



NATO Foundation
Defense College

GAME CHANGERS 2022

NEW STRATEGIC ISSUES

MARCH 10, 2022



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GAME CHANGERS 2022

New strategic issues

High-Level Conference

Organised by the NATO Defense College Foundation

*in co-operation with NATO Public Diplomacy Division, Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo,
MBDA and the NATO Defense College*

Rome, the 10th of March 2022

Venue: Rome Cavalieri, A Waldorf Astoria Hotel - Via Alberto Cadlolo 101

13,45 – 14,30 CET *Participants Registration*

TOWARDS A NEW NATO STRATEGIC CONCEPT

14,30 – 14,40 WELCOME REMARKS

- **Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo**, President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome
- **Andrea Gilli**, Senior Researcher, NATO Defense College, Rome

14,40 – 14,50 OPENING REMARKS

- **Nicola de Santis**, Head, Engagements Section, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO HQ, Brussels

14,50 – 15,00 SPECIAL INTERVENTION

- **Benedetto Della Vedova**, Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Rome

15,00 – 16,00 CET

FIRST PANEL
THE EVOLVING THREAT OF NON-STATE ACTORS AND TRAFFICKING

The recent developments in Afghanistan, Syria, Libya and the Sahel region have shown that criminal violence has become much more relevant than in the past because it is a very important component of local conflicts that have often wider global repercussions. These groups are supported by several illegal trades that finance irregular forces and the development of additional criminal markets. How have these phenomena changed? What geopolitical impact do they have in crisis areas?

Chair: **Paul Radu**, Co-founder, Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, Sarajevo

- **Alex P. Schmid**, Research Fellow, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, The Hague
- **Louise Shelley**, Director, Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, Arlington, USA *
- **Michele Riccardi**, Deputy Director, Transcrime, Università Cattolica, Milan

Q&A Session

16,00 – 16,30 *Coffee Break*

16,30 – 17,45

SECOND PANEL
THE TWIN SIDES OF INDO-PACIFIC INSTABILITIES

The region features two sides of instabilities: one more visible, especially in the maritime sphere, revolved around the security implications of the rise of China (risks, opportunities, technologies, deterrence and next NATO Strategic Concept), and the other more diffused among different countries. The Indo-Pacific region is characterised by a host of long-standing and ongoing internal conflicts that are less visible but risk to jeopardize the rule of law and the stability of all major actors in the region. What is the overall stability of the area? How can international cooperation assist in mitigating internecine conflicts, illegal trade, terrorism and organised crime?

Chair: **Giulia Pompili**, Journalist, Il Foglio Quotidiano, Rome

- **Richard D. Hooker**, Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, Washington D.C.
- **Samina Ahmed**, Project Director South Asia, International Crisis Group, Islamabad
- **Peter Neumann**, Director, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College, London *
- **Raimondo Neironi**, Research Fellow, T.wai, Turin

Q&A Session

17,45 – 18,00 *Coffee Break*

18,00 – 19,00

THIRD PANEL
THE ROLE OF SPACE: NEW TOOLS AND CAPABILITIES

Space is today a much more diverse and changing environment for reasons pertaining technology, new business models and applications overlapping between civil and military spheres, also in the fight against non-state actors. What are the concrete means to enhance the surveillance on criminal networks and trafficking?

Chair: **Niccolò Petrelli**, Professor, Strategic Studies, Roma Tre University, Rome

- **Pascal Legai**, Senior Adviser to the Director General, European Space Agency, Paris
- **Pedro Lourenço**, Head, Unit Surveillance, Department Safety, Security and Surveillance, European Maritime Safety Agency, Lisbon
- **Sorin Ducaru**, Director, European Union Satellite Centre, Torrejon *

Q&A Session

19,00 – 19,10 CONCLUDING REMARKS

- **Piero Fassino**, President, Foreign Affairs Committee, Chamber of Deputies, Rome

END OF THE WORKING DAY

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GAME CHANGERS 2022 *New strategic issues*

SPEAKERS' BIOGRAPHIES

WELCOME REMARKS

Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo

President, NATO Defense College Foundation, Rome

After having served at the Italian Embassy in Washington D.C. and as Commercial Counsellor at the Embassy of Italy in Prague, Ambassador Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo worked as Head of the External Relations Office of the EEC. In the following years, his career focused on Europe and Space Policy. In 1997 he was appointed Diplomatic Counsellor of the Minister of Defence Beniamino Andreatta, then of his successors Carlo Scognamiglio and Sergio Mattarella. In 2000, Minuto-Rizzo held the position of Italian Ambassador to the Western European Union and to the Political and Security Committee of the EU, of which he was among the founding members. He was Deputy Secretary General of the Atlantic Alliance between 2001 and 2007. His mandate was mostly carried out in the strategic-political industrial area and in the relations with sensitive countries such as those in the Gulf and the Southern Mediterranean. His most recent book is *NATO and the Middle East: The Making of a Partnership* (New Academia Publishing, 2018).

