# 7<sup>th</sup> Annual GPPF Chania Forum 2025

# GLOBALISATION AND DEMOCRATIC RESILIENCE: GREECE AND EUROPE IN A CHANGING GLOBAL ORDER



04-05 April 2025

Kiani Beach Resort
Chania, Greece

A public policy workshop organised by the **Greek Public Policy Forum** 

# **P**ROGRAMME

# Friday, April 04

09.00-09.30	Welcome by the organisers
09.30-10.30	Enlargement and the Boundaries of Europe I
	<u>Chair</u> : Nikitas Konstantinidis
Nicoletta Pirozzi	Will Getting Bigger Make the EU Stronger? Enlargement and the Reform Challenge
Funda Tekin	Variable Geometries of Europe: Curse or Blessing for the Future of the EU?
10.30-11.30	Enlargement and the Boundaries of Europe II
	<u>Chair</u> : Chris Uregian
Ilke Toygür	Enlargement and European Security in Times of Change
Jan Zielonka	Will Walls Protect Us?
11.30-12.00	Coffee break
12.00-13.00	Fiscal Challenges and Opportunities for Greece
	<u>Chair</u> : Eleni Louri-Dendrinou
Johannes Lübking	The Impact of the Recovery and Resilience Facility on Greece
Plutarchos Sakellaris	How Effective Can Fiscal Handouts Be in Greece?
13.00-14.00	Lunch break

14.00-15.00	Banking and Finance in Greece
	<u>Chair</u> : Plutarchos Sakellaris
Eleni Louri-Dendrinou	The Greek Banking Industry: Challenges and Opportunities
George Tryfinopoulos	Trends in Finance and Banking: What is Next?
15.00-16.00	The Greek Economy: From Competition to Competitiveness
	<u>Chair</u> : Ilke Toygür
Georges Siotis	Competition Policy in Greece: The Small Market Curse
Nikos Vettas	On the Competitiveness and Openness of the Greek Economy
19:00-20:00	Guided visit at the Archaeological Museum of Chania
20:30	Dinner at the Venetian Harbour of Chania

