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GREEK PUBLIC POLICY FORUM

Strasbourg Forum 2013

For Whom the Bell Tolls: The Rise of Extremism in Europe

14 March 2013

European Parliament Louise Weiss building, room N4.3



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The $4^{\rm th}$ event organised by the *Greek Public Policy Forum*, in collaboration this time with the office of *Jorgo Chatzimarkakis*, MEP, will take place on March 14 in Strasbourg, France.

The Strasbourg Forum tries to continue the debate on important matters that affect the future of Europe that started with the three previous *fora* in Oxford (June 2011), Nottingham (March 2012) and Chania (September 2012).

The Oxford Forum focused on Greece's multifaceted crisis (economic, political and social). The Nottingham Forum tried to examine the Greek crisis in its European context. The Chania Forum tried to introduce a comparative dimension by looking at the crisis narratives in various EU countries (both from the European South and North) and establishing bridges between these parallel narratives/discourses. Lastly it attempted to examine the on-going challenges of EU integration in a global context.

The Strasbourg Forum focuses on a specific troublesome phenomenon which on the one hand reminds us of the *raison d'être* of the Union but on the other, if ignored, can become the *nemesis* of European integration: the rise of extremism in Europe. The Strasbourg Forum brings together policy makers, political scientists and jurists with the hope to create a fruitful debate that will discuss amongst other the following questions:

- What extremism? When does the expression of unconventional political views cross the Rubicon?
- What are the causes of extremism?
- Are there common patterns that lead to the rise of extremism?
- Is extremism a by-product of the on-going multifaceted crisis?
- What are the tools/methods for addressing the problem?
- What are the limits of the law in dealing with this phenomenon?





Thursday, March 14

PROGRAMME

8:30-9.00 Registration

9:00-9:10 Welcoming Remarks

Jorgo CHATZIMARKAKIS, MEP (ALDE, Germany)

9:10-9.20 A Brief Presentation of the GPPF

Aris GEORGOPOULOS, Lecturer in European and Public Law,

University of Nottingham

Nikitas Konstantinidis, Fellow in Political Science and Public

Policy, London School of Economics

Vassilis TZEVELEKOS, Lecturer in Public International Law,

University of Hull

9:20-11:30 Session I - Roundtable Discussion

Chair: Linos-Alexandros SICILIANOS, Judge, European Court of Human

Rights

Speakers: Pino Arlacchi, MEP - Member of Subcommittee on Human

Rights, S&D, Italy

Barbara LOCHBIHLER, MEP - Chair of Subcommittee on Human

Rights, Greens-EFA, Germany

Niccolo RINALDI, MEP - Substitute of Subcommittee on Human

Rights, ALDE, Italy

Nikos Sitaropoulos, Deputy to the Director of the Office of the

Commissioner for Human Rights, Council of Europe





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Rui TAVARES, MEP - Member of Subcommittee on Human Rights, Greens-EFA, Portugal

Discussion

Lunch Break

15:00-17:30 Session II – National Paradigms

Chair: Antonios Antonios Antonios, Legal Officer in the European

Ombudsman's Office

Speakers: Tim BALE, Professor in Politics, Queen Mary University

Catherine DE VRIES, Professor in European Politics, University of

Oxford

Nikos Marantzidis, Associate Professor of Politics, University of

Macedonia-Thessaloniki

Matthew Goodwin, Associate Professor of Politics, University of

Nottingham

Antonis Ellinas, Assistant Professor of Political Science,

University of Cyprus

Elias DINAS, Lecturer in Political Science, University of

Nottingham, member of the Greek Public Policy Forum

Labrini RORI, Department of Political Science at the University of

Paris I

Discussion



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Biographical Notes

Antonios Antoniadis

is a Legal Officer in the European Ombudsman's Office. Prior to joining the Ombudsman, he was a Lecturer in EU and International Economic Law at Durham Law School for seven years where he served as the Deputy Director of the Durham European Law Institute. Antonios has also worked as a lawyer in Greece and as a trainee at the European Commission's Legal Service. He holds a Law Degree from the Democritus University of Thrace, an LLM from the University of Cambridge and a PhD from the University of Birmingham –his doctoral dissertation has been awarded the Richard B. Lillich Prize for the best PhD dissertation on a subject related to the procedural aspects of international law.

