



**PROJECT OBJECTIVE
CSIS CONFERENCE
“WIDER EUROPE AND THE TRANSATLANTIC LINK”**

The rapid enlargements of both the European Union and NATO have raised important questions about the ultimate size and scope of the European and Atlantic communities. The entry of America’s new allies from Central-Eastern Europe (CEE) into both NATO and the EU will increasingly focus international attention on the nascent democracies to the east and south of the shifting NATO/EU border. The CEE states in particular support the integration of Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, and Georgia into both multi-national institutions, because this would help to consolidate democracy and stability in the Baltic to Black Sea region. The CSIS conference will aim to address these vital questions concerning the future contours of a Wider Europe and a Wider Atlantic community and generate salient recommendations for the transatlantic alliance.



WIDER EUROPE AND THE TRANSATLANTIC LINK

Conference Agenda

Tuesday, 25 October 2005, Washington, D.C.

9.00-9.30am: Registration

9.30-10.00am: Introductions

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Former U.S. National Security Advisor*
Sorin Ducaru, *Romanian Ambassador to the United States*
Janusz Bugajski, *CSIS*

10.00-11.45am: Panel 1: The Future of NATO and EU Enlargement

Taras Kuzio, *George Washington University*
Omer Taspinar, *Brookings Institution*
Vlad Spanu, *Moldova Foundation*
Bronislaw Misztal, *Catholic University*
Victor Babiuc, *Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania*

12.00-1.00pm: Lunch and Keynote Address: American Perspectives

Daniel Fried
U.S. Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs

1.15- 3.30pm: Panel 2: Atlanticism in a Wider Europe

Angelos Pangratis, *Delegation of the European Commission*
Ambassador Eva Nowotny, *Embassy of Austria to the U.S.*
Alan Charlton, *Embassy of the UK to the U.S.*
John Van Oudenaren, *Library of Congress*
Vladimir Pasti, *Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania*

3.30-3.45pm: Conclusions

Janusz Bugajski, *CSIS*



Victor Babiuc is currently the President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania. Babiuc's career began as a Legal Counsel and Arbitration Consultant. He entered politics in 1990 when he was elected as a member of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies (PNL). Between June 1990 and October 1991, Babiuc served as Minister of Justice, and between October 1991 and November 1992 he held the post of Interior Minister. He has also served as Minister of National Defense from 1996 to 2000. Babiuc holds a Ph.D. in Law from the University of Bucharest.

Zbigniew Brzezinski is a CSIS trustee and counselor and he co-chairs the CSIS Advisory Board with Carla Hills. He is a professor of American foreign policy at the School of Advanced International Studies, the Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. He is also co-chair of the American Committee for Peace in Chechnya. Earlier, Brzezinski was a member of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State from 1966 to 1968; chairman of the Humphrey Foreign Policy Task Force in the 1968 presidential campaign; director of the Trilateral Commission from 1973 to 1976; and principal foreign policy adviser to Jimmy Carter in the 1976 presidential campaign. From 1977 to 1981, Dr. Brzezinski was national security adviser to President Carter. In 1981 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his role in the normalization of U.S.-Chinese relations and for his contributions to the human rights and national security policies of the United States. He was also a member of the President's Chemical Warfare Commission (1985); member of the NSC-Defense Department Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy (1987-1988); and member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (1987-1989). In 1988, he was cochairman of the Bush National Security Advisory Task Force. Dr. Brzezinski received a B.A. and M.A. from McGill University (1949, 1950) and Ph.D. from Harvard University (1953). He has been a member of the faculty of Columbia University (1960-1989) and Harvard University (1953-1960). Dr. Brzezinski holds honorary degrees from Georgetown University, Williams College, Fordham University, College of the Holy Cross, Alliance College, the Catholic University of Lublin, Warsaw University, and Vilnius University. Dr. Brzezinski is the recipient of numerous honors and awards. His many books include *The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership* (Basic, 2004), *The Geostrategic Triad: Living with China, Europe, and Russia* (CSIS, 2001), *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives* (Basic, 1997), and *The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the 20th Century* (Scribner, 1989).

