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Citizenship: Romanian

Married, 1 child.

CURRENT PROFESSIONAL STATUS

- Since January 2015- Co-Chair of the Regional Stability in the South Caucasus Study Group of the PfP Consortium of Defence Academies and Security Studies Institutes (<http://pfp-consortium.org>). **Achievements:** Conducting two academic research workshops/ year, each of whom yielded a short Policy Recommendations paper, and a booklet containing the proceedings. Both products published by the Austrian National Defence Academy. See List of Publications.
- Since October 2012- Head of Research at the European Geopolitical Forum (EGF), <http://gpf-europe.com>. **Achievements and business role:** quarterly “EGF Geopolitical Trends” brief analyses (<http://shop.gpf-europe.com/products/id/egf-geopolitical-trends-july-november-2024-276/>), main editor of the website, regularly Tweeting on behalf of the EGF, editing articles on security, external relations, and energy, participating in international projects.

AREAS OF RESEARCH

- Regional studies on Eurasia (Russia, Wider Black Sea, South Caucasus, Central Asia) and the Middle East.
- For 30+ years following NATO, EU, US, Germany, UK, France from a strategic perspective, as background research.
- For the last 10+ years following Turkey, Iran, China for their growing regional roles in main areas of research.
- US-EU-China-Russia global relations/ great powers competition, and strategic impact on globalization.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2016 - 2018 Study Team Leader: “The Consolidation of Inter-Institutional Cooperation and Communication Mechanism on CSDP-Related Matters. Case Study: Georgia and

Republic of Moldova”, HIQSTEP Project in support of the Eastern Partnership.

- 2010 – 2015, Director of Programs in Brussels of the Centre for East European and Asian Studies, Bucharest (Romania), writing articles, and participating in international research projects.
- 2011-2012- Affiliated Expert at the EGF, <http://gpf-europe.com>.
- 2004-2010 - NATO staff officer focusing on partnerships and cooperation, mostly with countries from the Greater Black Sea Area (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Turkey, Ukraine) and from Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic) in the following areas: security sector reform, combating terrorism, and cyber defence.
- 1994-2004 - various positions with a focus on defence reform and international cooperation in the Ministry of Defence of Romania.
- 1988-1992 - engineer.

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

2011- Training at Welcomeurope on European funded projects.

2001- Main course at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London (11 months).

1995- Main course at the College of Strategic Studies and Defence Economics of the "George Marshall" Centre from Garmisch- Partenkirchen (5 months).

1992- Diploma in European integration and international relations from the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration (NSPSPA) Bucharest (2 years).

1988- Diploma in Mechanical Engineering from the Technical University of Bucharest (5 years).

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE:

June 2021, PhD degree. October 2014–October 2019, PhD Studies & Research, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, Romania. Topic: "Western Confrontation with Russia: Security Scenarios Planning in the Area from the Baltic Sea to the Wider Black Sea (Inter-Marium)" http://gpf-europe.com/upload/Summary_PhD_Niculescu_EGF.pdf

April 2019- March 2021, Member of the Central European Journal for International and Security Studies- CEJISS Editorial Board, <http://www.cejiss.org/george-vlad-niculescu>

2007, Visiting Lecturer at the European Security and Defence College, ESDP Orientation Course. Lecture on: “Transatlantic Relations and NATO-EU Strategic Partnership”.

2002-2004, Visiting Lecturer and Associate Assistant Professor at the NATO Studies Center, Bucharest, NATO Senior Executive Master Program. Lectures on: “Changing NATO: From the End of the Cold War to the Prague Summit”; ”South-East Europe: NATO’s Role in Stabilizing the Region”, “Romania and the ESDP”; “ The International System and Actors - A Brief Theoretical Presentation”;

1996-2004, Associate Assistant Professor at the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, and “Dimitrie Cantemir” University, Bucharest. Topics: Great Issues of Contemporary World Politics; Theory of International Relations; Romania’s Foreign and Security Policy.

1999-2000, Visiting Lecturer at the Regional Training Center, Bucharest. Lectures on "Partnership for Peace: A Flexible Tool to Achieve National Security Goals".

