

SOUTH EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES AT OXFORD

seesox

— 10 YEARS —



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seesox

— 10 YEARS —

SEESOX is 10!

Voltaire's 1755 cry "Lisbon is destroyed, and they dance in Paris!" may have planted the seeds of earthquake diplomacy for centuries to come. But when the earth shook in Istanbul and then Athens in 1999 nobody danced on either side. Instead, inspired by the response of their people, the then foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey, initiated a process of so-called *rapprochement* which in spite of bumps along the way is still with us today. Their ambition went beyond their bilateral courtship, to help overcome the deep mutual stereotypes prevailing in the region, after years of regional conflict. The new decade seemed ripe for the whole of Southeast Europe to seek to overcome the legacies of communism, ethnic conflict, violence and war. This spirit echoed all the way in Oxford as Greek sponsors, later joined by others from around the region, vowed to support our initiative to create a research programme devoted to Southeast Europe which would bring together scholars and actors for change in the region.

So SEESOX was born from the ashes of the natural and man-made disasters that plagued Southeast Europe in the 1990s. While the earlier plight of the Portuguese became a rallying cry for Enlightenment figures against the belief that we live in "the best of all possible worlds", our world has long abandoned such excuses for evil. We started with the realities of a region which needed to overcome pervasive nationalism and othering *inside* and widespread prejudices *outside*.

This has now been our agenda for a decade: to contribute to critical reflection on a region, whose historical, cultural, socio-political and economic fabric defies easy academic categories and to help frame policies aimed at bridging the gap between its fantastic promise and its frustratingly wanting performance –notwithstanding major variations of course!

What better home for this ambition than the vibrant environment of a University committed for hundreds of years ago to training young minds concomitantly in the profundities of classics, Byzantine and oriental studies (Oxford boasts the greatest concentration of ancient Greek scholars in the world), and the stringent laws of commerce and politics; what better home than the University's European Studies Centre itself housed at St Antony's College which defies the strictures of disciplinary boundaries to apprehend regions around the world in their full multifacedness.

There have been challenges along the way of course. SEESOX was only created initially as a three year programme so we saw its expansion as a necessity for its consolidation; our periodic involvement in conflict zones has not always escaped controversy; debates over history and memory



“Over the past ten years SEESOX has done a great deal to make the study of modern Southeastern Europe part of research and teaching at Oxford. It has deepened Oxford's already strong capacity in the history, culture and politics of an increasingly important region for Europe and its neighbours. SEESOX's record over the past ten years is both a cause for warmest congratulations and great optimism for the future.”

Margaret MacMillan
Warden,
St Antony's College



have sometimes released raw emotions among our interlocutors; estrangement between actors in the region has sometimes been reflected back on us; and of course, Greece has been caught in the web of the financial crisis while academic endeavours such as ours have obviously also been hit by its fallout. Nevertheless, we have survived and thrived.

So our tenth anniversary is certainly a cause for celebration, an occasion we want to mark through the publication of this pamphlet and a period of reflection on our next ten years. As is clear for all to see from ‘Julie’s SEESOX Timeline’ in the centre of this anniversary issue, we celebrate here above all the team spirit which has made our regional academic journey possible: at the core, the community of SEESOX associates who have contributed to our work over the years, many of whom share their thoughts in the following pages. As we hope these pages also reflect, this spirit extends to our student community and their vibrant societies; the visiting fellows who enriched us with their contributions; our College colleagues who have served on our numerous committees and panels starting with the members of the European Centre; as well as our Chancellor and colleagues from many other parts of the University; and last but not least the enthusiastic sponsors who have trusted us over the years. We are grateful to all of them – to the SEESOX team, including our dedicated administrator, Julie Adams, and the broader community which has nurtured it during the course of these 10 years.

Thanks to them, SEESOX has become the place where we talk about the region at our University. Thanks to them, and in addition to numerous pamphlets and reports, it has put its stamp on a number of important academic books, including *In the long Shadow of Europe; Mediterranean Frontiers; Greece in the Balkans; Turkey’s Engagement with Modernity; From Crisis to Recovery*; and, most recently, *Another Empire?* and *Reforming Greece*. Thanks to them, it has burgeoned in many directions over the decade, with new projects on the study of contemporary Greece, the study of the Mediterranean (RAMSES), the programmes on Contemporary Turkey and on the political economy of South East Europe; we created visiting fellowships (Alpha Bank, A.G. Leventis) and we established a networked partnership with academic institutions, and central banks (of Greece, Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina) across the region.

In all these endeavours, and as reflected in the contributions that follow, we have sought to maintain our collective commitment to some core standards: academic rigour and critical thinking, inclusive and multi-disciplinary dialogue; constructive yet critical engagement with EU officialdom as well as that of other international organisations; assessing issues as impartially as we can and at least from multiple viewpoints and ideologies; and above all a commitment to the spirit of reconstruction, reconciliation and genuine mutual recognition in the region.

Unsurprisingly, our research and activities have not been impervious to the ups-and-downs of the region over the last ten years – but we have tried to provide a healthy dose of counter-cyclical reflection: swimming against the waves of enlargement fatigue before and after the “Thessaloniki promise”; encouraging our Greek-Turkish network to discuss continued mutual (mis)understandings between too many – still! – in Greece and Turkey; engaging scholarly with Muslim communities in the Balkans at a time when they were increasingly seen as ‘security threats’ and ‘potential terrorists’; dissecting prospects for Cyprus at various points in the decade from our “getting to yes” to our “getting past no” reports; holding brainstorming sessions with Paddy Ashdown, a few days before and after his stint as High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

What next? Our 10th anniversary is also an invitation to reflect on the next 10 years and beyond. What lessons can we export from the last decade to the next? Is the region bound to fall prey to *cycles of eternal return*, conflict dampened and re-ignited, minorities recognised and re-victimised, democracy obtained and denied anew, seeds of growth planted and uprooted, states re-formed and re-captured, or the rule of law affirmed, mocked and re-affirmed? Or can we discern some genuine progress, an upward trend albeit timid, from which we could extrapolate a Horizon 2022?

We hope that SEESOX will be able to continue to explore these questions over the next decade as we hope to extend our remit to give more space to anthropology, sociology and cultural studies; we hope to deepen existing collaborations and form new partnerships, including to revive our Mediterranean and Greek-Turkish networks as well as enlarge our network of associates on the political economy of the region; we hope to encourage the creation of a degree programme on Southeast Europe at Oxford and the corollary establishment of lectureships.

If we can hold on to one certainty after ten years of SEESOX it is that the fascinating complexities and compelling destiny of South East Europe will continue to provide our inspiration and *raison d’être*. Building on our experience and Oxford’s intellectual environment we hope to continue to justify the unwavering support of all those who have accompanied the first part of the journey and of new friends who believe in taking on with us the challenges that lie ahead.



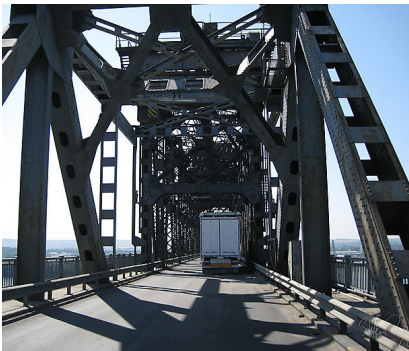
Othon Anastasakis
Kalypso Nicolaïdis

"A pioneering and exemplary programme for the study of one of Europe's most complex and important neighbourhoods."

Timothy Garton Ash



Ten years of 'building bridges' 2002-2012



2002-2003

South East European Studies at Oxford was founded in 2002. At the start, SEESOX focused on two main priorities, namely the European integration of the Balkans and Greek-Turkish relations. The robust programme of events for the first year reflects this focus, through workshops, conferences and lectures, including “*The Role of the International Community in Bosnia*” in February 2002, the first ever SEESOX event with the participation of Paddy Ashdown, High Representative in Bosnia between 2002 and 2005; “*The EU and the Balkans: The Implications of EU Conditionality*” in November 2002; “*Turkey, the EU and the 2004 Milestone: Is This Time for Real?*” in March 2003 followed by the first meeting of the Greek Turkish Network in Oxford. The Greek-Turkish Network has been SEESOX’s initiative to create a framework of academic dialogue and cooperation on issues that unite and divide the two states of the Eastern Mediterranean in the spirit of Greek-Turkish rapprochement. In May 2003, SEESOX organized its first Annual lecture with George Papandreou, then Foreign Minister of Greece and President of the EU Council of Foreign Ministers on “*The Future of Europe after Iraq*”. The end of the academic year in June 2003 coincided with the European Council summit of Thessaloniki which stipulated the most ambitious commitment up to that point for the European integration of the Balkan states, and which created a context of hope and an inspiration for a number of themes that would be discussed subsequently by SEESOX in the proceeding years.

2003-2004

SEESOX’s second year was marked by consolidation and rigorous expansion; also the year 2004 will be remembered as the year in which the EU opened its doors to 10 new countries, most of which were former-communist countries. This momentous occasion was reflected in the year’s main themes, echoing SEESOX belief that the process of European unification cannot be complete without the inclusion of South East European countries. As such, a number of events centred on Bulgaria and Romania’s candidacy and prospects of accession, Greek-Turkish

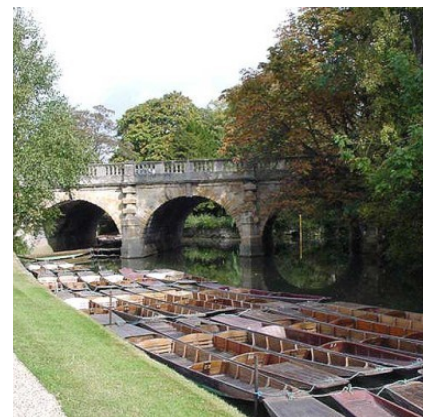


Ten years of ‘building bridges’

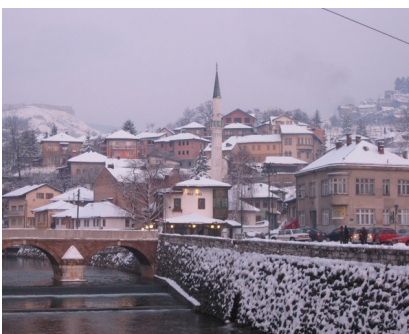
rapprochement, European integration and reunification of Cyprus, contemporary Turkey and Turkish-EU relations. A number of workshops and conferences included “*The Annan Plan and Reconciliation in Cyprus*” in October 2003 with the participation of many local and international actors involved in the talks (including the author of the Annan plan Alvaro de Soto), civil society representatives and academics. The second conference in the context of the Greek-Turkish Network occurred in May 2004 entitled “*The Continued Rapprochement between Greece and Turkey: Still Genuine?*” Followed by the second Annual Lecture delivered by the Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on “*Why the European Union Needs Turkey?*” SEESOX co-organised in cooperation with Oxford’s Balkan society a conference entitled “*Transnationalism: Nationalism, Society and Culture in Post-Ottoman South East Europe*” in June 2004; the conference allowed doctoral students and post-doctorate scholars from different disciplines to present their research on South East Europe. This event triggered the beginning of a series of annual conferences called *Oxford Symposium on Transnationalism*, aiming at promoting the interdisciplinary debate in which history and social anthropology were represented alongside political economy and international relations. A number of notable policy papers, opinion pieces, research papers and occasional papers emerged as a result of the thought provoking themes.

