

SOLVING THE SECURITY PUZZLE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE BROADER MIDDLE EAST

A conference organized by:

The Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)

Under the auspices of:

the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs

With the support of:

the Hellenic National Defence General Staff

List of biographical notes

Special thanks to:

The Embassy of France in Greece and Dassault Aviation

The Embassy of the United States of America in Greece

The Consolidated Contractors Company (CCC)

24-26 November 2006

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ABDUL HADI Mahdi (Dr.)

Chairman, Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Jerusalem

Ph.D. from the School of Peace Studies at Bradford University, UK (1984); Head and founder (1987) of the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA), Jerusalem. PASSIA is an independent, non-profit Palestinian institution and is not affiliated with any government, political party or organization. It undertakes research on the Question of Palestine and its relationship to international affairs. Occasional (guest) lecturer on Palestinian issues at local colleges, universities and institutions; member of various Palestinian bodies, including the *Jerusalem Arab Council* in Jerusalem, the *Palestinian Council for Justice and Peace* in Ramallah, and the *Association of Palestinian Policy Research Institutes (APPRI)*, among others; closely involved with a variety of international organizations; fellow of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University (1985); fellow of the Salzburg International Seminar (1986); member of the Black Sea University Foundation, Bucharest (1990), the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, the EuroMeSCo network, and the Arab Social Science Research Network (ASSR). Co-founder and editor of *Al-Fajr* daily newspaper (1972-74); co-founder and General Secretary of the Council for Higher Education in the West Bank (1977-80); founder and elected President of the Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem (1977-81); special advisor to the Ministry of Occupied Land Affairs, Amman, Jordan (1985-86); member of the Arab Thought Forum headed by HRH Prince Hassan bin Talal in Amman, Jordan (2002).

ABOUGHAZALEH SAMIR (Amb.)

Diplomatic Representation of Palestine in Athens

Samir Salim Ahmed Abu Ghazaleh Abougahazaleh was born in Jaffa, Palestine in 1945. In 1966, he became member of the Fatah National Movement. In 1985, he was representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in Cyprus. In 1986, Ambassador Abougahazaleh was the Temporary PLO Representative in Yugoslavia, and in 1996, the representative of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in Cyprus

ABU ZAYDA Sufyan (Dr.)

Director, Alquds University, Gaza Strip

Dr. Abu Zayda obtained his PhD in Middle East Politics from Exeter University, UK in 2005 with a thesis on Conflict and Continuity in Zionist Policy Towards Jerusalem Before and After the Establishment of the State. Prior to that, he obtained his MA in Conflict Resolution from Bradford University, UK, in 2001, and his BA in Social Science from the Alazhar University, Gaza. During February 2005 to March 2006 he held the position of Minister of Prisoners and ex-Prisoners' Affairs. In addition, from December 2005- March 2006, he served as Minister of Civil Affairs. As Deputy Minister of Civil Affairs between 1999-2004, Dr. Abu Zayda focused on co-ordination with the Israeli side of all the civil aspects of the agreements, especially the movements of Palestinians, international crossing points and co-ordination between Palestinian ministries and the Israeli side. Between 1994-1999 he served as Director General, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, responsible for Israeli affairs. During this period, he was a member of the Steering Committee of the People- to People Program and Director of the Palestinian Committee. In addition, during the same period, Dr. Abu Zayda served as a member of the Palestinian delegation responsible for negotiations about the release of Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails. Dr Abu Zayda has been teaching and running the the MA programs of Alquds University in Gaza.

ALBERINI Giancarlo (Dr.Ing.)

Athens

Dr. Alberini was born in Brescia, Italy and graduated from Bologna University in 1965 with a degree in Chemical Engineering. From 1967 to 1993 he was employed by Monsanto Europe Chemicals & Plastics: from 1967 to 1973 in Milan, from 1973 to 1984 in Brussels, and was

responsible for South Europe and Middle East. From 1984 to 1993 Dr. Alberini was responsible for the Athens Branch Office covering Italy, Middle East and Africa. Between 1995 to 2000 he was employed by the Silver & Baryte Mining Company as Marketing Manager of the New Minerals Division. Retired since mid-2000.

AL GHAREEB Ibrahim

Second Secretary, Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Athens

Ibrahim Al Ghareeb was born in 1973. In 1995 he obtained a Bachelor's Degree of Administrative Science in Political Science, from King Saud University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. In 2002 he received a Post Graduate Studies Diploma in Diplomatic Studies, from the Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

From 1996 to 1999, he worked as political editor in The News Department, Riyadh Radio, Ministry of Culture & Information, Saudi Arabia. Since 2000, he has been a diplomat at the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ALRACHACH Said (Mr.)

First Secretary, Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Athens

Mr. Alrachach received his MA in Political Science from New York University in 1988. During the period 1983 to 1985 he worked at the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from 1985 to 1993 he served in the Saudi mission to the United Nations, New York. Between 1995 to 1997, Said Alrachach worked at the International Relations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1998 to 2001, he was stationed at the Saudi embassy in Vienna. From 2001 to 2003, he served at the Political Department for Western Countries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 2004 to 2005 he was assigned to the Saudi embassy in Japan and since 2005 he has been working at the Saudi embassy in Athens.

ARAS Bulent (Dr.)

Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Işık University, Istanbul

Dr. Bulent Aras is Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations at Işık University. He received his BA in Political Science and International Relations from Bogazici University, and his Ph.D. in International Relations from the same university in 1999. Dr Aras has been visiting scholar at Indiana University's Center for Eurasian Studies in 1998, Oxford University's St. Anthony's College in 2003 and was research scholar at Paris based European Union Institute of Security Studies.

Dr. Aras is the author of many books, including *Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process and Turkey*, and *New Geopolitics of Eurasia and Turkey's Position*. His articles have appeared in *Middle East Policy*, *Journal of Third World Studies*, *Journal South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, and many others. His articles have been translated into Persian, Russian and Arabic. He serves in the editorial boards of *Turkish Studies*, *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, and *Central Asia/Caucasus*. His research interest has so far focused on Turkish Foreign Policy, Middle Eastern Politics, Central Asia and Central Asian expert. He organized several international conferences on the political and security problems of Turkey, Middle East and Asia. Dr. Aras has done consulting work with such organizations as Oxford Analytica, Microsoft, Centre for Turkish-Asian Strategic Studies, Human Rights Watch, Eurasian Center for Strategic Studies and Canadian Government.

ATHANASSENAS Panayiotis

Journalist, Athens

Panayiotis Athanassenas is a graduate of the Department of European and International Relations, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. He obtained a postgraduate degree in MSc Media Management at the University of Stirling, Scotland. He is currently a journalist of Foreign and International Affairs at the website kathimerini.gr.

ATHANASSOPOULOU Ekavi (Dr.)

Lecturer, University of Athens; Senior Research Fellow, ELIAMEP

Ekavi Athanassopoulou is Lecturer of International Relations at the University of Athens, and Senior Research Fellow at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). She is associate editor of the *Journal of Southeast Europe and Black Sea Studies* and member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Mediterranean Politics*. Mra Athanassopoulou studied history at the University of Athens and specialised in history of international relations and Turkish Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (MA, PhD). She has worked as an Athens News Agency News Correspondent, Ankara (1995); Visiting Research Fellow, The Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1998-99); Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Mediterranean Studies, Bristol University (1999-2003); Visiting Scholar, JFK School of Government, Harvard University (2001); Fullbright Visiting Scholar, University of Southern Carolina (2002); Visiting Scholar, Pacific Council on International Policy (L.A.), (2003). Visiting Lecturer, Bilgi University (Istanbul), 2006. Research interests: Turkish foreign and security policy; US foreign policy with special reference to relations with Turkey, Greece and Israel; transatlantic relations; political culture and foreign policy; organised crime in South-eastern Europe. She is currently writing a book on Turkish-Israeli relations.

BAKOYANNI Dora (Ms.)