Since 1993 participant in various National and International Conferences, Seminars, Workshops, Round Tables and Research Projects on topics related to: European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Regional Security in South- Eastern Europe, the Wider Black Sea, Security Sector Reform, Combating Terrorism, Cyber Security.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS, RESEARCH PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS:

- “Does the EU Need a Strategy for the South Caucasus?”, Editor with Christoph Bilban, Fred Labarre, Band 14/2024, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna, <https://www.bmlv.gv.at/wissen-forschung/publikationen/publikation.php?id=1219>
- "New Security Arrangements for the South Caucasus", Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 9/2024, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna, <https://www.bmlv.gv.at/wissen-forschung/publikationen/beitrag.php?id=3821>
- “Discussing a South Caucasus Short of Russian Dominance”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 17/2023, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna, https://www.bmlv.gv.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/pfpc_rssc_tiflis_2303_web.pdf
- "EGF Geopolitical Trends", online publication of the European Geopolitical Forum, new series since March 2020, on <http://shop.gpf-europe.com/products/id/egf-geopolitical-trends-november-2023-february-2024-27/>
- “After 24 February 2022: Imagining South Caucasus Security”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 4/2023, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna, <https://www.bmlv.gv.at/wissen-forschung/publikationen/publikation.php?id=1176>
- “Understanding the Contemporary Information Landscape: A Handbook”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 6/2022, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna. <https://www.bundesheer.at/wissen-forschung/publikationen/beitrag.php?id=3615>
- "EGF Geopolitical Trends", online publication of the European Geopolitical Forum, new series since March 2020, on <http://shop.gpf-europe.com/products/id/egf-geopolitical-trends-may-july-2022-264/>
- “Peace Building Through Economic and Infrastructure Integration in the South Caucasus”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 13/2022, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna. https://www.bmlv.gv.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/11_2022_sgi_naples_webversion.pdf
- “Stability Risks and New Conflict Management Platforms in the South Caucasus”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 4/2022, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria). https://www.bundesheer.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/04_2022_fomngt_sgi_rome_reichenau_webversion.pdf
 - “Imperativele și implicațiile geopolitice ale retragerii SUA și aliaților săi din Afghanistan”, in Monitor Strategic No. 3-4/2021 (pp 27-34) Bucuresti, Decembrie 2021. https://ispaim.mapn.ro/webroot/fileslib/upload/files/Monitor%20Strategic/MS%203%204_%20%202021%20final.pdf
- “What Future for Nagorno-Karabakh in the Wake of the 2020 Six-Weeks War- Consequences for Conflict Settlement in the South Caucasus Region”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 2/2021, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria). https://www.bundesheer.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/pfpc_sgi_rssc_extended_21_2_web.pdf

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- “Soluționarea conflictului din Nagorno-Karabakh între consecințele pandemiei Covid 19 și transformarea geopolitică a Caucazului”, in *Monitor Strategic* nr 3-4/2020 (pp. 16-24), <http://ispaim.mapn.ro/app/webroot/fileslib/upload/files/Monitor%20Strategic/ms342020.pdf>
- “Concrete Steps to Break the Deadlocks in the South Caucasus”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 2/2020, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria). https://www.academia.edu/42205188/Concrete_steps_to_break_the_deadlocks_in_the_South_Caucasus?email_work_card=title, https://www.bundesheer.at/pdf_pool/publikationen/02_2020_sgi_20_rssc_webversion.pdf
- “Geopolitical Challenges of European Security in the South Caucasus and Ukraine”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 16/2019, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria). [Bundesheer - Wissenschaftliche Publikationen - Geopolitical Challenges of European Security in the South Caucasus and Ukraine](#)
- “South Caucasus: Leveraging Political Change in a Context of Strategic Volatility”, Editor with Fred Labarre and author of “Armenia’s Velvet Revolution, Karabakh Conflict Internationalization, and Recasting Western Regional Strategies” included therein, Band 5/2019, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria). https://www.academia.edu/38829149/South_Caucasus_Leveraging_Political_Change_in_a_Context_of_Strategic_Volatility_18_th_Workshop_of_the_PfP_Consortium_Study_Group_Regional_Stability_in_the_South_Caucasus
- “What a ‘New European Security Deal’ Could Mean for the South Caucasus”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 14/2018, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria). https://www.academia.edu/37852657/What_a_New_European_Security_Deal_could_mean_for_the_South_Caucasus
- “Perspectives of Co-Existence of European and Eurasian Integration. Is Armenia a Case Study for Belarus and Moldova?”, in “Perspectives of Co-Existence of EU and EAEU Integration Processes: The Case of Armenia”, Political Science Association of Armenia, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, pp. 93-121, Yerevan, 2018, ISBN 978-9939-1-0836-0.
- “Is America Changing the European Power Play?”, 2018, on http://gpf-europe.com/upload/new_us_power_game_europe.pdf
- “Armenia’s “Velvet Revolution” and the Karabakh Conflict Resolution”, 2018, on http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=external_relations&id=238 and https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/armenia-protests-nagorno-karabakh?id=87179e919a&e=e458c217a3&uuid=4d035963-cdfa-4465-908d-99c6d0e59298&utm_source=Daily+Brief&utm_campaign=dcf22d822c-EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_2018_05_07&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_87179e919a-dcf22d822c-53491241&mc_cid=dcf22d822c&mc_eid=%5bUNIQID%5d
- “Could the EU and Russia Restore the Dialogue on European Security? A Scenario Planning Outlook”, 2018, on <http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=security&id=220>
- “Between Fact and Fakery - Information and Instability in the South Caucasus and Beyond”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 2/2018, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria).
- “First Steps towards Security Scenario Planning in the Geopolitical Area from the Baltic Sea to the Wider Black Sea (2025-2030)”, in “ISPAIM-Monitor Strategic” Nr 3-4/2017, Bucuresti, Romania, <http://ispaim.mapn.ro/app/webroot/fileslib/upload/files/Monitor%20Strategic/ms342017.pdf>, si versiune “The Western Confrontation with Russia: Scenario Planning in the Area from the Baltic Sea to the Wider Black Sea”, 2017: http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=external_relations&id=204
- “Harnessing Regional Stability in the South Caucasus- The Role and Prospects of Defence Institution Building in the Current Strategic Context”, Editor with Fred Labarre, Band 10/2017, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria).
- “Building an Energy Policy Management Institution for the South Caucasus”, Editor with

