President Ivo Josipović delivers the SEESOX Annual Lecture on Croatia’s membership to the EU

The SEESOX Annual Lecture was given on 24 May by President Josipović of Croatia, at the conclusion of his official visit to the UK in the run-up to Croatia’s accession to the EU on 1 July. The subject was: Croatian foreign policy; the EU and South East Europe.

The President started by saying that the Croats had believed that war in Europe would never happen again; but unfortunately it had happened. Croatia’s policy had been: international recognition of the country, to stop the war and help the peace; the territorial integrity of Croatia; and the plan to join NATO (achieved 2009) and the EU (2013).

One purpose of the EU was to bring peace to the continent, and Croatia had taken this route. Another was economic development, and Croatia was building a new economy. A third was better relations with neighbours, and Croatia was also active here: rebuilding connections, overcoming problems, and discussing all open issues. Of course there was still much to do: e.g. working on the continuing problems of missing persons, and border issues.

The EU vision meant peace, security, freedom (and the balance between the two), solidarity and justice. The path to accession entailed strict criteria, but had helped Croatia become a better society than it had been 10/15 years previously: improved rights for minorities, improved rule of law, better investment climate, a crackdown on corruption. Was this connected with foreign policy? Yes. Cooperation, an improved position in global markets, rule of law, real partnerships: all this added to Croatia’s European future. Europe was not complete without South East Europe: Croatia was not a “leader”, but could use its experience to help the other countries of the region vis-à-vis the EU; and would also play its part in the current EU debate over more/less centralisation etc.

In answers to questions, the President said that there were no security obstacles to the return of displaced persons, but there were alas economic obstacles: these were being addressed to the extent they could be. Croatia wished to see all the countries of South East Europe in the EU as soon as possible, but there were probably different speeds for different states. Croatia wished to demonstrate an open and positive approach to all issues, to education/research, and to the very successful Croatian diaspora. As regards trade, Croatia was very interested in the Far East, and to investments from there into ports, airports etc. Croatian social values would not disappear, but would become increasingly part of European common culture.
SEESOX Newsbites

Letter from the Director

The academic year 2012-2013 has been a very rich year for SEESOX, with all our scholars eager to contribute with ideas, activities and research to which this annual review is a clear testimony. During last year we followed up on the analysis and discussion of our usual themes and engaged in new areas too. On the one hand, we pursued our work of the European integration of South East European countries - a consistent thematic since our early years - through a series of seminars in Oxford and outside and focusing on the notion of European convergence in the shadow of the current crisis; we expanded our political economy work in the context of our cooperation with the Bank of Albania and the EBRD, and the start of a new partnership with the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina; our political economy programme was enriched by the publication of two volumes and the expansion into new themes for study; we added new angles in our understanding of the Greek crisis through the study of its impact from a more sociological/anthropological perspective; we enriched our analysis of Turkey’s foreign policy through the publication of the “Western condition” looking into Turkey’s neighbourhood and US strategic partnership, not just in the Balkans and Europe but beyond, in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. On most occasions, we were particularly topical on the choice of our themes and activities, such as the keynote lecture by the Croatian President one month before the EU accession of Croatia; the panel with the Serb Ambassador in London, a few days after the agreement between Serbia and Kosovo; our workshops and critical debates on the political situation of Turkey, well ahead of the protests that took place in June, or finally our events on energy developments in the Eastern Mediterranean at a time when energy gains more and more prominence in the Eurasian environment. We therefore like to believe that SEESOX has been at the heart of regional developments, a pattern which we aim to enhance in the next years to come.

Othon Anastasakis, Director of SEESOX and the European Studies Centre, St Antony’s College

◆ Othon Anastasakis was invited to tour the West Coast (US/Canada) in March 2013 giving talks on “Greece’s Great Depression” and “Europe’s North and South” at the University of California in Sacramento and San Diego, and at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver. Subsequently he gave similar lectures at the University of Bristol, and at the American College in Thessaloniki (ACT).

◆ Tryfon Bampilis has been selected as the second SEESOX/A.G. Leventis Foundation Visiting Fellow in Contemporary Greek Studies. The topic of his research at will be on the rise of the far right in Greece in relation to the economic crisis, diversity, and immigration. Tryfon has taught cultural anthropology at the University of Amsterdam and the University of Bayreuth, and has served as scientific advisor of the Netherlands Institute in Athens.

◆ Androulla Kaminara, the 2012-13 EU Visiting Fellow, will stay on at St Antony’s College for another academic year as a Visiting Scholar. Androulla will continue to work with SEESOX on matters relating to energy in Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean.

