UNIVERSITATEA DE VEST DIN TIMIȘOARA

DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA BENEFICIORUM PUBLICORUM

EDWARD NICOLAE LUTTWAK

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Timișoara, 2021

Cuvânt

la deschiderea ceremoniei de acordare a titlului de **DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA BENEFICIORUM PUBLICORUM** al Universității de Vest din Timișoara

domnului EDWARD NICOLAE LUTTWAK

Stimați membri ai Comunității Academice din Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara, Distinși invitați, Dragi colegi și studenți, Onorată asistență, Stimate domnule Edward Nicolae Luttwak,

Una dintre preocupările Universității de Vest din Timișoara, ca universitate comprehensivă, este să își apropie valorile incontestabile ale diverselor domenii de excelență, conștientizând că universitățile sunt în prezent instituții care pot să servească drept catalizatori sociali. Asumându-și rolul cu care a fost investită de fondatorii săi, anume de principal centru de cunoaștere în regiunea de vest a țării, de promotor al culturii dar și rolul de pilon de sprijin al societății, Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara, prin facultățile sale, încearcă constant să ofere binemeritata recunoaștere unor nume importante din lumea științifică, culturală, artistică, economică, socială sau politică și să aducă în prim plan modelele adevărate pentru generațiile tinere.

Astăzi, avem deosebita onoare de a-l primi în rândurile comunității academice din Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara, pe Domnul Edward Nicolae Luttwak, importantă personalitate a lumii științelor politice și o voce recunoscută pe plan mondial în studiul strategiei și relațiilor internaționale. Este o mare responsabilitate pentru noi și suntem onorați să vă avem, începând din acest moment, alături, în calitate de coleg.

Legat sentimental de Timișoara, prin originile sale și iubirea mamei pentru Timișoara, dl. Edward Nicolae Luttwak a promovat valorile românești, și în special pe cele ale Banatului și Timișoarei, la nivel internațional, vorbind mereu despre aceste rădăcini ale sale, pe care le consideră ca punct de plecare a evoluției sale profesionale.

Descrierea pe care i-o face Zbigniew Brzezinski, fost consilier al Președintelui Jimmy Carter, spune foarte multe despre modul în care laureatul de astăzi este perceput pe scena internațională: "Mă gândesc la un intelectual puternic, inclinat spre afirmații categorice, penetrante în multe din perspectivele lor". Cercetător de valoare, analist și strateg care s-a afirmat în lumea relațiilor internaționale, Edward Luttwak și-a construit cariera într-o lume dominată de incertitudini și schimbări profunde, făcând din pasiunea sa pentru strategie o ocupație care l-a condus în cele mai îndepărtate colțuri ale lumii.

Fin observator al evenimentelor din jurul său, laureatul de astăzi nu s-a dat în lături de la a călători acolo unde evenimentele momentului îi permiteau să fie aproape de contexte care

determinau ulterior schimbări majore. Pentru el, strategia este o continuă căutare a punctelor de turnură. Strategia presupune să fii mereu imprevizibil. Iar toate observațiile sale și analizele detaliate pe care le-a făcut de-a lungul anilor, s-au concretizat într-un număr impresionant de cărți, articole, interviuri și lucrări de specialitate care servesc drept repere celor preocupați de științele politice și de relațiile internaționale.

Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara promovează ideea că, în prezent, universitățile au tot mai mult rolul de a contribui la dezvoltarea societății, la popularizarea culturii, la respectarea drepturilor omului și la crearea stabilității politice și considerăm că modele ca cel oferit de Dl. Edward Nicolae Luttwak sunt necesare studenților noștri și societății: oameni care nu se dau bătuți, care contribuie la o mai mare stabilitate a lumii în care trăiesc, care se implică și își urmează cu perseverență pasiunea pentru profesia aleasă.

Titlul onorific conferit astăzi, Doctor Honoris Beneficiorum Publicorum, reprezintă modalitatea prin care Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara recunoaște public și pe deplin meritele dovedite în întreaga sa carieră de Domnul Edward Nicolae Luttwak, o formă de a-i mulțumi pentru toate reperele oferite celor pasionați de lumea strategiilor internaționale.

Stimate Domnule Edward Nicolae Luttwak,

Astăzi, prin acordarea titlului de **Doctor Honoris Beneficiorum Publicorum**, Universitatea de Vest din Timișoara vă mulțumește pentru toate realizările Domniei Voastre și pentru faptul că nu ați uitat, în ciuda parcursului profesional impresionant, rădăcinile care vă leagă de Timișoara. Suntem onorați de prezența Domniei Voastre în Timișoara și de intrarea în rândurile comunității noastre academice. Vă urăm sănătate și putere de muncă și vă dorim să continuați cu aceeași dăruire pasionanta dumneavoastră activitate.

