



ISSUE 5, WINTER 2004

VISIONS

THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION

3, Premetis St. Marousi 151 25 Athens, Greece, Tel. +30 210 6105451, Fax. +30 210 6672444
Editor: Monica P. Carlos, mcarlos@kokkalisfoundation.gr



A total of 55 participants from 11 countries completed the executive program at AIT.

Harvard University at AIT

EXECUTIVE TRAINING 2004

A much-anticipated executive training program for leaders in the public and private sector was hosted by Harvard University from November 5 through November 10, 2004, in Athens, Greece. Entitled "Managing and Shaping Change in the Information Age", the 5-day program was the first of its kind to take place in Europe and was held at Athens Information Technology's (AIT) state of the art facilities in Peania. The executive program was the joint effort of AIT, Harvard University, the Kokkalis Program on Southeastern European Studies at Harvard University and the Kokkalis Foundation.

The total 55 participants who completed the program represented 11 countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Egypt, Finland, FYROM, Greece, Jordan, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, Switzerland and Turkey) and included deputy ministers, members of parliament, business leaders and executives from the public, private and non-profit sectors. Conducted by faculty from both Harvard University and AIT, the program focused on leadership, negotiation, scenario planning, strategic management, and technology policy. The program also featured a teleconference discussing the outcome of the American presidential elections with Harvard Professor Roger Porter, a leading electoral analyst. Porter attributed president Bush's victory to his ability to leverage political capital on three clusters of issues: national and homeland security, the state of the economy, and the values question.

The following Harvard faculty conducted the program: Hugh O'Doherty (Leadership), Steve Kelman (Strategic Management), Brian Mandell (Negotiation), Eric Berger (Scenario Planning). AIT faculty Christos Halkias, Grigoris Yavonof, Lazaros Polimenakos and Ioannis Tomkos lectured on Technology Policy.

Harvard's executive education programs provide a forum to extend and exchange knowledge and aim to empower high-potential individuals by strengthening the impact and practical effectiveness of their undertakings. As part of this mission, "Managing and Shaping Change in the Information Age" was designed to offer participants the innovative analytical, leadership and management tools critical for advancing important individual and organizational goals in an era when global competencies are essential, and where technology affects policymaking and business at an unprecedented pace.

As new members of the Kokkalis Leadership Network (KLN), the alumni association of the Kokkalis Program, the participants are now actively engaged in long-term, cross-regional communication and sustained collaboration with their fellow KLN colleagues for the benefit of their nations and the region as a whole, and are kept continually connected to Kennedy School and Kokkalis Program initiatives such as educational refreshers, symposia and special events at Harvard and in the region.

For more information, please visit the education section of the Kokkalis Foundation's website, at www.kokkalisfoundation.gr

BSS 2004

YALE AND DUKE AT OLYMPIA

The challenge of Democracy in the EU

EUI'S PRESIDENT YVES MÉNY AT THE
ATHENS FORUM 2004

Academia and Innovation in the Age of the Knowledge Society

MARKET NEEDS, COMPETITION,
AND HUMAN PROGRESS

The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy

MIT PRESS BOOK IS LAUNCHED IN ANKARA

The European Future of Turkey

ACCORDING TO DERVIS AND DIAMANTOPOULOU

"Islam is a religion that opposes terror and violence"-

2003 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AT HARVARD

Five Years and Counting

LUCAS PAPADEMOS ON THE EURO'S NEXT
CHALLENGES

Albania, Bulgaria, and Kosovo at Harvard

THE NEW 2004 KOKKALIS FELLOWS

Research & Publications

NEW TITLES

Empires in European History and the Future of Europe

THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION BRINGS EUI'S
ACADEMY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY TO GREECE

Europe and the New Age of Migration

DEMETRIOS PAPADEMETRIOU ON CAPTURING
MIGRATION BENEFITS AND MANAGING COSTS

The European Future of Turkey

ACCORDING TO DERVIS AND DIAMANTOPOULOU

The prospects of Turkish membership in the European Union were the subject of a panel discussion between the Turkish member of parliament, former vice-president of the World Bank, and former Turkish minister of state for the economy Kemal Dervis and the Greek member of parliament and former European commissioner for employment and social affairs Anna Diamantopoulou. Co-organized by the Kokkalis Foundation and ARI Movement, the discussion was one of a series of panels organized by ARI Movement throughout 2004 in major European cities in light of this vital year for Euro-Turkish relations and in anticipation of the December 17th decision of the European Council.

