



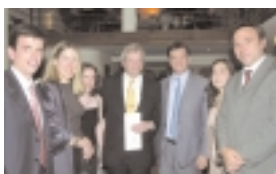
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VISIONS

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Gregory Nagy calls for the universality of Classical Hellenism

The Athens Forum 2003



Greek Minister of Education Petros Efthimiou with Gregory Nagy and members of the Kokkalis Foundation.



Gregory Nagy probed Homeric literature and the Homeric legacy in today's world.



An overview of the audience at the Hellenic-American Union.

The Athens Forum is the highest-profile annual initiative of the Kokkalis Foundation, which marks the conclusion of the Foundation's yearly Events & Outreach program and takes place in Greece or in another country of Southeast and East-Central Europe. The forum has included lectures by prominent researchers and policy makers, including: Dr. Joseph Nye, Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, on the aspects and consequences of globalization; Dr. Samuel Huntington, Albert J. Weatherhead III Professor of International Relations at Harvard University, on terrorism, religion, and globalization; The Honorable Morton Abramowitz, former U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, on Southeastern European Challenges to Stability.

"In today's times of globalization and alienation, the Homeric hero's message of courage, responsibility, and personal freedom is especially pertinent and opportune," stressed BOD member of the Kokkalis Foundation Petros Kokkalis, in his welcome to the distinguished and world-renowned Professor Gregory Nagy.

Gregory Nagy, Francis Jones Professor of Classical Greek Literature and Professor of Comparative Literature at Harvard University and Director of the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington DC, was the invited guest lecturer at the Athens Forum, organized for the fourth consecutive year by the Kokkalis Foundation on June 18th, 2003

at the Hellenic-American Union. Professor Nagy will also be the coordinator of the 2003 Harvard Summer School in Olympia. Introducing Nagy's extensive and highly awarded work to the audience, Greek Minister of Education Petros Efthimiou underlined his invaluable contribution for the research and the international dissemination of ancient and contemporary Greek culture. Minister Efthimiou paid tribute to the scholar for his complex approach and less-traveled paths to the study of Classical literature, which demonstrate the originality of his thought, and applauded the classical philologist's love for, and involvement with Greece, its literature, and its culture, which, the minister added, honors us all.

Professor Nagy probed Homeric literature and the Homeric legacy in today's world. The highest authority on Hellenism and Classics, Nagy argued for a unified understanding of classical Hellenism, evoking the universality and endurance of Hellenic culture and civilization. He concluded by commending the Kokkalis Foundation for the uniqueness and excellence of its work and mission.

Nagy's aura and the magic of his words enthralled an audience of academics, researchers, diplomats, representatives of the archaeological schools, museums, the media, and other cultural institutions.

For the audio of Professor Gregory Nagy's lecture and his full biography, please visit <http://www.kokkalisfoundation.gr/news>.

Olympia sets the stage for The Idea of Europe

The 2003 Harvard Summer School



Olympia, Greece

The 2003 Harvard Olympia Summer School is a four-week intensive course in comparative cultural studies conducted by Harvard Professors Marc Shell and Gregory Nagy and a group of distinguished junior faculty. The program brings together scholars and students from all over the world, offering an interdisciplinary, open-minded, and rigorous approach to cultural exchange.

This Summer, the Harvard program is organized around the wider theme of "The Idea of Europe", and will undertake literary, historical, and philosophical investigations into topics such as: Theories of Monetary, Linguistic, and Cultural Exchange; Greek Tragedy; The Idea of the City; Colonial Encounters across the Mediterranean; Cultures of Friendship; Comparative Approaches to Modern Poetry; Travel and Imagining.

The program's cross-cultural focus is reflected in the diversity of its faculty and students. Last year's session gathered scholars from, among other countries, the United States, England, France, and Greece, and students from institutions as far-ranging as Harvard, the American University of Bulgaria, Columbia, Oxford, Berkeley, and Koç University in Turkey.

Seminars delve into topics that make up a diverse and demanding curriculum, and are complemented by guest lectures by distinguished faculty from European and American universities, and by other educational and recreational activities.

The Harvard Summer School in Olympia is a joint initiative of the University of Patras, the Kokkalis Foundation, Harvard University, the municipality of Olympia, and the Interscientific and Intercultural Center of Olympia.

For more information, Harvard Summer School in Olympia visit the Program's website at <http://www.summer.harvard.edu> or call 617-4964000 at Harvard.

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| Inside | Politics and culture in Southeastern Europe: Balkan studies seminars in Olympia | S. Hoffmann on the end of American invulnerability | The new 2003 Kokkalis fellows | "The Greek paradox has become a Greek miracle"- E. Venizelos | New Approaches to Balkan Studies A new publication of the Kokkalis Foundation |
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The end of American invulnerability and the future of US foreign policy

Self-determination, regime change, and Bush's war doctrine



"The reason I oppose the war on Iraq is simply that no one country can say that another country is evil and then remove it."- Stanley Hoffmann



Kokkalis Foundation BOD member Eleni Kokkali and Stanley Hoffmann.