Prof. univ. dr. Marilen-Gabriel Pirtea

Rectorul Universității de Vest din Timișoara

Address

at the opening of the ceremony for awarding the title of **DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA BENEFICIORUM PUBLICORUM** of the West University of Timişoara **to EDWARD NICOLAE LUTTWAK**

Esteemed members of the academic community of the West University of Timişoara, Distinguished guests, Dear colleagues and students, Honoured participants, Esteemed Mr. Edward Nicolae Luttwak,

One of the main directions followed by the West University of Timişoara, as a comprehensive university, is to bring around it the incontestable values of the different fields of activity, knowing that universities are and should be catalysts for the social environment. Taking seriously the role it was given by its founders, that of the main centre of knowledge in the western part of Romania, of promoter of culture and main supporter of the society, the West University of Timişoara, through its eleven faculties, tries to constantly offer well-earned recognition to important names of the scientific, cultural, artistic, economic, social and political worlds. This way, it brings valuable models for the future generations in the limelight.

Today, we have the special honour to receive Mr. Edward Nicolae Luttwak among us, in the academic community of the West University of Timişoara. He is an important personality of the world of political sciences and a renowned voice at world level in what concerns the study of strategy and international relations. For us, having him as our colleague from now on is a huge responsibility and honour.

Having very special sentimental ties with Timişoara, hometown of his mother, Mr. Edward Nicolae Luttwak promoted the Romanian values, especially those of the Banat region and of Timişoara, wherever he went, never forgetting to talk about his roots that he always considered a starting point of his future professional path.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter, describes today's laureate as "...a strong intellectual, inclined towards categorical assertions, penetrating in many of their insights". High class researcher and analyst, prominent figure in the international relations world, Edward Luttwak built his career in a world dominated by uncertainty and major changes, making his passion for building strategies an occupation that has led him to the most distant corners of the world.

Fine observer of the events that have taken place around him, today's celebrated personality has never avoided travelling where the events that were taking place had the potential of becoming the starting points of major future developments. For him, strategy is a continuous search for turning points. Strategy is always unpredictable. And his observations and detailed analysis have turned into books, articles, interviews and research papers that serve as references for those interested in political sciences or international relations.

West University of Timişoara promotes the idea that, nowadays, universities have more and more the role of promoters of culture, contributors to the society's development, defenders of the human rights and participants in creating a more stable political environment. Therefore, we consider that the model offered by Mr. Edward Nicolae Luttwak are necessary for our students and society: the model of persons who never give up their ideas and principles, who contribute to the stability of the world they live in, who are active and involved and follow their passion for the profession they have chosen.

The honorary title offered today, Doctor Honoris Beneficiorum Publicorum, represents the way in which the West University of Timişoara publicly acknowledges the merits of the whole life career of Mr. Edward Nicolae Luttwak, and is a form of thanking him for the strong example given to the younger generations of strategists.

Esteemed Mr. Edward Nicolae Luttwak,

Today, by offering you the title of **Doctor Honoris Beneficiorum Publicorum**, the West University of Timişoara thanks you for all you have accomplished in your career and for not forgetting, despite your impressive professional path, that your roots connect you with our town, Timişoara. We are honoured by your presence in Timişoara and by your accepting to become member of our academic community. We wish you health and the strength to continue your work with the same passion and dedication!

Prof. Marilen-Gabriel Pirtea, PhD

Rector of the West University of Timişoara

LAUDATIO în onoarea domnului EDWARD NICOLAE LUTTWAK cu ocazia acordării titlului de DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA BENEFICIORUM PUBLICORUM

Excelența Voastră, Domnule Edward Nicolae Luttwak, Stimate Domnule Rector al Universității de Vest, Profesor univ. dr. Marilen Pirtea Stimați membrii ai Senatului, Distinși oaspeți, Dragi colegi si studenți, Doamnelor si domnilor,

Comunitatea noastră academică s-a întrunit astăzi pentru a sărbători conferirea celei mai înalte distincții academice a Universității de Vest Excelenței Sale, Domnului Edward Nicolae Luttwak, una dintre cele mai importante personalități ale științelor politice și a studiului strategiei.

Profesie și pasiune. Aceste două cuvinte întrunesc viziunea lui Edward Luttwak despre strategie, un concept pentru care a dedicat o viață de studiu și o carieră impresionantă care se întinde peste jumătate de secol.