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Athens

When New Democracy was elected to government in 1990, Dora Bakoyannis served first as Under-Secretary of State and then as Culture Minister. She was re-elected three times as deputy for Evrytania, and later moved her candidacy to the district of central Athens, where she was elected with a sweeping majority. When New Democracy lost power in 1993, she successfully ran for a seat on its central committee. In 2000, the new leader of the party, today's Prime Minister, Kostas Karamanlis, appointed her as Shadow Foreign and Defence Minister. During her years in parliament, Dora Bakoyannis spearheaded the public fight against terrorism in Greece, herself, surviving an assassination attempt as mayor-elect in December 2002. Mrs Bakoyannis took office in January 2003 at the Athens City Hall after being elected the 48th Mayor of Athens in the local government elections on October 20, 2002. With her victory she broke several records that had stood for generations. In 2005, she was voted World Mayor in an annual international competition organised by the London-based City Mayors organisation. Dora Bakoyannis studied political science and public law at the University of Athens, and politics and communication in Munich, Germany. Dora Bakoyannis assumed her duties as the first woman Foreign Minister of Greece on February 15, 2006.

BAR-YAACOV Nomi (Dr.)

Foreign Policy Adviser on Middle Eastern Affairs, London

Nomi Bar-Yaacov is a foreign policy adviser on Middle Eastern affairs, with additional expertise in international organisations and international law. She is currently advising a number of European governments and the Foreign Affairs Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Middle East Peace Process. She is a regular participant in Track II meetings on the Middle East peace process and the wider region, including Iran's nuclear policy. She is also a regular commentator on Middle Eastern affairs for BBC World Service, BBC World TV, SKY News, CNN and Al-Jazeera. She was the Head of the Middle East Conflict Management Programme, Research Fellow for Conflict Management, and Visiting Fellow at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) between 2001 and 2005. Prior to joining the IISS, she worked as a political adviser at the United Nations in the Executive Office of the Secretary General, and in the Department of Political Affairs in the Organisation's Headquarters in New York. She also participated in a number of UN peacekeeping missions in Haiti, Guatemala, South Africa and Mozambique. She worked in the Balkans, as a legal adviser with the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, and as a war crimes investigator in the Bosnian-Serb Republic (1996-1998). She has won numerous awards and grants for her work, most

notably from the FCO, the United States Institute of Peace and the Ford Foundation. Most recently, she was awarded the prestigious John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research and Writing Grant to write on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. She has published extensively on issues relating to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and UN peacekeeping operations. She has lectured in a number of UK, European and American universities on the Middle East and conflict resolution. She holds degrees in Law from the University of Cambridge, the European University Institute and Columbia University.

BARZEGAR Kayhan (Dr.)

Assistant Professor, Science and Research Campus, Islamic Azad University, Tehran

Kayhan Barzegar is Assistant Professor of International Relations at Islamic Azad University; Science and Research Campus in Tehran. He is Editor-in-Chief; *Journal of Law and Politics* and Managing Editor; *Discourse, An Iranian English Language Quarterly*. He has been an Associate Fellow at the Center for Middle East Strategic Studies (since 1977) and the Center for Strategic Research (since 2000). He is a comparativist of Middle East international relations and politics and teaches Middle East Area Studies and International Relations Courses at the university. He is currently working on Iran's foreign policy towards the new Iraq and Arab world and Iran-US relations. Dr Barzegar has participated in numerous international conferences in the Middle East, Europe and the US and extensively published on the regional issues both in English and Persian. Dr Barzegar spent the 2002-2003 academic year as a Post-Doctorate Fellow at the London School of Economics. He has been a senior member of Pugwash Initiative since 2003.

BEN SIMON Daniel (Mr.)

Journalist, 'Haaretz' Newspaper, Tel Aviv

Mr Ben Simon is senior writer, Ha'aretz; Commentator for Israeli TV/Radio; Political commentator, American and French Television; Moderator - Knesset Television. Between 1983-1984 he was member of a research group on Middle East, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. In 1980 he received his BA in Political Science and Sociology, Haifa University, and in 1983 his MSc in Broadcast Journalism from Boston University. His publications include *The Other Israel* (in Hebrew), 1997, and *Disenchanted Tribes* (in Hebrew), 1999. Mr Ben Simon has also written and directed documentaries that deal with the ideological divisions among Israelis. He has been awarded the B'nai B'rith World Center Award for Journalism - Conferred by the President of the State of Israel, the Joint Boris Smolar Award for Journalism on Israel & Diaspora Relations (2003), the Sokolov prize for print Journalism (Israel's Pulitzer Prize).

BERBENA Gloria (Ms.)

Cultural Attaché, U.S. Embassy, Athens

Gloria Berbena has served as the Cultural Attache for the United States Embassy to Greece since August 2005. She joined the State Department in 1989 and has previously served as the Public Affairs Officer at the U.S. Consulate in Naples, Italy; The Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Rome, Italy; the Assistant Information Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand; and at the State Department as the Public Diplomacy Desk Officer for Italy, France, Spain, Portugal and Malta and as the Public Diplomacy Human Resources Officer for Europe. Ms. Berbena was born and raised in Northern California and graduated with a degree in Political Science from the University of California at Davis.

BERLADSKI Sylvia (Ms.)

Counsellor, Embassy of Israel to Greece

Ms. Berladski joined the Israeli Foreign Ministry in 1993. During 1996-2000 she held the position of First Secretary at the Israeli Embassy in Warsaw. During 2000-1 she worked in the Department of Religions and Communities of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since 2002, Ms Berladski is Counsellor of the embassy of Israel in Greece.

BISCOP Sven (Prof. Dr.)

Senior Research Fellow, Royal Institute for International Relations (IRRI-KIIB); Professor of European Security, Ghent University

Sven Biscop is a Senior Research Fellow in the Royal Institute for International Relations in Brussels, and Professor of European Security at Ghent University. He is Editor-in-chief of the journal *Studia Diplomatica* and sits on the Executive Academic Board of the European Security and Defence College. He co-organizes the Higher Studies in Security and Defence with Belgium's Royal Defence College and has been a visiting professor at Carleton University in Ottawa and Renmin University in Beijing. His recent research and publications have focussed *inter alia* on the European Security Strategy, on which in July 2005 he has published *The European Security Strategy – A Global Agenda for Positive Power* (Ashgate Publishing).

BORDACHEV V. Timofei (Dr.)

Director, Center of the Integral International and European Studies, State University - Higher School of Economics (HSE), Moscow

Timofei V. Bordachev is Director of the Center of the Integral International and European Studies, State University, Higher School of Economics (HSE), as well as Director of Studies of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy (SVOP). Dr. Bordachev studied Modern History at Saint-Petersburg University (1990 – 1995). He holds an MA degree in European Politics and Administration from the College of Europe (Bruges). Returning to Saint Petersburg in 1997, he defended his dissertation in Political Science at School of International Relations, Saint-Petersburg State University (1998). Presently, Timofei Bordachev is conducting research and writes widely on Russian foreign policy and Russia – EU relations, with particular attention to the issue of post – PCA agreement debate, decision-making process, public relations and advocacy.

BOURLOYANNIS-TSANGARIDIS Ioannis (Amb. ret.)

Director-General, National Defence Policy and International Relations Directorate, Ministry of National Defence, Athens

Ambassador Bourloyannis-Tsangaridis is a John Hopkins University graduate (SAIS); Doctor in Law; Doctor in Political Sciences. Former Ambassador to Sofia, NATO and Bonn. Member of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors of the 'Konstantinos Karamanlis Institute for Democracy'; Member of the 'German Society for Foreign Policy'; Member of the 'Greek Institute for International and Foreign Law'; Member of the Advisory Council of the John Hopkins University. Articles published in Greek and foreign reviews.

BOZANINOU Tania (Ms.)

Journalist, 'TO VIMA' Newspaper, Athens

During the past 10 years, Tania Bozaninou has been working for "To Vima" newspaper in Greece, covering the Middle East, the Balkans and diplomatic news. From 1993 to 1997, she wrote for the English-language newspaper "The Athens News" and in 2000-2001 she contributed to the current affairs programme, "Protagonistes", broadcast by NET, the state TV channel. She started her career in journalism working for radio station "Athens 9.84", in 1989-1991. From 1991 to 1993, she lived in London, doing a Master's degree in Journalism at City University. She has a BA in Economics from the University of Athens.

ÇANDAR Cengiz (Dr.)

