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STRATEGIC STUDIES**

STRATEGIC



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THE MILITARY CULTURE AND THE STRATEGIC ART

Eugen BĂDĂLAN, PhD

The military profession seems pragmatic and, within this framework, it is free of creative artistic and theoretic complexities, geopolitics paradigms and cultural vocations. There is still, for some of us, a very simple logic, even simplistic, according to which the soldier must only carry out orders. For a soldier, other individuals must think. Or, in any case, the soldier's thinking should limit utmost to the strategic domain, specifically, to the ways and methods to put into practice a political decision related to a war or any other type of military involvement. These methods (the art and science), to put into practice a political decision, represent the most current definition given to strategy.

The culture, for a soldier, would be a waste of time and useless. Unfortunately, a vision like this is not totally foreign to us, Romanians. Some of us consider that the soldier should be military and nothing more. His or her profession is so dense, risky and demanding that there is no more time for anything else, anything including culture. Moreover, the culture would be a disturbing factor that will distract from the professional framework and could become more sophisticated.

Those who share these opinions forget or do not know that, in fact, culture is the first condition for human existence and evolution. The culture is the mandatory support of any profession within the cognitive society, including the military one.

Culture and military strategy

The culture, just to use one of the most interesting definitions of the concept, is "everything that people know after they forgot what they have learned." In other words, "the culture means believes and the creation capability based on a value system or systems". Value is the fundamental concept of the culture and, simply, culture means values. It constitutes into both a perceptive fund of great capability and a support for the great performance in life and profession, in any profession. The culture that we refer to is not an encyclopedic one, even this is not excluded, but a profession-

al one. The military culture is nothing else than a military value system inside which values are accumulated and confirmed in time and without which a soldier would be just a robot. Soldiers, regardless of the position they occupy inside the hierarchy, but especially those who perform at the strategic level, are individuals who think with their own mind meaning intelligent professionals, competent, strongly anchored to the national, European, Euro-Atlantic and universal value system. They have to know, respect, affirm and serve these values.

The value of a soldier is given not only by the rapidness he or she opens fire or, in a commander's position, by the effectiveness he or she makes decisions, but also by the capability to think, anticipate, calculate, understand and use the effects of that shot or decision made.

The military profession is not a simplistic one that could resume to a set of automatic skills but a complex one based on a interdisciplinary formation and a superior capacity to know and understand the battlespace, the value and implications of military actions, the characteristics of the military institution, the functioning principles of the modern equipment, the information technology, the probability theory, including the chaos theory, cybernetics, the network philosophy and architecture, the dynamic complex determinism and so many others.

The formation basis of a specialist, of a professional, especially in the weapons domain, where practically the most performant results of the high technology and information technology, and those of effective human action pedagogy, management, psychology, sociology are integrated, is situated very high to a level that incorporates numerous value systems. A military leader is, in the same time, a technician, leader, teacher, manager and even sometimes an international negotiator, but especially a weapon professional meaning an operator for modern technology, information manager, researcher and practician, instructor and leader of other individuals.



THE POLITICAL-MILITARY PRESENT

The limited and rigid formation can not be possible because, in the process of crossing from the industrial and post-industrial society to the information society, meaning the cognitive society, what remains essential is, for sure, cognition.

The whole activity of the military institution anchors to the political, economic and social values which it serves and, consequently, the military institution gains the quality to ensure peace and security for the country, nation, alliance or coalition. The soldier retains and must have a robust general formation and becomes more and more a generalist exceeding the limits of a specialty but continuing to be specialist in his or her domain. This does not mean that a tank crewman should have the knowledge of an university professor that teaches math logic, cybernetics or universal history but without knowledge about math logic, information technology, laser theory and electronics a soldier can not be a competent crewman for a tank which becomes more and more an electronic and computerized weapon system.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency sometimes to give up the scientific robust training based on the idea that a soldier does not need this. Our experience, and to an equal degree the experience of other nations, shows the opposite and thus our opinion is that the training and education system should be open to art and science, to the value system of the society.

Culture has always constituted for any nations and military an element of military power. The beginning of the American civilization was based on the *victories of the armed nation* first against the native Americans and then during the wars to stabilize the North American region. Americans, balancing their ready-to-shoot enthusiasm during their evolution, understood that a concept like the *armed nation* one is attractive but not sufficient and that, to build a durable civilization, they need a proper military culture with an adequate strategic component to form the foundation for a military profession. Therefore, in March 1802, President Jefferson signed the decree to inaugurate the West Point Military Academy. The graduates were trained to both lead the army and to contribute to the internal development of the country. Since then, the entire American military education system has distinct *academic training programs* (to form

an adequate military culture, especially strategic) and military education that focuses on forming the abilities needed for the military profession. Some of the American officers are top graduates from civilian universities and enter the military through an indirect way (adequate *military education* added to the academic education completed in the civilian universities). The results of this organized system are well known. The American military is, by far, the most proficient military in the world. Many American officers attend studies and doctorates at prestigious universities and their quality of being generalists (people with a remarkable general education), managers and military professionals is beyond any doubt.

The Americans, as most of the Western people, use much of the *strategic culture* concept. This is part of the military culture and could be defined as a system of strategic values, realities, experiences, knowledge, lessons learned, and abilities with evaluative, constructive and projective functions in the warfare and military action fields through a political decision is applied.

The American strategic culture is determined by six important factors: geo-political vocation; international relationship (allies, enemies, international system way of functioning); ideology and political culture; military history; civilian-military relationship; military technology and armaments.

The simple presentation of these domains shows the amplitude of the strategic culture notion and how important its support, the *military culture* should be. Robert McNamara enriches this notion with the experience gained in the American economy. Thus, within the *American strategic military culture* the proficiency and experiences of the *American strategic economic culture* are integrated, meaning that the quantification and the management of the technologies process combined with the horizontal relationship and network philosophy have born, in the last decade of the 20th century, the *Network Centric Warfare* concept.

In the armies of the ancient and medieval China, the most praised people were the wise individuals. They were always honor positioned in the state structures and, obviously, in the military ones and they were conferred with all the time. Every commander used to be accompanied in the battlefield by one or more wise individuals. In many cases the commander himself was a wise individual. The wise individuals' solutions, of those savants



of the Antic World and Middle Age, proved to be craftiness and inventiveness. There was a time when the entire Chinese military art was relying on stratagems. The Chinese strategic (military) art of those times, the one that produced also the great Sun Tzi, was based on the special ability of the wise individuals, it was a culture of deepness, yet the military art of those times was based on stratagems. It is worth to be stressed out that even nowadays the Chinese military art, which is mainly based on nuclear dissuasive strategies and on the support of the up-to-date armament systems, did not give up the stratagems culture.

The United Kingdom, France, Germany and Russia confer as well, by tradition, a particular place to the military culture in the officers' education. In these countries the officers were always part of the intellectual elite of the nation and were highly appreciated. It is true, World War I and World War II have frightened and worried the populace with their bloody battles and huge losses, and gravely affected the respect of the nations for the military profession, asking for not waging a new war but discouraging and preventing it. But everybody understood that the military profession is part of the honorable and very difficult professions, and continued to show all the attention. That is why the systems of democratic values where the military, namely the armies part of the North Atlantic Alliance, are shaped, exist and transformed, the tradition, general and specific training, respect for the ancestors, for the national, European, Euro-Atlantic and universal values are part of every troops and specially of the officers' education. The institutions of military education in these countries praise at maximum the intellectual potential of those who enter in military, particularly of the officers and NCOs.

The same process happens in the Romanian military. The officers' corps has already a tradition in appreciating the profound study – most of the officers with responsible positions in the military are PhD holders in military science, graduates of some faculties or master degrees, researchers, professors to different universities etc. and this is felt in their daily activity. The intellectual quality of the NCOs has increased also, this corps having become a base of support for the high performance professional component of our military. The NCOs' behavior in the theatres of operation and in the areas where units of the Romanian military

are committed is very good, and this is the first and the most relevant proof of the intellectual and moral quality of these people, of their military culture level.

In the last years, the profound political, economic and social transformations of the world, where overlap essential changes in the way the crises and conflicts manifest, determined the appearance of new concepts, sometimes even of other paradigms than the classic ones and led to the emergence of what is called "*the new military culture*". This topic will be probably addressed in a next paper.

Strategic Art, Intelligence, Craftiness

The strategy covers equally the theory of strategy, strategic practice and strategic art. The theory of strategy includes the laws, principles, rules and norms specific to the strategic field, i.e. everything that belongs to the scientific branch of the strategy. This theory is very important, because it gives substance, stability, individuality, richness and consistence to the strategic field, as well as projection capacity, and predictability. It is true, the strategic prevision is not based only on the theoretical field of the strategy, but also on the practical one, and especially on thinking and imagination flexibility from strategic perspective, namely of the strategic art. But, without an appropriate scientific instrument, the strategy would lack its consistency, and its evaluative function of stability and predictability. The strategic practice is the most active area of the strategy. It is the application space for the theory of strategy and, in the meantime, its feed space. Without a practical dimension the theory of strategy would die.

For this purpose, the theory of strategy itself, beside its explicative and predictive functions, creates an applicative area which generates the operational strategy. The strategic art is the most subtle and interesting field of the strategy. It is placed somewhere between the theory of strategy and the strategic practice and consists of the capacity and ability of applying originally and creatively the military laws, principles and norms, and the military behavior, in the warfare and armed confrontation. The strategic art is not only a creative application, but also a very close and special relationship, in time and space, between past and present, between to know and can, between the



will and to be able, in a single word, between what the French calls *savoir* (to know), which presumes a military culture, a strategic culture, and *savoir faire* (to know doing), which demand a system of skills, creative capacity, courage and power. To know means to have knowledge, to assimilate, to understand. To know doing presumes to have the necessary skills for bringing into reality this knowledge. Implementing some knowledge, especially in the strategy field does not mean only to put in practice what someone remembers from theory, but to creatively transpose, meaning in a new, specific and efficient way, what you know and what you have to do. Such a skill demands not only knowledge and rigor, but also a bright intelligence, even geniality, flexibility, capacity of projection and building, to see beyond what could be seen. The strategic art is, in its essence, creative, related to skills and a certain strategic architecture. This is not at hand for everybody. There could be thousands of strategists, but there are few the ones capable to use what we call strategic art.

The strategic art, although it assumes skills and ability, cannot be reduced to stratagems. But it is not only indirect strategy, either. The strategic art has a wide range of coverage. It is, at the same time, architecture and construction, application and creation, innovation and artistic hardness. It is true that stratagems are part of the strategic art, as direct or indirect actions are, also. But the strategic art does not consist only of what the strategies which are used are made of, but especially of the ingenious way of using them. Many strategies - including the one the United States of America is using, through the concept of dominant maneuver - promotes direct actions. But the way these are applied might become a common, even typical one, or beyond everything, might be an art. The strategic art belongs to special leaders, especially to the great commanders. Hannibal's maneuver from Canae, in 216 B.C., General Averescu's maneuver from Flămânda, in the autumn of 1916, in the First World War, the maneuver of the Israeli Armed Forces during the war in 1973, when they infiltrated a group of forces through the space between the two Egyptian armed forces who had forced the Suez Channel, being in offensive are some examples of operational strategic art, used in the operational and battle field. This has a decisive role, not only in reaching the end of the war, but also in its philosophy and image.

Nowadays, it is more difficult than in antiquity to run through all information and knowledge, to get out from the informational intoxication, to find the important way through a more and more suffocating and tight network. The network does not simplify the reality, it complicates and amplifies it, the information does not exclude, on the contrary, it includes and even enlarges the idea of labyrinth, so well illustrated by the theory of chaos, which is gaining more and more space in strategy, also.

That is why it is necessary to underline the need of strategic introspection, strategic reflection, meaning the thought, which must be, in the military field, stronger than reality, stronger than life itself. The world is full of computers, of networks and of more and more sophisticated, precise and efficient weapons. And there will be even more in the future. The world will be saturated. The creative intelligence, intuition, the capacity of rapidly finding important and viable solutions, may bleach in front of a computer which is ten million times quicker than the slow human mind in evaluating or making connections. But, the computer will never create a data base, or go beyond the simple or complex data association. Perhaps the man does the same, even when his work is simplified by a computer. But the computer will never be a human being, will never be a commander or General Staff, will never be the mind that pries into, it will only be the technological, rapid and efficient "mind", that puts in practice a program, and the program will always be created and developed by a person, by a team. In the cybernetic era, in the era of knowledge, the people remain the measure of all things. The strategic art is an art of responsibility. Today, as it was yesterday, also. Even if the Americans acted in Afghanistan and Iraq with equipment of high technology, applying the Network Centric Warfare concept, the general conception of the action, the position of the forces and the actual leadership of the operations are part of the strategic art. In conclusion, the strategic art belongs to the human intelligence, knowledge and skills. It could never be replaced by anything, but it will certainly undertake new forms of manifestation, once the new military culture is going to be imposed.

It is necessary to take into consideration once again, given Romania's new condition of NATO member and future EU member, the strategic reflection and, as its product, the respect towards the



art of building, training and using forces, in the new strategic context defined in partnerships, alliances, stability, peace keeping, fight against terrorism and asymmetric challenges.

Today, but especially tomorrow, the soldier, the group, the platoon, the company, the battalion, the battery, the brigade, the division, the squadron, the territorial and expeditionary forces, the headquarter of any kind, the military and the political authority have and will continue to have extremely powerful and sophisticated means. But only a clever, trained, flexible, strong and responsible mind can use them properly, getting out of the labyrinth and traps of the new technology or of the more hostile part of this world, represented by terrorists.

The Romanian soldiers, commanders and headquarters have such a quality, proved in all the missions fulfilled in the last decade and a half. Romania proved to have the best peacekeepers from all the operational theatres. This is not only because of the technology (although this mustn't be ignored, and it is not ignore as long as the Romanian Armed Forces has introduced in its transformation and training the Network Centric Warfare concept), but also to the hard training, to the spirit of responsibility, to the intelligence and the skills of the soldiers and commanders.

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SMART, SYNTHESIS STRATEGIES IN COMBATING TERRORISM

Mircea MUREȘAN, PhD

The new strategies in combating terrorism, in terms of multiple mutations in identity, training and actions of terrorist groups and networks, imply a real call to intelligence, developing synthetic character, multiinstitutional, cooperative and preemptive civilian and military activities engaged in this fight. UN, NATO, UE, OSCE member states' common efforts to increase the efficiency in combating terrorism must be concerted through international solidarity and cooperation and by strengthening the tie between institutions and civilian population.

1. Recent mutations in terrorist actions

The leaders of the affected or menaced occidental states had activated, after 2001, preemptive and reactive strategies, to prevent and counterattack terrorist actions. Analyzing such tragic events, civilian and military specialists, as well as scholars, realized the fact that in certain situations the preemptive actions didn't have a real efficacy, because of a series of variables resulted from the mutations in the patterns of terrorist actions, misleading this way politic and military factors in charge. No doubt, there were self errors or inconsistencies, also.

Asymmetric conflict represents, first of all, a contest of brains, and ignoring this might endanger many human lives. We must keep this in our mind, when we study such a phenomena, because any truncated information leads to mislead evaluations and unfortunately, sometimes, to minimization of terrorist threat, while the last one is warily planned, succeeding this way to surpass any defensive action of targeted state.

In this environment, both sides will apply the most intelligent overtake procedures at the strategic and tactical asymmetry level. The victory in this war will be attained by the side which will detain and maintain the strategic initiative. This

is the premise any engaging strategy – prevention or confrontation - must be based on, when we refer to terrorist phenomenon. And the last events prove that, for now, the terrorists get the strategic initiative. There is no doubt, in this situation all kind of subjects – kamikaze or not – implied in the events, all levels of their actions must be very well-known. In the same time a very adaptive flexibility and a remarkable preventive rigor must be strongly established in order to build a new global coordinated perspective to fight against this today scourge of humankind¹.

By *intelligence* must understand the capacity/capability to work out difficult situations, to adapt to these situations and to find logical solutions for resolving them. There is, also, another meaning of this term – in English language – *intelligence* meaning a *specialized service dealing with information, secret service*. And the counterterrorist activity it is presumed to encompass both under the same umbrella. London events, 7th of July, this year, lead some analysts to conclude that national information system of Great Britain was only partially accomplishing his preventive role, which, added to those regarding post events investigations and support of security structures form the key structure for counter terrorist activities. In our view, a deep insight of the London attacks could offer a new perspective regarding the terrorist phenomenon.

Although the counterterrorist agencies proposed and British government approved national policy on this issue, the terrorist attack could not be prevented. These were carefully planned, with a good temporal correlation and with the participation of a small integrated cell, consisted at list from four persons². The prevention of these events was not quite the well known efficiency of British secret services, although they are closely co-operate with metropolitan police. Beside these Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre, created in June 2003, is co considered the most important analysis ele-



ment in British management of terrorist phenomenon, being under authority of MI5 general director.

Those who methodically and chronologically study the phenomenon³ do not deny the fact that the counterterrorist agencies had closely co-operated, after 9/11, with the similar ones in EU, USA and many other countries, tracing the individuals suspected on terrorism, the efficiency being proved in “ricinus” case, for example. Recent information also proved there were many other unsuccessful attempts on the House of Commons and subway, not given from objective reason to media.

The individuals involved in the 7 July attacks had no criminal history, being perfectly integrated in the community's live, so, the prevention was difficult. Many scholars realized that the actions were identical with those in USA and Spain (revenge on precedent governmental decisions, blackmailing state in order to pull the country out of this war, or to influence political decisions of Parliament and/or government) but not in the pattern we know, making the situation more difficult. Only some breaches existing in the dynamic through considering a new *modus operandi* of terrorist groups and relating them with borders control and immigration processes could have facilitated the early detection of terrorists and their plans.

It is already proved that violence control needs intelligent, synthesis strategies in order to prevent and combat these phenomena. Those strategies must be continuously adapted to concrete reality but with an eye in the future also, and for this, internal structures, international community, governmental and nongovernmental organizations, population and security institutions must co-operate.

2. From surprise to reflection and action

The immediate reactions of state structures and common citizens consist in a series of emotional states, shock and surprise but after this the needs for information, organization are requested, followed by reflection and action, after considering all parameters of the situation. Thus, the thinking process is at the premium, the intelligence is deeply implied, in order to find out the adequate forms, ways and means to counterattack and prevent such of tragic events. But, sometimes, reality tragically emphasize the hesitations and errors of

decisional factors as well as the solutions which are implemented only temporary, not succeeding in total elimination of new terrorist attempts.

The last terrorist attempts in Europe – in London surface transport and subway – revealed the pattern of terrorist individual: educated in prestigious western schools and universities, having a high technical and general culture. It was the case of young Pakistani from Leeds, who was, in university, the best cricket player. But his solidarity with Islamist fighters has not to surprise us, because it is supported by a common religious culture, the unconditioned subordination to fundamentalist Islam precepts. Globalization process is solving states borders, allowing these antiheroes to get a high class education and act in the way of rejection of the state authority, using violent act on the ethnical or religious basis⁴. At the back of their action will always be frozen social tensions, frustrations and discriminations that were affecting not their own person but minority groups they belong. Thus, there are old causes, but also the new ones, which must be analyzed in order to eliminate them through multiinstitutional, synthesis combating strategies.

London events bring new elements in the Thomas Barnett theory on social order from the *functional core of globalization process* and antisocial acts from the area of *nonintegrational gap*⁵; sometimes the functional core may produce monsters wishing to destabilize the world, to destroy social order. This theory remain available in the case of terrorists whose roots are in this real social Marianas Trench, a world of social, economic, politic and cultural unfulfillments and disillusion.

That violence brings new strategies targeting terrorism acts. In order to do so, without hitting individuals that are true Islam adepts, but only those who embrace its radical forms, a strategy for blocking the processes through that radical groups were financed, was conceived.

Antisponsorising measures are accompanied by a series of activities intending to restrain terrorist field of action. After July 2005, prime-minister Tony Blair's decisions were appreciated, succeeding to block terrorist networks by refusing politic asylum for individuals implied in terrorism activities.

A real variable remain those native Muslims who get the Islamic doctrine from Islamic fundamentalists, generating this way an unlimited series



of terrorist attacks, more efficient and violent than any other occurred by now. We must also mention that this is not a reason to suspect the entire Muslim community because this we the social cohesion might be negatively affected.

On the other hand, the latent danger of terrorism is strongly linked of the great diversity of means and strategies used by the terrorists and economic wealth of those who support and sponsor them. It is a picture of a variable geometry empire – states and globalization process - where the terrorist educated at high graded universities is acting, secret services being sometimes unable to act efficiently.

In an unsecured battlefield the terrorist is able to freely move without being permanently monitored and evaluated. His ubiquity must be doubled by that of secret services in order to survey, anticipate, limit and finally stop his actions.

3. Intelligence and flexibility in antiterrorist strategies elaboration

The radicalization of antioccidental Islamist movement leads to an increase of terrorist attempts. Therefore, flexibility and intelligence in thinking and acting is needed to efficiently counterattack the actions of these nonstate actors, which are experimenting a new development using a much more efficient use of information in the decision chain⁶, combining doctrines, tactics and technological innovations, adapting them to contemporary informational era.

We can observe, as scholars, that new strategies in combating terrorism are consolidating, and as many other specialists⁷ stated, they are continuously adapting to the security environment transformations, quantifying new elements, studying behavioral and actional mannerism of kamikaze and professionally capitalize the secret services' experiences. Operational requests needed in the fight against terrorism must be proper identified, same time with conceptual, structural and organizational changes imposed by new conditions. Forces and assets must be highly professionalized, specialized in combating terrorism by an efficiently manner, wherever and whenever necessary. Also, the information's management system must be improved, facilitating information exchange between specialized agencies and optimizing military effort.

The success of combating terrorism decisively depends on the common effort of international community for managing different issues during this fight by creating the international support needed to fight this battle. The EU example is a good one, in this sense: in August, after July events from British capital, it was decided to allocate 15 millions euros for terrorism prevention. The funds will be use for research, in projects dedicated to prevention of terrorist acts against railroads. Thus, the volume of information acquired by video cameras, radars and infrastructure scanners will be increased. The funds amount will be progressively enlarged, year by year, to reach 250 millions euros in 2007. The first projects are oriented to highways security improvement and the management of a crisis which followed a terrorist attempt.

Forming structures able to directly fight against terrorist groups must have in view that the last ones dispose of intelligent highly professionalized members, like the mujahedins formed and trained, in the past, by CIA, British secret service (MI6) and Pakistani ones too. Having "a complete training, o sharp lucidity and an impressive instinct"⁸ the terrorists appear to lend the methods of those who are hunting them "through a religious adrift transformed in an ideology of destruction and strategy of fanaticism"⁹.