Cercetător reputat, analist, strateg, autor al unor lucrări majore în domeniile relațiilor internaționale și studiilor strategice, Edward Luttwak este o personalitate globală în istoria teoriei strategice în a doua jumătate a secolului al XX-lea și începutul secolului al XXI-lea. În ceea ce privește traiectoria sa intelectuală, Edward Luttwak poate fi considerat în primul rând drept un urmaș al marelui gânditor prusac Carl von Clausewitz, fiindu-i în mod clar îndatorat conceptual, însă, în același timp, prin dezvoltarea critică a conceptelor sale, reușind să îi reinterpreteze viziunea ideatică. Pe lângă toate acestea, o erudiție deosebită și un fin simț al umorului se regăsesc în analizele sale despre diferite situații și scenarii istorice (Maior, 2020).

În prezent Senior Associate la Center for Strategic and International Studies of Washington D.C. (Centrul pentru Studii Strategie și Internaționale din Washington), Edward Luttwak și-a dezvoltat cariera într-o perioadă plină de transformări fundamentale care au contribuit în mod semnificativ la societatea contemporană. A privi biografia lui Edward Luttwak este a privi caracterul dramatic, tumultuos al revoluțiilor și transformărilor de pe scena europeană și globală de-a lungul mai multor decenii. În propriile cuvinte: "Strategia a fost dintotdeauna ocupația, dar și pasiunea mea, poate pentru că m-am născut în zona de graniță disputată a Transilvaniei, în timpul celui mai mare și mai sinistru dintre războaie."

Născut la Arad pe 4 noiembrie 1942 într-o familie de evrei înstăriți, Luttwak și familia sa au rămas în România după Diktatul de la Viena, supraviețuind războiului și politicilor antisemite ale perioadei. Venirea la putere a comuniștilor în țară a dus la autoexilul familiei în noimembrie 1947 și a început periplul care l-a format pe tânărul Edwart Luttwak înainte de stabilirea sa definitivă în Maryland, în Statele Unite. Mulți ani mai târziu Edward Luttwak putea afirma următoarele: "Cât despre mine, sunt realmente fericit să adaug experiența și marea onoare de astăzi legăturilor mele cu România, care sunt puternice îndestul pentru a mă face să urez un viitor fericit țării mele natale."

Educat în Italia, apoi în Marea Britania, Luttwak a fost student la London School of Economics între 1961 și 1964, fiind licențiat în științe economice. Din anul 1964 a fost asistent, apoi lector la Universitatea din Bath din Marea Britanie, iar din iunie 1967 până în 1972 a fost voluntar de război în Israel, într-un moment când Statele Unite și Uniunea Sovietică se confruntau deschis în Orientul Mijlociu. Devenind doctorand la John Hopkins University în 1972, Edward Luttwak și-a luat doctoratul în Relații Internaționale în 1975. Au urmat apoi titluri de Doctor Honoris Causa din partea Universității din Bath, a Universității din București și a Universității de Vest "Vasile Goldiș" din Arad.

Deja din anii 1970, în timp ce Războiul Rece se afla în plină desfășurare, Edward Luttwak a fost considerat unul dintre așa numiții "defence intellectuals", care propuneau diferite strategii de apărare în cazul unui conflict nuclear. După obținerea doctoratului, traseul academic al lui Edward Luttwak a inclus multe dintre cele mai prestigioase instituții de învățământ și cercetare. Astfel, el a predat cursuri semestriale de Strategie și Relații Internaționale, ca Visiting Lecturer sau Research Professor la John Hopkins University în Baltimore, la Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, în Washington DC, și la Georgetown University, Washington DC. De asemenea, Edward Luttwak a ținut numeroase prelegeri – astfel, în 1987 a fost Nimitz Lecturer la University of California în Berkeley, în 1989 a fost Tanner Lecturer la Yale University, în 1992 Rosenstiel Lecturer la Grinnell College, iar în 2011, Edward Luttwak a fost Classics Lecturer la Dickinson College.

Pe lângă toate acestea, Edward Luttwak a întreprins o serie de activități non-academice importante. Astfel, începând din anul 1975, a fost consultant al Ministrului Apărării al Statelor Unite, în cadrul Department of Defense. În plus, a fost Fellow și apoi Associate la Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC, cât și International Associate la Institute of Fiscal and Monetary Policy, legat de Ministerul Finanțelor din Japonia. Edward Luttwak a mai fost consultant și pentru U.S. National Security Council, the White House Chief of Staff, the U.S. State Department, the U.S. Department of Defense. Expertiza i-a fost căutată pe plan internațional, fiind consultant și pentru guvernele din Italia, Japonia, Kazahstan, Peru și Spania.