<u>Pino Arlacchi</u>

is a Member of the European Parliament (constituency of Southern Italy) for the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats. He is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Development Committee of the European Parliament. He was elected in 1994 to the Italian Chamber of Deputies and to the Italian Senate in 1996. Furthermore Arlacchi is full Professor of Sociology at the School of Political Science of the University of Sassari. He was a Visiting Professor at Columbia University (New York), and Associate Professor at the University of Florence. He is a leading authority and a scholar in the field of organised crime, illegal markets and global security. Professor Arlacchi was security adviser of the Chinese Government for the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. From 1997 to 2002 he was Under-Secretary General of the UN, charged with the task of fighting terrorism, organized crime, money laundering and drug trafficking. He has served as Vice President of the Italian Parliamentary Commission on the Mafia Phenomenon. He was also Senior Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, responsible for the executive project that led to the creation of the DIA, a police agency specialised in the investigation of organised crime. This action has been instrumental in the subsequent successes against organised crime in Italy. Arlacchi survived a mafia assassination attempt in 1993. He is also the Honorary President of the Giovanni Falcone Foundation.





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Tim Bale

is Professor of Politics at Queen Mary University, London. He graduated from Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. After teaching English in Spain, he did a Masters Degree at Northwestern University in the USA. Following a few years spent working for the NHS, he returned to do a PhD at the Department of Politics at Sheffield University, where he then lectured for a year. After Sheffield, he taught politics at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand until 2003 and then at Sussex University until 2012. For four years he was the co-editor of the European Journal of Political Research's annual Political Data Yearbook. In 2008 he won the Political Studies Association's Bernard Crick Prize for Outstanding Teaching. He was the co-founder of the PSA's specialist group on Conservatives and Conservatism. Tim's media work includes writing for the Financial Times and the Guardian, and he has appeared on various BBC radio and television programmes. In 2011 he received the Political Studies Association's W.J.M. Mackenzie prize for his book *The Conservative Party from* Thatcher to Cameron. His latest book is The Conservatives since 1945: the Drivers of Party Change.

Jorgo Chatzimarkakis

has been a Member of the European Parliament for the German Liberal Party (FDP) since 2004. After the mid-term change in early 2012, he became a member of the Committee on Internal Market and Consumer Protection (IMCO), and a substitute member of the Committees on Budgetary Control (CONT) and on Fisheries (PECH). He chairs the EP Delegation for relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). In the Committee on Budgetary Control, he was the ALDE Coordinator and, among others, the Rapporteur for the discharge of the Commission in 2009. As a member of the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy (ITRE) from 2004 to 2011, Chatzimarkakis has been actively involved in developing directives on a wide range of subjects, most notably innovation issues (CIP) and industrial policies, esp. automotive industry, as well as education and research policies (EIT). Another important question he dealt with was the Report on the energy market integrity and transparency (REMIT/ITRE). At the national level, he has been a member of the FDP Board until May 2011

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and Secretary-General in his region, Saarland, from 2002 to 2010. Since 2010, he chairs the party's Programme Forum on Demography and Integration, discussing liberal ideas in this field with regards to the new party programme from 2013 on. He is also Vice-President of the World Hellenic Inter-Parliamentary Association (WHIA) and President of the German Hellenic Business Association (DHW). He studied agriculture and political science in Bonn and Oxford. Since 2006, Mr Chatzimarkakis has been a member of the Pharmaceutical Forum, a high level group designed to provide a political mandate for relevant public health issues. He launched the European Life Science Circle (ELSC), a platform to discuss relevant issues in the context of life sciences and pharmaceuticals.

Catherine de Vries

is a Professor of European Politics at the Department of Politics and International Relations and a fellow of Lincoln College at the University of Oxford. She also holds an affiliated Professorship of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. Previously, she was Chair in Political Behaviour at the University of Geneva and held posts at the University of Amsterdam, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the European University Institute. Over the years, she has published extensively on European Union politics, elections as well as public opinion and party strategy. She has a strong commitment to and interest in unravelling some of the most important societal and political problems facing Europe today, such as the electoral ramifications of the current Euro crisis or the rise of Eurosceptic and anti-immigrant parties. In this context, she has coordinated large-scale projects collecting data on parties and public opinion towards Europe, facilitated interactions between academics and practitioners working on topics concerning the future of European integration, and trained young scholars in the area of European politics. Next to her dedication to research, she has developed exceptional teaching skills for which the University of Amsterdam granted her awards in the past.

