SOUTH EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES AT OXFORD

seesox
South East European Studies at Oxford
CELEBRATING 20 YEARS 2002 - 2022

SPECIAL 20th ANNIVERSARY ISSUE
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Our finest moments at SEESOX

When a new regional programme is set up, there are two important questions to ask. First, how is the region to be defined and second, how to sustain the regional programme through time? When we founded SEESOX, twenty years ago, the Balkans, a region marred by misperceptions and negativity, was coming out of the ethnically destructive 1990s Yugoslav wars, with some promising prospects for the future. The start of our programme coincided with some breakthrough developments, including the Greco-Turkish rapprochement, the start of EU accession talks with Turkey and the EU’s 2003 Thessaloniki promise for the integration of the Balkans. In the spirit of the times, our SEESOX mission adopted the big themes of conflict resolution, European integration and regional cooperation. Since then the region has experienced many changes, mostly as a result of various regional developments as well as global changes that accompanied the transition from the unipolar western world to the current multipolar competitive environment. And while the sustainability of the optimistic regional outlook did not last for long, that of our regional programme went beyond our expectations. We began with a three- to five-year prospect and today we are celebrating our 20th anniversary! What is the secret of our durability?

It is impossible to describe, in a few lines, the SEESOX story from 2002 till 2022 and include all those that were involved, the lectures, seminars, panels, brainstorming meetings, second-track diplomacy, conferences and research projects that took place over the last 20 years. Our annual newsletters are reports and reminders of all the SEESOX activities. In this short piece I would like to highlight some our finest moments - the secrets of our success.

Brainstorming new ideas
SEESOX’s first fine moment was a workshop in 2002 with Balkan experts on post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina, to give ideas to the next High Representative, the late Paddy Ashdown. He was always a great friend of SEESOX and often reminded us how this particular workshop infused into his mind the notion of the rule of law as the most important goal for a successful post-conflict state-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This meeting was the precursor in a series of brainstorming and second-track diplomacy meetings on a number of regional issues.

Our next memorable workshop took place in the run-up to the Thessaloniki 2003 summit and the integration of the Balkans, where we brainstormed on how to make EU conditionality a transformative instrument in the region. That same year we built on the momentum of the Annan plan for the reunification of Cyprus and organised a very demanding three-day closed meeting, where we invited some very prominent members of the two communities including, from the UN, Alvaro de Soto, who had drafted the plan. While we were hopeful of a positive outcome towards the reunification of Cyprus, the reluctance and doubts of the Greek Cypriot side to accept the new plan became evident during that meeting. A sequel to this topic came in 2006, entitled “Cyprus after EU accession: Thinking outside the box”. This particular workshop identified the risks of the status quo of division becoming a new normal for the island of Cyprus.

Our workshop on the normalisation between Serbia and Kosovo, some years later, was a unique roundtable discussion where we discussed the conditions which led to the successful adoption of the agreement by Serbs and Kosovo Albanians; our meeting noted the unique success of the enterprise but pointed specifically to the risks of a bad implementation.

SEESOX involved itself in a series of workshops on the impact of the financial crisis in the Balkans, on the stalemate in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and on the distancing of Turkey from the western community. Yet the one which really stood out was on the resolution of the Macedonian name dispute, in discussing

Participants at the SEESOX-Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina workshop, “The impact if the Euro crisis and investment opportunities in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, May 2012
what was seen by the two sides as “a window of opportunity” where we brought stakeholders from both countries, historians, experts and diplomats to discuss ways of building trust and win-win scenarios. We are really pleased with this meeting because it took place at the initial stages of bilateral negotiations in the autumn of 2017 and in our report we highlighted the importance of the moment and the need for political will to look at the long bilateral dispute in a very constructive and win-win way. When the Greek Foreign Minister Nikos Kotzias, one of the architects of the Prespa agreement, visited SEESOX as an academic visitor to present his draft book/memoir, we were exceptionally fortunate to learn from him first hand the conditions which led to this uniquely successful regional outcome.

Building networks
As the intellectual child of earthquake diplomacy and rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, SEESOX positioned itself as a builder of networks, through the creation of the Greek-Turkish Network. From the early months of SEESOX, we invited academics, journalists, civil society representatives, policy makers from the two countries as a platform for regular discussion of areas of cooperation between the two states, at the diplomatic, economic, societal levels, through meetings, conferences and high-profile events in Oxford, Greece and Turkey. In parallel we would invite top-rank politicians from both countries to express their views on the sustainability of rapprochement as well as other areas of international affairs. The method of network building was repeated on many other occasions, in the context of other thematics.

Introducing original projects
One of the secrets of success for the sustainability of SEESOX is to introduce new ideas and to revisit and reinvent the scope of our work. While we continued to pursue consistently our two big initial themes of regional cooperation and European integration, we introduced new projects over the course of time. Among our most successful initiatives was our political economy programme, one of the most productive in terms of output and network building. Benefiting from our in-house expertise, we signed a series of agreements with a number of Central and private banks in the region of South East Europe, allowing us to carry out research on political economy and financial matters, and organise a series of workshops in Oxford and public conferences in the region, as well as published a number of books and reports from all these events. In the spirit of this project, SEESOX was able to bring together, between 2009 and 2016, the Central Bank Governors from the region in annual conferences, setting a successful paradigm of academia-bank association but also regional cooperation, in an otherwise volatile, and often competitive region. We were always pleased to see how our regional conferences were reported in the newspapers of the countries in the region.

The eurozone crisis was the first blow to trust in the European Union and had Greece at its centre, a seemingly economically successful country, and a beacon of regional stability, Europeanisation and growth. SEESOX was among the first to organise a three-day academic conference on the Greek crisis in 2011, at a time when the crisis was at its deepest, and it was impossible to make the slightest optimistic prediction. I remember vividly the gloominess and difficulty in grasping the magnitude of the problem, which as it turned out was by no means exclusively Greek, and led to a period of successive crises in the EU, some of them existential in nature.