Experiența de predare a lui Edward Luttwak a fost îmbogățită în cadrul școlilor superioare de război din Argentina, Belgia, Brazilia, Canada, China, Franța, India, Israel, Italia, Japonia, Coreea de Sud, Taiwan, Marea Britanie, ca și în cadrul U.S National War College, U.S. Industrial College of the Armed Forces, General Officers' Joint Warfare Course, U.S. Army War College, U.S. Navy War College, U.S. Air Force War College; U.S. Army Staff and Command College, U.S. Air Force Staff and Command College, U.S. Marine Corps Staff and Command College. Cu alte cuvinte, se poate spune că o parte însemnată din elita militară a Statelor Unite a trecut prin mâinile lui Edward Luttwak de-a lungul ultimelor decenii. Mai mult decât atât, Edward Luttwak a introdus câteva

concepte importante, precum "manevră de război" "nivel operațional de război" și cel de "forță de desfășurare rapidă", astfel influențând doctrina militară americană.

O lungă listă de cărți și articole științifice scoate în evidență din nou activitatea lui Edward Luttwak, incluzând mai mult de 30 de volume – dintre care o parte scrise în italiană. Luând toate acestea în considerare, cele mai importante lucrări ale sale pot fi consideate următoarele: Coup d'Etat: A Practical Handbook (1968), The Strategic Balance (1972), The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century AD to the Third (1976), The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union (1983), On the Meaning of Victory: Essays on Strategy (1986), Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace (2002), The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire (2009), The Rise of China vs. The Logic of Strategy (2012).

De asemenea, el a publicat și următoarele cărți în limba italiană: *Che cos'e davvero la democrazia* (cu Susana Creperio Verratti) (1995), *Il fantasma della povertà: una nuova politica per difendere il benessere dei citadini* (cu Carlo Pelanda și Giulio Tremonti) (1995), *Dove va l'Italia?* (interviu cu Gianni Perrelli) (1997), *Il libro della libertà. Il citaddino e lo stato: regole, diritti e doveri in una democrazia* (cu Susana Creperio Verratti) (2000), *I nuovi condottieri. Vincere nel XXI secolo* (cu Arduino Paniccia) (2000).

Bucurându-se de un real succes internațional, cărțile lui Edward Luttwak au fost astfel traduse în arabă, chineză, daneză, olandeză, estoniană, finlandeză, franceză, germană, greacă, ebraică, italiană, japoneză, coreeană, norvegiană, portugheză, spaniolă, suedeză și turcă. În limba română au fost traduse Coup d'Etat și Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace, ultima la Editura Universității de Vest Timișoara.

În același timp, definindu-se într-un interviu ca fiind în primul rând un om practic, Edward Luttwak și-a petrecut majoritatea vieții lucrând cu probleme militare practice, aflându-se adesea în teren și participând la operațiuni militare. Astfel, Edward Luttwak a vizitat o bună parte din țările despre ale căror conflicte și dileme strategice a scris de-a lungul timpului.

Ca urmare a studiilor sale puternic ancorate în istorie – în special a Imperiilor romane și bizantine – Edward Luttwak concluzionează că "fiecare experiență de război este unică, fiind produsul unei convergențe irepetabile de scopuri politice, emoții trecătoare, limitări tehnologice, mișcări tactice, scheme operaționale și factori geografici." Chiar și așa, Edward Luttwak a descoperit de-a lungul anilor existența unei serii de "continuități seducătoare" care formau "modele din ce în ce mai definite" – unele fiind abordate și clarificate de Carl von Clausewitz, în timp ce altele păreau încă nedetectate. Esențialul investigației sale poate fi redat prin faptul că modelele "nu erau controlate de o logică directă, cauzală, familiară." În schimb, războiul în sine are o natură dialectică, fiind determinată de interacțiunile părților care se află într-o stare de conflict. Conceptul clausewitzian al punctului culminant al victoriei este utilizat pentru a arăta cum dincolo de un anumit stadiu, victoria devine înfrângere – asemenea armatei lui Napoleon care, înaintând neînvinsă în Rusia, este la un moment dat izolată de liniile de aprovizionare și trebuie să se retragă. Succesul continuu, cu alte cuvinte, poate uneori ascunde eșecuri structurale importante.

Paradox, ironie, contradicție – acestea însoțesc explorarea lui Edward Luttwak a conceptului strategiei. Într-adevăr, așa cum o percepe Edward Luttwak, există o anumită barieră între conflict și bun-simț, ceea ce poate face dificilă explicarea strategiei. Astfel, logica strategiei arată înspre două direcții: cea paradoxală, orizontală "a adversarilor care urmăresc să se opună, să devieze și

să-și dea peste cap mișcările reciproce" și "interacțiunea verticală a diferitelor niveluri de conflict: tehnic, tactic, operațional, de teatru strategic – elemente între care nu poate fi descoperită o armonie naturală." Purtându-și adesea cititorii de-a lungul unei călătorii revelând întâlnirea cu cele două direcții – orizontale și verticale – ale strategiei, Edward Luttwak are mereu ca țel final înțelegerea și interpretarea a ceea ce poate fi numită marea strategie și rezultatele sale.

