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VISIONS

THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION

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Palestinian Leadership in Development **HARVARD EXECUTIVE PROGRAM SUMMER 2005**



Harvard Executive Training Program

CALL FOR APPLICATIONS

Consolidating Democracy and the Future of Kosovo

THE SERBIAN PRESIDENT AT HARVARD

The Possibilities of a Past

2005 FORUM FEATURES
MARK MAZOWER

Balkan Studies Seminars

2005 SUMMER SEMINARS IN OLYMPIA

Kokkalis Fellowship

CALL FOR APPLICATIONS 2006-2007

On Change

FORTHCOMING EVENTS 2005-2006

Research & Publications

NEW TITLES

The Balkans in Europe's Future:

ENLARGEMENT OR EMPIRE

Opinion & Commentaries

KOSOVO – THE BALKAN'S TAIWAN?

Palestinian Leadership in Development: Managing Political and Economic Transition was a five-day Harvard executive training program administered by Harvard's Middle East Initiative and held late August in Athens, Greece at the state-of-the-art facilities of the Athens Information Technology (AIT). The program was supported by the Kokkalis Foundation and Consolidated Contractors Company International (CCC).

Led by faculty who are luminaries in their fields, the program was the first of a series of Harvard executive training programs intended for senior officials from the PNA and Palestinian NGO leadership and designed to improve participants' innovative analytical, leadership and management tools, critical for enhancing the understanding of the tasks of leadership in promoting reform. The mediating role of a Greek institution in the organization of such a program in Greece was of fundamental importance for the success of the initiative.

The twenty-five Palestinian representatives from senior government (from ministries of foreign affairs, finance, planning), elected officials, policymakers and their non-profit sector counterparts that completed the executive training program benefited from instruction and professional enrichment in four main fields: managing political and economic reform; building capacity for effective governance; crisis management; and new global trends in partnering between the public, civil society and private sector.

At the graduation ceremony, Kokkalis Foundation president Mr. Socrates Kokkalis stated that "As a western country with a tradition of good relations with the Arab world, Greece has a strategic advantage and in today's especially critical conjuncture it can, with adequate coordination with the initiatives of governmental as well as non-governmental organizations, play an important role in furthering the relations of the west with the Arab world and a role in the undergoing Middle East peace process."

The vice-president of CCC, Mr. Samer Khoury, added "we're pleased by the opportunity to support a Harvard initiative that will strengthen the human capital and the efforts of the Palestinians, who, in cooperation with the international community, are building the pillars of an internationally recognized Palestinian state."

The executive training program represented a fundamental and timely effort towards building effective democratic governance and achieving peace and prosperity in the Middle East.



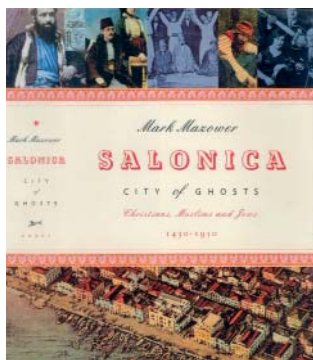
The Possibilities of a Past - Thessaloniki 1430-1950:

**2005 FORUM LECTURE FEATURES GREAT
HISTORIAN MARK MAZOWER**

On the occasion of the publication of his latest "Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950," the Kokkalis Foundation hosted the great historian and Columbia university professor Mark Mazower for a visit and lecture held in Salonica on June 15. Addressing a capacity crowd of over 600 guests, Mark Mazower captivated an audience of government representatives, businessmen, diplomats, academia, media, and other distinguished guests with his incursion into 500 years of history of a city he characterized as a crossroads of the world.

Exhaustively researched in Mazower's latest title, Salonica's history is full of enthralling tales of multiculturalism, tolerance, and mutual learning, tales bearing important lessons for today's times. Focusing on the city's course from the beginning of Ottoman rule to Nazi occupation, his enlightening and swaying account departs from mainstream American accounts in arguing that, despite power struggles and street fights, Ottoman rule was relatively benevolent. Jews, Christians, and Muslims not only lived together but actually worked, and even prospered, together.