Held in Athens on December 3rd, the panel was attended by a capacity audience of the highest distinction including the honorable 2001 Nobel laureate in Economics Joseph Stiglitz, representatives from the Greek government and opposition, diplomats, representatives from written and broadcast media, and academia from Greece, Turkey, the US, and the Southeastern European region.

Offering a message of optimism, Kemal Dervis identified major Turkish reform efforts in areas such as justice, human rights, education, and the Cyprus issue, efforts Dervis stated have not been communicated enough to official and social sectors by the European media. Criticizing what he called the European Union's double standards towards Turkey and other European hopefuls, and the mixed signals regarding membership prospects, the former minister and World Bank official called for a stronger European leadership, emphasizing the crucial role it can have in bringing about further reforms and in engaging Turkey with European institutions. "The European Union needs not be a Christian union because Christianity is not a European value but rather it is a universal human value", Dervis stated. The former minister concluded by reiterating his personal commitment to drawing a European roadmap towards full-fledged Turkish EU membership.

Anna Diamantopoulou recognized and commended the Turkish reform efforts but stressed that the country needs to act coherently in its relations with its neighbors as well as with the European Union. Noting Greece's active role in support of Turkey's European goals, the former European commissioner stated that the European future of Turkey ultimately depends on the ability of the Turkish domestic political leadership to legally and effectively implement reforms towards the democratization of the political system, the respect for human rights, gender equality, and religious freedoms. Further, an open-ended adjustment period is necessary to allow for important labor market adjustments and full compliance with the Copenhagen criteria. Diamantopoulou concluded by symbolically offering Kemal Dervis a copy of Cavafi's



Dervis called for a stronger European leadership while Diamantopoulou insisted on further domestic reforms.

OLYMPIA 2004



BSS 2004 YALE AND DUKE AT OLYMPIA

The second annual Balkan Studies Seminars, held in Olympia, Greece and organized by the Kokkalis Foundation in collaboration with the University of Patras, the University of Macedonia and the Interscientific and Intercultural Center of Olympia, were a resounding success. Held from July 5th to the 17th, the seminars brought together a diverse and talented group of journalists, students, professors, and professionals from 21 countries.

The 2004 sessions were divided into two, separate thematic programs. Stathis Kalyvas, Arnold Wolfers Professor of Political Science and Director of the Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence at Yale University, directed the first program, entitled "European Transitions from Portugal to the Baltics". Participating lecturers included Dr. Marek Kaminski from the University of California at Irvine, who presented a rigorous analytical framework for understanding how the structure of electoral systems can influence political outcomes. Taking a more comparative approach, Thomas Jeffrey Miley from Yale University led participants in an investigation of the transition and consolidation of democracy in Portugal and Spain, placing particular emphasis on how the issue of Catalan and Basque nationalism conditioned the Spanish case. In the second half of the seminars, Monika Anna Nalepa from Columbia University introduced students to the complexities of transitional justice by using case studies from several Central European countries to illustrate the varied approaches taken by new governments when dealing with those individuals that collaborated with the former authoritarian regime. The seminar concluded with insightful extrapolations on the theories posited during the seminars to address the current question of whether or not democracy is possible in Iraq.

The second program, "International Journalism, Communications, and the Media," challenged participants to explore the relationship between mass media and democracy. Led by Ellen Mickiewicz, the Director of the DeWitt Wallace Center for Communications and Journalism at Duke University, the journalism seminars investigated how the media cover politics and examined media institutions and the economics of news production and consumption. Lecturers included Paolo Mancini, who analysed the dynamics between media concentration and political power and Colin Shaw, who familiarized participants with the inner-workings of public service broadcasting in the United Kingdom. The seminar greatly benefited from the input of the participants, who presented in-depth overviews of the media systems of their home countries.