◆ SEESOX welcomes back Kalypso Nicolaidis, Chair of SEESOX, from her sabbatical at New York University where she was a Joint Strauss/Senior Emile Noël Fellow. In the US, she presented her research on “The crisis of European Demoi -cracy” at a series of workshops and forums.

◆ Kerem Öktem, has been appointed a Mercator - IPC (Istanbul Policy Centre) Fellow at Istanbul’s prestigious Sabanci University for the academic year 2013-14. He will continue his collaboration with SEESOX, and retain his affiliation with St Antony’s.

◆ Following a very active year, the new Political Economy of Financial Markets (PEFM) programme, under the Directorship of Max Watson, is running its first full series of seminars, on Monday evenings during Michaelmas 2013, with an impressive list of guest speakers.

◆ Dimitrios Gkintidis, our 2012-13 SEESOX/A.G. Leventis Visiting Fellow has been accepted at Princeton University as a visiting scholar of their Greek programme for the next academic year.
Contemporary Turkey at SEESOX

The study of Turkey’s political, social and foreign policy dynamics was prominent in this year’s programme. Yet, little did we know that our work at SEESOX on the political and economic crises in Greece and the Balkans would equip us with the appropriate conceptual and empirical framework to make sense of the massive protests that erupted in Turkey in May and June 2013.

With hindsight, all our events and publications did indeed expose growing tensions and fissures in Turkey’s society and among its ruling elites. To start, Karabekir Akkoyunlu, Kalypso Nicolaïdis and I published an essay on Turkey’s ‘Western condition’ and on the different logics of its engagement with the European Union, the Middle East and the USA. We discerned three corresponding turns in Turkey’s foreign policy since 2002, from Euroization and relative Autonomisation to (re-)Americanisation, with the latter two periods characterised by examples of over-commitment, overstretch and hubristic leadership.

A symposium on ‘Freedom and Unfreedom in Turkey’ in March, co-convened by Ozgur Cinar and myself, explored limitations on the freedoms of expression, religion and conscience - and increasing state pressure on civil society. Edward Mortimer noted a recent characterisation of Turkey as a “prison for journalist”; Reporters without Borders rank Turkey among the worst violators of freedom of the press. His concern for the current state and future of freedom of speech and press was shared by Kerem Altıparmak, Director of Ankara University’s Human Rights Centre, who emphasised the heavy restrictions on the media, which made investigative journalism all but impossible.

Three seminars in Trinity Term dealt with Turkey’s changing foreign policy and the interactions with domestic politics. Yaşar Yakşı, former Turkish Foreign Minister, argued that Syria had turned into the theatre for a ‘regional proxy war’, in which Turkey first acted too fast in siding with the opposition and then too slowly in responding to the challenges in the regional security environment and the emergence of radical Islamists groups like Jabhat al Nusra. The Syrian War was also a test case for Turkey’s soft power in the region, from which it had had emerged with significantly reduced leverage.

Ziya Önis, Professor of International Political Economy at Koç University Istanbul, gave two distinguished seminars. He first looked into the challenges to Turkey’s economic development and democratic reform process during the AKP government. He registered that the country’s economy had developed impressively, with important liberalising reforms enacted. Yet, Turkey now seemed to be caught in a middle-income trap and a procedural democracy trap. Progress required a major leap, which the government’s shift to a ‘neo-developmental’ strategy was unlikely to secure. In his second seminar, he discussed Turkey’s foreign policy after the Arab revolutions. It remained pragmatic, but Turkey’s policy, particularly in Syria, had moved from the earlier doctrine of ‘Zero Problems with Neighbours’ to a less calculable mode of over-commitment and ‘reluctant multilateralism’.

These seminars, and the larger contribution of SEESOX to the study of the crisis in South East Europe, inspired my lecture “The limits of neo-liberal conservatism”, in which I discussed whether the Turkish protests and acts of civil disobedience would inspire a new political language and lead to a curb on absolute power and the demise of majoritarianism. The answer is still out there; and the next academic year will be dedicated to study of the events in Turkey, in the context of crisis in the region and in Europe.

Kerem Öktem

In The Western Condition, Akkoyunlu, Nicolaïdis and Öktem examine the historical backdrop of Turkey’s engagement with the US, the EU and the Middle East, and detect three different logics of interaction. These logics they see also reflected in three distinct phases of foreign policy-making in the decade of AKP rule: Euroization and a ‘liberal moment’ of reform from 2002 – 2007; search for an autonomous foreign policy and of ‘strategic depth’ from 2007 – 2011; and, with the AKP government’s third term in response to the Arab uprisings, a return to pro-US policy in the Middle East.

