

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME Euclid Tsakalotos
DATE OF BIRTH 19.6.60
WORK ADDRESS Parliament Mansion, Athens, 10021
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EDUCATION

BA/MA: The Queen's College, University of Oxford –Politics, Philosophy and Economics - 1979-1982

MPhil: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex –Development Studies - 1982-1984

DPhil: The Queen's College (1984-85) and Mansfield College (1985-89), University of Oxford –Economics

EMPLOYMENT

Professor, Department of Economics, University of Athens, September 2010 -

Member of Parliament, Nea Aristera (New Left), B1 North Electoral District of Athens, December 2023 -

Parliamentary Spokesman SYRIZA, July 2019- June 2023

Coordinator of Economic Policy SYRIZA, July 2019- September 2020

Minister of Finance, July 2015 – July 2019

Member of Parliament, Syriza, B1 North Electoral District of Athens, July 2019 – December 2023

Coordinator of the Negotiation Team for the Greek Programme with Official Lenders, April 2015 – August 2015.

Alternate Foreign Minister of International Economic Affairs, February 2015 – July 2015.

Shadow Minister of Finance, May 2012 – January 2015.

Member of Parliament, B' Athens, May 2012 – July 2019

Professor, Department of International and European Economics Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business, February 2005 – September 2010.

Associate Professor, Department of International and European Economics Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business, October 1998 – February 2005

Assistant Professor, Department of International and European Economics Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business, October 1994- September 1998

Lecturer in Economics, University of Kent, October 1990-June 1993

Research Associate in European Economics, University of Kent, October 1989 – September 1990

AWARDS/SCHOLARSHIPS

Exhibition - The Queen's College, University of Oxford - 1979-1982

Fees Scholarship – Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex - 1982-1984

Graduate Scholarship - Mansfield College, University of Oxford - 1985-87

Oxford University George Webb Medley Award for research overseas

Dudley Seers Prize, 1995, Best publication in *Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 30.

JOURNAL REFEREEING

Aside from being a reader for Oxford University Press and Routledge, I refereed for the following journals:

Cambridge Journal of Economics
Cyprus Journal of Economics
Economic Journal
International Journal of Industrial Organization
International Review of Applied Economics
Journal of Development Studies

Journal of Economy Surveys
Oxford Economic Papers
Science and Society
Socio-Economic Review
Ελληνική Επιθεώρηση Πολιτικής Επιστήμης
Ισοπολιτεία (Επιθεώρηση νομικής, πολιτικής και ηθικής φιλοσοφίας)

PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOKS

Manifesto for a sustainable society: Stagnant economies – Unstable politics (in Greek), Polis, 2025

In the red backpack: Political Diary and other texts (in Greek), Polis, 2021

Crucible of Resistance: Greece, the Eurozone and the World Economic Crisis, (with Ch. Laskos), Pluto Press, 2013. (German Edition, ISP, 2015). (Italian Edition, Asterios, 2016).

22 Things about the Greek Crisis that they tell you but they are not so (with Ch. Laskos), in Greek, Athens, KPsM, 2012.

Without Return: Capitalist Crises, Social Needs, Socialism, (with Ch. Laskos) Athens, KPsM, 2011.

The values and the value of the Left, in Greek, Athens, Kritiki, 2005 (revised version 2024).

Corporatism and Economic Performance (with A. Henley) Edward Elgar, 1993.

Alternative Economic Strategies: the case of Greece, Avebury, Gower, 1991.

II. EDITED VOLUMES

With our backs against the wall: Negotiations for the economy and the society (in Greek), Collective work, editor: E. Tsakalotos, Themelio, 2022

Author of four articles

(i) The negotiations with the institutions (with D. Papagiannakos and S. Papakonstantinou)

(ii) Debt negotiations: Towards a clear runway for the country (with M. Koumerta, A. Papazachariou, C. Tsitsikas)

(iii) Fiscal Adjustment (with M. Koumerta)

(iv) Tax Policy: Strategy, limitations and results (with G. Germanos and V. Kouforizou)

Public Finance in an International Context: in honour of Theodore Georgakopoulos (edited with G. Loizidis and L Pachlivanos), Gutenberg, Αθήνα, 2010.

