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VISIONS

THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION

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5 years
mission of
promoting a peaceful
democratic &
prosperous
Southeastern Europe

5 Years of Renewal
RETHINKING SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Balkan Studies Seminars

OLYMPIA 2004

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ACCESSION TO EU AND NATO CAN PROVIDE
NEW STIMULI FOR TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

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NEW AND FORTHCOMING INITIATIVES



The Kokkalis family



Petros Kokkalis
as a young man



A prominent neurosurgeon, Dr. Petros Kokkalis
was a pioneer in medical research



Dr. Petros Kokkalis, 1961

5 Years of Renewal

RETHINKING SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

It has been 5 years since we at the Kokkalis Foundation started working in support of international cooperation, informed public policy dialogue, and a reformist agenda in order to encourage the Balkan's deeper integration into the European landscape. In honor of the multi-faceted Kokkalis family tradition, we have been engaged in both public policy and social philanthropic welfare, allocating resources to education as well as furthering the use of new technologies, medicine, and the humanitarian potential of sports. Thus, the Foundation has emerged as the embodiment of a new, confident, and assertive Greece that plays a constructive role in its region from the Danube to the Levant.

In celebrating these 5 fascinating years, our thoughts turn to our friends and associates around the world, who together form a vibrant, dynamic, and progressive community that appreciates the need to endow the new generation with the skills and qualities necessary to fulfill its great potential and to bring development and peace to SE Europe. Innovative, flexible, dedicated, and international, the Kokkalis Foundation has built solid partnerships with venerable institutions, universities, policy think tanks, and NGO's that now serve as a bridge between our region and the rest of the world.

The Kokkalis Foundation has launched a series of educational programs that aim toward the creation of human capital and the advancement of knowledge in, and about, the Southeastern and East-Central European region. Our research projects and publications represent the intellectual backbone of this effort. Through these initiatives, the Foundation has emerged as a primary research center for the study of the challenges that confront Southeastern Europe.

Our partnership with Harvard University has been key to our mission. The Kokkalis Program at Harvard already counts over 100 graduates of its fellowship and executive training programs, graduates who have taken up posts in the region as members of parliament, senior officials in ministries of trade, economy, defense, and foreign affairs, as well as leading roles in international organizations and the region's paramount educational institutions. Together, we have generated a dramatic rise in the annual number of Southeast European applicants to the Kennedy School (290% increase over pre-1997 figures), and in the total number of enrolled students from the region, who now account for about 4% of the student body of the School (as compared to less than .5% in the pre-1997 period). We have also supported numerous scholars and professionals in summer internships at central banks and various government ministries in the region, as well as awarded grants for independent projects and dissertation research relative to Southeastern Europe at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, the Kennedy School, and the Nieman Foundation for Journalism.

Since its inception, the Kokkalis Foundation has been at the forefront of a new thinking on social issues and has sparked solutions for public policy challenges by hosting numerous and diverse fora and symposia in Greece, in the broader region, and at Harvard. These initiatives serve to invigorate interest in effective governance and to promote the exchange of ideas among government officials, policy activists, non-governmental organizations, as well as students of public policy. Further, they provide opportunities for the in-depth examination of current regional policy issues such as economic modernization, European integration, the creation and effective utilization of human capital, human rights reform and the rule of law, and security cooperation.

From our support for the democratization of Serbia to our contributions to the Greek-Turkish rapprochement, we are proud of our achievements. Our initiatives have created global networks of communication among those vitally concerned with the region's advancement and have inspired new advocates of the Foundation's mission. With Greece in the lead, Southeastern Europe is determined to leave behind the legacy of oppression, conflict, and underdevelopment. The Kokkalis Foundation will continue to dedicate its resources to further such positive change in the region.

"Balkan countries face enormous hurdles to lasting **stability**. The Kokkalis Program opens doors for individuals **committed** to seeing democracy and market economy **flourish**. The Program taps into the School's **strengths**: the intersection of international affairs, socio-economic analysis and technology policy. I can't think of a **better** fit. We are grateful to Mr. Kokkalis for supporting a new level of **outreach**, research and scholarship in this **important** and vital region."