Adjunct Professor, Lecturer on Middle East History and Current Middle East Politics, Istanbul Kültür University, Istanbul

Cengiz Çandar has a reputation of being the main expert on Middle East affairs in Turkey. He has six books written in Turkish language on various Middle East issues, ranging from the Palestinian question to Iran, and to the developments in Lebanon. He is currently writing a book on the Iraq war and the pre and post-war situation in Iraq. He travels extensively in the region and over the last years he had close contacts with the main political actors from late

Yasser Arafat to the Iraqi President Jalal Talabani. He functioned as a special advisor to late President of Turkey, Turgut Özal from 1991 until his death in 1993 on foreign policy issues. He was instrumental in the formation of relations between Turkey and the Iraqi Kurdish leadership that was a taboo in Republican Turkey. He has been a public policy scholar at the Wilson Center and a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C. (1999-2000). He is renowned political columnist in Turkish media. He also has a column in the English language Turkish paper, *The New Anatolian*. He currently teaches The Middle East History and Current Middle East Politics at Istanbul Kültür University.

CHAUPRADE Aymeric (Prof.)

Professor of Geopolitics; La Sorbonne University, Paris

Aymeric Chauprade is Professor of Geopolitics at La Sorbonne University (Paris) and at Neuchatel University (Switzerland). He is Head of geopolitical studies of the French War School (Paris), Manager of the French Review of Geopolitics, Chief Executive Officer of an economic intelligence consulting group. He has published many books and articles on political science. His main book is "Geopolitique constantes et changements dans l'histoire", 3e édition.

COUNTRYMAN Thomas (Mr.)

Deputy Head of Mission, U.S. Embassy, Athens

Thomas Countryman, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, has been Deputy Chief of Mission at the United States Embassy in Athens, Greece since September 2005. Mr. Countryman began his State Department career in 1982, serving as a consular and political officer in Belgrade, Yugoslavia from 1983 to 1985. From 1985 to 1988, he worked in the Department's Office of Eastern European and Yugoslav Affairs as assistant desk officer for Romania, Yugoslavia desk officer, and Bulgaria/Albania desk officer. During Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, he served as the Political-Military Officer at the American Embassy in Cairo, Egypt. From 1991 to 1993, he was the senior officer for reporting on political, security, and religious affairs within Egypt. In 1993 and 1994, Mr. Countryman worked in the State Department's Office of Counter-Terrorism, where he helped to achieve passage of a UN Security Council resolution on bringing to justice the suspects in the bombing of Pan Am flight 103. From 1997 to 1998, Mr. Countryman served as Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, with responsibility for the region stretching from Morocco to Syria. As part of his position at the NSC, he served as the White House representative on Ambassador Dennis Ross' peace process team. In 1998-1999, he participated in the Senior Seminar, the federal government's most advanced professional development program for foreign affairs and national security officials. From 1999 to 2001, Mr. Countryman was Director of the Office of South Central European Affairs in the Department of State. From 2001 to 2005, he was the Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs at the American Embassy in Rome, Italy, where he again earned a Superior Honor Award for his contributions to the Department's public diplomacy goals. Mr. Countryman graduated from Washington University in St. Louis (summa cum laude) with a degree in Economics and Political science, and studied at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

CUDSI Alexander (Dr.)

Associate Professor of Middle East Politics, Panteion University, Athens

Dr Cudsi holds a BSc in Political Science from the University of San Francisco a MSc in Political Science from the University of Khartoum, Sudan, and a PhD from the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) with emphasis on Middle East Politics. He served as Director of Studies at the Hellenic Mediterranean Centre for Arabic and Islamic Studies affiliated to Panteion University, and subsequently joined the academic staff of the same university. He teaches Islamic and Modern Middle East History, Government and Political Ideology in the Middle East, International Politics in the Middle East, and Islamic Political Thought. Areas of special academic interest include the Arab-Israeli Conflict, Arab-

Turkish Relations, and the Middle East in Global Politics for Energy Security. He has published extensively on the above topics.

DOKOS Thanos (Dr.)

Director General, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens
Thanos P. Dokos received his Ph.D. in International Relations from Cambridge University and has held research posts at the Hessische Stiftung Friedens und Konfliktforschung (1989-90), in Frankfurt, the Center for Science and International Affairs (CSIA) at Harvard University (1990-91) and the Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) (1994-1995). He served as the Director for Research, Strategic Studies Division, Hellenic Ministry of National Defence (1996-98) and as an Advisor on NATO issues to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1998-1999). He was a NATO research fellow for 1996-98. From August 1999 until August 2006 he was the Director of Studies at ELIAMEP. He is currently the Director-General of the Foundation. He is a visiting assistant professor at the University of Athens (Department of Turkish and Modern Asia Studies) and a Lecturer at the Hellenic National Defense College and the Hellenic National Security School.

EL BAZ Osama (Dr.)

Political Adviser to the President of Egypt, Cairo

Dr. El Baz was born in Sinbelawane, Dakahlia Governorate. He studied Law at Cairo University and Harvard Law School, USA. He has been District Attorney for Northern Cairo (Eastern Cairo district now), where he served for 10 years. During his career. Dr. EL Baz joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has been Chef de Cabinet of the Foreign Minister and of the Vice-President. Currently, Dr El Baz is Political Adviser to the President. In November 1977, he accompanied President Anwar Al Sadat to Jerusalem and since then he participated in the ensuing talks that dealt with achieving comprehensive peace between Arabs and Israelis as well as the negotiations culminating in the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel in 1978, which led to the Peace Agreement between the two countries in March 1979. Contributed to the talks between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Israel since the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991 including the Oslo Declaration of Principles (September 1993), Gaza and Jericho Agreement (May 1994) the Interim Agreement (Washington 1995) and followed closely the Wye River talks (USA 1998) and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Barak (Sharm El Sheikh 1999).

EL KHAZMI Mohamed (Dr.)

Secretary General, Arab Hellenic Chamber of Commerce and Development, Athens

Mr. El Khazmi obtained his PhD in Law in Cairo, 1999; a BA in Law, Kar Younes University, Benghazi, Libya, 1988; a Diploma in International Relations from Diplomatic Institute Studies, Tripoli, Libya, 1991; Diploma in International Humanitarian Law, San Remo, Italy, 2002; Dipoloma in the International Law of the Sea, Rhodos, Greece, 2002. Between 1994-1997 Mr. El Khazmi was a Diplomat at the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Minister's Cabin; 1997-2001 he held the position of 2nd Secretary at the Embassy of Libya to Athens. During 2001-2001 he held the position of 1st Secretary at the International Organizations Department of the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since 2002 he holds the position of Secretary General of the Hellenic Chamber of Commerce & Development.

FERREIRA Carlos Neves (Amb.)

Ambassador of Portugal to Greece

Carlos Neves Ferreira has been Ambassador of Portugal to Greece since 2005. Previously, he was Ambassador to Austria (bilateral and UN-Vienna; 2001-2005). In 2000, he was Ambassador, representative of Portugal to the Political and Security Committee (PSC) of the EU. From 1998 to 2000, he was Ambassador in Harare and from 1996 to 2000, he served as President of the Institute for Development Cooperation (MFA). Amb. Ferreira has also served as Deputy Chief of Mission in the Portuguese Embassy in Maputo, Consul General in Milan

and Beira, Deputy Political Director (Bilateral Affairs, MFA) and Director of Economic Department (MFA).

GÜRBÜZ Sander (Dr.)

Minister-Councillor, Embassy of Turkey, Athens

HAMARNEH Mustafa (Dr.)

Director, Center for Strategic Studies, Amman

Mustafa B. Hamarneh is the director of the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at the University of Jordan and a historian by training. He received his PhD in History from Georgetown University in 1985 and his Licenciatura in Economics from La Universidad Complutense de Madrid in 1978. He served as associate professor at the University of Jordan Department of History from 1988 to 2002 and as adjunct professor at Georgetown University from 1985 to 1987. Dr. Hamarneh has also served as chairman of the board of directors of Jordan Radio and Television (2004–2006). He is a founding member and chairman of the board of trustees of the Tarjuman Foundation (a non-governmental, non-profit organization dedicated to translating, publishing, and disseminating quality contemporary works by non-Arab writers and researchers in social sciences), and a founding member of EuroMeSCo (a network of independent foreign policy institutes and centers from the 27 Euro-Mediterranean Partnership countries). His core area of research is contemporary and modern history of the Middle East. He has also conducted extensive research on issues related to modern Jordan, such as democracy and reform in Jordan and the wider Middle East. During his tenure as director, Dr. Hamarneh has established and developed 'university' public opinion polling as a unit of CSS, which has systematically conducted a series of polls and surveys on the issues of democracy, reform and integration in Jordan and the region since 1993.