Extra-curricular activities included excursions to local museums, archeological sights and the stunning beaches for which the Peloponnese is famous.

To preview the topics that will be on offer for BSS 2005 please visit the education section of the Kokkalis Foundation's website, at www.kokkalisfoundation.gr

Five Years and Counting **LUCAS PAPADEMOS ON THE EURO'S NEXT CHALLENGES**

Harvard's Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe hosted a keynote address by Dr. Lucas Papademos, vice president of the European Central Bank, entitled "Five Years and Counting: The Euro's Next Challenges," at the John F. Kennedy School of Government. Dr. Papademos was introduced by Kokkalis Foundation board member and Kennedy School alumni, Mr. Petros Kokkalis. The unprecedented lecture took place during a critical moment in the history of the European Union, on the eve of the May 1st enlargement. Ten countries totalling 75 million people will join the European Union, in a 25% increase of the euro area's population.

For Lucas Papademos, the ECB has fully succeeded in maintaining the stability of the internal value of the euro and the credibility of the single currency since the Bank assumed the responsibility over European monetary policy five years ago. In addition, the Bank has also rolled out 15 billion banknotes and 50 billion coins to 300 million European citizens, a complex and mammoth undertaking that was implemented smoothly and with great success considering the magnitude of the operation. The euro, Papademos stated, has become a tangible symbol of European unity and "it is here to stay."

Dr. Papademos further identified the competition with the US dollar and the implementation of monetary policy in a multilingual and multinational environment as the present major challenges for the ECB. In closing, Papademos made an optimistic forecast of the euro and its future. Even in its infant stages, the currency has managed to earn the trust of the European public and global markets as a stable currency that maintains purchasing power.



The Euro has become a tangible symbol of European unity, Papademos stated.

GSW 2005

Building on the success of the past six years, The Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe, John F. Kennedy School of Government, and the Southeast European Study Group, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University, will hold the seventh annual Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop on February 4, 2005.

The goal of the annual Workshop is to bring together burgeoning scholars from around the globe, from all disciplines of social science to present original papers on issues related to Southeastern and East-Central Europe. This year the thematic units include: Political Parties and Campaigning in the Post-Communist Era; The Development and Impact of NGO's in Southeastern Europe; The Intellectual History of Southeastern Europe.

Last year, a record 150 applications were received for 15 available spots. The 15 Ph.D. candidates represented 13 universities and 8 countries.

The Workshop serves as an invaluable opportunity for students, faculty and others interested in Southeastern and East-Central Europe to meet and exchange views on issues of common concern such as foreign policy, security, civil society, human rights, media, crime and corruption, economic reform, public administration and policy.

"Islam is a religion that opposes terror and violence"-

2003 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AT HARVARD



For Ebadi, authoritarian regimes have misrepresented Islam in order to justify their own dictatorial rule and repression.

Speaking to a crowd of nearly 1,000 people, Nobel laureate Shirin Ebadi began her inspirational address on Islam, Democracy and Human Rights after being met with a standing ovation. The May 11, 2004 lecture, which was interrupted by frequent and thunderous applause, was chaired by the newly appointed Dean of the Kennedy School, Dr. David Ellwood and sponsored by the Kennedy School's Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe.

A citizen of Iran and the founder of the Association for Support of Children's Rights, Ebadi is highly respected around

the world as a bold advocate of human rights and democratization, whose work and efforts are particularly commended considering the repressive nature of her government. While Ebadi's work has focused in a region geographically disconnected from Southeast Europe, the causes that she champions and the principles that she promotes are highly relevant for the region and beyond. The diversity of the audience, which ranged from senior academics to government officials, was a testament to the universality of her message.

The 56-year-old Iranian lawyer and first Muslim woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize stated that "fighting for democracy is endless-one must fight for it throughout life." Ebadi emphasized, "democracy is not an event that can happen overnight...it is a historical process that needs to reach maturity over time." She also clearly expressed her belief that democracy within Islamic societies is achievable, and that unfortunately authoritarian regimes have misrepresented Islam in order to justify their own dictatorial rule and repression. "Islam is a religion that opposes terror and violence," Ebadi affirmed.