Professor Hoffmann's lecture was attended by academia, media, and business representatives.

Profiles and Issues is a regular lecture series that runs throughout the year on a monthly basis with the purpose of sustaining a community of interest in, and debate of, public policy issues of public interest. Invited international speakers include public officials, policy activists, and representatives from academia, media, private, and NGO sectors, of interest to the Southeast and East-Central European region.

"The reason I oppose the war on Iraq is simply that no one country can say that another country is evil and then remove it. In the case of Iraq, there was no international consensus on regime change," argued Stanley Hoffmann in a Profiles and Issues Series discussion, organized by the Kokkalis Foundation in Athens on May 7th, 2003. Stanley Hoffmann is the Paul and Catherine Buttenwieser University Professor at Harvard University and the founding chairman of Harvard's Center for European Studies. Even if for humanitarian reasons unilateral interventions, Hoffmann stated, are a dangerous license, one that can be used by the Russians in Georgia or the Indians in Pakistan. Such a precedent must not be created without the consensus of an all-encompassing, voluntary union of democratic states including the EU and NATO member states, India, South Africa and democratic Latin America, which would complement the US's global role.

Having lived under German occupation during the War years and gone through the Korean and the Vietnam wars, Prof. Hoffmann saw the war in Iraq as unnecessary and unfair. Even though Hoffmann supported NATO's intervention in Kosovo, where he argued there was a substitute for legitimization, he found that in the case of Iraq there was no consensus and thus no legitimacy. The war in Iraq is not explained alone by the ideological hegemony of neo-conservatives, Hoffmann argued. The 9/11 attacks and the end of American invulnerability gave the Bush administration a rational and a mission. The terrorist attacks provided on the one hand the motive for a foreign policy turn sought by a small group of advisors of the first Bush administration since the Gulf War, and on the other hand they gave the current administration a political program.

Referring to American society, Hoffmann stressed that the American people are not an imperial people, as history has indicated in Vietnam and the Middle East. For Hoffmann, popular consent for war on Iraq was manufactured through the collusion of government and media in associating every political situation or crisis with terrorism. The US media, the last possible source of dissent, muted itself with patriotism, team play, and the passion for being unanimous in a time of crisis. This strategy was further made possible, Hoffmann added, by the Democratic

Party's inability or unwillingness to credibly oppose Bush's war doctrine, and by the American public, who is either disengaged or gullible.

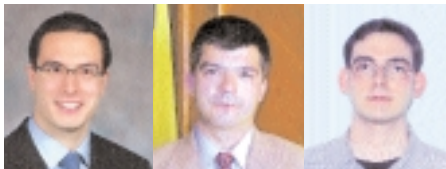
Even though Prof. Hoffmann considered the fate of the Middle East peace process to be key for the future of US foreign policy, he argued that in the US the question of the Middle East is considered an iconoclastic one and a taboo. Although he regarded Bush policy in the Middle East as a major enigma, he thought that an element of hope lies in the quadrilateral cooperation among the United States, the United Nations, the European Union and Russia.

For Hoffmann, the Bush's administration contrived connection between WMD and terrorists is gimmick of almost unlimited durability, and the US will continue to ignore international institutions to the extent these will not serve its own interest. A change of the current US foreign policy is not likely until the end of the Bush administration or until the American public realizes they have embarked on a project of world domination, he added.

Stanley Hoffmann concluded by emphasizing the importance of the networks of communication between Harvard and SE European statesmen and public leaders, which have been continuously supported by the Kokkalis Foundation since its inception.

For the audio of Professor Hoffmann's lecture please visit <http://www.kokkalisfoundation.gr>.

The new 2003-2004 Kokkalis Fellowship Program awardees



The new 2003 fellows: Esen Caglar, Ovidiu Dranga and Milen Marinov.

The Kokkalis Fellowship Program enables individuals with outstanding intellectual promise from Southeastern and East-Central Europe to pursue graduate studies in public policy, public administration, and international development at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Eligible are natives of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Turkey and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

After careful evaluation of about 100 applications from 11 Southeastern and East-central European countries, three candidates from Bulgaria, 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 Esen

Caglar, Ovidiu Dranga, and Milen Marinov.

Esen Caglar graduated from Princeton University with a BA (cum laude) in Politics and with certificates in Political Economy and Near Eastern Studies. For the past two years, Caglar has been working as a part-time analyst/report writer for the GOSB Industrial Zone and Technopark, one of Turkey's first technology development zones. He also undertook internships at CNN Turk as a junior producer, and at Koc Holding as a strategic planning analyst. Caglar will enroll in the two-year Master in Public Administration and International Development program.