Counterterrorism strategies might be able to deconstruct this type of strategy through a call to intelligence, elaborating new forms and ways, unconventional ones, to fight against evil, by relocating this fight inside the fundamentalists groups, and continuous multiplication of control systems, internal and external security measures added to preventive actions. In order to do so, the counterterrorism strategies must be highly adaptable to the emerging dangers that might appear, must admit restructuring, reversions, new combinations in conducting military operations, new asymmetrical ways of action and reaction, to be able to generate a psychological pressure on terrorist groups and networks, which at their turn, price the psychological effect of surprise and temporary situational advantages.

In order to be completely plugged in reality, the national security strategy of a state targeted by the terrorists must be compulsory adapted to the security environment evolution, to get rapid and accurate response to that risks and threats that might affect its own interests. The chord and com-



patibility of national security system with those of EU states are increasing the response capacity of state institutions to particular internal risks and threats or external nonmilitary threats, as well as the capability to fully assume a status of active security factor in relation with international security.

An efficient counterterrorism strategy has to envisage courses of actions that apply anticipative measures and offensive counterattacking actions, also. On the other hand, this strategy must be supported by the results management, through actions and initiatives of military and civil authorities, in order to diminish the consequences of terrorists' attacks.

4. States, international organizations and the new anti terrorist strategies

The fight against terrorism, in its recent manifestations, has a strong basis in UN activity. In 2004 UN adopted the 1540 Resolution, needed to avoid the possibility that a non state player succeeds to acquire weapons of mass destruction or dangerous materials. Till now 13 antiterrorist conventions had been adopted, and this year was launched the project for an International Convention for repression of nuclear terrorism. This set the necessary legal framework for repressing of nuclear terrorist acts, eliminating their consequences, and guarantees the antiterrorist protection in civil and military nuclear branch, preventing handcrafted nuclear weapons attempts. What is real important related with this convention is the fact that for the very first time in history, the international community issues a preventive antiterrorist convention, a first agreement which open new possibilities in the antiterrorist cooperation under UN authority.

Also important is the fact that in July, this year, a diplomatic conference has been held in order to improve the 1979 Convention regarding the nuclear materials protection, as well as the protection of nuclear sites against sabotage.

The leaders of major states of the world agree that, this way, the global system of nuclear safety become more effective. Especially now, when for the second year, at the global level, The International security and fight against weapons of mass destruction proliferation Initiative (ISP), sustained by over than 60 states, and The International Convention for repression of nuclear terrorist acts will

be ready for signing.

The preventive antiterrorist activity is also a priority for organizations like: NATO, UE, OSCE etc. Due to the fact that the major terrorists' states targets are members of both organizations, those states are following the specific strategies of those organizations but they are also contributing their own way to the terrorism phenomena eradication. As we all know, at the Prague summit a specific fight against terrorist groups and organizations strategy has been launched. Thus, the necessary capabilities in order to support this mission¹⁰ has been operationalised, the geometry of an alliance concept regarding defence against terrorism, defence against weapons of mass destruction, protection against cybernetic attacks and the minutiae analysis of an missiles terrorist attack against NATO states has been also initiate.

After Prague Summit NATO states submitted to the global antiterrorist campaign, strengthening cooperation, and in coalition or under ONU, UE, OSCE aegis they step forward in order to accomplish new capabilities and protection against weapons of mass destruction measures.

For a great significance was the option to consolidate the Mediterranean Sea operation Active Endeavour at the Istanbul¹¹ NATO Summit. There-with it was decided an increase of individual and collective contribution on this fight against terror. The terrorism and WMD proliferation were considered the most serious threats at the Alliance's security same time with the global one. In this regard an essential issue was the cooperation design between USA and Europe.

The fight against terror was projected at the global level, using political, diplomatic, economic, and, if necessary, the military tools. In order to accomplish this, a reforming of information exchange and actual NATO Intel structures, also, providing protection at major international events using NATO Remote Detection and Control Air Force aircrafts; achievement of terrorist actions deterrence regarding Balkans and Afghanistan operations; the strengthening of defence capabilities in case of terrorist attacks and the increase cooperation with regional and international organizations, frequent consultations and information exchange with EU.

After the USA terrorist attacks, EU reconsidered its own policies regarding the terrorist phenomena¹², establishing more concrete objectives:



prevention of aggression acts, long terms conflict management, establishment of an economic and political partnership for prosperity and security, migration control, EU citizens' security protection. There were considered the basic elements of the future European Security Strategy: the dynamic of new emerging threats and challenges, the unlimited violence and increase number of victims in the terrorist attacks and the existence of Al-Qaeda logistic basis found out in UK, Germany, Spain, Italy and Belgium.

That is why EU rapidly built crisis management capabilities, in order to destruct command and control and financial capabilities of terrorist organizations, and designate an European commissioner for the Fight against Terror. In this new adopted strategy, EU is also preoccupied to recover the European deficit at the force and capabilities level, enforcing the European pillar as a guarantee of success for transatlantic relationship stability and efficiency in this fight against terror.

There is the conviction, also stated in the Solana Strategy, that the fight against terror will be more efficient if the continent is fully unified and integrated, the states from its neighborhood will benefit from good governance, stability in the Balkans region will be assured, economical and political co-operation with Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus will be extended, increased attention for the South Caucasus area, with other words a real multidimensional system which will reinforce the world order.

Regarding OSCE actions, in July this year, The Permanent Council of this organization decided to fight the threat of radioactive materials. Thus, the AIEA Code of Conduct will be applied on the OSCE ensemble, reducing the risk of procurement by the terrorists.

All the preventive measures taken by UN, NATO, EU and OSCE prove that security issues in the 21st century can not be solve by a sole nation only, no matter how strong it is, but through international co-operation. Unfortunately, all these activities and initiatives can not remove entirely the danger of terrorist attacks in occidental states. The Chief of London Police stated that preferred targets of terrorists are states financial centers. That is why the possibility of terrorist attacks is not eliminated by any initiative however complex that might be. Moreover, we agree that any other attack, in London or any other targeted western

capital might be just a matter of time. The maximum disturbance of every day activities and massacres involved by such terrorist activities have to put state structures in a permanent state of alert and determine an intelligent structure of security, synthetic, multiinstitutional, in order to control the phenomena as a hole and forbidding the initiation of new major terrorist attacks.

Synthesis strategies in the fight against terror will provide an increased efficacy of antiterrorist activities, improving the structures compatibility with terrorist policies, strategies and tactics, perfecting information synthesis and dissemination, optimizing the decisional chain etc. Their results will be an important tool in the fight against terror, constituting an unanswerable argument that co-operation of state and civil structure and strengthening the international co-operation will strongly deter this phenomenon.

NOTES:

1 After the July terrorist attacks British security system informed that terrorist groups dispose by a huge infrastructure. The strict security measures taken aimed to reunite the authorities' efforts for increasing population security with those for discouragement of future attacks. All these prove that British realized the necessity of preventive measures in the fight against global terrorism.

2 For more detailed information, see www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/793.asp#top

3 Frank GREGORY, from Social Sciences School at Southampton University, in his analysis „*Contraterrorisme respaldado por la inteligencia: breve analisis de la respuesta del sistema nacional de inteligencia del Reino Unido al 11-Sy las implicaciones de los atentados de Londres del 7 de julio de 2005*“ (ARI Nr. 94/2005, en. transl. – Analisis, in www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/793.asp).

4 See Cristian JURA, *Geopolitica conflictelor*, in *Geopolitica*, year II, no. 7-8 (3/2004), p. 86.

5 Thomas P.M. BARNETT, *The Pentagon's New Map*, Esquire, March 2003. Relating this theory see also the article „*O altă viziune și o altă strategie a SUA asupra lumii: Noua hartă a Pentagonului*“, published by Corneliu Vlad, in *Lumea* nr. 8 (124)/2003.

6 Charles HECKSCHER, *The Post Beurocratic Organization*, Sage Thousand Oaks California 1995, pp. 50-52, cited by Brigadier General Iulian Crăiniceanu in *Paradigma acțiunilor teroriste*, vol. **Vectori ai amenințărilor la adresa securității naționale în noul context geopolitic și geostrategic**, Serviciul de Protecție și Pază, București, 2004, p. 6.



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7 PhD. Dan NIȚĂ, *Impactul atacurilor kamikaze asupra țințelor vizate și a forțelor de securitate*, vol. **Vec-tori ai amenințării la adresa securității naționale în noul context geopolitic și geostrategic**, Serviciul de Protecție și Pază, București, 2004, p. 30.

8 Jean DANIEL, *La face demente de l'Islam*, Le nouvel observateur, mardi, 12 juillet 2005.

9 Ibidem.

10 *Prague Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Prague on 21 November 2002*, www.nato.int

11 *Istanbul Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council*, on 28 June 2004 (<http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-096f.htm>).

12 See: *O poziție comună în aplicarea unor măsuri specifice pentru combaterea terorismului*, Consiliul European, 27 decembrie 2001, doc. 2001/931/ CFSP; Planul de acțiune al UE pentru combaterea terorismului, Consiliul Uniunii Europene, doc. 10586/04 și Javier SOLANA, *O Europă mai sigură, într-o lume mai bună. Strategie europeană de securitate*, Bruxelles, 12 decembrie 2003, <http://ue.eu.int/pressdata/EN/reports/78367>.

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THE ROMANIAN ARMED FORCES TRANSFORMATION GOES ON

Mihail ORZEȚĂ, PhD

As a NATO member, Romania has assumed all the commitments inherent in its full integration into Alliance, including the principle of continuous transformation on which its re-structuring process is based. In order to meet the assumed commitments, Romanian Armed Forces have taken important steps and got significant achievements. Nevertheless, there are lots of other things to do and, first of all, transformation tempo has to be accelerated.

Reading again recently “*Rules and tools for leaders*”¹ I asked myself whether it would not be necessary a Dictionary of Transformation to be issued in Romania or, at least, one that could be used by the staff in service with the Ministry of National Defense. This dictionary should explain at the very least how notions, concepts, courses of actions and requirements related to continuous transformation must be understood. I do not know what the public reaction would be but, probably, people well informed of the issue would say that there have been published plenty of studies, concepts, plans and programs about the transformation of the Romanian society and military body aiming at the integration into Euro-Atlantic security structures. To this point, purveying a new paper, even a dictionary, would deepen the impression that we tend to focus our attention on academic debates and approaches, that is „to polish the form” in order to reach perfection, avoiding or postponing pragmatic approach and solution implementation.

This is apparently true, but there are concrete situations which lead us to believe that we need to go deeper into the concept area to eliminate the „confusion” some of our colleagues still make between: goal and desire; potential and capability; want and can; flexibility and inconsistency; steadfastness and refusal to adapt to the situation, etc.

These few examples clearly define those who, because of their ignorance or insufficient training, perpetuate it through their attitudes.

Clarifying several conceptual aspects of transformation would not be a new or unusual initiative. On the contrary, it would reflect normality because the confusions existing at the concept level have to be eliminated as soon as possible in order not to spread and cause malfunctions at the executive level. It is well-known that the United States has developed a strategy for transformation so that the entire society and, implicitly, the military body know what to do!

Also, NATO created the Allied Command for Transformation meant to coordinate the re-structuring process for successfully facing the challenges (threats and risks) the Organization confronts with.

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In order to meet the assumed commitments, Romanian Armed Forces have taken important steps and got significant achievements. Nevertheless, there are lots of other things to do and, first of all, transformation tempo has to be accelerated.

There are many ways to increase the rate at which transformation is carried out but I think that focusing our efforts on **human resources transformation and re-defining the goal of continuous transformation concept** are the most important.

Although continuous transformation has been, and still is, a major subject to write about, my assessment is that not all the i’s have been dotted as far as the concept is concerned.

What I have in mind is a re-defined concept of the continuous transformation in the military and this should be: *continual adaptation of the decisions and actions related to military body so it can accomplish its missions in any environment (time, season, weather, enemy, terrain, as a member of a coalition or alliance, etc.).*



This proposal answers both to WHAT must be done and WHY we should take over the principle of continuous transformation. At the same time, the goal of the re-defined concept gives the leaders enough freedom of initiative to make their own decisions in terms of HOW to perform the tasks.

To reach the goal of continuous transformation could be a difficult job but a human resource-based effort is a highly-probable answer as human being is both the brains and the engine of the transformation. That is why it represents the most important resource at our disposal and it has to be given due attention.

Human resources' transformation is a process including, at least, the following stages: assess the current status (our potential and capabilities, conclusions reached as a result of a comparison between our potential and capabilities on one hand, and NATO requirements on the other hand, forecast of the requirements' evolution, etc.); re-define and re-evaluate the general objective and the objectives for the established stages; develop the strategy to pursue; develop the necessary concepts, plans and programs; carry out those plans and programs; monitor the way in which they are implemented; systematically evaluate the results and make corrections, as necessary.

Assessment of the current stage concerning the human resources is a laborious but very important process for founding the appropriate decisions and this is why it has to be conducted on a daily basis since continuous transformation requires a precise and permanent awareness of the situation.

Each decision has to be made based on a sound, familiar and reliable ground, taking into account that resource allotment needs carefully pondering and good reasoning. Any inaccuracy caused by insufficient awareness of the situation may put plans, programs, operational tasks and even the general goal in jeopardy. Malfunctions will eventually bring about uneconomical resource spending.

Coming back to a practical evaluation of the stage the human resources' transformation process has reached, it is important to emphasize the significant achievements with respect to regulations' development and implementation. However, there is room for improvement considering that we can produce perfectible things only due to our imperfect human condition. So, as long as people whose

philosophy is „*It works, no matter how!*”, or „*All's well that ends well!*” still exist, malfunctions still exist too and their removal is necessary.

My concluding assessment is that the major goal of the human resources' transformation, as part of Romanian Armed Forces transformation and full integration into NATO, should be: “*consistently promote highly-qualified and proficient staff, re-orientate toward other areas those unable to cope with proficiency requirements, and impose permanent selection and training as the major norms*”.

There are several ways ahead to meet the above-mentioned goal but the most important for the strategic level are *change of attitude* and *change of mentality*.

Change of attitude means to unflinchingly give up the post-factum acting (*reactive attitude*) and focus on prevention, “invest in the future” (*pro-active attitude*), based on the conclusions and forecasts which reflect the evolutionary trends of the internal and international security environment and the assessment of its potential impact on Romanian society and military body, implicitly.

Investing in people, as well as the transformation, should be permanent. In this respect, the most important step ahead is the transition from the child status to that of a grown-up through educational process. This must be necessarily followed by permanent selection and training which will allow reaching high qualification and proficiency.

Permanent selection should include not only our assessment made by senior staff (commanders and chiefs, commissions, etc.) but also self-evaluation based on the same criteria. When significant differences come out, causes should be identified and solved. This is also a great opportunity to better know each other and oneself. Permanent selection will result not only in assessment but also in decisions aiming to improve human resources' employment as follows:

- *assign the proper person for the proper position;*
- *strengthen the team spirit and reduce misunderstandings and dissatisfaction;*
- *increase every military structure efficiency promoting high-qualification and proficiency.*

A way of implementing the principle of permanent selection could be individual career management but, as far as the Romanian military is concerned, this is still in the initial stage.



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Change of mentality means to spread the desire for proficiency, for becoming a winner, and transform it in a “mass phenomenon” and “lifestyle” within all the military structures (implementation of the so-called *winner spirit* to the entire personnel in service with the armed forces, priority having combat element). This goal is achievable and could be touched under the following conditions:

- do not allow fear and self-consciousness „govern” our behavior (for example, the fact that we are from the Balkans or a former communist country); the past plays its role but the future is more important and it is up to us to build it (starting from today!), we should not just wait it surprised and unprepared to come over;

- give up the principle „It works, no matter how!” and stop so easily declaring satisfaction that „All’s well that ends well!”

- stop seeking excuses for failure, make a thorough self-assessment to find out the causes and remove them, then create an appropriate framework to avoid repeating such situations;

- make successful plans and stop basing it so much on inventiveness, improvisation and chance (use inventiveness to find out solutions for fulfilling the goals, plans and programs);

- learn how to become efficient and pragmatic;

- know to properly value a victory but not become complacent because the following struggle (activity) is always more important;

- know how to build and develop the team spirit because we should never be alone either in victory or defeat;

- know the difference between goal and desire, flexibility and inconsistency; steadfastness and refusal to accept changes, perseverance and stubborn streak, potential and capabilities;

- know how to coordinate the goals and resources during both the planning process and plan and program implementation;

- understand the importance of the communi-

cation skills but proficiency prerequisite requires thorough training and enough experience to allow us TO EXPRESS OUR OPINION LOUD AND CLEAR(!);

- understand that the assignment to a higher position in the peacetime establishment needs the appropriate skills, even talent, and proficiency needs work, hard work and sacrifices to show off the talent;

- understand that „want” should be necessarily completed and sustained by „can”;

- admit that a diploma is valuable under the very conditions of appropriate knowledge and skills to sustain it;

- admit that we need new talents, but we also need characters;

- know what a valuable use of time means turning it from a perpetual enemy into a reliable ally;

- measure your words (promises, commitments) through your deeds: the facts will speak for themselves;

- assume responsibilities in order to deserve rights;

- the leaders will motivate and stimulate those under their command to become highly-qualified and proficient;

- admit the others are at least as good as you are!

These lines express several ideas I have thought about which, as I said before, are perfectible. Therefore, my strong belief is that a debate on human resources’ transformation will be beneficial if concrete actions are taken to give an impulse to the transformation tempo and diminish the resistance to change.

NOTES:

1 Perry M.SMITH – **Rules and tools for leaders (How to Run an Organization Successfully** – Avery Publishing Group, Garden City Park, New York, 1998

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THE NEW CENTRES OF POWER AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Viorel BUȚA, PhD

Nowadays the United States are the unique superpower that can use force under the auspices of the United Nations, acting anywhere in the world within the intervention force because they have huge economic-financial resources and an unrivalled military arsenal.

Besides the United States, centres of power can also be considered the Great Britain, Russia, China, France, Japan, Germany and India, countries that are global geostrategic players. On a second level there are: Ukraine, South Korea, Nigeria, Mexico, Turkey, Iran and Indonesia, as true geopolitical and geostrategic pivots that influence the world strategic dynamics.

The 21st century evolves towards a multipolarism of the world, in which the asserting and confirmation of the new centres of power take place through competition, and the growth of the degree of interdependency and interaction between the states of the world accentuates the transfer of civilization from the West (including the United States of America) towards the East. This phenomenon is part of the globalization tendencies, controlled by the United States, and directs the effort of integration into European and Euroatlantic structures of former communist countries.

The globalization phenomenon, complementary or adjacent to the regionalization one, is still hard to define, if we take into account its medium and long term amplitude, dimensions and consequences.

Today, as always, the tendency of some centres of power to exert their domination at regional, continental or world level can be observed. The struggle to include new states, areas, regions or continents within their sphere of influence becomes ever harder.

At the same time, there can be observed the tendency of small and medium states to leave the sphere of influence of some centres of power and certain interests that are not favourable to them and

to enter the sphere of others that are favourable to their national interests. These tendencies occur in the general context of the world power game, in which the influences of different powers increase or decrease during different periods of time. But this game of interests, at its world dimension, takes place within the same space, which means that the increase of one automatically means a decrease of the same spatial proportions of others, depending on the historical period being analyzed.

The transformations in Central and South-East Europe during the last decade of the last century resemble to those in the aftermath of the First World War when the multinational empires collapsed. The three federal states, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, gave birth to over twenty independent states – the equivalent of a new continent.

Ceasing to evolve under the force of the two superpowers, the world is searching for a new stability in the mayhem caused by the fight between centres of power, groups and centres of interests, a phenomenon which generated two dynamic and contradictory processes: one of fusion and another of fission.

Under these circumstances, some states try to form alliances, to fuse with one another, for constituting new and less vulnerable economic and collective security assemblies. Opposite to and simultaneously with the fusion movements, multinational assemblies suffered fission effects and broke up, as it happened in the Balkans.

The classical theory of balance of power represents an attempt to explain the behaviour of powerful states during a determined period of time. It studies regional or global dominations following the disturbance or reinstatement of the state of equilibrium. This external behaviour of a state does not depend on personalities, internal conditions or ideological orientations and often appears as a reaction to the international situation. It answers a requirement motivated by some elements



of power that are used in enlarging the sphere of influence. For example, although Russia has experienced three different social systems along the years – feudalism, socialism, democracy, its imperial attitude and vocation suffered very little changes in the field of international relations.

The international behaviour of one country can also be explained by its internal and external situation (wars, alliances, imperialism, diplomatic manoeuvres, isolation etc.) and can be interpreted as a result of internal political pressures, nationalist ideologies, religious expansions, economic necessities etc. Meantime, it can also be interpreted as an expression of the needs and values of its citizens and political leaders. But sometimes, the foreign policy of one country is influenced by a number of official or unofficial personalities with a capacity of influence at the highest political and military levels.

In the current international practice there are certain methods by which a centre of power (a state) exerts its regional, continental or global influence. The extreme mobility of the world today has led to the constitution of groups and alliances based on a community of interests with the purpose of a coordinated action at world level.

Under these circumstances, a number of centres of power emerged and exert their influence as a unitary organism with an apparently unitary structure, although in reality it is rather heterogeneous. They act according to different methods and procedures, always adapted to the concrete situations. Thus, the centres of power act through: persuasion, offering or awarding compensations, punitive measures under various forms among which the most used is the embargo, the threat to use force or even the use of force etc.

Today, as in the near future, the international behaviour of states asserts its structure and acting dimension according to the following factors: the possession of nuclear weapons, the needs that intervene between two states or two groups of states, credibility, resources, available means, the degree of knowledge, costs, expenses etc. As a consequence, international relations represent relations between states guided by a reduced number of powerful actors.

Along the years, there has been an obvious mobility of the role played by a number of states: some countries had a world vocation and then disappeared almost completely from the struggle of

geopolitic and geostrategic interests (such as Spain, Portugal etc), but during the last two centuries the influences at global level have been exerted by approximately the same centres of power. Thus, the USSR was a global power in 1922 - 1991, Germany in 1867 – 1918 and 1925 – 1945, France in 1816 – 1940 and 1947 – 1992. On the contrary, the United States (starting with 1898) and Great Britain (starting with 1816) have maintained the status of world powers until today.

In order to constitute a centre of power and exert its influence, a number of criteria (elements) of quantitative and qualitative nature are needed, superior to other areas (population, degree of economic development, surface of the national territory, military capacity, geographical location etc.). International life has proved that the meeting of a single criterion is not sufficient to confer to a state or group of states the quality of centre of power, an association of several being needed instead. The international attitude of political-economic structures acts or tends to act at the amplitude conferred by the specific elements (criteria) upon which it is based.

From the point of view of population, some regional centres of power are obvious (the Indian subcontinent, North-East Asia, South-East Asia, Africa etc.), but also states (China, India, SUA, Indonesia, Brazil, Russia, Pakistan). Statistics say that 13.5% of the world population lives in the developed world (North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand).