"The European Union is an **ambitious** attempt toward the **integration** of democracy above and beyond the borders of the nation-state, an **attempt** that is still incomplete"

The challenge of Democracy in the EU

EU's PRESIDENT YVES MÉNY AT THE ATHENS FORUM 2004

"The European Union is not yet a traditional democratic society in the way that we use the term today, but a democracy under construction. It is still incomplete, but this is the very nature of democracy itself", stated the President of the European University Institute in Florence, Professor Yves Mény, at an event organized by the Kokkalis Foundation in his honor. The event was part of the Kokkalis Foundation's annual Athens Forum series, which has been organized with great success in past years and has hosted world-renowned academics, such as professors Joseph Nye, Samuel Huntington and Gregory Nagy. Professor Mény's speech sealed the European University Institute's and the Kokkalis Foundation's collaboration on a series of joint academic activities, such as the summer seminars in Olympia, which this year welcomed 125 students from 21 countries and facilitated cooperation with the Universities of Patras, Macedonia, Yale and Duke.

The event was attended by the Greek minister of education Mrs. Marietta Giannakou, the former Minister of Education and Member of the Parliament Mr. Petros Efthimiou, as well as many other deputies, rectors, academics, diplomats, businessmen, journalists and distinguished personalities. In her short speech Mrs. Giannakou explored the challenges of European integration. The rector of the University of Patras, Mr. Christos Chatzitheodorou, introduced Professor Yves Mény, his work, and his personal accomplishments.

In his speech, Professor Mény focused on the importance of the European Constitution as the guardian of democratic principles for a new, enlarged Europe. "The European Union is an ambitious attempt toward the integration of democracy above and beyond the borders of the nation-state, an attempt that is still incomplete". "The demands of democracy aren't something new to the history of European integration", stressed Professor Mény while referring to the public debate regarding the democratic deficit of the Union that started in Europe in the mid 1970's and is still an ongoing matter of concern for the entire European family. Professor Mény, who defined himself as a pro-European that is critical of the EU's progress towards a federative form, characterized the current diarchy between the European Council and the Commission as embryonic. Building on the two democratic pillars of popular participation and the rule of law, Mény identified the following priorities towards a better European democracy: a charter of fundamental rights, with a clear and binding hierarchical set of norms on the allocation of competencies between the Union and member states, one single legal personality, and new means for voicing the will of the citizens. He emphasized the importance of European citizens' acceptance of the European Constitution and the advocacy role that can only be played by national political elites towards this direction. Domestic party politics, Mény suggested, must frame the European debate on a pro- versus not pro-European cleavage instead of a false left-right cleavage.



Mény identified several priorities towards a deeper European democratic integration.

Empires in European History and the Future of Europe

THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION BRINGS EU'S ACADEMY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY TO GREECE

The Academy of European History at the European University Institute, founded in 2002, aims to provide a forum for the discussion of European history among two groups of young professionals, drawn from across Europe: professors at the pre-University level and journalists. With the support of the Kokkalis Foundation and aiming to rethink the history and the future of Europe, the Academy held its third summer session, subject to the theme "Empires in European History", from July 1 through July 10, 2004, at Olympia, Greece.

For nearly two hundred years, the nation-state has been the fundamental unit of historical analysis, both in historical instruction and in discussions about the past in the popular press. In today's moments of profound change, fashioning a curriculum that takes into account the increasing importance of the European community is a difficult and controversial endeavor. How should one think about the history of Europe in relationship to the histories of individual nation-states? How has the concept of Europe changed over time? What regions, cultures, and historical traditions did Europe encompass in the remote or more proximate past? Even though such questioning has begun in earnest among some historians, historical curricula and discussions about the past in the popular press do not yet reflect the outcome of these discussions. In this summer's session participants, which included history teachers, journalists and acknowledged experts, pondered on the study of history and on how history, especially European history, is taught and should be taught to pre-university students, and be presented to the wider public.



Florence

Europe and the New Age of Migration

DEMETRIOS PAPADEMETRIOU ON CAPTURING MIGRATION BENEFITS AND MANAGING COSTS



According to Papademetriou, Greece and several other European countries have so far ignored immigration.