JOSEPH S. NYE, JR., DEAN
JFK SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT
HARVARD UNIVERSITY



THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION

2004-2005 Call for Applications

FELLOWSHIPS AT THE JFK SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe awards fellowships to enable individuals with outstanding intellectual promise from its region of focus to pursue Master's degrees at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Eligible to apply are natives of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Serbia & 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). Prospective applicants should visit <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/fellowships.html> for forms and details on the full application process.



Call for Papers

THE VIth SOCRATES KOKKALIS ANNUAL GRADUATE STUDENT WORKSHOP



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 sixth annual

Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop on February 5-6, 2004. Doctoral students are invited to submit proposals for papers to be delivered at the workshop.

THEMATIC UNITS:

- Southeastern Europe and the United States
- Religion in Southeastern Europe: Historical and Contemporary
- Post-Communist Transition and the Prospect of EU Membership in Southeastern Europe

For more information please visit

<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/workshop.html>



Balkan Studies Seminars

OLYMPIA 2004

Based on the success of last summer's Balkan Studies Seminars, the Kokkalis Foundation is happy to announce the continuation and expansion of this educational initiative, organized in collaboration with the University of Macedonia, the University of Patras and the Interscientific and Intercultural Center of Olympia. Held in Olympia, Greece, the birthplace of the Olympic Games and a symbolic reminder of the ideals of peace and cooperation, the Balkan Studies Seminars aim to facilitate an interdisciplinary and comparative approach to the study of current and historical developments in Southeastern Europe. The seminars bring together eminent scholars and highly qualified students and professionals from around the world, providing a unique opportunity for critical thinking and intellectual interaction in a relaxed setting.

To be held from July 5-18, the 2004 Balkan Studies Seminars will be composed of five thematic programs:

Politics: 30+15 Years of Democracy in Southern and Eastern Europe.

Organized in collaboration with Yale University's Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence

Migration and Refugee Studies: Current Trends and Policies of Integration.

Organized in collaboration with the Migration Policy Institute, Washington DC

Journalism and Media Studies: Mass Media and the SE European Region.

Organized in collaboration with DeWitt Wallace Center for Communications and Journalism, Duke University

History: Borders and Borderlands.

Organized in collaboration with the European University Institute's Academy of European History

Culture: The Aesthetics and Politics of World Music.

Organized in collaboration with the University of Athens' Department of Music Studies

Eligible to apply are highly qualified students, journalists, and professionals from the private and public sector. Financial aid is available on the basis of merit and need. For more information and applications visit <http://www.kokkalisfoundation.gr>

Up and Running

THE KOKKALIS FOUNDATION NEW WEBSITE

The Kokkalis Foundation is happy to announce the launch of its new website, as of January 1st, 2004. The expansion of the Kokkalis Foundation's education, research, human development, events & outreach, and regional networking initiatives dictated the need to renew the Foundation's site, which in addition to having striking aesthetics, features state-of-the-art multimedia, updated information about the Foundation's activities, regional news, publications and comments on current public policy issues.

Please visit <http://www.kokkalisfoundation.gr>



For Ben Ami piecemeal negotiations should be replaced by a shock therapy approach, for the peace process "is not about making love, it's about making peace"

Small Steps Lead Nowhere

BEN AMI ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

Peace can not and will not be achieved on the basis of mutual trust for "there is no such thing as trust between the possessed and the force of possession," argued Shlomo Ben Ami, former Israeli foreign affairs minister, on September 29, 2003, at a lecture organized by the Kokkalis Foundation at the Hellenic American Union in Athens.

Ben Ami's experience as the leading Israeli negotiator at the talks in Taba has led him to believe that a resolution must be imposed from abroad and should dispose of the "Oslo mistakes." In his lecture, provocatively entitled *The Road Map to Nowhere*, Ben Ami made it clear that the Road Map is the only card on the table at present and that despite its disheartening prospects, all parties involved in the negotiation process should do their best to prevent the complete nullification of this initiative. For the seasoned Israeli negotiator Ben Ami, to reach a solution "we need to learn from the mistakes of the past."

The Oslo Mistakes

Which mistakes now jeopardize the peace process? According to Ben Ami, the the assumption that peace is a result of mutual trust is faulty and represents a major barrier to a long-term solution in the Middle East. Furthermore, in no way is the Palestinian Authority prepared to act against extremist organizations and risk a civil war if it does not possess a "definite view of the final agreement." The Israelis and Palestinians cannot enter a solemn bond alone, as "small steps" taken autonomously lead nowhere and are actually counterproductive to the achievement of a lasting settlement.

