which took place in Amman on 15-16 October 2008, the EU-Turkey Observatory Conference in Berlin on 5-6 December 2008 and a conference on EU-Turkey relations organised in Nicosia by the Glafcos Clerides Institute of Euro-Democracy on 18 December 2008.

Ruby Gropas, Research Fellow, participated in the conference co-organised by ELIAMEP and the Bertelsmann Stiftung "The EU and its Neighbours: In Search of New Forms of Partnership" in July 2008. In the context of the network, Initiative for Peacebuilding, Ruby published a paper assessing Greek Overseas Development Assistance entitled "Ten years of Greek Development Cooperation and Peacebuilding: Challenges and Recommendations". She co-authored two project reports with Anna Triandafyllidou on discrimination in the Greek workplace and the challenge of migration, and on political challenges arising from migration in Greece in the framework of the EMILIE project. She also took part in an EMILIE project management meeting in Paris in late November. Ruby participated in the European Science Foundation workshop hosted by ELIAMEP on migration policies, and co-authored a paper (along with A. Lyberaki, M.

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

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

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On 25-27 September 2008, Professor **George Pagoulatos**, Senior Research Fellow, presented a paper (co-authored with Spyros Blavoukos) on "Coalition Building in the EU: The Rise and Decline of the 'Southern Bloc'", at the ECPR Standing Group on the EU, Fourth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, University of Latvia, Riga. On 17-18 October he participated at the LSE/Policy Network/ELIAMEP project meeting "An EU 'Fit for Purpose' in the Global Age", in Hydra, and gave a paper on the topic: "What role for the EU in the regulation of financial capitalism?". The revised project contributions will be published as a collective volume in 2009-2010. In October and November 2008, Professor Pagoulatos was one of several international experts who contributed to the working paper of the Spanish "Fundacion Ideas", "New Ideas on Facing the Financial Crisis", presented to Prime Minister Zapatero prior to the G-20 meeting in Washington. On 30 October 2008 Professor Pagoulatos participated in an open panel discussion at the Karatzas Auditorium of the National Bank of Greece, organised by the European Union Studies Association of Greece (EUSA-Greece), on the topic: "International Financial Crisis and Europe: Tentative Conclusions". In November 2008 he appeared on several television channels commenting on the US elections. On 2 December he spoke at the launch of the Greek edition of Mark Leonard's book "What China Thinks".

In the framework of the JURISTRAS project and together with Dia Anagnostou, **Evangelia Psychogiopoulou**, Research Fellow, completed the case study on supranational rights litigation, implementation and the domestic impact of the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) in Greece. The resulting report a) inquires into litigation and legal mobilisation before the ECtHR; b) describes the mechanisms and processes of implementation of ECtHR rulings; and c) examines the factors which constrain or conversely promote efficient implementation of ECtHR case law. It is available at: <http://www.juristras.eliamep.gr/?cat=8>. In September 2008, Evangelia

authored an article entitled "The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the European Community: The Competence and the Implementation Quest". Her work will form part of a collective volume edited by Prof. Toshiyuki Kono, Professor Jan Wouters and Dr. Steven Van Uytsel. Within the framework of the programme implemented by UNESCO on the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, on 11-12/9/2008, Evangelia took part at the working session on preferential treatment in the field of culture for developing countries. On 31/10-1/11 2008, she participated in the 5th JURISTRAS consortium meeting, held in Istanbul, and on 8-12/12/2008, in the second ordinary session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Since December 2008, Evangelia has been entrusted with the scientific and management tasks associated with the preparation of a study commissioned by the European Parliament on "Collecting Societies and Cultural Diversity in the Music Sector".

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

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panel discussions in the context of 'Money Show' at the Athens Hilton Hotel, namely a panel on European Integration, where he presented a new book written in Spanish by Stelios Stavridis, and a panel on civil society in contemporary Greece.