A high birth rate can lead to important mutations over a long period of time. The general tendency is that the value of the birth rate is high in the underdeveloped countries and reduced in the developed ones. The areas with the highest birth rates will be Africa, followed by the Indian subcontinent and China, each of them with over two billion inhabitants.

Statistics reveal the fact that, in various circumstances, associations of states or populations may appear according to ethnic, cultural or religious criteria, with the aim of defending a common cause. The contemporary world offers many examples to prove that.

Today, in defining centres of power, the role of the territorial size of states decreased and the value of the geographical position increased. From this point of view, in order to evaluate a centre of power, certain elements are taken into account such as: its



geographical features, access to seas and oceans, natural barriers offering protection to the national territory, natural resources, neighbours etc.

More important in the equation of power is the economic capacity of a state or group of states, analyzed from a quantitative and qualitative point of view, and the real international role played by each state or association of states.

During the last years, we have witnessed the globalization of the world economy that goes beyond national borders. Free competition appeared on the world market and that constitutes a negative element for states with a reduced economic potential.

In order to guarantee its citizens' a continuous growth of their living standards, states take into account productivity that is decisively influenced by international competitiveness. According to classical and neoclassical theories, both international trade and competitiveness are characterized by "compared advantages" which determine the specialization of national productions. History has demonstrated that states with a growing economic force are able to conquer new markets that bring profits, and this allow them to increase their investments, achieve more competitive production and, consequently, have more chances to export.

The theory of regional or world equilibrium shows that the advantages obtained by a certain state produce disadvantages of equal proportions to another state or group of states. According to the same theory, every economic force struggles to gain as much as possible in order to obtain eventually an advantageous position in comparison to other structures of the same type. Experience has proved that once obtained, the supremacy of one state is hard to remove because the advantages held by the dominant force amplify in time and the differences between competitors regularly grows bigger.

International economic competition has become determinant in the process of asserting of new world centres of power, while the other criteria tend to become more and more subordinated to it.

Economic performance offers states the power to put to good use their ever more powerful geo-economic competition instruments.

Related to the economic aspect, the financial factor influences international relations in a special way, in the conditions of the triumph of "networks

of networks". The appearance of great economic and financial world markets has brought forth the following centres of power: Eastern Asia (countries at the Japan Sea and South China Sea or ASEAN + 3); North America (USA and Canada); Western Europe. To these we can add a number of secondary centres such as: the Middle East (oil producer) and its vicinity; the MERCOSUR axis (the South Cone market – developing between Sao-Paulo and Buenos Aires).

On the monetary market, London maintains its top position, followed by New York, Tokyo, Singapore, Zurich, Paris and Hong-Kong.

New York (Stock Exchange) and Tokyo (Kabucho Ko) are the most active stock markets in the world.

On these economic-financial bases, huge production resources production and trade have been concentrated in some sectors that are vital for state development. For example, during the last decade of the XXth century 12 companies were controlling 80% of the world production of automobiles, 7 companies – 90% of the production of medical equipment, 5 – 6 companies were controlling the most part of the production of aviation engines and components and satellite launching rockets.

As a consequence of the globalization of companies, a more bitter competition appeared, and the intervention on the financial level plays an important role. This has led to the shaping of a transnational space of companies, inaccessible to others, and to the erosion of the geographical borders of states (in favour of the spatial growth of areas in which companies act).

"The networks of networks" are all-powerful, and those who are not connected to this system will be destroyed. Undoubtedly, financial resources represent an active and powerful argument in imposing one's will in the international environment.

A more important role in the constitution and evolution of centres of power is played by the cultural religious element. Sometimes during history, associations or coalitions of states based on ethnic and religious criteria have been constituted, because there is solidarity between countries and populations having the same religion or culture.

Although there are cultures (Chinese, Hindu, Latin) and religions (Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism) with large numbers of believers, they do not have a declared universal vocation, but Islamism



experiences a spectacular growth in the number of followers and the territory of expansion.

Military strength represents in most cases the tip of the iceberg of resources and capabilities of a state or coalition of states. It is being achieved in accordance with the material, financial and human resources these states have and with the general purposes of their policy to ensure own security or the exertion of regional, continental or world dominance.

The constitution or expansion of coalitions represents one of the main ways, especially for small and medium states, to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Alliances have a political-military character and the decision of one country's participation in one of them is above all a political option.

Military strength represents a reflection of the human and material resources in conjunction with the criteria already mentioned, which in fact constitute the material, human, financial, logistic political support that enforces the element of force.

It has always been used along the centuries and culminated with the two world wars, the bloodiest in human history. The lessons learnt from the Second World War determined state dignitaries from 44 countries to sign in San Francisco on June 26, 1945, the United Nations Charter, a document that attempted to regulate the intervention through military force and to fundament the world peace jurisdiction. This crucial document of international security establishes the contemporary orientation in order to distinguish between legal and illegal intervention.

The second article of the Charter stipulates that: *"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."*

In spite of that, during the 60 years existence of the United Nations Organization, there have always been wars and armed conflicts, between or within states. During these decades, the number of conflicts and their intensity has increased until the end of the Cold War in 1991. The United Nations Organization has not succeeded in efficiently managing these crises, conflicts and wars, so that the number of wars between states has reached the highest point around the year 1980, and the number of conflicts within states continued to grow after

that date until 1995.

The table below includes the wars and conflicts that occurred on different continents between 1945 and 1995.

Armed conflicts: types and areas (1945 – 1995)

Armed conflicts: types and areas - 1945 – 1995.

Area	Africa	Middle East	Asia	South America	Central America	Eastern Europe (Balkans)	Former USSR	Western Europe	TOTAL
Type									
State versus state	7	11	12	1	4	3			38
Secession									
Resistance	21	12	22	-	-	2	5	2	64
Ideological uprising	16	10	15	8	10	-	2	1	62
TOTAL	44	33	49	9	14	5	7	3	164
Internal	37	22	37	8	10	2	7	3	126
Foreign intervention	8	9	13	-	6	-	2	-	38

Criticism against UN policy intensified after the violent events in Kosovo, towards which the organization manifested a condemnable passivity. At the 54th session of UN General Assembly in 1999, the defenders of the fundamental principles in the United Nations Charter confronted the partisans of the legalization of UN's right of intervention with armed forces at world scale, which means in fact a violation of states' internal sovereignty (sovereignty recognized by the second article of the Charter). Even the General Secretary, Kofi Annan, declared during this session that the traditional principle of sovereignty no longer corresponds to peoples' aspirations for freedom. This surprising declaration was made almost one year after the United States, the most important centre of power, through the voice of its Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, declared that they no longer totally recognize Article 2 of the United Nations Charter (which refers to the internal sovereignty of states). The main centres of power are part of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization and have the right to act for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and to sanction any violation of the principle of non use of force or threat to use force. In fact, these principles could very seldom be put into practice and that is why presently the changing of the universal collective security system is required and the reconsideration of world public and judicial order. A new world political and judicial order is needed, an order that will answer the threats and menaces of the XXI century.

The world centres of power, the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia and China, have different points of view in the Security Council,



as it happened for example in 1950 when Russia blocked the voting of resolutions regarding the Korean War. As a consequence, on November 3, 1950, the General Assembly received from the United States the project of a resolution entitled "Uniting for Peace" in which it is stipulated that *"in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security. If not in session at the time, the General Assembly may meet in emergency special session within twenty-four hours of the request therefore. Such emergency special session shall be called if requested by the Security Council on the vote of any seven members, or by a majority of the Members of the United Nations"*.

This project became reality under the title "United for Peace" (Resolution 377) which represents an attempt from a world centre of power (the United States of America) to transform the General Assembly into an organism with the same power of decision in managing collective security as the Security Council. The Security Council disposes of gradual means for solving disputes that lead to frictions between nations or that could jeopardize the maintaining of international peace and security. The first measure taken by the council is the sending of an appeal to the parts involved urging them to show good will in the peaceful solving of the conflict. The second is the recommendation of certain means that would be most preferable for starting negotiations. Then the Council moves towards more nuanced pressures upon the parts involved, precisely indicating the means of solving the conflict, this step being a more powerful intervention. The Security Council is empowered to act as an investigator (conciliator) or to turn to the International Court of Justice.

When peace is threatened or breached in case of aggression, the Security Council can take the following measures: complete or partial interruption of economic relations or railway, sea, postal, telegraphic, radio connections, or even the suspension of diplomatic relations.

If these do not solve the conflict, then the Council can decide to use force on the basis of Article

42 of the United Nations Charter, or to use armed force on the basis of Article 44. Since the founding of the United Nations Organization in 1945 until today, the Security Council could solve only a small number of conflicts, as a consequence of the use of the right of veto. That is why it often proved to be a powerless organism when confronted with the violation or breach of its resolutions.

The centres of power can also be identified according to their actions of influencing the decisions of other states or entities (notes of protest, accusations, calling back of ambassadors, different forms of threat, embargo, economic sanctions, suspension of diplomatic relations, partial or total mobilization, blockade, reprisals, the use of force, armed conflict etc). In this way the United States can influence all states and all major issues of the world, in all areas of the globe and solve regional or national conflicts through direct action or through international organizations (political-military or economic-financial).

The United States can even influence the decisions of the Security Council, thus breaching the rule of consensus. As unique superpower, the United States can use force under the auspices of the United Nations, acting anywhere in the world within the intervention force because they have huge economic-financial resources and an unrivalled military arsenal. Recent conflict in the Persian Gulf (1991), Yugoslavia (1999), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) demonstrate the American military force is the best in the world.

Beside the United States, centres of power can also be considered the Great Britain, Russia, China, France, Japan, Germany and India, countries that are global geostrategic players. On a second level there are states like: Ukraine, South Korea, Nigeria, Mexico, Turkey, Iran and Indonesia, as true geopolitic and geostrategic pivots that influence the world strategic dynamics. There also exists a world triad: the *Euroatlantic vector* – the United States, the Russian Federation, Germany, the *transoriental vector* – the United States, Israel, Islam and the *pan pacific vector* – the United States, China Japan. The economic technological triangle USA - EU - Japan and the military triangle USA - China - the Russian Federation determine in their turn the criteria of supremacy in international relations. In the present and in the foreseeable future, the United States is and will remain the unique superpower of the world.



Another centre of power is the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe that annulled the principle of consensus in taking decisions and adopted the formula "consensus minus one". As a consequence, nowadays, the sovereignty of states can be breached.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (formed of the countries of Western Europe, Turkey, North America, Japan, Australia and New Zealand) has as a purpose the harmonization of commercial policies of its member states.

G8 – the group of 8 (USA, Canada, Japan, Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Russia) holds meetings every year being represented by their heads of state or prime ministers in order to examine the major issues of the world and to try to adopt common measures to address them.

Commonwealth – voluntary association of Anglophonic states, uniting former British colonies, 15 states comprising 1.3 billion inhabitants that recognize the role of Great Britain as leader of the organization. Every two years, the heads of the

member states having English as the language of administration meet in order to discuss issues of common interest such as: North – South relations, human rights etc.

Beside these, there also exist in the world centres of geostrategic power such as: the United Nations Organization, the European Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the League of Arab States, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and other organizations of economic and security cooperation that can play a very important role in the field of world politics and economy.

The regional, continental and world centres of power exert their influence through ever more diverse means, especially of an economic and financial nature and, sometimes, even military. It is to be expected that the evolution of the main centres of power presented will produce revolutionary transformations in the way of exerting influence and dominance in the areas of interest.

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GLOBAL TRENDS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE STATE AND NON-STATE ACTORS

Mădălina-Virginia ANTONESCU

Governments, in order to face new global actors, are not disposing of others instruments but only law and national legitimacy in order to insure that international law and ius cogens principles are respected and correctly applied on international stage, insuring in mean time, that international society, due to this "legal barrage", will not fall into chaos or into the diktat of market regulations as in the radical globalist visions, but that will stay as society based on the force of law both on conventional relations between states, as well as on globalist relations, between states and global actors.

Globalisation and its challenges are bringing in the international law the following dilemma: how can the state appropriately answer on international legal field? It is appropriate that the field of international legal protection of the state rights to be extended to the new global risks - if the new actors are representing a specific risk for the state? Or it is better to maintain the international law as a restrictive sphere with exclusively interstate interests, components and rights?

The new risks and challenges of globalization, at the beginning of 21st century don't succeed in affecting the international law order, dominated by these two essential and interstate normative pillars: the sovereignty and the national independence represent universal, inalienable, sacred principles respected by all the states, despite of the fluctuations of the power balance and despite of the pressures from the economic and political international fields.

As a controversial phenomenon of the present international community, closely connected with the informational society, globalization has different meanings and takes various forms¹, without being entirely a specific phenomenon of the post-bipolar world. Understood as: the increasing economic state interdependences (as a consequence of the increasing degree of states dependence to the

global economy); the free circulation of capitals, services, technologies, goods and workers beyond national systems (through new global actors like TNCs); the type of management of the world by transnational forces, as a "whole integrated economic unity" - globalization was analyzed by moderate authors as a process not totally disconnected or independent from national economy or from the state². These authors admit that, despite of the influence of global actors (especially of transnational NGOs and TNCs), the state doesn't face a reduction of its capacity to influence the new global environment, at the dawn of 21st century³. The state remains the main actor in the international relations and the single creator of rules (due to its sovereign capacity to elaborate law and to impose its execution)⁴ on the international legal field (the international organization having only a specialized, limited capacity to edict rules, due to its character derived from the state's will, as a secondary type of legal subject)⁵.

Globalization, as derived from two parallel processes: integration and fragmentation⁶ is, in certain authors' opinions, a historical tendency emerged with intensity after the Second World War: the progressive unification of rules, values of international community; economic objectives and the proliferation of states; the appearance of small political entities from massive federal blocks (ex-Yugoslavia, USSR) as a result of ethnical and cultural claims that don't suppose breaking off the economic and political spheres⁷. The world at the beginning of 21st century isn't an unstructured, anarchical world, because the state remains the guarantee of its stability (art. 1; 2/Charter of UN), even when state is confronted with transnational movements and terrorist risks. The national-state formula doesn't express a vulnerability of an "insufficient adapted international community", neither "an imperative necessity for nations to adopt new forms of political organizations, renouncing at the state, in order to face global challenges"⁸.



Other authors (Michel Seymour – “*L’Etat face à la mondialisation*”) launch rhetorical questions on the capacity of public powers to operate in an economic environment affected by globalization, seen as “a reaction at the 80s economic conjuncture”. Developed quickly on the last decade, globalization isn’t a specific feature of the beginning of this century, but a historical phenomenon based on states contacts, especially in the economic and cultural fields.

The influence of globalization on transnational actors (as companies) is revealed by certain tendencies (adoption of economic strategies in order to enlarge their intervention ; movement of TNCs abroad – particularly, in South-East of Asia, in regions with economic growth; de-localization of national companies; merging with other enterprises; trends in global trade to favour the elimination of tariff barriers; opening towards new markets in order to maximize the profit; creation of new enterprises in other states; acquisition of the existent enterprises; full opening to new markets; mobilization of important capital flows; development of communication networks like the Internet; augmentation of the stock exchanges speculations at a global level).

Globalization also generates an **objective framework** for the economic and political field⁹: the increase of national necessities of production and consume, in comparison with the capacity of the national economy to create and satisfy it; also, a tendency for an economic specialization of the state to produce specific categories of services and goods; the development of the external trade related to global production; the disappearance of commercial frontiers ; common regulations adopted by states in the commercial field (a favourable treatment to foreign investment; elimination of the double taxation; commercial agreements; the clause of the most favoured nation); the creation of common international institutions at regional, sub-regional, global levels; the adoption by the states of economic integration measures (fiscal, customary, monetary integration)¹⁰.

The development of new global actors (like TNCs) doesn’t prove a full positive character¹¹; so, the increase of unemployment effects leads to an hypothesis within few worker groups assuring goods and services for a greater number of people. In the first half of this century, only 20% of global population, having work capacity, will be suf-

ficient to guarantee the economic global progress, and 80% of population would, in these conditions, represent jobless workers.

Other negative aspects of globalization are revealed by the **transnationalization** tendency in the commercial, financial, hi-tech fields (affecting the national-state monopoly on national economy) and by **decentralization** (local communities endowed with strong powers, transferred from the government in areas like education, culture, administration, budget, employment, social assistance).

Globalization creates also, **instability in the social field** and a high level of concurrence between national workers and immigrants; it undermines the national economy and the central national banks by the massive penetration in the state territory of the international capital flows; it has uncontrolled effects regarding the state competition with transnational companies; it reduces the state competence to few domains like military, diplomatic, and domestic legislation fields, adapted to the necessities of globalization; it dislocates the nation into ethnic, religious communities; major decisions are taken by the state under the pressure of global actors (FMI; World Bank; foreign investors; TNCs) in order to elaborate national laws favourable to free circulation of capital and goods flows; the deepness of the North-South break (258 multi-millionaire persons of the world own a wealth of 2,5 billion \$); it destroys the entire economic sub-branches, unbalancing the national economies of the developing states..

The states and the international communities must react properly to the risk of an absolutist sense of globalization, by: editing normative rules both on domestic and international levels in order to create a legal framework for regulating the process of globalization; by elaborating “the Codes of Good Conduct” for the TNCs (containing anti-corruption measures; preserving natural environment; forbidding the exploitation of the children’s work; reinforcing the importance of the public sphere, the state protection of citizens, inclusively in the economic area – the consumers’ protection; adopting legal measures against disloyal competition, trusts and cartels or the abuse of dominant position of TNCs on national market). Governments, in front of the new global actors, don’t have other instruments but law and legitimacy to make this law respected and correctly applied on the international field.



Globalization can be a good process for the state only in a juridical plan, strictly limited by international regulations framework. Several measures are imperative to be undertaken by the state, in order to adapt its structures to the global challenges: the enforcement of state sovereignty in front of the present phenomenon of human rights universalization (that make relative international principles like non-intervention in domestic affairs of one state); the equal access of all states to the elaboration of a juridical framework limiting the negative effects of globalization; a stronger and universal will of the state to create democratic regimes and the necessity that all global actors respect the international law in order to preserve the stability of the international community.

The myth of economic prosperity opposes strongly to the sovereign state order. In order to fulfil the goal of "economic prosperity", states are pressured by the global actors to open their economy to an extend favourable to TNCs¹²; to receive international directives from regional or global institutions (in various fields, especially in the economic one); to favour the imports of goods without protecting their own products; to achieve the privatizations of great national companies only in order to promote the "good" model of an absolute type of "market economy" where any form of state intervention (especially the protection of the citizens' right to have a job and to have freely access on the job market) is perceived as "obstructionist" for the private interests of foreign companies (which don't hesitate to dismiss workers in order to achieve their economic strategy).

The most usual definition of globalization (as an "increasing degree of economies interdependencies")¹³ emphasizes the importance of the commercial or financial levels (merges and enterprises acquisition; the rapid growth of international trade comparing with national production; the importance of direct foreign investments for the national economy).

The complex nature of globalization (seen as a distinct process from transnationalization or internationalization) is a result of the international society evolution, not a new phenomenon specific to the first decade of this century. After the stage of internationalization (international trade between states with goods), the 60s have brought a different world (transnationalization, a process of creation of subsidiary TNCs in the South and, in parallel,

the increasing degree of investments in North).

As a consequence of the bipolar order destruction and the expansion at global level of the economic liberalism, the world confronts with a certain economic unification (ideologically, as a product of the "triumph of liberal capitalism"). Direct investments and capital flows are concentrated in the economic region of the Triad (EU, USA, Japan). German authors (Guy Schuller in *Forum*/ no. 200, May 2000) consider the real globalization nature reflects the changes of the last 25 years, especially the technological and political mutations.

The transport, the information and the communication sectors are the most affected by the globalization (reduction of distances and time; acceleration; low costs for a great quantity of information; the growth of information; intensification of the circulation; the growth of the level of comfort and speed; easy movement of exchanges at a global level, also of communication, persons or capital). Globalization represents a phenomenon with two dimensions: **space and acceleration** (in the transmission of information; exchanges of goods and services; in the diffusion of know-how and innovations). For these features, the scope of the global process (concerning all sectors of national economies; development of a societal, dynamic and dialectical character, as a process affecting the whole society, including cultural, political, environmental sectors) adds the formal aspect of globalization (the organizational dimension)¹⁴.

As a process created through technical evolution, innovations diffusion and acceleration of the interdependences after 1989, also thorough extension of global development to many sectors, globalization depends also on political decision (at domestic and international level, in financial, transport, communications levels). Globalization, as an economic ideology becomes more and more an instrument to guarantee the increased economic degree of performances and efficiency through liberalization of markets, integration and adaptation (in the optimistic vision) or a synonym for the loose of identity, for the anarchical order, for the decline of sovereign nation-state replaced by the hegemony of "global market" (the "pessimistic discourse").

As a resultant of political decision, globalization pressures the state to adapt its role and functions¹⁵ in order to limit and control international capital flows, information, and goods transcend-



ing the national economies. Authors proclaiming the **disappearance of Nation-State** in a global world¹⁶ exaggerate; in front of the “global governance” challenge, the state “has the political obligation to create new governmental forms” in order to compete with other actors¹⁷.

Economic global integration starts specific processes (delocalization of enterprises; acquisition of foreign companies; progressive elimination of commercial barriers; growing role of banks and of stock exchange volume), having a great potential to affect the traditional state basic elements; thus, the nation-state is confronted with **three simultaneous contestations of its juridical nature**:

1. Inviolability of national territory (as main object of the state sovereign exercise), that is put in question by new types of risks (globalization of menaces as transnational organized crime; narcotics and weapons international trafficking; global terrorist networks). Nation-State, in order to adapt its defence structure to combat these new risks and threats, adopts an extreme and preventive concept of security (eliminating the risk at a global level, before its materialization into an attack within national borders). But, in order to ensure security of a national territory from global risks, it means to make relative the inviolability of other state territory. The UN Resolution 2625(XXV)/1970 adopted the “Declaration referring to international law principles on friendly relations and state cooperation in accordance with UN Charter” that considers the national territory as the basic object for the exercise of sovereignty. That involves the international right of the state to defend itself, respecting the international framework, from any attempt to territorial integrity or from any threat to its integrity – that may come from another state or may a global one, from a non-state actor. The Declaration does not make a specific distinction between the risks. Globalization can affect territorial integrity and political independence of one state in various subtle ways, not necessarily through a political or military attack from a state. The proliferation of local conflicts based on ethnic-religious reasons, grafted on an accentuated decline of the state authority (Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo) and involving international humanitarian intervention, represent, after the destruction of the bipolar world, a distinct type of global risk among others (fragmentation of nation-states; tribal clashes; disintegration of federal structures).