Andrea Gilli

Senior Researcher, NATO Defense College, Rome

Andrea Gilli is a Senior Researcher at the NATO Defense College where he works on issues related to technological change and military innovation. In the past, Dr Gilli has been Visiting and Post-Doctoral Fellow at Johns Hopkins University and Columbia University as well as at the Stanford University and Harvard University. Dr Gilli has conducted research for the U.S. Department of Defense; the Italian Air Force; the Italian Government; the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Preparatory Commission for the Strainer Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organization; the Royal United Services Institute; the European Union Institute for Security Studies and the Metropolitan University Prague, among others. His research has been published in the most important academic journals on security issues, such as *21 International Security*, *Security Studies*, and the *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Furthermore, he has been featured in *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy* and the *Economist*, receiving multiple awards: the 2015 European Defence Agency and Egmont Institute's bi-annual prize for the best dissertation on European defence, security and strategy, and the 2020 best research article award on U.S. foreign policy and grand strategy as part of the America in the World Consortium.

OPENING REMARKS

Nicola de Santis

Head, Engagements Section, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO HQ, Brussels

Head of the Engagements Section of NATO Public Diplomacy Division since 2019, Nicola de Santis was previously Head of the Middle East and North Africa Section of the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division at NATO HQ. In this capacity, he was responsible for developing and promoting NATO's policy, political relations, individual practical cooperation programmes and better public understanding in Middle Eastern and North African countries - especially those participating in NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI). He also ensured the coordination with all the other Divisions of NATO's International Staff, International Military Staff and relevant NATO Military Authorities for all aspects of the Alliance's cooperation with countries in the Middle East and in North Africa. Prior to that, he was the Head of the MD and ICI Countries Section within the Political Affairs and Security Policy Division.

SPECIAL INTERVENTION

Benedetto Della Vedova

Undersecretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Rome

Benedetto Della Vedova has been a Member of the Radical Party for thirty years. From January 2019 to March 2021, he was Secretary of +Europa, the movement he helped to build together with Emma Bonino. Undersecretary Della Vedova was President of the Italian Radicals from 2001 to 2003, and leader of the Liberal Reformers movement from 2005 to 2009. Prior to that, he was Member of the European Parliament from 1999 to 2004; Member of the Italian Parliament from 2006 to 2013; Senator from 2013 to 2018, and Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Renzi and Gentiloni governments. From the 1st of March 2021, he is Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in the current Draghi Government.

FIRST PANEL

THE EVOLVING THREAT OF NON-STATE ACTORS AND TRAFFICKING

Paul Radu

Co-founder, Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, Sarajevo

Paul Radu is co-founder and chief of innovation at the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP). He leads OCCRP's major investigative projects, scopes regional expansion and develops new strategies and technology to expose organised crime and corruption across borders. He is co-creator of Investigative Dashboard, a research desk that sifts through datasets to help journalists tracing people, companies, and of the Visual Investigative Scenarios software, a tool that lets reporters sketch out the people, institutions, and connections in criminal networks so that complex investigations

can be easily followed. He is a board member of the Global Investigative Journalism Network and a member of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists; the jury for the global Sigma Data Journalism Awards; and the Allard Prize advisory board. Mr Radu is a winner of the *Daniel Pearl Award*; the *Global Shining Light Award*; the *European Press Prize*; and the *Skoll Award for Social Entrepreneurship*. He was part of the Panama Papers team that won the 2017 *Pulitzer Prize* in journalism.