2004-2005

During this year, SEESOX continued its discussion on the European integration of South East Europe culminating in a conference entitled “*The EU’s Next Enlargement*” in April 2005 looking at the cases of Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia with academics from the region, policymakers from Brussels and regional experts from UK institutions. This year, the *Oxford Symposium on (Trans)Nationalism*, invited papers addressing the history of nation-formation in the region, and the transnational flows, cross-border minorities or identity questions, and was organized in co-operation with the Kokkalis Programme at Harvard University. January 2005 saw the transfer of Oxford’s Programme on Contemporary Turkey from the Oriental Institute to the European Studies Centre, a move which symbolized Turkey’s study within the European context and aiming at a comparative, regional and inter-disciplinary understanding of Turkey. The Programme on Contemporary Turkey was funded privately and allowed a number of scholars from Turkey to become visiting fellows at Oxford for one or two terms every year, and became the focus of a number of events on Turkey. This academic year the Programme on Contemporary Turkey organized a four-day conference entitled “*Turkey’s Engagement with Modernity*,” a very ambitious and highly acclaimed debate on 20th century Turkey.



Ten years of ‘building bridges’



2005-2006

SEESOX held a number of workshops and brainstorming meetings on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the post-EU membership divided Cyprus, on the achievements and shortcomings of the Greek-Turkish rapprochement, and the European integration and reform of the Western Balkans. In March 2006, SEESOX organized a brainstorming meeting entitled “*Cyprus after Accession: Thinking Outside the Box*”, a follow-up to the earlier meeting on the Annan plan, this time in a completely different context of Cyprus having rejected the plan and having entered the European Union. In April, there was another follow-up meeting, this time to its first 2002 meeting on Bosnia, again with Lord Ashdown, who delivered the SEESOX Annual lecture on “*State-building in Post-Conflict Environment; Lessons Learned from Bosnia-Herzegovina*,” where he presented his experience and reflections as outgoing High Representative of Bosnia. In cooperation with the Oxford University Greek Society, SEESOX co-convened a conference entitled “*Greece and the Balkans: 200 years of Coexistence, Interaction and Mutual Influence*”.

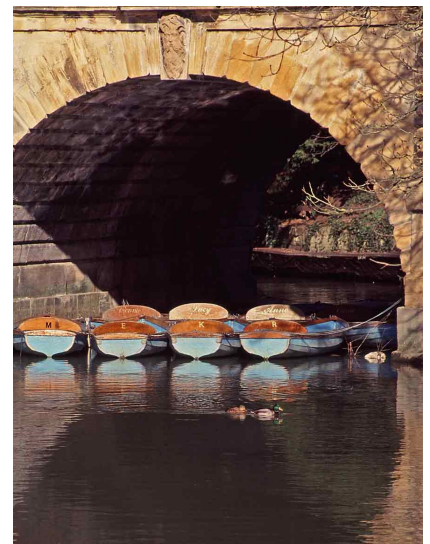
In May 2006, a conference was organized in the context of the Greek-Turkish Network, entitled “*New Uncertainties in Greek-Turkish Relations and the EU Challenge*.” The third conference of *Oxford Symposium on (Trans)nationalism* took place in May 2006 in cooperation with the RAMSES Consortium of Mediterranean Studies, a research project funded by the European Commission under the 6th Framework Programme which produced many significant events and publications on the Mediterranean region. In April 2006, SEESOX joined another research consortium entitled GLOMIG (Global Migration from the Eastern Mediterranean and Eurasia: Security and Human Rights Challenges to Europe), an EU-funded two year project, coordinated by METU University in Ankara.

2006-2007

This year, SEESOX joined another international consortium on *Crime as a Cultural Problem. The Relevance of Perceptions of Corruption to Crime Prevention. A Comparative Study in EU Candidate and Member States*. The research project, coordinated by Konstanz University and funded under the EU's 6th Framework Programme, aimed to develop an understanding of the perceptions of corruption and the promotion of anti-corruption policy within the context of an expanding European Union. December 2006 saw the first political economy workshop entitled “*Political and Economic Development in the Western Balkans; Is There a Critical Mass of Support for Reform?*” which triggered the organization of annual workshops on the political economy of the region and the creation of a very active political economy programme in the years to come. In February 2007, SEESOX together with the Oxford Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) organized GLOMIG's second workshop in Oxford, entitled “*Migration to EU: Challenges, Rights and Opportunities*.”

2007-2008

The 2007-2008 academic year continued SEESOX’s deep engagement with topical developments in the region. SEESOX hosted a number of well-known high-profile speakers related to South East Europe, including, among others, EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn; Greece’s Foreign Minister Dora Bakoyannis; Turkey’s President of the Sabancı Foundation and founder of Sabancı University Ms Guler Sabancı, in a dialogue with Oxford University Chancellor, Chris Patten, who also travelled that year to Ankara and Athens on behalf of SEESOX. In addition, SEESOX co-hosted a public lecture by the EU’s High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana. SEESOX also supported an academic conference entitled “*Europe’s Unfinished Political and Economic Transitions: The Convergence-Divergence Debate Revisited*” in January 2008. The second political economy workshop “*Southeastern Europe: Global Economic Challenges and European Perspectives*” in May 2008 involved academics, and policy makers from major international organizations and financial institutions.



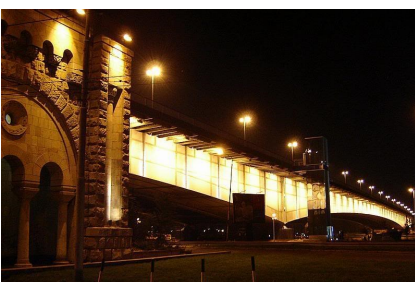
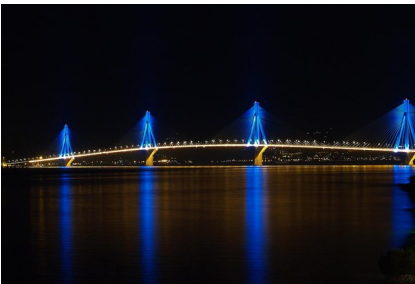
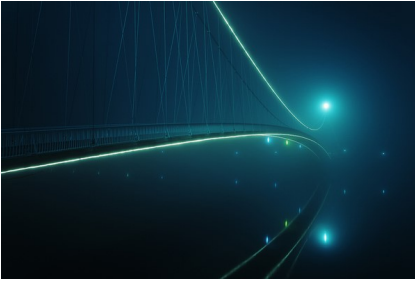
2008-2009

This year saw the first in a series of major publications in the form of edited volumes reflecting intellectual debates and work of SEESOX associates during the past years. *In the Long Shadow of Europe: Greeks and Turks in the Era of Post-Nationalism*, (Anastasakis, Nicolaïdis and Öktem (eds.) Brill Publishers), was one of the most valuable achievements of the Greek Turkish Network and includes contributions from scholars setting Greek-Turkish relations in the European context, and in the *longue durée*. SEESOX signed a two-year cooperation agreement with the Bank of Greece in the context of the political economy programme, which included a series of workshops in Oxford, conferences in Athens, and publications. This was followed by agreements with other central banks of the region. In this spirit, in June 2009 SEESOX, with the Bank of Greece and the EBRD, organized a workshop on “*The Global Financial Crisis in South East Europe*” followed by a series of political economy workshops addressing the impact of the financial crisis in South East Europe as well as the topics of reform, growth and regional cooperation.

2009-2010

In Michaelmas 2009, SEESOX welcomed three new visiting fellows: the Alpha Bank Visiting Fellow on the political economy of South East Europe, the Visiting Fellow on Modern Turkey, and the Sabancı Visiting Scholar. In addition, SEESOX and the Russian East European Studies introduced an option course for 2nd year MPhil students entitled, ‘*Politics, Economics and European Integration of South East Europe*’. The year also

Ten years of ‘building bridges’



saw the production of three more edited volumes: *Greece in the Balkans: Memory, Conflict and Exchange* (Anastasakis, Bechev & Vrousalis (eds) by Cambridge Scholars Press), which was the output of a past conference organised in cooperation with the Oxford University Greek Society; *Mediterranean Frontiers: Border, Conflict and Memory*, (Bechev & Nicolaidis (eds) by Tauris), one of the outputs of the RAMSES research project; *Turkey’s Engagement with Modernity* (Kerslake, Oktem & Robins by Palgrave Macmillan), was the outcome of an earlier conference on Turkey. The global financial crisis, the start of the severe Greek crisis, Kosovo’s declaration of independence and Turkey’s foreign policy were some of the most topical issues which provided inspiration for rigorous debate. In May 2010, SEESOX convened, in cooperation with Sabanci University, a high profile conference entitled “*Turkey’s Foreign Policy in a Changing World: Old Alignments and New Neighbourhoods*” with the participation of 50 speakers from Turkey and elsewhere, as well as a keynote lecture by the Foreign Minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu. In May, in cooperation with the EBRD, SEESOX organised a workshop on “*The Role of the State in South East Europe*,” where issues of governance, the welfare state and economic policy were addressed. In 2010, SEESOX organised a symposium to honour the memory of John Campbell, the social anthropologist and “father” of modern Greek studies at St Antony’s College. Finally, SEESOX was linked with a new research project entitled “*Islam in the Balkans; New Actors on the Block*”, funded by OSI.