The Greek economic crisis had a significant impact on SEESOX’s research agenda, because it inspired us to launch one of our most successful and innovative projects, an alternative model on how to create a project based on private-public partnership. In 2015, as Greece was still struggling with its eurozone membership and a new wave of emigration was hitting the Greek economy and society, we established the Greek Diaspora Project, studying the impact of the economic crisis on homeland-diaspora relations, an alternative and innovative study of Greece’s contemporary diaspora and how this could potentially benefit Greece’s exit from the crisis. Amid the most relevant topics we engaged with were the brain-drain, Greece’s diasporic vote, start-up entrepreneurship, and philanthropic giving; we also introduced a new survey methodology which examined the socioeconomic and demographic profile of the Greek diaspora in the UK. The edited volume entitled “Diasporic engagement in times of severe economic crisis in Greece and beyond”, published by Palgrave in 2022, is one of our proudest moments and reflects our four years’ hard work studying the field and adding this book into the wider diaspora bibliography. We are indebted to the consortium of donors who supported our endeavour.

Our emphasis on emigration and diaspora gave us a further impetus to study the issue of migration through the prism of the 2015 refugee crisis and Turkey’s increasingly problematic engagement with the EU. Our Migration Diplomacy Project, in the context of the
The Oxford-Berlin Partnership, deals with one of the most sensitive phenomena in the contemporary European environment. Through the study of Turkey-EU relations we are evoking other similar cases where the EU is externalising its migration policies, and how this affects the EU’s normative and transformative power through a recourse to transactionalism.

**Looking at historical legacies**

But we are not just looking at the present and the future. One of our mottos is that history is very important because it informs the present; put simply, we cannot understand the present without references to the past, both recent and more remote. Among our finest moments was during the 100th anniversary of WWI. In 2014, the academic environment was sizzling with conferences and books on the memory of the Great War - something that SEESOX could not leave unexplored. While we know all too well that there is a special connection between Sarajevo, the Balkans and the start of WWI, during the 100th anniversary we chose to engage with the legacies of the Great War in the region, some of which continue up to the present. We therefore organised our own conference, inviting some of the best-known historians on the Balkans to give us their take on legacies, a symposium turned into an edited volume with the Palgrave Macmillan-St Antony’s series. But we did not stop with WWI, as we saw a great opportunity to follow up our discussion on legacies by looking at the after effects of Yugoslavia three decades after its disintegration. We argued against those who thought that the end of Yugoslavia was the year zero and a fresh start for the new post-Yugoslav states, and looked into some important continuities that affect the post-Yugoslav Western Balkans. The projects on legacy, while historical in many ways, are at the same time a typical reflection of our persistent interdisciplinary bias at SEESOX.

**The SEESOX network**

In the end, success and sustainability lie with the quality academic environment and keeping the “family” happy. The brand of the University of Oxford and St Antony’s College were the pillars of our credibility and academic excellence, through our links and cooperation with relevant Departments, Colleges and Centres in Oxford. Last, but not least, we insisted on keeping the SEESOX family close through our regular meetings of those who were in Oxford and keeping in touch with past SEESOX associates wherever they were. Ultimately it was our SEESOX network which became the engine of our success. Our approach was inclusive, interdisciplinary and always in touch with a dynamic wider “SEESOX community”, composed of Oxford faculty, present and past fellows, visiting scholars, former civil servants, research and student associates, all of us sharing a common passion for South East Europe and independent academic work.

SEESOX owes an enormous gratitude to the SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board which was created in 2017 under the chairmanship of Nikolaos Karamouzis, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Eurobank Ergasias SA and Emeritus Professor at the University of Piraeus, Greece.

The Hellenic Advisory Board suggest sources of funding for the development and expansion of SEESOX’s research on Modern Greece; discuss the activities of the programme on Modern Greece for current and future academic years, and suggest suitable activities to advance the programme’s academic mission; and serve as a liaison between the research communities at SEESOX, Greece and the Greek diaspora. It also helps us look at wider developments in the region.

Of course they, like the NATO Public Diplomacy Division and in particular have played an essential role in helping to fund and support our endeavours over the years. But they are more than donors; they are part of our joint journey together as we explore what is happening in the region in a turbulent and challenging time. We are greatly indebted for their time, interest, commitment and generosity.

A thank you to all the people and donors that made this programme possible during the past 20 years!

*Othon Anastasakis*
SEESOX was born in the earthquake diplomacy of the early 2000s, and the period of rapprochement between Greece and Turkey: marking an important if short-lived change in the adversarial history between the two. Greece-Turkey is a reminder that geopolitics works in many directions and at many levels. But SEESOX did not only concern itself with Greece and Turkey; the region was also deeply affected by the break-up of the Warsaw Pact, and collapse of the Soviet Union; and of course, by the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia. This is a reminder of the momentous events which have continued to play a role over the twenty years of SEESOX’s existence; the central roles of NATO and the EU; and more generally the parts played in the region by outside players. Now Russia’s second invasion of Ukraine gives a further twist to the kaleidoscope: or rather to the long history of man’s inhumanity to man: while confirming Putin’s revanchist motivations and beliefs.

Geography and politics are very different. Geography is largely unchanging; though of course borders and countries can and do change: witness former Yugoslavia. And fate has placed South East Europe in a particularly difficult position. There are major problems to the North, East and South: Russian invasions of Ukraine, conflict in the Middle East, fundamentalism etc. It is a turbulent wider region.

And politics is by its nature changing. Norms shift. There are some out-dated assumptions around: that actors are united (not true of the US and EU, or even within countries); that international security is based on territorially-defined borders (challenges are trans-border and shared); that states are the only actors (there are also economic entities, non-governmental bodies, civil resistance, migrants).