Alex P. Schmid

Research Fellow, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, The Hague

Alex P. Schmid is Research Fellow at the International Centre for Counter Terrorism (ICCT) in The Hague, and one of the three Directors of the Vienna-based Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), a consortium of institutes and individual scholars engaged in collaborative efforts to study terrorism. From 2014 to March 2018, he was an Associate Professor at the Institute of Security and Global Affairs at Leiden University. Also, Dr Schmid held a chair in International Relations at the University of St. Andrews (Scotland) where he was, until 2009, also Director of the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV). Member of the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) of the European Union, he has carried out OSCE missions to the Balkans and Central Asia as well, and has been involved in NATO-linked activities, (e.g., as member of the Partnership for Peace Consortium of Directors of Research Institutes in the field of Security Studies). Dr Schmid has acted repeatedly as an Expert Evaluator for the European Commission and as a regular keynote speaker at the annual World Summit on Counter-Terrorism held in Herzliya, Israel. He is on the Editorial Board of the academic journal *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Louise Shelley

Director, Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center, Arlington, USA

Louise Shelley is Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Endowed Chair and Professor at Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University, where she founded and currently directs the Terrorism, Transnational Crime and Corruption Center (TraCCC). Among other publications, she is the author of *Human Trafficking: A Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2010) as well as of the more recent *Dark Commerce: How a New Illicit Economy is Threatening our Future* (Princeton University Press, November 2018), which was written while being an inaugural Andrew Carnegie Fellow and a Rockefeller Foundation awardee at Bellagio. Professor Shelley served for six years on Global Agenda Councils on Illicit Trade and Organised Crime of the World Economic Forum. She appears frequently in the media, lectures widely at universities and multinational bodies and has testified repeatedly before Congress on human trafficking and financial crime. She is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Michele Riccardi

Deputy Director, Transcrime, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan

Michele Riccardi is Deputy Director at Transcrime, as well as Adjunct Professor of Financial and Business Information Analysis at Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan, and of Risk Assessment Methods at University of Palermo. He also teaches Money Laundering and Developing Countries at ASERI (Alta Scuola di Economia e Relazioni Internazionali). His research focuses mainly on organised crime, money laundering and financial crime. In this domain, he has coordinated and contributed to numerous research projects, at national and international level, and has authored various publications. He is a member of the ARO (Asset Recovery Office of the European Commission); of the Experts group

of the European Commission Supranational Risk Assessment (SNRA); and of the Italian National Money Laundering Risk Assessment (NRA). Professor Riccardi is a member of the United Nations Working Group on the measurement of illicit financial flows, and has been also consulted by FATF/GAFI as well as the World Bank on money laundering and risk assessment initiatives. He is co-founder of Crime&tech, spin-off of Transcrime-Università Cattolica.

SECOND PANEL

THE TWIN SIDES OF INDO-PACIFIC INSTABILITIES

Giulia Pompili

Journalist, Il Foglio Quotidiano, Rome

Giulia Pompili is staff writer at *Il Foglio Quotidiano* since 2010. Her experience includes writing about Indo-Pacific issues, Japan, Korea, Taiwan and China. Her investigative work on the Chinese influences on Italy and the European Union resulted in a public debate on the nature of the Western relationship with Beijing. She wrote a book, *Sotto lo stesso cielo* (Mondadori, 2021), about East Asian democracies threatened by autocracies. Ms Pompili is also the author of a weekly newsletter compiling news from the Indo-Pacific and providing analyses on the region, the first of this kind in Italian.

Richard D. Hooker

Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, Washington D.C.

Richard D. Hooker Jr. is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow with the Atlantic Council, following service as a Theodore Roosevelt Chair in National Security Affairs and Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University in Washington D.C. A former Dean of the NATO Defense College, he is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Senior Research Associate with the Changing Character of War Program at the University of Oxford and a Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Jamestown Foundation. Dr Hooker also served on the National Security Council during the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations, and as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Europe and Russia with the NSC from April 2017 to July 2018. A career Army officer, he served in combat in Grenada, Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan, including command of a parachute brigade in Baghdad from 2005-2006.

Samina Ahmed

Project Director South Asia, International Crisis Group, Islamabad

Samina Ahmed is Project Director South Asia and Senior Adviser Asia at the International Crisis Group, where she has been working since the end of 2001. Prior to joining Crisis Group, Dr Ahmed was a Research Fellow at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Senior Research Analyst at the Institute of Regional Studies (Islamabad); Visiting Researcher at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington D.C.); the Stockholm Peace Research Institute; and Oxford University. Her areas of expertise include security sector and criminal justice reform; domestic insurgencies, militancy and jihadism; and the risks of regional conflict in South Asia.