Religious pluralism and the city's multicultural heritage began to waver after 1912 as the consensus of coexistence started to dissolve, foreboding a tragic end to the historian's narrative of the city. The Muslim population either left or was expelled, and resentment against the Jews increased, culminating with Jewish deportation as part of the final solution under Nazi rule.



Consolidating Democracy and the Future of Kosovo

**THE KOKKALIS PROGRAM HOSTS THE
SERBIAN PRESIDENT AT HARVARD**



Speaking to an audience of Serbs, Kosovars, and the Harvard community, Serbian President Boris Tadic addressed the challenges of consolidating democracy and resolving ethnic disputes in Southeastern Europe in an event co-sponsored by the Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe and the Institute of Politics.

After a brief introduction by KSG Dean David Ellwood, Tadic stated that "ensuring the growth of democracy is the most important legacy this generation's regional leaders can give their children." "Only together can we fully consolidate democracy in the most volatile corner of Europe," the Serbian president added. Toward this goal, the Serbian president stressed the importance of reconciliation and accountability after the conflicts that marked the 1990's. A former defense minister of Serbia-Montenegro, Tadic also spoke of the importance of fighting organized crime and drug trafficking, as well as bringing general security to the region, namely through integration into Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Tadic vowed for full integration of Serbia and the region into Europe's economic and political systems. "The European Union accession process will secure the region's prosperity," Tadic stated. "This is in Europe's strategic interest. This is why the European Union remains committed to integrating southeast Europe."

Referring to Kosovo, Tadic underscored the importance of the democratic process in finding a solution, but he also stressed that he believes unity, not fragmentation, remains the most important element in moving the Balkan region forward. Tadic made reference to what he called the "tragic reality" of life for the Serb minority in Kosovo, saying that they live under the "worst sort of tyranny of the majority," but added that "the legitimate interest of Kosovar Albanians must be taken into account" during any negotiations. The Serbian president added that "the solution must be acceptable for all nations and all countries in the region," and be framed by the ultimate goal of integration into the European Union.

As part of his official visit to Harvard, Tadic and his delegation, which included his foreign policy advisors and the Serbian Ambassador to the US, also met with Harvard President Summers and discussed Serbia's challenges as well as its recent accomplishments in the economic sphere, the larger European context, and trans-Atlantic relations.

The Balkans in Europe's Future:

ENLARGEMENT OR EMPIRE

The Balkans in Europe's future was the subject of a lecture organized on June 8, 2005 by the Kokkalis Foundation featuring the executive-director of the International Commission on the Balkans and chairman of the Bulgarian Centre for Liberal Strategies Ivan Krastev. Presenting the results of the report recently released by the d' Amato Commission, Ivan Krastev argued that the current status quo in the Balkans has outlived its usefulness. There is an urgent need, Krastev stated, to solve the extant status and constitutional issues in the Balkans, and to move the region as a whole from the stage of protectorates and weak states to the stage of EU accession.

Urging the US government to play a more active role in the region, the Bulgarian expert claimed that only coordinated EU-US policies can help the region to get in and catch up with the rest of Europe, and added that the EU must move on to drawing a European roadmap for each Balkan country, as well as to drawing a new member state building strategy.

The event was attended by a capacity audience of the highest distinction including 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.



Research & Publications **NEW TITLES**

THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIAL POLICY REFORM IN THE XXI CENTURY: TOWARDS INTEGRATED SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL PROTECTION

Carlos, Monica P., Ed. 2006 *forthcoming*.

This volume includes a collection of select research contributions that raise the issue of coordination between social security policy with social assistance, labor market, and family policy instruments. Globalization and the concomitant transformation of labor markets, migration, new family forms, and demographic changes all pose a serious challenge of transformation of present welfare policy systems into integrated systems of social protection. This volume explores ways towards an encompassing, cooperative, constructive, and mutually beneficial social dialogue and identifies alternative or complementary uses of social policy instruments. It is an attempt to address today's challenge of added economic efficiency and social effectiveness by taking an integrative approach to social policy reform. Contributors include Jane Lewis (Oxford University), Martin Rhodes (the European University Institute), and Elias Mossialos and Sara Allin (the London School of Economics and Political Science).