Authors
Karabekir Akkoyunlu, Kalypso Nicolaïdis and Kerem Öktem
SEESOX Book Series on Current Affairs (February 2013)
Download this book from: http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/seesox/series.html

Yaşar Yakşı (centre) with Edward Mortimer (left) and Roy Allison

Ziya Önis (left) with Kerem Öktem
Visiting Fellows: IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Dimitrios Gkintidis—SEESOX/A.G. Leventis Visiting Fellow 2012-13

Dimitrios Gkintidis received his PhD from the University of Macedonia in 2011 with a specialization in Social Anthropology. He was the A G Leventis Foundation Visiting Fellow in Contemporary Greece for the academic year 2012/2013.

During my stay at St Antony’s College, I was associated with SEESOX and the European Studies Centre. Given my focus on Greek politics and European policies, this proved the ideal environment in which to work on my research project “Debts, money, and the imagination of Europe in the context of the Greek economic crisis”. It covered the perceptions and attitudes of Greek dominant classes (mostly political and technocratic elites) towards the European Union, the dynamics of Greek nationalism and perceptions of geopolitics within the context of the crisis, and included an extended bibliographical overview of scholarly and political texts on the economic crisis.

My stay in Oxford gave me the opportunity to discuss my research with colleagues and to receive constructive feedback. I gave presentations on “Material flows, Symbolic Policy, and the Project of European Integration in Late 20th and Early 21st Century Greece” (to be published in July 2013) at the ESC Visiting Fellows Seminar Series on 5 March, and on “On Generous Others: European Materiality and the Discourse of Autonomy in Contemporary Greece” at the Modern Greek Studies Seminar on 16 May. On 9 May, I convened a workshop on “Agency in the time of Structural Adjustment” (see box). My own presentation was entitled “Nation under crisis: Geopolitical dystopias in the Greek periphery”, which will be submitted for publication.

More widely, I participated in a series of challenging academic debates in Oxford. I acted as discussant in Dimitris Sotiropoulos’s presentation on 4 February on the societal impacts of the crisis in Greece and the Balkans, and I chaired the presentations of Ziya Meral and Ville Forsman on civil society in Turkey, as part of the symposium “Freedom or Unfreedom in Turkey”, convened by Kerem Öktem and Özgür Çınar on 9 March. During Hilary term I participated as a moderator in the workshop "Migration and Asylum Policies in Europe" convened by Carolina Kobelinsky on 6 and 7 June, and on 10 June chaired Kerem Öktem’s presentation on the Taksim Square protests.

Additionally, I submitted the paper “Rephrasing Nationalism: Elite Representations of Greek-Turkish Relations in a Greek Border Region” which will be published in the 2014 edition of the journal Southeast European and Black Sea Studies.

My year in Oxford was a really valuable experience, which helped me refine the focus of my research and define its future direction. I would like to thank director Othon Anastasakis for his support and interest in my work, Renee Hirschon for her help and valuable advice, and Roulla Kaminara, Carolina Kobelinsky, and Kerem Öktem for their help and interest in discussing my research. The SEESOX Monday meetings provided a stimulating environment to debate ideas, and I would like to thank all participants. Special thanks to Julie Adams for her constant friendly and practical support and her help in successfully convening the workshop.

Dimitrios Gkintidis

From left to right: Kerem Öktem, Daniel Knight, Dimitrios Gkintidis
Androulla Kaminara—EU Visiting Fellow 2012-13

Androulla Kaminara has worked for the European Commission since 1991. Before joining the Commission she was a senior consultant, special adviser to two Cabinet Ministers in Greece. She holds a B.Sc. in Geology and Physics (Univ. London), Masters in Management Science (Imperial College, London) as well as Maîtrise in International Politics (ULB - Brussels).

This has been a truly amazing year for me. I felt like a child in a sweet shop, where the rich array of “sweets” which I wanted to taste demonstrated the remarkable depth and breadth of the knowledge existing here at the University of Oxford, and more specifically at St Antony’s College.

For an EU bureaucrat with over 20 years of experience in the service to be in an environment that examines every aspect of EU policy was challenging, invigorating and refreshing. This academic year has also been a very busy year.

I have been carrying out my own research on the interrelation between energy and political developments in the context of EU policy developments. I have focused on the East Mediterranean and the implications of the discovery of natural gas in the region. It has been particularly challenging since the political and energy related developments in the region and further afield were rapid and far reaching, even in the small time frame of the 2012-13 academic year.