Janusz Bugajski is the Director of the CSIS New European Democracies Project (previously East Europe Project), as well as a Senior Fellow with the CSIS Europe Program. Formerly a senior research analyst for Radio Free Europe in Munich, Janusz Bugajski has worked as a consultant on East European affairs for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department of Defense, the International Republican Institute (IRI), the Free Trade Union Institute (AFL-CIO), the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), and BBC television in

London. Bugajski's most recent publications include: *Cold Peace: Russia's New Imperialism* (Praeger, 2004), *Political Parties of Eastern Europe: A Guide to Politics in the Post-Communist Era* (M.E. Sharpe, 2002), *Toward an Understanding of Russia: New European Perspectives* (Editor) (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2002), *Ethnic Politics in Eastern Europe: A Guide to Nationality, Policies, Organizations, and Parties* (M.E. Sharpe, 1994) and *Nations in Turmoil: Conflict and Cooperation in Eastern Europe* (Westview, 1992 and 1995). The later was selected by Choice as an outstanding academic book. He has published articles in numerous journals including Orbis and the and also contributes to various domestic and foreign newspapers. In 1994, he was selected for inclusion by Gale Research in Contemporary Authors, and in 1998, he received a Distinguished Public Service Award from the U.S. Department of State, USAID, USIA, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in recognition of his contribution to international affairs. He chairs the South Central Europe (Balkans) Area Studies program for U.S. Foreign Service Officers at the Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, and has testified before various Congressional committees, including the Helsinki Commission, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the House Defense Appropriations Committee. Bugajski holds an M. Phil. in social anthropology from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Alan Charlton has served as the Deputy Chief of Mission at the Embassy of the United Kingdom to the United States since May 2004. During his career in the British Diplomatic Service, Charlton has been posted in West Berlin from 1986-1990, Bonn in 1996 and then returned to Berlin as Deputy Head of Mission in the summer of 1999. Charlton was also head of the Balkans department in the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office from 1993 to 1995 and then became the British member of the Bosnia Contact Group, which included participating in the peace conference at Dayton, Ohio in November 1995. In 2001 he was Director South East Europe in the FCO, working with the international community to bring stability to that troubled region. Charlton was educated at Cambridge, Leicester and Manchester Universities, receiving degrees in modern languages and linguistics and also a Post Graduate Certificate of Education. He was appointed Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George (CMG) in 1996.

Sorin Dumitru Ducaru currently holds the post of Ambassador of Romania to the United States. Prior to that, Ambassador Ducaru was appointed Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Romania to the United Nations in 2000. He has also held the positions of Minister Counselor, Deputy Chief of Mission at the Romanian Embassy in Washington D.C., and Head of the Division for NATO, WEU and Strategic Issues. Ambassador Ducaru graduated from the Faculty of Electronics, Polytechnic Institute Bucharest with a Master in Sciences in Applied Electronics. He then went on to complete his post-graduate studies at the Romanian National School of Political Science and Public Administration, Department of International Relations. He received his MA in International Relations from the Amsterdam School of International Relations, University of Amsterdam.

Daniel Fried took the oath of office as Assistant Secretary of State on May 5, 2005. Before taking the helm of the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Ambassador Fried served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council since January 22, 2001. Ambassador Fried was Principal Deputy Special Advisor to the Secretary of State for the New Independent States from May 2000 until January 2001. He was Ambassador to Poland from November 1997 until May 2000. Daniel Fried began his career with the Foreign Service in 1977. He served in the Economic Bureau of the State Department from 1977 to 1979; at the U.S. Consulate General in then-Leningrad from 1980 to 1981; as Political Officer in the

U.S. Embassy in Belgrade from 1982 to 1985; and in the Office of Soviet Affairs at the State Department from 1985 to 1987. Ambassador Fried was Polish Desk Officer at the State Department from 1987 to 1989 as democracy returned to Poland and Central Europe. He served as Political Counselor in the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw from 1990 to 1993. Ambassador Fried served on the staff of the National Security Council from 1993 until 1997, first as a Director and then as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Central and Eastern Europe. At the White House, he was active in designing U.S. policy on Euroatlantic security, including NATO enlargement and the Russia-NATO relationship.

Taras Kuzio is a Visiting Professor at the Elliot School of International Affairs at George Washington University. He had previously served as an adjunct professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. Kuzio was a senior research fellow at the University of Birmingham (UK) and resident fellow at the Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Toronto. Dr. Kuzio is the author of *State and Nation Building in Ukraine: Perestroika to Independence*, co-author of *Politics and Society in Ukraine*, and co-editor of *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy: Dilemmas of State-Led Nation Building*. He received a Ph.D from the University of Birmingham with an expertise in Post-Soviet Politics, Nationalism and European Security.

Bronislaw Misztal is a Professor at the Department of Sociology and a Fellow at the Life Cycle Institute of the Catholic University of America. He was President of the Social Movements, Social Change and Collective Behavior at the International Sociological Association. Misztal has served as a Professor at the Indiana University at Fort Wayne. He holds a Ph.D. from the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences. Misztal's areas of research include Reconstruction of Fragmented Societies, European Studies, Comparative Politics and Society, Social Movements and Change, Political Economy of Transition, Social Theory, Post-Communist Society and Concept of Formation.