Ovidiu Dranga is a native of Romania who will enroll in the one year Mason/ Mid-Career Master in Public Administration Program. Dranga received a BS in Engineering at the Polytechnic Institute in Bucharest in 1990 and a MA in International Affairs from the Romanian Institute for International Relations in 1993. Since March 2001 he has been working as Deputy Secretary for Euro-Atlantic Integration and Defense Policy, Ministry of National Defense of Romania. Prior to this position, Dranga served for ten years in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he started his diplomatic career as an Attaché in

1991 at the Policy Planning Division. He has edited several publications and contributed various articles and papers in the fields of international relations, regional security affairs and military cooperation and reform.

A native of Bulgaria, Milen Marinov will enroll in the two-year Master in Public Policy program. Marinov graduated with a Master and Bachelor of Business and Management Information Systems with a Minor in Finance from the Marriott School of Business, Brigham Young University. Since August 2001, he has been working as a management consultant at Deloitte & Touche's Boston-based offices.

In addition to the new fellows, Meltem Aran is a continuing fellow during 2003-2004 while four Kokkalis fellows have graduated this summer from the Kennedy School of Government: Yonita Grigorova from Bulgaria (MPA/ID), Vuk Jeremic from FRY-Serbia & Montenegro (MPA/ID), Lucia Padure from Moldova (MC/MPA), and Tolga Sobaci from Turkey (MPA/ID). Grigorova, Padure, and Sobaci will be returning to their countries to work in the public sector and Jeremic will assume the position of advisor to the Minister of Defense in his country.

The EU and the US must search for common ground in order to face future security challenges

Greek Minister of Defense Yannis Papantoniou visits Harvard



For Yannis Papantoniou security can only be assured through a combination of multiple elements, including military capability, political cooperation and common policies.

On the occasion of Greece's presidency of the EU and upon invitation of the Kokkalis Program, H.E. Yannis Papantoniou, Minister of National Defense of Greece, delivered a lunch address at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, on April 4th, 2003. The Minister received a warm reception from Harvard faculty, students and guests, who engaged him in a substantive dialogue on contemporary international security issues. Minister Papantoniou was accompanied by a high-level delegation from the Ministry of Defense, which included Secretary-General Spyridon Travlos and Deputy-Director General Demetrios Nezeritis.

Minister Papantoniou's highly attended lunch address, entitled "European Perspectives on the New Transatlantic Security Environment", focused on the relations between the European Union and United States in the climate of the Iraqi crisis. Criticizing the resort to unilateralism to address crises in the international arena, Minister Papantoniou argued that security "can only be assured through a combination of multiple elements, including military capability, political

cooperation and common policies in order to face any possible dangers." He stressed the need for UN involvement in the post-war reconstruction and development of Iraq "not only for securing [the UN's] role... but also for securing international support for Iraq's transition to democracy." Minister Papantoniou also addressed developments in EU defense unification efforts and their role in contributing to transatlantic cooperation, noting in particular Greece's achievements in promoting the creation of the European Reaction Force for operational action. He concluded his talk by stressing the need for EU member countries and the US to temper their positions in order to reach common ground for facing the challenges and threats of the future. Minister Papantoniou's dynamism and commitment to contributing to regional and transatlantic cooperation and security served as a source of inspiration to the many students engaged in the study of leadership and public service who were present at the event.

The effort to connect world security with US national security is fueled by the current American project of world domination

Princeton's Richard Falk on the uncertain future of American foreign policy



Richard Falk described post-Cold War US foreign policy as global empire.



Professor Falk and Kokkalis Foundation BOD member Eleni Kokkali. Professor Falk identified four approaches to the organization of the post-Cold War world.

The effort to establish American global sovereignty was the key feature of American foreign policy pursued by the current US administration before 9/11; the strike on the World Trade Center reinforced this doctrine and broadened political legitimacy for its implementation.

Richard Falk, Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice and Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School, was recently in Athens and lectured on the future of American Foreign Policy. The lecture was co-organized by The Kokkalis Foundation and the Princeton Club of Greece, on Thursday, December 5, 2003 at the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens.

The epicenter of the American interests in this century, Falk stated, has been moved from Europe to the Middle East and this is due both to oil interests, and to Islam and Israel. Further, the war in Iraq, the prominent scholar stressed, is not a consequence of the strike on 9/11 nor is it a war against the Al-Qaeda network; it has not been caused by the fear that Iraq will obtain weapons of mass destruction. After all, Falk went on to show, Iraq is a weak country, and a less dangerous one in comparison with the first Gulf War.