Peter Neumann

Director, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College, London

Peter Neumann is Professor of Security Studies at the Department of War Studies of the King's College of London, and founded the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), which he directed between 2008 and 2018. He served as the OSCE Chairman's Special Representative on Countering Violent Radicalisation. He is currently working on a research monograph on the ideas and ideologies of the contemporary Far Right. Dr Neumann has authored more than a dozen peer-reviewed articles, dealing with different aspects of terrorism and radicalisation, especially 'homegrown' radicalisation in Western countries, and serves on the editorial boards of *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, and *Democracy and Security*. Shorter articles and opinion pieces have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Der Spiegel*, the *London Review of Books*, and the *New Scientist*. He taught courses on terrorism, counterterrorism, intelligence, radicalisation and counter-radicalisation at the King's College and at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington.

Raimondo Neironi

Research Fellow, T.wai, Turin

Raimondo Neironi is Adjunct Professor in History of Japan at the Department of Humanities of the University of Turin. He is also Research Fellow at T.wai - Torino World Affairs Institute ("Asia Prospects" programme) - and Managing Editor at RISE - Relazioni internazionali e International Political Economy del Sud-Est asiatico -, the only Italian four-month journal focusing on Southeast Asia studies, ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and the Pacific. His research interests revolve around Cold War history in Southeast Asia, Philippines' domestic politics and Australia's foreign relations with Southeast Asia and its allies in the Indo-Pacific.

THIRD PANEL THE ROLE OF SPACE: NEW TOOLS AND CAPABILITIES

Niccolò Petrelli

Professor, Strategic Studies, Roma Tre University, Rome

Niccolò Petrelli is Professor of Strategic Studies at the Department of Political Science of Roma Tre University. He was previously Postdoctoral Fellow at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC); Lecturer in Politics at the University of Leeds; Eisenhower Defense Fellow at the NATO Defense College; Research Fellow at the Military Center for Strategic Studies (Ce.Mi.S.S.) within the Center for Advanced Defense Studies (CASD) in Rome; and Visiting Scholar at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) in Herzliya. Dr Petrelli's works have been published, among others, in the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, *Intelligence & National Security*, and *Small Wars & Insurgencies*. He also published three monographs in both English and Italian: *Israel, Strategic Culture and the Conflict with Hamas: Adaptation and Military Effectiveness, 1987-2014* (2018), *Grand Strategy and the Future of US-China Competition* (Italian, 2021), and *Deterrence in the 21st Century* (Italian, 2022).

Pascal Legai

Senior Adviser to the Director General, European Space Agency, Paris

Major General (Ret) Pascal Legai was an intelligence officer in the French Air Force. He served as geographer in the French Air Force staff in Paris for five years (1994-1999), and, later on, as Head of the French Imagery Intelligence Centre (2004-2006), Human Resources Adviser (2006-2008), and Commanding Officer of the French Air Force Base in Grenoble (2008-2010). In July 2010, Major General Legai joined as Deputy Director the European Union Satellite Centre (SatCen), an imagery analysis centre, based near Madrid, Spain, providing Geospatial Intelligence (GEOINT) and Imagery Intelligence (IMINT) products and services to support the EU external action. On the 1st January 2015, he was elected by the Member States as Director of the Centre. He left this position in April 2019 and in May he has been appointed to the European Space Agency (ESA), first as a Senior Security Adviser to the ESA/Earth Observation Director, in Frascati (Rome), and currently as a Senior Security Coordinator to ESA DG in Paris.

Pedro Lourenço

Head, Unit Surveillance, Department Safety, Security and Surveillance, European Maritime Safety Agency, Lisbon

Pedro Lourenço is responsible for the Surveillance Unit of the European Maritime Safety Agency, which includes the management of a wide range of services: Earth Observations services, Satellite AIS, and Satellite Communications through Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems (RPAS). These services are delivered to a wide range of user communities, including maritime safety, fisheries control, maritime security, law enforcement, border control, customs and pollution monitoring. Mr Lourenço has twenty years of experience in areas linked with surveillance, space technologies, maritime digital services and innovation.