Let me draw a geopolitical balance for the region after twenty years of change and turmoil. Much change has been for the better. NATO and the EU have witnessed their enlargement. But there is also a strong sense of unfinished business: there is more important enlargement work to be done, and need for renewed impetus and momentum: and belief. And disputes have been left hanging for far too long: not just Cyprus, but also Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia/Kosovo. The laws and history of geopolitics mean that inattention and inaction carry serious dangers.

And let me peer into the future. SEESOX has already moved outside the traditional geopolitical orbit, or rather given it a broader focus and definition, by taking a close look at diasporas and migration. After all, populations are the core of geopolitics and these change and shift. So do energy needs: and South East Europe has always been a centre of challenges over energy: Aegean oil, Cyprus gas, Black Sea reserves. The Eastern Mediterranean is rich in hydrocarbon reserves, territorial and border disputes and regional power politics. Energy is a source of tension and dispute, rather than peace and cooperation: but an accelerator of competition, not the cause of it.

SEESOX is likely to continue to widen its work on social and economic questions, especially where these impinge on the political. We all probably think we know what we mean by geopolitics: but in fact, its scope is widening all the time.

David Madden
When SEESOX was born, South East Europe was growing robustly if unevenly. The Western Balkans were rebuilding after the conflicts of the 1990s; the transition to open market economies was more or less complete; and the region was reforming in a munificent environment of liberal EU financing and enlargement expectations. Since then, as Max Watson, the initiator of the Political Economy Programme at SEESOX, said ten years ago, the political economy of the region has been a roller coaster. The expansion of the mid-2000s was halted by the global financial crisis, and the region spent much of the 2010s struggling to recover. Reform momentum stalled, as domestic elites preferred the protectionist status quo, and as enlargement fatigue torpedoed EU accession prospects. The eventual restoration of growth has been lackluster, and convergence towards EU living standards remains slow—despite potential new energy wealth in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea, and new Chinese economic involvement. The region remains burdened by high unemployment and emigration, with a fast-ageing population, and is now being battered by the pandemic, worsening climate conditions, and the Ukraine war.

SEESOX has been an active partner in the policy dialogue throughout the period, in close collaboration with the European Studies Centre’s political economy forum (first PEFM, then EuPEP). The most permanent theme has been the economic model for the region, with workshops on the role of the state and governance, as well as stocktaking of the transition, and a book, The Legacy of Yugoslavia. Over time, the focus has shifted to the neighborhood’s progress (or lack of progress) towards EU integration, and on the special challenges of new EU members. A 2020 conference, Life Outside the Euro, convened regional central bankers to discuss financial management in periphery countries, and differentiated integration.

The financial crisis has been a major recurring agenda item. From the outset, SEESOX collaborated with central bankers, policymakers and analysts, and the EBRD, to seek solutions and assess the social fallout of the economic dislocation. Key outputs have numerous edited volumes, published conferences, workshops and seminars, in partnership with the Bank of Greece, the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bank of Albania, Alpha Bank, Hellenic Banking Association as well as other central and private banks in the region.

Energy has also been a recurring seminar topic. Major oil and gas finds in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea could materially benefit the host economies, but create geopolitical tensions (e.g., ownership disputes). Finally, SEESOX has been agile in addressing new challenges, which are likely to set the agenda for the next twenty years. Demographics and migration are emerging as an important focus. Ageing populations and net migration throughout the region are a drag on growth and on social spending, as well as affecting the political landscape. Struggles to manage the massive refugee influx put an additional burden on the regional economy and its social contract. Other recent seminars have analysed the impact of COVID in the region, and surveyed the growing economic influence of China. A EuPEP conference, supported by SEESOX, considered The Political Economy of European Climate Action. And the Twentieth Anniversary panels took a first look at the implications of the Ukraine war.

Adrienne Cheasty

(Dedicated to the memory of Max Watson)
The study of the role of diasporas in and for the region has been at the core of SEESOX research and outreach activities over the past years. Supported by a consortium of donors, the Greek Diaspora project, one of the programme’s flagship projects, was set up in 2016 with the overall aim to serve as a nexus between research and policy and specifically to help identify policies to maximise the developmental impact of the Greek diaspora on contemporary Greek economy and society. The trigger was the prolonged Greek crisis, a critical juncture in Greece’s relations with its nationals abroad. As such it revealed the limits of the previous state-centric system of diasporic engagement while creating new spaces and networks of connectivity in the spheres of political engagement, entrepreneurship, public diplomacy, technology and civil society.

Through rigorous and interdisciplinary work including surveys, interviews, discourse and policy analysis, the project made significant interventions in the Greek public and policy debate notably in the fields of diasporic philanthropic giving, brain circulation and the conditions of the new Greek emigration, the understanding of the Greek diaspora in the UK whose numbers tripled during the years of the economic crisis as well as on the topic of diasporic political engagement. The SEESOX Greek diaspora team collaborated closely with state institutions and ministries, foundations, think tanks and private sector actors and produced a wealth of deliverables including working papers, policy briefs, academic reports, journal articles, book chapters and an edited volume that was published in 2022 and is a state of the art publication on Greek contemporary homeland - diaspora relations and a key reference and source both for policy makers in Greece and scholars working in the field. Throughout the years of our research, its findings were disseminated widely via press articles, op-eds and interviews in Greek and international media, as well as through various academic and public conferences, symposia and other public events.

In addition, SEESOX created the Greek Diaspora Digital Map, a unique online tool with approximately 4,000 entries of Greek diasporic organisations and associations, categorised according to cultural, religious, educational, philanthropic, professional and business criteria. The map, which has engendered considerable attention in the scholarly and Greek diasporic community as well as among key policy makers and governmental officials, serves as a record of the Greek presence worldwide and it also provides a potential platform for communication and interaction for global Hellenism.

