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Editorial

The Hellenic Observatory continues to possess dynamism in its activities and development and to attract attention and partners. As such, it can reasonably claim to be not only fulfilling its original mission, but to be continuing to enlarge it in a number of ways. This is all the more creditable, given the difficult economic climate that prevails.

To support this claim, let me highlight some of the achievements over the last year. With funding from the National Bank of Greece (NBG), we have continued our recent practice of announcing external research calls on selected policy themes. The calls are open to competition and we receive a number of high quality applications. In this way, we are helping to set a research agenda and to offer much needed support to researchers in Greece, in particular. Currently, we have projects underway dealing with the critical issues of public administration reform; social protection and inclusion; foreign policy towards Turkey and elite perceptions.

Our own series of working papers 'GreeSE' continues to flourish with more than 85 published to date. Again with NBG support, we are able to appoint to a post-doctoral research fellowship at the HO, providing a bridge to an academic career for a young researcher. We receive many high-quality applications for this valuable opportunity.

In our public activities, we can note simply that we have attracted some 1,500 participants to our events on Greece and Cyprus over the last year. We were delighted to host H.E. the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Nicos Anastasiades, for a public lecture.

We were pleased to collaborate with external partners for special conferences: with the

British Hellenic Chamber of Commerce for a conference last October on the euro and southern economies; with the Open Society the following month for a conference on 'Challenges to the Open Society'; and, with the Hellenic Bankers' Association of the UK for a panel discussion on growth strategies for Greece. The HO held a fascinating conference on the revival of Famagusta in Cyprus and a private policy symposium on administrative reform in Greece. Our series of fortnightly research and policy seminars maintained its vibrancy.

Nurturing able students in the field is important and we have been very grateful to OPAP in Greece for funding a series of scholarships to enable graduate students to spend some time at LSE. Similarly, we look forward to the 7th Biennial PhD Symposium on Greece and Cyprus at LSE in 2015 as an opportunity for young researchers from across the world. The HO's webpages continue to be very popular: this last year saw a 40% increase in the number of external visitors to our pages. We have over 800 followers on Twitter and 830 on Facebook.

In sum, this is a record of research and public engagement of which we are very proud. Let me note that these achievements are the result of the professionalism and commitment of everyone involved in the HO 'team' and I am delighted to acknowledge this once again.

The Observatory's mission is especially important in these difficult economic times and we hope you will be attracted to join us in our endeavours.

Kevin Featherstone

Director

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PUBLIC LECTURE with Nicos Anastasiades

'The true story about the geopolitical role of Cyprus: David or Goliath?'

On **16 January 2014** the Hellenic Observatory was delighted to welcome back His Excellency Nicos Anastasiades, President of the Republic of Cyprus.

He had previously spoken at a closed policy roundtable at the School in November 2012 when he was still a candidate for the Presidency. At that time, he had laid out a vision for his administration across a wide variety of external policy areas. This time, as leader, he set out the key foreign policy challenges and opportunities facing the island during a period of particular turbulence and change in a lecture entitled, 'The true story about the geopolitical role of Cyprus: David or Goliath?'



The central theme of the talk was Cyprus' role in the eastern Mediterranean. As expected, he touched upon the Cyprus issue. However, the subject took rather less promi-

nence than usual. At that point, a recent effort by the United Nations to restart talks between the two sides had failed and there was a general sense of pessimism in international circles about the possibility of resuming talks again anytime soon.

However, rather unexpectedly they did start again soon afterwards following an initiative by the United States. To this extent, the President's talk was instead focussed on a number of other important and pressing regional and international issues. President Anastasiades discussed the impact of the financial crisis

The subject of Cyprus's growing strategic partnership with Israel was one important case in point raised during the lecture. Another important subject tackled was Cyprus's relationship with NATO. The



that struck the island shortly after he assumed the Presidency. This had a catastrophic effect on the Cypriot economy.

Also high on the list of topics was the question of energy. This has become a major point of discussion, both on the island and internationally, following the discovery of hydrocarbon reserves off the southern coast of Cyprus. In particular, there is considerable speculation about the way these energy reserves might be brought to market and the implications that this could have for regional relationships.

President again repeated his desire to see Cyprus join the Partnership for Peace Programme (PFP). Following the presentation, there was an extremely lively question and answer session.

The lecture attracted considerable interest and was given before a full house in the flagship Sheikh Zayed Theatre. A live video stream was also made available. As well as many students and members of the public, the lecture was also attended by David Liddington, the British Minister for Europe, who gave a welcoming address for the President. The President was also accompanied by several senior members of his administration, including the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ioannis Kasoulides; the Minister of Finance, Mr. Haris Georgiades; and, the Minister for Commerce, Energy and Tourism, Mr. Yiorgos Lakkotrypis. A private dinner was held afterwards, hosted by Professor Stuart Corbridge, LSE Provost.







HO Annual Lecture with Professor Spanou

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'The Greek Ombudsman and Public Administration during Challenging Times'

On **25 November 2013**, The Greek Ombudsman, Professor Calliope Spanou, gave the 13th Annual Lecture of Hellenic Observatory. The title of her lecture was, 'The Greek Ombudsman and Public Administration during Challenging Times'.

It was highly relevant and useful in such difficult times in Greece to have a novel view of the current crisis from a much undervalued public institution. It was also valuable



to have the views of an academic who is participating so actively in public life.

The main focus of Professor Spanou's lecture was the institution of the Ombudsman, which was established over 15 years ago, and an explanation of its role in the political and public administration of the country. The key to this of course is the understanding that this is a state institution established to uphold the rights of individuals vis-a-vis the state itself. The Ombudsman was clear that her role was primarily to ensure good governance and accountability of the state machinery, a task made more difficult in the Greek experience because of a history of clientelism and party politicisation of public administration and state institutions.