BULGARIA IN EUROPE: CHARTING A PATH TOWARD REFORM AND INTEGRATION

Keridis, Dimitris and Monica P. Carlos, Eds.
Dulles, VA: Potomac, 2005.

Bulgaria in Europe is an assessment of Bulgaria's progress towards fulfilling the economic and political criteria for EU and NATO accession. The volume explores Bulgaria's geopolitical environment and the country's short and medium term foreign policy strategies, and examines the country's domestic strategic agenda in relation to EU and NATO enlargement. It addresses three different but interrelated subjects: Bulgaria's current foreign policy environment; the progress of economic reform; and issues of democracy, human rights, immigration and border controls. The study identifies areas of improved policy performance and probes areas of continued, or new, policy underperformance. Contributors include Bulgaria's former president, its deputy prime minister, its deputy foreign minister, and distinguished experts from Europe and the United States, including Jeffrey Sachs (Harvard/Columbia University), Laza Kekic (Economist Intelligence Unit), Dimitris Kourkoulas (Delegation of the European Commission in Bulgaria), Elisabetta Falcetti (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development), and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. (the Fletcher School). The volume is the fourth in the IFPA-Kokkalis Series on Southeast European Policy.

Opinion & Commentaries

KOSOVO - THE BALKANS' TAIWAN?*

by Emil Krsteski, Executive Program participant 1999 and Foreign Policy Advisor in the Cabinet of the President of the Assembly of the FYR of Macedonia.

It is evident that the process of definition of the final status of Kosovo is underway and that this province shall obtain either independence or wider autonomy until the end of the next year. Kosovo's intellectual Veton Surroi once stated that "Kosovo is a Serbian cradle swinging the Albanian baby". Washington and Brussels are sending signals that the final status of this international protectorate should be discussed this summer of 2005 and that both Americans and Europeans have an interest in seeing this question resolved soon. Such signals indicate that a significant degree of consensus has been reached regarding the fulfillment of the preliminary conditions and international standards for the separation of the province from its mother country. According to several American theoreticians, the solution of the Kosovo issue should specifically address at least four matters – a) protection of minority rights, b) guarantees for the unitary character of Kosovo, c) safeguard clauses ensuring Kosovo will not be part of Albania and d) and ensuring that Kosovo will not be subordinated to the authorities in Belgrade. For its own part, The International Crisis Group has stated that if the question of the final status of Kosovo is postponed, it may trigger renewed spurts of violence and cause instability in the province and in the wider region, which could mean that FYR of Macedonia could possibly find itself involved in a serious crisis.

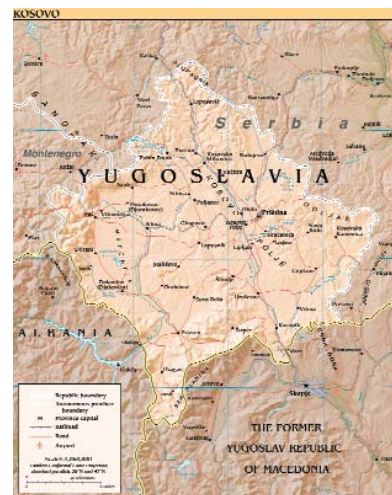
In my view, it will soon become clear whether a solution for the Kosovo issue is indeed imminent and whether the USA and the EU will come together and concur in their visions for the future of Kosovo. It is a fact that while Albanians in Kosovo do not wish and do not accept any kind of joint statehood with Serbia and Montenegro, self-administration in the province is not feasible either. This is the reason why a final status for Kosovo bequests that a modus vivendi be found between all sides under the auspices of the UN, a cooperative agreement that shall be to the benefit of both sides as well as to the benefit of the neighboring countries and the region as a whole.