Elias Dinas

is Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Nottingham. Before joining Nottingham, he was Postdoctoral Prize Research Fellow at Nuffield College,





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University of Oxford. He holds a PhD in Political and Social Sciences by the European University Institute. His research interests include the dynamics of political socialisation, political psychology and political methodology. Recent work has been published or is forthcoming in various journals, including Political Behavior, Electoral Studies, West European Politics, Party Politics and the European Journal of Political Research. He won the Linz Rokkan Prize for the best thesis in political sociology at the European University Institute and he has received the John Sullivan Award for the best paper on elections, public opinion, and voting behaviour at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Antonis Ellinas

is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Cyprus. He received his PhD from Princeton University and his BA from Hamilton College (Valedictorian). He has been a postdoctoral fellow at the Reuters Institute and at Nuffield College of Oxford University and a Fulbright Scholar. He works on political organisations and institutions. He is the author of *The Media and the Far Right in Western Europe* (Cambridge University Press 2010) and *The European Commission and Bureaucratic Autonomy* (Cambridge University Press 2012, with Ezra Suleiman). His work has appeared in *Comparative Politics*, the *Journal of European Public Policy* and the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, among others.

Aris Georgopoulos

is Lecturer in European and Public Law at the School of Law of the University of Nottingham. He is also member of the Athens Bar and Head of the Research Unit for Strategic and Defence Procurement of the Public Procurement Research Group. He has been a research scholar at the Law School of the University of Michigan after having received a Grotius Fellowship from the Center for Comparative and International Law of the University of Michigan Law School. Before joining Nottingham he was Lecturer at the University of Dundee in Scotland. He has acted also as expert advisor on legal matters to national authorities, European and international organisations. He read law at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, in Greece and the Catholic University of Leuven (ERASMUS), in Belgium. He read for a PhD at the Law





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School of the University of Nottingham after having been awarded with a doctoral scholarship by the same academic institution. His PhD thesis on aspects of European Integration was awarded a special distinction by the European Group of Public Law.

Matthew Goodwin

is Associate Professor in Political Science at the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham. His main area of research is extremism, and its support. He has undertaken numerous large-scale projects in this area, and has published widely for both academic and policy audiences. He recently completed a six-month ESRC secondment in a UK government department, working on counter-extremism policies, and has just published a new briefing paper with Chatham House, Roots of Extremism: The English Defence League and the Counter-Jihad Challenge. To date, he has consulted more than 80 organisations worldwide on issues relating to extremism.

Nikitas Konstantinidis

is a Fellow in Political Science and Public Policy in the Department of Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He came to the LSE after spending two years as a post-doctoral researcher at the Institut Barcelona d' Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). He received his Ph.D. in Political Economy from the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, and has further pursued postgraduate studies at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and undergraduate studies at LSE. His main research interests lie in the areas of comparative and international political economy, applied formal theory, regional integration, and European Union politics. Current research projects include among others the political economy of military conscription and the formal study of high- and low- powered mechanisms of conditionality and compliance in the EU.

Barbara Lochbihler

is a Member of the European Parliament representing Germany's Bündnis 90/Die Grünen party (Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance). Lochbihler is the Chair of the Subcommittee on Human Rights, a member of the Conference of





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Committee Chairs and Substitute Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of the Delegation for relations with Iran and of the Delegation for relations with India. She was born on 20 May 1959, in Obergünzburg. She studied political science at the Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich for a master's degree and social work (Munich), for a diploma. She has also been the Head for the Older Persons and Service Centre in Haidhausen (1984-1986) and Tax official in Kempten. She has served also as: Personal Parliamentary Liaison Officer in the Bavarian Regional Assembly, Greens Parliamentary Party (1987-1991); General Secretary for Amnesty International Germany (1999-2009, Berlin); General Secretary for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1992-199, Geneva). She is a founding member of the German Human Rights Institute (Berlin) and the Human Rights Foundation (Berlin). She is also member of the Board of Trustees of the Roland Berger Foundation (Munich) and member of the German UNICEF Committee. She has been awarded the ASF (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozialdemokratischer Frauen - Association of Social-Democratic Women) Rose for Equality, Swabia and the Alice Salomon Prize, Berlin.