Professor Spanou devoted significant attention to the recommendations that her office had made, outlining the calls for reform made in the 35 reports issued by the office of the Ombudsman, ranging from the protection of asylum seekers, certification of the handicapped, changes in public administration recruitment, women in the labour market, and the simplification of business creation. The range is enormous, the task of the Office very difficult. The current economic crisis in Greece is of course a key factor in the current work of the Ombudsman. As Professor Spanou made clear, the current situation has resulted in significant challenges to her role: austerity has reordered priorities, calls for social justice are ever more loud and relevant, and old problems have become systemic in character. Professor Spanou concluded her lecture by reinforcing the view that in such difficult times, the Office she heads is a key institution in attempting to ensure that, '...human rights and good governance are not a luxury in conditions of economic crisis'.



The lecture was followed by a lively Q &A session and a private dinner.

Visit the <u>HO website</u> for more details and photographs on this event Page 4 THE HELLENIC OBSERVATORY

PANEL DISCUSSION

'Growth and Social Cohesion: Challenges for Greece and Beyond'

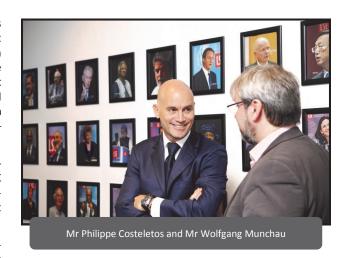
CO-ORGANISED WITH THE HELLENIC BANKERS ASSOCIATION-UK IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE **EUROPEAN PRESIDENCY**

Given the severity of the economic crisis Greece has faced, the policy challenge is for it to establish an exit strategy that will both increase growth and strengthen social solidarity. Thus, growth needs to be sustainable and socially-inclusive. There are signs of recovery, but progress with structural reforms is still essential and reform by consensus is difficult. The scope for such an exit is circumscribed both by the stipulations of the eurozone and the needs of Greece.

A panel discussion held at LSE on 15th May 2014 in conjunction with the Hellenic Bankers Association of the UK and the Greek Presidency of the European Council, considered what Europe should do for Greece and how best Greece can help itself.

The speakers represented different economic and financial perspectives on these questions. Wolfgang Munchau (Associate Editor of the Financial Times and President of Eurointelligence) criticised the strategy of the euro-zone to date in handling its heterogeneity and argued for a different, growth-oriented path. Vicky Pryce (Chief Economic Adviser, CEBR) acknowledged the progress made by Greece, but argued more was needed with basic structural reforms. Philippe Costeletos (Managing Partner and co-Founder DMC Partners) outlined the reforms that would increase Greece's credibility in the international financial markets. Finally, Horst Reichenbach, Head of the European Union's Taskforce for Greece, explained the assistance and support offered to Greece in the context of its adjustment programme.

The panel finished off with a good discussion, prompted by questions from the audience, but also much agreement on the core imperatives of structural reform and a benign EU stance to recognise progress to date and facilitate further reforms in a more conducive time-frame.









to this Panel Discussion section of our website.







PUBLIC LECTURE

'40 Years After the Collapse of the Junta: Reflections on its Historical Significance'





1974 was a pivotal year for Greece and Cyprus. 40 years on, a panel discussion reflected on how the Greek Junta collapsed and the transition to democracy. The panel was held on **28 May 2014** in collaboration with LSE IDE-AS.

The Colonels' regime was not a case that fits well the typical political science typologies. When they had seized power in April 1967, there had been no serious economic crisis; there had been no clash between the state and the business sector; indeed, the coup had threatened Greece's economic position internationally — not least with the EEC. There is little evidence that during the Junta lower income groups became poorer; indeed, economic growth had continued.

Politically, the Colonels had acted with almost no civilian support. Margaret Papandreou in her memoirs recalls on the night of the coup how she expected the 'workers' to come out on to the streets to protest and defeat the Colonels. None had appeared. The vast majority of technocrats would have nothing to do with the regime. The Colonels received widespread derision from Greek intellectuals. Exceptionally, leaders of the parliamentary right were also arrested. Most of the ERE party MPS refused any cooperation with the Junta.

While the Colonels lacked active support, they also faced little active opposition at home. The one notable exception was the uprising at the Athens Polytechnic in November 1973 – more than six years after the coup. But this was not the decisive event in the fall of the Colonels and they were not brought down by popular protest. The Colonels coup against President Makarios in July 1974 was instigated with a disastrous misjudgement as to Turkey's likely reaction and the mobilisation of the Greek army was a fiasco.

PRIVATE SEMINAR with Dr Evy Christofilopoulou

'The Challenges of Administrative Reform in Greece'

On 1 November 2013 Dr Evy Christofilopoulou joined a private seminar for the Hellenic Observatory to discuss 'The Challenges of Administrative Reform in Greece'. Guests included senior academics from across the School, including her PhD supervisor, Professor Patrick Dunleavy, staff, and students. Dr Christofilopoulou graduated from LSE with a PhD in Government.

The seminar was chaired by Professor Kevin Featherstone, the Director of the Hellenic Observatory. Dr Christofilopoulou spoke of the progress Greece is making in addressing the need for administrative reform.



The delicacy of the transition to democracy was evident in the fact that loannides was not compulsorily retired until 26th August and sometime later before he was arrested. Karamanlis did not sleep in the same place for several weeks after he took over the government. He was slow to move against the Colonels: he only did so after a private court case was initiated and it was some three months after he had been sworn in as PM.

The panel comprised an introduction by **Professor Kevin Featherstone**; an assessment of Karamanlis' role by **Professor Evanthis Hatzivassiliou**; and, a personal account of the anti-junta campaign in the UK by **Professor Richard Clogg.**

Visit the <u>HO website</u> for more details on this event.



She reported that Greece was ahead of the relevant targets agreed with the 'Troika' as part of Greece's 'bailout' loans. Dr Christofilopoulou answered a range of questions from the seminar guests.

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CONFERENCES & SYMPOSIA

'Greek Politics in Crisis: Challenges to the Open Society'

CO-ORGANISED WITH THE OPEN SOCIETY EUROPEAN POLICY INSTITUTE



The depth of the economic recession in Greece inevitably poses major political and social issues. On a scale comparable to that of the Wall Street crash of 1929, Greece has grappled with turning around its economy.