The present administration and its advisors support the continuation of Cold War US foreign policy, including the Reagan administration's foreign policy, Falk argued. The dominant role of the United States has been achieved through its great military power and its distance from the countries that could question their hegemonic role. There has been an effort to connect world security with U.S. national security, and this effort is fueled by the creation of a political organization that resembles more global empire than global governance. This empire does not have the traditional capability to exert direct political influence on other countries, but the capability to impose its geopolitical rules in the world, Falk added.

Professor Falk suggested four approaches to depict the organization of the post-Cold War world. The first is based on the ideas of Fukuyama's "end of history" and purports that the post-Cold War world will rely on the principles of liberal democracy and the free market. The idea of the end of history in essence meant that there is no need for conflict between different countries because what counts is economic geopolitics. The second approach is that adopted by George Bush, Sr. who favored and relied on the crucial role of the UN in conflict resolution. George Bush, Jr. has adopted a third approach, based on the belief that the US domination will impose peace in the world. The last approach to world order has emerged as a result of civil society movements during the 1990's and refers to the establishment of a global democracy regime, where governments are legitimized only if they preserve a minimum of human rights, as well as political, economic, and social rights. According to this approach, the international community is to assume responsibility when a country is faced with a big disaster, such as genocide, anarchy, a plague, and where there is the possibility of intervention to face the wrongdoings of any foreign government.

Finally, referring to terrorism and the imperative of its extinction, Professor Falk made a clear distinction between visionary terrorism and violent terrorism, that is due to conflicts like the Israeli-Palestinian one. In the first case there are no negotiation possibilities, because terrorism is a means of conflict between the "forces of the Good" that fight the "forces of the Evil". Cases like this include the Al-Qaeda and the Greek November 17 group. In the second case, where Falk includes the Palestinian issue and Northern Ireland, an end to terrorism might be obtained through negotiations between the opposing parties.

The Erdogan government opens new perspectives for the European future of Turkey

-Ian Lesser



The emergence of the AKP party as a majority political party opens new perspectives for the solution of the Cyprus issue, the rapprochement between Greece and Turkey, and the European future of Turkey.

The Foundation's workshops create global networks of communication that generate cross-cultural understanding, and foster effective governance, conflict resolution, political stability, and peace within the region as well as between the region and its neighbors in Western Europe, the Black Sea and the Middle East. The meetings also serve as the launching pad for the Foundation's research and publication initiatives.

The election of Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan is a positive development for Turkey, not only because it is a step forward towards the resolution of its persistent domestic problems but also because it promises to open a new page in Turkish foreign policy, emphasized the Pacific Council on International Policy Vice-President and Research Director Ian Lesser. Lesser was the guest speaker at a lecture on the future of the Eastern Mediterranean, organized by the Kokkalis Foundation on December 10th, 2002 at the Athens Hellenic-American Union.

The emergence of the AKP party as a majority political party opens new perspectives for the solution of the Cyprus issue, the rapprochement between Greece and Turkey and the European future of Turkey. The Erdogan phenomenon, the American analyst argued, is based on the leader's popularity rather than on religious allegiance. Turkey now has a strong government legitimized by majority vote and thus faces a unique opportunity to address its domestic and external issues. The new government, Lesser stated, favors the European trajectory and will use wisdom in its stance towards the solution of the Cyprus issue. Even if the Cyprus issue is not immediately solved, recent developments signal a change of course in Greek, Turkish, and European Union politics, and have given a new dynamism to the process towards a resolution.

"The Greek paradox has become a Greek miracle"-Evangelos Venizelos

Beyond the Greek Paradox



For Greek Minister of Culture Evangelos Venizelos, the ultimate goal of Athens 2004 must be the creation of a post-Olympic Greek success story.

The three conference panels addressed contemporary security concerns, Greek new politics and economics, and mass media and cultural issues.

The Kokkalis Program is an integrated network of educational and research activities that aims to support the transition to democracy and to market economy underway in the Balkans by serving as a catalyst for the exchange of ideas between senior policy-makers, scholars and students. To date, the Kokkalis Program has sponsored over 100 events including major conferences, leaders' forums, lectures by academicians and scholars, and cultural festivals.

The Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe, Harvard University, the Cambridge Foundation for Peace, and the Press Office of the Consulate General of Greece in Boston, were the co-organizers of a major international conference, entitled "Beyond the Greek Paradox: Greece in the Era of Globalization", held at Harvard University on December 7, 2002.

The point of departure for "Beyond the Greek Paradox" was the 1995 conference "The Greek Paradox," which explored Greece's promise versus performance in the economic, political, and security spheres. Seven years later, as Greece has cemented its position in the EMU, has emerged as a key regional security broker, has assumed the EU presidency, and is preparing to host the Olympic Games of 2004, a reconsidera-

tion of the nature and extent of the gap between Greece's potential and performance was appropriate. The aim of the "Beyond the Greek Paradox" symposium was to analyze those competencies where Greece's performance has improved, and also probe areas of continuing, or new, underperformance.

