

SOUTH EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES AT OXFORD

— 20 Years —
seesOX
2002 - 2022



Contents



Our finest moments at SEESOX	3
Geopolitics and South East Europe	6
Political Economy of South East Europe	7
SEESOX Diaspora: The Greek Diaspora Project	8
SEESOX in numbers	9
People at SEESOX 2002-2022	10
Team SEESOX 2012-2022	11
SEESOX Anniversary Day	12
SEESOX Anniversary Day Garden Party	13
SEESOX Lectures 2002-2022	14
SEESOX Conferences 2002-2022	16
SEESOX Workshops 2002-2022	18
SEESOX Global Strategy Forum Partnership	19
SEESOX Books 2002-2022	20
SEESOX Steering Committee	21
A message from the Administrator	22
About SEESOX	23

Happy Anniversary SEESOX

CELEBRATING 20 YEARS 2002 - 2022

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 of 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 thematic.

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 socio-economic 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 SEESOX Hellenic Advisory Board with the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Chris Patten

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



Margaret MacDonald, Elizabeth Roberts, Ivo Banac and Richard Crampton

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



Team SEESOX at the Monday planning meeting

Geopolitics and South East Europe

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



Serbia/Kosovo: The Brussels Agreements and Beyond workshop, November 2013

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



Political economy of South East Europe

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



SEESOX –Bank of Albania conference in Tirana, October 2017

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)



'Life outside the Euro' conference, January 2020

SEESOX Diaspora: The Greek Diaspora Project



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.

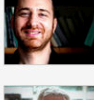
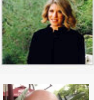
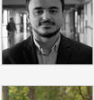
Manolis Pratsinakis



The SEESOX Diaspora Project donors

The SEESOX Diaspora Team



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SEESOX in numbers



People at SEESOX 2002-2022

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Marrack Goulding	Chair, Steering Committee	Lamprini Rori	A.G. Leventis Fellow
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Androulla Kaminara	EU Fellow	Sappho Xenakis	Project Associate
Eirini Karamouzi	A.G. Leventis Fellow	Okan Yardımcı	Academic Visitor
Mehmet Karlı	PCT Coordinator	Nuri Yurdusev	PCT Visiting Fellow

*PCT = Programme on Contemporary Turkey

Team SEESOX

during the second decade - 2012-2022

From left to right row by row



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 Murat Belge
 Nora Fisher Onar
 Okan Yardımcı
 Olga Demetriou
 Othon Anastasakis
 Stefan Szwed
 Tryfon Bampilis
 Yaprak Gursoy

SEESOX Anniversary Day

South East Europe in the Shadow of the War in Ukraine



Panel 1: David Madden, Eli Gateva, Jonathan Scheele and Kristijan Fidanovski

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 Damjanovic (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



Panel 2: Milos Damjanovic, Adis Merdzanovic, Marilena Simiti, Dimitar Bechev, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Kerem Öktem



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 Davutoglu (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



George Papandreou (left)



Lord Ashdown



Dora Bakoyannis



Olli Rehn



Klaus Regling



Güler Sabancı (second from right)

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



Ivo Josipović



Edi Rama (left)



Nikos Kotzias (right)



Ivan Krastev (front row)



Nikos Karamouzis



Lord Robertson (left)

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)



Participants at the The fourth Oxford Symposium on (Trans)nationalism in South East Europe, May 2006

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-PEFM 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



Participants at the SEESOX Diaspora Conference, June 2018

SEESOX-ATHENS DEREK 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



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, 2011

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-Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina Workshop, 2013

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



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 GFS 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



Adis Merdzanovic, Lord Lothian, David Madden, Jessie Barton Hronesova, Othon Anastasakis

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

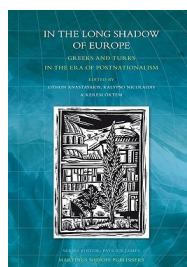
Weaponising migration: Challenges for Europe

June 2022

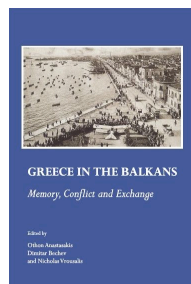
SEESOX books 2002-2022



Cyprus after Accession: Getting Past 'No'
Othon Anastasakis and Kalypso Nicolaïdis, eds
SEESOX, 2007



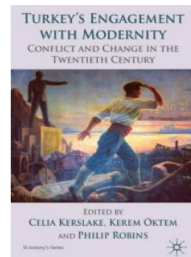
In the long shadow of Europe: Greeks and Turks in the Era of Postnationalism
Othon Anastasakis, Kalypso Nicolaïdis and Kerem Öktem, eds
Brill, 2009



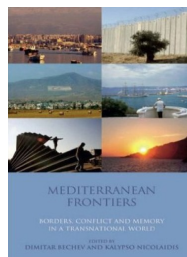
Greece in the Balkans: Memory, Conflict and Exchange
Othon Anastasakis, Dimitar Bechev and Nicolas Vrousalis, eds
Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009