Indeed, it has already achieved the biggest fiscal adjustment seen in Europe since the end of the Second World War. But the street protests, the loss of support by the established political parties, and the public disillusionment are evidence of the severe strains on the political system. And the crisis has brought into much sharper relief some of the underlying problems of the polity, built up over decades.

Political parties have lost the trust of voters, and politically motivated violence has become an urgent issue. Social tensions around migration have been stoked up by political actors, while the public administration is struggling to reform its methods of handling asylum and migration.

The HO was pleased to organise a conference at LSE in conjunction with the Open Society European Policy Institute to consider these challenges to the Greek political system. The Conference took place in the LSE Shaw Library on 29 November 2013. It explored the crisis impacts on politics and political activity, from the grassroots to the state institutions, in order to explore the ramifications for Greece's future path. The question posed was 'Can Greece exit the crisis with a more open and inclusive society, a state more responsive to future needs, and with new forms of political leadership?' The speakers were drawn from different contexts and specialisms and they addressed the following key themes: (1) An age of extremes? The new electoral behaviour (2) An age of resistance? Street protests and a new civil society (3) The state as a block to the open society (4) Future leadership - what visions for the open society? The panels elicited lively discussions.

Visit the <u>HO website</u> for more details on the conference.

'The Greek Economy: from crisis to development'

CO-ORGANISED WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY



In April we joined forces with the Department of Planning and Regional Development of the University of Thessaly to co-organise a conference on "The Greek Economy: from crisis to development". The conference, organised over two days (4-5 April 2014) in Volos, Greece, combined a policy leg, with a series of keynote lectures by academics with direct experience in policy making, and an academic leg, with a total of 72 papers presented on a range of topics, from regional and national development to the labour market and from sectoral studies to international trade, competitiveness and environmental sustainability. Among the policy speakers were former government ministers Professors T. Giannitsis, L. Katseli and N. Christodoulakis; the deputy Governor of the Bank of Greece, Prof. E. Louri; the former vice-President of the European Investment Bank, Prof. P. Sakellaris; Prof. G. Stathakis, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Crete and Member of Parliament (SYRIZA); Prof. I. Kalogirou, Professor of Industrial Strategy at the National Technical University of Athens

and President of the Scientific Council of the National Documentation Centre; and speakers from the Centre for Programming and Economic Analysis (KEPE) and the organising institutions. The policy presentations had a forward looking flair, examining the structural, financial and distributive imbalances that stifle economic recovery and the potential future drivers for growth while reflecting on the constraints imposed by the international macroeconomic environment and drawing also on the experience with development strategies in the emerging economies over the last decade or so. The discussions that followed were particularly inspiring - while the lessons drawn from these sessions are an important input for future policy making, in Greece. In turn, the academic presentations gave a very hopeful message for the future of academic research in Greece and indeed for the volume and quality of evidence-base that is being generated by a new generation of researchers across universities and research institutes in Greece.







CONFERENCES & SYMPOSIA

'Reviving Famagusta; From Ghost Town to Eco-city?'

CO-ORGANISED WITH CONTEMPORARY TURKISH STUDIES, LSE



On 21 February 2014 the Hellenic Observatory attracted much local interest in its half-day conference, 'Reviving Famagusta: From Ghost Town to Eco-City?' There was an overflow crowd eager to learn about recent projects and plans for the future of the ghost town of Varosha and the entire Famagusta area. Prior to 1974, the port city of Famagusta was known as the Cannes of the Eastern Mediterranean. The district of Varosha on the sea was lined with beach hotels, while the walled town at the city's core was filled with historically significant churches and mosques. With the island's division in 1974, approximately 50,000 Greek Cypriots, most from Varosha, fled from north to south. The resort area of Varosha was abandoned and soon surrounded by barbed wire and occupied by Turkish troops, who held it as a bargaining chip in negotiations. For forty years, the once-glamorous hotels have crumbled, while the once-busy port has stagnated because of international isolation.

Recently, however, Turkish Cypriots living in Famagusta have joined with displaced Greek Cypriots to demand the opening of Varosha under UN supervision, the return of property to its legal owners, the opening of Famagusta port under EU supervision, and the listing of the walled city as a UNESCO heritage site. The conference brought



together Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots involved in these initiatives with academics working on eco-cities and divided cities to discuss how we might imagine a reunited and revitalised Famagusta. Town planners, architects, and economists from both sides of the divided island presented concrete ideas and proposals for the revitalisation of the entire region. Presenters also evaluated the potential social repercussions of Varosha's opening, as well as the economic and environmental challenges. A lively discussion challenged proposals and placed them within the context of ongoing reunification negotiations in the island.

'Prospects and Challenges for Administrative Reform in Greece'

KEYNOTE POLICY SYMPOSIUM—REFORMING THE GREEK STATE ADMINISTRATION

The sovereign debt crisis and two successive 'bail-outs' for Greece has focussed international attention on the ability of governments in Athens to 'deliver' structural reform. As the key agency for delivery, the performance of the state administration has been the subject of close scrutiny.

In its first such initiative, the Observatory convened a keynote policy symposium on **11 April 2014**, with leading experts from across Europe and Greece, as well as political leaders and practitioners from Greece at the Symposium, including the Minister for Administrative Reform, **Kyriakos Mitsotakis**, and his Deputy, **Evy Christofilopoulou**. Participation was by invitation only. The discussions were held under 'Chatham House' rules, with nothing to be attributed to any named participant. However, it was agreed that a synoptic report be produced and this is available from the HO's webpages.

The Symposium discussed: (1) The stimuli to, and the agenda for, administrative reform in Greece; (2) The scope for policy learning from other national systems; (3) The recent experiences with reform in Greece: pro-



gress and constraints; (4) Scenarios for reform: how to achieve better performance. The Report provides summaries of the presentations and comments by the discussants on a variety of topics, ranging from low quality governance costs to debt bailouts, and the experiences of practitioners. The progress with administrative reform over the previous year was recognised. For more details and the full report please visit the HO website.

CO-BRANDED EVENT

BHCC CONFERENCE - 'The Euro, Greece and the Southern Periphery'

The Hellenic Centre, London 10 October 2013— The British Hellenic Chamber of Commerce Conference was organised in collaboration with the Hellenic Observatory and the Council of British Chambers of Commerce in Europe.