2010-2011

The growing social, economic and political tumult in Greece and the wider Eurozone dominated SEESOX’s research and academic agenda in 2010-2011. Taking the long view of events, it was clear that the region produced both stunning variety and interdependence. Bulgaria, Romania and the Western Balkan states struggled to overcome the shocks coming from abroad, which was achieved with varying degrees of success. Turkey grew economically and pursued an increasingly independent foreign policy in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Such developments provided exciting intellectual questions which were addressed at SEESOX through a variety of events throughout the year. Of particular note, SEESOX convened a high profile, two-day conference entitled, “*Whose crisis? Greece’s Politics, Economics and Society in an Era of Uncertainty*”, addressing the causes, impact and comparisons of the Greek crisis. SEESOX signed a partnership with the Central Bank of Albania in the context of its political economy programme on the theme of growth and regional cooperation. In the build-up to the Turkish national elections in June 2011, the leader of Turkey’s main opposition Republican People’s Party (CHP), Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, visited SEESOX to

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deliver a speech on the ‘CHP and the future of Social Democracy in Turkey’. Other speakers and guest this year included the Governor of the Bank of Albania Ardian Fullani, the Foreign Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina Sven Alkalaj and the Head of the Financial Stability Facility, Klaus Regling. Finally, SEESOX sponsored jointly two major economic conferences in Athens and Tirana as part of the partnership agreements with the Central Banks of Greece and Albanian respectively.

2011-2012

This 10th year of SEESOX has been equally exciting and dynamic as in the previous years. SEESOX has expanded yet again to include a partnership with the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the establishment of the Leventis visiting Fellowship in contemporary Greek Studies. In addition, SEESOX has become affiliated with the Centre for International Studies at Oxford. It signed a new partnership agreement with the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the promotion of the regional political economy debate. Alongside these achievements, the academic year has been punctuated with a variety of stimulating activities and events, many of which have been held abroad with SEESOX partners, such as Bahçeşehir University in Istanbul on “*New Directions for Turkish-Greek Engagement in the Balkans and the Middle East*”; the American College in Thessaloniki on “*Political Reform in Greece in Comparative Perspective*”; Simon Fraser University in Vancouver on “*Debt, Sovereignty and Civil Society*”. This year SEESOX produced another edited volume based on the “*Whose Crisis?*” conference entitled “*Reforming Greece: Sisyphian task or Herculean challenge*”. If the past ten years are any indication of SEESOX’s future trajectory, then we can all look forward to another stimulating and vibrant next ten years!



The political economy of South East Europe

Max Watson

“I was delighted and honoured to be offered the chance in 2009 to be an associate of SEESOX and guest member of St Antony’s college. Much of my career has been concerned with the Balkans, and SEESOX is a centre of excellence without parallel in the UK for this fascinating region. One may think that it is currently “all quiet in the Balkans”, especially compared with the dark years of the 1990s. In fact, the region is in a state of ferment, both economically and politically, and for this reason, the work of SEESOX continues to be vitally important. The inter-disciplinary nature of SEESOX is a key strength, because one cannot really begin to understand the economics of the region (which is where my main professional interests lie) without knowledge of the politics and history. Some of the most stimulating debates and workshops I have ever attended have been hosted here in St Antony’s, and these have helped to shape my thinking and research on the region, which in turn has fed into the design of the EBRD’s strategy and investments in South East Europe.”

Peter Sanfey



South East Europe has experienced a political and economic roller-coaster ride over the past decade. The basis for political and economic stabilization was laid by a resolution of key security issues in the late 1990s, and by the Thessaloniki Declaration of 2001 concerning EU membership perspectives. The region then embarked on a period of quite strong economic growth, accompanied by rapid financial integration with the euro area. Politically, progress in adopting the *acquis communautaire* served as an external anchor for reforms. By 2006, however, when the first political economy workshop took place at SEESOX, questions were already being raised about the durability of this success.

Three sources of concern had emerged, all which became leitmotifs of subsequent work on the region. The first set of issues surrounded the robustness of domestic support for reform – whether this had reached a self-sustaining level, or whether reforms could now get ‘stuck’. The second area of concern was the sustainability of the region’s pattern of growth – as the report on the December 2006 workshop put it: ‘Uneven economic growth poses another set of risks [...] in particular the unbalanced expansion of bank lending, which exacerbates current account deficits and creates [...] a bubble economy that might threaten the macroeconomic stability achieved over time.’ The third problematic area was the credibility of the EU as an anchor for reforms: doubts about the effectiveness of pre-Accession conditionality in Bulgaria and Romania were compounded by a general sense of enlargement fatigue.

A recurring theme in these discussions (and the topic of a specific workshop at SEESOX) was the role of the state in South East Europe. This is especially germane in the countries of the Western Balkans, where issues of state capacity arise in a variety of contexts. An originality of these discussions has been to move on from the familiar issues of state-building and Europeanization to more day-to-day dimensions of governance in these economies. These latter issues include the role of bureaucracies, elites and parties in influencing state institutions and policies – covering areas such as political governance, economic management and social welfare provision. This strand of discussion also underscored the potential vulnerabilities of the region in the event of political and economic shocks.

When the global financial crisis broke in 2008, the effects took some time to reach South East Europe; but the region then experienced a double impact. Just as policy-makers were exploiting their limited room for manoeuvre in weathering the Lehman Bros shock, they found themselves facing a second and even more testing challenge in the form of the euro area crisis. The question acutely facing the economies of the region was reflected in the title of a book published by SEESOX in co-operation with the Bank of Greece: how to move ‘From Crisis to

The political economy of South East Europe



Recovery'? This meant exploring new sources of investment and growth, and deepening regional co-operation across a range of fields.

A workshop to discuss these issues was held in collaboration with the Bank of Albania and the EBRD in December 2011, as the stress of the euro area shock reached its zenith. By now there was a deep consensus on ways in which the pattern of growth in the region needed to evolve. It was clear that there would be no return to

the days of ample cross-border bank financing. Growth needed to be relaunched on the basis of stronger export performance; and external financing must be sought overwhelmingly in the form of foreign direct investment. Politically, it was all the more important to identify and address key obstacles to reform, and this was highlighted as a central theme in the ongoing work programme.

Alongside workshops and publications focused on the Western Balkans, a number of country-specific events have provided the opportunity to explore political-economic challenges facing Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, which belong to the wider SEESOX region. In Turkey, an important theme has been the depth of trade and investment relations with the EU and other advanced economies, which puts into context the current emphasis on opening to the East. In Greece, recent discussions have focused on the political stresses arising from the economic crisis, and the scope for developing a viable and reform-oriented majority. In Cyprus, one key focus has been the economic benefits of a political solution, unlocking the island's full potential as a commercial and cultural hub in the eastern Mediterranean.

Through the five years from its first workshop to the peak of the euro area crisis, the political economy programme in SEESOX has benefited greatly from co-operation with networks of actors concerned with the future of the region. Alongside academic experts from the UK and the region, officials from national administrations, the European Commission and the IFIs have played an active role. Co-operation agreements with central banks – in Greece, Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina – have provided support in organizing workshops in national capitals as well as in Oxford. And since 2011 a framework of co-operation has been in place with the EBRD to identify and explore research priorities in the region. The programme's activities have benefited greatly from the presence in Oxford of a series of visiting fellows, supported by Alpha Bank of Greece, as well as other academic visitors from abroad.

“The 2011/12 academic year as the Alpha Bank Visiting Fellow at SEESOX proved the greatest step so far in my professional development. In the last thirty years economics has been predominantly growing as a science based on scientism, to borrow a term by the great economist Hayek. The greatest thinkers in economics such as Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Marx and Keynes were supreme because of their capability to advance economics as a social science primarily based on political economy. By undertaking the program Political Economy in South East Europe, SEESOX has enabled me to enhance and improve my knowledge in the intellectual atmosphere of one of the leading world universities, and to enrich myself and my understanding of economics on the basis of an interdisciplinary approach. The great efforts of Professor Nicolaidis and Dr Anastakis in creating and developing SEESOX enabled a rich exchange of diverse attitudes and approaches, which is the fundamental prerequisite for intellectual growth. The expertise and extensive professional experience of Mr. Watson enabled me to test and refine my knowledge and improve the method of framing my thoughts and formulating recommendations on current and previous research work.”

Fikret Čaušević



Politics and cooperation in the Balkans

Dimitar Bechev

“For me, as a Serbian student in Oxford, SEESOX was, and remains, a little corner of the Balkans and for the study of the Balkans within St Antony’s College and Oxford University. My interaction with SEESOX began in 2004, when I first came to Oxford as a Masters student and continued during my DPhil studies. Throughout that time SEESOX acted as an anchor for me and other students, researchers and academics interested in South-East Europe – a forum for talks, workshops and conferences; a venue for meeting other scholars working on the region; a nurturing environment within which to develop ideas and knowledge regarding the region; and an arena within which scholars and policy makers could successfully come together to discuss problems relating to the region’s political, economic and social developments and jointly formulate policy solutions. Today, having completed my studies and as I work with SEESOX from Belgrade as an Associate, SEESOX continues to fulfil these varied functions in a different context.”

Milos Damnjanovic



Back in 2001, Predrag Simić, a Serbian political analyst, famously asked whether the Balkans existed. In his view, divergent political trajectories during the cold war decades, differing levels of economic development, historical enmities, neighbourly quarrels and the absence of meaningful trade and investment ties set Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Yugoslavia’s successors apart from one another. Not to mention the bloody conflicts of the 1990s tearing asunder President Tito’s socialist federation. One thing the violence in Bosnia and elsewhere did was to alert global audiences of an area named the Balkans. Paradoxically, what held it together as a cohesive whole was the shared burden of ethnic hatreds, atavistic grudges, virulent nationalism. Despite the fact that most of South East Europe actually stayed out of the Yugoslav wars. When the West stepped in in order to restore stability and contain violence, as under the EU-backed Stability Pact of 1999, the adage it proffered was “de-balkanize the Balkans”.

Enter South East Europe. As our very own SEESOX was being set up at St Antony’s College in 2002, the region itself was undergoing a “total makeover” operation: from Europe’s powder keg to a testing ground for Brussels’ “transformative power”. Our friends from the European Stability Initiative would later write about “the Helsinki moment”. In the Finnish capital, the EU Council had solemnly resolved in December 1999 to upgrade Turkey into candidate, thereby cementing the rapprochement between Athens and Ankara, as well as to open membership talks with Romania and Bulgaria. As SEESOX was making its infant steps the EU declared in June 2003 that enlargement was to spread also to the so-called Western Balkans, Yugoslavia’s successors minus Slovenia, plus Albania. That happened in Thessaloniki, the “co-capital” of Greece, a Union member which saw itself as a model for its impoverished Balkan cousins aspiring to join the European club of wealth and political distinction. The formula was simple: EU-ize the Balkans, re-enact the 1950s western European experience of region-building through trade liberalisation, institutionalised cooperation and settling outstanding conflicts; be recognised as true-blue Europeans—Balkans into South East Europe, nothing less.