International law principles, meant to regulate the interstate relations, must enlarge the state area of juridical protection at the multilateral level inclusively, in order to prevent and respond to global risks and to assure the stability and the peace in a democratic international community. Democratization of international life is still a reality, despite the unipolar political environment, due to the flexibility, universality, legality and permanence of the international legal order¹⁸.

1.1. Other global risks for the territorial integrity and political independence of the state are: the uncontrolled international capital flows pressuring the state structures to open their national market in order to favour “the free circulation of money”¹⁹; the interests of global actors to promote their goods and strategies at a transnational level, undermining the state territorial authority and its competence to assure prosperity and employment for its own citizens. Thus, **economic security** becomes a new state strategy, in order to guarantee the survival of the national economy and the purpose to not accept a massive dissolution in the ocean of “global market” with anonymous consumers and transnational interests.

The nation-state remains the unique provider of the minimum life standard for its population, which is a constitutional task, because the global actors don't have either the will, or the right to assume it.

1.2. Intervention of global actors as pressures from transnational lobby, NGOs, mafias, TNCs on national and local administrative and political authorities, in the domestic affairs of the state, must be limited at the international legal level, as a specific attaint to state sovereignty. It is particularly the case of the concessions of natural or strategic national resources to TNCs, without sufficient guarantees to preserve the natural environment and to exploit these resources in the state benefit. This type of intervention has important effects: eliminating, in a functional, economic sense, the national borders, in order to accelerate the international capital flows (owned by global actors like TNCs, physical persons, terrorist networks, private banks); submitting the nations to the risk of losing their identity and promoting a pessimistic vision about the state role.

The national territory, strictly delimited by the political borders, is an indispensable element for the state. The creation of different forms of region-



al cooperation and political integration²⁰ or “economic transnational spaces” (as “European territory” or the “European Economic Space” - grouping AELS and EU member states) are not attempts to the territorial integrity of the global actors, because these “functional spaces” are built on mutual and free agreement of member states.

But not only a state threat (as an act produced within violation of the UN principles and without the free consent of the affected state) on the territorial integrity could be interpreted as a violation of basic international legal principles. In fact, globalization and its challenges bringing to international law the fundamental dilemma: how should the states answer on the juridical international level? Is it appropriate to **extend** the domain of international juridical protection of state rights to new global risks (if global actors represent a specific risk for the state)? Or is it conceivable to maintain international law as a **restrictive sphere**, with an exclusive interstate components and rights? Thus, elements of the sovereign equality principle, enumerated by UN Declaration from 1970 (as the juridical equality of all states; the full benefit of sovereign rights for all the states; inviolability of territorial integrity and of political independence of state; the right for any state to choose and freely develop its political, social, economical and cultural system, as a permanent and imprescriptible state right to have liberty of decision in all forms of social organizations; “*pacta sunt servanda*” – as the duty of any state to respect with good faith the international obligations which it has assumed), should also involve sensible matters as global environment, global pressures and global actors which influence both traditional actors like states as the entire international body of laws, as well.

2. **Population**, as the second constituent state element, represents a specific human community, permanently or temporary living on a determined territory and submitted to the domestic authority of its state. The number of population and the dimension of the territory don't have any importance for the state legal character. Citizenship, as a juridical permanent link between state and population, is affected by accelerating economic and cultural circulation of money, goods, persons, capitals, ideas. Regional identities (like “European citizenship”, as an artificial supranational and political tie between EU and citizens of EU member states), brought by the globalization waves, create new

types of political binders, destined to establish direct connections between the global expression of economic and political integration (like EU superstructure) and people living on national territories of member states.

3. Representing the basic pillar of international legal order and contributing to the development of the whole international law, as G. Scelle and Ch. Rousseau, famous international law authors, have considered, the state can delegate some **competences** to international bodies, on the base of its sovereign character. Certain supranationalist visions on the European architecture have asserted that it is possible the **transfer of member states sovereignty to a distinct authority like EU**²¹. Sovereignty and globalization reveal a complex relation, due to the extreme importance that the sovereignty still detains for the whole system of international relations: thus, contesting the sovereign character of the state, it means to reduce the state itself to a historical, obsolete entity²², whose popular legitimacy hasn't any value for the international capital flows crossing national borders²³. By denying the sovereign character of the state, globalization considers the world as inscribed in neoliberalist absolute formula, with self-regulating markets and without economical frontiers, states guaranteeing the private economic profit of TNCs, sovereignty understood as a “competence” ensuring the optimal environment for an accelerate foreign capital flow. This vision produces important effects on international stage, because it intends to neglect the sovereignty basis of state cooperation, both to international, as to bilateral levels.

Opposing the superiority of the transnational economic goals to the sovereign state cooperation, it clearly means, in this hypothesis, to diminish the juridical imperative value and the *erga omnes* opposability of the international principles of law, particularly:

- *The juridical equality between states (as a consequence of the sovereign character of any state)*

- *The concept of the present international community, its universal and juridical characters (as a community of states ruled by international laws and regulating the institutionalized and organized relations between them)*

- *The whole international law (based on rules and institutions regulating the interstate relations). Globalization tries (augmenting the im-*



portance of specific branches of international law as the international commercial law) to accredit the idea of a "transnational" law extended to international relations which are involving not only states but other entities, as well⁴

- The necessity of the state cooperation and its change into dynamic and evolving forms (like EU, as a form of regional integration). Globalization, in the neo-functional conception, is an instrument to achieve the "global governance" by accelerated and deep regional integration, and by definitive and irreversible "transfer of sovereignties"

- Reduction of international law to a package of "moral" principles, without compulsory force or normative value, to a simple "rule of solidarity" between states in order to "adapt the rigid structures of international law to the dynamic and economic necessities of globalization"

- Emphasizing the role of the "new entities" (like NGOs, TNCs, transnational religious movements or political parties) as "actors of the present international community", as credible competitors for the state²⁵

- Intention to make the "global actors" international law subjects, with competences in the restrictive areas of the state, in parallel with a reduction of the sovereignty importance that only states could have²⁶

- Emphasizing the artificial contrast between the "historical, westphalian, sovereign" system of states and the "dynamic, new, real" characters of globalization (understood as the present stage of the social organization evolution, "the period after the nation-state")

- Announcing the "death of the nation-state"²⁷ as basic pillar of international juridical order without proposing a credible formula derived from the sovereign will of state as subjects of international law, it means to affect also, the existence of cultural and historical national identities, unprotected anymore by the public authorities, nations with powerful state traditions, artificially integrated into federal or supranational structures or abandoned in "conflict areas" (creating thus, a divided world between "regional bodies of law" and "terra nullius" (as de-statalised territories, neither with regional laws, nor protective integration organizations)

- Insisting on the "state decline", globalization detaches from the state structure the three consti-

tutive elements: population, territory, sovereignty, giving each of them a transnational meaning

- From the economic present way of thinking on sovereignty, globalists try to "re-compose" the juridical and political international stage, by dividing the nations in ethnic and religious communities, and the national territory in economic regions with a powerful political identity or in "international protectorates"

- The "state decline" favours the **transformation of national areas in political, artificial established "areas of civilizations"**, as distinct entities without sovereignty, neither nations, nor endowed with legal instruments necessary to engage in forms of cooperation similar to those belonging to the states (the "civilizations" don't have international legal capacity and don't represent subjects of international law, as international organizations, for example)

- In another globalist vision, the "death of the international system" composed by nation-states is due to the extreme opening of national borders to international flows²⁸. Freedom of circulation into a de-statalised world is regulated, in this hypothesis, only by regional laws and permitted in "lawful spaces" like Schengen Space (included in EU area). Other territories, with non-state authorities, wouldn't be submitted to international regulation and will probably be reduced to "markets" for private interests of global actors

- The destruction of juridical link between nation and state, as source of the juridical state capacity to represent its nation on international stage and to create the whole international organizations system represent the nations on international plan - like the United Nations Organization, for example)

- The destruction of the whole network of the international organizations understood as "cooperation forums" of the states and in consequence, the disappearance of the secondary, limited subjects of international law with a specialized juridical capacity, that are IGOs

- The disappearance of fundamental rights and duties of the states, forming the main pillar of the UN Charter (as basic document regulating international relations of the interstate community)

- Affecting the international juridical duty of the state to respect the fundamental rights of human being (only the state, not other global actor, having the juridical capacity to engage its respon-



sibility, on the domestic and international fields, in order to respect this legal obligation)

- The destruction not only of the international political community (based on relations between states) but of the whole international juridical order (as the legal framework composed by fundamental principles of law destined to assure the respect of international legality by the states). What other actors should then, act (like NGOs, TNCs, terrorist networks) in order to "legitimate" their presence in the international stage? These global actors don't have sovereign character, international legitimacy, or the will to cooperate in order to achieve common interests like promoting peace and international security²⁹

- Even in the utopian case of the existence of de-statalised nations, wishing to establish direct forms of cooperation, guided by the international imperative law principles, enjoying of "popular sovereignty", their common interest to cooperate and to create juridical links cannot create the quality of international law subject for the global actors (like TNCs, NGOs)

It's an unanimous respected principle of international law, the "right of any nation to organize its own form of political governance"(and a principle derived from the national sovereignty, too) but, in this case, the states are the actors representing the subjects of international law which have freely created (on the base of delegated sovereignty from their nations) and have recognised (in acts with compulsory force and in the international society) this legal principle and this right for a nation.

Without states, this right exists only in a symbolic form, because on the international field, due to the universalized form of nation-state, the nation isn't conceived as a distinct subject from its state. The idea that could result from this example is that only the states can protect the nations against negative trends of globalization, not the global actors.

NOTES:

1 For different definitions of this phenomenon, see Martin SHAW, *Theory of the Global State, Studies in International Relations*, Cambridge Studies, 2000, pp. 11-12.

2 Charles W. KEGLEY jr., Eugene R. WITTKOPF, **World Politics. Trends and transformation**, Bedford/St. Martin's, Boston, 2001, p. 238, Ethan Barnaby KAPSTEIN, *We Are Us. The Myth of the Multinational*,

in *National Interest*, 26. Winter, 1991-1992, pp. 55-62.

3 The changes in the power of the state do not suppose its decline, but a reconstruction of the power based on the consolidation of the internal and international links, on the state efforts to control the external economic environment. Cf. Linda WEISS, **The Myth of the Powerless State**, translated by Diana GHEORGHIU, Radu GHEORGHIU, Ed. Trei, Buc., 2002, p.257.

4 The nation-states sovereign will are representing the determinant factor for the emergence of the international regulations. Certain authors are reaching a bolder conclusion- even without being necessarily sovereign, in a classical sense, the state are continuing to be the unique source of law, seen as unique authority, with an inherent legitimacy and juridical responsibility. Cf. Paul HIRST, Grahame THOMPSON, **Globalization in Question. The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance**, translated by Laura DRAGOMIR, Ed. Trei, Buc., 2002, pp. 383-384.

5 Michel LASCOMBE, **Le droit international public**, Dalloz, Paris, 1996, p. 35. Dominique CARREAU, **Droit international**, Pedone, Paris, 1991, p. 28. Raymond RANJEVA, Charles CADOUX, **Droit International Public**, EDICEF/AUPELF, 1992, p. 106.

6 Certain authors are using the new notion of **fraggementation**, as a result of the vast proliferation of legal systems, a trend marked by the evolution of a multilevel governance, a form of a system in which the authority is voluntarily and legally dispersed among the various levels of a community with local problems and local needs. Cf. James N. ROSENAU, *The Governance of Fraggementation: Neither a World Republic, nor a Global Interstate System*, paper presented at the Congress of the International Political Science Association, Quebec City, August 1-5/2000, in *Studia Diplomatica*, vol. LIII, 2000, no.5, p. 20.

7 Thomas L. FRIEDMAN, **The Lexus and the Olive Tree**, translated by Adela MOTOC, Ed. Fundației României PRO, Bucharest, 2001, pp. 29-32, 81.

8 In a contrary point of view, see Susan STRANGE, **The Retreat of the State. The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy**, translated by Radu Eugeniu STAN, Ed.Trei, Buc., 2002, pp. 21-22.

9 Some authors see globalization as a process that increases the generation of wealth and power through private transactions across the national borders, a reality that, in this vision, cannot anymore sustain that the state has remained the pre-eminent actor in the global level. Cf. Peter EVANS, *The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on the Stateless in an Era of Globalization*, *World Politics*, vol. 50, October 1997, p.65.

10 Constantin MOISUC, *International Economy, I, Global Problems of World Economy*, Ed. Fundației României de Maine, Buc., 2001, pp. 238-239.

11 D. KENNEDY, *Discovering corporate rule*, *Essence, A Seed*, 1, 3, Spring, 1995, pp. 26, 29, M. BARLOW



and T. CLARKE, *Global competitiveness and corporate rule. The Canadian experience*, Frontline, Aug., 1997, p. 8, G. TEMPLE, **Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform**, Toronto, Garabond, 1995, David KORTEN, **The Post-Corporate World**, translated by Nicolae NĂSTASE, Ed. Antet, s.a., s. 1., p. 78.

12 Bernard BADIE, *La fin des territoires. Essai sur le désordre international et sur l'utilité sociale du respect*, Fayard, 1995, pp. 181-184, J. P. HENRY, **Le marche contre l'Etat**, RDP 1991, p. 631, 642.

13 See J. CHESNEAU, *Dix questions sur la mondialisation*, in «Les frontières de l'économie globale», Le Monde Diplomatique, F. SACHWALD, *Des multinationales aux entreprises mondiales*, in **L'économie mondiale**, Cahiers français, no. 269, 1995, p. 58.

14 One dimension of the globalization would be the universalization of the market based on the liberalization of exchanges, giving to the states an ordinary role, as actors among other actors and considering their public debts as private debts. It is a global market with 30.000 active TNC-s in the key-sectors of the raw materials, transport, communications, finances and with a capacity to negotiate that is superior to majority of states. Cf. Jean TOUSCOZ, *Mondialization et sécurité économique internationale. Quelques remarques juridiques et institutionnelles*, in RDGIP, no. 3/1998, pp. 625-626, tome 102. Other authors are insisting on the role of the neo-liberalist doctrine on the process of the market regionalization, in parallel with the crisis of the Providence-state as the type of state providing goods and public services and also, in parallel with a general retreat of the state due to this policy of *laissez-faire* extended to an international level. Cf. Michel SEYMOUR, *L'Etat face à la mondialization* doc. htm.

15 Other authors are considering that the nation-state will remain the main form of the state worldwide, but that process, instead of leading to a single world government, it will be a form of decentred state, due to the new technologies of communications that are penetrating all national frontiers. See Martin ALBROW, **The Global Age. State and Society beyond modernity**, Stanford University Press, California, 1997, p. 66.

16 G. TEMPLE, **Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform**, Toronto, Garabond, 1995, Paul HELLYER, *Canadian Action Party*, in ERA Newsletter, Jan.-Feb. 2000.

17 It is simply a passage from the interdependence stage to a common dependence of states. Globalization would not put in danger the state, whose legal system is not affected by the economic, parallel world of global exchanges. Cf. René-Jean DUPUY, *Le dédoublement du monde*, Revue Générale de Droit International Public, tome 100/1996/2, pp. 313-314.

18 Serge SUR, **Relations internationales**, Montchrestien, Paris, 1995, pp. 1-2. Also, Quincy WRIGHT, *Strengthening the international law*, Recueil

de cours, 1959, III, tome 58, 1960, A. W. Sitjthoff, Leyde, Pays-Bas, p. 275.

19 Paul HIRST, Grahame THOMPSON, **op .cit.**, pp. 98-99.

20 As the Latino American forms of organization, imposing appropriate modifications in national constitutions of the member states. See Adolfo Gabino ZIULU, *La Globalizacion, Los Tratados Internacionales y la Constitucion*, Anales de la Facultad de Ciencias Juridicas y Sociales de la Universidad Nacional de la Plata; dirigidos por Osvaldo Maximo Bezzi, tomo XXXIII, ano 1997, p. 63: La Constitucion paraguayana de 1992, articulo 145 – “La Republica del Paraguay, en condiciones de igualdad con otros Estados **admite un orden juridico supranacional** que garantiza la vigencia de los derechos humanos, de la paz, de la justicia, de la cooperacion y del desarrollo, en lo politico, economico, social y cultural”. La Republica Oriental del Uruguay de 1967, articulo 6- “La Republica procurara la integracion social et economica de los Estados Lationomericanos, especialmente en lo se refiere a la defensa comun de sus productos y materias primas”. La Constitucion del Brasil, de 1988, articulo 4 – “La Republica Federativa de Brasil buscara **la integracion economica, politica, social y cultural** de los pueblos de America Latina con vistas a la formacion **de una comunidad lationamericana de naciones**”.

21 But the transfers of sovereignty would affect the rights of European peoples to freely choose the orientation of their political communities. The de-nationalization of the political decisions would profoundly affect the right of peoples to self-determination, because the idea of the supranational sovereignty calls the existence of a European people, united by common aspirations and by common will, that in reality doesn't exist. See Claire DEMESMAY, *Au delà de l'Etat-Nation. Quelle démocratie pour l'Europe?*, doc. html. Another view accepts the hypothesis of an European nation only if it based on a constitutionalist pillar, but with a limited role, due to the inefficiency of the political principles of the society unification, Alain TOURAINÉ, *La separation de l'Etat et de la nation*, Cahiers de l'Urmis, no. 7, juin 2001, pp. 30-31.

22 Even the doctrine of international law is accepting that, despite the state sovereignty, certain fields are not anymore under the state sovereign control, as: the fields of financial fluxes, the environment, the information, the transnational societies' activities and their status. In such fields, the state must renounce to its sovereignty and transforming itself in a simple agent of globalization. Mohamed Salah Mohamed MAHMOUD, *Mondialisation et souveraineté de l'Etat*, Journal du Droit International, no. 3/123/ 1996/ juillet- septembre, Ed. du Juris-Classeur, p. 612, 620. Territorialization of the capital, the main function of the state, is now put in danger by the transnational process. See Peter DRUKER,



Au-delà du capitalisme, Paris, Dunod, 1993, p. 154.

23 Many analysts have expressed the idea of a decline or inevitable disappearance of the state as actor in the international relations. Y. SAKAMOTO, ed., **Global Transformation. Challenges to the State System**, Tokyo, 1995. J. DUNN, ed., **The Contemporary Crisis of the Nation-State**, Oxford, 1995, Keinichi OHMAE, **The End of the Nation-State. The Rise of Regional Economies**, New York, 1995, J.-M. GUEHENNO, **The End of the Nation-State**, London, 1995.

24 Ph. JESSUP, **Transnational Law**, Yale University Press, 1956, p. 2, quoted by Dominique CARREAU, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

25 Legal personality is an objective result of the historical passage of an entity from the real order to the juridical order; now, in the context of globalization, it is not a rule applicable only to the state, but also, to these new actors from the global stage. The criterion applicable only to states seems now to be of a similar efficiency for global actors. See Jean-Denis MOUTON, *L'Etat selon le droit international: diversité et unité*, in **L'Etat souverain à l'aube du XXI siècle**, Paris, Montchrestien, 1994, p. 80.

26 Arguments for preservation or strength of the state power are mentioned by authors like P. B. EVANS, D. RUESCHMEYER, T. SKOCPOL, eds., **Bringing the State Back in**, Cambridge, 1985.

27 States, as the black holes of the economic global system, in M. WOLF, *Will the Nation-State Survive to Globalization*, Foreign Affairs, Jan.-Febr. 2001, p. 190.

28 K. BOOTH, *Security in Anarchy*, in International Affairs, 3/ 1991, p. 542. Włodzimierz ANIOL, *The Post-Sovereign State? Diffusion of Power in the International Environment*, The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs/ Autumn 2002/ vol.11,no. 4, 2002, Warsaw, p. 11.

29 But other authors are treating global actors as centres of decision-making and authority, as a consequence of the process of transition from the state centric system to the polycentric world of diverse actors playing important roles in the international order. See J. N. ROSENAU, **Turbulence in World Politics A Theory of Change and Continuity**, Princeton, 1990. On a contrary point of view, arguing for the necessity to reinforce the defence tasks of the state on the international stage, to preserve the international peace and security, see the intervention of Maurice FLORY, *Restauration de l'Etat et coopération pour le développement*, in **Rencontre internationales de l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques d'Aix de Provence**. Les Nations Unis et la Restauration de l'Etat. Colloque, 16-17 Dec. 1994, Ed. Pedone, Paris, pp. 128-131.

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A FORGOTTEN TRIANGLE OF THE GREAT ACTORS

Nicolae DOLGHIN, PhD

Richard Nixon based his policy on the rupture between Moscow and Beijing. It was a way of maintaining peace. At the first glance, the visible result of this policy is the erasing of this rupture and reconciling China and Russia. The US cannot ignore this reality. But they are very aware of the fact that the great projects of the two depend heavily on American attitude. The triangle led to a web of interdependency that its creator never thought about. The contemporary world gives the opportunity to extend the philosophy from the triangle to the sphere of global issues.

This August, the Russian-Chinese military exercises were carried out. The largest in their common history, planned on both territories and involving Air desant troops, the Marine, tanks, surface battle ships and submarines, strategic aviation etc. Their target were terrorists, of course, a fact we have got accustomed to over the last few years, due to same activities all over the world.

It was the standard exercise, said the organizers, the scenarios carried out were not directed against anybody. The exercise did not lead to a particular conclusion, the US officials mentioned. It was the best possible way to promote military technique, the Russian officials explained.

There were other views, emerging from the geopolitical realities of the region and of the world: scenarios of invading Taiwan, of the occupation of North Korea by Russian-Chinese troops, following a severe destabilization of the Northern part of the peninsula etc. Naturally, there were voices that said these military exercises are just a signal drawn by the Shanghai Group, the only international organization in which the US are not a member, not even as an observer, and in which China has an important influence. Recently, the Russian Defense Minister stated that these bilateral exercises would also be carried out in the future, in a program of intensification of military cooperation. But there will be no an alliance between two partners¹.

In the middle of October, Russian military vessels, including a nuclear submarine and desant sub-units, will take part in a common exercise with the Indian troops in the Indian Ocean².

This kind of exercises can be easily regarded as normal activities between two neighbouring countries determined to deepen and diversify their relations. It is no time (yet?) to speak about a Beijing-Moscow axis. The possibility of a strategic alliance was undertaken by none of the partners during official statements. But we also could not ignore they are becoming closer and closer after 15 years in which Russia has avoided taking this step.

An eventual development of the Russian – Chinese partnership towards a military bloc would be a serious setback for Western security policy, especially for the US. Additionally, Russia would enter a long-term dangerous game through such a strategic alignment, both for itself stability and for the global one. Underpopulated, but rich in resources, Siberia and Central Asia would be always a concrete temptation for an economically growing and lacking resources China.