Greek Minister of Culture Evangelos Venizelos was the keynote speaker at the conference. In his address, entitled "Hellenism and the West on the Eve of the XXI Century", the minister referred to the many changes Greece has undergone since 1995, emphasizing that the country has made tremendous progress in all fronts. The Greek paradox, the Minister stressed, "has become a Greek miracle", as shown by institutional modernization through the recent constitutional reform, by Greek-Turkish rapprochement, and by the new geopolitical importance of Greece, in particular in light of the upcoming European Union enlargement. The Minister of Culture further underscored the importance of the organization of the 2004 Olympic Games by Greece stating that the ultimate goal of Athens 2004 must be the creation of a post-Olympic Greek success story.

The three conference panels addressed contemporary security concerns, Greek new politics and eco-

nomics, and mass media and cultural issues. The panels were chaired by Cambridge Foundation for Peace Executive Director and Boston University Assistant Professor of International Relations Elizabeth Prodromou, Kokkalis Foundation Director and University of Macedonia Assistant Professor of International Politics Dimitris Keridis, and KSG's Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy fellow Richard Parker, respectively.

London School of Economics and Political Science Spyros Economides, University of Athens Kostas Yfantis, former Director of MIT's Program in Science and Technology for International Security Kostas Tsipis, The Brookings Institution Senior Fellow Barry Bosworth, University of Thessaloniki Takis Pappas, The Monitor Company Consultant Miranda Xafa, NATO's press officer Ino Afentouli, Consul General of Greece in Boston Konstantinos Bikas, Associated Press's Patrick Quinn, journalist and author Misha Glenny, and LSE's Eleftherios Venizelos Professor Kevin Featherstone, were among the speakers at the event, which was sponsored by the Greek Ministry of Press and Mass Media.

For the full conference program and biographies of the speakers please visit <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GrkParadox>.



For Eran Lerman, the damages caused by the persistence of the S. Hussein's regime in Iraq far outweigh the risks associated with political change in the region.

The Iraqi crisis and the new Middle East

A discussion with Eran Lerman

The 9/11 terrorist strike was "a new Pearl Harbor" for the Americans. It marked the beginning of a new World War against terrorism. The war on Iraq was not launched for the oil, it does not constitute a Jewish conspiracy and it is not waged against the Arabs. The war is fought for the abolishment of the repressive totalitarian regime of Saddam Hussein and for the citizens of Iraq.

These were the arguments set forth by Dr. Eran Lerman, Director of the Israel and Middle East Office of the American-Jewish Committee, in the discussion organized by the Kokkalis Foundation on Wednesday, March 5, 2003, at the Hellenic-American Union. The major topics addressed were the Iraqi crisis, the Palestinian issue and the perspectives of the New Middle East.

Developing his analysis, Lerman claimed that the war aims at the establishment of long-term political stability in the Middle East. The damages caused by a short-term coercive stability and the persistence of the current regime in Iraq far outweigh the risks associated with political change in the region, the scholar added. The continuation of the instability caused by the tolerance toward totalitarian regimes, Lerman concluded, will deprive the people of the region from the benefits that the new globalized environment of economic development and cooperation can offer them.

The Kokkalis Program brings a new generation of scholars on Southeastern Europe to Harvard

The 2003 Graduate Student Workshop on Southeastern Europe



The 2003 Graduate Student Workshop on Southeastern Europe participants with the staff of the Kokkalis Program at Harvard.

The Kokkalis Program, in collaboration with the Southeast European Study Group of Harvard's Center for European Studies launched in 1999 the annual Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop on Southeastern Europe. The goal of the annual Graduate Student Workshop is to bring together the world's most promising scholars, from all fields of social sciences, to share original research on issues relative to the region. It is an exciting opportunity for students, faculty and others interested in the region to meet and exchange views on issues such as foreign policy, security, civil society, human rights, media, crime and corruption, economic reform, public administration and policy, as well as an opportunity to interact with Harvard University's community. Ensuing the Workshop, the Kokkalis Program publishes a selection of the proceedings in its Working Papers Series.

Building on the success of the past four years, the Kokkalis Program held its 5th annual Graduate Student Workshop on February 7th, 2003 at Harvard University's Center for European Studies. The workshop brought to Harvard 12 of

the most promising young scholars from leading North American and European universities who are undertaking doctoral degrees on topics related to Southeastern Europe. Dr. Larry Wolff, Professor of History at Boston College and renowned scholar on Southeastern Europe, delivered the keynote address "The Drama of Identity in Southeastern Europe" at the workshop's concluding dinner.