Rather than be the object of political judgment, migration must be approached as a public policy problem, argued migration expert Demetrios Papademetriou on January 13, 2004 in front of a capacity crowd at the Hellenic-American Union in Athens.

Demetrios Papademetriou is the Co-Director and Co-Founder of the Migration Policy Institute, Washington DC, and a former Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His work has focused on U.S. immigration policy, the North American borders and migration agenda, immigrant settlement and integration, and migration management throughout the advanced industrial world. Dr. Papademetriou also leads MPI's involvement in the Athens Migration Policy Initiative (AMPI), a joint

project with the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs that seeks to provide insights on migration for the European policy debate.

Building on the UN definition of migration whereby a migrant is anyone who stays one year in a country they were not born in, Papademetriou stated that international migration is a system of movements where there are no countries of origin or destination but rather where everyone participates. Greece, for example, has always received people and has been a country of transit, it has undergone a period of mass emigration and is now a net receiver of migrants. Movement has always defined the human race and the growth of migration has been roughly proportional to the growth of world population. In 2000, as in 1990, and as in 1965, total migrant population amounted to about 2.4-2.5% of the world population.

What is different in today's migration

What is different today that makes governments more preoccupied with international migration than they were in the past is that migration has come home. Today, Europe's migrant population amounts to 10% as compared to 11% in the US and Canada. Profiling migration trends, Papademetriou elaborated that almost half of today's total migrant population has lived in Asia, and political refugees make up only 5% of the total migrant population. Thus, the bulk of today's immigrants are economic immigrants and their families, with a higher incidence both on the poorly and on the highly qualified. Further, migration has become a South-to-South phenomenon. "By historical standards, it is extraordinary that in a mere decade Greece went from 2% to 8-10% of foreign-born residents". This fact, Papademetriou asserted, makes Greece "more immigrant-dense than the US".

Migration policy trends

In a rather pessimistic note, Papademetriou argued that the "fortress Europe" policy would continue. Most countries seek to attract highly qualified immigrants but try to control their number due to domestic labor market demands. Most are tough on migrants on low productivity sectors even though this is the sector where labor demand is higher. As in several other European countries, Greece has so far ignored immigration. By doing so, it surrenders immigration laws to criminal networks and allows for the growth of related epidemics such as human trafficking and the severe deterioration of world health. The country has vowed to fight illegal immigration but has so far fallen shy of addressing the reasons behind the demand for immigrants, such as an inadequate and obsolete education system, an inflexible labor market, and an inefficient and bankrupt social protection system.

The policy challenge for Europe as a whole is to understand the causes of migration and to efficiently manage migration movements. Migration management, Papademetriou argued, will entail baby steps rather than big ideas, will require country-level bottom-up management resorting to community involvement rather than top-down management and replicated policy prescriptions, and will necessitate an efficient coordination of migration policies with labor market, education, and social security policies. The migration policy challenge, Papademetriou argued, will be the hinge point of the success or failure of multiethnic societies.

Migration
management necessitates
an efficient
coordination of
migration policies with
labor market,
education, and social
security policies.

*Audios of all Kokkalis
Foundation's events are now
available online at
www.kokkalisfoundation.gr*

Democracy in the Middle East, Pluralism in Europe

TURKISH PRIME MINISTER ERDOGAN URGES MUSLIM NATIONS TO DEMOCRATIZE



"The EU must include Turkey in order to demonstrate that it is a union of political values based not on religious principles but on democratic ones", stated Erdogan at Harvard.

H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Prime Minister of Turkey, concluded a weeklong trip to the United States with a major address at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum. The prime minister's Harvard visit and lecture, "Democracy in the Middle East, Pluralism in Europe", was sponsored by the Kennedy School's Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and the Institute of Politics.