IGNATIOU Andreas (Mr.)

Counsellor; Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of Cyprus, Athens

IOAKIMIDIS Panayiotis (Prof.)

Professor of European Studies, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens; Member of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP, Athens

P.C. Ioakimidis studied Politics, Economics and European Affairs at the Panteion University of Athens, the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, the University of London (London School of Economics –LSE), the University of Manchester (Victoria University) and the University of Amsterdam (Europa Institut). In addition to BA, he holds the Degrees of Msc, Diploma in European Integration and PhD. He is Professor of European Studies at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, the University of Athens. He is also Visiting Professor at the Hellenic School of Public Administration (Athens), the Centre for Diplomatic Studies of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Athens) and the NATO Defence College (Rome). As an adviser (Ambassador/Councilor) on European Union Affairs to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the Prime Minister's Office, he took part in all Major EU Negotiation, including the negotiations for the Single European Act, the Treaty of Maastricht and the Treaty of Amsterdam. He was the Representative to the Intergovernmental Conference for the Nice Treaty (2000) and Alternate Member to the European Convention for the drawing up of the Administrative Board and General Director of the Hellenic Centre for European Studies (EKEM). He is currently member of the Administrative Board of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), member of the Independent Commission for the Comprehensive Review of Institutions and Procedures of the Union and other scientific foundations.

JALLAD Saleh S. (Mr.)

Group Vice President Treasury, Insurance and Government Relations, Consolidated Contractors International Company, Athens

Saleh S. Jallad received his PhD in Economics from the University of Notre Dame in 1977. He is currently, Group Vice President Treasury, Insurance and Relations at Consolidated Contractors International Company. Between 1985-1995 Mr. Jallad was President and member of the Board of the American Community Schools. He has published extensively on the Middle East and North Africa Region and has spoken at various forums including Institute for Infrastructure Finance-Portugal, Federation of Arab Contractors-Variou Countries, Federation of European Contractors-Athens, World Bank (International Conference)-Egypt, Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), World Bank-Washington DC, U.S.A., Confederation of International Contractors' Associations (CICA)-Berlin, Euromoney Conferences, Turkey.

JONES RICHARD (Amb.)

U.S. Ambassador to Israel

Richard H. Jones, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, was sworn in as Ambassador to Israel in 2005. Jones had been serving as the Secretary of State's Senior Advisor and Coordinator for Iraq Policy (S/I) since February, 2005, where he was the highest ranking State Department official focused entirely on Iraq policy. In that capacity, Jones chaired an under-secretary level interagency steering group charged with reviewing and developing Iraq policy. He also led U.S. diplomatic efforts on Iraq with the international community. In this regard, he managed US preparations for the June 22 Iraq International Conference in Brussels, Belgium. Prior to assuming his duties as S/I, Jones served as US Ambassador to Kuwait from September 2001 until July 2004. From November 2003 until June 2004 he served concurrently as Chief Policy Officer and Deputy Administrator for the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad. In Kuwait, Jones focused his efforts on enlisting active Kuwaiti support for Operation Enduring Freedom and Operation Iraqi Freedom. As Deputy Administrator of the CPA, he worked directly with Ambassador L. Paul Bremer to implement the November 15 Agreement with the Iraqi Governing Council. Jones has also served as US Ambassador to Kazakhstan (from December 1998 until July 2001) and as US Ambassador to Lebanon (from February, 1996 until July, 1998. Previous postings include Director of the State Department's Office of Egyptian Affairs (1993-95) and Director of its Division of Developed Country Trade (1987-89). He was twice posted to the US Embassy in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and has served in Paris and Tunis. After Kuwait, Jones also served as a Senior Fellow at the Belfer Center of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government from September 2004 until January 2005. He has received US government awards for his work as Ambassador to Kazakhstan and as Ambassador to Lebanon, for performance during the Gulf War and for contributions to commercial and trade negotiations. Jones has Masters and Doctoral degrees in Business/Statistics from the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and a Bachelor of Science degree with distinction in Mathematics from Harvey Mudd College in Claremont, California.

JOSEPH Joseph (Prof.)

Jean Monnet Chair in European Foreign and Security Policy, University of Cyprus, Nicosia

Joseph Joseph is Jean Monnet Professor in European Foreign and Security Policy at the University of Cyprus. He received his BA from Panteion University (Greece); MA from the University of Stockholm (Sweden); and PhD from Miami University (USA). He was a post-doctoral fellow at Harvard and taught at the University of Alabama, Gustavus Adolphus College and Miami University. He has published several chapters in books and articles in journals including *Security Dialogue*, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Sciences*.

KATSOUDAS Dimitrios (Mr.)

Senior Political Adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Athens

Dimitrios Katsoudas is Senior Political Adviser to the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs. He studied Law at the University of Athens, and Political Behaviour at Essex University. Mr. Katsoudas was former Director of the Centre for Political Research and Information (CPRI) and long-standing editor of *Epikentra*, the Centre's quarterly and former Director of The Centre for New Policy Pavlos Bakoyannis. Mr. Katsoudas has held several positions including Political Advisor to Prime Minister K. Mitsotakis, member of Supreme Radio and Television Council, Secretary of the Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee of "Nea Demokratia" (Governing Party) and Secretary General of the Ministry of Agriculture. He has published extensively in many Greek and Foreign Journals Presently, Mr. Katsoudas is also Political Advisor to the Mayor of Athens, and Vice-President of the Athens Cultural Organisation.

KODMANI Bassma (Dr.)

Associate Professor, Collège de France; Executive Director, Arab Reform Initiative (ARI), Paris

Bassma Kodmani is a senior research fellow affiliated with the Collège de France and Executive Director of the Arab Reform Initiative, a consortium of Arab policy research institutes working in partnership with five Western Institutions on issues of reform and democratic transitions in the Arab world. From 1999 to 2005 she was a Senior Program Officer for Governance and International Cooperation at the Ford Foundation office for the Middle East and North Africa, based in Cairo. From 1981 to 1998 she established and directed the Middle East Program at the Institut Français des Relations Internationales in Paris and was Associate Professor of International Relations at Sorbonne and Marne-La-Vallée Universities. She has authored and edited books and articles on conflicts in the Middle East, regional security, the Palestinian problem, political evolution of Arab societies and states and the relationship between religious authority and political authority in the Muslim world. Her latest publication is *The Dangers of Political Exclusion. Egypt's Islamist Problem*. Carnegie Papers, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, October 2005

LANDAU Emily (Dr.)

Director, Arms Control and Regional Security Project, Institute for National Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv

Dr. Emily Landau is director of the Arms Control and Regional Security Project at the Institute for National Security Studies (formerly, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies) at Tel Aviv University. She has published on CSBMs in the Middle East, Arab perceptions of Israel's qualitative edge, Israeli-Egyptian relations, Israel's arms control policy, Iran's nuclear policy, and the Arms Control and Regional Security working group of the Madrid peace process (ACRS). Her current research focuses on regional dynamics and processes in the Middle East and developments in arms control thinking, including implications of Iran's nuclear ambitions. Her most recent book is entitled *Arms Control in the Middle East: Cooperative Security Dialogue and Regional Constraints* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006).

Dr. Landau teaches Arms Control in the Security Studies program at Tel Aviv University. She is a member of the Steering Committee of EuroMeSCo, the Euro-Mediterranean consortium of research institutes. She holds a BA and MA from Tel Aviv University, and a Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

LESSER Ian (Dr.)

Public Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center; Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the U.S., Washington D.C.

Dr. Lesser is President of Mediterranean Advisors, LLC, and Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, where he leads a major project on the future of the U.S.-Turkish strategic relationship. He is also a senior advisor to the Luso-American Foundation in Lisbon, and an adjunct staff member at RAND.

Prior to establishing Mediterranean Advisors, Dr. Lesser was Vice President and Director of Studies at the Pacific Council on International Policy (the western partner of the Council on Foreign Relations). He came to the Pacific Council from RAND, where he spent over a decade as a senior analyst and research manager specializing in strategic studies and Mediterranean security. From 1994-1995, he was a member of the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State, responsible for Turkey, Southern Europe, North Africa, and the multilateral track of the Middle East peace process. A frequent commentator for international media, he has written extensively on international security issues. His recent books and policy reports include *Security and Strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean* (2006); *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty* (2003); *Greece's New Geopolitics* (2001); and *Countering the New Terrorism* (1999). Dr. Lesser was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, the London School of Economics, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and received his D.Phil from Oxford University. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, the Atlantic Council, the Pacific Council on International Policy, the Advisory Board of the *International Spectator* (Rome), and has been a senior fellow of the Onassis Foundation.