This year's workshop participants, currently affiliated with prestigious institutions, such as Oxford University, McGill University, the University of London, Bilkent University, and the University of Wisconsin, were selected from a pool of nearly 100 applications. Their presentations focused on three main themes: development and sustainability; urban culture and society; and the challenges of democratic consolidation in Southeastern Europe. The meeting sparked lively debate in the auditorium crowded by Harvard and other university faculty and students who attended the proceedings. The three conference panels were chaired by: Emmanuel Stefanakis, International Consultant for Sustainable Development; Prof. Ellen Elias-Bursac, Preceptor for the Croatian and Serbian Language, Harvard Slavic Department; and Dr. Larry Wolff, History Department, Boston College and Co-chair, Southeastern Europe Study Group, Center for European Studies, Harvard University. The following research papers were presented:

- From Central Planning to Market-Based Economies: A Comparative Study of Sustainability in Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania
Sara Tucker, Old Dominion University
- The Environment: Policy and Sustainability
The case of Albania
Duresa Cetaku, Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique & Ecole Nationale du Genie Rural des Eaux et des Forets

- Bridging the Gap: Modernity versus Post-Modernity. Which Water Management Paradigm?
Anthi Dionissia Brouma, University of London
- Creating the Turk's Homeland: How Ancient Edessa Became the Turkish and Muslim Sanlurfa
Kerem Oktem, Oxford University
- 'Other Cities' in Focus: Urban Transformations and Regeneration Policies
Enkeleida Tahiraj, University of York
- Belgrade vs. Serbia: Belonging to the City or the Nation State
Zala Volcic, University of Colorado at Boulder
- Legitimizing Power in Capital Cities: Bucharest - Continuity Through Radical Change?
Cristina Bucica, Laval University
- Obstacles to Democratic Consolidation in Post-Communist Romania After 1989
Monica Ciobanu, New School for Social Research
- Disillusionment with Democracy: Notes from the Field in Moldova
Elizabeth Anderson, New York University
- Consolidating the Post-Communist Party Systems: Political Parties in Bulgaria in a Comparative Perspective
Maria Spirova, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
- Joint Custody? Towards a Political Accommodation of Turkey's Parents (Ataturk and Religion)
Spyridon Kotsovilis, McGill University
- Democratization and Foreign Policy: Challenges of Turkey's Accession Process With the European Union
Hizir Oguzlu, Bilkent University

For a complete list of the participants, and the text of the papers presented, please visit the Kokkalis Program's website at http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/workshop_call.

The elections in Israel, the Palestinian issue, and developments in Iraq

Efraim Inbar speaks in Athens

Enduring regional stability cannot be obtained without the demise of Saddam Hussein, stressed Bar-Ilan University Professor and Israel's Sadat-Begin Center for Strategic Studies Director Efraim Inbar. Professor Inbar's lecture, entitled "The Elections in Israel, the Palestinian Issue, and the Developments in Iraq", was co-organized by the Kokkalis Foundation and ELIAMEP-Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy on January 23rd, 2003, in Athens. The lecture and the discussion that followed focused on the war on Iraq and its consequences for regional stability. The discussion was attended by diplomats as well as by several members of the Athens academia, policy analysts, and media representatives.

"We must find a solution mainly by finding our place in Europe, not by seeking historical rights or national interests."-Zoran Djindjic

The Kokkalis Foundation Honors the Memory of the Serbian Leader



The late Zoran Djindjic was an inspired leader who believed in public service, democracy and freedom.

The killing of Zoran Djindjic must not upset the region's fragile peace. The Kokkalis Foundation expresses its sympathy and dismay for the assassination of Prime Minister Djindjic, gunned down outside the main government building in Belgrade on March 12th, 2003. The Foundation presented an especially prepared footage on the life and work of the Serbian leader at the "The Economist"'s annual government roundtable on SE Europe in Athens, while the Kokkalis Program at Harvard hosted several members of the Serbian government for a public discussion on Serbian Economic Stability in the Post-Djindjic Era, in memory of the late Prime Minister.

Zoran Djindjic was a dynamic and soft-spoken liberal reformer whose achievements were many. He played a key role in the downfall of Slobodan Milosevic, now on trial for genocide after Djindjic

and his cabinet had him arrested and sent to the Balkan war-crimes tribunal in The Hague in June 2001. He was responsible for the constitutional deal that ended the unwieldy dual structure of the old Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. He further passed several public administration reforms, including those aiming to control the army and the reform of the police and security services. A pragmatic, reform-minded leader, he inveighed against organized crime and corruption and attracted foreign aid and investment, lending credibility to his country's development efforts.