# Saturday, April 05

09.00-10.30 | Rule of Law and Democracy in Europe and

in Greece

Chair: Vassilis P. Tzevelekos

**Elias Dinas** The Rise and Fall of Democratic Norms

**Christos** Democratic Backsliding in Europe: Myths,

**Giakoumopoulos** Realities, and Prospects

**Nektaria Stamouli** Greece's Rule of Law Issue: Democracy Fraying

at its Birthplace

10.30-11.30 Trade and Globalisation

**Chair:** Aris Georgopoulos

**Meredith Crowley** The Breakdown of Co-Operative Trade Policy

and Dispute Settlement Under the WTO

**Petros C. Mavroidis** | Trump II: Testing the Resilience of the World

Trading System

11.30-11.45 *Coffee break* 

11.45-12.45 **Keynote Speech** 

Chair: Nektaria Stamouli

**Dora Bakoyannis** Greece and Europe in a Shifting Geopolitical

Order

12.45-13.45 *Lunch break* 

13.45-14.45 Growth and Industrial Policy in the Era of

**Globalisation** 

Chair: Elias Dinas

**Megan Greene** Growth Prospects for the EU

**Damien J. Neven** Industrial Policy and Global Spillovers: Some

Lessons from Recent Developments

14.45-15.45 **Economic Security in Greece and Europe** 

**Chair:** Sotiris Georganas

**Michael G. Arghyrou** | Greek Economy: State of Play and Future

**Prospects** 

**Dimitris Skalkos** In Search of Economic Security: Europe,

Greece, and the Global Economic Order

15.45-16.00 *Coffee break* 

16.00-17.00 **Keynote Speech** 

Chair: Nektaria Stamouli

**Sevi Voloudaki** The Geopolitical Challenges of Migration

20:00 Dinner at the Kiani Beach Resort

### **PARTICIPANTS**

# Michael G. Arghyrou

Michael G. Arghyrou is a Professor of Economics at the Department of Economics of the University of Piraeus. Previously, he was a Lecturer, Assistant and Associate Professor of Economics at Cardiff (2005-2019) and а Lecturer Economics at Brunel University (1998-2005). was born in Nicosia in 1972. He is a graduate of the Department of Economics of the Athens University of Economics and Business and holds a Master's Doctoral Degree in Economics from the University of London (Queen Mary). As from January 2025 he is the Prime Minister's Economic Adviser. Also, since July 2019 he is Head of the Council of Economic Advisers. With this capacity, he represents Greece at the Economic and Financial Committee (EFC), the Eurogroup Working Group (EWG) and the Board of Directors of the European Stability Mechanism (ESM). He is one of the five members of the Steering Committee which designed and oversees the implementation of the Greek National Recovery and Resilience Plan Greece 2.0. He is also a full member of the Board of Directors of the European Investment Bank (EIB). His main research interests are international monetary relations, international macroeconomics and the Greek economy. His academic publications cover topics including the European sovereign debt applied monetary policy, public debt crisis, sustainability, as well as exchange rates, current account determination and international trade / investment.

#### **Dora Bakoyannis**

Ms. Dora Bakoyannis is a Member of the Hellenic Parliament, since 1989. In 2002, Ms. Bakoyannis became the first woman in the history of the city of Athens. She took on the task of preparing the city of Athens to host the 2004 Olympic Games. In 2006, Ms. Bakoyannis took over as Foreign Affairs Minister in the Karamanlis government, a position she held until 2009. Currently, Ms. Bakoyannis is the Chairperson of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on National Defence and Foreign Affairs. In addition. Ms. Bakoyannis the of the Greek Delegation to the Chairperson inter-parliamentary co-operation between Greece, USA, Israel and Cyprus (3+1). At the European Bakovannis Bakovannis Chairperson of the Greek Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Since 2013, Ms. Bakoyannis is the Vice-President of the European People's Party in the Council of Europe. Ms. Bakoyannis is a liberal politician with a deep belief in the European Idea. She is known worldwide for her adamant stance against terrorism. Her positions have been repeatedly published in the international press and she has participated as a keynote speaker in dozens of conferences, academic fora and debates around the world. Ms. Bakoyannis is the daughter of the former Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis.

# **Meredith Crowley**

Meredith A. Crowley is Professor of Economics at the University of Cambridge, Fellow of St. John's College, and Research Coordinator at the Janeway Institute at Cambridge. She is President of the International Economics and Finance Society, a co-investigator of the publicly-funded Centre for Inclusive Trade Policy, a Research Fellow at the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR -London), and a member of the Scientific Advisory Councils of CEPII and the Kiel Institute. Her research on international trade, trade policy, and appeared in numerous exchange rates has peer-reviewed journals including the American Economic Review, the Canadian Journal the European Journal of Political Economics, Economy, the Journal of Development Economics, the Journal of International Economics and World Trade Review. She frequently appears in the media, including the BBC, The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Financial Times. Economist, The Guardian, The Telegraph, and The Times. Prior to arriving at Cambridge in 2013, Crowley worked in the Research Department of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. She has held visiting positions at Georgetown University, the Shanghai University of Finance and Economics, and Nanjing University. Her research has presented at central banks and international institutions around the world, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation. Crowley received Bachelor's degrees in Asian studies and chemistry from Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, a Master's of public policy degree in international trade and finance from Harvard University, and Master's and Ph.D. degrees in economics from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

#### **Elias Dinas**

Elias Dinas holds the Swiss Chair in Federalism, Democracy, and International Governance at the European University Institute, where he is also currently the Head of Political and Social Sciences Department. Before going to the European University Institute, he was Associate Professor in Comparative Politics at Oxford, where he was also a Tutorial Fellow at Brasenose College. His research looks into the role of history in the formation of political and national identities. His ERC project POSTNORM traces the formation of ideological norms in democracies that emerge after the fall of authoritarian rule. Findings from his research have been discussed in the New York Times, the Economist and the Greek Parliament.

#### **Sotiris Georganas**

Dr. Sotiris Georganas teaches and does research in applied microeconomics at City, University of London, where he is Reader in Behavioural Economics. He did his undergraduate studies and Ph.D. in Bonn, with long stays at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. Since he has worked at or visited several universities (Royal Holloway, NUY, Ecole Polytechnique). His research ranges from models of bounded rationality and auctions to experimental methodology and the stability of preferences.