Although denied, such a strategic alliance should not be excluded. The frequent meetings between the two heads of state might be meant to prepare the public opinion. The base of such an alliance could be found in the plans of intensifying commercial relations and taking them further than weapon and military technique trade. Close views on main subjects of our time would only strengthen their status in global politics.

Another crucial point of the relations could be the implication of Russian state authority and hierarchy in the economy, since this process resembles more the Chinese model of market economy, rather than the Western one. Apparently, the Russian leaders have not overlooked the detail that the Chinese approach on the transition to economical capitalism, under strict control of the state, provided the market with a stability that quickly at-



tracted foreign investment. It did not really matter to investors that it was all the Communist Party's achievement. Russia has started using the same formula and the effects appeared almost instantly: the Yukos scandal is almost forgotten now, the contract between Gazprom and German enterprisers, which will lead to the construction of a gas pipe under the Baltic Sea, has already been signed, the Rosneftgaz and Rosneft companies have obtained a 7.5 billion dollar loan from Western banks. All these transactions have met the involvement of the state's shareholder at the already mentioned companies, and the prospective of profit has dimmed the possible Western restraints towards the evolution of market economy in Russia.

All these happen in a larger context, in which the references to democratic values in the political elite speeches have grown to be fewer and fewer, although 10 or 15 years ago they were the heart of reforming values. A recent pole has shown that 42% of Russian citizens consider the democrats to be "enemies of the state" and "their activity works against national interests"³.

At the beginning of the '70s, President Richard Nixon started directing US towards China, initialising what is now known as triangular diplomacy. The US were still involved in the Vietnam War, which polarized American society, and it seemed the "containment policy" was in danger⁴. China was afraid of an aggression coming from its ideological ally and looked into a way of dimming the hostility towards the capitalist superpower.

Everything worked for the triangular diplomacy: the US, in its position of unquestioned leader of democracies, gathered the support and the unity of the West, China had given up on its Cultural Revolution and was making plans of modernizing, that needed the capitalist economy's support, the USSR was to be forced to take action on both fronts, which was quickly exhausting its resources. Besides all this, all the world major political actors were looking for favorable positions in the great games that were to come more in the Pacific basin.

The triangular diplomacy was maintained by all US administrations and was enriched with solid strategies, which marked the last decades and contributed to the fall of the Soviet empire. Therefore, the Cold War was over in the last decade of the XXth century. But its result is unclear. It is the pattern of victory that Liddell-Hart considers is not to

bring advantages for the peace that followed, and that will make the post bellum order uncertain⁵.

Nixon's creation, the scalene triangle, in which actors stand on unequal places, especially in those concerning the sources generating the power, seems to become an equilateral one. Although the diversity of power sources has the same actuality as years ago there have appeared quasi-new ways of countering the power. This makes more flexible even the concepts linked with the process of imposing the will. The terrorism is one of these new ways.

The US were the most committed state economically, military, ideologically, financially etc. in countering the Soviet Empire. Their actions were credible due to the internal values they sustained: democracy, free market, freedom and observing the laws. These were the values that had the most corrosive effects on the Soviet empire and partially on China.

At the end of the Cold War, the US found themselves committed heavily in world issues, in an extension comparable only to the one the state was at the end of the Second World War. But back then, at the beginning of the '50s, US GDP reached 35% of the global one, as in the '90s it amounted around 20%⁶, which also meant a reduction of non-military means of dealing with problems. These may be the facts that lead H Kissinger to state, concerning the new international order: "for the first time, the United States can neither withdraw from the world nor dominate it"⁷. It has no possibility to withdraw because the values it promoted and protected had become more attractive and they had begun to be associated with the US, the source that emphasized them the most. These values would probably be taken differently and suffer surprising mutations, adapting to global realities and diversity, as had been the case of every successful model.

The 1994 Kissinger's statement proves its present day relevance, despite the fact that the new world order is apparently dominated by US, the only superpower left, and that the object against whom the triangle policy was shaped had perished. The US discovers daily that the triangle still exists and is forced to take it into account, although the geopolitical and strategical realities are different. It has often to use elements of power policy in his relations with the other members of the triangle. But the US no longer benefits from the unity that the Soviet empire once generated in the West. Moreo-



ver, it is confronted with some different opinions among its traditional allies: Germany, France, North Korea, Turkey, which are more careful to what the geopolitical subtleties can mean for their own interests.

The values of Western democracies, the ones that corroded the Soviet empire, imposed themselves in Europe and induced profound transformations in Asia through what they symbolized, because they used to offer an alternative. They were not imposed by weapons or strategic considerations. In the top point of the containment policy, these values that symbolized the freedom were themselves a force.

Weapons and strategic considerations had their importance but they stayed in the background of the confrontation. Their nowadays augmentation led to a dangerous proximity between strategy and democracy. That's why the last suffers unusual challenges. In an important part of the world, democracy is associated with corruption, law inefficiency, social polarization and poverty, to name just a few phenomena. And the hunch that these are tolerated by the traditional democracies because of strategy arises more and more often in analyses. What in Irak happens today surpasses clearly all strategic reasons, because it tests the capacity of democracy to find solutions to complex situations, that will not depend on the usage of armed force. A possible political failure would be a tremendous blow for democratic values.

Unfortunately, the US, that, throughout their history involved themselves heavily in promoting democratic values on a global scale, had to continue doing that as their own strategy led to "... so much damage to the country's international position - its prestige, credibility, security partnerships and goodwill of other countries - in such a short time, with so little to show for it"⁸. At the same time, what happens in the triangle takes diplomacy back to the hard elements of power policy, that means to the strategy. The results of this tendency could not match those of a diminished commitment of the US in global issues.

Russia declared itself and was accepted as follower of the USSR. This gave her not only the international debts of the former superpower, but also the soviet nuclear arsenal. The percentage of former soviet economy on a global scale was heavily reduced, but the nuclear weapons transformed the state in a superpower. It also protected Russia

from the spreading of secession from the former soviet territory on its own and guaranteed territorial integrity. At the same time offered to it a position of special dialogue with US and deter China. Under the nuclear umbrella, Russia started the reform of conventional forces and began its energy strategy which provokes so many actions and reactions in the world's geopolitics.

In the new triangle diplomacy, Russia chose to oppose the US only pointedly as its economical comeback gave her the possibility to do so and only in sensitive areas for the US. In the global issues Russia limited its commitment to statements, avoiding taking political, financial or economical engagements, unlike the US, and concentrated especially on areas of the former USSR. It even left the Balkans, although not many years ago, officials considered it to be a traditional area of interest. Members of the Commonwealth of Independent States say that Russia's lack of interest in its structure led to the inefficiency of organization's institutions. Should Russia's political elite remembered the Walter Lipmann's 1943 thoughts: "Foreign policy consists in bringing into balance, with a comfortable surplus of power in reserve, the nation's commitments and the nation's power"⁹? If Russia's commitment to solve world's problems is almost absent, the US are more present than ever, judging from the annual increase in defense budget, nowadays larger than during the missile or Berlin crises - to name two turning points of the Cold War. For how long will the US able to insure these increases, even if it is the most important world economy?

In its relation to China, Russia apparently remembered their former collaboration. There are no longer any political divergences between the two. The forces reduced on the border of two countries could be compared with withdrawals from Europe. Russia takes great advantage from the modern military technology embargo imposed on China by the US and the EU. In 2004, almost half of the military equipment export was directed to China¹⁰.

However, Russia's fear of China is historical and is fed by the negative demographical evolution, which in the future would eventually weaken its potential. Recently, the Russian Education Minister stated that, Russia's population should be three times larger than today's one to use without difficulties the resources of its huge territory. The question is whether Russia will be able to keep its



safety space near its gigantic southern neighbour.

Had there existed mathematical criteria of judging the triangular diplomacy during its 30 years existence, China would probably be the indisputable winner. The step China took is much more impressive than the US's. From a country with a semi feudal economy during the Cultural Revolution, China became today's global economical power and tomorrow's superpower. Having few natural resources, but great human ones, China adopted her own convincing strategy for rapid modernization. Due to its advantages, stability and perspectives, the Chinese market became the most tempting one for foreign investors. Together with its determined people, all these transformed China in a serious competitor for the US and other modern economies, even on their internal market. Yet all was done with Western money, technology and assistance.

The US and the EU are forced to negotiate more and more often the issues regarding the Chinese economical expansion in their territory. Commercially speaking, everything works for China in relation to its partners. Financially speaking analysts proved that the dollar depends heavily on the Chinese currency. Inside the Shanghai Group, formed and existing due to Chinese efforts, there has been adopted, for the first time in the last few years, a initiative with geopolitical effects, when its members requested that the US troops withdrawal from Central Asia. Uzbekistan had the support of this organization when it stepped out of GUUAM and asked the US to evacuate the military basis from its territory.

In 2004, China became the second largest petrol consumer in the world, after the US. The two are starting to compete in this area also. The future economical development of China depends on the way it would be able to assure its oil resources and the US already feels the competition in Africa, the Gulf and Central Asia. This manifests itself even in the military field. It is obvious, China does not have only high rates of economic growth and modernization. There are costs for these achievements, the development is not homogenous, the modernization is not generalized and forecasts say the

negative phenomena will be larger and harder to ignore. It will also not be able to avoid the effects of power relations in the world, which will force it to use a great amount of resources.

Therefore, inside the triangular politics, the evident status of winner will diminish.

Richard Nixon based his policy on the rupture between Moscow and Beijing. It was a way of maintaining peace. At the first glance, the visible result of this policy is the erasing of this rupture and reconciling China and Russia. The US cannot ignore this reality. But they are very aware of the fact that the great projects of the two depend heavily on American attitude. The triangle led to a web of interdependency that its creator never thought about. The contemporary world gives the opportunity to extend the philosophy from the triangle to the sphere of global issues.

NOTES:

1. www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news./russia/2005/russia-050906-rfer101.htm
2. <http://news.ng.ru/2005/09-26/1127743362.html>
3. <http://www.rambler.ru/db/news/msg.html?mid=6635744>
4. The well-known term for the counteract policy of the USA against soviet expansion after the 2-nd world war, using political means and military if needed. It was suggested by the Us diplomat in Moscow in a document so called " Long Telegram".
5. B.H. Liddell-Hart, *Strategia. Acțiunile indirecte*, Editura Militară, București, 1973, p. 366.
6. Holsti K.J., *International Politics. A Framework for Analysis*, Prentice Hall International, Sixth Edition, p. 61
7. Kissinger Henry, *Diplomația*. Ed. a II – a, București, Ed. BIC ALL, 2002, p.16
8. G. John Ikenberry, *The End of Neo-Conservative Moment*, *Survival*, volume 46, number 1, spring 2004, p. 7
9. <http://news.ft.com/cms/s/e43c9274-1e42-11da-a470-00000e2511c8.html>.
10. <http://www.izvestia.ru/armia2/2648131> print

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THE MAIN FACTORS INFLUENCING THE POLITICAL-MILITARY DECISIONS

Eugen SITEANU, PhD

The content and the quality of the political-military decisions depend on great number of factors. Among them: decision making factor's culture and, especially, their political and military culture, their responsibility, acceleration of the transformations humanity is suffering today, and in the first place, the demographic explosion, the unprecedented economic, social, political and military structures development, internal and external policy characteristics, the political, military, political-military, economic and especially security situations, the last being primordial.

Science, art, competence and responsibility, according to electors' mandate, are necessary in order to elaborate political-military decisions expressing national, alliance or coalition interests.

The content and the quality of the political-military decisions depend on great number of factors. Among them: decision making factor's culture and, especially, their political and military culture, their responsibility, acceleration of the transformations humanity is suffering today, and in the first place, the demographic explosion, the unprecedented economic, social, political and military structures development, internal and external policy characteristics, the political, military, political-military, economic and especially security situations, the last being primordial.

To these factors we have to add the organization endowment and logistics of the armed forces etc.

From all of them results a complex and diversified topic giving a helping hand to those interested to know better the factors influencing the political-military decisions.

The complexity of decision-making process in the political-military field requires a solid knowledge of the political-military phenomenon, in other words, political, military but also economic, cultural, diplomatic problems, indispensable for the correct understanding by the decision-making

factors of all the aspects of the political-military domain which determine the respective decisions (figure 1).

In order to get strategic decisions the military must understand both political phenomenon and some economic aspects, because the military serve for policy and this in its turn serves the economy. The mutations in the economic sphere always resulted in transformations in the political-military domain. So that these spheres (military, political and economic) are interpenetrating and interfering.

Both the national defence and political-military decisions represent inalienable functions of the state which have to be completed by some forms of providing national and collective security. From a systemic point of view (general theory of systems) the national defence must be examined within the collective defence context for diminishing the risks and threats. Let us not forget that today the states do not have any more the right to wage wars in their own manner as long as the international law admits only the right to self-defence¹. That's why the term "defence" is taking the place of that of "war" and the term of "strategy" is also under debate.

Military people having responsible position will take into account during the decision-making process the mentioned above correlations as well as the general laws of politology and fight because they are integrated within the civil and political society. Knowledge of strategy (which is considered to be a science) and of some other socio-human sciences (to begin with politology) provide a minimum necessary for elaboration of the political-military decisions. The mentioned before problems have to be completed by the study of political-military thinking during the centuries and even millennia, both the world one and Romanian, because the Romanian society has been always determined by the military factor which provided its development and progress.



But such an approach is insufficient if it is not emphasised the present-day state of political and military science development as well as the international praxis. The last one shows that the centres of power can exercise influence on political-military decisions of the other states by different means: notes of protest, charges, different forms of threat, economic sanctions, embargo, use of force etc. Among the new centres of power we can mention NATO and EU².

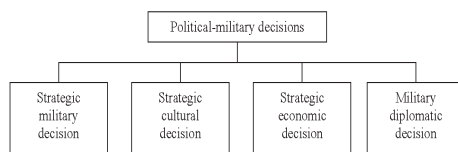


Figure no. 1

1. UN, NATO and EU's influences on political-military decisions of the states

The political system provides the political-military organisation and leadership. That's why it is needed a concise presentation of its structure as well as of the relations among systems. The national political system is a part, a sub-system of the global social system and at the same time it is integrated within NATO and soon within EU.

Romania's political-military international role, restructure and Romanian Armed Forces' reform and modernization must be seen from this systemic integrating perspective.

People having political-military positions as decision-making factors act according to their interests and motivation-personal, the group, national, European, Euro-Atlantic, according to their capacity of orientation and appreciation, to their individual, collective, general goals etc.

Here is therefore the source of very good, good, mediocre or, sometimes bad political-military decisions because each of us is an interior universe sometime giving off the most surprising decisions and often the most expected ones. For our purposes of study political-military decision processes we think the human society may be schematically presented as a big system, this way justifying the use of the general theory of the contemporary political-military systems.

The human society is a global social system and it is composed by national sub-systems, each

one apart representing a self-sustaining system and all of them being interdependent.

In its turn, the national system is also composed by sub-systems (economic, social, political, military etc.) The correlation of interdependence between the political and military systems is essential because the political power is the tying element providing dynamism of the other sub-systems, including the military one. The political system comprises the political relations (and political-military) and the sub-system of the organization and leadership which provides the political-military leadership.

The systemic perspective on political-military processes at the basis of elaboration and implementation of decisions in this fluid domain of the national, European or Euro-Atlantic society's life represents the promotion of the scientific spirit, necessary within the effort to overcome the artificial borders, which delimitate the components of reality, which in its turn basically, is unitary, an indivisible one.

As any other system, the political-military one, both national and even continental, represents an assembly of elements or sub-systems in connexion and mutual interaction, forming an entity (a whole) having its own functions and characteristic specific for the entire entity and different from those of each component.

The interior order of the political-military system is improved by the dynamics of the links and relations between the components and the entire (whole) entity, these being reports between the system and the sub-systems. In this particular case the cohesion of internal links of the system, mentioned here above, is much more solid (strong) then the links of the system with the external environment.

To give a definition of the political-military system we shall start from the structure and functionality of the system. From the structural point of view, the political-military system is a sub-system of the national social system as well as of the European political-military system and, respectively, of the NATO system. Consequently that's the resulting complexity of the structure and connexions in case of this system composed of political-military relations, political-military institutions, political-military concepts, forms and means of political-military action, attached norms and values. From the functional point of view, the political-



military system provides organization and leadership for the whole society in the circumstances of security as well as the leadership of MOD and MAI (Ministry of Administration and Interior) etc. Therefore, the political-military system is the structural ensemble of inter-conditioning relations and provides the good function and fulfillment of the armed forces' tasks, gendarmes, Romanian Intelligence Service troops, Special Forces etc.).

Examining the components and relations of the political-military system we find there are two kinds of links (relations): 1. Among different categories and social groups following internally achievement of some interests related to the state power, and 2. Political interstate (international) relations with UN, with NATO, with NATO states, with the EU, with EU states etc. The content and the interconditions between the internal political-military relations and the international (external) ones represent a sphere of a vital importance of the political-military domain. The political-military relations represent certain social relations (specific) where the nation and institutions' representatives act for political-military organization and leadership of the society. These relations have a programmatic, organized character manifested only through the national political institutions and international organizations (UN, NATO, EU) as well as among the states for optimizing the political-military leadership of the society.

One cannot take optimal political-military decisions without knowing the components of the political system as well as of the military one, rapports of power, aspects of power, ways of providing political-military organization and leadership of Romanian society within the context of our adherence to NATO and EU and fulfillment of de governance process. Identically, the political-military decision-making factors have to examine very carefully the correlations between the national defense and collective defense, to draw the resulting conclusions and to use them in the elaboration of decisions. Consequently, they have to permanently consult both NATO and EU bodies and using a lot of diplomacy and strategic art to harmonize the national political-military interests, decisions and actions with the allies' and EU partners' ones.

Though, there is needed sound and real knowledge about the political and military system, about the political and military values and norms which

determine the formation of political-military democratic and responsible convictions, attitudes and behaviors, so that each decision-making factor to be able to provide a political-military scientific examination and to act consciously.

If in the past the strategy studied only the war being concerned only with the war matters, today the strategy manifests itself within a much larger sphere, the war being only a small part of it. The strategy became the art of coordination the ensemble of forces belonging to a nation, following to provide for this nation the place and the role defined by the political project of the governance³³. That's why the strategist-politician byname is needed to make the strategic-political decision.

On this ground one can exercise a political-strategic leadership eliminating the gap between the policy and strategy. Without understanding this political-military problem in the First World War, for example, Marshal Foch accepted the armistice instead of acting on the offensive in Lorena.

The policy and strategy must co-operate and support each other. Where the strategy does not succeed to win the policy must intervene to save the situation. So has been consolidated Athens after being defeated in the Peloponnesian war, France after Poitiers and Azincourt, Prusia after defeat in Jena, Germany and Japan after being destroyed during the World War II.

The formation of political and military culture, mentalities and democratic behavior characteristic for NATO and EU decision-making factors contributes to development of Romanian dignitaries', generals' and officers' capacity to understand political-military problems and to form their own criteria of assessment the political-military activities. From here also results the need to articulate the Romanian concerns in the great problems UN, NATO and EU are confronting with, because Romania is a sub-system of these big systems.

The political-military field has three main aspects: political/military system, political-military action and political-military thinking all of them exercising in a tight interdependency a big influence on the content of the political-military decision⁴. The political-military field and decision in this domain have appeared on a certain stage of the social development in the period of human society entered into the slavery.

The human activities are channeled in a manner that provides a conscious development, and



the political thinking cannot be separated from the military one (either the military thinking from the political one). It launched the national defence into the sphere of collective continental and trans-continental defence.

Besides the fact that political-military decision promotes certain national interests as well as of collective defence (NATO), we find that due to the development of the society, these decisions get more and more importance and an European area of comprehension. At the same time, if in the past the weight of the military part in the political-military decision was bigger, today, and much more will in the future, prevails the other part (political) with many concerns about security. Knowing that the human being is first of all a "zoon-politikon" we are not surprised that the stress will be all the time on the political side and not on the military, one. In the present-day there is no bigger political-military problem than that of security.

Therefore, the sore point of these decisions is moving towards political domain, not only at the strategic level, but also at the other levels-operational and, some time, even tactical-because the fight is more and more under control of political factor. It results the more and more important role of the political domain within the political-military contemporary phenomenon where the national defense consolidation leads to a structure of a more powerful collective defense.

Interdependency among all phenomena of contemporary period that generated the globalization leave its finger-print on the content of the political-military decisions too. Today the political-military system structured at the national level tends to expand in continental and even international forms of organization.

That's why the political-military decisions are not taken any more only at the national level, but, first of all, at the level of UN and of collective defense organizations, such as NATO. This way the UN Security Council has the power to decide in collective security matters. It has at its disposal different means to solve inter-and intra-states disagreements endangering international security and peace, up to the use of the armed force (Art.44, UN Charter)⁵.

If in the past the political-military decisions were the privilege of a limited number of persons, today they belong to a even larger social segment where the military have a more and more impor-

tant place. That's why is increasing the importance of political and military sciences fundamenting the political-military decisions or, in other words, offering a scientific basis to politico-military decision-making factors.

2. The influence of the economic, political and military concepts on political-military decisions

The political-military concepts are reflected by political doctrines and by the military ones. These concepts meet radical changes during the centuries. If in the 19th century the war and respectively the political-military decisions became national, in the next century (the 20th) they became ideological. If in the 19th century the war was industrial, in the 20th century it was total⁶ (all resources of the state were mobilized for the war). The political-military system function is under the influence and is even determined by the contradiction manifesting itself between the competence of the scientific process of fundamenting political-military decisions and incomplete informative (some time inopportune), respectively the low degree of knowledge on the political-military events.

In the circumstances of increasing complexity and dynamics of political-military problems we need a higher competence of those persons managing the processes of information, interpretation of information, diagnosis and prognosis as well as of decision-making factors.

All these persons must know the achieved progress in the production of armament and the effect it had by extending the operational space and contracting (compressing) the time of the missions and the objectives of the political-military actions, operations, etc. as well as the content of the concept of geostrategy (referring to the strategy of large spaces and of co-ordination of operations taking place simultaneously in different theatres).

The contradiction between the "scientification" of the leadership and complexity as well fluidity of political-military phenomena and processes may be solved only by active co-operation between political power and the scientists. This contradiction emerge also because the distorted unity between the civic rights and duties as long as some people resort to the rights only and disregard the duties they have in a democratic society according to the country's laws and Constitution.



The political power is exercised not only by military means but also by political, juridical, etc. ones. Therefore one can talk about the military power of a state but only in the circumstances when this power is managed by political power. That is why political-military decisions are taken by the political power due to the fact it has too a programmatic, decisional function.

Through the efforts with these political-military decisions one can get the success or failure of some military actions. The success is obtained only in case of proper, viable and opportune decisions.