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Hellenic Observatory Director



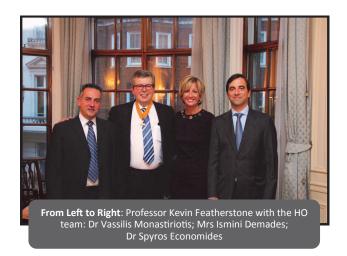
selves in the fields of public administration, science, arts and letters, commerce, industry and shipping. It is also conferred on foreigners who have contributed to improving Greece's stature abroad in the above fields.

Professor Featherstone said: 'Our work in the Hellenic Observatory has always been a "team-effort" and this award is a recognition of our collective performance. I'm honoured to receive it on behalf of my colleagues and I.



Professor Kevin Featherstone, Eleftherios Venizelos Chair in Contemporary Greek Studies and Director of LSE's Hellenic Observatory, has been bestowed the award 'Commander, Order of the Phoenix of the Hellenic Republic' (Ταξιάρχης, Τάγμα του Φοίνικος). The award was presented to Professor Featherstone by H.E. Mr Konstantinos Bikas, Ambassador of Greece, on Tuesday 17 September 2013, at the Ambassador's residence in London.

The Order of the Phoenix, which was established in 1926, is awarded to Greeks who have distinguished them-



100 BOOKS ON EUROPE TO REMEMBER



Professor Kevin Featherstone's book The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union was chosen for the "100 books on Europe to remember" book list, compiled by the European Parliament. You can access the list online by visiting the European Parliament website.

The book explores the negotiations that led to the agreement on the 'euro' single currency at Maastricht in 1991. It focusses on the ideas and interests of the four largest member states, as well as the impact of EU-level actors and institutional fora. It covers both the role of individual leaders – like Kohl, Mitterrand and Delors – and the way in which bargaining was structured by the prevailing conditions.

EVENTS WITH THE HO DIRECTOR

Professor Kevin Featherstone gave a public lecture at the University of Thessaly in Volos, on 31st March 2014. The lecture was entitled, 'Greece in the New Europe: Challenges and Prospects'. While in Volos, he had meetings with the Mayor, Panos Skotiniotis, and His Eminence Metropolitan Ignatius of Demetrias and Almyros.

Professor Featherstone also gave several lectures and talks in Illinois in November 2013. He made a presentation to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs on the 'euro' crisis entitled, 'Back from the Brink?'. At the Illinois Institute of Technology he gave a lecture entitled, 'Of Bailouts, Populists and Inertia: Lessons for the EU from the Greek Crisis'. And he was invited to give a lecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in the prestigious 'MillerCom' public lecture series, where he spoke on 'A System fit for Purpose? The Challenge of Governance in Greece'.



Research Seminars 2013-14

Over the last few years, our seminar series has combined successfully a focus on contemporary research on Greece with some more policyoriented presentations by academic scholars with deep involvement in policy, drawing audiences from both LSE's student and academic community and from the Greek diaspora in London. Our series in 2013/14 was no exception to this. In December 2013 we hosted a talk by Chief Economic Adviser to the Greek Prime Minister and former Deputy Finance Minister Prof Ioannis Mourmouras from the University of Macedonia. Prof Mourmouras spoke on 'the limits of fiscal consolidation within a monetary union', where he highlighted the roots of the 'austerity puzzle' and discussed with clarity and persuasion some of the policy challenges and choices facing Greece on its way to economic recovery and growth.

This issue was also addressed by **Prof Theodoros Pelagidis**, Professor of Economic Analysis at the University of Piraeus, in a presentation that drew on a book he is preparing at the Brookings Institution, titled 'the Greek growth project'. Two other presentations, by **Prof Maria**

Petmesidou, Democritus University of Thrace, on 'the painful watershed for the Greek welfare state', and by Dr Vassilis Monastiriotis (HO) on 'crisis and adjustment across the regional labour markets of Greece', also considered the issue of the crisis and of Greece's future development, by looking respectively at issues of social policy and of labour market adjustment.

Other presentations offered a more ethnographic and case-specific take on social aspects of the crisis. Among them were two presentations drawing on research produced under funding from the Hellenic Observatory's NBG Research Grants scheme: Manussos Marangudakis Prof (University of the Aegean) spoke on his work on "Civil Society and Religion in Greece in a Period of Crisis"; while Dr Panos Hatziprokopiou (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) gave a presentation on the 'socioeconomic and spatial dimensions of migrants' entrepreneurship in Athens' in times of crisis. These were well supplemented by a presentation by **Dr Nicola Argenti** (Brunel University) on the topologies of memory in Chios ("Crisis and Famine in Island Greece").



The series also hosted a presentation on aspects of the crisis in Cyprus, with HO Fellow Dr Bernard Casey speaking on 'The slow growth and sudden demise of supplementary pension provision in Cyprus'. On a different theme, Dr George Kassimeris (University of Wolverhampton) presented his recent book on 'The Persistence of Political Terrorism'; while Prof Nicos Christodoulakis (Athens University of Economics and Business) addressed a more historical topic, on 'The Dynamics of Conflict in the Greek Civil War'.

