

## THEODORE GEORGE TSAKIRIS

**Areas of Concentration:** Economics of Oil & Gas and Energy Security • International Political Economy and Globalization • Energy Transition • EU Foreign & Defence Policy • Turkish Foreign Policy • Russian & U.S.A. Foreign, Defense and Policy

**Cyprus:** 1B Panteli Katelari Street, Livadia, Larnaca, Cyprus, P.C. 7060  
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### EDUCATION-QUALIFICATIONS

**PANTEION UNIVERSITY, Faculty of International & European Studies, Athens, Greece**  
**Ph.D in International Political Economy and Strategic Studies,**  
**European Commission Grantee via Heraclitus Programme**

**Doctoral Grantee, Viva Passed with Summa Cum Laude, on March 31<sup>st</sup> 2008**  
November 2002 – November 2007

**Ph.D Title:** «Energy Security & Geopolitics: The Strategic Significance of the Hydrocarbons Industry for the Security of the Great Powers from 1905 to the Present».

**GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, School of Foreign Service, Washington D.C**  
**Masters of Arts in International Security and Energy Security Policy, May 2002**  
*Summa Cum Laude (Top 5%), Fulbright-Texaco Scholar (2000-2002)*

Coursework includes: Economics of Oil and Gas, Energy and World Affairs I (Geopolitics and Geoeconomics), Energy and World Affairs II (Business and Technology/Audit), International Political Economy, Security Issues of the Persian Gulf and SW Asia, Russian Foreign Policy, American Foreign and Defense Policy, Ethnic Conflict and Civil War

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY, Exeter College, Oxford, U.K.**  
**Seminar in History, Politics and Society, June-August 2001.**

Coursework: Contemporary Russian Politics and Europe during the Cold War

**NATIONAL CAPODISTRIAN UNIVERSITY, Faculty of Philosophy, Athens, Greece**  
**PANTEION UNIVERSITY, Faculty of International and European Studies, Athens, Greece**  
**Bachelor of Arts, Summa cum Laude in International Relations and Psychology, September 1999**

**NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE UNIVERSITY of the USA, Certificate, Futures Lab Initiative,**  
(date awarded March 2022)

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

**UNIVERSITY OF NICOSIA, SCHOOL OF BUSINESS (February 2013-present)**

- Professor, Geopolitics & Energy Policy, (2024-...)
- Associate Professor, Geopolitics and Energy Policy, (2019-2024)
- Assistant Professor, Geopolitics and Energy Policy, (2014-2019)
- Seconded to the Department of International & European Relations, School of Humanities & the School of Engineering teaching Graduate level courses on Energy Geopolitics, the Middle East and EU Energy Foreign and Security Policy

**UNIVERSITY OF NICOSIA- CRISIS Competences for Resilient Smart Cities' Staff) Project (November 2022-present)**

- Project Description: The project aligns itself with the European policies in force, with the general objective of contributing to the development of digital skills for smart cities and, at the same time, the resilience of cities.
- Role: Developer of online course
- The project is co-funded by the EU's Erasmus+ Fund and the Greek National Research Foundation (<https://crisisproject.eu/about-the-project/>).
- Total budget grant is EUR 357.000

**HELLENIC MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY-(July 2019-present)  
Office of the Minister for Environment and Energy**

- Lead Negotiator on behalf of Greece during the talks for the establishment of the EMGF (East Med Gas Forum Organization) and the negotiation of the organization's Statute and Host Government Agreement (July 2019-January 2020)
- Alternate National Representative to the Executive Board of the EMGF (since 2021)
- Member of the National Committee for drafting the National Hydrogen Strategy for Greece, (December 2000-April 2023)
- Expert Member of the Committee to revise the National Energy Climate Plan of Greece (2022-2024)
- Coordinator, National Task Force for the Acceleration of Hydrocarbons Exploration & Production Activities (since June 2022).