Economic Policies of the European Union (edited with Th. Georgakopoulos), in Greek, Stamoulis, Athens 1996

Author of two articles in the book:

- (i) European Monetary Union: The European Monetary System and the Exchange Rate Mechanism
- (ii) Economic and Monetary Union in Europe

Economic Integration and Financial Liberalization: Prospects for Southern Europe, edited with H D Gibson, Macmillan, 1992

Author of three articles (with H D Gibson):

- (i) 'Economic Theory and the Limits to Financial Liberalization: domestic financial liberalization in Greece Portugal and Spain'
- (ii) 'The Removal of Capital Controls, 1992 and the Financial Sector'
- (iii) 'Macroeconomic Policy and Capital Controls'

III. ARTICLES IN BOOKS

'From Resistance to Transitional Programme: the Strange Rise of the Radical Left in Greece' (with C. Laskos) in P. Sotiris, *Crisis, Movement, Strategy: The Greek Experience* Haymarket Books, Chicago, 2019

'European Integration, Intra-EU Inequalities, Sustainable and Equitable Growth' (round table). A round table discussion, (with Ska Keller, Walter Baier, Gabriele Zimmer) In M. Karamesini, *Inequalities, Neoliberalism and European Unification*, Athens, Nisos, 2019

'Contesting Greek Exceptionalism within the European Crisis, in K. Featherstone (ed) *Europe in Modern Greek History*, C. Hurst & Co, 2014

Terry Eagleton: 'Utopia and political act', In R. Dourou, *Texts on life, poetry, politics*, To Perasma, Athens, 2013

Theory, The Left, Movements', In K. Voulgaris, *Theory, Literature, The Left*, Taxideftis, Athens, 2013

'Crisis, Inequality and Capitalist Legitimacy', in E. Papadopoulou & G. Sakellaris (eds.) *The Political Economy of Public Debt and Austerity in the EU*, Athens, Nissos Publications, 2012

'The Greek Economic Crisis' in A. Vlachou, N. Theocharakis and D. Milonakis (eds) *Economic Crisis and Greece*, Gutenberg, in Greek, Athens, 2011

'Economic Theory and Labour Market Reforms: the limits of an orthodox perspective', (with M. Veliziotis) in Ch. Kollias and M. Zoumboulakis (eds) *Contemporary Political Economy*, in Greek, Pataki, 2010

'Narrowing the Options: The macroeconomic and financial foe EU enlargement', (with H D Gibson) in P. Arestis, J. McCombie and R. Vickerman (eds) *Growth and Economic Development: essays in honour of A. P. Thirlwall*, Edward Elgar, 2006.

'Social norms and Endogenous Preferences: the political economy of market expansion', in P Arestis and M Sawyer (eds) *The Rise of the Market: Critical Essays on the Political Economy of Neo-Liberalism*, Edward Elgar, 2003

'Finance-Industry Relationships in Europe and the Prospects for Growth and Convergence', (with H D Gibson) in P Arestis, M Baddeley and J McCombie (eds) *Globalisation, Regionalism and Economic Activity*, Edward Elgar, 2003

'European Employment Policies: a new social democratic model for Europe?', in P Arestis and M Sawyer (eds) *The Economics of the Third Way*, Edward Elgar, 2001

'The changing role of finance in southern European economies: will there be an improvement in economic performance?' (with H D Gibson and Y Stournaras) in Gibson H D, (ed) *Economic Transformation, Democratization and Integration into the European Union: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*, Macmillan, 2001

'ERM-II: Problems for the 'outs' and their relationship with the 'ins'' (with H D Gibson) in E J Pentecost and A van Poek (eds.) *European Monetary Integration: Past, Present and Future*, Edward Elgar, 2001

'The society of the 2/3: inequality, uncertainty and the 1/3's society' (with A. Lyberaki) in V. Pakos (ed.) *Society of the 2/3: The extent of the social problem*, International Conference, Panteio University, Athens, 2000

'Monetary Integration in the European Union' (with H D Gibson) in Gibson H D *International Finance: Exchange Rates and Financial Flows in the International System*, Longman, 1996

'Unemployment Experience and the Institutional Preconditions for Full Employment', (with A Henley) in P Arestis and M Marshall (eds) *The Political Economy of Full Employment*, Edward Elgar, 1995

'Monetary Rules versus Consensual Discretion: corporatism and the future of Keynesian policy-making' (with A Henley), in Crabtree D and Thirlwall A P (eds) *Keynes and the Role of the State*, Macmillan, 1993

'The International Debt Crisis: causes, consequences and solutions' (with H D Gibson) in *Industrialization and Development* chapter 2 in T Hewitt, H Johnson and D Wield (eds), Oxford University Press, April 1992

IV. ARTICLES IN REFEREES JOURNALS

'Greek Neo-liberalism in Fat and Lean Times', (with Ch. Laskos) in *Pôle Sud*, 2013/1(no. 38).

'An evaluation of sectional activity', in Greek, *Axiologika*, vol. 25, Spring, 2011.