#### **Aris Georgopoulos**

Dr. Aris Georgopoulos is Assistant Professor in Public Law and European Law at the School of Law of the University of Nottingham and Head of the Research Unit for Innovation, AI, Strategic and Defence Procurement of the Public Procurement Research Group (PPRG). He is also Co-Lead of the Research Unit Public Procurement Human Rights and Social Sustainability. He has acted as expert adviser to companies in the area of public, strategic and defence procurement compliance and to national authorities, to international organisations and institutions (such as the OECD, the World Bank, the European Central Bank, the European Court of Auditors, the European Trade Union Institute and the USAID) in the areas of public, strategic, defence procurement regulatory reform. He has been Global Governance Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS) of the European University Institute. He has been also a Grotius Fellow at the Law School of the University of Michigan, Visiting Fellow at the University of Castilla la Mancha and at the University of Neuchâtel. His research interests lie in the area of public law, EU Law, public procurement law and policy and the intersections of these fields technologies such as Intelligence. He has taught at Universities in the United States, Brasil, China, Colombia, Greece, Italy, Malaysia, Serbia and Turkey. He is a member of the Editorial Board of the 'Public Procurement Review' and member of the scientific committee of the 'Revista Digital de Derecho Administrativo'. He has published widely in the public procurement, including COVID-19 procurement, healthcare procurement, defence procurement law and policy, public law and EU law. He has received a number of scholarships and awards including funding for projects under the aegis of the British Academy and Innovate UK (more recently a British Academy Innovation Fellowship in the area of public procurement, Artificial Intelligence, machine learning and big data analysis). Moreover, he has been member of the jury for the 1st European Innovation Procurement Awards organised by the European Commission, the European Innovation Council and the SMEs Executive Agency (EISMEA). His personal blog, https://arisoflawxley.com is a platform for sharing his thoughts and ideas on issues that trigger his attention in his academic and advisory/consultancy work. He speaks Greek, English, French and Spanish and has knowledge of German and Russian.

# **Christos Giakoumopoulos**

Until his retirement in August 2024, Mr. Christos Giakoumopoulos was Director General for Human Rights and the Rule of Law in the Council of Europe. Before 2017 he exercised as Director for Human Rights, Director of Monitoring, Legal Counsel of the Council of Europe Development Director of the Office Bank and of Commissioner for Human Rights, Alvaro Gil Robles. From 1987 to 2002 he worked as a legal officer in the European Court (and Commission) of Human Rights and was Deputy Executive Secretary of the Venice Commission (European Commission for Democracy through Law). In the period 2014-2016 he was Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe for Ukraine. Before joining the Council of Europe in 1987, he was a lawyer at the Athens Bar and worked as legal adviser for the Greek Ministry of Labour in Athens and in Düsseldorf.

### **Megan Greene**

Ms. Greene is an External Member of the Bank of England's Monetary Policy Committee. She is a the Watson Fellow at Institute for International and Public Affairs at Brown University and also teaches at London Business School. She serves on the Academic Advisory Committee at the San Francisco Federal Reserve and is a Senior Fellow in Global Macroeconomics at Chatham House. Ms. Greene is an Advisory Board member of Rebuilding Macroeconomics and Econofact and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and Bretton Woods Committee, Prior to her appointment, Ms. Greene was the Global Chief Economist at Kroll, a business services and risk mitigation firm. She was also a Contributing Editor and regular columnist at the Financial Times, writing on global macroeconomics and policy. In addition, she served on the International Advisory Committee of the board of the Hong Kong stock exchange. Ms. Greene previously served as a Senior Fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government at Harvard Kennedy School and Global Chief Economist at John Hancock Asset Management, She holds a B.A. from Princeton University and a M.Sc. from Nuffield College, Oxford University.

#### **Nikitas Konstantinidis**

Nikitas Konstantinidis currently holds the position of Associate Professor in International and Comparative Political Economy at IE University, where he has also served as Acting Vice Dean of Academic Affairs. Previously he was University Lecturer in International Political Economy in the Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS), Fellow in Political Science and Public Policy in the Department of Government of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), and a post-doctoral researcher at the Institut Barcelona d' Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). He received his Ph.D. in Political Economy from the Princeton School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, and has further pursued postgraduate studies in public policy at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and undergraduate studies at the LSE. His main research interests lie in the areas of comparative and international political economy, applied formal theory, regional integration, international organisations, and European Union politics. He has also been active in terms of blogging, writing op-eds, and tweeting (@nikkon7).