**DESFA / Hellenic Natural Gas Transmission Operator (October 2019-present)  
(<http://www.desfa.gr>)**

- Member of the Board of Directors, DESFA S.A.

**GREAT SEA Interconnector S.A. – ADMHE/IPTO**

- Member of the Board of Directors, Great Sea Interconnector S.A.

**ETME DEFENSE- EDIDP DECISMAR Project (July 2021-August 2023)  
<https://etme.gr/projects/decismar/>**

- Senior Strategy Analyst on EU Defense Industrial integration and joined procurement
- Source of Finance: EDIDP European Commission, Greek and Cypriot Ministries of Defense
- Total budget: EUR 7,9 million

**NEA DEMOKRATIA- OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT (March 2016 - July 2019 and October 2022-March 2023) – (<https://khatzidakis.gr/index.php/enimerosi/diloseis/oi-35-syntonistes-omadon-ergasias-gia-to-programma-tis-nd-dilosi-kosti-xatzidaki>)**

- Coordinator of the Experts Group that drafted the party's Energy Program in preparation for the general elections of 2019
- Coordinator of the Experts Group that drafted the party's Energy Program in preparation for the general elections of 2023

**PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee (September 2018-February 2020)**

- Legislative Assistant to Members of Parliament who participated in the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees

**HAEE / Hellenic Association for Energy Economics (2017-2019) (<http://www.haee.gr>)**

- Member of the Board of Directors

**GEOSTRATEGIC COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS/GCROC, Office of the President of the Republic of Cyprus (September 2014-July 2015)**

- Member of the committees on EU, Turkey, Geopolitics of Hydrocarbons and the Middle East

**CYPRUS HYDROCARBONS CO.- (March 2014-July 2015)**

- Member of the Board of Directors of the National Oil & Gas Company of Cyprus

**LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE, LSE IDEAS (March 2014 – December 2015)**

- Associate, Southern Europe International Affairs Programme, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/programmes/southernEuropeProgramme/people/Associates.asp>

**HELLENIC INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN & EUROPEAN POLICY/ELIAMEP (December 2011-2019) (<http://www.eliamep.gr>)**

- Director of the Energy Programme

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Hellenic Centre for European Studies / <http://www.ekem.gr> (September 2009- December 2011)**

- Director, EKEM Observatory for European Energy Policy (<http://www.ekemeuroenergy.org/en>) (September 2010-December 2011)
- Senior Research Fellow, Joint EKEM-CSIS Programme on Southeastern Europe (September 2009-August 2010)

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND CLIMATE CHANGE (October 2009-June 2010)**

- Office of the Deputy Minister for Energy, Special Advisor to the Deputy Minister of Energy Ioannis Maniatis on International Oil & Gas Projects

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of DEVELOPMENT (January 2008-October 2009)**

- Director of the Policy Making Unit, Special Secretariat for International Energy Policy, Office of the Minister of Development, Commerce and Energy

**D.E.S.F.A. / Hellenic Natural Gas Transmission System Operator S.A., Office of the Managing Director, (November 2008 – April 2010)**

- Risk Assessment Analyst & Business Intelligence Officer on issues of International Energy Policy with an emphasis on natural gas and corporate networking

**MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC SURVEY (M.E.E.S. / [www.mees.com](http://www.mees.com)), (May 2008-January 2013)**

- Senior Analyst & Editor, Iran, Turkey, Caspian Sea, Eastern Mediterranean

**INSTITUTE OF ENERGY FOR SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE (IENE / [www.iene.gr](http://www.iene.gr)), September 2007- June 2012)**

- Director for Research & Assistant Editor / Publication Advisor, *SEE Energy Review* and *SEE Energy Market Watch*

**ATHENS SUMMIT FOR ENERGY SECURITY AND CLIMATE CHANGE ([www.athens-summit.com](http://www.athens-summit.com)), (October 2007-April 2008)**

- Scientific Programme Advisor to Professor Andrew Papandreou and Ministerial Summit Coordinator on behalf of then Minister for Development Mr. Christos Folias