> A page dedicated to the 2013-2014 Research Seminars is available on the HO <u>website</u>

MICHAELMAS TERM 2014-15 Provisional Schedule

Tuesday, 14 October 2014

PROFESSOR ELENI LOURI-DENDRINOU, Professor, Athens University of Economics and Business; Former Deputy Governor, Bank of Greece; Visiting Professor, Hellenic Observatory, LSE (Sep—Dec 2014)

'Greece: Taking stock - Economic and financial changes since the onset of the global and euro area crises'

Tuesday, 28 October 2014

DR ELISABETH KIRTSOGLOU, Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Durham

'Crisis and Democracy - Democracy in Crisis; Social Anthropological Perspectives on the Fragility of the Social Contract'

Tuesday, 11 November 2014

MR ALEXANDER KENTIKELENIS, Research Associate, Department of Sociology & King's College, University of Cambridge 'The Newly Disadvantaged: Working-class responses to rapid socioeconomic change in Greece'

Tuesday, 25 November 2014

DR EFFIE FOKAS, Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP); Research Associate, Hellenic Observatory, LSE

'Banal, benign or pernicious? The relationship between religion and national identity from the perspective of religious minorities in Greece'

Tuesday, 9 December 2014

MR CONSTANTINOS SIMITIS, Former Greek Prime Minister Book Launch 'The European Debt Crisis: The Greek Case'

Once finalised the 2014-2015 seminars programme will be uploaded to the HO website



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GreeSE Papers 2013-14: Emerging research on Greece

The Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe remain for the 8th year a focal point for rigorous and policy-relevant research on Greece and Cyprus. The agenda of the papers published in 2013-14 entailed analyses of the Greek crisis both from a political perspective (No. 77, 81, 82) and from an economic perspective (No. 75, 76, 78, 79, 80). Other papers considered topics on Greek political history (No. 83, 85) or contemporary issues on Cyprus (No. 74, 84).

We are confident that the interest in the Series is steadily increasing. The latest download and abstract viewing statistics available from RePEc provide some evidence for this increasing interest. The average monthly downloads in 2014 (Jan-May) stood at 55, a substantial increase from 36 in 2013, and 33 in 2012. Similarly, the average monthly abstract viewings stood at 131 in 2014 (Jan-May), denoting an increase from 108 in 2013 and 94 in 2012.

The Series also appears successful in influencing ongoing academic debates, as evidenced by citations of GreeSE papers in journal articles published in 2013 and 2014. For example, GreeSE No.7 was cited in the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* (2014); GreeSE No.11 was cited in *Relations Industrielles/Industrial Relations* (2014); GreeSE No.31 was cited in *Politics & Policy* (2014); GreeSE No.52 was cited in *Competition & Change* (2014); GreeSE No.65 was cited in the *Journal of Common Market Studies* (2014); and GreeSE No.70 was cited in the *Journal of European Public Policy* (2013) and the *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties* (2014).

GreeSE Papers strive to maintain high standards of quality, and the effort that peer-reviewers put into the refereeing process is critical. We wish to thank our external referees, who generously offered their time and expertise while reviewing papers in 2013/14 (alphabetically): Othon Alexandrakis (York, Canada); Olga Christodoulaki (LSE); Andreas Georgiadis (Oxford); Kyriakos Moumoutzis (King's College); and Dimitra Petropoulou (Sussex).

Last but not least, we wish to thank Ms Polly Liouta for her professional support in assisting in the production of the papers.



Series Editor
Andreas Kornelakis
(University of Sussex)

Editorial Board
Kevin Featherstone
Spyros Economides
Vassilis Monastiriotis

Editorial Assistant
Polly Liouta

Latest Papers in the Series

- (74) Yiannos, Katsourides, Political Parties and Trade Unions in Cyprus, September 2013.
- (75) Athanassios, Petralias, Sotirios, Petros and Pródromos, Prodromídis, Greece in Recession: Economic predictions, mispredictions and policy implications, September 2013.
- (76) **Prodromos, Vlamis**, *Greek Fiscal Crisis and Repercussions for the Property Market*, September 2013.
- (77) Manussos, Marangudakis, Kostas, Rontos and Maria, Xenitidou, State Crisis and Civil Consciousness in Greece, October 2013.
- (78) **Theologos, Dergiades, Costas, Milas** and **Theodore, Panagiotidis**, *Tweets, Google Trends and Sovereign Spreads in the GIIPS*, October 2013.
- (79) **Nicholas, Apergis** and **Arusha, Cooray**, *New Evidence on the Remedies of the Greek Sovereign Debt Problem*, November 2013.
- (80) Vassilis, Monastiriotis and Angelo, Martelli, Beyond Rising Unemployment: Unemployment Risk Crisis and Regional Adjustments in Greece, December 2013.
- (81) **Daniel M, Knight**, A Critical Perspective on Economy, Modernity and Temporality in Contemporary Greece through the Prism of Energy Practice, January 2014.
- (82) Marilena, Simiti, Rage and Protest: The case of the Greek Indignant movement, February 2014.
- (83) Nicos, Christodoulakis, The Conflict Trap in the Greek Civil War 1946-1949: An economic approach, March 2014.
- (84) George, Kyris, Europeanisation and 'Internalised' Conflicts: The Case of Cyprus, April 2014.
- (85) **Papandreou, Nick**, Life in the First Person and the Art of Political Storytelling: The Rhetoric of Andreas Papandreou, May 2014.



Research from Permanent Academic Staff

1

KEVIN FEATHERSTONE

This year Professor Kevin Featherstone continued the preparation of a new book titled 'Prime Ministers in Greece: Power, Culture and Tradition', co-authored with Professor Dimitris Papadimitriou, to be published by Oxford University Press in 2015. He has also published a journal article on the same project, entitled 'The Emperor Has No Clothes! Power and Resources within the Greek Core Executive' in the journal Governance, Vol. 26, pp.523 -545, 2013. Furthermore, Professor Featherstone was the editor for 'Europe in Modern Greek History', a volume which addresses the complexity of Greece's relationship with 'Europe' - examining its manifestations in culture, politics, society, foreign policy and the economy. The book was published by Hurst & Co Publishers in 2014.

In addition to this, Professor Featherstone has given a number of public lectures, among them a lecture at the University of Thessaly, Volos campus, on 31 March 2014. The lecture was entitled, 'Greece in the New Europe: Challenges and Prospects'. He also participated in the RCC 2014 Conference 'New World Order — What's Next For Europe?', which took place in London on 29th January-1st February 2014.

SPYROS ECONOMIDES

In the past year Dr Spyros Economides has been concentrating on his broad research area relating to the external relations of the EU.