Ben Ami's approach to peace

For this reason, Ben Ami contended that the international community, led by the US, must enforce a revised Road Map via an international summit. Decisions taken here should, in turn, be supported through the deployment of a peacekeeping force in the region. Ben Ami emphasized that a viable agreement could have been based on the parameters that President Clinton set in Taba: a Palestinian state encompassing 100% of Gaza and 97% of the West Bank with a safe passage between the two regions, as well as two capitals in Jerusalem based on the principle that "whatever is Jewish becomes Israeli and whatever is Arab becomes Palestinian." For the Bush administration, however, the achievements of the Clinton era symbolize a political anathema and, given the current political climate in the US, hope for a solution will have to wait until the coming American presidential election.

VIDEOCONFERENCE UNITES HARVARD, TURKEY AND BULGARIA

In accordance with the Kokkalis Program's ongoing efforts to build and maintain a network of dynamic professionals within Southeastern Europe and promote their interaction with Harvard University, the Program organized Harvard's first alumni tri-city videoconference between Cambridge (USA), Istanbul and Sofia. Over 60 Harvard Alumni, including KLN members, filled the conference halls in Istanbul and Sofia, and were joined by invited guests from various governmental ministries, academia and the media.

The videoconference featured a keynote address on the challenges and tools of adaptive leadership by Professor Ronald Heifetz, lecturer in Public Policy and co-founder of the Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership. Professor Heifetz's talk, entitled *Leading Through the Dangers of Change*, and the interactive video link discussion that followed truly motivated the participants in Istanbul and Sofia, many of whom are engaged in bringing their country through difficult reforms which, as Professor Heifetz elucidated, are not just technical in nature, but require a change in their society's values, embedded beliefs and behavior.



Ronald Heifetz is co-founder of the Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership

Leading through the Dangers of Change

" I **strongly** appreciate what the Kokkalis Foundation is doing for the promotion of **peace**, stability and a better **understanding** of the peoples in Southeast Europe. The Foundation **serves** indeed as a **bridge** both among the Balkan peoples themselves as well as between the US and Southeast European **communities** of academics, politicians and NGO's."

-IRINA BOKOVA, BULGARIA
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
KOKKALIS EXECUTIVE PROGRAM PARTICIPANT 2000

"As burgeoning **democracies** and market economies redefine Eastern European borders, the Kokkalis Program provides an important network of educational and **research** activities to support these ongoing transitions."

-LAWRENCE H. SUMMERS, PRESIDENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY



EC Commissioner Diamantopoulou with Harvard's welfare state scholar Paul Pierson



Signing the official University Guest Book

The EU and the US Must Further Cooperation in Foreign and Defense Policy

EU COMMISSIONER ANNA DIAMANTOPOULOU VISITS HARVARD

"In Europe we are particularly attracted to, one might even say obsessed with, comparisons with the United States," stated Anna Diamantopoulou, EU Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs, while elaborating on the European Union's model of social, political and economic governance and how it compares to that of the United States. In her visit to Harvard University, which was sponsored by the Kokkalis Program and the Center for European Studies, the commissioner met with Harvard President Lawrence Summers, the Dean of the Kennedy School Joseph Nye, as well as prominent professors and students of law, business government, and public policy. She also signed the official University Guest Book at the Office of the University Marshal.

Addressing an over-capacity crowd, Diamantopoulou contended that in order to achieve a successful and competitive EU and to build a signature model of democratic governance, a mutual relationship of full-fledged cooperation between the EU and the US must be cultivated. Further cooperation between the two is necessary in foreign and defense policy, and in security issues.

Referring to the EU's coming challenges, Diamantopoulou stated that member states' reluctance to fully absorb and integrate EU legislation into the fabric of their own national agendas persists but, she admitted, this reluctance is most often felt in matters of social policy and gender equality. Further, the commissioner noted that the EU's goal for the present decade is to raise the overall EU employment rate to 70% and the number of women in the workforce to more than 60%. According to Diamantopoulou, EU member countries should consider Ireland's example, heavily investing in human capital and R&D to further economic growth.