The political-military decisions usually are taken in the form of laws, decrees, governmental, decisions, orders of the ministers etc.

If the program of action and political-military decisions correspond to the needs of progress and development of the society as well as to the (main) laws of the armed battle, the political power, consequently, gains authority, the state and the armed forces become stronger.

In elaboration and implementation of the political-military decisions the political power has to sensibly use its functions: programmatic, organizational, ideological, economical-financial, coercive, to control and to train military specialists etc.

3. Influence of political power on political-military decisions

The political-military decisions are taken in the specific institutions and organizations, such as: Supreme Council for Country's Defense, Romanian's President, Parliament, Government, NATO, UNO, OSCE etc.

The power can be democratic or dictatorial; when the citizens are consulted and they agree with decisions in accordance with their aspiration we can talk about a democratic power. The dictatorial power uses repressive military means and forces to infringe the citizens' will.

The political authority is the capacity of power to get obedience without constraints. The lessons of the world and national history present a limited political authority. For example, in Romania, Ceausescu has been done away from power by the revolutionists in December 1989. We know also how many revolutions taken place France. Consequently, the political authority passes to others'

hands when it enters in a conflict with the will of majority because it represents the leading in the state social groups' will, extended at the level of the entire society (it appears as "everybody's will", that is to say it is legitimate). When the dictators use means of repression and give order to the Armed Forces to smother in blood a revolution the Armed Forces do not submit any more to political authority. This happened with the Revolution in December 1989 too, in Romania, when the military passed on the people's side. Than Romania's Army has taken a political decision. It has also decided to put the power under authority of CPUN and Romanian revolutionist's representative.

In other countries spending many years of dictatorship such as Mauritania, for example, after several unsuccessful attempts by different military groups, at the beginning of August 2005 the personal dictator's guard overthrew him and the power has been taken by a Military Council. So in Mauritania they set up military dictatorship.

Almost all domains of the social life are implied in political-military decisions and in their implementation. For example, when by consensus in Snagov has been taken by the political parties the decision of joining NATO (The Declaration-Appeal of the participants to NATO Forum 2002) a lot of other decisions have been necessary not only in the military field but also in the other domains related with political stability, legislative system (based on the new Constitution with new principles), human rights and equal opportunities for all citizens, rights of minorities, children's protection, freedom of mass-media, economy fight against corruption and organized crime, foreign relations etc.

By political parties consensus on Romania's adherence to NATO one has been expressed a political-military decision which has got to general consent of the entire Romanian society because any society needs security first to make possible its development.

Therefore, by consensus in Snagov on March, 31st, 2001 all political subjects have expressed their will to provide Romania's society functioning in complete security on the ground of a decision based not on what makes the difference, but on what unify Romania's citizens, no matter of ethnic aspects, political color etc.

This way, the political consensus, we could say political-military, achieved in Snagov gave rele-



vance to an example of maturity, political culture as well as major civic responsibility.

The political power is neither a force nor an authority, but it is a condition for existence and development of the both phenomena. There are political doctrines when the political power is identified as being a force, namely a military force. This error comes from the idea considering force as being a component, a hypostasis of the political power.

In January 1934, after Romania's prime-minister I.G. Duca has been murdered, the state of siege was declared for providing the order in the country. Then, in 1935 this state was perpetuated and the Government claimed it will make not use of the right to prolong the state of siege for another 6 months. But the promise was not respected and after the extension of this regime the Parliament has been asked to renew it again. That's why Armand Calinescu has addressed to the deputies in the Parliament: *"How do you explain, gentlemen, this phenomenon? Are you governing in exceptional circumstances? Are you governing in such grave circumstances that need a permanent and legal support by the military to the civilian authority? Or you are a weak Government, an incapable one to live by its own resources, a Government which can exist only in the green house atmosphere given by the siege state. Exceptional circumstances? Deputies, gentlemen, indeed I saw in many, places all over the world convulsions, revolutions! In Greece, in Spain, in Japan. Everywhere the siege state has been installed for a moment, the order has been promptly reestablished and the exceptional regime quickly abandoned. In such circumstances I wonder: what can say the foreignness hearing that we persist in an uninterrupted siege state for two years and a half?"*⁷ No comment.

4. The influence of some groups of interests on political-military decisions

Sometimes, the political-military decisions are under the influence of some unofficial personalities having a huge capacity of influencing at the highest political and military levels of the state.

Basically, any political-military decision promotes certain interests in different forms, such as: general interests, social group interests, national, international, economic, spiritual, political etc.

Even political-military decisions can be influenced by businessmen, groups of pressure etc. in order to promote certain group interests far from the national ones. The political-military influence does exist and it is presented under the forms of political actions most of all deliberately performed aiming at formation or modification of political-military decisions, political or military attitudes of some dignitaries, groups, individuals etc.

This political-military influence is manifested under the impulse of group interests and relations fighting for power by different means-economic, political, psychological etc. In this context, the prestige of political-military decision-making factors intervening in the process of decisions elaboration and implementation is of a great importance. Political prestige represents in fact an influence exercised on the basis of the authority of a decision-making factor where prevail the moral and affective aspects and not the power and the means of influence. Consequently some groups fight for becoming prestigious and some time they act for discrediting and decreasing the political prestige of some other groups. The political power is as bigger as it enjoys an increased prestige and otherwise. But not always the prestige confers automatically the force (military force). So that decision-making factors' prestige is not totally overlapping either with power or political authority because it is not sufficient for creating political power, despite it permanently accompanies the power.

Being a central problem of the political-military system (national, NATO's or EU's) the political power can impose order, social progress, wealth, collective security etc. but only conditioned by the democratic character of the leadership (management).

5. The influence on political-military decisions by the national and international laws

Within the above mentioned decision processes the laws must be respected beginning with those concerning the human rights (Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, European Convention on Human Rights International Pact regarding the Civil Political Rights, The Final Act in Helsinki and the documents of the European General Reunions in Madrid, Vienna, Copenhagen, Paris in 1983, 1989, 1990 and 1991).



Political-military decisions must respect the provisions of the national laws as well as those of the international conventions.

In any state of law the Armed Forces are put under control of the civil authority before which they are responsible for respecting the laws and first of all the Constitution.

The cruel confrontations among political parties can degenerate into civil wars. Though, the battle between parties can lead to the armed battle and there is a plenty of examples in the world history as well as in Romania's history.

The social-economic convulsions and antagonisms can lead to fight and wars.

In certain international environments and with the weakness of political military domestic factors it is possible to be installed a dictatorship such as, for example, the royal dictatorship of Carol II.

In 1940 Romania lost many territories because the weakness of political-military decision-making factors of the state, and first of all because Carol II installed the royal dictatorship, eliminated democratic liberties and established only one pro-royalist party. As a consequence of political and diplomatic pressures exercised by USSR and Hitlerist Germany (Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact) as well as of Carol's II decision, Romanian state's territory has been tore to pieces (Bassarabia, North of Bucovine, Herta North of Transylvania and Cadrilater were despotically kidnaped by USSR and Horthyst Hungary). It followed the World War II, when Romania as a result of King Michael's I decision turned the weapons against Hitlerist Germany and Horthyst Hungary so that at the end of the war Romania re-conquered the North of Transylvania.

After the World War II the humankind understood that provision of the world peace and respect for the human rights must be not treated as "domestic affairs of the states", but as problems of the whole international community. The human rights are now associated with the people's rights. On 16-th December 1966 the U.N. General Assembly adopted the International Pact on Economic Social and Cultural Rights and the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights. The both Pacts establish that the exercise of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights cannot be exposed to any limitation, must provide recognition of the others rights, satisfaction of the moral, public order and state's security requirements.

The public order national system includes: legislation, public order forces, the training (instruction) system and leadership. The system must be flexible and opportune, led by legal decisions maintaining or restoring the state of balance and normality characterizing the democratic system.

The military power can be sometime undermined by the politicianism of some politicians who by cheat tricks and immoral practices make use of their position in order to obtain personal benefits. With this purpose they make use of cunning and manipulate the citizens.

During the economic or even political crises it is practiced political diversion comprising the overestimate of fear by presentation of an eventual danger. So, certain rumors can be disseminated in order to put under unfavorable light the political adversaries and to discreditate them or to feud the ethnic groups.

For adoption and implementation of some political-military decisions it could be benefic to carefully valorify the democratic traditions and political-military practice in the allied states (USA, Great Britain, France, Netherlands, Germany etc.).

Disorganizing phenomena, group violence, organized crime, terrorist actions, drugs, weapons and ammunition trafficking as well as the domestic conflicts culminating in so-called "mineriade" (miners' riots) put in danger the process of consolidation of the state of law.

The political-military decision has several goals: political and social life as a basis for improvement of the quality of the citizens' material and spiritual life, consolidation of the state's independency and sovereignty. Any society flourishes and progresses within an authentic democracy if it is defended and security provided.

In any state, the democratic institutions need to be consolidated and protected especially against the acts of terrorism, first of all by strategies of prevention/combat infringement the laws, of implementation the public order doctrine and the national defense doctrine.

The U.N. General Assembly adopted numerous declarations and conventions on the human rights concerning genocide, race discrimination, refugees, slavery, foreigners exile as a basis for laws that must, be taken into consideration in political-military decisions' elaboration.

But, at the same time, in the Universal Declaration on the Human Rights it is stipulated that:



“any person has duties in front of collectivity because only in its framework his free and complete development of personality is possible”. These duties are enlisted in Romania’s Constitution. The protection of the human rights, the rule of law, the state of order and normality are performed by actions and means of Gendarmerie as a result of some political-military decisions on the basis of: Romania’s Constitution, Law 30/1990 regarding function of the Supreme Council of Country’s Defense, Law 40/1990 regarding organization and function of the Ministry of Administration and Interior, Law 41/1990 regarding the organization and function of the Ministry of National Defense, Law 51/1991 regarding the organization of public meetings, Law 61/1991 regarding the sanction for violation of the norms of social living together of silence and public order and Law 116/1998 regarding the organization and function of Romania’s Gendarmerie.

On the basis of the democratic values, human rights and state of law, NATO (to which Romanian state now joined) assumes the task of maintaining and defending liberty and security of its members, including Romania, by political and military means.

The relations between political, civil and military societies express the degree of democratization. The laws also regulate relations among citizens, Armed Forces and governors.

The political society has the tendency to subordinate the civil society sometimes on the support of the military society. That’s why in the French Revolution Declaration (1789) - 200 years before the Romanian Revolution (December 1989) – it is stipulated that the civil society is a community of free and equal people existing before state authority and the state power has to be based on the people’s consensus.

NOTES:

- 1 The UN Charter
- 2 <http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/publicatii/carti/opinii>: htm
- 3 Hervé COUTAU-BEGARIE, **Tratat de Strategie**
- 4 Călin Vâlsan, **Politologie**, p.56-61
- 5 UN Charter
- 6 Hervé COUTAU-BEGARIE, **op.cit.**, p.25
- 7 Armand CĂLINESCU, Discursuri parlamentare 1934-1937, vol. II, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, București, 1938, p. 35.

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ROMANIA AND WBSR: BSEC AND/OR GUAM MARK

Paul DUȚĂ, PhD

The reality of the EU neighbourhood strategy is more controversial because the EU must make the choice between “cordone sanitaire” and regional actions plans regarding the Wider Black Sea Region. Fortunately, Romania is the possible advocate of the Black Sea Region in Brussels with a Black Sea role that draws inspiration from Finland’s role in the Northern Dimension. However, the EU must be heavily involved in its neighbouring of the Black Sea in unilateral, bilateral or multilateral ways, for avoiding the lack of EU interest in the region. The time has come for some new Black Sea regional initiatives.

From the political structures of the region the present paper chooses two: Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) and GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova). The GUAM summit (May 2005, Chisinau) showed the beginnings of a new regional politics and diplomacy. The future GUAM Mark 2 shall have a new name along the lines Democracy and Development Organization.

The EU would like to include Russia in regional initiatives. Anti-Russian projects, such as the GUAM, are counterproductive for regionalism in the Black Sea. However, the future of the Wider Black Sea Region (WBSR) must take into account the valuable position of Romania.

EU and WBSR

The EU has no less than three strategies towards the Wider Black Sea Region (WBSR): enlargement to South East Europe and Turkey, the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) towards its Eastern (and also its Southern) neighbours, and the four ‘common spaces’ with Russia¹. However, they seem not to be enough.

The formation and development of transnational schemes of regional security and cooperation at the periphery of the enlarged EU can provide a valuable format to address the shortcomings of the

EU neighbourhood strategy².

WBSR, as a valuable format of regionalism, could be a strong instrument to address the questions posed by the EU neighbourhood strategy³.

According to one representation⁴, the international structure in the European case, is gradually taking the shape of a post-statist formation.

The EU is an outstanding example of this post-statist empire model with its network politics, multi-ethnic diversity and cross-border cooperation. In the EU context, however, state-actors remain a defining component, and their ‘distance from the centre’ is measured not only in geographical terms, but also, and more importantly, in institutional ones. Institutional and administrative ‘distance’ is measured on the basis of their degree of integration into the EU, as explained in the table below⁵.

Circle	Structure and positions	Countries
Circle No. 1.	EU core	Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain
Circle No. 2.	‘Opt-out’ EU member states	Denmark, Ireland, Sweden, UK
Circle No. 3.	New EU member states	Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia
Circle No. 4.	EEA countries	Iceland, Norway, Switzerland
Circle No. 5.	Negotiating, non-negotiating and prospective EU candidate countries	Bulgaria and Romania; Croatia and Turkey; Macedonia (FYROM), Serbia-Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania
Circle No. 6.	European neighbours	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine
Circle No. 7.	Non-European neighbours	Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia.

Figure 1. Countries in the Wider Europe

For Europe's construction there are three main paths⁶ - 'membership', 'partnership' and 'stabilisation'. The stabilisation precedes partnership, as in the case of the new EU members from Central Europe, and partnership precedes membership.

The promise of membership has constituted the EU's most powerful foreign policy tool. Also, it marks the passage from 'outside' to 'inside' of EU-Europe's power constellation, thus, becoming a major crossroads for the dynamics of European security and integration.

The partnership approach has pursued a different goal and obtained different results from the enlargement, although it shared its conceptual roots.

In sum, when the EU talks about membership to its neighbours, it is inclusive: it sets conditions, offers significant incentives and most of all signals the strength of its integration process.

When Brussels talks about partnership to its neighbours, it is exclusive: it is often ineffective, rather unattractive and unable to exert influence or to preserve security on the continent⁷.

The ENP is designed to offer 'more than a partnership and less than a membership', and to share with the partner countries 'everything but institutions' in exchange for internal reforms⁸. The EU budget 2007-2013 will include the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). ENPI will replace the existing financial instruments for neighbours and will grant a progressive increase to the financial means allocated for the ENP. It will be composed of two windows, one devoted to bilateral and cross-border projects and the other to financing multilateral projects. Most importantly, it will finance actions both inside and outside the Union⁹.

The reality of the EU neighbourhood strategy is more controversial and can be observed in three major shortcomings of the ENP - ambiguity¹⁰, without a clear finalité¹¹ and unilateralism¹².

These factors help to explain why the ENP in its current format appears inadequate to address the broad array of security and integration challenges that the EU and its neighbours confront with¹³.

Brussels' inability (or unwillingness) to substantiate the finality of the ENP makes the policy resemble a loose security cordone sanitaire, rather than a strategy. The combination of the policy's quasi-imperial logic with its manifest inconsistency risks becoming a source of alienation from, rather than of attraction to, the EU¹⁴.

EU, between "cordone sanitaire" and regional actions plans

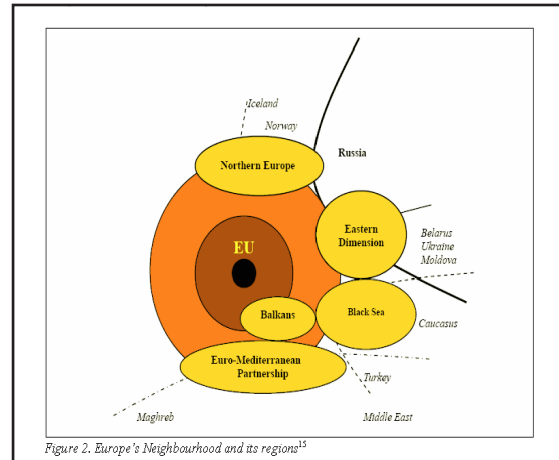


Figure 2. Europe's Neighbourhood and its regions¹⁵

The main coordinates of EU policies for its neighbouring countries are:

- 1) *The region should be as inclusive as possible*¹⁶;
- 2) *The EU should support the 'generous core' of member countries willing to push for certain regions*¹⁷;
- 3) *Regionalism in the EU neighbourhood should value the role of Russia*¹⁸. An upgrading and further support of regional activities in the ENP could provide a further channel of dialogue for the EU-Russia strategic partnership;
- 4) *Regionalism in the EU neighbourhood should initially focus on soft security*. The regional framework of cooperation did remarkably well in defusing tensions, building confidence among actors and 'desecuritising' the handling of the issues at stake;
- 5) *The EU should elaborate a new generation of regional Action Plans*. In principle, the so-called 'Second Window' within the ENPI will be devoted to multilateral projects within the ENP¹⁹.

The regional clusters	The political construction of regions	EU's vectors
Northern Dimension	The Council of the Baltic Sea States The Northern Dimension initiative Actively integrating Russia in different policy sectors	Poland, Finland
Southern Dimension	Mediterranean It has not developed a discernible pattern of regional cooperation from the inside out This area is a more heterogeneous microcosm that can itself be divided into a number of sub-dimensions	Spain, France, Italy, Greece
Balkans Region	The 1999 Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. The Pact was launched at the EU's initiative and gathers the countries in the Balkan region, EU actors, other countries (most notably Russia, Turkey and the US), international organisations and financial institutions.	EU, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece
Eastern Dimension	Is centred on the EU's new Eastern neighbours - Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus - and on the countries surrounding them - most notably Poland, Lithuania and Russia. This region has yet to come to light, but the idea has been gaining some ground among policy-makers and analysts, because there are three UE actors - Poland, Lithuania and Romania.	Poland, Lithuania, Romania
Wider Black Sea Region	The limited Black Sea cooperation has focused mainly on the coordination of 'soft' non-military activities, e.g. by establishing the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) Pact, a regional body in some respects similar to the Council of the Baltic Sea States.	Romania, Bulgaria, Greece

Figure 3. The political construction of regions

Romania - the outermost EU promontory in Southern-Eastern Europe

Among the present and prospective EU member states, Romania is the possible advocates of the WBSR in Brussels. Bucharest must capitalise his geopolitical position as the outermost EU promontory in Southern-Eastern Europe, and thus to promote the WBSR.

Romania too, with Captain Bănescu as its new president, with its NATO membership achieved and EU membership in sight, seems attracted to promoting more assertively the idea of Black Sea cooperation. The role model of Finland in relation to its Northern Dimension initiative of the 1990s seems to have rung a bell in Bucharest. This has been only one of several examples of the familiar process whereby with EU expansion the new member state transposes its own regional foreign policy preferences into EU policy²⁰.

Romania can replicate what Finland (with the support of Germany) did for regionalism in Northern Europe in the 1990s, by taking initiatives and devote resources to launch WBSR and to promote the regional cause in Brussels, Washington and even Moscow. *An additional impetus seems to emerge in Romania, which begins to contemplate a Black Sea role that draws inspiration from Finland's role in the Northern Dimension...*²¹

EU's vectors	Regional clusters - multilateral projects	bilateral and cross-border projects
Greece	Southern Dimension	Non-European neighbours
	Black Sea Region	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine
Bulgaria	Balkans Region	Macedonia (FYROM), Serbia-Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania
	Black Sea Region	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine
Romania	Balkans Region	Macedonia (FYROM), Serbia-Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania
	Black Sea Region	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine
	Eastern Dimension	Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus and Russia

Figure 4. The EU's member and their participations to the regional political constructions

BSEC

The EU has invested heavily in this regionalism in the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas, with the Northern Dimension initiative and the Barcelona Process. Lip service is given to regionalism in the EU's new neighbourhood policy, but the accent there is nonetheless on bilateralism. The Black Sea has so far been the only natural region of the EU's periphery to have been ignored²².

Some years ago, BSEC invited the EU to become an observer, which it declined, although it may now be persuaded to take a more positive view. More recently, however, Russia has been saying to BSEC high officials that active EU involvement would not be welcomed. BSEC has also recently declined the offer by the US to become an observer of BSEC, which does not yet have a reply.

The EU must be heavily involved in its neighbouring of the Black Sea in unilateral, bilateral or multilateral ways, for avoiding the lack of EU interest in the region²³. The formal participation in the BSEC activities – would be a most welcome move for Black Sea region-building - regardless of EU membership prospects. EU membership of BSEC could be a variant.

The time has come for some new Black Sea regional initiative. The issue is not so much whether, but how, given well-known political sensitivities. Romania can propose to the EU to co-sponsor a fresh initiative that might be called the Black Sea Forum. This would draw on the experiences of Finland's Northern Dimension initiative and the Balkan Stability Pact. The first act would be a conference of a Black Sea Forum, to which Romania with the EU would invite all BSEC member states, the BSEC secretary general and the United States.

The EU would make an up-front offer of financial resources from the New Neighbourhood Financial Instrument. The EU would thus not be proposing to become a member of BSEC, but would be offering a Forum in which BSEC and its member states could submit ideas and projects of regional interest that could make use of extra resources from the EU or US.

In this respect, it would also draw on Northern Dimension experience, which did not take over or displace the pre-existing Baltic or Barents Sea organizations, but offered them an enhanced political framework for their activities. It would draw



on the Balkan Stability Act model in including the US. Following a first meeting of the Black Sea Forum, the EU Commission would draw up a Black Sea Action Plan in the framework of its neighbourhood policy²⁴.

What is needed now is for the Commission to prepare a comprehensive set of White (or Green) Papers detailing the range of options for the partner states to associate with EU policies²⁵. In addition, the term “Neighbourhood Policy” could be changed with “European Integration Policy”²⁶.

While the presumption in favour of enhanced Black Sea cooperation is now strong, it is far from obvious how a fresh initiative might most be plausibly initiated. There is a complex set of political jealousies inhibiting too much leadership from any of the big players – Turkey, Russia, Ukraine, EU, NATO or US. Even Ukraine cannot be too pushy without upsetting Turkey, which is not in GUAM.

GUAM Mark II

The frozen conflicts in the South Caucasus and in Moldova and the forthright aspirations of Ukraine and Georgia to join NATO are divisive arguments among the countries around the Sea. Less obviously, Black Sea regional actors should also acknowledge the ‘hard security’ nature of energy questions. **The production, transit and marketing of oil and gas are of obvious strategic relevance in this region, which can only be expected to grow in the future, in the light of the increasing dependence of the Russian economy on its petro-rubles, and of the continued political instability of the Caspian Sea basin and the Greater Middle East.** As a result, initiatives such as INOGATE and major infrastructural projects such as the new Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline – which runs from Azerbaijan to Turkey, bypassing the congested Bosphorous straits and Russia’s Black Sea ports – are likely to remain rather sensitive items for regional negotiators.