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Hellenic Centre for European Studies / [www.ekem.gr](http://www.ekem.gr) (September 2005- November 2007)**

- Research Fellow on Energy Security Policy, EU Defense Policy, and Russian/CIS Affairs

**HELLENIC PARLIAMENT, Permanent Committee on National Defense and Foreign Affairs, (August 2004 – October 2007)**

- Legislative Assistant to the Secretary General of the Orthodox Inter-Parliamentary Assembly

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of DEFENSE, Institute for Defence Analysis ([www.iaa.gr](http://www.iaa.gr)), Athens Research Fellow, (2002-2008).**

- Research Fellow on US and Russian Foreign and Defense Policy, EU-Turkish Relations and Energy Security Policy of the European Union and Russia.

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Advisory Working Groups to the Minister of Foreign Affairs operating during the Hellenic Presidency of the European Union, Athens, October 2002 – June 2003**

- Participated in the aforementioned Working Groups on E.U's Foreign Policy regarding Russia, and Transcaucasia as well as the E.U's Energy Policies.

**ENERGY & COMMUNICATIONS SOLUTIONS, Washington D.C  
Risk Assessment Analyst, March 2002 – September 2002**

- Provided Risk Analysis on Finance Projects for the rebuilding of energy-related infrastructure in Russia, Ukraine, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Southeastern Europe for CEO Robert McFarlane.

**CENTER for STRATEGIC and INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Washington D.C  
Research Intern, Middle East Program, January-June 2001**

- Conducted Research on Iran and the Caspian Sea culminating in the writing of a comprehensive brief on Caspian Oil Geopolitics

**COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS, Washington D.C  
Research Intern, Energy Security Group and Middle East Forum, January-June 2001**

- Conducted Research on energy security issues emphasizing on the former Soviet Union

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Athens, Greece  
Research Analyst, Ethnic Conflict and Regional Security, 1999-2000**

- Conducted research and wrote memos on energy related policy issues for the Chief of Staff of then Foreign Minister George Papandreou

**HELLENIC MINISTRY of DEFENSE, Athens, Greece  
Research Assistant, Conflict Monitoring Unit, Scientific Committee, 1998-2000**

- Provided reports and memos on energy geopolitics of Middle East and Caspian Sea and Turkish Foreign and Defense Policy

## **RECENT PUBLICATIONS**

### **Professor**

(2024) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Foreign Policy Implementation of Erdoganism”, *The Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean Review*, Volume 1/Issue 2, pp.10-69.

(2024) (under publication) Theodoros Tsakiris, “Russia’s position in global energy markets after the Russian-Ukrainian War”, in Panagiota Manoli (ed.), *Contemporary Russia and the Greek-Russian Relations*, (Guttenberg: 2025),

### **Associate Professor (tenured)**

(2023) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Effects of the Russian-Ukrainian War on Russian Gas Exports to the EU and the Role of Cyprus as an Alternative Gas Provider”, *Cyprus Review*, Vol.35, Issue 2 (Summer 2023)

(2023) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The dynamic crisis of American-Turkish relations and its impact on Greek American relations”, in Stelios Perakis, Grigoris Tsaltas, Vivi Kefala (eds), *International politics and international institutions in a changing world- Christodoulos K. Giallouridis Liber Amicorum*, (Sideris: 2023), pp.123-159

(2023), Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Sources of Turkish Conduct: The political significance of Erdogan’s Ideology”, *Foreign Affairs*, (Hellenic Edition), Vol.11, No.2, (April-May 2023), pp.9-34.

(2023) Vassiliki Koukounidou, Angeliki Kokkinaki, Andreas Oostas, Theodoros Tsakiris, “A Systematic Literature Review on Developing Job Profiles and Training Content for Open Data-Driven Smart Cities” Springer Lecture Notes in Business Information Processing,

(2022) Theodoros Tsakiris, “A realistic review of American-Turkish Relations and the limitations of the Greek-American Strategic Cooperation”, *Foreign Affairs*, (Hellenic Edition), Vol.10, No. 1, February-March 2022, pp.71-95.