My first seminar in 2012 was entitled “The discovery of natural gas in the South East Mediterranean: Politically trapped gas or fuel for cooperation?” looked at what was discovered, what was the ongoing cooperation between the countries in the region, often despite the negative rhetoric of the political leaders and what could potentially be done in order to promote cooperation.

In 2013 I have mainly focused on furthering the understanding of the developments by talking to energy experts and key decision-makers from the region. In this context I also convened two very interesting seminars – one with the Turkish Deputy Minister for Energy, and the second with the Chairman of the Cypriot National Hydrocarbon Company. For both of these events a detailed blog post is available on SEESOX Blog and on kaminara.wordpress.com where also additional information on relevant issues can be found.

I have been an active member of the Energy Network of Oxford University and had the opportunity to learn from the experts and to participate in discussions on energy policies of the UK, Russia, China, India, East Africa etc.

In June 2013 I presented the final findings of my research to two specialised audiences – the first at Chatham House to the Fossil Fuels Roundtable and the second one to the College. I am very pleased with the feedback I received.

In addition, in February 2013 I presented a seminar on the implications of the Cypriot Presidential election on the Cypriot political scene just only a couple of days after the election results were known and combined these with an analysis of the developments in the Turkish Cypriot community. These implications and the subsequent negative developments on the economy kept Cyprus in the global media headlines for weeks.

I have also of course, been taking a very active role in seminars and conferences on the EU developments – e.g. financial crisis, political economy, democratic legitimacy, social implications of crisis, migration and other similarly much in the headlines topics.

Androulla Kaminara

“...This has been a truly amazing year for me. I felt like a child in a sweet shop, where the rich array of ‘sweets’ which I wanted to taste demonstrated the remarkable depth and breadth of the knowledge existing here at the University of Oxford...”

Eastern Mediterranean at the crossroads

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SEMINAR
Tinos, Greece, June 2013

This four-day seminar, organised by SEESOX in partnership with the Institute of International Relations, Panteion University, Athens, analysed in depth the parameters of the current situation in the Eastern Mediterranean, the dynamics that are developing there, and to what extent the region can emerge as a model of understanding, cooperation and progress.
**Political economy at SEESOX**

The political economy program at SEESOX focussed on three key issues:

- The consequences for South East Europe of the ongoing Eurozone crisis.
- Reviewing the objectives and challenges of convergence with the EU.
- The implications of EU banking reforms. Work had already begun in the Michaelmas term, with a seminar in Sarajevo in November 2012, hosted by the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the leadership of Governor Kemal Kozarić (see box).

**Living in the Neighbourhood of the Euro Area**

WORKSHOP 22 November, 2012

The Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in cooperation with SEESOX, hosted a seminar in Sarajevo under the rubric of “Living in the Neighbourhood of the Euro Area”. The aim was to assess the experience of progressive financial integration of South East Europe with the EU, take stock of progress with the EU accession process, and look at the evolving relationship between central banking and fiscal policy. Delegates heard that financial integration with the EU had played, and would continue to play, a crucial role in facilitating transition in the region. Reliance on foreign financing, however, also exposed the region to wide swings in creditor confidence, with first too much capital coming in during the final years of the boom, and then a sudden stop in 2009. The fault lay not just with foreign creditors, however, as the growth model in South East Europe had warped too far toward development of the non-traded goods sector, leaving the region with an insufficient export base to support it when foreign financing dried up. Moreover, during the boom years, the region’s fiscal authorities had overestimated the strength of their revenues—when recession hit, there was insufficient fiscal space to soften the blow. The region needed to focus on developing a more export oriented growth model, while maintaining a more prudent fiscal stance. The overarching goal for the region remained convergence and integration with the EU, albeit with lessons learnt (on both sides) from the crisis.

The challenge was picked up again in the Hilary term on March 8, 2013, at a workshop hosted by SEESOX at St Antony’s College in Oxford in cooperation with the Bank of Albania, SEESOX’s other key partner in the region. The Governor of the Central Bank of Albania, Ardian Fullani, was at the European Studies Centre (ESC) for a joint book launch the day before (see box), and stayed to participate in the seminar discussions on the general theme of “Redefining Convergence”.

Delegates discussed how the region’s competitiveness could be improved, whether there was scope for an industrial policy to guide development, and what role foreign direct investment could play. The value of the EU as role model—with its leadership in question and its existing membership far from unified or even economically converged—was discussed and debated, even though it was clear that EU accession was still the only game in town for those countries in South East Europe that were not yet members.