#### Eleni Louri-Dendrinou

Eleni Louri-Dendrinou is since 2021 Professor Emerita, having been Professor at the Department of Economics of the Athens University of Economics and Business and Head of the Department between 2015-2020. She studied at the Athens University of Economics and Business, (B.Sc. Econ), London School of Economics (M.Sc. Econ) and University of Oxford (D.Phil. Econ). Her research interests are in the areas of Industrial Organization and Market Direct Dynamics, Foreign Investment International Economics, Finance and Banking Strategy. Since 2021 she is Professor Emerita. She was Visiting Fellow at Oxford University and the London School of Visitina Professor at Economics, where she remains as Research Associate. She has taught, given seminars and lectures and participated at conferences in many European and central banks. In 2015 she gave a series of lectures at US and Canadian universities, such as Simon Fraser, Berkeley, Yale, Fordham, Sacramento, Georgetown and American University, Brookings and Peterson Institute and the World Bank on an Onassis Foundation touring fellowship. She has worked for research projects international organisations such as the OECD, the World Bank, CEPR and the European Commission. She has also served as Deputy Member of the Hellenic Competition Commission. published extensively in international academic journals, such as Oxford Economic Papers, Journal of Industrial Economics, International Journal of Industrial Organization, Oxford Bulletin Economics and Statistics, International Review of Financial Analysis, Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, Review of Industrial Organization, Journal of Industry, Competition and Trade, International Journal of Production Economics, Urban Studies, Finance Research Letters, Review of Financial Economics, Bulletin of Economic Research, Journal of International Financial Markets, Institutions and Money and International Journal of Finance and Economics and acted as referee for many of them. Currently she is Associate Editor at the Journal of Economic Asymmetries. Her published work has 3500 received more (Google scholar) than citations. In 2008-2014 she was Deputy Governor of the Bank of Greece responsible for monetary policy, bank resolution, statistics, the national mint and cash management. She was also President of the Hellenic Deposit Guarantee Fund. She served member of the International Relations as Committee of the ECB. In 2023-24 she was board member of the Hellenic Financial Stability Fund. Currently she is a board member of IOBE and of the Hellenic Observatory Advisory Board (LSE) and she chairs the Bank of Greece Cultural Centre (which includes its Historical Archives, Collections, Publications and Museum) Advisory Committee. Since 2016 she is a member of the Appeal Panel of the Single Resolution Board of European Banks in Brussels and since 2024 she is a non-executive member of the Board of Cenergy Holdings.

# **Johannes Lübking**

Dr. Johannes Lübking is Director in the Commission's Reform and Investment Task Force, situated in the Secretariat-General (SG.REFORM), leading the negotiations with a number of member states within the framework of the Recovery and Resilience Facility, covering a broad range of areas from energy, green, digital and social reforms and investments to rule of law and structural reforms, and co-ordinating the European Semester for all member states. Before joining the Task Force in November 2020, he was lead negotiator in the Commission's Task Force for the negotiation of the COVID-19 vaccines and was head Competition's antitrust unit in the energy and environment sectors, leading a number of antitrust investigations for gas, electricity and grid cases. From 2018 to 2019, he was also Acting Director of DG Competition's energy and environment directorate, overseeing the work in the field of state aid and merger control. Prior to this, Johannes Lübking headed various merger units, leading high-profile investigations in the sectors of telecom, IT, pharmaceuticals and financial services, as well as the Merger Case Support and Policy unit. Before joining the European Commission in 2001, Johannes Lübking worked for several years in private practice and as in-house counsel in Frankfurt/Germany. He holds a Ph.D. of the University of Göttingen/Germany and an LL.M. of the European University Institute in Florence/Italy in International and European Law. He graduated in law at the University of Göttingen and passed the bar exam in Berlin.

#### Petros C. Mavroidis

Petros C. Mavroidis is Edwin B. Parker Professor of Foreign & Comparative Law at Columbia Law School, a member of the Institut de Droit International and an arbitrator, among other areas in trade law, competition law and sports law.

#### **Damian Neven**

Damien Neven is Professor of Economics at the Graduate Institute in Geneva. He is also a member Council-Vice President of the Belgian Authority. He holds a Ph.D. in Competition economics from Nuffield College, Oxford and has taught at INSEAD, the College of Europe and the University of Lausanne. He has acted as Chief Competition Economist at the European Commission from September 2006 to May 2011. written extensively on competition enforcement. His current research interests focus on enforcement standards, sports and SEP.