Looking back to those days, we ought to ask ourselves whether the Helsinki moment was indeed momentary. As of 2012, we see Greece veering at the brink of default, putting at risk the very fundamentals of European integration; Ankara’s bid to join the EU has been frustrated with the end result of booming Turkey seeking to become a political and economic hub in its own right; the Western Balkan countries talk the talk of enlargement but, with the notable exception of Croatia acceding in 2013, few of them are either willing or able to walk the walk; Bulgaria and Romania had made it in but are now relegated to a second-rate

Politics and cooperation in the Balkans

membership in a multi-tier Europe. And it is not that festering problems in Kosovo or Bosnia have found their lasting solutions, thanks to the EU's magic wand. Regardless of the undeniable progress on the ground and the prospect of 1990s-style bloodshed being negligible, unfinished business has become the buzzword in ex-Yugoslavia.

But the Balkans' true problem is economic hardship, not nationalist fervour. After a period of growth between, roughly, 2000 and 2008, stagnation has set in, baring a host of deficits. According to Open Society Institute's catch-up index demonstrated in ample detail that Turkey and the post-communist countries of the region (Croatia excluded again) are squarely clustered in the bottom bracket in a chart measuring the performance of all 35 EU members, candidates and potential candidates in the fields of economy, quality of life, democracy and governance. If there is one lesson to learn looking at the past decade is that transformation, Europeanization (in the deeper sense of the word), modernisation and the like are all difficult business. Miracles do not happen overnight and, as Greece warns, institutional legacies are resilient and dilute outside pressure for change.

In my book *Constructing South East Europe: the Politics of Balkan Regional Cooperation* I argue that the only credible way to define 'the region' is as a periphery to Western European core. This definition, as rough and deterministic as it might seem, works well both in the case of 19th century wave of Europeanisation and in the 2000s when the EU's *mission civilisatrice* blossomed. South East Europe does exist as long as external anchors hold it together. True, the region is much more cohesive and interlinked at present than at any point in the past: in 2011 my native country Bulgaria counted neighbours Romania and Turkey as the second and third most important export markets; Tim Judah's inventive concept of a "Yugosphere", rising from the ashes of ex-Yugoslavia, has long become a staple in academic and policy writing about this part of the world. But this is largely thanks to the push from the EU. Even Turkey's deepening economic links with its northwestern neighbours are in no small part linked to the country's entry into a Customs Union with the EU in 1996.

Yet is it not the case that core Europe is now exporting instability into its periphery? Has Europeanisation turned from a blessing into a liability? As the Eurozone crisis becomes chronic the local countries find it hard to return to pre-2008 growth levels, with weak external demand and drying up credit previously supplied by the banking sector owned by institutions in "old Europe" – notably Greece and Italy. Even Turkey is set to slow down this year after record expansion in 2010 and 2011. Migration is not an alluring option either: troubled southern European countries such as Spain, Italy and, well, Greece were high on the list of Balkan *Gastarbeiters* from Romania all the way to Albania. And the lack of development, stagnant or deteriorating social conditions, persistent absence of trust in institutions are all germane to the rise of populism eroding the basic tenets of representative democracy and liberal constitutionalism. The example of next-door Hungary is not particularly encouraging for the Balkans, western or eastern.

All South East European countries are now, one way or another, part of the EU. Even for non-members, it is by far the most significant trade partner: goods flow duty free. With the exception of Kosovo and Turkey, locals need no visas to enter the Union's territory. This is no mean achievement compared to where we were in 2002. Even as the Union is shaken from within, post-Yugoslav republics like Montenegro and Serbia are moving on along the enlargement path. Despite Vuk Jeremić's intermittent statements that other options as Russia are out there. But this does not make challenges trivial. In the decade to come, the region has to ensure that integration pays off and makes a real difference in citizens' daily lives.



Post-war reconstruction and development

Richard Caplan

“Oxford terms are short and dense. In addition to the conference related work, I was able to do some writing and give seminars. The feedbacks at these seminars had been invaluable. My colleagues at SEESOX have always been interested and encouraging about my academic pursuits. Over all, I am energized and filled with positive feelings at the end of this academic year.

Heartfelt thanks to my dear colleagues and friends at SEESOX who were generously caring and supporting throughout this remarkable year. An impression of the glow in their eyes will be travelling with me to Istanbul.”

Ayşe Kadioğlu



“Congratulations - 10 years of SEESOX! My own association with SEESOX began 10 years ago when I was appointed (the first) Administrator and from the moment I arrived I felt I was among wonderful people with a gift for friendship, and I loved meeting the many fascinating guest speakers and lecturers. No wonder I stay in touch and come back for the many interesting events at SEESOX!”

Ulli Parkinson



From its inception in June 2002, SEESOX has had an abiding interest in the reconstruction and development of the conflict-affected states of the Western Balkans and their integration into Europe. Indeed, SEESOX’s inaugural event, although it predated the formal establishment of the programme, was a day-long ‘brain-storming’ session organised with the participation of Paddy Ashdown in February 2002 in anticipation of his assumption of the reins as High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) two months later.

At that time there was considerable optimism about BiH’s prospects. The threat of ethnic violence had receded; the return of refugees and displaced persons was accelerating; and moderate political parties controlled the state-level government for the first time. Confirmation of the distance that BiH had travelled would come in April 2002 with the country’s entry into the Council of Europe, the club of European democracies. It was thought that Ashdown could well be the last High Representative.

The chief concern then was how to prepare BiH for entry into the EU. The fact that BiH’s accession remains an elusive goal ten years later, notwithstanding palpable progress in a number of areas, raises questions about the soundness of international (especially European) approaches to this challenge—the strategy of conditionality in particular. At a workshop convened jointly with the Woodrow Wilson Center towards the end of SEESOX’s first decade, concerns were expressed about the integrity of an accession process in which, on the one hand, EU conditions are perceived to be unreachable because they change over time and, on the other hand, evaluations of compliance often appear to be predicated on political considerations. This is only one side of the coin, however: no less deserving of attention is the more fundamental question of BiH’s susceptibility to reform.

Of course BiH is in many respects a special case: it remains a deeply divided society whose reliance on international institutional governance has attenuated a sense of responsibility among the political elite, many of whom arguably benefit from the continuing stasis. And, yet, the limitations of conditionality are also apparent in Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia, despite significant reforms in these countries too. One topic of considerable and continuous debate, then—both within SEESOX and in wider scholarly/policy circles—has been the actual and potential utility of conditionality as an instrument of externally induced reform. In the face of the EU’s current economic crisis and the uncertainty surrounding future enlargement, the question of how the EU’s leverage in the Western Balkans can be enhanced has become both more urgent and

Post-war reconstruction and development

more difficult to answer. This issue is likely to remain at the top of SEESOX's agenda as it enters its second decade.

The ten-year period has also witnessed the receding in importance of ethno-nationalism in post-war Slovenia, Croatia, and Montenegro, where the achievement of independent statehood and its consolidation—in all cases, however, on an ethnic rather than a civic basis—has helped to damp down the flames. Elsewhere, notably in Macedonia and Kosovo, in addition to BiH, continued ethno-nationalist contestation within these states has inhibited their consolidation. In these cases externally originating stabilization measures have been introduced alongside integration efforts. The uneasy relationship between the two offers one explanation for the differential rates of progress towards European integration among the Western Balkan states. Entry into Europe has presupposed what entry into Europe was intended to accomplish—the diminished significance of boundaries which, in any event, is perhaps proving to be no more true for Belgium and the United Kingdom than it was touted to be for the Western Balkans.

Looking ahead, the challenges of stabilization and integration in the Western Balkans will no doubt continue to occupy SEESOX's attention. SEESOX has been wonderfully multidisciplinary in its approaches to the analysis of these challenges—drawing on political science, political economy, history, anthropology, sociology, and media studies, all to very good effect. SEESOX has also provided a forum for very valuable exchange between scholars and practitioners. I expect the coming decade will be as fruitful as the past decade.