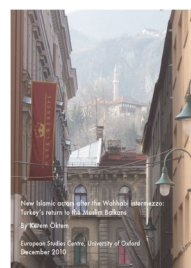
Mutual Misunderstandings: Muslims and Islam in the European Media
Europe in the media of European Countries
Kerem Öktem and Reem Abu-El-Fadl
European Studies Centre, 2009



Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict, and Change in the Twentieth Century
Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem and Philip Robbins, eds
Palgrave-St Antony's Series, 2010



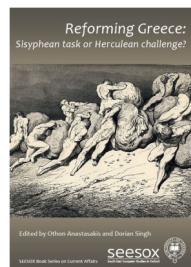
Mediterranean Frontiers: Borders, Conflict, and Memory in a Transnational World
Dimitar Bechev and Kalypso Nicolaïdis, eds
I.B. Tauris, 2010



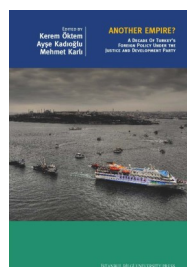
New Islamic actions after the Wahhabi intermezzo: Turkey's Return to the Muslim Balkans
Kerem Öktem
European Studies Centre, 2010



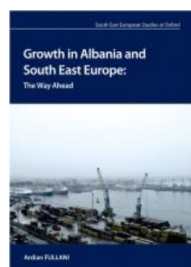
From Crisis to Recovery: Sustainable Growth in South East Europe
Othon Anastasakis, Jens Bastian and Max Watson, eds
SEESOX, 2011



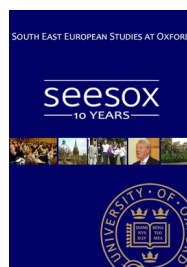
Reforming Greece: Sisyphean task or Herculean Challenge?
Othon Anastasakis and Dorian Singh, eds
SEESOX, 2012



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



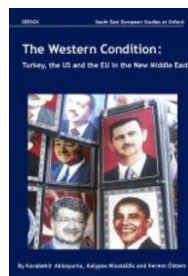
Growth in Albania and South East Europe: The Way Ahead
Ardian Fullani
SEESOX, 2012



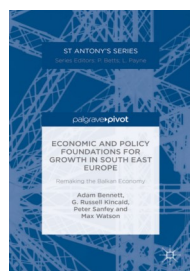
SEESOX 10 Years: The 10th Anniversary Issue
Julie Adams and Othon Anastasakis, eds
SEESOX, 2012



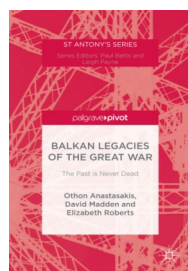
Defining a New Reform Agenda: Paths to sustainable convergence in South East Europe
Othon Anastasakis, Peter Sanfey and Max Watson, eds
SEESOX, 2013



The Western Condition: Turkey, the US and the EU in the New Middle East
Karabekir Akkoyunlu, Kalypso Nicolaidis and Kerem Oktem, eds
SEESOX, 2013



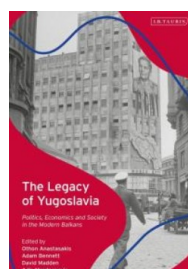
Economic and Policy Foundations for Growth in South East Europe: Remaking the Balkan Economy
Adam Bennett, G. Russell Kincaid, Peter Sanfey and Max Watson, eds
Palgrave MacMillan, 2015



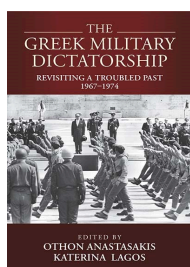
Balkan Legacies of the Great War: The Past is Never Dead
Othon Anastasakis, David Madden and Elizabeth Roberts, eds
Palgrave MacMillan, 2016



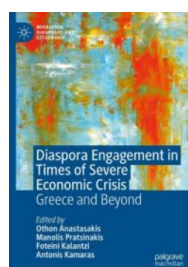
Aligning Monetary Policy with Financial Stability
Othon Anastasakis, Adam Bennett, Charles Enoch and Gent Sejko, eds
SEESOX, 2017



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



The Greek Military Dictatorship: Revisiting a Troubled Past 1967-1974
Othon Anastasakis and Katerina Lagos, eds
Berghahn, 2022



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

The SEESOX Steering Committee



 Julie Adams	 Othon Anastasakis	 Dimitar Bechev	 Richard Caplan
 Franck Duvell	 Renee Hirscon	 Stathis Kalyvas	 Celia Kerslake
 Laurent Mignon	 Julie Newton	 Kalypso Nicolaidis	 Elizabeth Roberts
		 Kostas Skordyles	

Previous members

Zafer Başak

Jane Caplan

Richard Crampton

Charles Enoch

Timothy Garton Ash

Marrack Golding (Chair)

Geoffrey Lewis

Michael Kaser

Carol Leonard

Margaret MacMillan (Chair)

Kerem Oktem

Philip Robins

Dimitri Papanikolaou

Max Watson

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



Friends and colleagues of SEESOX attending the 10th Anniversary event in May 2012

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.

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