Within this he has focussed on issues and areas specifically related to Greece and to the broader Southeastern European region. His work on Greece has concentrated on the relationship between Greece and Europe in the field of foreign policy. In the first instance he has written on 'The Relevance of "Europe" to Greek Foreign Policy' which appeared in Kevin Featherstone (ed.), Europe in Modern Greek History (London: Hurst and Co., November

2013). Related to this, Dr Economides has also worked on the notion of 'strategic culture' in the European context with specific reference to the Greek understanding of this term. The published work also took the form of a contribution to an edited volume on this subject: Spyros Economides, 'Greece', in Bastian Giegerich (et. al.), Strategic Cultures in Europe (Springer verlag, July 2013).



On the Southeastern Europe front, Dr Economides continued to research and publish on the EU's enlargement strategy towards the region and the relationship between Serbia and Kosovo in the EU context. He published 'Kosovo, Self-Determination and International Order', Europe-Asia Studies, 2013, and with Dr James Ker-Lindsay has completed a work on 'Pre-Europeanisation Accession: the EU and the Serbia-Kosovo Relationship' which is under review for publication. Similarly, again with Dr Ker-Lindsay, Spyros Economides is completing an article on the advantages and disadvantages the EU faces when it imposes conditions on candidate states that are subject to review by external parties.

VASSILIS MONASTIRIOTIS

There are four research agendas that Dr Vassilis Monastiriotis' research has focussed on in the last academic year.

The first concerns regional growth in the process of EU integration, focusing on the CEE, SEE and ENP

regions. A paper on 'Regional growth and national development', which examined the process of regional convergence and the regional Kuznets hypothesis, came out in Spatial Economic Analysis (vol.9.2) in March 2014. Two other papers, on 'The regional impact of EU association agreements: lessons for the ENP from the CEE experience' and on 'The geography of intra-industry spillovers in the EU

neighbourhood', are currently under consideration for publication in two international academic journals.

The second agenda concerns the analysis of labour market issues in the Western Balkans, with a focus on Serbia. A paper on 'Determinants and paths to informality in Serbia' (with A. Mar-

telli) was presented in two international conferences in early 2014 and is currently being prepared for a journal submission; while also at the writing-up stage is work on 'Public sector employment and private sector wages' (with J. Lausev). The other two research agendas are focussed on Greece. One uses micro-econometric data to examine aspects of wage and unemployment adjustment in Greece during the crisis: it includes a number of papers, some co-authored (with R. Christopoulou; with A. Martelli; and with E. Lopez-Bazo and E. Motellón), some of which are already under consideration for publication in international journals and two of which were published as discussion papers (HO GreeSE Paper No.80 and ELIAMEP Crisis Observatory Research Paper No.9). The last strand concerns some more macroeconomic work on debt sustainability and fiscal austerity - a paper on this was published in the Cyprus Economic Policy Review in June 2014 (vol.8.1) - and on new industrial policy and the developmental state.

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A.N. Hadjiyiannis Senior Research Fellow



Dr Rebecca Bryant

This year Dr Bryant finalised a research monograph, edited a volume titled 'Shared Spaces and their Dissolution: Practices of Coexistence in the Post-Ottoman Sphere' and began research on a new project involving ethnographic and archival research in Istan-

bul. She has also completed a draft book manuscript, 'Unbecoming Subjects: Sovereignty and Sociality in an Unrecognized State', co-authored with Mete Hatay. The book is based on five years of research, and it uses the case of the unrecognised state in north Cyprus to interrogate the 'de facto' in international politics. Drawing a distinction between the de facto and the 'factitious', these categories are used to investigate sovereignty, statehood, and subjectivity in the absence of international recognition.

Currently, Dr Bryant is on academic leave for the calendar year 2014 under a Leverhulme Trust Fellowship, conducting research in Turkey on the project 'Modernity

Alla Turca: Fashioning the Turkish Bourgeois Subject.' The project examines the uses of 'culture'—as concept, discourse, and practice—in the everyday of a Turkish bourgeois modernity.

Her publications during 2013-14 include 'Living with Liminality: Unrecognized States on the Threshold of the Global,' published in Brown Journal of World Affairs Summer 2014 issue, and 'History's Remainders: Belonging, Temporality, and Unfinished Pasts,' appearing in the August 2014 issue of American Ethnologist.

In February 2014, Dr Bryant organised a half-day conference, 'Reviving Famagusta: From Ghost Town to Eco-City'. The conference brought together town planners, architects, and economists from Cyprus and the UK to discuss the potential opening of the fenced Varosha area of Famagusta and how the neglected area may be integrated into a revitalised city. Dr Bryant has aided in the organisation of a half-day conference on Turkey's current regional foreign policy among other events.

The Hellenic Observatory is grateful to
Mr Andreas N. Hadjiyiannis for his generous donation for the
establishment of a Research Fellowship
on Contemporary Cyprus

The HO Welcomes Visiting Fellows & Professors

The Hellenic Observatory welcomes applications for Visiting Fellows and Professors by academics or policy practitioners who may want to spend a period of between 6-12 months at the LSE to conduct independent research on a topic relevant to the work of the Hellenic Observatory. It is anticipated that Visiting Fellows will play an active part in the intellectual life of the Hellenic Observatory during their fellowship.

<u>HO Visiting Fellowship</u>: Visiting Fellowships target researchers at an early stage of their career (pre-major review) who already hold a tenure-track university affiliation and wish to conduct a specific piece of research on a topic relevant to the research of the Hellenic Observatory. Applications by practitioners and researchers outside the academia may also be considered, but normally applicants should hold at least a PhD degree or have equivalent professional experience

HO Visiting Senior Fellowship: The Visiting Senior Fellowship category is aimed at academics that are of the Lecturer (post major review), Senior Lecturer or Reader level, and practitioners or professionals at a broadly comparable level in their profession. The title of Visiting Senior Fellow is given to individuals from outside the School associated with School Departments/Institutes/Centres. The status is intended to apply to scholars who have already published work of distinction, as well as recognising the contribution from those in government service, in professional practice, in the private sector, or in other appropriate fields, to engage in research and other Institute/Centre activities.

<u>HO Visiting Professors:</u> The School may confer the title of Visiting Professor for a defined but renewable period on persons of appropriate distinction whose connections with the School are appropriate to the visiting title. It includes individuals with a non-academic background who may have achieved prominence in public life, or who have attained distinction in their profession.