Various plans and platforms for the final status of Kosovo have been proposed by several international institutions. They range from Kosovo as a protectorate for an indefinite period of time, the cantonization or loose federation within Serbia, the implementation of the Taiwanese model with possible membership in the UN, to full independence of Kosovo and division of the province into two ethnic parts. Some political circles in Belgrade advocate the model of China and Taiwan, which is not internationally recognized as an independent state, but is nevertheless practically functioning as such. Others are in favor of Kosovo as an autonomous entity within Serbia and in favor of the division of Kosovo into a Serbian and an Albanian part. This autonomy however should eventually lead to full independence for the province, provided that Serbia & Montenegro gains support for a fast-track membership in the EU.

Americans, who increasingly consider that a solution for the status of Kosovo is an issue of strategic importance for the old continent, have recently strengthened their engagement by putting forth specific proposals. Namely, we often read nowadays about a simultaneous process for implementation of international standards with a change in status, about the new resolution for Kosovo by the Security Council. These steps have been sided with firm guarantees that the province shall not be divided and that the borders of the province and those of the neighboring states shall remain unchanged.

These guarantees are an issue of special interest for the FYR of Macedonia. FYR of Macedonia must insist on the demarcation of its border with Kosovo before a final solution regarding status is reached, and this is so whatever that status might be. The recent statement by President Rugova that the border of Kosovo with FYR of Macedonia is improperly demarcated may create new dilemmas as it sends destabilizing signals in the region. It seems that, to date, border issues remain on the international negotiating table.

*The views expressed in this section are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the Kokkalis Foundation. If you've written an article or have a comment about regional developments that you would like featured in the Kokkalis foundation website or newsletter, please e-mail mcarnos@kokkalisfoundation.gr



While Albanians
in Kosovo do not
wish and do not
accept any kind
of joint statehood
with Serbia and
Montenegro, self-
administration in the
province is not
feasible either.



Change: "It is in changing that we find purpose..."

-HERACLEITUS OF EPHEBUS



THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION

Harvard Executive Training Program - December 14-17, 2005 Call for Applications

Managing and Shaping Change in the 21st Century is the theme of the forthcoming four-day Harvard executive training program designed to offer participants the innovative analytical, leadership and management tools critical for advancing important individual and organizational goals in an era when growing global and dynamic complexities challenge policy makers and managers to learn at increasing rates.

Held in Athens, Greece at the state-of-the-art facilities of the Athens Information Technology institute (AIT), the program will focus on negotiation and conflict management, scenario planning, leadership, strategic management and Europe as a regional and global actor. The program will improve participants ability to: design, develop and implement strategy; improve programmatic initiatives; exercise effective leadership and drive organizational change; identify early warning indicators of potential challenges facing an organization; and understand the main issues facing the European Union, EU regional and international relations and the future direction of the institution.

Senior government representatives, elected officials, policymakers and their non-profit and private sector counterparts are eligible to apply. The deadline is November 7, 2005.

Managing and Shaping Change in the 21st Century is an initiative of Harvard University's Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe, the Kokkalis Foundation and Athens Information Technology institute (AIT).

For more information, please contact
Kokkalis_Program@ksg.harvard.edu. To apply, complete the
online application at
http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/scholarship_form/eeapp.html



On Change

FORTHECOMING EVENTS 2005-2006

The 2005-2006 event series of the Kokkalis Foundation will be subject to the theme of Change. The series will include lectures and panel discussions that are designed to measure and better understand the various manifestations of change and continuity in our times. In particular, it will:

- **Identify processes of change and evaluate their significance and consequences**
- **Determine alternative leadership and organizational strategies to meet the challenges posed by change**
- **Suggest policy tools to effectively manage change.**

Coordinated by the Kokkalis Foundation, the panels will be led by government representatives, policy experts, and specialized professionals, and will be held in Athens. The events include:

- **"Leadership in Times of Radical Change: Andreas Papandreou and the Coming of the 1967 Military Coup"**
Dr. Stan Draenos, Stanley J. Seeger Visiting Research Fellow of the Program in Hellenic Studies, Princeton University
September 2005
- **"Istanbul: Memories, Change and the City"**
Ohran Pamuk, Novelist
November 2005
- **"A Constitutional Treaty for the New Europe"**
Dr. Paul Demaret, Dean of the College of Europe
March 2006
- **"The Future of Higher Education and Managing Change in the New Information Age"**
Dr. Gabriel Hawawini, Dean of INSEAD
July 2006

For more information and updates on the event series, please contact the Kokkalis Foundation.