O lege de fier identificată de Edward Luttwak este capacitatea democrației de a se mobiliza când este atacată și imposibilitatea ei de a ocupa cu succes atunci când ea însuși atacă, deoarece a face acest lucru ar duce la colapsul idealurilor sale morale. Astfel, spre deosebire de cazul unui imperiu, marea corabie a statului – un concept simbolic fundamental monarhic – nu se poate manifesta în același fel într-o democrație simplul motiv că cetățenii liberi au preocupări diferite și nu pot fi constrânși să fie cu toții marinari, și cu atât mai puțin făcuți să navigheze într-o singură direcție.

Pentru Edward Luttwak, drumul potrivit al strategiei nu e niciodată cel mai simplu și direct – pentru că la capătul său așteaptă mereu inamicul. Prin contrast, drumul cel mai complex și dificil este adesea cel mai potrivit.

Rămâne de văzut care ar fi drumul cel mai potrivit pentru o strategie a democrațiilor occidentale contemporane într-o lume a autoritarismului revitalizat – puțini gânditori în viață ar putea aborda cu încredere și precizie o asemenea problemă fundamentală pentru lumea în care trăim. Unul dintre aceștia – și cu siguranță dintre cei mai mari – este Edward Luttwak.

Doamnelor și Domnilor,

Este o onoare pentru noi să urăm un Bun venit în comunitatea noastră Excelenței Sale, *Doctor Honoris Causa Beneficiorum Publicorum*, Edward Nicolae Luttwak!

Timișoara, Romania, 2021

COMISIA DE EVALUARE ȘI DE ELABORARE A LAUDATIO

Președinte:

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Membri:

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LAUDATIO In honour of His Excellency Edward Nicolae LUTTWAK upon awarding the title of DOCTOR HONORIS CAUSA BENEFICIORUM PUBLICORUM

Your Excellency, Edward Nicolae Luttwak, Professor Marilen Pirtea, Rector of the West University, Honored Senators, Distinguished guests, Dear colleagues and students, Ladies and gentlemen,

Our academic community is gathered here today in order to celebrate the granting of the highest academic distinction of the West University of Timişoara to Mister Edward Nicolae Luttwak, who is one of the most influential figures in political science and strategy studies in the whole world.

Profession and passion: these two words reflect Edward Luttwak's vision of strategy, a concept to which he has dedicated a lifetime of study and an impressive career that spans over a half of a century.

An illustrious researcher, analyst, strategist, and author of important works in the international relations and strategical sciences fields, Edward Luttwak is a world-renowned name in the history of strategic theory in the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century. Edward Luttwak can be considered a successor to the great Prussian thinker Carl von Clausewitz, on the one hand, because he is indebted to him conceptually, and, on the other hand, because he critically developed Clausewitz's concepts, reinterpreting his ideas. Furthermore, a distinguished erudition and a fine sense of humor pervade his analyses of different historical situations and scenarios (Maior 2020).

Currently a Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Washington D.C., Edward Luttwak's career developed in times of fundamental transformations, which significantly contributed to the contemporary society. To look at Luttwak's biography is to look at the dramatic, tumultuous character of revolutions and transformations on the European as well as on the global scene over the course of many decades. In his own words: "Strategy has always been my profession, as well as my passion. Maybe it is because I was born on the disputed border of Transylvania, in the midst of the greatest and most horrible of wars."

He was born in Arad on November 4, 1942, in a wealthy Jewish family. Luttwak and his family stayed in Romania after the Vienna Diktat, surviving both the war and the antisemitic policies of the time. The communists' rise to power in the country led to their self-exile in November of 1947. Thus began the journey that led to his settling in Maryland, USA. Many years later, Edward Luttwak could state: "As for me, I am truly happy to add my experience and today's great honor to my ties with Romania, which are strong enough to make me wish a joyful future to my native country."

Luttwak was educated in Italy, and then in Great Britain, where he studied at the London School of Economics between 1961 and 1964, earning a degree in economics. Starting with the year 1964, he was assistant lecturer, then lecturer at the University of Bath, in Great Britain. From June of 1967 until 1972, he was a war volunteer in Israel, during which time the United States and Soviet Union were fighting in the Middle East. In 1972, Edward Luttwak began his studies at John Hopkins University, and he earned his Ph.D. in international relations in 1975. He then received Doctor Honoris Causa degrees from University of Bath, University of Bucharest, and West University "Vasile Goldiş", Arad.