In 2013-14 the Hellenic Observatory welcomed: Marilena Simiti, Assistant Professor of Political Sociology, Department of European and International Studies in the University of Piraeus; Elias Dinenis, Professor of Finance and Management and Rector at Neapolis University, Pafos, Cyprus; and Dimitris Sotiropoulos, Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens.



Research Assistants

Dimitris Sourvanos (March 2014– present) **Theodoros Arvanitopoulos** (Oct 2013– March 2014)

George Moschopoulos (Oct 2013-March 2014) **Angelos Theodorakopoulos** (May 2013-July 2014)

NBG Post-Doctoral Research Fellows 2013-14

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Dr Dimitris Antoniou

As a National Bank of Greece post-doctoral fellow this year, I engaged in an anthropological examination of decision-making processes, reform, political assessments of the present and expert forecasts of the future. More specifically, I considered the



concept of "political cost," which has become so prevalent in Greek politics over the last two decades. In conducting this research I found myself working for the first time amongst political scientists, IR experts, and economic geographers, and I benefitted greatly from sharing my thoughts and findings on the workings of the state with scholars, experienced in using different methodologies and conceptual frameworks. In particular, my discussions with my colleague (and the other National Bank of Greece fellow) Georgios Evangelopoulos made me reconsider some of the very premises of my research and deepened my understanding of Castoriadis's work, while Kevin Featherstone's and Vassilis Monastiriotis's insights gave me the comparative perspective that I very much needed. Through my fellowship at the Hellenic Observatory I have been able to reach out to the wider community and receive invaluable feedback on my work. Given the international interest in the HO's activities, I also received numerous invitations to present my research and comment on Greek politics.

Overall this has been an invaluable experience for me, which has helped me reach a new stage in my career and which I will treasure for the years to come. As I am moving to a new teaching post at Columbia University, I look forward to keeping in touch with the Hellenic Observatory and contributing to its mission to make the study of contemporary Greece relevant to the wider academic community.

Dr Georgios Evangelopoulos

My time at the Hellenic Observatory has been a great one. I was offered the opportunity to spend six months in a friendly and intellectually stimulating environment, where I re-visited ideas and concepts that I had first developed while working on my PhD thesis at



the IR Department of the LSE. The Hellenic Observatory is an ideal place for anyone who would like to see how theory could meet praxis, how policy-oriented studies could efficiently take on board the results of theoretical research, and the other way around.

The research seminar series and public lectures of the HO have facilitated my interaction with leading scholars on Greece. I have repeatedly taken advantage of the generous opportunities of exchanging ideas with scholars of the calibre of Kevin, Vasillis and Spyros, who have all helped me in various ways, by offering different perspectives while I was carrying out my research into "the agent-structure issue in foreign policy analysis" (having the "Macedonian issue" as my case-study). Ismini and Polly have also been always very willing to help me solve any practical or bureaucratic problems, providing me thus with the very rare opportunity to continue working on my research project without any distraction; I have no words to express my gratitude to them too. In every respect, my time at the Hellenic Observatory has been very useful and thus an unforgettable academic experience, a real honour, privilege and pleasure, for which I am deeply grateful.



The Hellenic
Observatory
gratefully
acknowledges
the National
Bank of Greece
for the funding
of the
post-doc
research
fellow posts

Research Associates

GEORGE ALOGOSKOUFIS, Professor of Economics, Athens University of Economics & Business; Former Greek Minister of Economy & Finance, 2004-2009

ATHANASIA CHALARI, Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Worcester; A.C. Laskaridis Post-Doctoral Fellow 2011-12, Hellenic Observatory, LSE

NICOS CHRISTODOULAKIS, Professor of Economics, Athens University of Economics & Business; Former Greek Minister of Economy & Finance, 2001-2004

THEOFANIS EXADAKTYLOS, Lecturer in European Politics, Department of Politics, University of Surrey; Ministry of Finance Research Fellow 2011-12, Hellenic Observatory, LSE

EFFIE FOKAS, Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)

VASILIS LEONTITSIS, Hellenic Observatory National Bank of Greece Research Fellow 2011-12, LSE

COSTAS MEGHIR, Professor of Economics, University College London; Douglas A. Warner III Professor, Yale University; Co-Director ESRC Research Centre, Institute for Fiscal Studies

ACHILLEAS MITSOS, Professor of International Economic Relations, University of Aegean

DIMITRIS PAPADIMITRIOU, Professor in European Politics, University of Manchester; Co-Director of the Manchester Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence (JMCE)

CHRISTOS PARASKEVOPOULOS, Associate Professor of Economic Public Policy, University of Macedonia, Greece

PANOS TSAKLOGLOU, Professor of International & European Economic Studies, Athens University of Economics & Business; Research Fellow, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA, Bonn)

DIMITRI VAYANOS, Professor of Finance, LSE; Director of the Paul Woolley Centre for the Study of Capital Market Dysfunctionality

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Staff Publications



The Cypriot Economic Collapse More than a Conventional South European Failure

Author: Adonis Pegasiou Journal of Mediterranean Politics, 2013



Turkey and the European Union; Facing New Challenges and Opportu-

Editors: Firat Cengiz, Lars Hoffman Chapters contributed by **Dr George** Kyris and Dr Nikos Skoutaris Routledge, 2014



Social Issues in Focus - New Generation Research on a Changing Greece

Authors: Effie Fokas, Diana Bozilova, Effie Vraniali, Elpida Prasopoulou and Athanasia Chalari

Introduction by **Kevin Featherstone** Economia Publishing, 2013



The Public-Private Duality in Wage Reforms and Adjustment During the **Greek Crisis**

Authors: Vassilis Monastiriotis and Rebekka Christopoulou Crisis Observatory [ELIAMEP], April

2014



The Slow Growth and Sudden Demise of Supplementary Pension Provision in Cyprus

Authors: Bernard Casey, Panayiotis **Yiallouros**

Cyprus Economic Policy Review, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 2-51, 2013



Regional Growth and National Development: Transition in Central and Eastern Europe and the Regional Kuznets Curve in the East and the West