Building on the methodological expertise gained through the engagement with the Greek case and recognizing the significance of diasporas for other South East European countries facing similar demographic and brain drain challenges SEESOX expanded its activities through a series of collaborations and events focusing on several other countries in the region from a comparative perspective. Focusing on a multiplicity of topics, SEESOX aimed to serve as preeminent forum for debate on the issues surrounding the wider diaspora scholarship for the region. In a period when there is a wide consensus about the economic, political and cultural benefits for countries by designing policies that link them to their diasporas, such a forum is paramount especially for South East Europe, an area that has been experiencing more acutely from the combined effects of demographic shrinkage and human capital loss.

Manolis Pratsinas

The SEESOX Diaspora Team
SEESOX in numbers

- Seminars: 371
- Annual/Special Lectures: 25
- Conferences: 37
- Workshops: 25
- Visiting/Research Fellows: 26
- Event Attendees: 16,000
- Publications: 84
- Social Media Followers: 3,500
- Webinars: 37
- Academic Visitors: 130
- Podcasts Views: 30,000
- Blogs: 240
- Video Podcasts: 100
- Blogs Views: 50,700
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|                    | İlber Ortaçy                                | SEESOX Chair | Academic Visitor | Steering Committee Member | PCT Visiting Fellow | PCT Visiting Fellow | PCT Visiting Fellow | PCT Visiting Fellow | Steering Committee Member | SEESOX Associate | Greek Diaspora Project Associate | Academic Visitor | SEESOX Associate | Greek Diaspora Project Associate | Seesox Administrator | EU Fellow | Greek Diaspora Project Associate | Onassis Fellow | Steering Committee Member | Steering Committee Member | Senior Associate Member | A.G. Leventis Fellow | SEESOX Associate | Senior Associate Member | SEESOX Associate | SEESOX Associate | SEESOX Associate | Political Economy Coordinator | Project Associate | Academic Visitor | PCT Visiting Fellow | Program on Contemporary Tukey

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position and Affiliations</th>
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<td>Spilda Sappho Xenakis</td>
<td>A.G. Leventis Fellow</td>
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<td>Max Watson</td>
<td>SEESOX Associate</td>
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<td>Sapho Xenakis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nuri Yurdusev</td>
<td>A.G. Leventis Fellow</td>
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*PCT = Programme on Contemporary Tukey
Team SEESOX
during the second decade - 2012-2022

From left to right row by row

Adam Bennett
Adis Merdzanovic
Adrienne Cheasty
Alev Özkananç
Altuğ Günel
Andrew Heinrich
Androulla Kaminara
Antonis Kamaras
Aslı Töre
Ayşe Kadioğlu
Belina Budini
Charles Enoch
Christos Gortsos
Daniel Hardy
Daphne Nicolitsas
David Madden
Dimitar Bechev
Dimitri Sotiropoulos
Dimitris Gkintidis
Dorian Singh
Effie Voutira
Eirini Karamouzi
Eli Gateva
Ezgi Başaran
Fikret Çağrıçević
Jens Bastian
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Iryna Lapshyna
Jessie Barton Hronesova
Jonathan Scheele
Julie Adams
Kalypso Nicolaidis
Kerem Öktem
Kira Gartsou-Katsouyanni
Kostis Karpozilos
Kostis Kornetis
Kristijan Fidanovski
Lamprini Rori
Manolis Pratsinakis
Marilena Anastasopoulou
Marilena Koppa
Marilena Simiti
Max Watson
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Nora Fisher Onar
Okan Yardımcı
Olga Demetriou
Othon Anastasakis
Stefan Szwed
Tryfon Bampilis
Yapрак Gursoy
SEESOX Anniversary Day

South East Europe in the Shadow of the War in Ukraine

The main event at the SEESOX Twentieth Anniversary Day, on 8 June 2022 was a pair of panels looking at the implications of war in Ukraine for the region.

The first panel, on *The relationship between the EU and the countries of the Region*, was chaired by David Madden (SEESOX). It brought together Michael Emerson (Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels), Jonathan Scheele (SEESOX), Eli Gateva (DPIR, Oxford), Kristijan Fidanovski (Department of Social Policy and Intervention, Oxford), Jens Bastian (German Institute of International and Security Affairs, Berlin) and Kalypso Nicolaidis (EUI, Florence).

The panel looked at the likely outcome of the applications by Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia, for accession to the EU; the implications of progress on those applications, for the EU enlargement process in the Western Balkans; the state of Rule of Law in the region, and in the EU more generally; the prospects for resolving the dispute with Bulgaria that was blocking the opening of both North Macedonia’s and Albania’s EU accession negotiations; the implications of the differing approach to sanctions against Russia – and to relations with Russia more generally - among the countries and entities of the region; and the prospects for a revitalised EU policy on enlargement, including the idea of an incremental approach. The subsequent discussion raised the issue of how far political imperatives might lead the EU to ignore its own values and whether the EU was really ready to live up to its professed commitment to enlargement, both politically and economically. In other words, was enlargement really sustainable?

The second panel, chaired by Kalypso Nicolaidis, discussed *Security Challenges in the Region*, in the changing global environment. It brought together Dimitar Bechev (Oxford School of Global and area Studies), Milos Damianovic (Balkan Investigative Reporting Network, Belgrade), Adis Merdzanovic (Zurich university of Applied Sciences), Kerem Öktem (Università Ca’ Foscari, Venice) and Marilena Simiti (University of Piraeus).