(2022) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Importance of Natural Gas in the Cypriot Energy Strategy between 2021-2030: Domestic and International Parameters”, *International Journal of Business, Humanities and Technology*, Vol. 12, No. 2, June 2022, [doi:10.30845/ijbht.v12n2p1](https://doi.org/10.30845/ijbht.v12n2p1)

(2021) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Energy Security Evolution of the Eastern Mediterranean”, in F.Asderaki & A.Tziampiris (eds.), *The Eastern Mediterranean Transformed: Emerging Issues and New Actors*, (Springer: 2021), pp.139-158.

(2021) Theodoros Tsakiris, “Greek Energy Diplomacy from the Balkans to the Southeast Mediterranean”, in E.Athanasopoulou, C. Tsardanidis, E. Fakiolas (eds.), *The Foreign Policy of Greece: Choices and Expectations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Papazisis: 2020), pp.887-933.

(2020) Theodoros Tsakiris, “Inflammable Waters: Turkey’s Strategic Objectives in the Eastern Mediterranean and the East Med Gas Pipeline”, *Iemed Mediterranean Yearbook 2020*, pp.283-287.

(2020) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The contribution of Greece in the EU’s Gas Security Policy”, in Kostas Andriopoulos & Gulmira Ryzayeva (eds.), *The Southern Gas Corridor and its Importance for South-East Europe*, Research Centre for Energy Management, (ESCP Europe: 2020), pp.109-124.

(2019) Theodoros Tsakiris, Expanding the capacity of the Southern Gas Corridor and the future of EU-Turkish gas cooperation, *FEUTURE*, University of Cologne, (August 2019)

### **Assistant Professor**

(2018) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Geopolitical Quadrangle: USA, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Iran and its impact on the stability of oil prices and the Middle East”, *Foreign Affairs* (Hellenic Edition), Vol.6/ Issue 6, (October-November 2018), pp.73-99, In Greek

(2018) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Importance of East Mediterranean Gas for EU Energy Security: The role of Cyprus, Israel and Egypt”, *Cyprus Review*, Vol.30/Iss.1 (Spring 2018), pp. 25-50.

(2018) Theodoros Tsakiris, *Energy Security & International Politics: The Geopolitics of the “Black Gold” from the discovery of oil in the Middle East to the Shale Revolution, 1908-2018*, (Papazisis Publications, 857 pages), In Greek

(2018) Theodoros Tsakiris, *Greek Energy Geopolitics from the Balkans to the Southeastern Mediterranean*, (ELIAMEP/CEIA: August 2018), In Greek

(2018) Theodoros Tsakiris, “The Strategic Significance of the Mediterranean Sea for the EU’s Natural Gas Security Policy”, in *Marcello Ciola and Antoncino Cozzi (eds.), New Energy Corridors in the Mediterranean Sea*, Mediterranean Affairs (Spring 2018), pp.5-14.

(2018) Theodoros Tsakiris, Sinan Ulgen, Ahmet K. Han, *Gas Developments in the Eastern Mediterranean: Trigger or Obstacle for EU-Turkey Cooperation?*, *FEUTURE*, *Instituto Affari Internazionali-IAI & University of Cologne*, (IAI: May 2018)

(2018) “Nessun Gazodotto della Pace al largo di Cipro”, *Formiche*, No.135, (April 2018), pp.60-64, (published in Italian-title translation: “There is no peace gas pipeline for Cyprus”).