Delegates also discussed how both regions could benefit from a more systematic outsourcing of production from the EU to South East Europe. Convergence would then involve the progressive ascent up the value added ladder in the production process as foreign direct investment and training raised the region’s technical skills. There was some scepticism, however, about the ability of national authorities to guide this process. There was general agreement that economic convergence could not succeed without political support for reforms; and support for greater regional cooperation.

On May 16, 2013, SEESOX and the Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina convened a gathering of academics, bankers, representatives of the EBRD and ECB, and policy makers from South East Europe, to discuss “EU banking reform and financial stability in South East Europe”. On this occasion SEESOX joined forces with the ESC’s new programme on the Political Economy of Financial Markets (PEFM).
capital flows across borders for countries on the periphery of the Euro Area and for the emerging market countries beyond its Eastern edges. This showed how those within the Euro Area, but on its periphery, had seen large banking and portfolio inflows, but large outflows of foreign direct investment in the boom years. East European countries outside the Euro Area, by contrast, saw a large share of inward foreign direct investment and large banking inflows only toward the end of the boom. The greater reliance on inward foreign direct investment softened the blow for countries in South East Europe when the crisis hit, by comparison to the Euro Area periphery, but did not avoid a downturn. Participants discussed the reasons for this pattern of flows inside and outside the Euro Area, and whether such a pattern might return or change under a new Euro Area banking model when Europe recovered.

Delegates were also treated to a detailed presentation by Mauro Grande (ECB) on the various proposals being tabled for a new EU banking model, and how it would operate for those in the Euro Area, for those who were not but could opt in, and for those who chose to opt out. A key unresolved issue (and possible stumbling block) remained the role of member states in financing the envisaged bank resolution fund.

Adam Bennett

To complement the workshop and kick-start the debate, a seminar was organized at the ESC the previous evening by PEFM and SEESOX to consider the presentations of Peter Sanfey (St. Antony’s College and the EBRD) and Jeromin Zettelmeyer (EBRD) on the topic “The changing EU financial architecture: Implications for Eastern Europe”. The subject matter of the seminar (and subsequent workshop) was highly complex, and the more so because the task of reforming the financial architecture was clearly still “work in progress”. In these circumstances, there were inevitably more questions than answers, including whether reforming the financial architecture alone would be enough to confer viability to the Euro Area, and how countries in South East Europe would interact with the new financial architecture when it did eventually take shape.

The next day began with an analysis of the evolution of capital flows across borders for countries on the periphery of the Euro Area and for the emerging market countries beyond its Eastern edges. This showed how those within the Euro Area, but on its periphery, had seen large banking and portfolio inflows, but large outflows of foreign direct investment in the boom years. East European countries outside the Euro Area, by contrast, saw a large share of inward foreign direct investment and large banking inflows only toward the end of the boom. The greater reliance on inward foreign direct investment softened the blow for countries in South East Europe when the crisis hit, by comparison to the Euro Area periphery, but did not avoid a downturn. Participants discussed the reasons for this pattern of flows inside and outside the Euro Area, and whether such a pattern might return or change under a new Euro Area banking model when Europe recovered.

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Adam Bennett

Launch of two SEESOX books in the context of the partnership with the Bank of Albania

Growth in Albania and South East Europe: the Way Ahead, published by SEESOX and written by Ardian Fullani, Governor of the Bank of Albania, lays out the economic issues facing Albanian policymakers in the wake of the recent global financial crisis, drawing on a wide range of national and international sources. The analysis is enriched by an examination of the political economy of the Communist era to assess where the economic transformation of the past two decades derailed, showing how it failed to adequately address the deep-rooted problems of the past. The book also seeks to give greater precision to such concepts as ‘enhancing competitiveness’ or ‘changing the growth model’, asking what specifically these mean in an Albanian and South East European context. Defining a New Reform Agenda: Paths to Sustainable Convergence in South East Europe, also published by SEESOX, is a collection of papers prepared by authors from Albania, the EBRD and the IMF, and edited by Othon Anastasakis, Peter Sanfey and Max Watson. These papers cover a range of issues relevant to the central question of whether the growth model followed by South East Europe in the transition period in the run-up to the crisis remains appropriate for the region. The authors identify the impediments to reform and the constraints on growth resulting from the old socialist/communist political-economic legacy, explore the key reforms required to improve the business environment and competitiveness, and stress the need for more and better targeted foreign direct investment. The overarching message of the book is that the region needs a more export-oriented growth model than was pursued prior to the crisis.