The forthcoming EU enlargement will bring the EU's population to 480 million, a figure significantly larger than the current population of the United States. Diamantopoulou argued that this growing economy and labor force, together with increased cooperation in global governance with the United States, will facilitate progress toward global democratization.

For the many students engaged in the study of leadership and public service who were present at the event, Commissioner Diamantopoulou's optimism and commitment to strengthening EU-US relations through social and employment policy served as a source of inspiration.

Ambassadors Summit

ACCESSION TO EU AND NATO CAN PROVIDE NEW STIMULI FOR TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

The Kokkalis Program hosted the largest diplomatic summit of ambassadors and consular generals from SE Europe in Harvard's history on October 15, 2003. The summit, attended by faculty, students, and senior university administrators, offered the region's 8 ambassadors to the United States and United Nations and 2 consul generals an academic forum to discuss the political, economic, and security achievements that the countries and region as a whole have made, as well as the challenges that remain.

The summit was opened by Dr. Joseph McCarthy, Director of Degree Programs at the Kennedy School of Government, and focused on transatlantic relations in an era of new global realities as well as on economic development as a catalyst for stability and security in the region. The speakers explored how the enlargement of NATO and the EU maximizes Europe's relevance in the current geopolitical system, and evaluated the potential challenges and benefits of accession for new members and applicant countries, and how the accession process can provide new stimuli for the transatlantic partnership. Further, special mention was made to the limited but increasing regional cooperation on issues of trade, the fight against transnational crime and economic integration.

In his closing remarks, the former US ambassador to Greece Monteaegle Stearns congratulated the countries that have acceded to NATO and the EU and, in developing his views on transatlantic relations, stressed that the current tension between the EU and the US will be short-lived.



SE European diplomats discussed the region's achievements and challenges

Greece in the Global World

NEW STRATEGIC INTERESTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

by Monica P. Carlos

Lesser, Ian, et al. **GREECE'S NEW GEOPOLITICS** Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001.

The importance of the role played by geography in the foreign policy of states has long been an object of interest for political scholars and policy activists. Back in the early XXth century, Rudolf Kjefflen argued that the natural political boundaries of states and access to important resources are vital to the advancement of their interests and largely determine their regional security policy. The insight continues to hold in today's day and age, but for RAND policy analysts Ian Lesser, Stephen Larrabee, Michele Zanini, and Katia Vlachos-Dengler, Greek foreign policy has been fundamentally affected by a vaster set of factors, both international and domestic, than Mr. Kjefflen could have imagined. In *Greece's New Geopolitics*, the authors identify the elements of change in Greece's geopolitical environment and evaluate their effects on Greece and its partners in Europe and across the Atlantic.

The authors suggest that developments in the region, such as territorial conflicts and issues of state sovereignty, combined with the end of southern European and Mediterranean marginalization and membership in the EU, make up Greece's new international environment. In this new environment, marked by economic, informational, technological and cultural globalization, Greece faces new, transregional, foreign policy demands.

Far from making a realist reading of this new international environment and of Greek interests, the volume underscores advantageous opportunity structures for the advancement of Greece's strategic interests and for economic cooperation between Greece and countries in the Balkans, Eurasia, and the Middle East. In the process, the authors offer an intelligent and persuasive analysis of both old and new assumptions about Greek interests in these regions and further a field in transatlantic settings, driving home the argument that the time is ripe for the country to assume a protagonist foreign policy stance.

And what should that active foreign policy role be? First and foremost Greece should deepen its European integration and use it to broker a more coherent European policy for Southeastern Europe. Rather than a victim of globalization, Greece's regional role is that of a vehicle of transmission for the European economic and social model. Greece is an important conduit of international investment and information flows, and in addition to the privileged status determined by geography, it holds 'soft power' assets, such as an agile and internationally oriented private sector, exportable technical expertise, and political credibility, all of which give it comparative advantage in addressing regional problems.

Greece can promote political stability and democratic consolidation in the FYROM, encouraging the integration of the Albanian community there, and can work towards negotiating the future establishment of self-rule in Kosovo with its European partners. As a traditionally good partner with Serbia, Greece can also play an important role in the reconstruction of the Serbian economy and in the reintegration of the country in the broader European market.