In the 1970s, in the middle of the Cold War years, Edward Luttwak was already considered one of the so called "defense intellectuals", who proposed different defense strategies in case of a nuclear conflict. After earning his Ph.D., Edward Luttwak's academic career included working in some of the most prestigious education and research institutions in the world. He taught semester courses of Strategy and International Relations as Visiting Lecturer or Research Professor at John Hopkins University in Baltimore, at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, in Washington D.C., and at Georgetown University, Washington D.C. Furthermore, Edward Luttwak gave many lectures – in 1987 he was Nimitz Lecturer at University of California Berkley; he was Tanner Lecturer at Yale University in 1989, Rosenstiel Lecturer at Grinnell College in 1992, and Classics Lecturer at Dickinson College in 2011.

In addition to all this, Edward Luttwak undertook a series of important, non-academic activities. Starting with the year 1975, he was consultant for the United States Department of Defense. He was first Fellow and later Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C., as well as International Associate at the Institute of Fiscal and Monetary Policy, affiliated to the Ministry of Finances in Japan. Edward Luttwak was also consultant for the U.S. National Security Council, the White House Chief of Staff, the U.S. State Department, the U.S. Department of Defense. His expertise was sought after internationally, as he was consultant for the governments of Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Peru and Spain.

Edward Luttwak enriched his teaching expertise in war colleges in Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, France, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Great Britain, as well as in the U.S. National War College, U.S. Industrial College of the Armed Forces, General Officers' Joint Warfare Course, U.S. Army War College, U.S. Navy War College, U.S. Air Force War College, U.S. Army Staff and Command College, U.S. Air Force Staff and Command College, U.S. Marine Corps Staff and Command College. In other words, a significant part of the military elite of the United States has attended Luttwak's courses in the last few decades. Additionally, Edward Luttwak introduced important concepts such as "war maneuver", "operational level of war" and "rapid deployment force", thus influencing the American military doctrine.

Edward Luttwak's work is emphasized again by a long list of books and scholarly articles that includes more than 30 volumes, some of which are written in Italian. Among his most important titles: *Coup d'Etat: A Practical Handbook* (1968), *The Strategic Balance* (1972), *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century AD to the Third* (1976), *The Grand Strategy of the Soviet Union* (1983), *On the Meaning of Victory: Essays on Strategy* (1986), *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace* (2002), *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (2009), *The Rise of China vs. The Logic of Strategy* (2012).

The following books that he published in Italian are also worth mentioning: *Che cos'e davvero la democrazia* (with Susana Creperio Verratti) (1995), *Il fantasma della povertà: una nuova politica per difendere il benessere dei citadini* (with Carlo Pelanda and Giulio Tremonti) (1995), *Dove va l'Italia?* (interview with Gianni Perrelli) (1997), *Il libro della libertà. Il citaddino e lo stato: regole, diritti e doveri in una democrazia* (with Susana Creperio Verratti) (2000), *I nuovi condottieri. Vincere nel XXI secolo* (with Arduino Paniccia) (2000).

Due to their international success, Edward Luttwak's books have been translated into Arabic, Chinese, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Norwegian, Portuguese, Spanish, Swedish, and Turkish. Both *Coup d'Etat: A Practical Handbook* and *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace* have been translated into Romanian, the latter at the West University of Timişoara Press.

Describing himself in an interview as being first of all a practical man, Luttwak spent most of his life working with practical military problems, often in the field and participating in military operations. In this way Edward Luttwak visited many of the countries whose conflicts and strategic dilemmas he wrote about.

As a result of his studies, which are strongly anchored in history – especially the history of the Roman and Byzantine Empire – Edward Luttwak concludes: "every war experience is unique, as it is a result of an unrepeatable convergence of political purposes, fleeting emotions, technological limitations, tactics, operational schemes, and geographical factors." Even so, he discovered over the years that a series of "seducing continuities" forming "more and more defined models" exists, some of which were addressed and clarified by Carl von Clausewitz, while others seemed yet undetected. The essence of his investigation can be described by the fact that the models "were not controlled by a familiar, causal order of logic." Instead, the war itself is of a dialectic nature because it is determined by the interactions of the parties in a state of conflict. The Clausewitzian concept of the culminating point of victory is used in order to show how, beyond a certain stage, victory becomes defeat – as it happened with Napoleon's army, which, after advancing undefeated in Russia, becomes isolated from the supply lines and is forced to retreat. In other words, continuous success may at times hide important structural failures.

Paradox, irony, and contradiction accompany Edward Luttwak's research on the concept of strategy. Indeed, a certain barrier between conflict and common sense, as Luttwak perceives it, exists, which can make it difficult to explain the strategy. Thus, the logic of strategy points to two directions: the horizontal, paradoxical one "of adversaries that seek to oppose, to deviate and to upset each other's movements", and "the vertical interaction of the different levels of conflict: technical and tactical, operational, of strategic theatre – elements between which no natural harmony can be found." Edward Luttwak's final goal is always to understand and interpret what

can be called the grand strategy and its results, and thus he takes his readers on a journey, revealing the place where the two directions of strategy – the horizontal and the vertical – meet.