Romania and Turkey at Harvard

THE NEW 2005 KOKKALIS FELLOWS

After careful evaluation of about 70 applications from 11 Southeastern and East-central European countries, two candidates from Romania and Turkey were awarded a Kokkalis fellowship for graduate studies at the John F. Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University. The new fellows are Ms. Linda Peia and Ms. Nilgun Yankaya.

A native of Arad, Romania, **Linda Peia** graduated Cum Laude with a B.A. in Economics and Political Science/International Relations from the American University in Bulgaria. She completed her senior year at the Williams School of Commerce, Economics, and Politics of Washington and Lee University, as the John M. Gunn International Scholar. Since 2003, Ms. Peia has been serving in the Economic Section of the Romanian Embassy in Washington, D.C., where she worked as a research assistant on foreign investment and institutional reform of small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs). Most recently, she has been working on a comparative research study on SMEs development at the local government in Romania, for which she spent February-May 2005 at the Latin American University of Social Sciences in Buenos Aires, Argentina. As part of her professional experience, she has also interned at the Center for Trade Policy Studies of the Cato Institute in Washington D.C., assisted the WEF Global Institute for Partnership and Governance in the organization of the World Economic Forum in 2005, and founded an international one-credit course event at the American University in Bulgaria. Outside school and work, Ms. Peia has a keen interest in foreign languages and linguistics, in art, and in mountain trekking. She will enroll in the two-year Master in Public Administration and International Development program.

Nilgun Yankaya is a native of Edirne, Turkey. She graduated with a B.S.E. in Operations Research and Financial Engineering from Princeton University. Since 2002, she has been working as a Financial Analyst at Morgan Stanley. Ms. Yankaya was first based at the Mergers and Acquisitions department in New York. She was then transferred to the London-based Turkish Corporate Finance team, where she is involved in Turkey's privatization as well as funding decisions, dealing with decision-makers ranging from working teams of the Privatization Administration and Treasury to ministers overseeing these governmental bodies. She will enroll in the two-year Master in Public Administration and International Development program.

Among this year's KSG Class of 2005, we are proud to announce the following Kokkalis Fellow graduates: Dr. Kosta Barjaba, Mr. Esen Caglar, and Mr. Manuel Costescu.

Dr. Kosta Barjaba has held various positions in the Albanian government, including 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. Upon graduation he will return to Albania to pursue a career in government, and will also become the first rector of the newly established Durres University, in Albania.

Esen Caglar, who prior to his studies at KSG worked as an analyst/report writer for the GOSB Industrial Zone and Technopark, one of Turkey's first technology development zones, will be working for the Investment Climate Assessment Project of Turkey in conjunction with the World Bank during the summer. Beginning in November 2005, he plans to work at one of the innovative, export-oriented firms or business conglomerate holding companies in the areas of strategic planning and innovation management based in Istanbul.

Manuel Costescu, who had been working as a research analyst at the Brattle Group, graduated from the joint MIT Sloan School of Management, KSG Master in Public Policy/International Development and Master in Business Administration programs. He has also been selected from among thousands of graduate students as a 2005 American Academy of Achievement awardee. Mr. Costescu will join the New York office of McKinsey and Company in November 2005.

Finally, **Kujtesa Bejtullahu** from Kosovo, and **Milen Marinov** and **Miroslav Vassilev** from Bulgaria are continuing Kokkalis fellows at the KSG School of Government for the academic year of 2005-2006.



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, held the seventh annual Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop on February 4, 2005. This year's workshop inaugurated a collaborative partnership with Oxford University's South East European Studies Program, St. Anthony's College.

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, 12 leading PhD candidates, representing 11 universities and 8 countries, presented research on a wide variety of topics under the following three main themes: political parties and campaigning in the post-communist era; the development and impact of NGO's in Southeastern Europe; and the Intellectual History of Southeastern Europe.

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.