Regarding the Greek-Turkish dimension of Balkan security, Greece should reinforce the critical but fragile détente, for which economic recovery and Turkish-EU convergence are essential. The exploration of common interests as well as joint initiatives for the promotion of stability in the Balkans may actually further, the report claims, the rapprochement between the two countries.

In the Middle East, where Greece's stakes are significant but engagement has been limited, Greece can, as the EU member geographically closest to the Arab-Israeli conflict, assume a more dynamic role in the revival of a troubled peace process.

Finally, regarding infrastructure development in the Balkans, Eurasia, and the Middle East, the volume makes a most compelling and enthralling scrutiny of the strategic options available. Greece should seek a high level of involvement in ongoing and future projects in the transportation, telecommunications, and energy sectors - especially oil and gas pipelines and electric power grids. Further, with the progressive liberalization of these sectors and the concomitant decline of the role of states in setting regional infrastructure policy, the Greek private sector and other various non-governmental institutions are bound to become international players in their own right. These infrastructure projects will have positive synergies for the political economy of the region, for political stabilization, and for an increasingly independent European security policy.

The new foreign policy role for Greece is derived not only from the imperatives of a European outlook but also from developments at the level of domestic politics, especially from changing trends in Greek society and culture. The authors' depiction of the modernization of Greek society contains important insights on comparative learning and the prospects of other countries in the region.

In a refreshing tour de force against doomsday interpretations of the effects of globalization, the authors see Greece emerging as an active international actor with greater policy autonomy than theorists focusing on the small, open economies of the European periphery have predicted. The assumptions regarding Greek interests have changed; they are not taken as predetermined by the so-called effects of structure. History may not yet have revealed whether Southern European and Mediterranean societies are net winners or losers in a globalized international environment. Nonetheless, Greece now has plenty of opportunities and the capabilities to meet globalization's challenges.

"The Kokkalis Foundation has been the very **first**, and most successful **worldwide**, initiative aiming to embed the public, social, **economic** and cultural matters of our region into an integrated **network** of educational and research activities in order to support and **generate** interaction and **collaboration** between scholars and public officials from all the countries in the region."

-THEODOROS DIASAKOS, GREECE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT BERKELEY, PHD 2005
MPA/ID 2001

Research & Publications

NEW TITLES

THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SPORTS IN GREECE

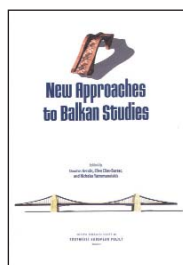


Palaskas, Theodosios &
Charalambos Kolimbalis.
[Οι Οικονομικές Επιπτώσεις
του Αθλητισμού στην Ελλάδα.]

Athens: I. Sideris, 2003.

The goal of the present study is to evaluate the direct and indirect effects of sports as a revenue and expense generator in the Greek economy. The study finds that there is an increase in the importance of athletics and sports activities in Greek society and in the economy. The effect of the increase in sports activities is felt at the level of production and at the level of services, which taken together have had an impact on the nation's employment and on its GDP. Equally important is the indirect contribution of the sports industry to the development of the sectors directly connected to either the consumption of sports goods or to the exercise of sports activities, such as the sportswear industry, the footwear industry, and the tourism industry.

NEW APPROACHES TO BALKAN STUDIES

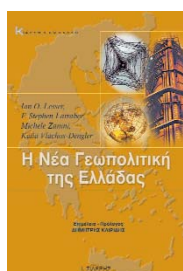


Keridis, Dimitris,
Ellen Elias-Bursac,
& Nicholas Yatromanolakis, Eds.

Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2003.

When studying the Balkan region, it is easy to get trapped in a web where facts and myths, history and stories, and the past and the present all intertwine. Untangling this web without stereotyping and exceptionalizing is the ultimate motive underlying this initiative. The volume addresses commonly held perceptions that have been distorting Southeastern Europe's image within the region and in the West. The themes addressed include: perceptions and identities; democracy, nationalism, and conflict; and political and social practices and outcomes. The essays included in the volume are inter-disciplinary and cover different historical periods, taking an innovative approach to their subject and following less-traveled paths to the study of the region. In doing so, they testify to the vitality of contemporary Balkan studies as a distinct area study by indicating different research directions and disciplinary methodologies.

GREECE'S NEW GEOPOLITICS



Lesser, Ian, et al.
[Η Νέα Γεωπολιτική της
Ελλάδας].
Ed. Dimitris Keridis.