(2017) Nicolás De Pedro, Panagiota Manoli, Sergey Sukhankin, *Theodoros Tsakiris, Facing Russia’s strategic challenge: Security developments from the Baltic to the Black Sea*, European Parliament: Directorate General for External Policies: Policy Department, (Brussels: November 2017)

(2017) Nona Mikhelidze, Nicolò Sartori, Oktay F. Tanrisever, Theodoros Tsakiris, The Moscow–Ankara energy axis and the future of EU–Turkey relations, *FEUTURE*, *Instituto Affari Internazionali-IAI & University of Cologne*, (IAI: September 2017)

(2017) “The Energy Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Cyprus Problem”, *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook 2017*, (Barcelona: September 2017) pp.288-291

(2017) “Cyprus’ Natural Gas Strategy: Geopolitical & Economic Preconditions”, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol.27 / Issue 1 (March 2017), pp.20-57

(2017) The Russian-Turkish intergovernmental agreement on Turkish Stream: Opportunities and Challenges for Greece, ELIAMEP, Policy Paper 26/2017, (March 2017), in Greek

(2017) “Towards and after a solution in Cyprus: Which mechanisms can resolve the security problem in Cyprus”, *Foreign Affairs Hellenic Edition*, Vol.5/ Issue 2, (February-March 2017), pp. 78-103, In Greek

(2016) “Strategic Priorities for Greece’s Energy Diplomacy”, in Thanos Dokos (ed.), *The White Bible for Greece’s Foreign, Defense and Security Policy: Challenges, Opportunities and Policy Proposals*, ELIAMEP, (Sideris Publications: 2016), pp.318-331 (In Greek)

(2016) “The energy parameter of the Russian-Ukrainian-EU impasse”, in Panagiota Manoli (ed.), *Aftermath of the Ukrainian Crisis*, (Routledge: 2016), pp.89-105

(2016) Red Alert or Business as Usual? What are the potential implications of the Turkish-Israeli rapprochement for Greece and Cyprus?, ELIAMEP, Policy Paper 76/2016, (July 2016), (In Greek)

(2016) with Alkis Thrassou, Demetris Vrontis and Constantinos Hadjistassou, “The Cyprus Oil & Gas Industry’s Indirect Business Effects: A predictive real-time analysis”, *Journal of Transnational Management*, Vol.21/Iss.3, (July 2016), pp.115-141

(2016) Economic and Geostrategic Implications from the lifting of sanctions on Iran, ELIAMEP, Policy Paper 71/2016, (February 2016), (In Greek)

(2016) “The Gifts of Aphrodite: The Need for Competitive Pragmatism in Cypriot Gas Strategy”, in Angelos Giannakopoulos (ed.), *Energy Cooperation and Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Seismic Shift towards Peace or Conflict?*, (Tel Aviv University Press: February 2016), pp.22-36

(2016) “Strategic Deadlock?: What do EU Sanctions and the Abandonment of South Stream Signify for EU-Russian Energy Relations and Greece?”, *Foreign Affairs*, (Hellenic Edition), Vol.5/Iss.1 (December 2015-January 2016)

(2015) “The energy parameter of the Russian-Ukrainian-EU impasse: dependencies, sanctions and the rise of Turkish Stream”, *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol.15, No.2, (September 2015), pp.203-219.

(2015) “The Emerging Security System in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Geopolitical Significance of Cypriot Hydrocarbons”, *Foreign Affairs*, (Hellenic Edition), Vol.4/Iss.32 (February-March 2015), pp.95-123.

(2014) (with Dr. Thanos Dokos), “TAP/Southern Corridor and Greece: National and Regional Implications”, *Caspian Report*, Issue 8: Fall 2014, pp.102-113.

(2014) *Greece and the Energy Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Strategic Update 14.1, LSE Ideas, London School of Economics, (LSE: 2014), [http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/SU14\\_7.aspx](http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/SU14_7.aspx)



(2014) “The Leviathan-Ceyhan Pipeline: Political & Commercial Arguments Against the Construction of a Turkish-Israeli Pipeline”, in Sami Andoura & David Koranyi (eds.), *Energy in the Eastern Mediterranean: Promise of Peril?*, Egmont Institute & U.S. Atlantic Council, (Academia Press: May 2014), pp.47-58.