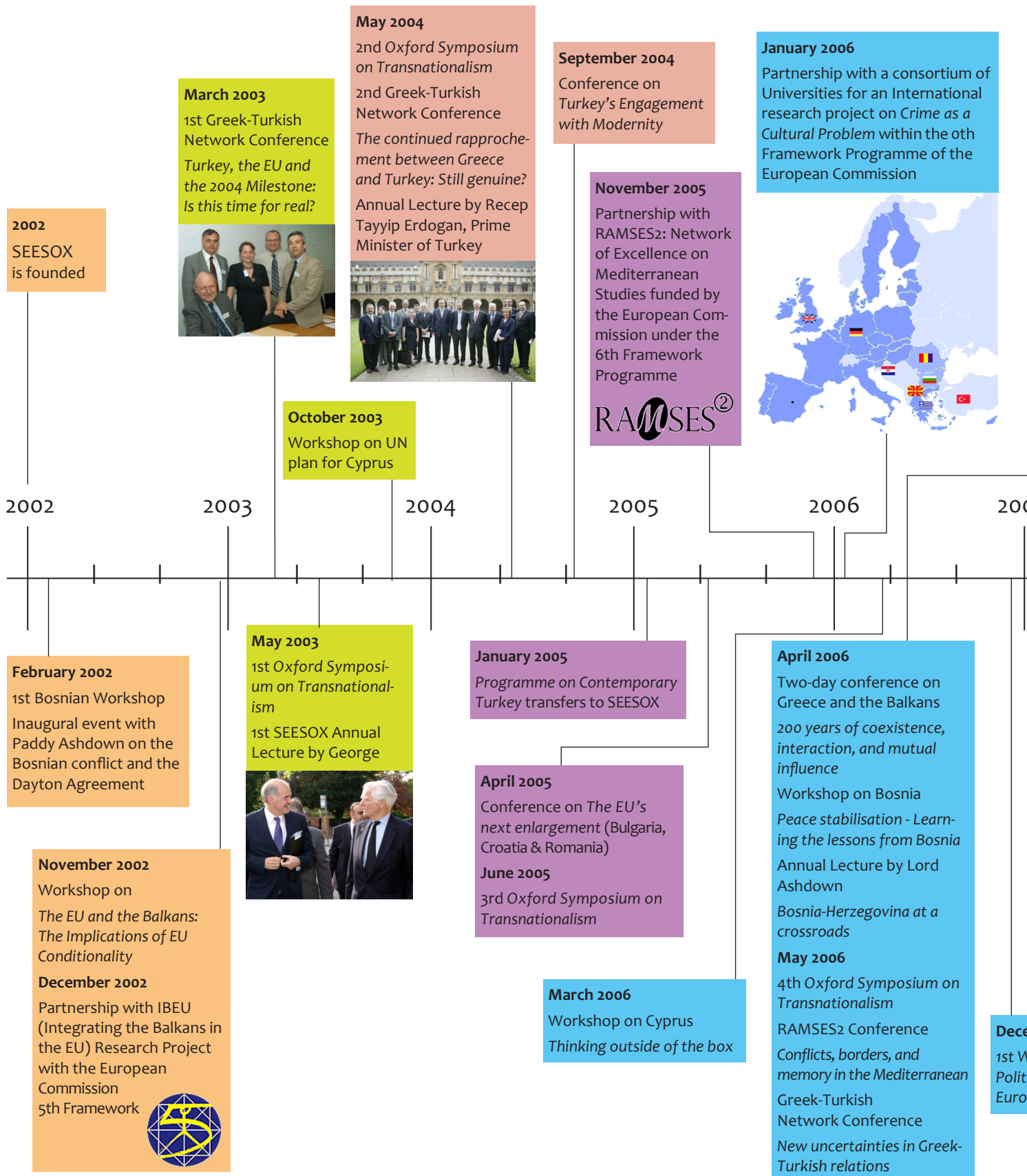
“SEESOX has since its inception done so much to promote and improve our understanding of the Balkans. That mission has great importance in our increasingly interdependent world. The relationships within the Balkans and between the Balkans and the rest of Europe matter as much today as they have done in the past with the difference that today's relationships open positive perspectives and the chance to break definitely with the negative stereotypes of the past. As someone carrying out research in a very small focussed field, I find it invaluable to be able to profit from SEESOX's extensive and varied multi-disciplinary programme of study of the Balkans which enables me to put my work in a broader context. Moreover I am able to gain substantially from the network of academic contacts which SEESOX has developed within the region, inside the university and more broadly beyond Oxford. I have also welcomed the opportunity of giving something back to SEESOX through occasional presentations of aspects of my work and I have of course found the ideas thrown up in the discussions invaluable in improving and developing my own lines of research. I look forward to SEESOX' strengthening its role and developing its programmes in the next stage of its life within St Antony's.”

Elizabeth Roberts



The SEESOX Timeline

Key events: 2002-2012



The SEESOX Timeline



Greece, then and now

Othon Anastasakis

“I was a Visiting Fellow at SEESOX in 2009 – 2010. I have the fondest memories of that period of my academic life. Instead of exclusively focusing on a single project, as one often does during his or her sabbatical leave, I decided that SEESOX offered a variety of stimuli that was too interesting to be missed. During my year at the European Studies Centre (ESC) I participated in a multitude of conferences, seminars, book launches and informal discussions on Greece, Southeastern Europe and European integration that made me capable of understanding issues beyond my immediate grasp. This was owed to the high quality of the permanent and visiting research staff of SEESOX and the support of its administrative staff. It was really nice to work at your office and be able to climb down to the seminar room of the ESC where prominent researchers on Southeastern Europe would regularly flock to offer the very latest pieces of information and analysis!”

Dimitri Sotiropoulos



Looking at Greece today, being so deep in its economic, political and social crisis, it is hard to remember what Greece was like 10 years ago when SEESOX started. Greece in 2002 was a completely different country, full of self-confidence, a country model for the Balkan states, developing economic and cultural links with its northern and eastern neighbours and preparing for the Athens Olympics of 2004. Greece was then investing handsomely in the Balkans and Turkey, it was improving its infrastructure, it was growing economically and it was experiencing a new multi-cultural reality. Greece then was the “main advocate” of the European integration of the post-communist Balkan states, it played the pivotal role in the 2003 “Thessaloniki promise”, it was the “entry point” for Turkey to Europe, and “the key” to Cyprus’ accession to the EU. For the rest of South East Europe, Greece was an example of European convergence, a model of democratic consolidation and a strong economy in the region.

What a contrast with today’s world! For the last three years, the country has not left the international headlines, it has become the economic “pariah state”, it has attracted numerous negative stereotypes and dismal publicity. As a result of the crisis, Greek capital has withdrawn from the Balkans, the Greek economy has become the weakest and most vulnerable in Europe, the Greek political class is suffering from lack of credibility and, worst of them all, the country has sunk in a vicious circle of unprecedented recession. At times it is hard to believe that we are talking of the same country, then and now.

During the past 10 years, we at SEESOX have been observing the rise and fall of a regional power in South East Europe. We supported the Greek government’s advocacy of the region’s accession into the European Union, we interacted with Greek banks flourishing in the region, we backed Greece’s support for the solution of the Cyprus problem, we engaged with Greek-Turkish rapprochement through our very own Greek-Turkish Network. Beyond these bright moments of regional presence we also discussed, the more controversial issues like the collapse of the Annan plan, the entanglement with the Macedonian name, the non-recognition of Kosovo (together with four other EU member states), the negative stereotypes that have haunted Greece’s relations with her neighbours including Turkey. Then, faced with the economic crisis, we debated the causes and impact of this unprecedented phenomenon, in our effort to understand the unexpected magnitude of a foretold crisis. We studied Greece in the light of contemporary developments as well as from a historical perspective, inspired by Richard Clogg and the late John Campbell. We discussed Greece’s regional identity in the context of her nation-state building, we analysed changes within Greek society in the context of what Renée Hirschon has called “the mixing and un-mixing of populations in South East Europe”, we observed Greek perceptions of the



neighbouring states, we criticised the problems and shortcomings of political leadership in Greece. From all these debates and discussions we have produced among other things, three substantial edited volumes including *In the shadow of Europe*, dealing with Greek-Turkish relations, *Greece in the Balkans*, dealing with Greece's historical links with its northern neighbours

and *Reforming Greece*, dealing with the meaning of the reform process, as a Sisyphean challenge of repeated (half-hearted) attempts and/or as a Herculean task, which is made even more imperative as a result of the present crisis.

It could be argued that Greece is a country with special significance for South East Europe and uniqueness for Europe, an exceptional case, yet at the same time very much part of the European periphery. This is a country which has often been in the past at the forefront of international developments, be that as the first state to gain independence from the Ottoman Empire, the first country to adopt a constitutional monarchy, the first Balkan country to suffer economic bankruptcy in the late 19th century, the first society globally to experience an exchange of populations at a massive scale, the first post-second world war state to witness a civil war between capitalism and communism, the first state in South East Europe to become full member of all western international organisations and lately the first country globally to suffer from a sovereign debt crisis. Greece has been, at times, a model for emulation and, at times, the example to avoid.

But beyond the deep historical or more recent reasons that led to the current crisis, we need to think of how Greece will overcome its current predicament, how it will survive its crisis and most important what will the post-crisis Greece look like. Our region has taught us that all its states have collapsed at some point or another and have managed to stand up and rebuild themselves. Only during the past ten years, we have seen the reconstruction of Bosnia from the devastation of a war, the recuperation of Serbia after a shattering dictatorship in the 1990s, the economic rebirth of Turkey after the economic collapse of the early 2000s, the normalisation of Bulgaria, Romania and Albania after a hard fight with a persistent communist legacy. Now we are seeing a battered Greece which hopefully in the next 10 years will rebuild itself and will rise us from a mess which now seems to have no ending. And this is a process and debate that we would like to be part of, because it will require all the intellectual input and imaginative thinking it can get in and out of Greece, if it is to lead to a more promising outcome.

“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. Working on the illustrative timeline for this booklet commemorating the 10th anniversary of SEESOX, I was reminded how much we have done to build on and carry forward this important role in our own area and with all “our” countries; and impressed by the number of distinguished guests, from the UK and South East Europe, who have visited us here at SEESOX. I have greatly enjoyed participating in these interesting and exciting events (in interesting and exciting times): and, above all, in making them happen. For me personally, this has made use of much of my previous experience, e.g. of planning and running events, and of living and working in Greece; and developed it (and me) in a new direction, by enabling me to study and learn more about all of South East Europe. The happenings of the past 10 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 Europe is indeed one continent.”

Julie Adams



In, out, or in-between?: Turkey at SEESOX

Kerem Öktem

In ten years, SEESOX has transformed itself from an inspiring but humble research project on the Balkans, Greece and Turkey into a veritable centre of excellence for the research of the societies, politics and economies of South East Europe. Turkey's transformation in terms of domestic political and economic change has been no less impressive, and this also reflected in its standing within the SEESOX research agenda. To give but a few indicators: Turkey's GDP per capita roughly doubled in the ten years between 2002 and 2012, from slightly above 6,000 USD to around 13,000 USD. In 2002, Turkey's foreign policy actors were still very much acting in the ideological world of the cold war, of zero-sum games and forbidding relations with almost all of its neighbours. Today, Turkey presents itself as a regional power that needs to be reckoned with, a development not welcomed by all but taken seriously by most of its neighbours. And a regional power indeed that seems to be imagining its future in a newly emerging sphere of influence, which partly overlaps with the Ottoman Empire and lies mostly outside the European Union.

At SEESOX, we have followed these profound changes, which the Berkeley Sociologist Cihan Tuğal described as a 'passive revolution', with political interest and scholarly excitement: Since its inception, SEESOX has hosted some of the most powerful personalities in Turkey: Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan, President Abdullah Gül, Deputy Prime Minister Ali Babacan, Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, the main opposition leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, and last but not least, Turkey's leading businesswoman, Güler Sabancı. In addition to regular conferences on Turkey, scholars at SEESOX authored three important books that dealt with the past, present and future of Turkey's politics and international relations: *'Turkey's engagement with modernity'* (2008), my own monograph *'Angry Nation'* (2011) and the forward-looking *'Another Empire?'* (2012) on Turkey's changing role in regional and global politics. The specific relationship with Greece, we explored in *'In the Long shadow of Europe'* (2009).