Sorin Ducaru

Director, European Union Satellite Centre, Torrejon

Ambassador Ducaru is the Director of the European Union Satellite Centre (SatCen) since June 2019. He has previously served as NATO Assistant Secretary-General as well as Head of the NATO Emerging Security Challenges Division, and was Romania's Ambassador to NATO, USA, and to the UN in New York. Besides, he held various positions in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, such as: Spokesperson of the MFA, Director of the Minister's Office, and Head of the Directorate for NATO and Strategic Issues. Ambassador Ducaru has been also engaged in academic and scientific activity, as Associate or Guest Lecturer at the National University for Political Studies (Bucharest, Romania); NATO Defence College (Rome, Italy); Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (Cambridge, USA); Leiden University (Netherlands). He is the Honorary Chairman of the Scientific Board of the New Strategy Center (Bucharest); Member of the European Council of Foreign Relations; Advisory Board Member of the Digital Society Institute (Berlin); Member of the NATO Cybersecurity Centre of Excellence (Tallin); Special Advisor to the Global Commission on the Stability of Cyberspace (The Hague); and former Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute (Washington D.C.).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Piero Fassino

President, Foreign Affairs Committee, Chamber of Deputies, Rome

Piero Fassino is the President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. Elected for the first time in 1994, he was re-elected in all the following legislatures until 2011- when he became mayor of Turin (2011-2016) - and elected again to Parliament in 2018. He is currently also a Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; Vice President of the Political Commission; and President of the Italy-France friendship section of the Inter Parliamentary Union. Honourable Fassino served as Undersecretary of State for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the Prodi government (1996-1998) and, in the same period, as Undersecretary for European Union Policies to the Prime Minister. He then was Minister of Foreign Trade with the D'Alema government (1998-2000), and Minister of Justice for the Amato government (2000-2001). From 1991 to 1996, he held the post of International Secretary of the Democratic Party of the Left. From 2016 to March 2020, he was President of the Socialist Group and spokesman for the Mediterranean at the Congress of Local Authorities of the Council of Europe.



GAME CHANGERS 2022

New strategic issues

CONCEPT

As the Foundation has clearly indicated in its substantial Game Changers Dossier 2020, the evolving strategic landscape is determined by crucial issues ranging from climate change, to energy shifts or artificial intelligence. This year we intend to present to the wider public three areas that have particular relevance vis-à-vis the security of the international community, against the background of the ongoing Ukrainian crisis: the trafficking in grey zones by non-state actors; the open and hidden instabilities in the Indo-Pacific region; and outer space.

The first panel will explore the recent evolution in the appreciation of threats by non-state actors, reflected in the most recent international documents. In fact, criminal violence has become more relevant than in the past 10 years because it is a very important component of local conflicts that destabilise vast regions, affecting also EU and NATO partners and allies. This violence is supported by four major illegal trades: narcotics and pharmaceuticals, environmental products, persons and counterfeit goods (food, cigarettes, fashion, medical supplies etc.). The recent developments in Afghanistan, Syria, Libya and the Sahel region have shown that criminal violence has become much more relevant than in the past because it is a very important component of local conflicts that have often wider global repercussions. The panel will evaluate the latest developments of the threat and their geopolitical implications on the presence of international institutions and organizations in crisis areas.

The second panel will look at the region through different contributions. The Indo-Pacific region is characterised by a host of long-standing and ongoing internal conflicts that affect half of the 25 countries and have evident repercussion on the intrinsic stability of any security architecture in this region.

The third panel will address the relevance of space in a multidimensional cooperative security dimension. Space is a much more diverse environment in terms of its strategic implications for the future. The speakers will explore some possible paths of bilateral and multilateral agreements and consider are the concrete means to enhance the surveillance on criminal networks and trafficking.

THE NATO FOUNDATION

The NATO Defense College Foundation, the only existing think-tank bearing the name of the Alliance, was established in Rome in 2011. It grew out from a common intuition of the President Alessandro Minuto-Rizzo and the NATO Defense College top decision makers who understood the value of a non-profit NGO that could work beyond usual and institutional outreach, training, communication and scientific research activities.

The principles stated in the preamble to the Washington Treaty of 1949 are our heritage.

Our mission is to promote the culture of stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area and in NATO partner nations.

Our aim is to meet the highest standards in contributing to public debate and future deliberations on strategic, security and geopolitical issues.

Therefore, the NDCF strives at considering relevant issues not just in a descriptive or prescriptive way, but by catching the sense of events and the essential vectors of future developments. In a claim: Charting ahead.

CONTACTS

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