(2014) *Dependencies & Vulnerabilities: The Energy Parameters of the Evolving Crisis between Russia, the EU and Ukraine*, ELIAMEP Working Paper # 42, (April 2014)

(2014) *Shifting Sands or Burning Bridges? The Evolution of Turkish-Israeli Relations after the Mavi Marmara Incident and the Strategic Energy Calculations of Greece & Cyprus*, ELIAMEP Occasional Paper # 22, (February 2014)

(2013) “The Hydrocarbons Potential of the Republic of Cyprus and Nicosia’s Export Options”, *Journal of Energy Security*, Volume 5, Issue 3 (August 2013), [http://www.ensec.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=451:the-hydro-carbon-potential-of-the-republic-of-cyprus-and-nicosias-export-options&catid=137:issue-content&Itemid=422](http://www.ensec.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=451:the-hydro-carbon-potential-of-the-republic-of-cyprus-and-nicosias-export-options&catid=137:issue-content&Itemid=422)

(2013) “Problemata & Proypothesesis gia ton Energeiako Axona Ellados-Kyproy-Israel” (Problems and Preconditions for the establishment of an Energy Axis Between Greece-Cyprus and Israel), *Foreign Affairs*, (The Hellenic Edition), Volume 2, Issue 2 (March 2013), <http://foreignaffairs.gr/articles/69229/dr-theodoros-tsakiris/problimata-kai-proypothesesis-gia-ton-energeiako-aksona-elladas-k?page=show>

### **Post-Doctoral**

(2012) *H Energeiaki Diastasi tis Ellinikis Exoterikis Politikis (The Energy Dimension of Hellenic Foreign Policy)*, ELIAMEP Occasional Paper #21, (Athens: November 2012)

(2012) Gulmira Rzayeva & Theodoros Tsakiris, *Strategic Imperative: Azerbaijani Gas Strategy and the EU’s Southern Corridor*, SAM Center for Strategic Studies under the President of Azerbaijan, SAM Review #5, (Baku: June 2012).

(2012) Thanos Dokos & Theodoros Tsakiris, *A Strategic Challenge: The Role of Greece in Europe’s Southern Gas Corridor Strategy*, ELIAMEP Occasional Paper #17, (Athens: February 2012)

(2012) “H Energeiaki Diastasi tis Arabikis Anoiksis”, (“The Energy Dimension of the Arab Spring”), *Foreign Affairs*, (Hellenic Edition), Issue 1, (December 2011-January 2012), pp.58-70.

(2012) “The Strategic Significance of Azeri Exports for Europe’s Southern Gas Corridor Strategy: The Shah Deniz 2 Race and Beyond”, in Zefi Dimadama & Gulshan Pashayeva (eds.), *Hellenic Azeri Green Energy Forum: Energy Cooperation and Environmental Protection in the Wider Black Sea Area*, Institute of Black Sea Studies, (Athens: 2012), pp.30-35.

(2011) “South East Europe’s Major Hydrocarbon Export & Transit Infrastructure Projects”, in Costis Stambolis (ed.), *South East Europe Energy Outlook*, (IENE: 2011), pp.293-337.

(2011) “The Regional Energy Overview: Common Challenges in Divergent National Contexts”, in Costis Stambolis (ed.), *South East Europe Energy Outlook*, (IENE: 2011), pp.79-94

(2011) “Energy Security Considerations in South East Europe”, in Costis Stambolis (ed.), *South East Europe Energy Outlook*, (IENE: 2011), pp.57-78.