#### Kiriakos E. Papadakis

Mr. Kiriakos E. Papadakis has studied Economics in London School of Economics & Cambridge University. He has worked in various finance/banking positions ranging from Corporate Finance-Citigroup (London, M&A Financial Institutions Group team), sell-side Capital Markets-JPMorgan (London, Structuring team of Asset Backed Securities and Covered Bonds) and investment-side Panthir Capital (Hedge Fund). Currently focused on investment advisory & management of existing investments ranging from finance to tourism by being Senior Partner in SeaCrete Hotels (www.seacretehotels.com). In the tourism sector his team has invested approximately €50.0mn between 2011 and 2024 in Chania, Crete. He has been elected as Vice-President of Chania Hotels Association.

#### Nicoletta Pirozzi

Dr. Nicoletta Pirozzi is Head of Programme on Institutional Union and Manager at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI). She works mainly on EU governance, political and institutional developments in European foreign, security and defence policy, civilian crisis management, EU relations with the Kingdom and the United Nations. She is Associate European Governance and Programme of the European University Institute. From 2013 to 2019, she was Adjunct Professor at Roma Tre University. In 2018, she was Associate Analyst at the EU Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) in Paris and Marshall Memorial Fellow. In 2012, she served as Seconded National Expert at the European External Action Service (EEAS). She is member of IAI's Steering Committee, and of the Scientific Board of the on-line iournal Affarinternazionali. She graduated in Political Science at the University of Pisa and at the Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies. She also obtained an M.Sc. Degree in European Political and Administrative Studies from the College of Europe (Bruges) and a Ph.D. in Institutions and Politics from the Catholic University in Milan. She is author and editor of a number of publications, and an active member of various research associations and institutions. Her latest book L'Europa Matura has been published by Linkiesta Books in May 2024.

#### **Plutarchos Sakellaris**

Plutarchos Sakellaris is Professor of Economics and Finance at the Athens University of Economics and Business. His research spans macroeconomics, corporate finance, banking, and education. He has published on the topics of corporate investment, banking, systemic risk, business cycles, economic growth, and human capital. He was previously Associate Professor (with tenure) and Assistant Professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Maryland at College Park, Economist at the Federal Reserve Board, and a Research Associate at the US Census Bureau. He has held visiting positions at various Universities and the European Central Bank. He completed his undergraduate studies at Brandeis University and his doctoral studies at Yale University. He also serves as Independent Non-Executive Director (INED) and Chairman of the Audit Committee at Cepal Hellas, and as INED, Chairman of the Remuneration and Nominations Committee and member of the Audit Committee at ElvalHalcor. From 2008 to 2012 he was Vice President of the European Investment Bank (EIB), where he oversaw Risk Management. His responsibilities also included supervising financing operations in Caribbean sub-Saharan African, and countries, as well as in several countries under European Union rescue programmes. Prior to joining the EIB, he held the position of Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers at the Greek Ministry of Economy and Finance, of member at the EU's Economic and Financial Committee and Euro Working Group and served as Deputy to the Finance Minister at the Eurogroup and ECOFIN Councils.

### **Georges Siotis**

Dr. Georges Siotis is Associate Professor at Universidad Carlos III de Madrid where he teaches competition policy (undergraduate) and empirical industrial organisation (graduate). He has earned his Bachelor's from the London School of

Economics, a Master's of Advanced European Studies from the College of Europe (Bruges) and his Ph.D. from the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ECARES). For the period 2011-2015, he was Senior Economic Adviser and Technical Assistance Coordinator (for Labour and Welfare policies, Social Security, Innovation) in the EU Commission Task Force for Greece. During 2008-2011, he was a member of DG Competitions Chief Economist Team, where he worked on the development of horizontal policies actively participating in merger, antitrust, and state aid cases. He participated in the EU Commission's Sector Inquiry of the EU Pharmaceutical Industry. In addition academic job, he is currently an associate consultant with Compass Lexecon. His research focuses on the empirical analysis of competitive processes. He has written numerous papers on competition policy and industrial organisation published in peer reviewed academic journals.