LEVITE Ariel (Dr.)

Principal Deputy Director General (Policy), Israel Atomic Energy Commission, Tel Aviv

Ariel (Eli) Levite is the Principal Deputy Director General (Policy) of the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC) a position he assumed in, 2002. Immediately prior to taking the job at the IAEC he was on sabbatical for two years a Visiting Fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), 200-2002 and the co-leader of the CISAC Discriminate Force project. His previous jobs included Deputy National Security Advisor (Defense Policy) and Head of the Bureau of International Security at the Israeli Ministry of Defense. In 2005-2006 Dr. Levite was also a member of the Meridor Commission established by the Israeli Ministry of Defense to review and formulate Israel's Security Doctrine. Prior to joining the Israeli government service, Dr. Levite had worked for five years as a Senior Research Associate and Head of the Project on Israeli Security at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University, and taught courses at Tel-Aviv and Cornell universities, as well as the University of California at Davis. Dr Levite did six years of military service in the I.D.F. rising to the rank of Captain, subsequently being promoted to Major in the I.D.F. reserves. He has authored several books, including *Offense and Defense in Israeli Military Doctrine, Intelligence and Strategic Surprise*, and *Israel's nuclear Image*, and authored, contributed to and co-edited others including *Foreign Military Intervention, and Deterrence in the Middle East*. His most recent articles include "Never Say Never Again: Nuclear Reversal Revisited" (*International Security*, Winter 2002/03) and "The Case for Discriminate Force" (*Survival*, Winter 2002-03, with Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall). Dr. Levite holds a bachelor's degree from Tel-Aviv University, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Cornell University.

LOZA Hamdi (Amb.)

Ambassador of Egypt to Greece

Ambassador Loza joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1976. He Served in the Egyptian Embassies in Brussels, Beirut, Tel Aviv, and the Egyptian Mission for the UN in New York. He has been Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington 1997-1998 and Ambassador to Poland 1999-2003. Between 2004-2005, Hamdi Loza held the position of Assistant Minister for African Affairs.

LUETHOLD Arnold (Mr.)

Head of Middle East and North Africa Programme, Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF), Geneva

Arnold Luethold joined DCAF in 2003 as Coordinator of the DCAF Working Group on Security Sector Reform in the Middle East and North Africa. He previously worked at the

Swiss Federal Department of Justice in Bern and as Representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in various postings in the Middle East and in Geneva (1985-2003): Delegate for the Israeli Occupied Territories in East Jerusalem and the West Bank (1985-87), Deputy Head of Mission in Iraq (1987-89), Regional Director for the Arabian Peninsula based in Riyadh (1990-93) and Kuwait (1993-96). At ICRC headquarters in Geneva, he subsequently held the positions of Deputy Head and Head ad interim of the International Organizations Division in Geneva (1997-2003). Mr. Luethold negotiated and directed humanitarian operations in some major conflicts in the Middle East and was ICRC's representative to Islamic Conference Organization, the League of Arab States and various inter-parliamentary organizations. Arnold Luethold studied Linguistics and Philosophy at the Universities of Fribourg and Geneva (MPhil). He also holds an MBA in Strategic Management.

MAZHARI Yasmin (Ms.)

Project Manager, Gov2u organization, Athens

Yasmin Mazhari holds an MA of International Affairs from Columbia University, New York. Her professional background lies mainly in project development and management for international organizations in the areas of refugee return, trafficking, and post-conflict reconstruction. She has held various posts in Iran and in Southeast Europe with organisations such as the International Organization for Migration, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the UN Development Program. She is now settled in Greece where she is working with [Gov2u](#), a pioneering non-governmental organization dedicated to advancing participatory models of governance through the use of Information and Communication Technologies.

MILLS George (Mr.)

Political Officer, U.S. Embassy, Athens

Mr. Millis has been Foreign Service officer since 1998 with consular, commercial and political tours in Africa and Europe. He is a Political Science graduate with prior working experience in banking and agriculture. His career has spanned rebirth of democracy in Nigeria; reporting on the three semi-states in Somalia and tribal politics in Ethiopia; democracy, poverty alleviation and regional southern African political/economic/development organizations in Tanzania; and, the Balkans and Turkey/Cyprus in Greece and the Aegean.

MYRIANTHIS Michael (Dr.)

Director General, International Activities, Hellenic Petroleum Group, Athens

Born in Alexandria, Egypt, Michael Myrianthis is a Greek of the Diaspora. He holds a BSc in Physics, University of Athens, and an Engineering-Geologist PhD from the University of Durham, UK (1975). He is a member of the Hellenic Electric Railways S.A. Board of Directors (1979-80), DEP-EKY Oil Exploration & Production S.A. (1992-93), OKTA AD Rafinerjia, Skopje, FYROM, (1999-today); Executive Member of the Board of Hellenic Petroleum S.A. (2004-2006), ELPET-Balkanike S.A. (2004-today), ELEP S.A. currently VARDAX S.A. (2004-today). Hellenic Petroleum Cyprus, Ltd (2005-today); Member of the Advisory Board of the Hellenic Petroleum International AG; Member of the BoD of NGOs: Hellenic Positions (1994-2000); Special Advisor of ELIAMEP (2003-today); Secretary General of the Hellenic Association of Energy Economists (1995-today). National Delegate of the Ministry of Energy to the EEC (1991-1993), National Delegate in EU during the 4th Hellenic Presidency of the Ministry of Development (1st Half, 2003). Secretary of a Ministerial Committee for the Privatization of the Hellenic Refinery in Aspropyrgos (ELDA) and the Industrial Complex in Thessaloniki (EKO) (1992-1993). Dr. Myrianthis is an Expert Advisor in a working group (monitoring upstream oil activities EEC, Brussels (1983-1985). Expert Advisor in a working group (R & D in Oil Exploration and Production) EEC, Brussels (1984). Executive Member of the Board, European Management Committee (EMCO) for the ODP project, Strasbourg (1985-1991), Oil Executive in Public Petroleum Corporation of Greece (DEP S.A.), in DEP-EKY S.A.

and the Hellenic Petroleum S.A. (1976-today). Currently Director-General of International Activities Refining & Marketing (2004-today).

NEGREPONTI Amalia (Ms.)

Foreign and international affairs journalist, 'TA NEA' newspaper, Athens

Ms Negreponti studied at Athens University's Law School. She has been working at TA NEA (Lambrakis Press) since 1996. She recently became foreign affairs editor at *Proto Thema*, a new first in circulation Greek Sunday newspaper.

NONNEMAN Gerd (Prof.)

Professor of International Relations and Middle East Politics, Lancaster University

Educated in Oriental Philology (Arabic) as well as Development Studies, Gerd Nonneman worked in Iraq for a number of years during the 1980s, before returning to academia, obtaining a doctorate in Middle East Politics at Exeter University. After teaching Middle East politics and political economy at Manchester and Exeter, and a spell as Visiting Professor at the International University of Japan, he has been teaching International Relations and Middle East Politics at Lancaster since 1993. He has written for the Economist Intelligence Unit and acted as a consultant to a range of national and international government bodies and companies, including the FCO and the European Commission. He served as Executive Director of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES), 1998-2002, and is a board member of the European Association for Middle Eastern Studies. Currently his main areas of interest are the politics of the Gulf and the Arabian peninsula, the dynamics and prospects of political reform in the Gulf states, the foreign policies of Middle Eastern states, and relations between Europe and the Middle East.

PAPACONSTANTINOUS-SIKIARIDI ELENI (Dr.)

Attorney-at-law; Member of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP, Athens

Eleni Papaconstantinou studied law at the LSE and Harvard Law School (LL.M.). She worked as a legal associate at a law firm in New York and became a member of the New York Bar Association. Thereafter she continued her studies in Brussels and she was awarded a PhD degree from the Universite Libre de Bruxelles, her PhD thesis being "Are Member States bound by the principle of undistorted competition of the EC Treaty and to what extent?" Eleni Papaconstantinou is a practising lawyer at Law Offices Papaconstantinou with expertise in the following areas: mergers and acquisitions, joint ventures, competition, European, corporate, commercial, finance, capital market, insurance, real estate, intellectual property and labour law. Among others, she is legal counsel of Toyota Hellas, Philip Morris/Papastratos, Swarovski and Amadeus and member of the Board of Directors of S&B Industrial Minerals SA. She also teaches mergers & acquisitions and antitrust law at ALBA (Athens Laboratory of Business Administration). She is the President of the Harvard Club of Greece and member of the Board of Directors of ELIAMEP.