This is a remarkable research and event record for a country that many observers would not even consider as an essential part of South East Europe. Is it not sensible to argue that with its massive economic growth rates, its dynamic demography and its eastern neighbourhood –Iran, Iraq and Syria, to name only the more worrying ones- Turkey is really an altogether different case, whose study is best left to experts of the Middle East and of emerging economies? When the Programme of Contemporary Turkey, which hosted a great number of leading Turkish academics as visiting fellows, was transferred from the Oriental Institute to SEESOX in 2006, some of our colleagues at St Antony' College might have thought the same. Even though Turkey can arguably be called an 'ontologically insecure' country in its relations with both the West and the East (not unlike Japan, as Nora Fischer would remind us), the founders of SEESOX had no such second thoughts as regards Turkey's place in the world. Their commitment to a 'Turkey in Europe' has shaped much of our research on this pivotal country and its significance not only for European identity in general but South East European matters in particular: From the Cyprus conflict to the Aegean disputes, from the minority rights of Turks in today's Bulgaria and Greece and the status of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Constantinople to the future of Muslim-plurality or majority or countries like Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Albania or Kosovo, Turkey's destiny is inextricably linked with that of South East Europe. Neither the history, nor the present complex identities and conflicts in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean can be meaningfully appreciated without bringing the Ottoman Empire, and modern Turkey as its successor, into the equation. In our work on Turkey's role in South East Europe, on 'Islamic networks in the Balkans' and on new actors in Turkey's foreign policy, the importance of these transnational connections and interrelations has become truly visible.



In, out or in-between?: Turkey at SEESOX

At the same time, Turkey's transformation from hopeful EU candidate to aspiring regional power in a number of overlapping neighbourhoods has brought with it new challenges, and also increasingly signs of wear: With the waning EU membership perspective, the normative influence and soft power of European states over Turkey has largely subsided, and so has the AKP government's democratic reform agenda. A growing number of students and journalists in prison, and multiplying limitations on the freedom of expression give ample reason for concern. The deterioration of personal liberties seems to have been the price for this creeping de-Europeanisation, which Dimitar Bechev recently called the re-Atlanticisation of Turkey's foreign policy and domestic polity. Yet, even there, Turkey's foreign policy actors have been criticised as trying too hard in too many places. As Ayşe Kadioğlu and I argue in 'Another Empire?' today, "Turkey is struggling to be many things at once, from regional hegemon, order setter and middle power to trading state and model democracy, in the Middle East and North Africa, in Southeast Europe, in the Caucasus, in Central Asia and beyond." And indeed, no one speaks of the once celebrated 'Zero Problem with neighbours' doctrine anymore, which Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu sought to put into practice since the mid 2000s and eloquently presented at our SEESOX foreign policy conference in 2009.

Looking back at ten years of transformation away from the authoritarian ideology and the military tutelage system of the Kemalist state, ten years of unconventional and innovative domestic and foreign policy initiatives, the critical observer cannot but wonder whether this impressive transition has not come full circle: Those in charge in Turkey today have returned to much of the status-quo politics for which they had once blamed their predecessors: In both of its most symbolic and protracted conflicts, in Cyprus and in Armenia, Turkey has gone back to its default position of reluctant negotiator, if negotiator at all. Only in the post-Communist Balkans has Turkish foreign policy retained its reputation as honest broker, continuing to develop good relations with all countries in the region. So, where will it go from here, after ten years of the AKP's 'passive revolution'? After ten years of SEESOX engagement with Turkey, our prognosis for the next decade contains many challenges, stumbling blocks and threats. For one, and without the EU anchor, Turkey is likely to steer further away from the rule of law. The key question is whether its stellar economic rise can be sustained without such an anchor. Will the government succeed in drafting a democratic constitution, which gives all citizens of Turkey equal rights and a shared stake in the future of their country? Or will new forms of exclusion and differentiated citizenship regimes continue? The centenary of the destruction of Ottoman Armenians, which many Armenians will remember in 2015 will be a major test for Turkey's foreign policy actors' ability to convince the world of their version of the past. It will have to do so against a rising tide of official recognitions and civil society campaigns in the Armenian diaspora as well as in Turkey. Where Turkey will be in ten years from now will depend on a whole set of interrelated factors, not least the role of the European Union. Whether in, out or in between, however, Turkey will remain at the heart of debates on the identity of Europe and the future of the region, and we at SEESOX will remain as committed as ever to the promise of a European Turkey.

"SEESOX has had a profound impact on me as an aspiring commentator on the affairs of the region and the world. I am grateful, above all, to Othon Anastasakis and Kalypso Nicolaïdis who - as doctoral supervisors and cherished co-conspirators ever since - have inspired and supported me in every endeavour. They have fostered a dynamic and inclusive family of academics, practitioners, and activists committed at once to world-class scholarship and to addressing the outstanding problems of turbulent times."

Nora Fisher Onar



SEESOX and the Cyprus problem

David Madden

“Reflecting on my interaction with SEESOX, I can say that its promotion of cross-cultural understanding and the interdisciplinary exploration of South East Europe have helped me evolve, first as a student and now as a junior academic. I first remember SEESOX as the program to which my fellow students and I could always turn for advice and support for the organization of conferences and colloquia. SEESOX gave us an unparalleled opportunity to ask decision makers and political leaders questions that we were exploring in our research. Above all, I see it as an academic community, which allowed me to venture ideas still in progress and benefit from the community’s insights. Over these ten years the political geographies of Southeast Europe have changed almost beyond recognition. I am truly happy to see how this initiative has grown over the years to become a point of reference for the study of South East Europe while keeping its initial dynamism intact. I can only wish that its roots deepen so that we can all keep on considering the challenges of our times with new insights and common sense.”

Dimitri Antoniou



Happy Birthday to SEESOX. Congratulations on your achievements over the past ten years, and best wishes for the decade to come.

My title reflects an old Cyprus joke. A renowned naturalist is writing a comprehensive study of the elephant. The first 58 Chapters cover a wide range of information and insights about the elephant. Then, Chapter 59 is duly entitled “The Elephant and The Cyprus Problem”: the point being that the Cyprus problem is so long-lasting and so complex that it somehow manages to pop up everywhere (from EU/NATO relations to the work of the European Court of Human Rights to the operation of EU phyto-sanitary regulations).

Against that background, SEESOX’s coverage of Cyprus over the last ten years has been comparatively modest: a conference in 2003 on the Annan plan, another held on the island the next year on the EU and Cyprus, one on Cypriot accession in 2006, and very little since then.

The reason is not neglect on SEESOX’s part: far from it. The lull reflects the facts on the ground. An enormous diplomatic effort took place in the period 1996 to 2003, with a final brief flourish in 2004, to try to ensure that the prospect of Cyprus’s accession to the EU would assist the solution of the Cyprus problem, that the two negotiating processes could feed off each other, that it would be a united island which joined the EU, and that the difficulties attendant on accession by a divided island could be avoided.

This attempt to construct a virtuous circle required the United Nations and the European Commission, and all other players, to work together closely and harmoniously and flexibly in a kind of three dimensional chess game. Special representatives were appointed, dossiers scoured for examples of special status which might prove useful (e.g. the Aaland Islands) if only to be discarded, five successive iterations of the Annan plan drawn up, and meetings held in a range of attractive locations e.g. Troutbeck and Glion and Burgenstock, as well as at European Councils and in New York. The pace quickened as 2004 and the year of EU enlargement approached. All this excellent cooperation and hard work brought the effort close to success; but that is alas where it stayed. Cyprus entered the EU, and the Problem remained unsolved.

It is unsurprising that after this massive and prolonged effort, with so many other pressing problems in the world, and with Cyprus’s EU accession at least having been achieved, less attention has been given to the Cyprus question itself. The status quo may not appear “urgently unsustainable”, in Sir David Hannay’s memorable phrase. But, quite apart from finding ways to right wrongs, and promote the interests of



the region, its countries and its inhabitants, there are serious dangers in leaving problems unsolved, and some recent developments, e.g. over drilling for gas, remind us of this.

A lack of solution also carries direct costs. It is all too easy to forget the remarkable

fact that UN Peacekeepers have been in Cyprus for 48 years, since 1964, and that 46million dollars a year are needed to finance this continuing operation.

In the late 1990s Dick Spring, who as Irish Foreign Minister played a major role in overcoming differences between Britain and Ireland over Northern Ireland, visited Cyprus and spoke of the need and possibility to overcome the antagonisms derived from past events. The reaction of Cypriots, both Greek and Turkish, tended to be that Cyprus was somehow different. Subsequent events appear to bear out this negative assessment. But I am sure that the right time for solving a problem comes at some point; and that, on this, Cyprus is no different to anywhere else.

The EU faces two difficult and complicated issues in the Eastern Mediterranean: handling Turkey's candidature, and assisting the UN effort finally to bridge the intercommunal divide on Cyprus. Since the two are in practice not unrelated, there may be merit as well as realism in looking at them together: hoping that we prove more successful in creating productive synergies than (in the end) we were in the negotiation of Cyprus's EU accession. Just at the moment this might seem unlikely; but every possibility for progress should be tested. As ever, we should be guided by Gramsci's dictum: pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will.

So there will be much to discuss on these vital issues in the coming decade: a real need to bring the experts from the various sides together; a role for academics and commentators as well as for politicians and diplomats; and a chance for representatives from the region to take a lead. Step forward SEESOX: at the right time of course.

"As SEESOX celebrates its 10th anniversary, the defining impression the programme and its vibrant team have left on me is that if SEESOX would not yet exist, it would have to be created with urgency today! Happily that void has been filled since a decade. As SEESOX moves forward into its second decade of activities the reputation it has established for itself in the academic community and the region of Southeast Europe through a vibrant, international, interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and gender-sensitive research and conference programme stands out.

Over the past decade, I have been fortunate to be part of this endeavour through a variety of publications, joint research activities and most recently as a Visiting Fellow for the Political Economy in Southeast Europe, a programme generously financed by Alpha Bank in Greece.

As any contemporary study centre and research programme, the evolution around it invites change inside it. This is the challenge that SEESOX faces in the coming years. Maintain its high quality academic activities, consolidate its regional visibility and reach out to the community of donors and sponsors who can further assist SEESOX' objectives and research activities."

Jens Bastian



The transnational prism

Kalyпсо Nicolaïdis and Kerem Öktem

"I have less than 200 words so I will not write a novel here, but a very concise short story. My 3-month stay at the University of Oxford began in earnest when Julie (Adams) came to fetch my wife Feyhan and me at the coach station at Gloucester Green.

Without much exaggeration, I would like to say that our stay in Oxford has been the true zenith of my academic career. I do not want to push this argument too far, but I can hardly stop myself. I was overwhelmed by the excellence of the scholarship and we both were amazed by the warm welcome and the sense of true friendship at SEESOX. I truly wish that the program will continue for many more decades, since it has been such a wonderful experience from every single point of view.