Greeted at the outset of his talk by a group of supporters waving the Turkish flag and shouting "Turkiye!" prime minister Erdogan boldly urged Muslim nations of the Middle East to embrace democracy, asserting that "it is a modern day requirement," and that "there exists an unmistakable demand in the Middle East and in the wider Muslim world for democratization." He stated that "instead of blaming the outside world for the difficulties, they should put their house in order (sic)" and begin to incrementally build political systems which uphold the rule of law, separation of powers, and which are truly participatory and pluralistic. Erdogan also cautioned that the people of the region who "find themselves on the wrong side of globalization" remain

suspicious of the West's objectives, particularly those of the United States, and therefore the democratization process must be an indigenous one.

Characterizing himself as "a politician who cherishes religious conviction in his personal sphere, but regards politics as a domain belonging outside religion," the prime minister also called attention to Turkey's democratization process, saying that it has been supported and strengthened by its membership in NATO and its interactions with the United States and the European Union. Erdogan stated that the European Union must include Turkey in order to demonstrate that it is a union of political values based not on religious principles but on democratic ones. He also noted that Turkey has a lot to gain from EU membership, but the EU's gains will be greater, and that by launching accession talks with Turkey, the EU will be sending a message to Turkey's neighbors in the Middle East that "democratization is the starting point of the project of harmony of civilizations."

Over 1300 people stood in below freezing temperatures to gain entrance into the building where Erdogan's address was held, and 500 were turned away due to lack of capacity inside the auditorium. A crowd of Kurdish and Armenian protestors demonstrated outside the Kennedy School before and throughout the prime minister's lecture.

During the question and answer session, Erdogan was challenged to encourage open discussion in Turkey about the fate of its Christian population during the 20th century in order to prove to the "Christian" EU that the country is truly a democratic one. The prime minister responded "I am in favor of freedoms, I am in favor of protecting rights and I am more sensitive about protecting the religious rights of others than my own."

When asked by a Turkish Cypriot member of the audience how he would solve the Cyprus problem without giving away too much land, the prime minister remarked that "a solution is more important than land." He also noted that Turkey would act only as a guarantor of the settlement, which can come only by mutual agreement between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. At a press conference at the university before his lecture, Erdogan said that he was seeking a swift solution to the Cyprus dispute, acknowledging that a settlement "has become a prerequisite to Turkey's accession to the EU" and "our efforts to settle the issue will probably ease our entry into the EU."

"I am in favor of freedoms, I am in favor of protecting rights and I am more sensitive about protecting the religious rights of others than my own."

Cyprus at a Crossroads

THE WAY FORWARD

H.E. Tassos Papadopoulos, President of the Republic of Cyprus, addressed the Harvard community on the future of Cyprus on June 1, 2004 at the Kennedy School. The event was sponsored by the Kokkalis Program, the Harvard School of Public Health, the Institute of Politics, the Center for Public Leadership and the Belfer Center's Program on Intrastate Conflict and Resolution. The full transcript of president Papadopoulos's lecture is available at www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/leaders

Research & Publications **NEW TITLES**

DEFENSE REFORM, MODERNIZATION, & MILITARY COOPERATION IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE



Perry,
Charles and
Dimitris
Keridis, Eds.
Dulles, VA:
Brassey's,
2004.

As the United States and its allies increasingly turn their focus to the global war on terrorism and the stanching of WMD proliferation, strategic interest has risen significantly in those parts of the so-called new Europe that are close to areas of potential terrorist and proliferation activities (such as Central Asia and the Middle East). This, in turn, highlights the importance of new and potential NATO members in Southeastern Europe, who can play a more important role both as contributors to future coalition operations and as base areas more proximate to the U.S. and NATO operations. Indeed, the seven states examined in this study that have just joined or still aspire to join NATO have an opportunity not only to consolidate their own progress toward fuller integration into the Euro-Atlantic community, but to contribute in a very concrete way to the new missions of the Atlantic Alliance, if their defense reform and modernization efforts are successful. With this particular point in mind, this study details current developments with regard to security policy formulation, military restructuring, defense industry adjustments, and regional defense cooperation in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, and Slovenia. A perspective from Greece on these issues is provided as well, given Athens's key role as a long-standing NATO member within the region and as an increasingly important security partner with a number of the countries examined.

THE FUTURE OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY



Martin, Lenore G.
and Dimitris
Keridis, Eds.
Cambridge, MA:
MIT Press, 2003.