(2011) *Blue Gold: Russian-Ukrainian Relations and the EU's Natural Gas Strategy*, Athens, (Papazisis Publications: 2011), 340 pages, 13 Graphs, 11 Maps, 8 Tables. (in Greek)

(2010) “The European Policy of Greece: Greece’s Security Policy in the Sector of Natural Gas within the Framework of Euro-Russian Relations”, in Yannis Balinakis (ed.) *The Foreign and European Policy of Greece, 1990-2010*, Athens, (Sideris Publications: 2010), pp. 319-340. (in Greek)

(2010) “Hellenic Foreign Policy: Greek-Russian Relations”, in Yannis Balinakis (ed.) *The Foreign and European Policy of Greece, 1990-2010*, Athens, (Sideris Publications: 2010), pp.147-172. (in Greek)

(2010) “The Near Abroad Doctrine: Russian Foreign Policy vis-à-vis Ukraine”, in Manos Karagiannis (ed.), *Russia Today: Politics, Economics and Foreign Relations*, Athens, (Papazisis: 2010), pp.181-222. (in Greek)

(2009) (with Elizabeth Loverdos), “The EU Energy Security Policy on Natural Gas and the Role of Greece”, *Evropeon Politeia (European Polity)*, 03/2009, (December 2009), pp.611-632. (in Greek with synopsis in English)

(2009) (with Costis Stambolis), *The Energy Security Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran: Domestic and International Parameters with an Emphasis on Natural Gas Exports to Europe*, Institute of Energy for Southeast Europe, (Athens: December 2009)

(2008) “The Geopolitics of U.S.-Russian Energy Confrontation in Europe and the Strategic Significance of the Russian-Italian South Stream Project for Greece and the European Union”, Defence Analyses Institute, *Geostrategy*, Issue 14: (May-August 2008), pp.154-177. (in Greek)

(2008) “The Cold War that Never Ended: The Historical Background, Evolution and Geostrategic Assessment of the Russian-Georgian War”, International Institute for Economic Relations Agora Xoris Synora, (*Market Without Frontiers*), Vol.14/Iss.1 (June-August 2008), pp. 14-42. (in Greek).

### **Doctoral Publications**

(2007) *The Bosphorus Conundrum: Alternative Pipeline Bypasses for the Turkish Straits to 2015*, Russian Foreign Energy Policy Reports, (prefaced by Anthony Cordesman & Angela Stent), London and Philadelphia, (Global Market Briefings Publications: June 2007).

(2006) “Odyssey in the Caspian Sea: Geopolitics and Pipelines”, *World Pipelines*, Vol.6/Iss.12 (December 2006), pp. 30-38.

(2006) *Thukydides and Strategy: Formations of Grand Strategy in the History of the Second Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.)*, (prefaced by Professor Paul Cartledge, Professor of Classical Greek History at the Univ. of Cambridge), Defense Analyses Institute, Policy & Defence Issues Series #26, (September 2006).

(2006) “Thucydides and Strategy: Formations of Grand Strategy in the History of the Second Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.)”, *Comparative Strategy*, Vol.25/Iss.3, (July-September 2006), pp. 173-208.

(2006) “The Southern “Gate”: The Geostrategic Ramifications of Ukraine’s By-Passes on SE Europe”, *Global Pipeline Monthly*, Vol.2/Issue 4 (April 2006), pp.1-9.

(2005) (with Professor Kostas Ifantis), “U.S.-Russian Relations: International and Regional Security Trajectories”, *Perceptions*, Special Issue on Redefining Regional Security in Wider Europe and the Broader Middle East, Vol.10/Iss.3 (Autumn 2005), pp.27-56.

(2005) «Revolutionary Democracy and “Realpolitik” in the CIS: Geostrategic Evaluation of the Recent Political Movements in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan”, Defence Analyses Institute, Geostrategy, Issue 8: (May-August 2005), pp.115-152.

### **MEMBERSHIPS / OTHER NOTABLE ACTIVITIES & AFFILIATIONS**

Lecturer: Hellenic National Defense College/Ministry of Defense (2006-2010), Hellenic National Security College/Ministry of Public Safety and Civil Protection (2011-2013), Hellenic Diplomatic Academy (2013, 2014) / Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Languages: Fluent in English, French and Greek, Advanced Reading and Listening of Italian and Spanish

Traveling: Western and Southeastern Europe, the U.S., the Middle East, Caspian Sea and Central Asia.