To give you the essence of what I think about my residence at SEESOX, I should say the following: I have always been very fond of my alma mater, the School of Political Science in Ankara, est. 1859. I had taught there since 1969. When I received the invitation for Oxford in 2006, I requested a 3 month sabbatical from the university administration. The rector's office refused on the grounds that I had been assigned to some academic juries. I replied by sending in the papers for my early retirement, six years early in fact. But I can say with certainty now that I am very happy that I did it."

Baskin Oran



As we reflect back on the last decade, one lesson or perhaps more appropriate, one hope, dawns on us. Might it not be possible to ask not just what the world, or the west, or the EU, can do for South East Europe, but what South East Europe can do for them – analytically that is. Could there be a space for intellectual payback time?

Pundits have had an undeniable fondness for describing the region as a war-torn land of atavistic warriors, a latecomer to European state-building, but fertile ground for nationalism at its very worse. To be sure, there is no denying the late emergence of the modern nation-state in a region where heterogeneity and diversity was the norm, and where creating a project of nation-building through the usual practices of exclusion and homogenization was bound to become a dirty business. But we have come to believe that the viciousness of conflicts over territories, histories and identities which have shaped the internal and external perception of the region may also have contained its nemesis: transnationalism.

Transnationalism is both a descriptive and a normative concept. Historically, it allows us to harp back to the kind of region-wide exchanges and tensions which knew little borders in a relatively integrated imperial space, to the reality of ethnic mosaics, and flows of ideas that characterised the pre-national era; today, transnationalism refers to a host of factors and phenomena which evade the constraints of direct border controls and nation-state regimes: Trans-border communities like the Roma, the Torbesh, the Pomaks and the Turks; ethno-linguistic continuums such as the Albanian space reaching from Montenegro and Serbia to Macedonia and even Turkey, via Albania and Kosovo; religious communities spanning across the region, whether Muslims, Bektashi, Catholics, and to a much lesser extent, Jews. All of them have withstood attempts at assimilation and are the repository of ancient and rich traditions adept at living with others despite difference. If the nation-state stood for clear distinctions between majorities and minorities, the transnational traditions have created in-between spaces, hybridities and heterodoxies, which can be as inspiring as unsettling. And on the dark side, organised crime, terrorist networks and human trafficking are also transnational realities which nation-states seek to control.

But transnationalism is also a normative concept, and a progressive one for that. It is a state of mind that we at SEESOX have defended as the fulcrum for transformation in the region. Indeed, this transformation cannot come from simply transcending the nation-state system in the region through governance regimes *above* the state - whether through regional or global integration or even the anchor of access to the EU; none of these reference frames have succeeded in truly prodding states towards greater openness towards each other which is the wholemark of contemporary transnationalism. They cannot in and of themselves create the necessary space for a genuine spirit and praxis of mutual recognition in

the region between the winners and losers of the national paradigm: from the incomplete recognition of Kosovo and the contested status of the Turkish Cypriot entity, to relations between communities and their respective memories and identities –think of the Armenian genocide, the suffering of Bosniaks, the curtailed citizenship rights of minorities, whether Muslims, Christians or Roma throughout the region. Across the board, mutual recognition has more often than not been seen as an unacceptable concession or capitulation than the social and political prerequisite for peace and development.

Despite (or perhaps sometimes because of?) at least two decades of EU presence and institutional engagement based on EU normativity in the region, denial of difference and ‘otherness’ has more often than not been the default position. Much of our work has been about recognition denied, whether in our workshops on Kosovo and Cyprus, our Symposia on Transnationalism, or our volume *In the long shadow of Europe. Greeks and Turks in the Era of Postnationalism*, which deal *inter alia* with the discomfort on both shores of the Aegean to face a shared history of great tragedy and cultural cross-fertilisation.

A transnational perspective, in analytical as well as in philosophical terms, also drove our shared conviction that we needed to look beyond the Balkans and the Aegean space, to the Mediterranean, whose pre-nation state history has been so closely interlinked with that of South East Europe. Our RAMSES² programme directed by Dimitar Bechev in Oxford in cooperation with the University of Aix-en-Provence and 33 universities across the Mediterranean allowed us to critically reconsider the boundaries and borders created by the Ottoman legacy, colonial modernity and the post-colonial nation-states. These legacies have shaped a Mediterranean political space now radically refashioned by a generation of young and hopeful Arab men and women.

Our work with RAMSES² enabled us to explore the challenges posed therein for human interactions beyond the ‘clash of civilisations’. In our 2009 volume *Mediterranean Frontiers Borders, Conflict and Memory in a Transnational World*, we examined the historical emergence of state borders and polarised identities, and here again, the pervasive denials of recognition to which they gave rise and which they accommodated. And yet, concerns about security and illegal movement have rendered the EU incapable of encouraging new dynamics of recognition in the region, although its new politics may lead to just that.

All in all, the European Union’s inability to engage creatively with the Arab revolutions suggested that the shadows of Eurocentric imperialism still loom large. By contrast, in *Frontiers*, we suggested that the echoes from the imperial transnational past - Ottoman as well as colonial – need to be unforgotten, as they may provide the basis for conflict resolution, region-building and economic integration true to a transnational state of mind that seeks to overcome some of the more detrimental effects of belated and hyper-accelerated nation-state building.

It is more than an irony that exclusive ethno-religious nation-building projects have regained importance, in the likes of Macedonia, Cyprus, Kosovo and even Turkey, while at the same time old nationalisms as well as new, crisis-driven xenophobia, racism and Islamophobia are making a major comeback in the European Union as well as in South East Europe. Yet, this bleak picture shall not divert attention from the fact that the Balkans, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean remain inter-connected on many levels, from the symbolic, historical and cultural to the inter-personal, political and economic.

This phenomenon of multiple interconnections between peoples, religions and geographies makes the region not only extremely important for a Europe that knows only its often cruel history as its ‘other’. It also allows us to think and rethink the importance of transnationalism both as a prism for the understanding of regional interactions and as a normative frame of reference for the project to transform the 19th century nation-state.



History, memory, and the view from social anthropology

Renée Hirschon

“SEESOX has been a touchstone for students of South East Europe at Oxford, such as myself. Since commencing my studies, SEESOX’s weekly seminars, special lectures, and numerous events have been mainstays on my academic calendar over the years. These events have consistently produced high level debate, discussion and output. I was very pleased to begin working at SEESOX as a research assistant 2 years ago. The dynamic multidisciplinary approach at SEESOX has made for a particularly exciting environment to work in. It is all too easy to become hermetically sealed into one’s own research interests. The diversity of topics and issues that SEESOX actively engages in has helped me guard against that, and working for SEESOX has undoubtedly broadened my intellectual and academic horizons. More than that, it has been a positive, challenging and stimulating experience all around. I wish SEESOX all the best in the next 10 years!”

Dorian Singh



Being affiliated with SEESOX for almost all of the period of its existence has been a homecoming for me. I first came to Oxford in 1970, and, though I had matriculated St Anne’s, I spent my postgraduate years at St Antony’s after being awarded a well-funded Studentship offered by the college at that time. This facilitated writing up my D.Phil. thesis following fieldwork in Greece, where I spent over a year living in a refugee quarter in Piraeus, Greece, where I had already conducted research. This started a path which came full circle when I returned to Oxford in 1998. My first activity as a Research Associate of the Refugee Studies Centre was to organise a four day multidisciplinary conference to mark the 75th anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne. This was a pioneering step, taking place in the aftermath of the Imia/Kandak showdown, and before ‘post-seismic diplomacy’ created a benign atmosphere for contacts across the Aegean. It was a time when academics of each nation saw themselves as representatives of the national interest, which resulted in extraordinary and challenging encounters around dinner tables.

I was in a good position to deal with this challenge, being neither insider nor outsider, though my own views had been formatively influenced through living with the Asia Minor refugees in the 1970s. Among them many of the originally displaced peoples, some having fled for their lives in 1922, others having being forced to leave through the compulsory stipulations of the Treaty after 1923. In the following years I often recalled their stories of life in the homeland which constituted an important source of oral history, and which ran counter to the stereotypical representations of Turks as primitive and barbaric. The phrase, which I had often heard: “We got on well with the Turks” prompted me to examine what had happened in the following decades. Their perceptions had alerted me to recognising the indisputable importance of historical events in the proper understanding of contemporary international relations.

A direct motivation for that conference was to provide a bilateral forum for the assessment of the consequences of the Population Exchange from a wide range of different perspectives. Constituting an early initiative in rapprochement through the bilateral examination of the historical experience of the two nations who, at that time, were seen as primordial enemies, constantly at each others’ throats, proved rewarding. The fact that this is not the case anymore since anti-Greek and anti-Turkish hatred has moved from the centre to the margins of both societies is an indicator of a significant achievement. The multidisciplinary edited volume, “*Crossing the Aegean*” (Berghahn 2003) which resulted, brought together views from both the Turkish and the Greek sides, revealing among other findings, an extraordinary asymmetry in experience.

It was, therefore, a great opportunity and fulfilment for me to be

History, memory, and the view from social anthropology

invited to participate in the activities of SEESOX from 2002, allowing me to continue in this direction. A major one of these was the Greek-Turkish network, which at the time focussed on building up links with academics from both countries. A memorable event (set in the context of the conference on rapprochement between Greece and Turkey and Turkish PM Erdogan's visit to St Antony's in May 2004) was a panel discussion I organised to examine the role of memory in the shared history of the two countries, the intention being to create an open discussion forum in the day's proceedings, and to broaden its scope. The focus changed from the high level of international relations and politics to that of the individual and cultural. The panel speakers examined the significance of individuals, and the fundamental importance of social and cultural influences, as well as historical events and how they are remembered.

Lively contributions came from the younger generation, predominantly postgraduate students from Turkey, Greece and Cyprus at British universities, who revealed the various sources of influence on their attitudes to those of the 'Other', particularly the role of history teaching in their home countries. From personal experience, speakers related how they had been subject to prejudice generated through various sources in their home country as well as to overall ignorance. Some noted that it was not only the content of the school teaching but their teachers' attitudes, often highly nationalistic, which had been equally influential. The value of personal knowledge was underlined in many recollections of the first encounters with fellow students at foreign universities and how surprised they were to discover the many similarities which existed, and that they had been able to become friends, despite the prejudices of their backgrounds. Several personal accounts revealed how they had to withstand criticism from their own families regarding any positive interest in the other side. An important role of SEESOX lies in providing a platform for open discussion and examination of issues which frequently cannot be confronted in the home environment.