We began with a look at evidence of growing multipolarity in the region, with China playing an increasing role and the emergence of Turkey as a bona fide regional player, while at the same time twenty years of EU reform efforts had failed to overcome local elites’ resistance; the limited long term implications of Serbia’s current reluctance to align with the EU against Russia; the continuing survival of the current political elites in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a factor in preventing any possibility of progress towards EU accession; the effects of the war in Ukraine in strengthening Erdogan’s position as a player in the region. despite its transformation into a largely authoritarian regime, while the impasse on accession diminished any EU leverage over Turkey; and the tension between the Greek government’s pro-Ukraine, pro-West stand and underlying anti-US and pro-Russia tendencies in public opinion. The subsequent discussion concluded that the same entrenched patterns continue to resurface in the region; while Ukraine’s acceptance as an EU candidate might change little in the Western Balkans, it might revitalise Turkish accession prospects, if there were to be a change of government.

*Jonathan Scheele*
SEESOX Anniversary Day
Garden Party
SEESOX Annual Lectures and Special Public Lectures

SEESOX/ESC ANNUAL LECTURE
The future of Europe after Iraq
George Papandreou (Foreign Minister of Greece)
May 2003

GREEK-TURKISH NETWORK (GTN) KEYNOTE LECTURE
Why the European Union needs Turkey
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Prime Minister of Turkey)
May 2004

SEESOX ANNUAL LECTURE
Bosnia Herzegovina at a Crossroads
Lord Ashdown (Former High Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
April 2006

THE TSAKOPOULOS KEYNOTE LECTURE
Diasporas and affinal ‘repatriation’: The case of the Pontic Greeks from the former Soviet Union
Effie Voutira (University of Macedonia)
May 2006

THE CHANCELLOR’S SEMINAR
Europe: Bigger, stronger
Chris Patten in conversation with Ivo Sanader (Prime Minister of Croatia)
May 2007

SEESOX ANNUAL LECTURE
Does Europe have a message for the world?
Dora Bakoyannis (Foreign Minister of Greece)
November 2007

THE CHANCELLOR’S SEMINAR
Bridging Worlds
Chris Patten in conversation with Güler Sabancı (Founder Sabancı, University)
March 2008

SEESOX Annual Lecture
Europe’s smart power in its region and the world
Olli Rehn (EU Enlargement Commissioner)
May 2008

PROGRAMME ON CONTEMPORARY TURKEY LECTURE
Turkey’s European orientation
Ali Babacan (Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey)
September 2009

PROGRAMME ON CONTEMPORARY TURKEY LECTURE
Turkey’s foreign policy in changing world: Old alignments and new neighbourhoods
Ahmet Davutoğlu (Foreign Minister of Turkey)
May 2010

SEESOX-BANK OF GREECE LECTURE
Convergence and the Euro: Re-evaluating the experience of euro numbers and lessons for future members
Klaus Regling (Managing Director, European Financial Stability Facility)
November 2010

SEESOX-BANK OF ALBANIA LECTURE
Regional co-operation in South East Europe in the aftermath of the global crisis
Ardian Fullani (Governor, Bank of Albania)
January 2011

SEESOX-EBRD LECTURE
Recovery and reform: The EBRD Transition Report, 2010
Jeromin Zettelmeyer (Deputy Chief Economist, EBRD)
May 2011
SEESOX-ALPHA BANK LECTURE
Greece 2020: Unlocking the potential of the Greek economy
Michael Massourakis (Chief Economist, Alpha Bank, Athens)
May 2011

SEESOX SPECIAL LECTURE
From EU enlargement to neighbourhood policy
Stefan Fule (European Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy)
October 2011

SEESOX ANNIVERSARY DAY KEYNOTE LECTURE
The past ten years in South East Europe: Lessons for the future
Lord Ashdown (Former High Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
May 2012

SEESOX ANNUAL LECTURE
Croatian foreign policy: The European Union and South East Europe
Ivo Josipović (President of Croatia)
May 2013

SEESOX-NATO KEYNOTE LECTURE
Serbia-Kosovo and the place of EU enlargement in EU foreign policy
Robert Cooper (Counsellor, European External Action Service)
November 2013

SEESOX ANNUAL LECTURE
Reinventing politics in the Balkans: From local to regional and European
Edi Rama (Prime Minister of Albania)
February 2014

SEESOX-NATO KEYNOTE LECTURE
UK-German initiative on Bosnia and Herzegovina
Jill Morris (Director Europe, FCO)
January 2015

SEESOX/ESC ANNUAL LECTURE
Greek foreign policy at a time of crisis
Nikos Kotzias (Foreign Minister of Greece)
June 2015

SEESOX ANNUAL LECTURE
Majoritarian futures in Europe and beyond
Ivan Krastev (Centre for Liberal Strategies, Bulgaria)
May 2017

THE MAX WATSON MEMORIAL LECTURE
Demise of doctrine: Policy making in the real world
Caroline Atkinson (Former Head of Global Policy at Google)
June 2018

SEESOX ANNUAL LECTURE
Greece in the post-memoranda era: What next?
Nikos Karamouzis (President, Grant Thornton, Greece)
May 2019

EUROLIFE SPECIAL LECTURE
The US after Trump: The prospective Biden presidency, Trumpism and partisan crisis
Desmond King (Nuffield College, Oxford)
November 2020

SEESOX/ESC ANNUAL LECTURE
The future of European Security after the war in Ukraine
George Robertson (Former NATO General Secretary)
May 2022
SEESOX public conferences

The first Greek-Turkish (GTN) Conference
Turkey, the EU and the 2004 milestone: is this time for real?
March 2003

SEESOX-Oxford Balkan Society Conference
Border Crossings in the Balkans
May 2003

The first Oxford Symposium on (Trans)nationalism in South East Europe
May 2003

The second Oxford Symposium on (Trans)nationalism in South East Europe
May 2004

Greek-Turkish Conference
The continued rapprochement between Greece and Turkey: Still genuine?
May 2004