Eva Nowotny was appointed as the Ambassador of Austria to the United States in December 2003. She began her career with the Austrian Foreign Service in 1973. She was a first secretary at the Cultural Institute of the Austrian Embassy in Egypt (1975-78) and a counselor in the Austrian Permanent Mission to the United Nations, where she also served as vice president of the Special Political Committee of the 36th General Assembly (1978-83). After working in different departments and countries she became Foreign Policy Adviser to the Federal Chancellor (1983-1992). In 1992 she was appointed to the position of Austrian Ambassador to France. Between 1997 and 1999 she served as Austrian Ambassador to United Kingdom. After her service in UK, she held a position as Director General of European Integration and Economic Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Austria. She graduated from the University of Vienna at the Faculty of Philosophy and received her Ph.D in History and German in 1968.

Angelos Pangratis has been the Deputy Head of the Delegation of the European Commission in Washington since August 2005. Other positions Dr. Pangratis has held include: Ambassador, Head of Delegation of the European Commission in Argentina (February 2003-August 2005); Head of Unit responsible for Relations with China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan (October 1998-January 2003) and South Korea and Mongolia for part of this period; and First Counselor and Deputy Head of Delegation of the European Commission in the Republic of South Africa (February 1995-September 1997). Dr. Pangratis received his doctorate in International Economics, Monetary Policies and Finance from Universite Paris I, Pantheon Sorbonne in 1983. He has participated in

numerous academic and other international conferences, and has published widely in the press in Europe, China, Korea, South Africa, and Argentina.

Vlad Spanu is the Executive Director of the Moldova Foundation in Washington, DC. He has been a senior Moldovan diplomat and served in policy positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova between 1992 and 2001, including as Director of the Economic Policy Division; National Coordinator within the Southeastern European Cooperation Initiative, the Central European Initiative and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization; Charge d’Affairs, Minister Counselor and Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington, DC. While in the Foreign Service, he was part of the new team of young diplomats who established bilateral and multilateral relations of the independent country, negotiated first trade and investment agreements. Vlad Spanu got his M.P.A. degree from the Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government as an Edward S. Mason fellow in Public Policy and Management Program. He also holds a bachelor degree in economics from the Moldovan State University in Chisinau, a master degree in administration from the Romanian National School of Political and Administrative Studies in Bucharest, and pursued diplomatic studies at the Clingendael Institute of International Relations in The Hague. Vlad Spanu co-authored *The EU and Moldova: On a Fault-Line of Europe*, (The Federal Trust, UK, 2004); *International Business Communication. Case Study on Moldova (1991-2001)* (Plumb Publishing House, Romania. 2003) and is the author of the chapter on Moldova in 2002 and 2003 for *Nations in Transit: Civil Society, Democracy, and Markets in East, Central Europe and the Newly Independent States*, a Freedom House Foundation publication.

Omer Taspinar is an adjunct professor at the Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and the Co-Director of the U.S.-Turkey project at the Brookings Institution. The courses he teaches at SAIS include: “Islam and Europe”; “Turkish and Domestic Foreign Policy”; and “Western European Political Economy”, among others. Dr. Taspinar also worked as a consultant at the Strategic Planning Unit of TOFAS-FIAT from 1996-1997 (Istanbul). Some of Dr. Taspinar’s recent publications include: “Europe’s Muslim Street” (Foreign Policy March-April 2003); “An Uneven Fit: The Turkish Model in the Arab World” (Brookings Analysis Paper, August 2003); and “Political Islam and Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey” (Routledge, forthcoming 2004). In 2001, Dr. Taspinar completed his doctorate studies on Political Islam and Kurdish nationalism in Turkey at the European Studies Department of SAIS, Johns Hopkins University. He speaks Turkish (native), French, English, and Italian.

John Van Oudenaren serves as the Chief of the European Division at the Library of Congress. Prior to that Dr. Van Oudenaren served as a senior researcher at the RAND Corporation. Other positions he has held include director of the RAND Corporation’s European office in Delft, the Netherlands, research associate at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, and positions at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (Washington) and at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London). Dr. Van Oudenaren received his Ph.D. in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and his A.B. in Germanic Languages and Literature from Princeton University. Some of his publications include *Détente in Europe* (Duke University Press, 1991), *Uniting Europe: European Integration and the Post-Cold War World* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), and numerous other articles, chapters and reports on Europe, Russia and U.S. foreign policy.