As a social anthropologist my approach has an intrinsic multidisciplinary perspective, and I have particularly enjoyed the dialogue with colleagues from different disciplines. It has been rewarding to work within the SEESOX environment where it has been possible to widen the frame of reference by exploring the ways in which cultural and historical trajectories are implicated in contemporary international relations, as well as in domestic political and economic life. For example, I have co-convened two multidisciplinary seminars together with Othon Anastasakis in which the characteristics of the diverse societies of the wider region of Southeast Europe were explored. The first (in 2007) was on political leadership and identified topics such as clientelism, family dynasties, regimes of monarchy,

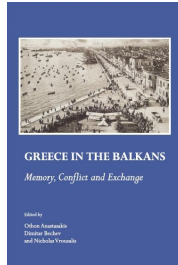


communism, the role of religion, with contributions from experts on the region. The second (in 2010) focussed on changing issues related to identity formation in countries of the region and again adopted a multidisciplinary scope examining the role of language, religion, violence, education, territory, in nation-building processes. Both series specified the conceptual examination of categories of analysis in order to discern general patterns which might characterise the experience of countries in the region.

SEESOX is an open forum which plays a vital role in furthering our understanding of the region, its history, politics, society through sponsoring intellectual initiatives, offering fellowships and associations in various disciplines of the social sciences. Long may it thrive!

Greece in the Balkans

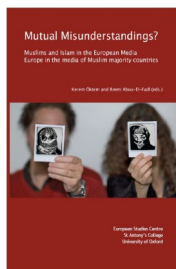
Othon Anastasakis, Dimitar Bechev
and Nicolas Vrousalis
Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009



This multidisciplinary collection of thirteen essays on Greece's relations with the Balkan states over the past two hundred years examines and discusses aspects of Greece's economic, political, cultural, ideological, religious and diplomatic interactions with her northern neighbours, from the birth of the Greek nation-state until the current post-communist environment. One common thread among all these viewpoints is that Greece's relations with the region has been a balancing act between opportunity and risk, attraction and enmity, exchange and exclusion, across time and space.

Mutual Misunderstandings

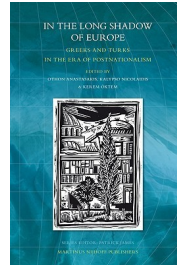
Kerem Öktem and Reem Abu-El-Fadl
European Studies Centre, 2009



This collection of five case studies from Europe, the Balkans and the Middle East, deals with the media's role in creating the ways in which 'Islam' has come to be the major frame of reference for debates on Muslims and Europe. *Mutual Misunderstandings* seeks to contribute to this debate by questioning some widespread assumptions: that there is a clearly delimited 'Europe', that this 'Europe' is opposed to a bounded 'Muslim world', and that conflict is written into the history and present of all interactions between these two supposedly distinct 'worlds'.

In the long shadow of Europe

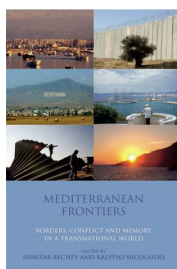
Othon Anastasakis, Kalypso Nicolaïdis
and Kerem Öktem
Brill, 2009



The contributors of this collection examine the ambiguities of Europe's role and impact on Greek-Turkish relations from various angles; they highlight the paradoxes of a bilateral relationship, marred by tormented histories, nationalist narratives and bilateral disputes, but also strengthened by historical familiarity, geographic vicinity, and the imperative for cooperation. This is also a book about the considerable challenges the EU faces as a mediating power between two states which are simultaneously within and outside the EU's borders.

Mediterranean Frontiers

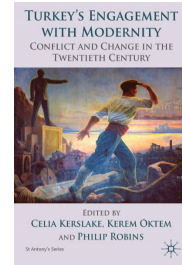
Dimitar Bechev and Kalypso Nicolaïdis
I.B. Tauris, 2010



Dimitar Bechev and Kalypso Nicolaïdis published the edited volume *Mediterranean Frontiers* a study of the link between nation-state identity and borders and frontiers. The contributing authors look at the impact of political boundaries upon the Mediterranean region, along with pressures from European and economic integration, the resurgence of nationalism, and refugee and security concerns. They further explore the politics of memory, and ask whether echoes from the imperial past - Ottoman and colonial - could provide the basis for conflict resolution, region-building and economic integration.

Turkey's Engagement with Modernity

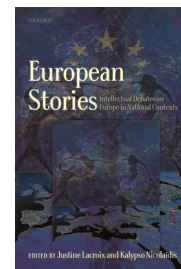
Celia Kerslake, Kerem Öktem
and Philip Robins
Palgrave St Antony's Series, 2010



Turkey's Engagement with Modernity is a volume edited by Kerem Oktem, Celia Kerslake and Philip Robins. The twenty-four essays by leading Turkish Studies scholars reflect upon Turkey's 'modern century' and touch upon various topics ranging from politics and international relations, social and religious studies, to literature and music. *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity* addresses many of the current intellectual and political debates in Turkey including the future of secularism in Turkey, the relationship between Islam and democracy and Turkey's role in the Middle East.

European Stories

Justine Lacroix and Kalypso Nicolaïdis
Oxford University Press, 2011



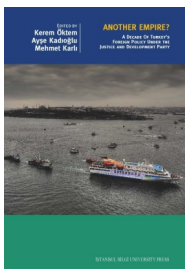
European Stories is the first book of its kind. Its authors explore the many different ways 'public intellectuals' have debated Europe - the EU and its periphery. The chapters focus on the post-1989 era, but reflect the long history of the 'European idea' and its variants. The twelve national cases have been selected for the broad range they offer, and are not intended to be exhaustive. The expected readership is broad and interdisciplinary, ranging from political philosophy, to political science, international relations, history, sociology and the history of ideas.

Angry Nation
Kerem Öktem
ZED Books, 2011



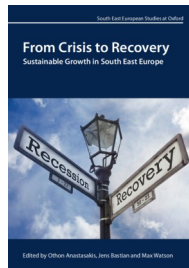
When the Cold War ended in 1989, Turkey looked pretty much like Greece does today. It was a fragmented nation at the margins of Europe, verging on political and economic collapse. Today, Turkey is the economic powerhouse of South East Europe and a major regional actor. How has this rapid transformation been possible? Is the 'return of Turkey' to the world scene a sustainable one? Kerem Öktem charts the country's contemporary history, exploring such key issues as the relationship between religion and the state, Kurdish separatism, the interactions with Israel and the ongoing controversy over its entry into the EU in order to find a compelling answer.

Another Empire
Kerem Öktem, Ayşe Kadioğlu
and Mehmet Karlı
Istanbul Bilgi University Press, 2012



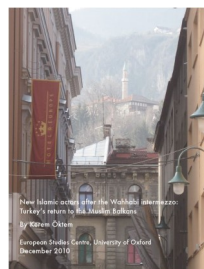
Based on a conference convened by SEESOX in 2010, this collection explores the intersections of domestic and foreign policy, in order to understand the significant shifts of Turkey's international standing and of its interactions with its neighbours. Looking back to a period of 'proactive foreign policy' and the debates on 'strategic depth', 'zero problems' and 'neo-Ottomanism', the volume proposes a critical insight into a decade of the country's engagement with the world and its growing power base.

From Crisis to Recovery
Othon Anastasakis, Jens Bastian
and Max Watson
SEESOX, 2011



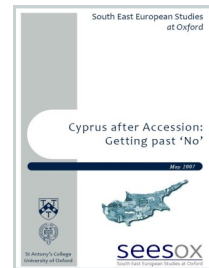
For countries in South East Europe, the impact of the recent global economic recession has challenged key assumptions about their capacity to react to crises and their ability to continue their transition trajectories. This is the central message of the studies presented in this volume. To trigger sustainable economic development and contribute to job creation, the policy priorities of governments, central banks and corporate entities should strengthen competitiveness and lay the foundations for a more export-orientated growth agenda.

Islam in the Balkans
Kerem Öktem, Eldar Sarajlić and
Gëzim Krasniqi
European Studies Centre, 2010



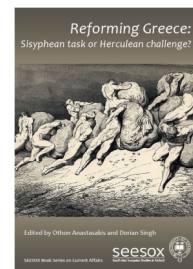
Together with Eldar Sarajlić from the Central European University and Gëzim Krasniqi from the University of Edinburgh, Kerem Öktem explores the new transnational Islamic networks in the Balkans in this online research volume. Its authors raise a set of interconnected themes linked to the significance of Islam in the emergence of the post-Yugoslav Balkans: They examine the foundations of modern Bosniak identity in post-War Bosnia, the different impact, religion has had on identity-construction Kosovo and Macedonia, and Turkey's role as protector of Muslim communities in the Balkans.

Cyprus after Accession
Othon Anastasakis, Kalypso Nicolaidis
SEESOX, 2007



This volume is the outcome of a workshop entitled "Cyprus after accession: Thinking outside the box" which took place at in March 2006, and brought together leading experts on Cyprus. The volume consists of two parts: the workshop report which includes the main points from the three-day discussion among the participants, and the contributions from the participants in which they explore different ways to a resolution of the Cyprus Conflict. Prepared at the height of debates on the future of the island's political constitution, this is an excellent example of SEESOX research in progress.

Reforming Greece
Othon Anastasakis and Dorian Singh
SEESOX, 2012



As a follow up to the SEESOX conference *Whose Crisis?*, this volume discusses the causes of the Greek crisis and the fundamental problems that have led to the current impasse, as well as the potential for reform and growth. A core theme is that Greece's reform efforts can be understood as a series of missed opportunities or at best the adoption of half-baked, temporary measures. Much like the struggles of Sisyphus, the task must be repeated again and again. The volume also addresses whether reform, a Herculean task by now, pushed and imposed under the threat of bankruptcy can have the originally intended effects.

SEESOX in the region

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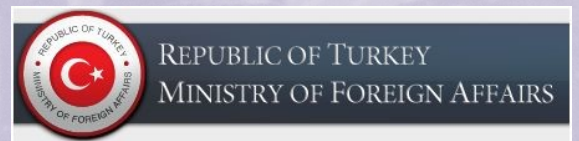
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About SEESOX

South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX) is part of the European Studies Centre (ESC) at St Antony's College, Oxford. It focuses on the interdisciplinary study 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 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.

SEESOX Steering Committee

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