SEESOX-Programme on Contemporary Turkey Conference
Turkey’s engagement with modernity
September 2004

SEESOX Conference
South East Europe: The next EU’s enlargement
April 2005

The third Oxford Symposium on (Trans)nationalism in South East Europe
June 2005

SEESOX-GLOMIG Conference
Migration to the EU: Challenges, rights, and opportunities
February 2006

SEESOX-Oxford Greek Society Conference
Greece and the Balkans: 200 years of interaction
April 2006

Greek-Turkish Conference
New uncertainties in Greek-Turkish relations and the EU challenge
May 2006

The fourth Oxford Symposium on (Trans)nationalism in South East Europe
May 2006

SEESOX-RAMSES2 Conference
Conflicts, borders and memory in the Mediterranean
May 2006

The fifth Oxford Symposium on (Trans)nationalism in South East Europe
June 2008

SEESOX-Bank of Greece Conference
Challenges and prospects of South East European Economies in the wake of the financial crisis
October 2009 (Athens)

SEESOX-Programme on Contemporary Turkey Conference
Turkey’s Foreign Policy in a Changing World
April/May 2010

SEESOX-Political Economy Conference
Europe’s unfinished political and economic transitions: The convergence-divergence debate revisited
May 2010

SEESOX-Bank of Greece Conference
Achieving sustainable growth in SE Europe: Macroeconomic policies, structural reforms, socio-political support, and sound financial system
February 2011 (Athens)

SEESOX-NATO Conference
Whose crisis? Greece’s politics, economics, and society in an era of uncertainty
May 2011

SEESOX-Bank of Albania Conference
Current economic challenges and regional cooperation in South East Europe
June 2011 (Tirana)

Greek-Turkish Conference
New directions for Turkish-Greek engagement in the Middle East and the Balkans
September 2011 (Istanbul)

SEESOX-American College of Thessaloniki Conference
Political reform in Greece in comparative perspective
November 2011 (Thessaloniki)

SEESOX-Bank of Albania Conference
South East Europe: Pre-requisites for reform
June 2012 (Tirana)

SEESOX-Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina Conference
Living in the neighbourhood of the Euro Area
November 2012 (Sarajevo)

SEESOX-Programme on Contemporary Turkey Conference
Freedom and Unfreedom in Turkey: Religion, society, and politics
March 2013
SEESOX-A. G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION CONFERENCE
Agency in the time of Structural Adjustment: Social perspectives on contemporary Greece
May 2013

SEESOX-IDIS INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SEMINAR
Eastern Mediterranean at the crossroads
June 2013 (Tinos)

SEESOX-BANK OF ALBANIA CONFERENCE
Strengthening linkages in South East Europe: Policy anchors and business perspectives
September 2013 (Tirana)

SEESOX WWI CENTENARY SYMPOSIUM
The past is never dead: Balkan legacies of the First World War
May 2014

SEESOX-A. G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE
Far-right extremism in crisis-ridden Greece ... and beyond
May 2014

SEESOX-CENTRAL BANK OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WORKSHOP
South East Europe in an environment of volatile capital flows
June 2014 (Sarajevo)

SEESOX-OXFORD BULGARIAN SOCIETY CONFERENCE
Critical juncture? Bulgaria after the snap poll in October 2014
December 2014

SEESOX-EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE CONFERENCE
Southern European Socialism in the 1980s
December 2014 (Florence)

SEESOX-UCL SSEES-DTC ESRC CONFERENCE
The Power of the People: The dynamics and limits of social mobilization in South Eastern Europe
February 2015

SEESOX-LSE CONFERENCE
Russia and the Balkans in the shadow of the Ukraine crisis
March 2015 (London)

SEESOX-BANK OF ALBANIA CONFERENCE
Do crises change economic fundamentals in South East Europe?
October 2015 (Tirana)

SEESOX-PFM Symposium
“A Tale of Three Cities”: Max Watson Commemoration
October 2015

SEESOX-A.G. LEVENTIS FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE
Model transitions: Rethinking the success story of Southern European democratisation
May 2016

SEESOX-IDIS ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SEMINAR
Europe and its neighbourhoods: Geopolitics and human flows
July 2016 (Tinos)

SEESOX-RELOAD GREECE CONFERENCE
Enterprising diasporas: From brain drain to brain gain
September 2016 (London)

SEESOX-BANK OF ALBANIA CONFERENCE
Aligning monetary policy with financial stability in South East Europe
October 2016 (Tirana)

SEESOX-OXFORD MODERN LANGUAGES FACULTY-ORIENTAL INSTITUTE CONFERENCE
Crossings: Negotiating borders and boundaries in the Eastern Mediterranean
April 2017

SEESOX-A.G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE
Right-wing and Left-wing radicalisation in contemporary European Democracies: Cross-theoretical perspectives
June 2017

SEESOX-RELOAD GREECE CONFERENCE
The unstoppable generation: Hacking entrepreneurship into a culture
September 2017 (London)

SEESOX CONFERENCE
Revisiting Yugoslavia in the shadow of the present: Continuities and discontinuities
November 2017

SEESOX-ELIAMEP-BRITISH EMBASSY IN ATHENS CONFERENCE
Prosperity and security in the Western Balkans
March 2018 (Thessaloniki)

SEESOX DIASPORA CONFERENCE
Homeland diaspora relations in flux: Greece in crisis and Greeks abroad
June 2018

SEESOX-ATHENS DEREE COLLEGE CONFERENCE
Social Movements in Greece between past and present
April 2019 (Athens)

SEESOX-EUPEP CONFERENCE
Life outside the Euro: Monetary and financial issues for the EU periphery and beyond
January 2020

Participants at the SEESOX Diaspora Conference, June 2018
SEESOX workshops

SEESOX WORKSHOP
How could Bosnia and Kosovo join the EU? The future of Europe’s Balkan Protectorates
February 2002