In the words of the late Zoran Djindjic, "those who think that by removing me they will put Serbia back into chaos are naïve", stated Serbian Minister of Finance Bozidar Djelic at the Kokkalis Program at Harvard's event on April 15th, 2003. Aleksandar Vlahovic, Minister of Privatization and Economy, Goran Pitic, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Kori Udovicki, Minister of Energy joined Minister Djelic at Harvard. The Serbian government will prevail and combat the issues of organized crime, a stalling economy and a refugee crisis that have plagued the nation for years, the delegation stated. Furthermore, the progressive motion set by Prime Minister Djindjic will be realized and perpetuated by his administration.

The delegation was unanimous in that the vigilance against organized crime, economic privatization and investment in human capital are the

key elements of Serbia's resurgence and accession into the European Union, while Minister Udovicki stressed that "our strength is in the youth," because in order to accomplish the goals of a stable and prosperous Serbia "we must prepare our young scholars and invest in their education". The vigilant fight against the Serbian underworld with the implementation of repeat offender laws, stricter license procurement and municipal anti-corruption squads are a few of many new measures that have proven effective, as shown by the increase of criminal arrests and overall reduction of the crime rate, stated Minister Djelic. Minister Pitic added that these new reforms and dedication to completing what Prime Minister Djindjic began will "open a new page in Serbian history".

Zoran Djindjic was an inspired leader who believed in public service, democracy and freedom and whose overriding aim was getting all of the Balkans one day into the EU. In his words, "we must find a solution mainly by finding our place in Europe, not by seeking historical rights or national interests". Now is the moment for the international community and the European Union to offer support for continued democratic reforms in this troubled country and to show its people their place in Europe.

For further information on the life and work of Zoran Djindjic please visit http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/leaders_djindjic.

Advancing public leadership in Southeastern Europe

The 2003 Leaders Forum

Within the framework of the Kennedy School's emphasis on leadership, The Kokkalis Program invites leaders and policy-makers from Southeastern and East-Central Europe to present their views on various issues of importance to the region. The following are the names of the leaders and their lectures at Harvard upon invitation of the Kokkalis Program, during the Spring 2003 semester:

- NATO Enlargement - What Brings New Members to the Table?
H.E. Sorin Ducaru, Ambassador of Romania to the United States
(Co-Sponsored with the Center for Public Leadership and European Caucus)
- UNDP's Perspective of Development and Integration Challenges
Kalman Mizsei, Regional Director of Europe and CIS, UN Development Program, and Richard Morningstar (moderator)

(Co-Sponsored with the Center for International Development, Caspian Studies Program)

- Serbia: Economic Stabilization in the post-Djindjic Era
H.E. Kori Udovicki, Minister of Energy and Mining
H.E. Bozidar Djelic, Minister of Finance and Economy
H.E. Goran Pitic, Minister of International Economic Relations
H.E. Aleksandar Vlahovic, Minister of Privatization
- A Diplomat's View of Iraq: Historical and Social Aspects
H.E. Konstantin Bikas, Consul General of Greece in Boston, Former Head of Mission at the Greek Embassy in Baghdad
- Tirana City Hall: Between Art and Politics
The Honorable Edi Rama, Mayor of Tirana, Albania



Edi Rama, Mayor of Tirana, Albania.



The delegation of the Serbian government discussed economic stabilization in the post-Djindjic's era.

- European Enlargement from a Central European Perspective
H.E. Martin Butora, Ambassador of Slovakia to the United States
H.E. Przemyslaw Grudzinski, Ambassador of Poland to the United States
H.E. Martin Palous, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to the United States
H.E. Andras Simonyi, Ambassador of Hungary to the United States
James Cooney, Director, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University (moderator)
(Co-Sponsored with the European Caucus at KSG, the Minda de Ginzburg Center for European Studies, the Institute of Politics, and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs).

For up-to-date information on the Leaders Forum, including past or scheduled speakers, please visit <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/leaders>.

Politics and culture in Southeastern Europe

The new Balkan studies seminars in Olympia



Within the framework of its efforts towards the advancement of education, the Balkan Studies Seminars is a new initiative of the Kokkalis Foundation, in collaboration with the University of Patras, the University of Macedonia, and the Interscientific and Intercultural Center of Olympia.

At the birthplace of the Olympic Games, Olympia is a historical and symbolic reminder of the ideals of peace and international cooperation. Inspired by the classical legacy, the aim of the Balkan Studies Seminars is to study the modern world and to promote cross-cultural understanding through historical and philosophical investigations of European and Mediterranean cultures.

The 2003 Balkan Studies Seminars are composed of two parallel programs. The first is political in content and is entitled "Southeastern Europe and the Great Ideologies" whereas the second has a cultural focus and is entitled "Contemporary Ethnomusicological and Anthropological Issues in Perspective: Ethnographic Reflexivity and the Study of Music Cultures in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Region".