PAPACONSTANTINOUS Petros (Mr.)

Journalist; Editor-in-Chief, Foreign Affairs Department, 'I Kathimerini' Newspaper, Athens

Petros Papaconstantinou was born in Athens, in 1959. He studied Physics at the University of Athens, where he obtained a PhD on Quantum Physics before working for three years at the Nuclear Research Center, Democritus. From 1998, he works at "Kathimerini", a mainstream Greek newspaper, as political columnist and foreign affairs editor. He is currently editor-in-chief of the foreign affairs department. He has covered many times the developments in the Middle East as a war correspondent and he spent a month in Iraq during the last crisis. Petros Papaconstantinou has interviewed many important personalities, including Yassir Arafat, ex PM of Israel Simon Peres, the Palestinian Prime Minister Ismael Hanniyeh, the PM of Pakistan, Shawkat Aziz, the General Secretary of the Arab League, Amr Moussa, general secretary of the United Nations Shashi Tharoor, the ex- general Attorney of USA, Ramsey Clark, the ex FMs of France, Humbert Vedrine and Roland Dumas, professor Noam Chomsky.

PAPAIOANNOU Vassilis (Amb.)

Director, Arab Countries & Middle East Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens
Ambassador Vassilis Papaioannou is Head of the A6 Directorate for Middle East-Arab Countries, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens.

PHOCAS Elizabeth (Ms.)

Deputy Director, ELIAMEP, Athens

Elizabeth Phocas is Deputy Director at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). She is also General Coordinator of the Halki International Seminars. She received her BA in Political Sciences and Public Administration at the University of Athens and MA in European Politics at the University of Essex where she was also Research Fellow at the East European Studies Department. She was Activities and Development Coordinator before assuming the position of Deputy Director at ELIAMEP. She has knowledge of academic institutions as well as the the NGO and think tanks map in Greece, the Balkans, the EU member states and the US, strong background focused on NGO management and knowledge of the political, economic and technical situation in Eastern Europe. She created successful international project teams that worked efficiently and were action-oriented. She is also the Greek coordinator for both the European and American Marshall Memorial Fellowship Programmes.

PFAFF William (Mr.)

Author and Syndicated Columnist, Tribune Media Services, Paris

William Pfaff has been an internationally syndicated columnist for *The International Herald Tribune* and other newspapers since 1978. He is also an occasional commentator for *The New York Review of Books* and for *The Observer* in London. His latest books are 'The Bullet's Song' and a volume of collected columns on the Bush administration's 'war on terror': 'Fear, Anger and Failure: A Chronicle of the Bush Administration's War on Terror, from the Attacks of September 11, 2001, to Defeat in Baghdad'

PHILON Alexandros (Amb.)

Director, Center for Analysis and Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens

Having studied in Paris, France (Degree from the Faculty of Law and Diploma from the Institute of Political Sciences (IEP)), Ambassador Philon entered the diplomatic service in 1965. Has served at the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, the Embassy in London, Consul General in Istanbul, Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington, Ambassador in New Delhi, Ankara and Washington. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he has served *inter alia* as Director General for Political Affairs and Secretary General. He now heads the Center for Analysis and Planning. He is a member of the Governing Board of the Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) as well as other organizations.

POSCH Walter (Dr.)

Senior Research Fellow, EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris

Dr. Prsch holds a PhD in Iranian History from Bamberg University (Germany) and M.Phil in Turkish Studies, University of Vienna. He has formerly lectured on Islamic fundamentalism and extremism and is a regional expert for Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan at the National Defence Academy (LVAK) of the Austrian Army in Vienna. At the Institute he deals with Turkey, Iran, terrorism, and Middle Eastern security issues.

PSARROU Maria (Ms.)

Programme Officer, ELIAMEP, Athens

She received her BA in Sociology from the American College of Greece, Deree College (2004-Distinction). She attended the Turkish-Greek Civic Dialogue Project held in Istanbul (June 2004) organized by the Civil Society Development Programme. She worked at the Hellenic Section of the International Council of Monuments & Sites (ICOMOS) providing administrative and scientific support

for two bilateral conferences (2004-2005) on the protection of cultural heritage of both Greece and Turkey. These conferences were supported by the European Union and received the Europa Nostra Award. She has worked as an intern at the activities division of ELIAMEP (March 2005-September 2005) and, after that, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, Deputy Minister's Press Office (2005-2006). She speaks English, French and Spanish.

RIES CHARLES (Amb.)

Ambassador of the U.S. to Greece

Charles P. Ries was confirmed by the Senate June 25 as the next U.S. Ambassador to the Hellenic Republic and was sworn in on December 2004. Mr. Ries served as Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs between April 2000 and June 2004. In this capacity, he was responsible for the U.S.-European Union relationship; economic, global affairs and public diplomacy issues for Europe and Eurasia; and management operations for the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. In earlier assignments, Mr. Ries served as Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in London (1996-2000) and Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs at the U.S. Mission to the European Union (1992-1996). From 1990 to 1992 he was detailed to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative as Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for North American Affairs and served as a member of the NAFTA negotiating team. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1977, he also served as a special assistant and executive assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, in the Energy Policy Office, in the Office of the Counselor of the Department, and at U.S. Embassies in Ankara and Santo Domingo.

ROBERTI Christopher (Mr.)

Political Officer, U.S. Embassy, Athens

Mr. Roberti is a Political Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Athens, and is on his first overseas assignment with the Department of State. He follows a range of issues including those related to bilateral relations, political-military affairs, and the political aspects of energy. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Roberti worked as an attorney at a private firm in Washington, DC and New York. His practice focused primarily on international private equity transactions and mergers & acquisitions.

ROUSSOS Sotiris (Dr.)

Lecturer in Near East Politics and International Relations, Panteion University; Coordinator of the Center for Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Studies, Institute of International Relations, Athens

He obtained a BA in History at the University of Athens and an MA in Near and Middle East Area Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. In 1991 he was awarded with the Scholarship of Alexander S. Onassis Foundation and, in 1994, he obtained a Doctorate in Modern International History of the Middle East at the School of Oriental and African Studies. He served as Senior Middle East Expert at the Greek Foreign Ministry (1999-2003), Special Advisor and Head of the Political Cabinet of the Foreign Minister in the period 1997-1999. He is currently Lecturer in Near East Politics and International Relations and Coordinator of the Centre for Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Studies at the Institute of International Relations at Panteion University, in Athens. He is the editor of the *Middle East Newsletter* and *Middle East Bulletin* of the Centre. He is co-author of a book on the Third World and a number of articles on American strategy in the Middle East, Greek policy in the Middle East, the Christian communities in Syria, Israel/Palestine as well as on the Peace Process in the Middle East.

SAGER Abdulaziz (Mr.)

Chairman, Gulf Research Center, Dubai

Born in Makkah, Saudi Arabia in 1959, Mr. Abdulaziz O. Sager is chairman and founder of the Gulf Research Center. He is also President of Sager Group Holding in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which is active in the fields of information technology, aviation services and

investments. In November 2003, Mr. Sager was appointed as a member of the Makkah Province Council. In addition, he serves on the advisory board of the Arab Thought Foundation and on the advisory group for the fourth Arab Human Development Report for the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Mr. Sager has special research interest in Gulf strategic issues and is a regular contributor and commentator to international and regional media including Al-Arabiya television, Al-Khaleej newspaper, Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, Arab News and the Daily Star among others. He also regularly participates in regional and international forums and conferences held on issues relevant to the Gulf region. Mr. Sager holds an M.A. degree in International Relations from the University of Kent at Canterbury with the thesis *The External Factors Threatening Political Stability in the GCC States*. He is currently working on a research program entitled *Gulf Security, Dynamics, Perceptions and Policies, 1971-2003: A comparative study of the GCC States*.

SAID ALY Monem Abdel (Dr.)

Director, Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (A.C.P.S.S.), Al Ahram Foundation, Cairo

Dr. Abdel Monem Said Aly has been a member of the Board at Al Ahram Foundation since 1999 to 2005 and the Director of Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo since 1994. He obtained his BA from Cairo University (1970) and his MA and PhD in Political Science from Northern Illinois University, USA (1979 and 1982). He worked at the Ahram Center since 1975 as a researcher, senior researcher, head of the international relations research unit, and deputy director. He was a research fellow at the Brookings Institute, Washington DC in 1987 and summer of 2004 and a research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs –Harvard University in 2003. He is a Senior Fellow in the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University, USA. He worked as a political advisor in the Amiri Diwan of the State of Qatar between August 1990 and June 1993. In Arabic, he published books, articles and chapters in the world systems, Arab relations with the regional and global orders, European Integration, and the Arab Israeli conflict. In English, he contributed papers, published articles and chapters in the US, France, Sweden and Singapore on the Middle East Regional Security, Egypt's political system, National Security and Arms Control Policies. He contributes opinions and commentaries regularly in main Arabic newspapers and other media forums in Arabic and in English.

SAVVIDES Philippos (Mr.)

Research fellow, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISTAME), Athens

Philippos Savvides was born in Nicosia, Cyprus. He is a Political Scientist specialized on the fields of international relations and comparative politics. Since September 2005 he has been a Research Fellow with the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISTAME). Between October 2002 and August 2005 he was a Research Fellow with the Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). His research interests focus on the theories of international relations, European integration, and the issues pertaining to the debate on global democracy. Specifically, his research has concentrated on Greek-Turkish relations, developments in Turkey, Euro-Turkish relations and the Cyprus problem. He has written extensively on the situation in Turkey, Greek-Turkish relations and the Cyprus problem as well as Cyprus's accession into the EU.

SCHLOMACH Gerrit (Mr.)

Research Assistant, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V., Regional Programme Near East-Mediterranean, Amman

Gerrit F. Schlomach, MA, served in the German Army at the HQs of the French-German Brigade and the Eurocorps. He studied in Leipzig, Paris and holds a Masters degree of the University of Heidelberg. In his fields of interests, security policy, Middle East, and German and European foreign policy, he has published several articles in German, English and French. Since 2005 he has been working as Research Assistant in the Regional Program Near East/Mediterranean of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Amman Office. At the moment he is

preparing a PhD thesis on European security policy in the Middle East at the University of Heidelberg.

SCHULTHEISS Wolfgang (Amb.)

Ambassador of Germany to Greece, Athens

Ambassador Schultheiss studied Law at the Universities of Tübingen, Geneva and Bonn, 1969. Between 1970-1971 he was a Fulbright Scholar at University of Virginia Law School where he obtained a Master of Laws (LL.M.). In 1973 he received his Doctorate with a thesis on the Law of the Seas. In 1974 Ambassador Schultheiss entered the German Foreign Service and was appointed to the German Embassy in Algiers between 1976-1980. Between 1980-1983, he was member of the German Delegation to the MBFR - Negotiations in Vienna. And ambassador in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic between 1986-1989. During 1992-1996, Ambassador Schultheiss served as Deputy Head of Mission at the Embassy in Copenhagen, Denmark and was Director of the Northern European Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bonn during 1996-1998. Other positions include: Director Northern and Southern EU-Member-States, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bonn and Berlin, 1998-2000. Assistant Director General in the Personnel Division, 2000-2001. Director General, Foreign Policy Department of the Office of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, 2001-2005. He has been Ambassador in Athens, Greece, since September 2005.

SEALE Patrick (Dr.)

Writer; journalist; consultant, Paris

Dr Patrick Seale is a British writer on Middle East affairs. He was born in Belfast and educated at Oxford (Balliol College and St Antony's College.) He has worked as a foreign correspondent in many parts of the world for Reuters and the British Sunday newspaper, *The Observer*. He now lives in Paris and writes weekly syndicated articles for several newspapers including *Al-Hayat* (London), *Jeune Afrique* (Paris), *Al-Ittihad* (Abu Dhabi), *Gulf News* (Dubai), *Daily Star* (Beirut), *Saudi Gazette* (Jiddah), *Ireland Today* (Belfast), etc. His books include: *The Struggle for Syria*; *French Revolution 1968*; *The Hilton Assignment*; *Philby: The Long Road to Moscow*; *Asad: The Struggle for the Middle East*; *Abu Nidal: A Gun for Hire*.

SHASH Mohamed Taher (Amb.)

Member of the Board, Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs, Cairo

Ambassador Shash has been Ambassador & Permanent Representative at the UN and Governor at the IAEA in Vienna (1982-1986) as well as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the IAEA (1984-1985), Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs (1986-1989) and Advisor of the Palestinian Delegation at the Peace negotiations (1991-1994). Ambassador Shash is the author of three books on Arab-Israeli conflict and articles on Arab and international affairs.

SIKANTARIS Ilias (Mr.)

Reporter, SKAI TV, Athens

Ilias Siakantaris is a journalist based in Athens, Greece. He earned a BA in Economics from the Athens University of Economics and Business, and an MSC in Journalism from Columbia University. He is currently working as a TV Reporter/Producer for SKAI TV and has held various positions in major radio, television and print companies both in Greece and internationally.

SIEGMAN Henry (Mr.)

President, U.S./Middle East Project, New York

Henry Siegman is president of the U.S./Middle East Project, a program of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) for the past 14 years and as of September 2006 an independent policy institute. Mr. Siegman has published extensively on the Middle East peace process and has been consulted by governments, international agencies, and non-governmental organizations. He has authored several hundred articles and op-ed pieces in *New York Times*, the *Washington*

Post, the International Herald Tribune, Al Ahram, Al Hayat, Le Monde, the Financial Times and the New York Review of Books. Major studies directed by Mr. Siegman at the CFR, where he served as a Senior Fellow on the Middle East, included "Harnessing Trade for Development and Growth in the Middle East" (2002); "Strengthening Palestinian Public Institutions," (1999) conducted on behalf of the European Commission and the government of Norway, and a CFR Independent Task Force report "U.S. Middle East Policy and the Peace Process." In 2002, he directed a study commissioned by the U.S. Department of State and the National Intelligence Council on the implications of "viability" for Palestinian statehood. Mr. Siegman's areas of specialization include Arab-Israel relations, the Middle East peace process, US/Middle East policy, and interreligious relations.

SMITH Benedict (Col.)

Defence Attaché, Embassy of France, Athens

Colonel Smith studied science at Ecole Polytechnique 1984-1987. He has been in the Military since 1st September 1984 and as an Air defence pilot in the French Air Force on the Mirage 2000C between 1989 and 1996. He flew 86 combat missions over Iraq and Bosnia between 1991 and 1995 and was flight commander in 1994-1995, as well as squadron chief of operations in 1995-1996. He received his training at the US Naval TestPilot School in 1997, 140 flying hours testing the Rafale between 1998 and 2004, chief test pilot of Istres test base en 2000-2001. Colonel Smith has served as Staff officer in the NATO bureau of the Délégation des Affaires Stratégiques (Strategic Affairs Delegation) of the French MOD. He has been Defence attaché at the French embassy in Athens since 27 July 2006.

SPENCER Claire (Dr.)

Head, Middle East Programme, Chatham House, London

Dr Claire Spencer is Head of the Middle East Programme at Chatham House (the Royal Institute for International Affairs), appointed in November 2005. She is responsible for the oversight of all research, funding and publications relating to the Middle East, including most recently the jointly authored report *Iran, its Neighbours and the Regional Crises* (August 2006). Prior to her current appointment, Dr. Spencer was the Head of the Asia and Middle East Policy Unit at the development agency Christian Aid, and an Associate Fellow of Chatham House since 2001. She has worked on North African and Mediterranean issues since the early 1980s, with particular emphasis on the security dimensions of the EU's relations with North Africa and the Middle East. She has written and lectured extensively on these subjects, most notably as Deputy Director of the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College London from 1995 to 2001. In recent years, Dr. Spencer has expanded her regional expertise to include the impacts of conflict and military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, with professional visits since 2004 to Kabul and Herat, Israel-Palestine, Egypt, Iran, Central Asia, Turkey and Jordan.

STUERMER Michael (Prof.)

Chief Correspondent, Daily 'Die Welt', Berlin

Professor Stuermer has been Chair of Modern History, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg 1973-2003, Advisor to chancellor Kohl, Director of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik 1988-98, and Chief Correspondent for DIE WELT, Berlin. He has published extensively on German and European History, The Middle East, International Affairs.

TAHA Omnia Mahmoud (Ms.)

Head, European Organizations Section, Department of European Affairs, League of Arab States, Cairo

Ms. Taha is currently Head of the European Organizations Section of the Department of European Affairs of the League of Arab States. Previous positions held include departments within the League of Arab States

Head of the Arab and International cooperation section, Beirut Office, and within the Information Department and the Secretary General Cabinet. Ms. Tasha has also been Head of

the Publishing Section of the Information Centre, and previously worked as a journalist at the Egyptian daily newspaper, Al Ahram.

TSARDANIDIS Charalamos (Dr.)

Director, Institute of International Economic Relations

Dr. Charalambos Tsardanidis studied Political Science at the Department of Political Science, University of Athens (BA), European Studies (MSc) and International Relations (PhD) at the LSE. From 1985 to 1993, he taught at the Panteion University as well as the Department of International and European Studies of the University of Piraeus and the Public Administration School. He is currently teaching at the Greek Open University. From 1986-1989 he worked as Research Associate at the Foundation for Mediterranean Studies. Since March 1993 he has been Director of the Institute for International Economic Relations in Athens. He is author of ten books and co-editor of eight. Some of his articles have appeared in the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of Area Studies*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Geopolitics*, *Agora without Frontiers*, *Ethnopolitics*.

TSOUKALIS Loukas (Prof.)

President of the Board of Directors, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Athens

Loukas Tsoukalis was born in Athens. He studied economics and international relations at the University of Manchester, the College of Europe in Bruges, and the University of Oxford where he obtained his doctoral degree. His previous appointments include: Professorial Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, Florence; Professor at the European Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science; Director of European Economic Studies, College of Europe, Bruges; President of the Administrative Council and Director of the Hellenic Centre for European Studies (EKEM), Athens; University Lecturer and Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford; Ambassador and Special Adviser for EC affairs to the Prime Minister of Greece. He is presently Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration at the University of Athens, President of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), and Visiting Professor at the College of Europe. He is engaged in several research programmes. Member of boards of directors of private companies and editorial boards of international journals. Commander of the Order of the Phoenix of the Hellenic Republic. Since April 2005, Professor Tsoukalis is Special Adviser to Mr. Jose Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission.

VALLIANATOS Stefanos (Mr.)

Head of International Relations Department, Hellenic Foundation for Culture, Athens

Mr Vallianatos is a PhD candidate at Lancaster University and holds the position of Deputy Head of the Department of International Relations, Hellenic Foundation for Culture, Athens. He is also an External Associate of ELIAMEP and teaches Middle East Politics at the International Centre for Greek and Mediterranean Studies (Athens). Publications and lectures include: Middle Eastern policy of Turkey and Greece; the Kurdish issue; Israelis and Palestinians and the road to a two-state solution; the water issues in the Middle East; the Euro-Mediterranean Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures: a first assessment, politics, economics and security in the Middle East: the current outlook.

VEREMIS Thanos (Prof.),

Professor, University of Athens; President, National Committee for Education; Vice President, Board of Directors, ELIAMEP

Thanos Veremis is Professor of Political history at the University of Athens, Department of European and International Studies, and Member of the Board of Directors of the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). Research Associate, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London 1978-79; Visiting Scholar, Center for European Studies, Harvard Univ. 1983; Advisory Board of "European History Quarterly" (Lancaster) 1986-; Visiting Professor at Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton

Univ. 1987; Visiting Fellow, St. Antony's College, Oxford 1993-94; President of the Board of ELIAMEP 1994-2000; Editor of the Journal "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies"; A "Governor" of the Foundation Europeene de la Culture (Amsterdam) 1999-2003; Member of the Editorial Board of "International Spectator" (IAI-Rome) 1999-; Constantine Karamanlis Professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford Massachusetts (2000-2003); President of the National Council of Education, 2004- .

Publications include: Dictatorship and the Economy, 1982; 1982,2001 Greek-Turkish Relations, 1986; From the Interwar to the Cold War, 1992; Greece's Balkan Entanglement, 1994; The Military in Greek Politics, London: Hurst & Co (1997); Greece, World Bibliographical Series, vol.17, Oxford: Clio Press (1998); (co-editor), Kosovo. Preventing Another Balkan War, ELIAMEP (1998), with John Koliopoulos, Greece. The Modern Sequel, London: Hurst & Co, (2002); The Balkans. Construction and Deconstruction of States, Patakis (2005).

VERNET Daniel (Mr.)

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Director for international relations of Le Monde. Former chief editor and former correspondent in Germany, Moscow and London.

VLAIVANOU Lenia (Ms.)

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Lenia studied International and European Studies at the Panteion University of Political and Social Science, in Athens, and received an MA in Intelligence and International Security from King's College London. During her studies, she participated twice in United Nations Models and was an intern at the Institute of International Relations, where she took part in the editing of the 'Newsletter on the Middle East'. She started working for ELIAMEP as an intern in April 2006, on the organization of the Halki International Seminar, and since August 2006 she has been working in the Foundation's Activities Division. She speaks English, German and Spanish.

VOULELIS Nikolaos (Mr.)

Managing Director, Athens News Agency, Athens

Nicholas Voulelis is the Managing Director of the Athens News Agency (ANA) and an international affairs columnist with the Sunday edition of the Athens daily *Eleftherotypia*. He has taught international relations courses at the Athens-based Journalism Workshop and at seminars organized by the Athens Panteion University, and the University of Athens. He currently teaches 'Mass Media and Diplomacy' at the National Academy of Public Administration and is a regular contributor to specialized periodicals. Voulelis served as Director of the Greek-language edition of *Monde Diplomatique*. He has also worked with several radio stations over the years and has had numerous articles published in Greece and Cyprus in several newspapers and magazines.

YAHYA Ali (Amb.)

Ambassador of Israel to Greece

Born in Israel in 1947, Amb. Ali Yahya completed his BA in History and Arabic Literature, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1970. From 1972 to 1995, Ali Yahya served as Director General of ULPAN AKIVA (language seminary), in Natanya. From 1981 to 1995, he was lecturer at the National Security College and held several teaching positions between 1989 and 1995. In 1995, he became a member of the Board of Directors of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, in charge of Arabic Television and Radio Programs, as well as a member and lecturer of the Lapid Movement for learning the lessons of the SHOAH (Holocaust). In 1983 he was awarded the Knesset Speaker's Prize for quality of the environment. In 1986, Ali Yahya was awarded the Israel Prize as Representative of the ULPAN AKIVA Team and in 1993 he was awarded the Histadrut Prize for Coexistence. In 1994, the U.S. Congress awarded him for the Promotion of Peace through Culture and Language. In 1995, Ali Yahya was the

Representative of the Israeli-Arab Community at the Nobel Prize Ceremony, as part of the Prime Minister's and the Foreign Minister's team. From 1995 to 1999, he became the first Israeli-Arab Ambassador to Finland. In 1999, he served as Coordinator and Advisor for Special Projects (P.T.P.), at the Department for the Middle East Peace Process and was the direct responsible for the AKABA-EILAT. In 2000, he became Chairman of the Board of The Arab Institute, at Central Galilee College; Chairman of the Board at The Abraham Fund; Member of the Board of Trustees at The Harry Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace and Member of the Board of Trustees at The Maxstern Academic College of Emek Yezreel.

ZOMBANAKIS Minos (Mr.)

Economist; Member of the Board of Directors, ELIAMEP, Athens

Minos A. Zombanakis was born in 1926. He was educated at Harvard University, where he obtained degrees in Public Administration (MPA) and Economics (MA, ABD). He worked as an international banker from 1958 to 1979; from 1979 onwards, he has been working as an economic consultant. Minos A. Zombanakis helped create a syndicated loan market to finance the requirements of many countries which suffered from balance of payments disequilibria, following increases in the price of energy. Subsequently, he formulated policies that dealt with LDC crises and has also been involved in international economic forums. He created and chairs the 'Athens Seminar'. He is co-founder and chairman of the board of Trustees of the Center for the Study of Financial Innovation (CSFI), in London. Minos A. Zombanakis is former consultant to many governments and corporations and is still active as consultant in the Middle East as well as member of various non-profit institutions.