Anna Triandafyllidou, Senior Research Fellow, was invited to give a talk on "Irregular Migration and the Management of the EU's Southern Maritime Borders: The Case of the Greek Islands", in a workshop on "Climate Change and Migration. The Human Security Risk in the Mediterranean Region", at the 13th International Anti-Corruption Conference, 30 October-2 November 2008, Athens. She also presented a recent study based on the EMILIE research project with regard to "Discrimination in the Greek Labour Market. The Case of Immigrant Workers" at a conference on "Employment and Integration of Migrants into Local Contexts" organised by Harokopeio University of Athens, in Athens, 31 October 2008. In October 6-7 2008, she gave a seminar on "Can Europe Make History?" at the University of Aarhus, School of European Studies and International History, in Denmark. In early October she also convened a European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop on "The Governance of International Migration". The workshop was held in Athens at ELIAMEP with the participation of 17 experts from North America and Europe and was fully financed by the European Science Foundation. On 27-29 November, she co-organised the fifth EMILIE project meeting on immigrant political rights and political participation, which was hosted by the Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) in Paris.

Loukas Tsoukalis, President of the Board of Directors, chaired the introductory session and made the concluding remarks in the conference jointly organised by ELIAMEP and the Bertelsmann Stiftung on "The EU and its Neighbours: In Search of New Forms of Partnership", held in Sounio (Greece) on 4-6 July. He lectured on European political economy and transition economies at the seminar for young leaders from southeastern Europe in Neu-hardenberg (Germany) on 6 September. He took part in the last meeting of

the high level group of experts on the World 2025 set up by the European Commission and wrote a paper on "Thoughts on Governance and Power in the World System". He spoke on "Changing institutions and the challenge for democracy" at the conference on "The Future of Social Democracy" organised by Policy Network and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and held in London on 15 September. On 13 October, he participated in the steering committee meeting of the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute in Florence, and on 16-18 October he participated in the seminar held in Hydra (Greece) as part of the project "An EU 'fit for purpose' in the global age", jointly run by Policy Network, LSE and ELIAMEP. He spoke on the "Battle of Ideas and the Role of ELIAMEP" at the 20th anniversary celebration of the Foundation held in Athens on 22 October. On 4 November, he spoke at a conference held in Brussels on the 10th anniversary of the passing away of Constantine Karamanlis, organised by the Foundation of Constantine Karamanlis and CEPS; on 5 November, he spoke on "The EU in a Changing World: Challenges and Choices" to members of the Danish Society for Foreign Policy in Copenhagen; on 6-7 November, he took part in the meeting of the Council members of ECFR; and on 7-9 November, he took part in the meeting of the Trilateral Commission in Paris, in which he chaired the session on "Mastering Global Challenges: The role and responsibility of rising global actors". He also took part in the panel discussion on "Imaginer de nouveaux instruments en faveur de la cohésion sociale et du dialogue social" organised by the French presidency of the EU in Paris on 12 November. On 24 November, he participated in the annual conference of BEPA of the European Commission and spoke at the post-summit briefing of the EPC in Brussels. On 25 November, he took part in the seminar held at Sciences Po in Paris as part of the project "An EU 'fit for purpose' in the global age". He also spoke at the 20th anniversary event of ELIAMEP in Thessaloniki on 18 December.

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PUBLICATIONS

Climate Change: Addressing the Impact on Human Security

Thanos Dokos (ed), Hellenic Foundation of European and Foreign Policy and Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2008 (2nd. ed., rev.)

This collection of policy papers deals with the impacts of climate change to human security with specific reference to vulnerable groups in developing regions. In particular, the paper examined the impacts of climate change to children, women and environmentally induced immigrants with reference to the societal instability and the human insecurity in a global level.

ELIAMEP Thesis 3/2008: Searching for a Solution to the Iranian Nuclear Puzzle

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

ELIAMEP Thesis 4/2008: Fall of the Berlin Wall 2.0? Political Effects of and European Responses to the Financial Economic Crisis

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

ELIAMEP Times

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