SEESOX WORKSHOP
The EU and the Balkans: The implications of conditionality
November 2002

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Still on the Table? The Annan Plan and Reconciliation in Cyprus
October 2003

GRADUATE WORKSHOP
Understanding borders, conflict, and reconciliation in South East Europe
May 2004

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Nationalism, society, and culture in post-Ottoman South East Europe
May 2004

BRAINSTORMING MEETING
EU member-state building
October 2005

BRAINSTORMING MEETING
Cyprus after accession: Thinking outside the box
March 2006

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Peace Stabilisation in Bosnia – Lessons Learned
April 2006

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Political and economic developments in the Balkans
December 2006

SEESOX WORKSHOP
South-eastern Europe: Global economic challenges and European perspectives
2007

SEESOX WORKSHOP
South East Europe: The impact of the global financial crisis
June 2009

SEESOX-EBRD WORKSHOP
The role of the state in South East Europe
May 2010

SEESOX-WILSON CENTRE WORKSHOP
The EU and the Balkans
November 2011

SEESOX-BANK OF ALBANIA WORKSHOP
South East Europe: Investing in the future
December 2011

SEESOX-CENTRAL BANK OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WORKSHOP
The impact of the Euro crisis and investment opportunities in Bosnia and Herzegovina
May 2012

SEESOX-BANK OF ALBANIA WORKSHOP
Redefining convergence in South East Europe: Implications of changes underway in the EU and euro area
March 2013

SEESOX-A.G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIP WORKSHOP
Agency in the time of Structural Adjustment: Social perspectives on contemporary Greece
May 2013

SEESOX-CENTRAL BANK OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WORKSHOP
EU banking reform and financial stability in South East Europe
May 2013

SEESOX-TURKISH MIGRATION STUDIES GROUP WORKSHOP
Towards new migration systems, patterns and policies in Eurasia: The case of Turkey and the Russian Federation
November 2013

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Summer of discontent: Situating the protests in South East Europe within a regional and global context
November 2013

SEESOX-NATO WORKSHOP
Serbia/Kosovo: The Brussels Agreements and beyond
November 2013

SEESOX-BANK OF ALBANIA WORKSHOP
Anchoring economic policies in South East Europe: The role of European and International institutions
May 2014
SEESOX-NATO WORKSHOP
Bosnia and Herzegovina: New International Thinking
January 2015

SEESOX-COMPAS WORKSHOP
Refugees in Izmir, Turks/Kurds in London
March 2016

SEESOX-A.G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIP WORKSHOP
Ideological and political radicalisation in contemporary western democracies: Cross-theoretical and empirical perspectives
June 2016

SEESOX WORKSHOP
How the West should approach Turkey after 15 July
December 2016

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Turkey’s turmoil and the EU/US conundrum: How should the West approach post-coup Turkey?
December 2016

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Diaspora and development: The case for Greece
March 2017

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Exploring intra-EU mobilities at times of crisis
June 2017

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Banking developments and financial market infrastructure
Tirana, November 2017

BRAINSTORMING MEETING
The Macedonian name dispute today: A window of opportunity?
December 2017

SEESOX WORKSHOP
The Western Balkans and the Berlin Process
June 2018

SEESOX WORKSHOP
Inaugural meeting of the project on Turkey’s Migration Diplomacy and EU Relations
Berlin, January 2020

SEESOX WORKSHOP
The Western Balkans and the Berlin Process Workshop, June 2018

MIGRATION DIPLOMACY PROJECT WORKSHOP I
Domestic drivers of Turkey’s Migration Diplomacy
June 2020

MIGRATION DIPLOMACY PROJECT WORKSHOP II
Conceptual and historical perspectives
November 2020

MIGRATION DIPLOMACY PROJECT WORKSHOP III
EU migration policies vis-à-vis Turkey
April 2021

MIGRATION DIPLOMACY PROJECT WORKSHOP IV
Turkey’s foreign policy in the regional and geopolitical context
April 2021

SEESOX-GLOBAL STRATEGY FORUM PARTNERSHIP

Global Strategy Forum (GSF) in London organise regular seminars devoted to the study of international affairs.

Since 2013, SEESOX and GSF have organised eight joint events where SEESOX speakers presented the outcome of their research, workshops and seminars to informed audiences at the London Liberal Club. All events are followed by lunch in the House of Lords with keynote speakers. The events have included:

South East Europe: Revisiting Convergence – Diagnosis and prognosis
March 2013

Serbia/Kosovo: The Brussels Agreements and beyond
February 2014

Bosnia and Herzegovina: New international thinking
March 2015

The geopolitics of fear: South East Europe in a triangle of uncertainty – Russia, Middle East, North Africa
October 2016

Turkey and The West: Prospects and recommendations for restoring trust
March 2017

Strengthening migration diplomacy: EU-Turkey relations
November 2017

The geopolitics of migration: Turkey’s foreign policy in the region
February 2018

Turkey’s foreign policy and its role in the region
October 2018

Migration diplomacy: Prospects and challenges
October 2019

The Berlin Process on its way to the London Summit: A bridge between the Western Balkans and the EU?
June 2018

The diasporas of South East Europe and their role in international relations
June 2019

Weaponising migration: Challenges for Europe
June 2022

Adis Merdzanovic, Lord Lothian, David Madden, Jessie Barton Hronesova, Othon Anastasakis
Growth in Albania and South East Europe: The Way Ahead
Ardian Fullani
SEESOX, 2012

In the long shadow of Europe: Greeks and Turks in the Era of Postnationalism
Othon Anastasakis, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Kerem Öktem, eds
Brill, 2009

Mutual Misunderstandings: Muslims and Islam in the European Media
Europe in the media of European Countries
Kerem Öktem and Reem Abu-El-Fadl
European Studies Centre, 2009