'Exits from the Crisis: four pillars of an alternative economic policy for the coming period', in Greek, *Utopia*, vol. 93, pp. 51-64, Jan-Feb, 2011.

'Competitive Equilibrium and the Social Ethos: Understanding the Inegalitarian Dynamics of Liberal Market Economies', *Politics and Society*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 427-446, 2007.

'Social Conflict and the effectiveness of Aggregate demand Policies', *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 214-242, 2006.

'*Homo Economicus* and the reconstruction of political economy: six theses on the role of values in economics', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 29, no. 6, pp. 893-908, 2005.

'EU Enlargement, ERM II and Lessons from the Southern European Economies', (with H D Gibson), *South-Eastern Europe Journal of Economics*, vol. 3, no.1, pp. 41-78, 2005.

'Market constraints, economic performance and political power: modernizers versus leftists', *Socio-Economic Review*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 415-424, 2004.

'Capital flows and speculative attacks in prospective EU member states', (with H D Gibson), *Economics of Transition*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 559-586, 2004.

'*Homo Economicus*, political economy and socialism', *Science and Society*, vol. 68, no. 2, pp.137-160, 2004.

'Is attack the best form of defence? a competing risks analysis of acquisition activity in the UK', (with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 337-57, May 2003.

'The political economy of incentive contracts: the role of social identities', (με τον Σ. Βασιλάκη), *Political Economy: review of political economy and social sciences*, vol. 11, Autumn, 2002 (περιοδικό που δημοσιεύει σε ελληνικά και αγγλικά).

'Takeover Risk and the Market for Corporate Control: the experience of British firms in the 1970s and 1980s', (with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), *International Journal of Industrial Organization*, vol. 20, no. 8, pp. 1167-95, 2002.

'Reforming Economy without Society: social and institutional constraints to economic reform in post-1974 Greece', (with A Lyberaki) *New Political Economy*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 93-114, 2002.

'A unifying framework for analysing offsetting capital flows and sterilization: Germany and the ERM' (with S Brissimis and H Gibson), *International Journal of Finance and Economics*, vol. 7, issue 1, pp.63-78, 2002.

'Social Norms and Endogenous Preferences: the political economy of market expansion', *International Papers in Political Economy*, vol. 8, no.2, 2001.

'Internal vs External Financing of Acquisitions: do managers squander retained profits?'(with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 417-31, 2000.

'About efficiency: endogenous preferences and the limits of the market', *Ισοπολιτεία: Epitheorisi nomikis, politikis kai ithici philosophia*, vol. 3, April, pp. 95-128, 1999.

'Are aggregate consumption relations similar across the EU' (with A Carruth and H D Gibson) *Regional Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 17-26, 1999.

'The Political Economy of Social Democratic Economic Policies: The PASOK experiment in Greece', *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 114-38, 1998, (ανασυπώθηκε σε A Glyn (ed.) *Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times: The Left and Economic Policy since 1980*, Oxford University Press, 2001).

'Privatization and University Education: what is at stake?' *Greek Review of Political Science*, vol. 11, 1998.

'Business Cycle Correspondence in the European Union' (with H D Gibson and A P Dickerson), *Empirica*, vol. 25, pp. 51-77, 1998.

'Takeover risk and dividend strategy: a study of UK firms' (with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), *Journal of Industrial Economics*, vol. XLVI, no. 3, pp. 281-300, 1998.

'The Impact of Acquisition on Company Performance: evidence from a large panel of UK firms' (with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), *Oxford Economic Papers*, vol. 49, pp. 344-61, July, 1997.

'Shorttermism and Underinvestment: The influence of financial systems', (with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), *The Manchester School*, vol LXIII, no. 4, pp. 351-567, December, 1995.

'The Scope and Limits of Financial Liberalisation in Developing Countries: A Critical Survey' (with H D Gibson), *The Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 578-628, April, 1994 – received the Dudley Seers prize for the best article in vol. 30, reprinted in C Milner (ed) *Developing and Newly Industrialising Countries*, Edward Elgar, 1998.

'Income Inequality in Corporatist and Liberal Economies: a comparison of trends within OECD countries' (with F Green and A Henley), *International Review of Applied Economics*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp.303-331, 1994.

'Investment and Credit Rationing in Four European Economies', (with H D Gibson and Y Stournaras), *Greek Economic Review*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp.65-81, December 1994.

'Testing a flow model of capital flight in 5 European countries' (with H D Gibson), *Manchester School*, vol. LXI, no. 2, pp. 144-66, June, 1993.

'European Integration and the Banking Sector in Southern Europe: competition, efficiency and structure' (with H D Gibson), *Banca Nazionale del Lavoro Quarterly Review*, no. 186, pp. 299-325, September, 1993.