Author: Vassilis Monastiriotis Spatial Economic Analysis, Vol. 9, Issue

2, pp. 142-161, 2014



Germany's War Debt to Greece: A **Burden Unsettled**

Author: Nikos Christodoulakis Palgrave Macmillan, May 2014



When Greeks and Turks Met: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Relationship Since 1923

Editor: Vally Lytra

Chapter contributed by James Ker-

Lindsay, pp. 109-124 Ashgate, 2014



(When) Does Austerity Work? On the conditional Link between Fiscal Austerity and Debt Sustainability

Author: Vassilis Monastiriotis Cyprus Economic Policy Review, Vol.8 (1), pp.71-92, 2014



Europe in Modern Greek History

Editor: Kevin Featherstone Hurst & Company, London

2014



Georgios Provopoulos [Governor, Bank of Greece (Chairman)]

Kevin Featherstone [Director, Hellenic Observatory]

Spyros Economides [Deputy Director, Hellenic Observatory]

Spyros N. Filaretos [Executive General Manager - COO Alpha Bank]

Spiro J Latsis [Member, LSE Board of Governors]

George Zanias [Chairman, National Bank of Greece]

Achilleas Mitsos [Professor of International Economic Relations, University of the Aegean, Greece]

Elias Mossialos [Director, LSE Health]

Nicos Mouzelis [Emeritus Professor of Sociology, LSE]

Lucas Papademos [Former Prime Minister of Greece; Former Vice President - European Central Bank]

Sir Christopher Pissarides [Professor of Economics, LSE]





National Bank of Greece - External Research Projects



In July 2014 the Hellenic Observatory invited researchers with a recognised interest in contemporary Greece to submit an application for funding, in order to carry out a project on one of the following themes:

(1) The Crisis and Gender; (2) The Crisis and Political Extremism; (3) Outward Migration from Greece during the Crisis. The Call is open to all researchers with a university affiliation, who already hold a doctorate (PhD degree) with at least two years of post-doctoral research experience. Applications from groups of researchers are also eligible. The deadline for submission of applications is Sunday **28th September 2014** (5pm GMT). Further details can be found on the Hellenic Observatory website.

This call has been made possible by funding generously provided by the National Bank of Greece, to which we wish to record our gratitude. This initiative is consistent with the Observatory's mission to promote public policy research and to foster academic collaboration and networks and follows on from previous successful calls made in 2009, 2011 and 2013.

OPAP Scholarships

Since the Academic Year 2009-10 and following financial support kindly provided by OPAP, the Greek Organisation of Football Prognostics SA, the European Institute



Greek Organization of Football Prognostics S.A.

(EI) invited Masters and PhD students to apply for a scholarship to enable them to attend LSE for their studies, for one term.

The scholarships were available to students registered (i) at a Greek university on a Masters' programme in the social sciences, focussing on the EU and/or SE Europe, and (ii) for a PhD at a Greek University and who wished to study for a similar period at the LSE.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of OPAP for this initiative.

2013-14 SUCCESSFUL SCHOLARS:

Margarita Iliopoulou (MSc Student)
Department of International and European Economic
Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business
MSc in European Economic Policy

Maria Zeaki (PhD Student)
Department of Economics, University of Crete
Thesis title: 'Debt Crisis in the Eurozone: a theoretical
and empirical investigation'

Dimitris Giakoulas (PhD Student) Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens Thesis title: 'Greek Foreign Direct Investment' In 2013 three projects on the following themes were accepted and are on-going:

Reform of Public Administration in Greece

Project title: 'Evaluating Structural Reform of Central Government Departments in Greece: Application of the DEA Methodology'

Social Insurance Provisions in Greece

Project title: 'Caring for the Homeless and the Poor in Greece: Implications for the Future of Social Protection and Social Inclusion'

Foreign Policy

Project title: 'National role perceptions and foreign policy orientation: the ideational bases of Greek political elite's perception and policy towards Turkey'



For more information on all Research Calls please visit our website

Donors

The programme of activities sustained by the Hellenic Observatory depends crucially on the financial support it receives from outside bodies. For this reason, we wish to record our very sincere gratitude, once again, to the following donors for their generosity and for the confidence they place in us.

A.C. Laskaridis
A.G Leventis Foundation
Andreas N. Hadjiyiannis
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Ministry of Finance, Greece
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National Bank of Greece
Neapolis University, Cyprus
OPAP S.A.
Viohalco S.A.

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Forthcoming Events

⇒ 15 October 2014

Book Launch 'The Thirteenth Labour of Hercules' Yannis Palaiologos

⇒ 20 October 2014

Book Launch 'The Impact of European Employment Strategy in Greece and Portugal'

Sotiris Zartaloudis

⇒ 7 November 2014

What is 'modern' about Modern Greece?

Panel Discussion with Chairs of Modern Greek Studies from around the world, on the occasion of a private symposium at the LSE

⇒ 12 November 2014

Public Lecture with Metropolitan Ignatius

'The Greek Orthodox Church and the Economic Crisis'

⇒ 11 November 2014

Public Lecture with Mayor of Thessaloniki Yiannis
Boutaris

'Local Governance Responses to the Greek Crisis: The Case of Thessaloniki'

⇒ 9 December 2014

Book Launch 'The European Debt Crisis: the Greek Case'Konstantinos Simitis, Former Greek Prime Minister

⇒ 4-5 June 2015

7th Biennial PhD Symposium on Greece and Cyprus<u>Sponsored by the A.G Leventis Foundation</u>

For further details on these and all other HO events and activities, please visit our website www.lse.ac.uk/ho/events

Who's Who



• Professor Kevin Featherstone

Hellenic Observatory Director; LSEE-Research on South Eastern Europe Co-Chair; Eleftherios Venizelos Professor of Contemporary Greek Studies & Professor of European Politics

Dr Spyros Economides

Hellenic Observatory Deputy Director; LSEE-Research on South Eastern Europe Co-ordinator; Associate Professor in International Relations and European Politics

Dr Vassilis Monastiriotis

LSEE-Research on South Eastern Europe Acting Director; Associate Professor in the Political Economy of South East Europe

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