The Southeastern Europe and the Great Ideologies program seeks to evaluate the democratization trajectories of Southeast European nations and the prospects of democracy in the region today, and to promote cross-cultural understanding of historic and contemporary political problems. The program's objective is to establish a permanent regional network and a forum for the discussion of policy reform priorities and regional development challenges, and for the promotion of peace and prosperity in view of the region's Euro-Atlantic integration.

In particular, it examines the birth, growth and interplay of great ideologies in Southeastern Europe in the modern era. It reviews the arrival of great historical

narratives in Ottoman Southeastern Europe from Western and Central Europe in the aftermath of the French Revolution, seeking to identify and analyze the causes of their rise, and to explain their strength or weakness. The program focuses on the perseverance of nationalism as the dominant ideological tradition of the region and the ways other ideologies have attempted to appropriate it.

The program is inter-disciplinary combining the study of the politics, society, and history of Southeastern Europe. This year's topics include: the role of ideologies in politics; Enlightenment, the French Revolution and Southeastern Europe; the failure of Liberalism?; Socialism in Southeastern Europe; and Modernity and Modernization in Southeastern Europe-The case of Kemalist Turkey. The following distinguished faculty from Europe and the United States will conduct this year's program: Stathis Kalyvas, University of Chicago; Halil Berkay, Sabanci University; Paschalis Kitromilidis, University of Athens; and Ahmet Evin, Sabanci University. The program will be coordinated by Larry Wolff, Professor of History at Boston College. The Contemporary Ethnomusicological and Anthropological Issues in Perspective: Ethnographic Reflexivity and the Study of Music Cultures in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean Region program is an advanced seminar in which salient issues of contemporary ethnomusicology and cultural anthropology are examined in reflexive and dialogical perspective. The ethnographic focus is on the music cultures of the Balkan peninsula and the circum-Eastern Mediterranean area. The seminar should not be considered as an area studies activity, but rather as an experiment in dialogue and reflexivity, based on the juxtaposition of ethnomusicological and anthropological, theory and ethnography.

This program is taught by distinguished scholars and academics, with a theoretical and ethnographic expertise in the topic of the seminar as well as a mixed educational and cultural background, including Donna Buchanan (Bulgaria, Balkans, music and symbol, aesthetics, power, cosmology, identity), Svanibor Pettan (Croatia, Kosovo, Slovenia, Gypsies, minorities, nationalism, multiculturalism), Sonia Seeman (Turkey, Balkans, Near East and Mediterranean, Roma groups, ethnicity and identity, performance studies, ritual, gender, politics of recording, globalism, minorities), Daphne Tragaki (Greece, Balkans, Eastern Mediterranean, contemporary Greek music, musical ethnography, urban music culture) and Pavlos Kavouras (Greece, Balkans, Eastern Mediterranean, phenomenological hermeneutics, musical performance and performative ethnography, ethnographic biography, dialogical folk singing in Greece).

For information about the Balkan Studies Seminars please visit <http://www.kokkalisfoundation.gr>.

New Approaches to Balkan Studies A new publication of the Kokkalis Foundation



New Approaches to Balkan Studies is the latest publication of the Kokkalis Foundation.

The Kokkalis Foundation promotes research in a broad range of issues concerning the politics, economy, history, demography and culture of the Southeastern and East-Central region. Since its inception in 1997, the Foundation has completed and published several major research studies and has launched a successful series of research projects. These provide the intellectual backbone of the Kokkalis Foundation's mission to advance knowledge and generate new thinking on Southeastern and East-Central Europe.

The new volume, entitled "New Approaches to Balkan Studies", addresses commonly held perceptions that have been distorting Southeastern Europe's image within the region and in the West, explores issues of democracy and nationalism in Southeastern Europe, and finally focuses on current political practices and their direct and indirect influence on Balkan societies or specific groups within them. The volume includes thirteen research papers selected after careful evaluation from the pool of papers presented over three sessions of the Graduate Student Workshop, from 1999 to 2001. These papers cover a broad range of topics and cross many academic disciplines and historical periods, taking an innovative approach to their subject and following less-traveled paths to the study of the region.

When studying the Balkan region, it is easy to get trapped into a web where facts and myths, history and stories, the past and the present all intertwine. Untangling this web without falling into the traps of stereotyping, exceptionalizing, fingerpointing, and dramatizing provides the ultimate motive underlying this new initiative. The new piece attempts to cover a series of themes concerning Southeastern European area-studies and the state of the discipline.

The publication is a Kokkalis Foundation-Institute of Foreign Policy Analysis Southeastern European Policy Series. For a full list of publications of the Kokkalis Foundation and research abstracts please visit <http://www.kokkalisfoundation.gr>.