The papers are available at

http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/workshop_2005.html

For information on the forthcoming Graduate Student Workshop, please visit

http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/workshop_calls_for_papers.html

(The deadline for the submission of papers is November 29, 2005).



The Art and Science of Negotiation

SPRING EXECUTIVE PROGRAM

Fifty-five government officials, civil servants, business executives, and representatives from development organizations from Greece as well as the region completed the three-day executive education program organized by the Kokkalis Foundation in Athens, at the state-of-the-art facilities of the center of research and graduate education, Athens Information Technology. Subject to the theme "The Art and Science of Negotiation", the executive program was based on Harvard University methodology and focused on negotiation and conflict management skills. Led by Dr. Brian Mandell, KSG Lecturer in Public Policy, the program was designed to improve the ability of senior organizational leaders to confront internal strife and successfully drive and navigate the increasingly complex transactions and relationships that predominate in today's turbulent political, economic and social environments, by training them through case studies and role playing to become effective players in complex negotiations.

As a result of this spring's executive, nine new fellows have joined the Kokkalis Leadership Network.

For more information on Kokkalis Program executive education programs, please visit http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/exec_education_index.html

2006-2007 Call for Applications

KOKKALIS FELLOWSHIP

Applications are now available for the 2006-2007 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/International Development (MPA/ID).

Candidates must hold an undergraduate degree recognized by their native state and an academic and/or professional background in one of the following fields: social sciences, public policy and/or administration, the non-profit sector, law, economics, business, or work experience in related fields. All applicants should demonstrate a strong commitment to public service and the region of Southeastern Europe.

The deadline for submission is January 6, 2006. For more details and information on how to apply for a Kokkalis fellowship, please visit

<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/fellowships.html> or contact mcarlos@kokkalisfoundation.gr. For information on how to apply to the Kennedy School of Government please visit <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/apply>.

2005 SUMMER SEMINARS IN OLYMPIA



More than
60 students
researchers and
journalists from
25 countries
ranging from China
to Colombia,
completed the
seminars.



For the fourth consecutive year, the Kokkalis Foundation concluded its summer seminars in ancient Olympia, Greece, on July 19th, 2005. This year, the seminars were organized in collaboration with Harvard, Yale, and Duke universities, as well as with the municipality of ancient Olympia and the Interscientific and Intercultural Center of Olympia.

The program of the two-week seminars included two thematic units. The first was entitled "Violent Conflict: Past, Present and Future" and was coordinated by Yale professor Stathis Kalyvas. The seminar investigated the causes of political conflict in all its forms, ranging from terrorism, civil conflict and wars.

Four main findings were reached at this seminar: a) the terms "terrorism", "civil conflict", "war", and "genocide" are politically charged and are often misleading. It is imperative that undergoing research, especially the research of important current social problems, avoids misusing the terms; b) in today's times, there is a significant decline in the number of conventional inter-state wars but conversely there is a transfer of the locus of political violence into the domestic arena in the form of civil conflicts; c) the research of political violence necessitates both an interdisciplinary method and a full-fledged understanding of the logic of collective action at all levels, of individual and social action but also action at the level of groups, state, and international system; and d) traditional research approaches to the study of conflict, including research on the Greek civil war, are obsolete and have reached a deadlock, which can only be overcome by research that is both systematic and that takes a comparative perspective.

The second seminar, entitled "International Journalism, Communications, and the Media" and coordinated by Duke professor Ellen Mickiewicz, examined the relationship between mass media and democracy, focusing in particular on Eastern Europe after 1989. The basic conclusions of this seminar included: a) after 1989, in Eastern Europe the free press has developed under an environment dominated by oligopolistic groups and by media anarchy; b) the broadcast media of the post-communist states of the region fall short from the British prototype, despite occasional political efforts in this direction.

Summer program director professor Dimitris Keridis stated that the goal of the seminars is the in-depth study of contemporary issues of public interest from an interdisciplinary and comparative perspective in the inspiring setting of ancient Olympia, a symbolic reminder of the ideals of peace and cooperation.

More than 60 students, researchers and journalists from 25 countries ranging from China to Colombia, completed the seminars, which in addition to a curricular program included local excursions to archaeological sites and museums.