Governor Fullani (second left), with Peter Sanfey (far left), Othon Anastasakis, and Max Watson

Delegates were also treated to a detailed presentation by Mauro Grande (ECB) on the various proposals being tabled for a new EU banking model, and how it would operate for those in the Euro Area, for those who were not but could opt in, and for those who chose to opt out. A key unresolved issue (and possible stumbling block) remained the role of member states in financing the envisaged bank resolution fund.

Adam Bennett

Launch of two SEESOX books in the context of the partnership with the Bank of Albania
The crisis in the Eurozone has created deep uncertainty: how will it be overcome, what new institutions and structures will be created, what will be the balance between EZ and non-EZ members of the EU, what variable geometry will be needed? It has also, by concentrating attention on the internal workings of the Union to the exclusion of much else, tended to erode the credibility of the enlargement process now that Croatia has joined. And it has inevitably undermined trust in the EU among the countries of South East Europe.

Our starting thesis at SEESOX is that the crisis has altered the EU role: as an economic model and inspiration for reform; as a source of growth, through export opportunities, banking inflows and FDI; as a normative power, exercising effective conditionality; and, as a result of the introspection induced by the crisis, as a policy anchor.

It was this analysis which inspired the SEESOX seminar series in the Hilary Term, with the above title. This examined the thesis under various headings: political cultures, the Brussels-Washington economic model, power sharing, social impacts, foreign policy, domestic politics etc. We were assisted by a variety of external experts, including the former Prime Minister of Slovakia, Iveta Radicova, representatives of the Economist Intelligence Unit, the EBRD and the Open Society, and academics from German, Greek and UK Universities. We had a valuable joint presentation in Europe House in London together with the International Business and Diplomatic Exchange; and also presented our findings in a Committee Room of the House of Lords, through the excellent offices of The Global Strategy Forum.

Undoubtedly, the crisis in the EU has had damaging economic consequences in South East Europe, including economic stagnation, reduced scope for exports, a high level of youth unemployment, and inaction against corruption. We have been tending to see divergence not convergence. What is needed are economic strategies by countries of the region to restart growth on a more sustainable basis, including through targeted structural reforms to address widespread weaknesses e.g. a skills gap and a deficient business environment.

One particular area for improvement is infrastructure. Good communications help trade and prosperity, and self-evidently break down barriers of all kinds, both physical and socio-political. The construction of the Tirana-Pristina and hopefully in due course Belgrade-motorway - will be a key driver of economic development and regional integration.

Another message from the seminars is that the region needs to instil, and institutionalise, a greater degree of bottom up reform into the process, rather than relying on top-down, Brussels-led stimuli. There have also been knock-on political effects of the crisis, in terms of a democratic deficit, a crisis in democratic representation and some degree of democratic regression (affecting both some member states in the region and non-member states).

Our seminar series drew a number of other conclusions, some more tentative than others:

- the importance of developing a domestic constituency for reform, especially when the attractiveness of the EU as an anchor for reform is weakened. In any case the EU
cannot impose reform on an unwilling partner

- the huge challenge which reform poses for current candidates, especially in the aftermath of recent conflict
- the EU finds it difficult to focus on more than one key priority in accession negotiations at a time
- there is scope for getting better leverage from pre-accession funding – and improved management capacity in the candidate countries – in order to secure political and economic objectives
- the EU, correctly, has no desire to import pre-existing ethnic and bilateral tensions into the Union, but these can complicate final stages of entry e.g. as in the case of Slovenia/Croatia. The trick is to use the EU accession process as a way of defusing tensions and making political progress e.g. Serbia/Kosovo

- the need to learn lessons of earlier accessions and ensure that e.g. the importance of media freedom to the rule of law is fully addressed
- corruption issues remain a problem: and the availability of substantial EU funding sadly compounds this problem
- the credibility of the accession perspective is essential to whole process of accession-led reform.

The key questions are: do the countries of South East Europe, which are not yet members, have an alternative to EU accession? Can the EU exercise conditionality? And does the EU have a transformative effect? The quick answers to those three questions are: Probably No on alternatives to accession; Can the EU exercise conditionality? And does the EU have a transformative effect? The quick answers to those three questions are: Probably No on alternatives to accession; Probably Yes on conditionality; and Possibly Yes on Transformative effect.