#### **Dimitris Skalkos**

Mr. Dimitris Skalkos is currently serving as the Secretary General for International Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as the Chairman of the Enterprise Greece. He graduated from the Department of Political Science and International Studies of Panteion University and holds a Master's degree in International Relations from the University of Kent. Since 2004, he has been working for the Management Organization Unit of Development Programmes S.A. as an executive on the EU co-financed programmes. Mr. Skalkos has served for several years as an adviser to the Ministry of Environment, Spatial Planning and Public Works, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Economy and Development. He has authored four books on political theory, economic regional development and and published numerous research papers in academic journals. He has, also, participated as Lecturer in academic conferences and writes, regularly, in both academic journals and in the daily press. In the period 2019-2023, Mr. Skalkos has served as General Secretary for Public Investments and Partnership Agreement at the Ministry Development and Investments, a member of the Greek National Resilience and Recovery Plan Steering Committee, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Hellenic Development Bank (2019-2024).

#### **Nektaria Stamouli**

is POLITICO Europe's Ms. Nektaria Stamouli Eastern Mediterranean correspondent based in Athens. She is also the Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Enalish edition Greek daily Kathimerini newspaper and covers foreign policy issues for the Athens News Agency. She is the President of the Foreign Press Association of Greece since 2021. She previously worked as a correspondent for The Wall Street Journal and Dow Jones Newswires, covering Greece's and Cyprus' financial crisis and Europe's migration crisis.

#### **Funda Tekin**

Professor Funda Tekin is Honorary Professor at University of Tübingen and Director at Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin (IEP). She holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Cologne focuses on differentiated and research integration, rule of law, European values and democracy, future of Europe EU the and institutions, and EU enlargement. She holds the scientific lead in the Horizon Europe Project "InvigoratEU - Invigorating Enlargement and Neighbourhood policy for a Resilient Europe". In January 2023 she was appointed member of the Franco-German working group of experts on EU institutional reforms, she was awarded Mercator-IPC Fellow in 2023 and she co-shares the Standing Group on EU-Turkey Relations "EU-Turkey Bridge". Funda Tekin is a board member of the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA), Bewegung Deutschland Europäische Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration, and member of the Editorial Committee of the academic quarterly integration, in the Advisory Boards of Transparency International Germany and Stiftung Genshagen.

#### Ilke Toygür

Dr. Ilke Toygür is the Director of the Global Policy Center and Professor of Practice of European Politics at the School of Politics, Economics, and Global Affairs at IE University. In addition, she is a Senior Associate at the CSIS Europe, Russia, and Eurasia Program in Washington DC and serves as an elected board member of the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) in Brussels. Dr. Toygür began her career back in 2008, working at the Economic Development Foundation (IKV), a research institute focusing on the European Union. In 2016, she completed her Ph.D. degree in Political Science at the Autonomous University of Madrid. Her doctoral research focused on the

impact of European integration on the vote and party system change in Western Europe in times of crises. In 2015, she was granted a Mercator-IPC Fellowship at the Istanbul Policy Center. Following her Ph.D., she worked for the Elcano Royal Institute in Madrid and for the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) Brussels. She has also been a Lecturer at the University Carlos III of Madrid and a visiting researcher at the European University Institute, University of Mannheim, and Brookings Institution. In 2024, she has been selected as a Mercator Fellow in Germany. Her main areas of expertise include European integration, elections democracy in Western Europe, the geopolitics of Europe, and transatlantic relations. She holds a B.A. degree and an M.A. degree in Economics, an M.A. degree in Democracy and Government, and a Ph.D. in Political Science. Her research and articles have so far appeared in Carnegie Europe, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Brookings Institution, the Financial Times, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Der Spiegel, and El País, among others.

# **George Tryfinopoulos**

George Tryfinopoulos is an accomplished Mr. executive with 20 years of international experience in finance, strategy, and corporate investments, spanning industries such as banking, FMCG, family office investments, and energy. He has worked in five countries with leading organisations in M&A, investments, strategy, business development, and portfolio value optimisation. As Head of Strategy at the Hellenic Financial Stability Fund (HFSF), he has led high-impact initiatives that generate value for Greece's banking sector. His work evaluating long-term strategic plans and optimising investment portfolios. Prior to this, as a Senior Strategy Finance Leader at Kellogg EMEA, he managed the company's global working capital and contributed key strategic initiatives to transactions of the firm. Earlier in his career, he worked in investment and corporate finance for a Single-Family Office in Zurich, overseeing multi-billion-dollar private placements. At UBS, he was part of the founding team that established the Global Family Office Department, which managed \$30 billion in assets. He also gained experience in corporate strategy and business development through roles at Siemens, Aramex, and Zurich Financial Services. He holds degrees in Business, Economics, and Management from St. Gallen University, Harvard University, and Aristotle University.