Athens: I. Sideris, 2003.

This volume is a translation of the English *Greece's New Geopolitics*, a research study by the RAND Corporation undertaken with the support of the Kokkalis Foundation. The research identifies the major elements of change in Greece's geopolitical environment and evaluates their effects on Greece's foreign policy. Developments in the region, such as territorial conflicts and issues of state sovereignty, combined with the end of southern European and Mediterranean marginalization and membership in the EU, make up Greece's new international environment. In this new environment, marked by economic, informational, technological and cultural globalization, the authors argue that Greece is emerging as an active and a protagonist foreign policy player, and underscore advantageous opportunity structures for the advancement of Greece's strategic interests and for economic cooperation between Greece and the countries in the region.

"The Kokkalis Foundation **builds**
unique bridges in Southeastern Europe
by promoting **excellence** and by
connecting excellence across the
region. I am happy to be both a pillar
of a Kokkalis bridge and a traveler
across many others."

-ANA S. TRBOVICH, SERBIA & MONTENEGRO
ASSISTANT MINISTER AND HEAD OF DEPARTMENT FOR
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, MINISTRY OF INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC RELATIONS, MPA 2001

FORTHCOMING INITIATIVES

THE FUTURE OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

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

DEFENSE REFORM, MODERNIZATION AND MILITARY COOPERATION

Perry, Charles and Dimitris Keridis, Eds.
Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2003 in print.

BULGARIA IN EUROPE.

Keridis, Dimitris and Monica P. Carlos, Eds.
Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2004 forthcoming.

THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIAL POLICY REFORM IN THE XXITH CENTURY

Towards Integrated Systems of Social Protection
Carlos, Monica P., Ed.
Dulles, VA: Brassey's, 2004 forthcoming.

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, <http://www.isideris.gr>

"A new **global** governance must be created in order to address the most difficult problems of our era - poverty and the development gap among nations."

-MIRCEA GEOANA, FOREIGN MINISTER OF ROMANIA
LEADERS FORUM, 2002

"Economic development, the availability and sufficiency of energy and water resources, and the uneven distribution of **wealth** will be the main driving sources of political change in the next decades."

-SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
ATHENS FORUM, 2002

"Greek-Turkish rapprochement is essential for the **stability** of the entire Balkan region."

-MORTON ABRAMOWITZ, THE CENTURY FOUNDATION
ATHENS FORUM, 2001

"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**."

-STANLEY HOFFMANN, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
PROFILES & ISSUES, 2003

"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."

-IAN LESSER, RAND
PROFILES & ISSUES, 2002

"Classical Hellenism is **universal**."

-GREGORY NAGY, HARVARD CENTER FOR HELLENIC STUDIES
ATHENS FORUM, 2003

"In Bulgaria, euroization should only be an **option** out of the current currency board system in case of crisis."

-JEFFREY SACHS, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BULGARIA IN EUROPE, 2002

"The effort to connect world security with US national **security** is fueled by the current American project of global sovereignty."

-RICHARD FALK, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PROFILES & ISSUES, 2003

"In a globalized environment, technological innovation is a key **determinant** of regional development patterns."

-JOSEPH NYE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
ATHENS FORUM, 2000

"The economic effects of sports constitute an argument for the institutionalisation of sports as a **policy** priority of the European Union."

EVANGELOS VENIZELOS, HELLENIC MINISTER OF CULTURE
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SPORTS AS A DYNAMIC INDUSTRY OF THE NEW ECONOMY, 2002

"The prospects for foreign investment in Bulgaria **must** not be dependent on the prospects of Bulgaria's accession to the EU."

LAZA KEKIC, THE ECONOMIST INTELLIGENCE UNIT
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BULGARIA IN EUROPE, 2002

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

-ZORAN DJINDJIC, PRIME MINISTER OF SERBIA
LEADERS FORUM, 2002

"Institutional reform and the combat of corruption are preconditions for economic **growth** in Bulgaria."

-ELISABETTA FALCETTI, EBRD
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE BULGARIA IN EUROPE, 2002

"Greece must make the transition towards a society of knowledge and full-blown economic **development**."

-DIMITRIS REPPAS, HELLENIC MINISTER OF LABOR
PANEL DISCUSSION SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM: TOWARDS A NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT?, 2002