Fred Labarre, Band 7/2017, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria).

- "The Consolidation of Inter-Institutional Cooperation and Communication Mechanism on CSDP-related Matters. Case Study: Republic of Georgia", with the CSDP Study Team, in *European Union Foreign Affairs Journal* No. 2/2017, <http://www.libertas-institut.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/EUFAJ-2-2017.pdf>
- "The Geopolitics of Energy in the South Caucasus and the Prospects of Regional Energy Security Cooperation", in *NATO Science for Peace and Security Series- Vol. 137, "Addressing Emerging Security Risks for Energy Networks in South Caucasus"*, on <http://ebooks.iospress.nl/volume/addressing-emerging-security-risks-for-energy-networks-in-south-caucasus>, 2017, pp. 51-59.
- "Adjusting EU's Geopolitical Posture in the Eastern Neighbourhood", 2017, in "ISPAIM-Monitor Strategic" nr. 1-2/2017, Bucuresti, Romania, pp.5-12, <http://ispaim.mapn.ro/app/webroot/fileslib/upload/files/Monitor%20Strategic/ms%20122017.pdf>, and on http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=external_relations&id=182.
- "Towards a Renewed Eastern Partnership Engagement in the Wider Black Sea" in Mihail E. Ionescu, Editor-"Eastern Partnership: A Civilian Security Perspective", Bucharest, Military publishing House, 2016, pp 226-237, https://eapro.files.wordpress.com/2014/09/eastern-partnership-2016_pt-bt.pdf.
- "The Geopolitics Of Energy In The South Caucasus: Towards A Regional Energy Community", Editor with Fred Labarre, 2016, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria).
- "The Media is the Message - Shaping Compromise in the South Caucasus", Editor with Fred Labarre, 2016, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria).
- "Apprehending Shifts in Status over Time: The Quest for Strategic Patience in the South Caucasus", Editor with Ernst Felberbauer and Fred Labarre, 2015, Austrian National Defence Academy, Vienna (Austria).
- "Harnessing the Geopolitics of the Eastern Partnership: A Way Out from the East European Deadlock?", March 2015, on <http://www.politicalaest.ro/publicatii/2015/03/harnessing-the-geopolitics-of-the-eastern-partnership-a-way-out-from-the-east-european-deadlock>
- "Sailing the Unsettled South Caucasus through Troubled Waters towards Regional Integration", November 2014, on http://gpf-europe.com/upload/iblock/256/sailing_unsettled_caucasus-egf.pdf, and in "Connections", Spring 2015, pp 65-76 (<http://connections-qj.org/article/sailing-south-caucasus-through-troubled-waters-towards-regional-integration>).
- "The Myths and Realities of Vladimir Putin's Eurasian Economic Union"- Updated text for Revista "Geopolitica-Gambitul Reginei: Geopolitica la Marea Neagra", Anul XII, Nr. 57 (3/2014)- p.74-80.
- "Confrontation or Cooperation?", Interview with REGION Plus, March 2014, on <http://www.regionplus.az/en/articles/view/2091>, <http://regionplus.az/ru/articles/view/2091>
- "After the Vilnius Summit: EU's Eastern Partnership at Crossroads", 2013, on http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=external_relations&id=152 and on <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/after-the-vilnius-summit-eus-eastern-partnership-at-crossroads>, and <http://www.eureporter.co/energy/2014/02/05/after-the-vilnius-summit-eus-eastern-partnership-at-crossroads/>.
- "Armenia's Choice of the Eurasian Union: A Stunning End to Its European Integration?", 2013, on http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=external_relations&id=146, on http://www.noravank.am/eng/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=12348, and on <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/armenias-choice-of-the-eurasian-union-a-stunning-end-to-its-european-integration>.
- "Old Powers Re-emerging in the Wider Black Sea: Security and Region Building Strategies in Europe's Eastern Neighbourhood", 2013, with Dr. Marat Terterov, on http://gpf-europe.com/upload/iblock/c4a/old_powers_re-emerging_final.pdf.
- "Could the EU, Turkey and Russia, Share Power in the Wider Black Sea?", 2013, on