US bilateral activity in the region will doubtless be vigorous. Prospects for NATO membership for Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova could and should be advanced.

NATO has an opportunity to do something of great political value, namely to help anchor the most interested neighbourhood states – Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia for the time being – into the Euro-Atlantic community. The range of coopera-

tive activities between NATO and its neighbours has been developing abundantly. Even in the Black Sea there are now going to be cooperative naval operations under the ‘Active Endeavour’ initiative, which was initially just a Mediterranean affair.

GUUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova) Group was formally founded as a political, economic and strategic alliance designed to strengthen the independence and sovereignty of these former Soviet Union republics. GUUAM group became an important structure, which is looking to enhance regional economic cooperation through development of an Europe-Caucasus-Asia transport corridor and the establishment of a special partnership and dialogue with NATO on issues of mutual interest.

Cooperation among delegations of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine started in 1996 in Vienna, Austria, at the CFE Treaty Conference, where four states issued joint statements and proposed common initiatives²⁷.

The GUUAM Presidents stated their pledge to develop interaction within the framework of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and NATO’s Partnership for Peace program²⁸, and “to deepen practical cooperation with the aim to strengthen peacekeeping capability upon the relevant legal basis.”

On May 18, 2000 in Washington, D.C. appearing at a Capitol Hill seminar sponsored by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) and made possible by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee²⁹, the ambassadors³⁰ described four immediate objectives: (1) to promote East-West trade and transportation corridor; (2) to develop interaction within the framework of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and NATO’s Partnership for Peace program; (3) to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the region; (4) to combat the narcotics trafficking in their countries.

The GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova) summit of May 2005, in Chisinau, showed the beginnings of a new regional politics and diplomacy. They decided that a GUAM Mark II should be reconstituted to comprise only states of the region that were seriously interested in democracy. Uzbekistan did not attend. The successor organization shall have a new name along the lines Democracy and Development Organization.

Ukraine begins to assert itself as a key centre of diplomatic initiative, seeking to complete a huge

set of circles of regional cooperation in which it is always present: old BSEC, new GUAM, '4+1' within the Visegrad countries, trilaterals with Ukraine-Moldova-Romania and Ukraine-Poland-Lithuania, not to forget old CIS and the newer Single Economic Space with Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan³¹.

The Baltic-Black Sea axis

In February 2005, four new EU member states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland) joined Bulgaria and Romania to found a 'new friends of Georgia' club, which they even called the Baltic-Black Sea axis. Saakashvili and Yushchenko have been concerting together as if blood brothers³². The 'New Friends' propose to share with Georgia their experience in the process of accession to the EU and NATO and to promote such processes in the wider Black Sea region. Following the Rose and Orange revolutions, the members of GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova) are now looking to revitalise their grouping, and have invited the leaders of Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and a representative of the EU to participate at their summit on April 22nd³³.

Russia

Russia, instead, removed itself from the ENP from its outset because, on the one hand, it does not consider itself as 'a' mere neighbour but as a strategic partner, which deals with the EU from a position of equality. Moreover, Russia tacitly opposes enhanced relations between the EU and its former Soviet Union neighbours, which Moscow still regards as its traditional sphere of influence.

Russia's position poses major geopolitical and geo-economic challenges to the prospects of a Black Sea regionalism. The EU's reluctance to take a seat at the BSEC table, and the parallel refusal of this Organisation to accept the US request to take part in it, are symptomatic of this state of affairs. *The former matter can indeed be reconnected to the deference of a number of old EU member states towards Moscow, while the latter results from the opposition of Russia (a BSEC member state) to a further upgrade of America's presence in the region.*

The foreign-policy posture of countries in the

'new Europe' is nonetheless bound to rebalance the geopolitics in the region: their blatant Russo-phobia will further weaken the 'Russia-first' component of EU policy towards the former Soviet space, while their enthusiastic pro-Americanism will strengthen the transatlantic component. The talks of a prospective Bucharest-London-Washington axis by Romania's Traian Băsescu should be interpreted along these lines, and so should the revival of the GUAM constellation, which is of particular interest in this context. Throughout the 1990s, this dormant US-backed organisation seemed doomed to failure because of the cumbersome influence of Russia on most its member states.

Avoiding Russia's isolation should be one of the goals an inclusive Black Sea region should strive for, despite the major, mostly bilateral questions that obstruct Moscow's productive participation. The creation of subgroups within the region counters the very rationale of regionalism, and is likely to embitter already strained relations among the littoral countries. The recent talk of a Turkish-Russian 'holy alliance' to push America out of the Black Sea region would seem to confirm such worrying trend. The EU should include Russia in regional initiatives. Anti-Russian projects such as the GUAM are counterproductive for regionalism in the Black Sea. Moreover the work of the 'four common spaces' would only create the false impression of progress in bilateral relations and would thus undermine stimuli for creating and implementing specific projects³⁴.





NOTES:

1 Marius VAHL, The EU and Black Sea Regional Cooperation: Some Challenges for BSEC, in *"The Wider Black Sea Region in the New European Architecture"*, organised by the Hellenic Parliament with the support of the International Center for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS), Athens, 8 April 2005.

2 „In 1998, the government of Poland, at the time still an applicant country, addressed the neighbourhood conundrum by calling for a new Eastern policy of the Union. In 2002, the pressure became more consistent as Great Britain and Sweden urged the European Commission to think of a more substantial strategy vis-à-vis the EU prospective neighbours. It was then in 2003, that the Commission put forward some concrete proposals for a new approach of the Union towards its prospective neighbourhood, which resulted in the establishment of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). See, Paul DUȚĂ, "Wider Europe: A Systematic Presentation", *Impact Strategic* no. 2(15)/2005, p.61.

3 "Regionalism, therefore, has always constituted a remarkable feature of Brussels' neighbourhood strategy over the years, because it represents a way to encourage partners to follow the EU's own integration path". Fabrizio TASSINARI, "Security and Integration in the EU Neighbourhood. The Case for regionalism", *CEPS Working Document No. 226/July 2005*, p.13.

4 "It defines a vision of sovereignty and territory that goes beyond the nation-state as the primary unit of international relations, and is characterised by a hierarchical system of progressively decreasing power, where the power of the centre diminishes the farther away an actor stands from it: hence, the image of the concentric circles". See Ole WÆVER, "Europe's Three Empires: A Watsonian Interpretation of Post-Wall European Security" in R. FAWN and J. LARKINS (eds), **International Society after the Cold War: Anarchy and Order Reconsidered**, London, MacMillan, 1996.

5 Fabrizio TASSINARI, "Security and Integration in the EU Neighbourhood. The Case for regionalism", *CEPS Working Document No. 226/July 2005*.

6 „... this dichotomy is not perfect. There are countries, like the EEA group, that are clearly integrated in the EU power constellation, but are not members. Likewise, there are cases in which partnership has undergone major setbacks, like that with Belarus". Fabrizio TASSINARI, *op. cit.*, p.5.

7 "The major point of difference between partnership and membership is, of course, that partnership has in most cases not aimed at internalising neighbours, but at stabilising them. The EU has sought stabilisation by devising a variety of unilateral (e.g. the Common Strategies), bilateral (e.g. Association Agreements) and multilateral (e.g. the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe) schemes. This remarkable range of instruments

is designed to respond to the specific and very different needs and challenges in the neighbourhood. What is common to all these approaches, however, is that partnership has so far firmly kept neighbours outside the EU-European project". Fabrizio TASSINARI, *op. cit.*, p.7.

8 "The ENP aims to introduce elements of the EU enlargement strategy within those of more traditional partnership. It offers a degree of integration but not the promise of membership". Romano PRODI, "Europe and the Mediterranean: Time for Action", speech by Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission at the Belgian Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve, 26 November 2002, p.2.

9 "One exception is the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) of financial assistance, which provides significant opportunities for the Organisation of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). It is proposed that funding to the neighbours will be doubled under the ENPI, which will become operational from 2007 under the new EU budget. More importantly, it will target areas both inside and outside the Union's borders, including all the countries of the Black Sea region." Marius VAHL, *op. cit.*

10 "The elusive membership prospect kills the 'difference' of the policy from the outset, quite simply because membership remains, in the eyes of the neighbours, far more appealing than any conceivable partnership proposal". Fabrizio TASSINARI, *op. cit.*, p.10.

11 "The idea of a single policy framework for all neighbours is very ambitious since it presupposes a high degree of coordination and harmonisation of the proposed policy instruments". Fabrizio TASSINARI, *ibidem*.

12 "Instead of being a policy **with** neighbours, as the initial lexicon seemed to imply, the ENP is a policy for neighbours or, rather, **towards** them". Fabrizio TASSINARI, *ibidem*.

13 "The basic rationale is that regionalism should be regarded as one part of a three-level strategy for the ENP. First, there is the bilateral Action Plans based on conditionality through which the EU aims to steer the partners' transition to democracy and market economy. Then, there is the overall **single ENP structure**, which provides cohesion and gives a more strategic outlook to the policy. In between, there is **regionalism**, which softens the obligations given by conditionality, facilitates their realisation, and constitutes a valuable stepping-stone to enhance the ENP's 'holism'. Fabrizio TASSINARI, *ibidem*, p.19.

14 Fabrizio TASSINARI, *ibidem*, p.12.

15 "The EU is making progress in forming Rapid Reaction Capabilities, Battle Groups and civilian peace-keeping and enforcement capabilities (gendarmierie, police, judicial, etc.) and in designating special representatives for conflict zones, notably in Black Sea area. However it has so far been timid in deploying these ca-



pabilities in such cases as Transnistria and the South Caucasus.” Fabrizio TASSINARI, *ibidem*, p.14.

16 The broadest range of actors – nongovernmental, business, local authorities, international institutions and donors – and all potential partners, including those who have normally proven more hostile to EU-centrism, should feel encouraged to participate and not be threatened by exclusion.

17 ‘Generous’ states in a region play a crucial role and usually have the lion’s share in: defining priorities and putting issues of common interest on the agenda; gathering consensus among regional players; keeping up the momentum of the cooperation over time; supporting the creation of regional institutions; and promoting the ‘added value’ of the region in and outside Europe.

18 When it comes to Russia, a strategic dimension is also at stake, because Russia plays a defining role in at least three of our five regions: the Northern, Eastern and Black Sea regions. Despite Moscow’s fading influence on what it used to call its ‘near abroad’, Russia can still heavily affect developments in a number of contexts. Russia is a major oil and gas supplier to the EU. Brussels could go ahead with enhancing its engagement with Ukraine, Moldova and the Southern Caucasus without involving Russia.

19 These plans would follow up on the ENP country-based Action Plans already underway and, more aptly, along the already-existing regional Action Plans. The current second Northern Dimension Action Plan (NDAP) provides a valuable and timely example on how to model other Action Plans as well. The list of desiderata in the NDAP is quite detailed, amounting to 138 specific activities.

20 Michael EMERSON, Centre for European Policy Studies, *The Black Sea as Epicentre of the Aftershocks of the EU’s Earthquake*, *CEPS Policy Brief*, No. 79/July 2005, p.5.

21 Michael EMERSON, *op. cit.*, p.6.

22 A comprehensive account of Black Sea cooperative initiatives to date is given by Mustafa AYDIN in “Europe’s New Region: The Black Sea in the Wider Europe Neighbourhood”, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, May 2005.

23 „The EU has acquired a considerable regionalist experience in its neighbourhood and this must be inserted into the ENP. There is for the EU the opportunity and time to calibrate its role in, and support for, the region - this is testified to by the fact that the EU still does not participate in the work of the BSEC.” Fabrizio TASSINARI, “*Security and Integration in the EU Neighbourhood. The Case for regionalism*”, *CEPS Working Document* No. 226/July 2005, p.17.

24 “*A final political question is whether Russia would join in such an initiative. According to past experience, Russia will initially express its scepticism or hostility. However, when the invitations go out for the first meet-*

ing of the Black Sea Forum, it might become apparent that all the invitees except Russia were accepting, and then Russia would come along too.” Michael EMERSON, *op. cit.*

25 For a detailed presentation, see M. EMERSON, *The Wider Europe Matrix*, *CEPS*, 2004; and for an updated account, *European Neighbourhood Policy – Strategy of Placebo*, *CEPS Working Paper* No. 215, November 2004 (available at <http://shop.ceps.be>).

26 Michael EMERSON, Centre for European Policy Studies, *The Black Sea as Epicentre of the Aftershocks of the EU’s Earthquake*, *CEPS Policy Brief*, No. 79/July 2005.

27 In October, 1998, the chief delegates of the GUAM countries, who participated in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Annual Meeting met at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington D.C., and issued a joint statement announcing the four countries’ determination to work together on four goals: (1) to minimize the effect of the Russian financial crisis on their countries; (2) to support each other against “growing challenges to regional security and stability;” (3) to cooperate with each other and international partners in the Europe-South Caucasus-Central Asia transit corridor project (TRACECA); and (4) to jointly lobby for accelerated development of Caspian oil deposits and the construction of multiple pipelines directly to international markets.

28 In June, 2000 interview with RFE/RL, NATO Secretary-General George Robertson praised the development of GUUAM, and pledged the cooperation of NATO with the new organization. When asked if NATO would help in the development of GUUAM, Secretary-General Robertson stated: “Very much so, because NATO is in the business of trying to replace existing cooperative structures or any other region. And indeed, we have tried in the past to develop cooperation between countries, whether it is bilateral or multilateral. And indeed, the GUUAM countries took the opportunity at the recent EACP ministerial meeting in Florence, in Italy, to have a GUUAM ministerial meeting at that point. So there are a whole series of regional set-ups which exist and, insofar as they bring countries together in a cooperative way to deal with common problems, then NATO very much encourages that and will continue to support it.”

29 The House and Senate Congressional conferees on the legislation “*strongly support the cooperation on political, security, and economic matters promoted and facilitated by the GUUAM group. The United States should promote these endeavours as part of its strategy to help these states consolidate their independence and strengthen their sovereignty, to help resolve and prevent conflicts in their respective regions, and to promote democracy and human rights.*”

30 The ambassadors praised the United States as a



“strategic partner” in their countries efforts to build democratic governments and free market economies, and declared their nations intentions to expand cooperation among themselves and with the United States. Also appearing at the hearing was Senator Gordon Smith of Oregon, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs, who declared that “there is a need for greater U.S. engagement with GUUAM.” State Department spokesman Richard Boucher gave strong U.S. approval to. He said: “We see GUUAM as a positive development of regional cooperation, and certainly we will want to cooperate in any way we can.”

31 Michael EMERSON, Centre for European Policy Studies, *The Black Sea as Epicentre of the Aftershocks of the EU’s Earthquake*, *CEPS Policy Brief*, No. 79/July 2005, p.5.

32 President Mikheil Saakashvili signed an agreement on strategic cooperation with Ukrainian President Victor Yushchenko. President Saakashvili, meanwhile, stressed Ukraine’s importance in the region, saying Georgia considered Ukraine as **the regional leader in economic, security and political issues as well as the**

“locomotive of European integration”. “The declaration we have signed reads that a new axis is being established from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. It is a very important strategic initiative”, President Saakashvili stated. The presidential website cites him as saying, “We have cooperated with the Baltic States, Ukraine and Romania for a long time... This means that these countries have common interests”. He added, “GUUAM member states strive for EU and NATO membership and we openly declare that we are speaking about the re-establishment of the Baltic-Black Sea frame of stability”. Georgia, Ukraine Form “New Axis”, Monday, March 28, 2005, Ria-novosti.

33 Marius VAHL, *op. cit.*

34 The four common spaces are indeed a manifestation of the ‘proliferation of the fuzzy’. They represent the outermost extension of the EU’s internal logic. The European Neighbourhood Policy, which Russia does not want to be covered by, is itself a weak and fuzzy derivative of the EU’s enlargement process. “Russia-EU Relations: The Present Situation and Prospects”, report of a group of experts chaired by Sergei Karaganov and published as *CEPS Working Document No. 225*, July 2005.

The present article is part of one series of studies dedicated to EU neighbouring strategy: Wider Europe: A Systematic presentation, in Impact Strategic no.14/2005, The Wider Black Sea Region, Two concepts for Wider Black Sea Region: “Partnership for Security” and “Friendly vicinity”, in Impact Strategic no. 2(15)/2005, A future dimension: European Neighbourhood Policy, Romanian Journal of International Affairs no.1/2005.



LE CITOYEN DANS L'UNION EUROPÉENNE

Petre DUȚU, PhD

Est citoyen de l'Union européenne toute personne ayant la nationalité d'un Etat membre. La citoyenneté de l'Union complète ne remplace pas la citoyenneté nationale. Elle constitue un lien entre les citoyens et l'UE destiné à favoriser l'identification des citoyens à l'UE et le développement d'une opinion publique et d'une identité européenne. La citoyenneté européenne est réservée aux nationaux des Etats membres. Les individus n'accèdent à la citoyenneté européenne qu'à travers de leurs Etats. Toutefois, la définition de la nationalité demeure la prérogative exclusive des Etats membres. L'UE n'a aucune compétence en matière.

1. Considérations préliminaires

La Roumanie, selon du calendrier établi avec l'Union Européenne, au premier mai 2007, deviendra l'Etat membre de l'Union¹. L'intégration se fait en conformité des normes, des critères et des règles que chaque Etat qui demande l'adhésion à l'Union Européenne doit accomplir cumulatif, entier et au termes établis. L'adhésion Union Européenne confère aux citoyennes roumaines le statut de citoyen de l'Union. Par suite, il est nécessaire connaître de chaque personne de la Roumanie qui ce présuppose obtenir cette qualité. Autrement dite, quels droits et quelles obligations reviendront tant l'Etat roumain qu'à ces citoyens.

En général, le mot „citoyen” désigne la qualité d'un individu d'être le membre d'un Etat-nation². La citoyenneté peut acquérir par le droit du sol et le droit de la filiation. Le citoyen a des droits et des devoirs. Les droits peuvent être groupés en: des droits civils (le droit à la liberté d'expression, le droit d'accès à l'information); des droits politiques (le droit de voter et d'être éligible aux élections du Parlement européen et aux élections municipales dans l'Etat membre où il réside, et ce dans les mêmes conditions que les ressortissants de cet Etat);

des droits économiques et sociaux (le droit au travail, le droit à l'information, le droit aux prestations de sécurité sociales et aux services sociaux à l'intérieur de l'Union européenne ou la protection de la santé). Les devoirs et les droits du citoyen sont prévus, de règle, dans la Constitution du pays et dans les autres lois de l'Etat.

A l'échelon de l'Union européenne, ces droits sont contenus dans les textes de différents traités signés successivement des Etats membres à l'occasion de l'intégration, mais et dans les autres documents élaborés par les organes de direction de l'Union européenne. Les acteurs de l'Union européenne sont les Etats membres et les institutions européennes, dont les principales sont: le Conseil européen (il est le moteur politique de la construction européenne. Il se compose des chefs d'Etat ou gouvernement de pays membres et du Président de la Commission européenne. Il définit les grandes orientations économiques et sociales, et la politique étrangère); le Conseil de l'Union (il a un rôle à la fois législatif et exécutif. Il adopte les directives et les règlements après avis des députés européens); la Commission européenne -gardienne des traités, elle propose des actions ou des projets de textes (de directive, de règlement) et veille à leur application. Elle dispose d'un pouvoir de décision propre) et le Parlement européen (il est la voix du peuple de l'Union. Il examine les propositions de directives ou de règlements). On compte également des organes de contrôle (la Cour de justice européenne qui veille au respect du droit communautaire et le Cour des comptes européenne qui contrôle la régularité des comptes communautaires), des organes monétaire et financier (la Banque centrale européenne et la Banque européenne d'investissement) et des organes consultatifs (le Comité économique et social, le Comité des régions). Chaque d'entre ces institutions ont des domaines distinctifs en contribuant à la fonctionnement optimale de l'Union européenne³.



2. Le statut de citoyen dans l'Union européenne

2.1. *Qui est citoyen européen?*

La réponse à cette question se trouve dans le contenu du Traité sur l'Union européenne, signé en 1992 à Maastricht, qui établit que représente „la citoyenneté de l'Union”. Ainsi, aux termes de l'article 17 du Traité mentionné, est le citoyen de l'Union, toutes les personnes ayant la nationalité d'un État membre⁴.

La citoyenneté de l'Union complète la citoyenneté nationale : elle permet au citoyen de l'Union de disposer de nouveaux droits spécifiques à la dimension transnationale de l'Union européenne, et d'élargir l'exercice de certaines de ses droits au pays de l'UE dans lequel il réside ou voyage. De plus, ce genre de citoyenneté se fonde sur les principes communs aux États membres, c'est-à-dire, les principes de liberté, de démocratie, du respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales ainsi que les principes de l'état de droit. De fait, ces principes sont énoncés dans le Traité d'Amsterdam, entré en vigueur le premier mai 1999.

La citoyenneté de l'Union européenne repose sur des droits fondamentaux de l'individu et des droits spécifiques (droits favorisant la libre circulation et droits civiques) accordés au citoyen européen dans le Traité. Le Traité de Nice (décembre 2001) confirme le statut de la citoyenneté européenne ainsi que les droits fondamentaux. Il faut que nous révélions aussi que la citoyenneté de l'Union ne remplace pas la citoyenneté nationale. En réalité, elle constitue un lien entre les citoyens et l'UE destiné à favoriser l'identification de l'Union et le développement d'une opinion publique et d'une identité européenne. Toutefois, la citoyenneté européenne obéit à un double critère : 1) elle est réservée aux nationaux des États membres. Les individus n'accèdent à la citoyenneté européenne qu'à travers de leurs États. Par conséquent, les personnes des autres pays, qui habitent dans un État membre de l'Union, même depuis longtemps, elles ne reçoivent la citoyenneté européenne que dans le moment où elles possèdent la citoyenneté de l'État où elles habitent. Bien sûr, ces personnes bénéficient en l'Union des droits sociaux et économiques, néanmoins elles n'ont pas des droits liés à la citoyenneté européenne; 2) la définition de la nationalité demeure la prérogative

exclusive des États membres. L'Union européenne n'a aucune compétence en matière. Par suite, on peut tirer la conclusion que par l'intégration dans l'UE l'État-nation ne va pas disparaître comme entité, au contraire il existera et exercera ses compétences. Les États membres vont demeurer donc maîtres, à travers leur code de la nationalité, de décider qui est européen et qui ne l'est pas. Par exemple, la délivrance du passeport européen, qui permet aux ressortissants de l'UE de se rendre dans l'étranger, continue de relever des autorités nationales. Toutefois, la citoyenneté européenne, par les droits assurés, par les devoirs établis et par la participation active à la vie politique, renforce l'image et l'identité de l'UE et implique le citoyen dans le processus d'intégration de son pays.