An indestructible law identified by Edward Luttwak is the capacity of democracy to mobilize itself when it is under attack and its impossibility to successfully occupy when it attacks, because to do so would bring the collapse of its moral ideals. Therefore, as opposed to the case of an empire, the great ship of the state – a fundamentally monarchic symbolical concept – cannot manifest itself in the same way in a democracy for the simple reason that free citizens have different interests and cannot be constrained to be sailors, let alone be made to navigate in one direction only.

For Edward Luttwak, the right path of strategy is never the simpler, more direct one - because at the other end the enemy always awaits. By contrast, the more complex and difficult path is oftentimes the best one.

It remains to be seen what is the right strategy path for contemporary Western democracies in a world of revitalized authoritarianism. Few thinkers today would be able to approach such a fundamental problem for the world we live in with confidence and precision. One of these thinkers – and certainly one of the greatest – is Edward Luttwak.

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is an honor for us to welcome into our community His Excellency,

Doctor Honoris Causa Beneficiorum Publicorum, Edward Nicolae Luttwak!

Timișoara, Romania, 2021

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH EDWARD NICOLAE LUTTWAK

Political scientist, strategist, Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C.

Strategy is not an established academic discipline in the universities of the world, and for a very good reason: it does not have a substantial and continuing body of scholarly research that students can study and that scholars can continue to improve in a cumulative manner, as in the case of Roman history for example, in which every day there is new archaeological evidence from to interpret, generating first very specific studies, then broad reinterpretations on the basis of new evidence.

What strategy does have is a very small number of very great intellectual works –too few for a discipline--rom Herakleitos of Ephesus of 500 BC who understood the most fundamental thing about war: that it is governed by a paradoxical logic, that "men do not understand" (that is why history is a long series of follies and crimes), to Nicholas of Kues, Nicolaus Cusanus (1401-1464), who followed the logic to the very end, the "coincidentia oppositorum" and who was the direct inspiration for Hegel's action-reaction dialectic which provided the engine for Clausewitz *Vom Kriege* On War, which in turn inspired both Lenin's prescription of politics as war, and many other writings including my own *Strategy the Logic of War and Peace*, a book now used in war colleges in many countries but which the Romans would not have needed: they all understood the contradictory, the paradoxical, logic of strategy very well : *si vis Pacem para Bellum* (if you want peace, prepare for war). That is a very simple prescription, but quite enough to tell us why the Romans shaped the world we still live in, and the Greeks or any other culture.

All of the above is a great source of intellectual satisfaction, but is mostly irrelevant to my work as a professional strategist, because no government will pay for an opinion on what is the best chapter of Clausewitz (Ok, I will tell you: "mountain warfare"). What they want are very practical suggestions on how to find a bit more security in an insecure world, or in some cases, on how to use insecurity to obtain political support from the enemy's enemy, or else on how to use both security and insecurity to advance the national interest, economically as well, or perhaps mainly economically.

That does not trouble me –I myself developed the concept of Geo-economics -"the logic of war applied in commerce". Certainly any "center for strategic studies" need not deal only with security questions but it must be "strategic" in two ways: by focusing on a single important goal, just like a good general in battle, and by applying all available means to achieve that goal, just like a good national leader in war. (Washington's "think tanks" never recovered from the end of the USSR). Personally, looking at Europe's dense map of road projects , seeing that the only empty space where roads are bad but there are no European road projects is the former Yugoslavia to the west of Timisoara --which would benefit from more prosperous, better connected neighbors--I see great merit in the "Western Balkan Studies" mentioned by my friend Ambassador **George-Cristian Maior** . They could be conducted within a Timisoara Center for Strategic Studies, also to find ways of opening a direct route to the Adriatic for Timisoara, the Banat and Romania as a whole, by regional as well as wider diplomacy, and by riding the opportunities offered by US and Japanese infrastructure finance in their competition with China's "road and belt" initiative

I am very grateful to the Rector and the University as a whole for the great honor granted to me in my mother's city –where she lived happily playing tennis and reading books till she married in Arad, to then resume playing tennis and reading books in Italy, France and later in Israel, not without visiting me in London where she understood Shakespeare quite easily with the very good English she had learned in Timisoara, along with four other languages . She always did say that Timisoara schools where better, and that was before there was a university! Thank you again.