Since the end of the Cold War, Turkey has moved from the periphery to the centre of Eurasian security. It is an important member of NATO and aspires to join the European Union. With a landmass and population larger than that of France, Turkey is a pivotal actor in Southeastern Europe, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. Turkey's growing role in these regions has profound implications for the international arena and has spawned debates over the trajectory of Turkish foreign policy. The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy explores these debates and the interactions between Turkey's domestic issues and foreign policies. The contributors include some of the foremost scholars and commentators on Turkish foreign policy. Their analyses reveal the variety and complexity of challenges that confront Turkish foreign policy and point the way to creative and resourceful strategies.

*All publications of the Kokkalis Foundation are now available for purchase at
Sideris Publishing House, Solonos 116, GR-106 81 Athens, Tel. +30 210 3833434,
Fax +30 210 3832294, e-mail: isideris@hol.gr, www.isideris.gr*

Albania, Bulgaria, and Kosovo at Harvard **THE NEW 2004 KOKKALIS FELLOWS**

After careful evaluation of about 150 applications from 11 Southeastern and East-central European countries, three candidates from Albania, Bulgaria, and Serbia and Montenegro were awarded a Kokkalis fellowship for graduate studies at the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University. The new fellows are: Dr. Kosta Barjaba, Mr. Miroslav Vassilev, and Ms. Kujtese Bejtullahu.

A native of Albania, **Dr. Kosta Barjaba** is enrolled in the one-year Mason Fellows/Mid-Career Master in Public Administration program. Kosta graduated with an undergraduate degree in Political Science in 1984, a PhD in Sociology in 1989 and a Law degree in 2000 from the University of Tirana-Albania. He also received his professorship in 1999 from the University of Shkodra-Albania. In addition to serving as a professor of sociology at the universities of Tirana and Shkodra, he has held various positions in government in Albania, including at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs as chief of cabinet to the minister and director of the Department of Migration, and as an advisor to the President of Albania. Kosta is the prolific author of numerous publications and articles focusing on issues of migration, ethnic relations, youth, elections in post-communist Albania and Eastern Europe, and development and reform in Albania.

Ms. Kujtese Bejtullahu is a native of Kosovo, Serbia & Montenegro, and will be graduating in June 2004 from Stanford University with a BA in International Relations and a secondary degree in Economics. In 2002, she founded the World Refugee Academy -- an initiative to help refugee youth access opportunities

for tertiary education -- and lead a team of Stanford students to a refugee camp in Botswana to conduct educational work. Among Kujtese's many other professional experiences, she served as a media officer for the 2003 World Economic Forum, completed an internship with the German Foundation for International Development, and was a conference facilitator for the 2001 Kosovo Youth Congress. She is enrolled in the two-year Master in Public Administration and International Development program.

Mr. Miroslav Vassilev from Bulgaria is enrolled in the two-year Master in Public Administration and International Development program as a dual-degree MBA in Public Finance candidate from the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. Miroslav holds a Master of Science in Management Research from Keble College, University of Oxford and a BA in Political Science and International Relations from the American University in Bulgaria. His professional experience includes working as a strategy consultant for the United Nations Global Compact, and project director for Goldman Sachs' Global Leaders Social Entrepreneurship Fund, during which he founded and lead the implementation team for a project focused on women at high risk in post-conflict FYROM that resulted in a significant growth of female-owned small and medium enterprises. Miroslav also served as founder and project leader of the Ethnic Minority Enterprise Initiative (funded by the EU) during 2002 and a crisis management advisor for the International Red Cross in FYROM during the summer of 2001.

Academia and Innovation in the Age of the Knowledge Society

MARKET NEEDS, COMPETITION, AND HUMAN PROGRESS

The prospects and role of academic research for innovation and technological advances was the subject of a roundtable discussion organized by the Kokkalis Foundation and AIT on April 20, 2004 in Athens. The speakers were international top authorities in information technology, which make up the academic council of AIT, including Anthony G. Constantinidis of Imperial College, Carnegie Mellon ECE department chairman Pradeep Khosla, director of the Max-Planck-Institute for Computer Sciences Kurt Mehlhorn, Northeastern University's John G. Proakis, Jeffrey Ullman of Stanford University, and the president of the Academy of Sciences of Finland, Reijo Vihko.