Mediterranean Frontiers: Borders, Conflict, and Memory in a Transnational World
Dimitar Bechev and Kalypso Nicolaïdis, eds
I.B. Tauris, 2010

From Crisis to Recovery: Sustainable Growth in South East Europe
Othon Anastasakis, Jens Bastian and Max Watson, eds
SEESOX, 2011

Another Empire: A Decade of Turkey’s Foreign Policy Under the Justice and Development Party
Kerem Öktem, Ayşe Kadioğlu and Mehmet Karlı, eds
Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2012

SEESOX 10 Years: The 10th Anniversary Issue
Julie Adams and Othon Anastasakis, eds
SEESOX, 2012
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Michael Kaser
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The Western Condition: Turkey, the US and the EU in the New Middle East
Karabekir Akkoyunlu, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Kerem Öktem, eds
SEESOX, 2013

Balkan Legacies of the Great War: The Past is Never Dead
Othon Anastasakis, David Madden and Elizabeth Roberts, eds
Palgrave MacMillan, 2016

Economic and Policy Foundations for Growth in South East Europe: Remaking the Balkan Economy
Adam Bennett, G. Russell Kincaid, Peter Sanfey and Max Watson, eds
Palgrave MacMillan, 2015

Aligning Monetary Policy with Financial Stability
Othon Anastasakis, Adam Bennett, Charles Enoch and Gent Sejko, eds
SEESOX, 2017

The Legacy of Yugoslavia: Politics, Economics and Society in the Modern Balkans
Othon Anastasakis, Adam Bennett, David Madden, Adis Merdzanovic, eds
I.B. Tauris, 2020

Diaspora Engagement in Times of Severe Economic Crisis: Greece and Beyond
Othon Anastasakis, Manolis Pratsinakis, Foteini Kalantzzi and Antonis Kamaras, eds
Palgrave MacMillan, 2022

Othon Anastasakis and Katerina Lagos, eds
Berghahn, 2022

Defining a New Reform Agenda: Paths to sustainable convergence in South East Europe
Othon Anastasakis, Peter Sanfey and Max Watson, eds
SEESOX, 2013

Economic and Policy Foundations for Growth in South East Europe: Remaking the Balkan Economy
Adam Bennett, G. Russell Kincaid, Peter Sanfey and Max Watson, eds
Palgrave MacMillan, 2015

Othon Anastasakis and Katerina Lagos, eds
Berghahn, 2022
Happy Birthday SEESOX!

A message from the Administrator

“As I wrote in the special SEESOX 10th Anniversary book, St Antony’s has long played a leading role building bridges between academia and government, between thinkers and practitioners, between Oxford and other Universities, and more generally between the UK and other countries. And this is indeed the striking contribution and legacy of SEESOX on South East Europe.

I joined the programme in 2004. A special year indeed. The largest expansion ever of the EU; the accession of Cyprus despite the failure to solve the Cyprus Problem; the parallel expansion of NATO; and, as a bonus, the return of the Olympic Games to its birthplace and to the site of its modern reincarnation in 1896.

In the past 10 years SEESOX has built on and expanded its work on the region. These pages provide a vivid record of what we have done and achieved on “our” countries; and the number of distinguished guests, from the UK and South East Europe and elsewhere, who have visited us here at SEESOX. And we have built a new tradition of important regional initiatives: e.g. the annual Ambassadors’ Forum, involving all 14 Ambassadors posted in London, and our annual joint events with Global Strategy Forum, the Central Bankers meetings, and the Greek-Turkish Network among others. I have greatly enjoyed participating in these interesting and exciting events (in interesting and exciting times); and, above all, in making them happen. My special contribution here, building on my previous experience, has been to create a ‘brand identity’ for SEESOX by designing the logo, typography and image style, giving SEESOX a unique personality; and ensuring a permanent record of our activities with the blogsite, YouTube channel, annual SEESOX Review, and digital e-Review.

The events of the past 20 years have proved to everyone that what happens in the countries of South East Europe affect us all, and of course vice versa; and that, despite Brexit, Europe is indeed one continent.

I am proud of having played a central role in the success of SEESOX; and have inter alia greatly enjoyed developing my knowledge of the region, and travelling to, and representing SEESOX, in countries I had never visited before e.g., Albania and Turkey; and of course revisiting my beloved Greece. My commitment to SEESOX is exemplified and demonstrated by my personalised number plate!”

Julie Adams
About SEESOX ...

South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX) is part of the European Studies Centre at St Antony’s College, Oxford. It focuses on the interdisciplinary study of the relationship between European integration and the politics, economics and societies of the Balkans, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. Drawing on the academic excellence of the University and an international network of associates, it conducts policy relevant research on the multifaceted transformations of the region in the 21st century. It follows closely conflict and post-conflict situations and analyses the historical and intellectual influences which have shaped perceptions and actions in the region. In Oxford’s best tradition, the SEESOX team is committed to understanding the present through the longue durée and reflecting on the future through high quality scholarship.

SEESOX has the following objectives:

- To support high-quality teaching and research on South East Europe;
- To organise conferences, workshops and research seminars;
- To develop research projects and regional initiatives;
- To promote the multi-disciplinary study of the region within the University of Oxford (e.g. politics, international relations, anthropology, sociology, economics) working in collaboration with other Centres and Programmes within the University, including student societies;
- To spearhead intellectual exchanges and debate on these issues among networks of individuals and institutions beyond Oxford;
- To foster cooperation between the academic and the policy making communities.

The SEESOX Anniversary Issue
EDITOR IN CHIEF: Othon Anastasakis
ASSISTANT EDITOR, DESIGN AND TYPESET: Julie Adams
With thanks to the contributors: Adrienne Cheasty, David Madden, Manolis Pratsinakis and Jonathan Scheele