<http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/could-the-eu-turkey-and-russia-share-power-in-the-wider-black-sea;>

- *"The Evolving Challenges in Eurasia"*, 2013, on https://www.academia.edu/9637055/THE_EVOLVING_CHALLENGES_IN_EURASIA;
- *"On the Emerging Geopolitics of Shale"*, 2013, on <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/on-the-emerging-geopolitics-of-shale>
- *"The "Global Swing States" and the Future of the Black Sea Regional Order"*, 2013, on <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/the-global-swing-states-and-the-future-of-the-black-sea-regional-order>; and <http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=security&id=135>
- *"The Myths and Realities of Vladimir Putin's Eurasian Economic Union"*, 2013, on <http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=economics&id=132>; and <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/policy-papers/the-eurasian-economic-union-between-myths-and-realities>;
- *"NATO Operations: Strategic Lessons Learned And Future Engagement"*, presented at the international conference on "NATO and the Global Structure of Security: NATO's Partnerships", Bucharest, 8-10 November 2012, published on <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/dossiers/international-conference>; shortened version published under the title "NATO Strategic Operations in Post-Cold War Security Point to the Core Role of Partnerships in the Way Forward" on: <http://gpf-europe.com/forum/?blog=security&id=134>;
- *"A Pragmatic Review of Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Resolution: Could Economic Incentives Help Break The Current Stalemate?"*, 2012, with Dr. Marat Terterov, on http://gpf-europe.com/upload/iblock/99c/egf_nk_paper_october_10_2012_formatted.pdf
- *"Knock On Effects of the Syrian Crisis: Is the Geopolitical Landscape of the South Caucasus On the Verge of A Dramatic Change?"*, 2012, on <http://www.cseea.ro/publicatii/view/brief-analysis/knock-on-effects-of-the-syrian-crisis-is-the-geopolitical-landscape-of-the-south-caucasus-on-the-verge-of-a-dramatic-change>.
- *"The Evolution Of European And Euro-Atlantic Policy Making In The Wider Black Sea: EU and NATO Attempts at Strengthening Regionalism in an Area of Strategic Interest"*, Brussels 2012, with Dr. Marat Terterov, on: http://gpf-europe.com/upload/iblock/c03/black_sea_paper_mt_gn_june_8_2012.pdf.
- Briefing on: *"The Role of NATO in the Wider Black Sea"*, 2012, on http://gpf-europe.com/upload/iblock/d06/george_yerevan_breif.pdf, and in "Materials of the international conference "Regional Security Dynamics in the South Caucasus (17-18.11.2011)", Academic Foundation for Political Science, Yerevan, pp. 85-93.
- *"The CRISHOPE Regional Reference Model in the Greater Black Sea Area: Modern Institutions Building for Early Recovery and Consequence Management in the Aftermath of Natural and Man Made Disasters"*, Bucharest 2012, with CRISHOPE project team, on http://www.cseea.ro/upload_tiny_mce/file/Volum%20International%2021052012.pdf.
- *"Comparative Study on Early Recovery and Consequence Management in the Aftermath of Natural and Man Made Disasters in the Greater Black Sea Area"*, Bucharest 2012, with CRISHOPE project team, on: http://www.cseea.ro/upload_tiny_mce/file/Volum%20International%2021052012.pdf.
- *"Whither the Euro-Atlantic Security?"* on <http://gpf-europe.com>, 2012.
- *"The Unresolved Conflicts In The South Caucasus: Implications For European And Eurasian Integration"*- speaking points at the conference, and summary of seminar conclusions, with Dr. Marat Terterov, on <http://gpf-europe.com>, 2011
- *"Armenia's Choice In Nagorno-Karabakh: Peaceful Resolution Or Another War With Azerbaijan?"* on <http://gpf-europe.com>, 2011
- *"A New Regional Power In The Eastern Mediterranean? Turkey's Choice Between Strategic Partnership And Competition With The West"* on <http://gpf-europe.com>, 2011
- *"The Changing Dynamics of the Black Sea in Regional Security and External Relations"*,