Looking ahead, there are some positive signs: enlargement is still on the radar, with Montenegro probably leading the little flotilla of vessels which have set out from South East Europe; and there is now an agreement between Serbia and Kosovo, which although limited, allows both countries to pursue their own paths towards the EU.

On the negative side of the ledger is the growing asperity in the region, especially from those towards the back of the flotilla, about the credibility of the accession process; the shortage of really committed champions of accession in the EU (though partial champions have caused a few problems in the past); and the possibility of proliferating vetoes, even if countries get near the finishing line.

And, to conclude, there is a big new subject in the region: Cyprus Gas. Not quite an elephant in the room, but a very sizeable leviathan. And, since my colleague Androulla Kaminara has written on this subject in this Review, and far more knowledgeably than I could, I shall end my report there.

David Madden
SEESOX activities & events

Hilary 2013 (January—April)

Europeanisation and convergence in practice – in neutral or in reverse?
Dimitar Bechev (European Council for Foreign Relations, Sofia);
Kalypso Nicolaidis (St Antony’s College, Oxford); Jonathan Scheele (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
The economics – is the Brussels-Washington model still applicable?
Laza Kekilc (Economist Intelligence Unit); Max Watson (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
Europeanization of the Balkans or Balkanization of the EU? Governance challenges on both sides
Alina Mungiu-Pippidi (Hertie University, Berlin)
Society – how far is the impact of the crisis irreversible?
Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos (University of Athens); Dimitrios Gkintidis (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
Romania and Poland – a review of differing post-accession realities
Jonathan Scheele (ESC Visiting Fellow, St Antony’s College, Oxford)
Reform – how far does the EU have real transformative power?
Heather Grabbe (Open Society European Policy Institute)
Israel, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans
Alon Liel (Former Israeli Ambassador)
The implications of the February 2013 presidential elections in Cyprus
Androulla Kaminara (European Bank of U Visiting Fellow, St Antony’s College, Oxford)
Emerging Europe in the wake of the crisis
Peter Sanfey (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development); Jeromin Zettelmeier (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development)
Domestic politics – democratic regression?
Othon Anastasakis (St Antony’s College, Oxford); Kerem Öktem (St Antony’s College, Oxford); Iveta Radečová (Former Prime Minister of Slovakia)
Material flows, symbolic policy, and the project of European integration in contemporary Greece
Dimitrios Gkintidis (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
‘Defining a New Reform Agenda’ and ‘Albania and Southeast Europe’
Othon Anastasakis, Ardian Fullani, Peter Sanfey, Max Watson

Trinity 2013 (April–June)

Turkey and the European Union energy policy
Hasan Murat Mercan (Turkish Deputy Minister for Energy);
Androulla Kaminara (St Antony’s College, Oxford)
The evolution of the Syria conflict, and Turkish-Syrian relations
Yaşar Yakış (Former Turkish Foreign Minister, and a former Turkish Ambassador to the UN Office in Austria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia)
Symbology of the state and its discontents: The case of Turkey
Nora Fisher Onar (Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul)
Serbia and regional cooperation in the Western Balkans: EU membership perspective as a tool for overcoming the past
Dejan Popović (Ambassador of Serbia to the United Kingdom);
Elizabeth Roberts (Trinity College, Oxford)
The changing EU financial architecture: Implications for Eastern Europe
Peter Sanfey (European Bank of Reconstruction and Development); Jeromin Zettelmeier (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development)

Conferences and workshops

CENTRAL BANK OF BIH/SEESOX CONFERENCE (Sarajevo) Nov. 2012
Living in the neighbourhood of the Euro area
ORGANISED AND FUNDED BY THE CENTRAL BANK OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, IN COOPERATION WITH SEESOX
BANK OF ALBANIA/SEESOX SEMINAR (Oxford) Mar. 2013
Reform and regional cooperation in South East Europe: In the shadow of the Euro-Zone crisis
IN COOPERATION WITH THE BANK OF ALBANIA
1ST SOUTH EAST EUROPEAN MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE (Europe House, London) Feb. 2013
Assessing the EU’s enlargement in the Western Balkans: Progress and challenges
IN COOPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS & DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE
SYMPOSIUM (Oxford) Mar. 2013
Freedom and unfreedom in Turkey: Religion, society and politics
Revisiting convergence
ORGANISED BY GLOBAL STRATEGY FORUM
WORKSHOP (Oxford) May 2013
Agency in the time of Structural Adjustment: Social perspectives on contemporary Greece
SPONSORED BY THE A.G. LEVENTIS FOUNDATION
CENTRAL BANK OF BIH/SEESOX WORKSHOP (Oxford) May 2013
EU banking reform and financial stability in South East Europe
IN ASSOCIATION WITH PEFM
INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SEMINAR (Tinos) Jun. 2013
Eastern Mediterranean at the crossroads
IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Ambassadors present...