'Corporatism and the European Labour Market after 1992' (with A Henley), *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol.30, no.4, pp.567-86, 1992.

'Macroeconomics Policy and Structural Change: The Case of Greece, 1981-85', *International Review of Applied Economics*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp.253-76, 1991.

'Corporatism, Consensus and Income Distribution' (with A Henley), *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 15, pp.425-450, 1991.

'European Monetary Union and Macroeconomic Policy in Southern Europe: The case for positive integration' (with H D Gibson), *Journal of Public Policy*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1991.

V. OTHER

"Leaderismo e governismo all'origine della crisi di Syriza" (in Italian), *Critica Marxista Sommario 5/2023*, 2023

"How will Europe End?", Preface in the Greek edition W. Streeck, *How will Capitalism End?*, Plethron, Athens, 2019

'Radicalizing the Agenda: the Left's Response to the Crisis, *Transform! European journal for alternative thinking and political dialogue*', vol. 4, pp. 88-98, 2009.

'Measures against the crisis', *The Global Crisis and the Financial System*, in Greek, Nikos Poulantzas Institute, Athens, 2009.

'Philosophical gaps in current economic thought', in Greek, *Cogito*, May, 2009.

'The Importance of Specifying Appropriate Counterfactuals in the Social Sciences: Some comments on the papers of Korliras and Varoufakis, *Economic Policy Studies*, vol. 10, pp. 47-49, 2007, EMOP.

'Is there a communist critique of the business school?', In defense of Article 16 and the academic upgrading of public sector universities', Nikos Poulantzas Institute, Athens, 2007.

'Economic versus political and social explanations of the effectiveness of macroeconomic policies', Political Economy Research Institute publication Working Paper Series no: 68, www.umass.edu/peri/pdfs/WP68.pdf.

'Merger Madness: why takeovers are bad for business in the UK' (with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), *Financial Survey*, November-December, 1997, pp. 30-33.

'Comments' on K Prodromidis, 'Basic Characteristics of Political Cycles in Greece', *Politics and Economy: the Greek experience*, (in Greek) December 1996, pp. 41-44.

'Getting tough with the traders: the case for curbing the influence of the City on British economic policy' (with H D Gibson), *New Economy*, pp. 12-15, Autumn, 1993.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS AND SPEECHES

'Economic State of the Union', opening keynote lecture, *26th Annual Conference on Alternative Economic Policy in Europe*, 8 September 2020, EuroMemo, online

'Greece, the adjustment programmes and the post-adjustment programme period', online seminar series, 3-7 April 2020, Sciences Po Paris School of International Affairs, online

'Ongoing Lessons From The Greek Crisis For Europe', public lecture at Sciences Po Paris School of International Affairs, 13 March 2019, Paris

'An Update On The Greek Economy: Achievements And Remaining Obstacles', public lecture, Economist Event: 'A Glimpse into Europe's Financial Landscape Greece: A comeback to the financial markets?', 31 May 2017, Frankfurt

'Why Europe needs to reinvent a future soon' opening keynote lecture, Re-Inventing Europe Youth Conference, 22 October 2016, College of Europe, Bruges.

'Recovering from the crisis: macroeconomic versus real and social dimensions' public lecture at the Bridge Forum Dialogue, Luxembourg, 28 September 2016.

'The Greek Economy: is there hope?', 26th Annual Conference, 'The Time of the Greek Economy', Greek-American Chamber of Commerce, Athens, 30 November 2015.

'Economic Blues: the Left in government, Public Lecture, Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics, 10 November 2015.

'The Left and Entrepreneurship: towards a new model', Mellon/Naftemporiki Conference, Athens, 7 May 2015.

'New and old thinking for a new EU', στο 'New Economic Thinking: Libert , Egalit , Fragilit , I.N.E.T./OECD, 1st Conference on Entrepreneurship, Paris, 9 April 2015.

'Greece and her Creditors: a win-win deal? The strategy, the risks and the outcome', Keynote speech, Economist conference, Athens, 16 March 2015.

'Peer Group Review, Best Practice and Beyond', Speech at the formal visit of the Prime Minister A Tsipras to the OECD to sign an agreement of cooperation, Paris, 9 March 2015.

'Conventional and Non-conventional Aspects of SYRIZA's Economic Alternative', International Initiative for Promoting Political Economy, 'The crisis: scholarship, policies, conflicts and alternatives, Naples, Italy, 16-18 September 2014.

'Creating Space for Democratic Social and Economic Experiments', at Challenging the Rule of Troika, Transform! Europe, Dublin March 2014.