with Dr. Marat Terterov and Dr. Andrej Kreutz on <http://gpf-europe.com>, 2011

- *"The Role of NATO in the Wider Black Sea"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2011 and on http://securecaucasus.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/george_niculescu.pdf.
- *"The European Neighbourhood Policy Review: Elements For A Critical Assessment"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2011
- *"Maintaining The Relevance of NATO In International Affairs: A Partnership Policy For The Next Decades"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2011
- *"NATO's Intervention In Libya: Taking Risks While Dealing With Political Complexities"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2011
- *"European Union's Eastern Partnership: Two Years On"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2011
- *"Engaging With A Rising Power: China"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2011
- *"Breaking The Nagorno-Karabakh Deadlock"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2011
- *"A Sound Partnership Between Moldovan Public Institutions From The Security Sector, The Media And Civil Society"* in *"Security Architecture in the EU Eastern Neighbourhood: Challenges and Realities"*, Chisinau, 2011.
- *"Towards An Energy Security Dimension of the EU-NATO Strategic Partnership?"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2010.
- *"The European Union As A Global Maritime Power"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2010.
- *"Towards A New Euro-Atlantic Vision On The Caucasus And The Black Sea Area?"* on <http://www.cseea.ro>, 2010
- *"NATO and the Black Sea Region"* in *"Strengthening Black Sea Maritime Security"*, Sofia, 2005.
- *"Romania membru al NATO- beneficii si responsabilitati"* in *"Romania membru al Aliantei Nord Atlantice"*, Universitatea Nationala de Aparare, (pp. 36-43), 2004, on http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/pdf_carti/romania_membru_al_aliantei.pdf.
- Contributor to *"Extending Security Cooperation and Defense Arrangements in South Eastern Europe (ESCADA)"* Research Project, conducted by the CESS Groningen, Netherlands, 2002.
- Royal College of Defense Studies (RCDS) Research paper: *"Will NATO Stabilize the Balkans in the 21st Century?"*, 2001.
- *"Civilian and Democratic Control of the Romanian Armed Forces"*, Member's Lecture at the RCDS, 2001.
- *"ESDI and ESDP"*, presentation at the International Seminar: *"New Dimensions of the Transatlantic Relations"*, Bucharest, 2000.
- *"Risks against Romania's National Security"*, Presentation at International Workshop *"National Security Strategy & National Military Strategy of Romania at the Beginning of the 21st Century"*, Sinaia, 2000.
- *"Security and Defense Cooperation in South-East Europe"*, Presentation at International Conference, Sofia-Bulgaria, 2000.
- *"Elements of the New NATO Strategic Concept"* in *"Romania-NATO: Partnership and Cooperation"*, Editura Militara, Bucuresti 1999.
- *"Romania's Approach of National Defense at the Turn of Millenniums: Military Reform and Euro-Atlantic Integration"*, Briefing at a National Seminar, 1999.
- *"Modernization of Defense Resources Management: The British Perspective"* in *Observatorul Militar*, 1999.
- *"Why Romania Should Become a Member of NATO Before the End of the 20th Century - Elements for a Euro-Atlantic Perspective"*, Presentation at National Seminar, Bucharest, 1999.

- *“A Romanian Updated Perspective on Euro-Atlantic Security Challenges” in Gandirea Militara Romaneasca No.4/1998.*
- *“A Romanian Perspective on post Cold War Security Challenges”, Presentation at International Conference, 1998, Budapest-Hungary.*
- *“Romania’s Security Offer to NATO” in Romanian Civilization, Vol. VI, No.1, Spring – Summer 1997.*
- *“Civilian Control over the Military the New Democracies in Central Europe. Some Aspects of Implementation. The Romanian Case” with Adriana Berinde, in Advanced Course on Security Studies, issued by CESS Groningen and NSPSPA Bucharest, 1996.*
- *Marshall Centre Research Paper: "National Security Strategy, Military Strategy, Force Structure and Defense Budget - Case Study: Romania", 1995.*
- *“The Partnership for Peace: A Step to Romania’s Euro-Atlantic Integration”, presentation at International Seminar, 1995, Bucharest.*
- *NSPSPA Research paper: "Romania's National Security in the New European Architecture", 1992-1994.*