On 6 May, Ambassador Dr Dejan Popovic, spoke on Serbia and regional cooperation. More specifically he spoke about the normalisation of relations with Kosovo and the April agreement with the facilitation of the EU, Serbia’s relations with neighbouring Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina; he also discussed Serbia’s EU aspirations and the role of the EU’s soft power as incentive for reform in all countries in the Western Balkans.

On 20 May, Ambassador Konstantinos Bikas spoke on Greece’s foreign policy priorities. He focused on Greece’s image abroad and regaining its external credibility in the shadow of the economic crisis. He confirmed Greece’s wish to remain in the Eurozone and the need to increase its competitiveness. He also discussed Greece’s relations with the neighbouring states in South East Europe, as well as developments in the eastern Mediterranean.

Forthcoming events for 2013-14

In the context of SEESOX’s cooperation with the Bank of Albania, a conference is taking place in Tirana in September on policy anchors and business perspectives in South East Europe. Also planned is a workshop on peace-building in the region, looking at the case of Serbia and Kosovo and the implementation of the April agreement; a conference in Belgrade to look at the European prospects of the Western Balkan countries; and later in the year, SEESOX will be organising a conference in Bosnia in the context of the partnership with the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

January 1, 2014 sees the opening of the Greek Presidency of the Council of the EU. The next academic year offers an opportunity for SEESOX to examine issues affecting the region and Europe, which will be on the EU’s table in the New Year, like energy, migration, and the strengthening of the Eurozone developments.

2014 sees the centenary of the start of WWI. SEESOX is planning a series of events during the calendar year on the origins, impact, and legacy of WWI in South East Europe.

The Hilary Term Seminar Series will examine the impact of the crisis in the Middle East on South East Europe.

SEESOX is planning a panel discussion on the 90 years from the 1923 expulsion/exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey.

Finally SEESOX will engage in the debate on the causes and impact of protest politics during the 2013 “summer of discontent” in many parts of the region.

SEESOX events are advertised on the Home page of the SEESOX website

www.sant.ox.ac.uk/seesox
**SEESOX looks to the future**

In the last Review, I reported on the formation of a new Development Committee to mark the tenth anniversary of SEESOX, and on the plan to launch a major fundraising effort to keep SEESOX going for the next decade and more. The intervening months have demonstrated just how much is going on in the area (from the banking crisis in Cyprus, to developments on natural gas, to the historic agreement between Serbia and Kosovo, to Taksim Square) and hence the need for close monitoring, research, analysis and exegesis. SEESOX is in a unique position to do this for the region, and for the wider academic community in the UK and Europe.

As I wrote in December, the three pillars for SEESOX in the coming period will be academic excellence, outreach and funding. You can read about the academic programme in the other contributions. On outreach, I would highlight our Annual Lecture, this year by the President of Croatia as part of his visit to the UK on the eve of Croatia’s accession to the EU; and our “Convergence Revisited” events with the IBDE and the Global Strategy Forum. The planned forthcoming events on the 10th Anniversary of the Thessaloniki European Council, the Serbia/Kosovo Agreement, and, above all, the Centenary of 1914, represent important opportunities both to make an important contribution to scholarship and to tackle significant and high-profile issues. Last year SEESOX was particularly active with the website, the blogs and the social media in order to publicise and draw maximum benefit from its events.

On the funding front, we are very happy to announce that we have renewed our strategic partnership with the Bank of Albania for another three years. Next year is also the second year of our partnership with the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, following an excellent start. In addition, we look forward to the second year of the A.G. Leventis visiting fellowship in the context of our five year agreement with the generous sponsor. We are also pursuing proven sources of funding, and looking for new areas of cooperation in our effort to promote fellowships and research that could be useful to the region as a whole, and the countries in the region. And we are strengthening our connections and relationships with the Embassies of SEESOX countries in London (see Ambassadors Forum), and also with UK Embassies in the region.

In the last Review, I ended with a plea. Could I repeat it now, with renewed urgency? As friends of SEESOX, please don’t leave everything to the Committee. If you have ideas about research activities and academic output, as well as potential individual, institutional or corporate donors, please share them with us. To paraphrase JF Kennedy “Think of what you can do for SEESOX but also what SEESOX can do for you”.

*Sir David Madden*