#### Vassilis P. Tzevelekos

Dr. Vassilis P. Tzevelekos is Reader in Law at the University of Liverpool School of Law and Social Justice, where he teaches public international law and international human rights protection. He is co-founder and Co-Editor-in-Chief of the European Convention on Human Rights Law Review, published by Brill. He is qualified with the Athens' Bar Association, a member and former Vice-Chair of the UN Human Rights Council Advisory Committee and a member of European Committee for the Prevention of Torture Inhuman Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT).

### **Chris Uregian**

Mr. Chris Uregian is a civil servant at the European Commission, currently working on urban and regional policy. In the past he has worked on euro area economic, fiscal and financial policy issues. Previously he was an adviser to successive Greek Ministers of Finance between 2011-15 on fiscal policy and structural reforms in the context of the and second economic adjustment programmes. Between 2006-11 he was an analyst in the World Bank's Europe and Central Asia micro-economic department working on financial sector reforms in several countries. He holds a BSc degree in Economics from the London School of Economics and a Master's degree in Public Affairs (MPA) from Princeton University.

#### **Nikos Vettas**

Nikos Vettas is Professor of Economics at the Athens University of Economics and Business (AUEB) since 2003, where he has also served as the Chairman of the Economics Department and a member of the University Council. Since 2013 he is the General Director of the Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research -IOBE. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, USA, and has been an Associate Professor at Duke University, USA, and a visiting Professor at INSEAD in France and Singapore. He serves as Associate Editor of the International Journal of Industrial Organization, a Research Fellow at CEPR, UK, and a member of the Executive Committee of the European Association for Research in Industrial Economics. He has served as an Associate Editor of the Journal of the European Economic Association and the Journal of Industrial Economics, a member of the Hellenic Competition Commission and the Economic Advisory Group for Competition Policy at the European Commission. He is a co-organiser of the annual Conference for Research on Economic Theory and Econometrics, since 2002. His research has been published in leading journals such as the International Economic Review, European Economic Review, Rand Journal of Economics, and the Review of Economic Studies. Co-editor of Beyond Austerity: Reforming the Greek Economy (MIT Press, 2017). Vice-Chairman of the Growth Plan Committee of the Hellenic Republic for the Greek Economy, 2020.

#### Sevi Voloudaki

Sevi Voloudaki, is currently Greek Deputy Minister for Migration and Asylum and a Member of the Hellenic Parliament. She was first-elected in 2023, representing the prefecture of Chania. She is a lawyer specialised in EU Competition Law. She worked as a Legal Counsel at PPCO. She had a legal adviser post with the Competition Authority since 2005. She is an instructor/evaluator in the EKDDA in the subject of EU law and protection of personal data. She has worked for five years in the European Parliament, focusing on issues of the Committees on Energy, Research and Industry, Environment and Consumer Protection. She holds a Ph.D. on Competition Law from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She also holds Master's degrees in EU Law from the Université Libre de Bruxelles as well as in Public International Law and in Political Science. She is a co-founder of an NGO on women empowerment. She speaks English, French and German.. She is a member of the Standing Committee on Production and Trade, the Special Standing Committee for European Affairs and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. As of September 2023, she is a representative of the Greek Parliament as an Ambassador of the Women Political Leaders (WPL) Network.

#### Jan Zielonka

Jan Zielonka is Professor of Politics and International Relations at the University of Venice, Cá Foscari and Emeritus Professorial Fellow at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. He is also Visiting Professor at the University of Warsaw (European Centre), College of Europe in Bruges and the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies in Florence. He has produced eighteen books including Counter-Revolution. Liberal Europe in Retreat (Oxford University Press, 2018, awarded

the 2019 UACES prize for the best book on Europe), and The Lost Future and How to Regain It (Yale University Press 2023).

# **EVENT ORGANISERS**

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