Kokkalis Foundation BOD member Mrs. Eleni Kokkali welcomed the participants emphasizing their invaluable contribution to education and to scientific research. Addressing a capacity crowd of academics, diplomats, and representatives from government, business and media, the speakers unanimously agreed that academic research, applied as well as basic research, continues to be a fundamental source of innovation. While there was disagreement as to the extent to which traditional teaching methods are obsolete and as to the extent of low productivity of the education industry, the participants concurred that innovation cannot be translated into technological advances and better quality of life if it is not market-oriented. The purpose of academic institutions, the speakers argued, is not only to educate and to research. Academic institutions have an important role in economic

development, a role in which they need partnerships with industry and NGO's both in terms of funding and in managerial terms.

In Greece, the creation of AIT-Athens Information Technology is a pioneer effort towards such a new generation of educational institutions stated the speakers, stressing the importance of businessman Socrates Kokkalis's vision and his public service contribution to education, human capital development and to reversing the regional brain drain. The recently

established AIT, whose first 19 graduates were recently awarded Carnegie Mellon's graduate degree, has already received international recognition as the top higher education center of excellence not only of Greece but the entire SE European region.

Referring to the prospects of research in Europe, the participants stated that to produce both science and profits, the EU will continue to increase framework funding and it will further competition principles, strict performance appraisal systems, and quality standards, in order to meet the Lisbon goals by 2010. AIT's dean Christos Halkias wrapped up the meeting by thanking the academic council for their role in making AIT a prototype experiment in a new education generation. The audio of the roundtable event is available online at www.kokkalisfoundation.gr



Innovation cannot be translated into technological advances and better quality of life if it is not market-oriented, the participants concurred.

The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy

MIT PRESS BOOK IS LAUNCHED IN ANKARA



In the new volume, the contributors explore the interaction between Turkey's domestic and foreign policies.

The Kokkalis Foundation is proud to announce a new publication entitled "The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy". Published by MIT Press in Boston, the book has already received the praise of personalities such as Mr. Ismail Cem, the former Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Papandreou, the former Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Joseph Nye, Dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and Dr. Ali Karaosmanoglu, a prominent Professor at Bilkent University.

The book has received particular attention in Turkey and the presentation of the volume held the past January in Ankara was well attended by distinguished Turkish academics as well as by diplomats, political leaders and journalists. The volume has also been especially well received by the Turkish press.

The new book, edited by Prof. Dimitris Keridis, Director of the Kokkalis Foundation, and Prof. Lenore Martin of the Harvard Center of Middle Eastern Studies, includes contributions by the following prominent experts: Mumtaz Soysal; professors Feroz Ahmad, Sencer Ayata, Atila Elarp, Kemal Kirisci, Oktay Tanrisever, Panayotis Tsakonas, and Ilter Tural; and specialists on foreign policy issues such as Thanos Dokos, Ian Lesser, Elizabeth Andersen, Fiona Hill and the journalist Cengiz Candar.

The contributors explore the interaction between Turkey's domestic and foreign policies at the beginning of the twenty-first century. They also spawn vital debates over the direction of Turkish foreign policy towards Europe, the Middle East, the Caucasus as well as the United States. The book contributes to the current debate on Turkish foreign policy not only by revealing the complexity of the challenges that confront Turkey's foreign policy, but also by suggesting creative and resourceful strategies for resolving its policy dilemmas.

Translations into the Greek and the Turkish languages are underway by Sideris Press and Bilgi University, respectively.

Kokkalis Fellowship 2005-2006 CALL FOR APPLICATIONS

Applications are now available for the 2005-2006 Kokkalis Program Fellowship. Eligible to apply are natives of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Turkey who are applying to one of the following degree programs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government: Master in Public Policy (MPP); Master in Public Administration (MPA2); Mid-Career Master in Public Administration (MC/MPA); Master in Public Administration in International Development (MPA/ID).

The deadline for submission is January 7, 2005. For more details and information on how to apply please visit www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis