



# NATO Studies Center newsletter

01 / 2003

The military action of the coalition in Iraq this spring seems to have put in the shadow the concern for the analysis of the political and security implications of the Prague NATO Summit in November 2002. As a matter of fact, this moment is a "watershed", at least for the invited countries from SouthEast Europe, which can be regarded as a real "geopolitical revolution", likely to change the region's destiny.

For the political elites, as well as for the public opinion from South Eastern European countries - so far referred to as the Balkans -, this moment should be very clear that the massive enlargement of NATO decided at Prague has an extraordinary political and strategic importance with some fundamental consequences:

1. A new role and a new posture for NATO, in the context of the transition to a new security order;

2. A new geopolitical map of the Euro-Atlantic Area - involving a new equilibrium and an obvious change/shift of its centre of gravity;

3. New security frontiers of NATO, of the Euro-Atlantic Area in general,

4. A new geopolitical landscape of Southeast Europe and, in this context, a new southeastern flank of NATO;

5. New security issues on the NATO agenda and, naturally, for the invitees from SouthEast Europe, beginning with the current year.

The analysis of these implications highlights, from the beginning, a reality that has often been ignored or skipped over by academic studies, especially by the institutionalist neoliberalism. At the beginning of the XXI st century the world is still an unstable and dangerous world;

## NATO and the New Geopolitical Landscape of SouthEast Europe

world politics continues to be a power politics and continues to have geopolitical and geostrategic coordinates. Even

**I have noticed with satisfaction that, during its ten years of existence, the mission of this School [National School of Political Studies and Public Administration] has been to create high-class specialists able to contribute with their knowledge to the development and the management of public policies within the state's institutions and to the improvement of the international relations of our country.**

**I am fully confident that the NATO Studies Center and the Master Program will represent an important educational initiative for Romania's efforts to integrate to the North Atlantic Alliance, and that the National School [of Political Studies and Public Administration] will be one of the most powerful academic institutions training leaders for the XXI century.**

**Message from H.E. Ion ILIESCU – President of Romania**  
*April 2, 2003*

more important, from the power politics perspective, we are engaged now in a transition period towards a new cycle of power and towards a new global power structure. To sum up, we are heading a new global security architecture.

So, we can't talk about NATO at the beginning of the XXI-century without taking into consideration this strategic context, which implies a clash of global interests, strategic positions and objectives and, maybe even more important, of world visions.

We can't talk about NATO without considering that we are witnessing the

reshaping of the geopolitical map of the world, marked by a complex strategic process with two components:

a) the West's enlargement eastwards into Eurasia, which draws new security frontiers for the Euro-Atlantic Area on the map, just as we have stated before: reshaping of Eurasia;

b) the effort to extend the West's strategic reach and control on adjacent regions.

At last, we can't talk about NATO without taking into consideration the new security threats changing the requirements and the solutions in the defence and national and international security areas.

We should underline two issues related to the implications of the Prague Summit decision for the countries in this region.

Firstly, they join an organisation, which is changing, is fundamentally transforming, in close relation to the characteristics of the new security environment. These countries join a new NATO. NATO has been acting like a collective security organisation, even from the '90 s, restoring international stability, and having a "very special" relation with the UN; or as

a cooperative security system, promoting stability in areas outside the common space of NATO. Crisis management became NATO's operational tool able to promote and maintain stability in its peripheral areas.

The evolutions which took place after 9/11 and which will mark this decade show that NATO is pursuing in a very decisive way its role, adopting a more proactive attitude, an offensive posture, and even a pre-emptive approach in dealing with new security threats and challenges.

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## NATO Studies Center – overview

In the context of Romania's accession to Euro-Atlantic structures, the Romanian academic environment decided to bring its own contribution to this national goal. At the initiative of Professor Vasile Secares, PhD, Rector of the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA), in Spring 2002, a group of professors established NATO Studies Center in Bucharest.

Beyond the political and military significance, Romania's accession to NATO draws attention on the high importance of education and scientific research for a successful integration within the Euro-Atlantic structures.

The NATO Studies Center is an independent research, training and expertise center on NATO related issues, within the academic frame of the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration.

What makes the NATO Studies Center outstanding among the Romanian and regional higher education institutions is that it represents a forum for dialogue between communities, which do not usually communicate on security issues, like: academics, the area of government and

business in order to establish a "security community" within the NATO field.

The NATO Studies Center develops activities like:

- **Information** • regarding NATO's goals, organization, policies, offering the target public groups adequate informative materials: studies, articles, books, handbooks, CDs, video cassettes, etc;

- **Education** • educational and training programs on NATO issues;

- **Research** • studies and analyses on foreign and security issues strategically important for Romania and NATO Black Sea, Moldavia, Ukraine, Caucasus and Caspian Sea Regions;

- **Consultancy and advocacy** • the development of an independent analysis capacity whose results could be provided upon request to domestic and foreign partners.

### PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

#### A. NATO Senior Executive Master

A Master program designed for training a

number of civilian and military experts in order to assume responsibilities and lead the cooperation projects both within NATO and with the national structures.

#### B. Understanding the new NATO

Civic education and public information program which aims at informing the Romanian public opinion on the main political and military aspects of the Alliance, after the Prague Summit.

#### C. A strong Romania in a powerful Alliance

An applied research program designed for identifying and evaluating future Romanian strategic responsibilities within the Alliance.

### IRAQ - The Day After

On the 4th of April 2003, the working group on Iraq of the NATO Studies Center, comprising of Professor Vasile Secares, Professor Cornel Codita, Brigadier General Professor Mihail Ionescu, Professor Valdimir Pasti, Ambassador Sergiu Celac and Ambassador Radu Onofrei, had a first session of debates on two topics:

- The Romanian "lesson learned" from the transition period towards a democratic society relevant for the reconstruction of Iraq;
- NATO's possible role in Iraq.

The outcome of the debates organized by the working group on Iraq will be the elaboration of a report published as a Policy Brief of the NATO Studies Center.

### BRIEF

**01.13.2003 - British-Romanian Military Cooperation in the Context of Decisions at NATO's Prague Summit** - special lecture delivered by Lord Bach of Lutterworth, Deputy Minister for Procurement, UK MoD, within the NATO Senior Executive Master Program

**01.14.2003 - Opening of the NATO Studies Center** in the presence of HE Adrian NASTASE Prime Minister of Romania

**02.21.2003 - The Frontiers of Freedom** special lecture delivered by Mr. Bruce JACKSON, President of the US Committee for NATO, within the NATO Senior Executive Master Program

**03.03.2003** - The Senate of the National School for Political Studies and Public Administration conferred on HE Lord George

ROBERTSON of Port Ellen the title of **Doctor Honoris Causa** at the NATO Studies Center

**03.19.2003 - What Makes a Good NATO Member**, special lecture delivered by Gen. William ODOM within the NATO Senior Executive Master Program

**04.10.2003 - Graduation Ceremony** for the first cycle of course attendants of the NATO Senior Executive Master Program.

**04.18.2003 - H.E. Ambassador Richard Burt** paid a visit to the NATO Studies Center where he discussed the future development of the Center into a regional initiative; His Excellency kindly accepted to be a member of the International Advisory Board of the NATO Studies Center.

Given the constant preoccupation for assuming a high social responsibility, the *Coca-Cola Company* will grant the course attendants of the first cycle of the NATO Senior Executive Master, coming from the civil society, two scholarships.

We would like to express our highest gratitude and consideration to the *Coca Cola Company*.

The NATO Studies Centre represents a thriving reality to address the multifaceted issues related to Romania's recent invitation to join the Atlantic Alliance as a full member.

This initiative has been highly supported by the NATO Office of Information and Press. The ambitious programs articulated until now in two study-periods cover a wide array of topics, including the history of NATO and the process of NATO's adaptation to the evolving requirements of the Euro-Atlantic strategic landscape.

I had the pleasure to deliver a lecture, on 14 January of this year, at the NATO Studies Centre on the prospects and challenges facing the implementation of the new agenda of the Atlantic Alliance, as it was shaped and approved during the November 2002 NATO's Summit in Prague.

The questions posed and the remarks manifested by the stu-

dent-body were evidence of the high extent of preparation on security issues. They also testified a remarkable level of intellectual versatility in tackling the challenges posed by the terrorist events of September 11 to consolidated strategic assumptions and in adapting intellectual and operational mindsets to the new requirements of the Euro-Atlantic security landscape.

The high level of support provided by the Romanian highest institutions reflect an adamant eagerness by the political authorities to boost education on security issues, by maximising opportunities for a deep inter-action between representatives of the academic world and members of civil and military branches of the Romanian institutional spectrum. The spirit of this new trend was enshrined in the keynote speech delivered at the

# Lecturers

## about...

NATO Studies Centre, on 14 January, by Romania's Prime Minister, Mr. Nastase.

The Office of Information and Press of NATO remains committed to enhance its cooperation with the NATO Studies Centre, with the ultimate aim to render the latter a conducive academic institution for the promotion of activities deepening the various aspects, prospects, and implications of Romania's full accession to the Euro-Atlantic security architecture.

**Daniele RIGGIO**, Information Officer for Italy  
Contact Point Officer for Romania  
Public Diplomacy Division  
International Staff, NATO Hq.

*the views of the authors of these articles are their own and do not necessarily reflect the line of the organization.*

**CLARA MARINOV** – NATO Senior Executive Master (course attendant - 1st cycle)

There are a lot of great things I discovered about NATO Senior Executive Master. But I do not want to talk about the high quality of the academic process, neither about the presence of distinguished lecturers from our country or abroad (and here I should mention his excellency Lord G. Robertson). What is really unexpected and therefore more valuable is the atmosphere of the course. The student-teacher relation is not the usual rigid and unequal one, but a fruitful cooperation based on mutual respect. Here I do not have teachers and colleagues. I have friends.

**DAN MIRCEA** – NATO Senior Executive Master (course attendant - 1st cycle)

The initiative of this course is a very good one. It brings together people of various backgrounds, from different institutions and from the civil society and that may be one of the most important benefits.

Teaching methods are very modern, like the ones used in the West where the teacher-student relationship is encouraging everybody to openly express its personal opinion.

Team work, team building, personal contribution are some of the elements that contribute to the cohesion of the class. All the center staff is fully involved in these aspects.

In short the center is a valuable asset worth developing as long as there will be a clear cut strategy regarding the future use of the minds molded and trained here

**VICTOR VEVERA** – NATO Senior Executive Master (course attendant - 1st cycle)

NATO Senior Executive Master organized by NATO Studies Center under the aegis of National School of Political Studies and Public Administration seems to be the best choice that we could make related to the actual circumstances.

With all the pluses and minuses that are inherent to a pilot-course, the main "trump" was given by the exceptional value of the NATO Studies Center Academic Board on one side and on the other side, the opportunity to meet high ranking officials from Romania and abroad (NATO H.q & other organizations).

In concert with them the modern system of team working combined with a very different background of my colleagues, gave me the opportunity to interact with different points of view generated by different experience and life style.

We have learned to act, to think and to work as a team, we have created informal links that can give us a strong support in the future.

And last, but not least we became aware of our value related to the NATO's standards.

# Students

## about...

# Lecturers at the NATO Senior Executive Master

– 1st Cycle, January-March 2003

• **Gheorghe Anghel, Commander**, Minister Counsellor, MFA • **Bogdan Aureescu**, Director, Romanian MFA • **Bridget Austin**, Deputy to the director of the Policy Oversight Branch, NATO HQ • **Wafaa Bassim, Ambassador**, Egyptian Embassy to Bucharest • **Janusz Bugajski**, Director of CSIS, Washington D.C. • **Jacqueline Calcutt**, Counsellor to the State Secretary, Romanian MoD • **Mihai Carp**, International Secretariat, NATO HQ • **Gabriele Cascone**, Inspections Officer, NATO HQ • **Sergiu Celac, Ambassador**, Romanian MFA • **Giorgios Chatzikonstantinou Colonel**, Greek Embassy to Bucharest • **Eugen Chivu**, Attorney at law, international law • **David Clarke, Commander**, General Management and Organisation Directorate, UK Ministry of Defense • **Cornel Codita, Ph.D.**, Dean NSC, Dean SNSPA • **David B. Collins, Ambassador**, Defense partnership & cooperation, Defense planning & operations division, NATO HQ • **Doru Costea, Ambassador**, Director, Romanian MFA • **Daniel Daianu**, Professor, Romanian Center for Economic Policies • **Constantin Dobritoiu**, Head of Directorate - Euro-Atlantic Integration and International Military Relations, Romanian MoD • **Nicolae Dohotaru, Colonel**, Commander of the Operational Center of Military Affairs • **Ovidiu Dranga**, Deputy of the State Secretary, Romanian MoD • **Michael Einick, Ambassador**, Former US Ambassador in Macedonia • **Iulian Fota**, Associate professor, SNSPA, Director of Programs, NATO Support, NSC, • **Mircea Geoana, Ambassador**, Minister of Romanian MFA • **Adrian Gheorghe**, Professor, Director of the Centre for Excellence, Risk and Safety ETH Zurich • **Costel Gheorghiu**, Romanian Parliament • **Alexandru Grumaz, General Major**, First Deputy of Director Special Telecommunications Service • **Constantin Ibrim, Commander**, Chief of Section, Romanian General Staff • **Mihail E. Ionescu, PhD, General**, Director of Institute for Political Defense and Military History, Professor at SNSPA, Director on Project and Research, NSC • **Craisor Ionita, Lieutenant colonel**, Chief instructor, Regional PFP Center • **Ion Jinga**, Director, Romanian MFA • **John Kriendler, Ph.D.**, Professor of NATO and European Security Issues, "George C. Marshall" Center • **Adrian Ligor**, 1st Secretary, NATO Directorate, Romanian MFA • **Serban Lungu**, Head of Defense Integrated, Planning Directorate, Romanian MoD • **Florin Lupescu**, State Counsellor, Romanian Presidency • **Mihai Macuc, Lieutenant colonel, Ph.D.**, Institute for Political Defense and Military History • **George Cristian Maior**, State Secretary, Romanian MoD • **Mircea Ovidiu Mandru, colonel**, Chief Deputy of Section, Romanian General Staff • **Hari Bucur-Marcu, Ph.D.**, Romanian MoD, Director of Academics, NSC • **Sergiu Medar, General**, Head of Military Information, Directorate, Romanian MoD • **Viorel Mihaila, Captain**, General Staff, Romanian MoD • **Andrei Miroiu**, Academic Assistant, SNSPA Faculty Adviser, NSC • **Joshua Muravcik**, Institute of War Politics, USA • **Liviu Muresan Ph.D.**, Professor at SNSPA, President of EURISC Foundation • **Adrian Niculescu, Ph.D.**, Professor at SNSPA • **George Niculescu**, associate professor, SNSPA, Romanian MoD • **Iordache Olaru, Colonel**, Romanian MoD • **Rose Olanescu**, Professor, SNSPA • **Leonard Orban**, Deputy Chief Negotiator with EU • **Ioan Mircea Pascu, Ph.D.**, Minister of Romanian MoD, Professor at SNSPA • **Ovidiu Palaghia, Major**, Instructor, Regional PFP Center • **Diego Ruiz Palmer**, Head of Council Operations Section, DPAO, NATO HQ • **Petru Pana**, Chief OCSPPS, Romania • **Dragos Paslaru**, CRPE Programs Coordinator • **Mihail Popescu, General**, Chief of Romanian General Staff • **Andreas Pruefer**, Military European Association, Germany • **Dumitru Doru Prunariu**, Gen. Cosmonaut, President of the Romanian Space Agency • **Daniele Riggio**, Contact Point Officer for Romania, OIP, NATO HQ • **Gheorghe Rotaru, General**, Head of Defense Intelligence Directorate, Romanian MoD • **Vasile Secares, Ph.D.**, President NSC, Rector of SNSPA • **Adrian Severin, Ph.D.**, President Emeritus of the OSCE Parliament Assembly • **Richard Smith, Brigadier General**, Counsellor to the State Secretary, Romanian MoD • **Vladimir Socor**, Analyst, Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, USA • **Ioan Sorin, General**, Head Operations and Training Directorate, Romanian General Staff • **Edward Stafford**, USA Embassy to Bucharest • **Adriana Stanescu**, Deputy director of NATO Directorate Romanian MFA • **Mihai Stoica, Colonel**, Romanian Ministry of Interior • **Marius Tarnacop, Colonel, Ph.D.**, Chief Deputy of Section, Romanian General Staff • **Florin Tudor, Lieutenant commander**, Instructor, Regional PFP Center • **Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu**, SECI-Viena Deputy Coordinator • **Rudiger Volk, Colonel**, Counsellor to the State Secretary, Romanian MoD • **Eric Walsh**, Charge d'Affaires, Canadian Embassy to Bucharest • **Omer Zeytinoglu, Ambassador**, Turkish Embassy to Bucharest

## NATO and the New Geopolitical Landscape of SouthEast Europe

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This format, developing in connexion with the NATO's role and posture, which I would call pro-active security engagement, should be transformed in an explicit subject for discussion in SouthEast Europe. This is even more relevant given the existing difference of visions between the USA and some member states of the European Union.

This point on the agenda is closely related to a second one: the new geopolitical landscape of SouthEast Europe, on which the new NATO security frontier is relying on. SouthEast Europe has strategically turned into an extremely important area for NATO. It also gains a new configuration and new correlations in space.

This is just a part of a real geopolitical revolution. The new SouthEast Europe expands to the North and the South of the Caucasus and to the Caspian Basin and this geopolitical reality has already developed new concepts for expressing itself: the enlarged area of the Black Sea.

The acceptance of the political and security consequences of this challenge at the top decision-makers level and by the public opinion in our countries will be difficult. The problems or threats that we thought of as being far away - in Asia - get near our borders. Are we ready to assume them in the new NATO?

*Vasile Secares Ph.D., President of the NATO Studies Center*



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## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

*The NATO Studies Center enjoys the support and assistance of the NATO Headquarters, through the NATO Office of Information and Press, the NATO Defense College (Rome) and the "George C. Marshall" Center for European Security Studies (Garmisch).*

## PUBLICATION

*The NATO Studies Center publishes:*

- Occasional Papers;
- Newsletter;
- Volumes focused on NATO new challenges and issues

## COORDINATION

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