Nikos Marantzidis

was born in Thessaloniki. He studied Political Sociology in Paris 7 and Paris 10. He is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Macedonia in Thessaloniki. He is also a Visiting Professor at Charles University in Prague and the University of Warsaw.

Niccolò Rinaldi

is Member for the European Parliament representing the Italian political party 'Italia dei Valori' (IdV). He is currently Head of Delegation of IdV as well as Vice-President of the political group 'Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe' (ALDE). He was born in Florence in 1962. A graduate in political science, he wrote his dissertation, entitled "Dakar Road Economy", after his field experience in Senegal. As part of a United Nations Delegation he has been responsible for providing information in support of UN campaigns in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Drawing from his challenging experience in Afghanistan he published a number of books such as the "Islam, guerra e dintorni", "Droga di Dio" and the tale "Firenze, Herat e la forza di Kabul". In 1991 he left the United Nations and began a





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career with the European Parliament as a political adviser. He oversaw a series of projects implementing multimedia installations in Florence for collective memory regarding issues of city blockades ("Piazza di guerra", 2003), genocide in Rwanda ("Silenzio per il Rwanda", 2004), and the Holocaust ("Anatomia di un genocidio" 2009, published by Giuntina under the title of "*Piccola anatomia di un genocidio delle Nazioni Unite - Auschwitz e oltre*"). In 2000 he became Secretary General at the European Parliament. A member of the Commission for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, and promoter of a number of parliamentary programmes in attempts to defend the rights of the less fortunate; Rinaldi pursues many initiatives, including those regarding issues of federalism, culture, education and euro-planning.

Lamprini Rori

is a Researcher and PhD candidate at the University of Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne). She holds a BA in International and European Studies from the University of Macedonia, an MA in Political Sociology and Public Policy from Sciences Po Paris (Institut d'Etudes Politiques) and an MA in Political and Social Communication from the University of Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne). She is currently finishing her thesis on the impact of the professionalisation of political communications on the physiognomy of socialist parties in Europe. She has worked as a political communications expert in the private sector (Agence Verte, Paris) and in public administration (Ministry of Press and Mass Media, Ministry for Homeland Security, Ministry for Regional Development and Competitiveness, Athens). She is currently working as a researcher in a collective project on the rise of the right-wing extremism in Greece.

Linos-Alexandre Sicilianos

is a Judge at the European Court of Human Rights, Professor of Law at the Faculty of Law, University of Athens, former Vice-Chairman of the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, associate member of the Institut de droit international and a member of the Curatorium of the Hague Academy of International Law.





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Nikolaos Sitaropoulos

is Deputy to the Director and Head of Division at the Office of the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. Former Adviser to the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights and lawyer at the Department for the Execution of Judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, DG HL, Council of Europe. From 2000 to 2004 he held the post of Legal Officer at the Greek National Commission for Human Rights. Member of the Bar in Greece since 1996. He holds a PhD in Law from the University of London, University College London (1995), an LLM in International Human Rights Law from the University of Essex (1991) and an LLB from the School of Law of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (1988). He has published on subjects relating to international and European human rights, international humanitarian law, immigration and refugee law, as well as minority, nationality and anti-discrimination law.

Rui Tavares

is a historian, columnist and a Member of the European Parliament (Independent/European Greens). He works in the areas of Civil Freedoms, Justice and Home Affairs, Human Rights, Culture, and also acts as vice-president of the special committee CRIM - Organised crime, corruption and money laundering. He is a doctoral student at the School of Advanced Studies in Social Sciences in Paris, where he is completing a research on censorship in the 18th century. He has published, among many titles, *The Small Book of the Great Earthquake* (tinta-dachina), and translated 18th and 19th century authors. Tavares writes weekly at the Portuguese newspaper "Público". His latest book is the essay *The Irony of the European Project* (tinta-da-china).

Vassilis Tzevelekos

is a Lecturer in Public International Law at the University of Hull Law School. He holds a PhD from the European University Institute and he studied law at the Universities of Athens, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and at the European University Institute and European politics at the College of Europe. In recent years he has been a visiting scholar at Columbia Law School and a research scholar at the University of Michigan Law School. Vassilis is an Athens qualified lawyer.





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