'Contesting Greek Exceptionalism: the political economy of the current crisis', presented to the British School at Athens/ LSE Hellenic Observatory on 'Changing Conceptions of "Europe" in Modern Greece: meanings, identities and legitimation', Athens, 28-29 January, 2011.

'Greek Economic Crisis', presented at the 'Beyond the Crisis' conference, International Initiative for the Promotion of Political Economy, Rethymno, Crete, 10-12 September 2010.

'Competitive Equilibrium and the Social Ethos: understanding the inegalitarian dynamics of liberal market economies', presented at the 'Perspectives on the Moral Economy' conference, 25-27th August, 2005, Lancaster University.

'General Equilibrium, Ethics and History: the importance of the social ethos', presented at the European Association for Evolutionary Political Economy' conference 'Economics, History and Development', Rethymno, Greece, October 2004.

'Narrowing the Options: the macroeconomic and financial framework for EU enlargement', presented at FISC conference, 'Global Finance and Social Europe', London, November 2003.

'*Homo Economicus* and the Reconstruction of Political Economy: Six Theses on the Role of Values in Economics' presented at the 'Economics for the Future' conference, Cambridge, September 2003.

'Finance-Industry Relationships in Europe and the Prospects for Growth and Convergence', (with H D Gibson) presented at Conference on Globalisation, Regionalism and Economic Growth, Downing College, Cambridge, April 2002.

'The Euro, EU Enlargement and ERM II' presented at CESifo conference "Managing EU Enlargement", Munich, 14-15 December 2001.

'European Employment Policies: a new social democratic model for Europe?' presented at a conference "The Economics of the Third Way", University of East London, May 2000.

'Is Attack the Best Form of Defense? A Competing Risks Analysis of Acquisition Activity in the UK' (with A P Dickerson and H Gibson), presented at the Royal Economic Society Conference, Nottingham, March 1999.

'Takeover Risk and the Market for Corporate Control: the experience of British firms in the 1970s and 1980s' (with A P Dickerson and H Gibson), presented at the Royal Economic Society Conference, Warwick, April 1998.

'Internal vs External Financing of Acquisitions: do managers squander retained profits?' (with A P Dickerson and H Gibson), presented at the Royal Economic Society Conference, March 1997.

'The Impact of Acquisition on Company Performance: evidence from a large panel of UK firms' (with A P Dickerson and H D Gibson), presented at Royal Economic Society Conference, Swansea, March 1996.

'The propagation of shocks and consumer spending in the EU' (with A Carruth and H D Gibson), presented at the Royal Economic Society Conference, University of Kent, March 1995.

'Short-termism and Underinvestment in Financial Systems', (with A P Dickerson and Heather Gibson), presented at Money, Macro and Finance Research Group, Annual Conference, St. Andrews, September 1993.

'Income Inequality in Corporatist and Liberal Economies: a comparison of trends within OECD countries' (with Francis Green and Andrew Henley), presented at European Association of Labour Economists, Maastricht, October 1993.

'Corporatism and European Labour Markets after 1992' (with Andrew Henley), presented at the European Association of Labour Economists, Warwick University, September 1992.

'The changing role of finance in southern European economies: will there be an improvement in economic performance?' (with H D Gibson and Y Stouraras) - presented at Social Science Research Council (US) conference on "Economic Change in Southern Europe", Lisbon, 10-12 July 1992

'Investment and the Twin Deficits in Credit-Rationed European Economies', (with H D Gibson and Y Stournaras), presented at the Royal Economics Society Conference, City University, London, March-April 1992.

'Capital Flight and Financial Liberalisation: A Study of Five European Countries' (with H D Gibson) – presented at the European Economic Association conference - Lisbon, September 1990.

TEACHING

1. University of Kent

Postgraduate	Advanced Macroeconomics Macroeconomics of Economic Integration
Undergraduate	Macroeconomics (seminars) Comparative Economic Systems (seminars and lectures) Economics of the EU (seminars and lectures) Introduction to Economics (seminars)

2. Athens University of Economics

Postgraduate	Theory of Economic Integration Economic Policies of the EU Comparative International Political Economy
Undergraduate	Theory of Economic Integration Economic Policies of the EU Macroeconomic Theory Methodology of the Social Sciences

3. University of Athens

Postgraduate	The political economy of post-war capitalism Lectures in the Philosophy of Economic Science
Undergraduate	Philosophy in the social sciences

ADMINISTRATION

1. University of Kent
 - Staff Seminars, 1991-93
 - Library Committee
2. Athens University of Economics and Business

- Assistant Director of Postgraduate studies
- Vice-Chairman of the Department
- Member of Senate