DISCURS DE ACCEPTARE EDWARD NICOLAE LUTTWAK

Politolog, strateg, Senior Associate Centrul pentru studii strategice și internaționale din Washington

Strategia nu este o disciplină academică implementată în universitățile lumii și asta dintr-un motiv foarte limpede: strategia nu beneficiază de un corpus de cercetare continuu și cu tradiție, pe care studenții să îl poată studia și cercetătorii să îl poată îmbogăți, așa cum este, de exemplu, cazul istoriei romane, pentru care se descoperă în fiecare zi noi dovezi arheologice de interpretat, care generează mai întâi studii specifice, iar mai apoi reinterpretări largi, pe baza noilor dovezi.

Strategia are, într-adevăr, un număr de lucrări fundamentale, prea puține însă pentru a forma o disciplină: de la Heraclit din Efes din 500 ÎC, care a înțeles cel mai fundamental aspect al războiului: că este guvernat de o logică paradoxală, că "oamenii nu înțeleg" (motiv pentru care istoria este o lungă serie de crime și greșeli), la Nicholas din Kues, Nicolaus Cusanus (1401-1464), care a urmărit această logică până la ultimele implicații, până la *"coincidentia oppositorum*", și care a fost inspirația directă pentru dialectica acțiune-reacțiune a lui Hegel, care la rândul său a fost motorul pentru *Vom Kriege*, Despre Război, a lui Clausewitz. Aceasta din urmă a inspirat atât ideea lui Lenin de politică ca război, cât și multe alte texte, printre care și propria mea *Strategie: Logica Războiului și a Păcii*, o carte ce este acum folosită în universități militare din mai multe țări, dar de care romanii nu ar fi avut nevoie: ei au înțeles foarte bine logica paradoxală, contradictorie a strategiei: *si vis Pacem para Bellum* (Dacă vrei pace, pregătește-te pentru război). O idee foarte simplă, dar suficientă ca să ne ajute să înțelegem de ce romanii au conturat lumea în care trăim, sau grecii sau orice altă cultură.

Cele spuse mai sus sunt o mare sursă de satisfacție intelectuală, dar sunt, în mare parte, irelevante pentru cariera mea de specialist în strategie, căci niciun guvern nu va plăti pentru o părere asupra celui mai bun capitol din Clausewitz (prea bine, vă voi spune: este "războiul în zona de munte"). Guvernele vor sugestii foarte practice despre cum să găsească puțin mai multă securitate într-o lume instabilă, sau, în unele cazuri, cum să folosească instabilitatea pentru a obține susținere de la inamicul inamicului, sau cum să folosească atât securitatea, cât și lipsa acesteia pentru a promova interesele naționale și din punct de vedere economic, sau în principal din punct de vedere economic.

Nu mă deranjează acest lucru – am dezvoltat eu însumi conceptul de geo-economie – "logica războiului aplicată la comerț". Fără îndoială că un "centru de studii strategice" nu se poate ocupa doar de probleme de securitate, ci trebuie să fie "strategic" în două moduri: prin concentrarea asupra unui singur scop, ca un general bun într-o bătălie, și prin utilizarea tuturor mijloacelor posibile pentru a atinge acel scop, ca un lider bun al unei națiuni în război. ("Grupurile de experți" din Washington nu și-au revenit niciodată după căderea URSS). Personal, uitându-mă la harta densă de proiecte de drumuri a Europei, văd că singurele spații goale, unde drumurile sunt proaste, dar pentru care nu există proiecte europene, sunt în fosta Iugoslavie, la vest de Timișoara, care ar beneficia de pe urma unor vecini mai prosperi și bine conectați. Văd aici o mare valoare în "Studiile Balcanilor Occidentali", menționate de prietenul meu, Ambasador **George-Cristian Maior.** Acestea s-ar putea desfășura într-un Centru de Studii Strategice din Timișoara, inclusiv cu scopul de a deschide o rută

directă către Adriatică pentru Timișoara, Banat și România, prin intermediul diplomației regionale și la scară largă, și profitând de oportunitățile oferite de SUA și Japonia prin proiectele lor de finanțare a infrastructurii, care vor să rivalizeze inițiativele similare ale Chinei.

Sunt foarte recunoscător domnului Rector și întregii universități pentru onoarea ce mi-a fost oferită în orașul mamei mele – unde a locuit fericită jucând tenis și citind cărți, până când s-a căsătorit în Arad, ca mai apoi să continue să joace tenis și să citească în Italia, Franța, și mai târziu în Israel. M-a vizitat și la Londra, unde l-a înțeles pe Shakespeare cu ușurință, datorită englezei foarte bune pe care a învățat-o în Timișoara, împreună cu alte patru limbi. A susținut mereu că școlile din Timișoara sunt mai bune, și asta era înainte ca aici să existe o universitate!

Mulțumesc încă o dată!

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Political scientist, strategist, Senior Associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington D.C.

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