2.2 *Les droits fondamentaux du citoyen dans l'Union Européenne*

Les États qui composent l'Union européenne défendent les droits fondamentaux et les valeurs démocratiques inscrits dans des divers textes comme *Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme* (1948), *la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme* (1950), *la Charte sociale européenne* (1961) révisée en 1966, ou *la Charte communautaire des droits sociaux fondamentaux des travailleurs* (1989).

L'Union européenne et ses États membres sont donc tenus de respecter ces valeurs. Toute transgression de ces droits fondamentaux peut être saisie tant aux tribunaux nationaux que la Cour de justice européenne, qui les fait respecter. Si un État membre y manquait d'une façon grave et systématique, l'Union européenne pourrait lui imposer des sanctions, politiques ou économiques. Pendant les dernières années, certaines citoyennes de la Roumanie, bien que notre pays n'était pas encore l'un de l'État membre de l'Union, ont fait des pétitions à les institutions européennes alors qu'ils ont considérés qu'il ont été privés de certaines leurs droits et plusieurs fois ils ont reçus une réponse favorable à leurs sollicitations.

L'engagement de l'Union européenne en ce qui concerne la préservation et la promotion des ces valeurs a été répété, par la proclamation en décembre 2000 de la Charte des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne. Ce document regroupe en 6 chapitres (Dignité, Liberté, Égalité, Solidarité, Citoyenneté et Justice), 54 articles définissant les



valeurs fondamentales d'UE, ainsi que les droits civils et politiques, économiques et sociaux du citoyen européenne⁵.

Les premiers articles sont consacrés à la dignité humaine, au droit de la vie, au droit à l'intégrité de la personne, à la liberté d'expression et au droit à la objection de conscience. Le chapitre „Solidarité” innove en incorporant le droit sociaux et économiques (le droit de grève, le droit d'information et à la consultation des travailleurs, le droit à conseiller la vie familiale et la vie professionnelle, le droit au prestations de sécurité sociale et aux services sociaux à l'intérieur de l'Union ou la protection de la santé).

La Charte promeut également l'égalité entre homme et femme et instaure des droits comme la protection de données, l'interdiction des pratiques eugéniques et du clonage reproductif des être humains, les droits des enfants et des personnes âgées ou le droit à une bonne administration.

L'appartenance d'un État à l'Union européenne donne à ses citoyens des droits, qui renforcent considérablement l'implication active et responsable de chaque personne dans les processus d'intégration de son pays en l'Union européenne. Parmi ces droits, le plus importants est le droit de circuler, séjourner, s'installer, travailler, étudier dans les autres États membres. Le refus de l'entrée d'une personne dans un autre État membre se fait seulement dans les cas fondées (pour de raison d'ordre public, de sécurité ou de santé publique) et la restriction doit être justifiée.

Il y a également le droit de voter et d'être éligible aux élections du Parlement européen et aux élections municipales dans l'État membre où il réside et dans les mêmes conditions que les ressortissants de cet État.

Un autre droit pour les citoyens européens est le droit de la protection consulaire des autorités diplomatiques d'un autre État membre sur le territoire d'un pays tiers (l'État qui n'appartient pas à l'UE), son pays n'y est pas représenté par une ambassade ou un consulat. Par ce droit se renforce la conviction des personnes de l'États membres que leur statut est l'un important parce qu'elles appartiennent à l'Union européenne.

En même temps, chaque citoyen d'un pays membre de l'UE a le droit d'adresser des pétitions devant le Parlement européen et le droit de faire appel au Médiateur européen pour examiner les cas de mauvaise administration de la part des ins-

titutions et organes communautaires.

Toutefois, le citoyen européen bénéficie du droit de non-discrimination en raison de nationalité. Un tel droit renforce la conviction de chaque personne qui détient le statut de citoyen de l'UE où il est résidant d'une entité étatique qui ne fait pas distinction entre ses membres en raison de nationalité ou d'une autre nature (sociale, religieuse, ethnique). De plus, un pareil droit représente le fondement de construire d'une réelle citoyenneté européenne qui intègre organique toutes les qualités de citoyenneté nationale, autrement dite, ce droit peut représenter une prémisse favorable pour créer une opinion publique et une identité européenne.

A l'échelon de l'Union européenne existe la Commission européenne destinée de faire respecter ces droits. Cette Commission présente des rapports périodiques sur les progrès réalisés et les difficultés rencontrées.

De fait, la Commission européenne fait le feedback entre les organes de directions de l'UE les organes exécutives en saisissant, opportunément, les progrès réalisés et les difficultés rencontrés pendant la mise en œuvre des décisions adoptées.

Toutefois, à la réalisation du feedback a un rôle important les *Centres d'information* décentralisés fondées par la Commission européenne et les gouvernements des États membres de l'Union pour faire l'information opportune des citoyens.

3. Conclusions

Le statut de citoyen européen a le plus moins deux particularités. D'abord, la plus significative la représente le fait que cette qualité le peut obtenir seulement les citoyens des États membres de l'Union. Les personnes qui résident depuis longtemps dans un État membre mais elles n'ont pas obtenus la citoyenneté de ce pays aussi elles ne vont pas obtenir la citoyenneté européenne. Puis, le statut de citoyen européen confère des droits celui qui a cette qualité tant dans tous les États membres que dans l'État natale.

L'intégration d'un État dans l'Union européenne auprès des droits apporte et des devoirs et des responsabilités pour tous ses citoyens. Si les droits ont trouvés une forme d'expression claire dans les traités signés par les États membres sur les devoirs et les responsabilités se fait référence indirectement. Ainsi, il est clair que tous les citoyens ont des devoirs en ce qui concerne de respecter les



normes, les règles et les coutumes propres à l'UE et aux États membres.

Il est absolument nécessaire que tous les citoyens européenne adoptent, par enseignement et appropriation le model comportemental valide en l'Union européenne.

En fin, le statut de citoyen européen ne signifie pas la négation de qualité de citoyen de l'un État membre de l'Union européenne ou l'autre. Pour obtenir un pareil statut il faut que la personne soit le citoyen d'un État membre de l'Union.

La Roumanie, selon le calendrier établi entre Union européenne et le gouvernement du notre pays, va adhérer à cette union des États au premier janvier 2007. Dans ces conditions, auprès des mesures „techniques”, afin de connaître en ce qui concerne le processus d'intégration dans l'UE est nécessaire de dérouler un programme d'information correctement et opportunément des citoyens du pays. Dans ce but tous les moyens disponibles

doivent être utilisé par les institutions impliquées dans le déploiement du processus d'intégration de la Roumanie en l'Union européenne. Dans ce contexte, il faut soit réaliser une information pertinente de la population du notre pays en ce qui concerne l'intégration en l'UE, qui sont les droits et les devoirs aux citoyens, et les responsabilités de l'État Roumain en tant de membre de l'Union européenne.

NOTES:

1 Voir: **Declarația Parlamentului român privind semnarea, la 25 aprilie 2005, a Tratatului de aderare a României la Uniunea Europeană.**

2 Cătălin ZAMFIR, Lazăr VLĂSCĂANU, **Dicționar de sociologie**, București, Editura BABEL, 1998, p. 94.

3 *** *Citoyenneté européenne*, [http:// www. Info/Europe.fr/document.dir/fich.php3?id=35](http://www.info/europe.fr/document.dir/fich.php3?id=35), pp.2-3.

4 Ibidem, p.1.

5 Ibidem , p.4.

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LOW INTENSITY CONFLICTS

Vladi SOFRONIEV

Conventional military power is often irrelevant in low intensity conflicts. In LIC, the concentration of military forces tends to be an exceptional occurrence. This is because small groups mainly carry out the operations or because they cannot be easily identified, especially in terrorism. In the case of insurgency war, the insurgents know that they are no suitable against the country's military force as they will be easily outnumbered and out-gunned. They will instead avoid decisive battle and use their military forces to gain "maximum political effect at minimum military cost". Firepower is thus of secondary importance.

1. Low-intensity conflict definition

The concept "LIC" came into view in the 70s of the last century, but it was used for description and account of contemporary and former conflicts as well. In the 70s, the US conceptualized LIC as a broad range of conflicts less intense than fully-scale conventional warfare. They were considered low-intensity in nature because the country combating such LIC usually committed relatively limited military resources. More definitive explanation of LIC is listed below: "Low-intensity conflict is a limited political-military struggle to achieve political, social, economical or psychological objectives. It is often protracted and ranges from diplomatic, economical and psychosocial pressures through terrorism and insurgency. Low-intensity conflict is generally confined to a geographic area and is often characterized by constraints on the weaponry, tactics and level of violence. LIC involves the actual or contemplated use of military means up to just below the threshold of battle between regular armed forces".

There are a few key elements in this definition. First, it states that the objective of LIC does not end at the military level alone but transcends to political, social, economical and even psychological levels. Second, it makes clear the upper limits on the use of military force beyond which the concept no longer applies.

With so many possible types of conflicts un-

der the LIC classifications, disagreements would abound when governments try to come up with measures to counter them. To presume that a single general approach can counter such conflicts is a fallacy and the onset of defeat for governments. Although conflicts like counter-insurgency, anti-terrorism and guerrilla warfare are popularly associated to LIC, other conflicts like peacekeeping missions, drug interdiction and contingency operations have been known as low-intensity operations as well. Despite the effort by nations to equip their conventional military forces in the defence of their homeland, most analysts agree that the major threat or type of conflicts of the future would be low-intensity in nature. Military theoreticians have categorized all conceivable conflicts with military involvement into three broad groups, ranging from the lowest conflicts to a strategic nuclear war. Confrontations like WWII, the Gulf War or a nuclear war are in the "high-intensity conflicts/war" category. Korean or Vietnam wars are regarded as "medium-intensity conflicts" while all other confrontations below these levels would be classified as LIC.

It must be emphasized that LIC is not primarily a military matter. Conceptually, LIC is primarily politically oriented and requires an integrated policy approach containing military elements. As such, the definition of LIC should not concentrate on the military level of conflict, but on its political character.

2. Low-intensity conflict characteristics

Its main characteristics are listed below:

- LIC burst out in the low developed regions and countries as well as in the countries of the "third world";
- In the developed industrialized states they have been analysed mostly not as a war, but as rebellions, revolts, insurgents, uprisings and terrorism (North Ireland, Bask Province in Spain);
- The opposing forces are official military troops against guerrillas, terrorists, gangs and even civilians. Exception could be fight between two



regular forces;

- Very seldom the threat of using WMD is the strongest argument for solving the problems;
- The number of civilians' casualties is relatively high.

Typical LIC are:

- Fights of the local population in Asia and Africa against the colonial domination;
- Fights in Vietnam and Afghanistan;
- The Yugoslavian conflict;
- The Intifada in Lebanon;
- Many civilian wars, revolutions, ethnical conflicts and rebellions in Africa, Asia, Middle East and South America.

3. Victory Definition

Many debates have gone into the definition of that victory in warfare means. The Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary defines 'victory' as a 'situation in which you gain complete success, for example, in defeating an opponent in a war or in any other hand struggle'. By this definition, victory in LIC would mean being able to resolve the conflicts by completely eradicating groups that wage such LIC through their removal, surrender or by winning them over.

From the many internal wars that have been waged, it is clear that it is not easy to completely remove such insurgency or guerrilla movements once they have established themselves, as in the case of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). But is victory in LIC merely the termination of such groups, or should governments concentrate on ending the causes fought by these groups? Often the coups, revolts and revolutions may be prevented and defeated, but the causes for which these are fought for are seldom completely defeated. In such situations, victory may end up having only a temporal effect and hence ineffective.

The experience of LICs fought since World War II shows that many governments were ill prepared to handle them. The US tried to turn the Vietnam War into a series of conventional military operations that were more suited for the plains of Europe than the jungles of Vietnam.

Victory in any conflict can come in various forms: militarily, politically or economically. In Clausewitz' trinity on the nature of war, he concluded that there are three main pillars that determine the success or failure of a war – the people, the military forces and the government. Hence, at-

taining military success alone may not be enough to achieve an overall success in the war against LIC. Lasting victory in LIC comes more from achieving political success rather than military or economic success. Unlike conventional wars where defeating the opposing military forces would usually secure victory for the state, the mere capture or destruction of such LIC forces would not totally remove their influence on the populace due to the existence of sympathizers. New groups would simply spring up to continue the fight since the root cause of LIC has not been resolved. The political aspects of LIC therefore take paramount importance over the military and other aspects.

Many countries have fallen into the trap of handling LIC as if it were any other conventional conflict. One of the main reasons why the US failed in Vietnam War was its failure to realize that employing conventional military tactics in an unconventional operation would be totally ineffective. Unlike conventional warfare, LIC poses some unusual problems making victory difficult to achieve.

4. Conventional Military Forces not suited for LIC

For democracies that have configured their military forces to fight a conventional war, it is often difficult for them to adapt to unconventional war. A case in example is the US Armed Forces which despite its military might, failed to adapt itself adequately for the unconventional setting in Vietnam, and some may argue, even in Kosovo. The common mistake is assuming that the capability to handle conventional warfare automatically equips the military force for unconventional warfare. Although conventional warfare skills can be applied in peacekeeping and contingency missions, they are bad suited for counter-terrorism or counter-insurgency operations.

Targeting the divisions within the American society for their support of the war, the North Vietnamese made it domestically impossible for the US to continue to fight. Although NATO eventually succeeded in bringing the conflict to an end in Kosovo, it was not the bombing raids but other political and economical factors that led to the termination of the conflict.

In LIC, military strength is often not the decisive factor for victory. For counter-insurgency war, the skill in separating the population from the insurgents is more useful than military power.



According to the Clausewitz' trinity, controlling the population is an important aspect for success. This can be achieved by building an effective program of incentives and disincentives to convince the population to stop supporting or accommodating the insurgents. Strong-arm tactics or employing harsh military measures may actually push the population to sympathize with the insurgents, thus nullifying any military effort taken.

Another reason why insurgent and guerrilla groups have been able to withstand the onslaught of the more powerful military is due to the external parties, these groups will be sustained indefinitely. Similarly, many terrorist groups get funds and training from foreign states. As long as the aid continues, it would be almost impossible to eliminate the subversive elements and a political compromise may be the only solution for a besieged government.

5. Dilemma of governments

The types of LIC that are likely to appear in the Third World countries are guerrilla, insurgency and revolutionary war. Such internal wars are a result of deep societal problems caused by misdistribution of wealth, poverty, corruption, repression and collapse of social structure. Because of these deep-seated problems, the real solutions are impossible on the short-term and agonizingly difficult on long term. Therefore, complete victory over the instigators may only come by implementing harsh and ruthless measures. However, this may be more achievable in autocratic societies where public opinion is not that important.

For democracies, such measures are unwelcome by the public. Democratic governments, which depend on public support, are unwilling to jeopardize their position in office by exacting such unpalatable measures against the insurgents or guerrillas. Often, counter-terrorism measures involve the assassination of famous terrorists.

Although this may be acceptable in countries as Israel, where terrorist acts hit at their very existence, such acts are considered distasteful in Western democracies and would not be supported by the people. Furthermore, the insurgents or terrorists would be almost indistinguishable from the general public and any tough measures taken may result in many innocent people getting hurt. The victory that may be attained will be meaningless then.

Divisions also develop among the population as some people may support the government's efforts or call for firmer action while others may demand immediate cessation of hostility. These divisions create a dilemma for the government trying to resolve the LIC. The government has to grapple with a need to maintain the balance between the views of the government, the people and the military force within the context of the Clausewitz' trinity of war.

As such, the need to appease the public with more acceptable yet effective measures makes it difficult, often impossible, for democracies to achieve complete success against the insurgents and guerrillas.

6. Lack of stamina

One common characteristic of LIC is that it lasts a long time. Unlike conventional war, where it can be terminated in a relatively short period of time, as in the Gulf War, it would take a long time to produce tangible results in LIC. The Huk rebellion in Philippines took up to 10 years to end. Although the IRA's ongoing fight against the British started in 1969, the Irish rebellion against the British dates back to late 18th century.

The long duration reflects the complexity of the conflict, which is not merely a military confrontation but one that essentially contains a political and social dimension of the conflict.

One of the main reasons why modern democratic governments have difficulty in resolving LIC is their short term office. Within a short time office, politicians would be more inclined to invest their efforts in areas that bring more tangible results during their tenure. To ensure re-election and maintain public support, politicians tend to show that they have contributed positively to the community during their term of office.

Unfortunately, efforts to resolve LIC do not show as even the smallest success in LIC would take years to yield fruitful results. Without the determination and patience to tackle LIC, the problem is merely handed over from one administration to another, at times, without much progress.

Another significant effect of a protracted war is the risk of high casualties. As a consequence of the defeat in Vietnam, Americans began to show a low tolerance for casualties. The subsequent wars involving the US had to show a high certainty of success with low casualty rates. This was espe-



cially prevalent in the Kosovo conflict where the United States was unwilling to send ground forces for fear of sustaining casualties. Casualties have become a new centre of gravity for the US and other Western democracies, which can be exploited by the LIC forces. The LIC forces are willing to prolong the struggle and slowly bleed the government and the military forces hoping that this will weaken the leaders eventually. Achieving victory in such a situation will be less meaningful if the country has lost many innocent civilians, military personnel and even political leaders in the process.

As the nature of warfare differs in LIC, there is a need to adapt and modify structures or methods to accommodate the variances. This may involve creating specialised forces trained in the art of 'small wars' instead of relying on massive firepower and manoeuvre to win the war.

7. Conclusions

The diverse range of LIC calls for different strategies to be deployed for an effective resolution. The government cannot go for quick fixes, but must work out a robust plan to address the root cause of the problem. More importantly, the end states of what is to be achieved needs to be determined: Is complete victory desired? Is a compromise acceptable in the pursuit for peace? To resolve the issue, these fundamentals cannot be ignored.

Despite the advances in technology and progress in society, it is unclear if governments will ever be prepared to cope with LIC, since conventional military forces are inadequate, the opponents may not be rational people, and the governments themselves may be unable to stomach the realities of the nightmare.

Governments must realize that LIC is a very real threat. Proficiency in conventional warfare does not equate to the capability to handle LIC. Winning in LIC, therefore, requires an accurate understanding of what it really is.

Although some aspects of conventional military operation can be adapted for LIC, there are many other aspects that require re-organizing the forces, equipment and tactics. However, some military leaders are resistant to effect the changes, as they

are unconvinced of the importance of LIC in order to justify the effort to train, organize and equip for it. Military leaders also fear that too much effort on LIC will erode their preparedness for conventional warfare since their already limited resources have to be diverted for the cause.

The low-intensity conflicts have no quick-fix solutions. They have complex cultural, religious and historical origins where criminality, population coercion and extremist politics abound. Asymmetric tactics, usually conducted out of necessity by our enemies, are an economy of forces and a weapon of choice.

Historians will see the last decade of the 20th century and the first decade or two of the 21st one as a turning point in the evolution of the armed conflicts. At this point, we know fundamental change is underway but can only guess its ultimate outcome.

There is a very thin division line between the traditional understanding about defence and the broader contemporary understanding about security. We are facing a more complex international system, which, unlike the straightforward rigid bipolarity of the previous one is fluid and unforeseen. The security and defence issues that concern us today have risen sharply in number. These menaces can not be defeated only by military means. All security structures as well as the whole society should be involved in the fight against terrorism (which, respectively, uses asymmetrical warfare). Adequate political and military measures should be taken to prevent possible future LIC and stop the existing ones as well.

Finally, not all security threats are best addressed through military means. By strengthening non-proliferation treaties and export-control regimes designed to halt the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and by promoting diplomatic settlements, could be minimized the need for military intervention in the future. This diplomacy-centred strategy would require a much greater investment in nonmilitary instruments such as negotiations, foreign assistance, the promotion of democracy and the effective use of the United Nations, European Union and other similar structures.

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REEVALUATIONS OF THE SECURITY CONCEPTS DYNAMIC

Grigore ALEXANDRESCU, PhD

The need for finding fast and effective solutions for counteracting the existent and emergent risks, dangers and threats has determined the amplification of the volume of the approaches on the security field.

The article presents new concepts on the security theory and practice at national and international level.

The end of the Cold War led the world entered into a standby period, searching solutions for the economical development and increasing the welfare. They were not possible without avoiding the armed conflicts on the international scene. The beginning of this millennium gave the chance. It was at least succeeding to relocate them from the reality level to the imaginary one.

All governments' scenarios were more and more optimistic. There were researched solutions for **cooperative security**.

By this way a common security environment was intended to be assured, based on general development, interstate co-operation and achievement of unity through diversity. All of them defined collective security as a security state perceived by international solidarity, where regionalization or globalization processes were not understood like someone's hegemony, but a conjunction through common energies and resources in order to get into the area a real stability.

But after 9/11 nothing seemed to be as it was before. The large breach produced in the USA security system – considered the most efficient in the entire world, demonstrated that we are not in the way to „universal peace and order”.

The world begun to reevaluate its theoretical and practical radius of knowledge. The desperate try to find quick solutions to counteract existing or emerging risks, dangers and threats determined an increase of speed and volume of the research on the security field.

There were prospected proper answers to dif-

ficult questions: Are the theoretical and practical thinking at a dead end or are they capable to give adequate solutions to the new emerged challenges? Is the classical security theory able to explain and give solutions in order to bound and close „the black hole” that emerged in the global security environment? What can we really use and what must we get rid of?

UN readiness and the leader role assumed by the USA in the fight against terror gave the first answers. In fact, we can assume that practice overcomes theory.

The necessity of a strong influential leader, which is rapidly able to reestablish global security, and the USA successes in the fight against terror, oriented theoretical approaches towards the thought that a global leader – which is able to generate synergy and resources within the heterogeneous coalition – is needed.

Short time after, Europe manifested itself as a first class actor on the fight against terrorism theaters, requiring an effective implication in decisional processes. There were a lot of controversial issues at the beginning, on the both sides of the Atlantic, but presently, the transatlantic relationship is a normal one. Security theory and practice revealed the necessity of building this relationship on a co-operative and partnership strategy, taking into account the global interest.

That is why Z. Brzezinski asserted last year that America is facing a fundamental option: assuming the leader's role in the international policy, international security inclusively, either by imposing its partners' and allies' will, or by getting their consensus, using dialogue and persuasion¹. If so far, the American administration chose the first option, for the future, the author feels obliged to warn: “The American worldwide hegemony is (...) on a transitory moment. On long term, the United States' worldwide hegemony will erode²”. That is why the strategy of “co-operation and partnership”, of the “balance between responsibilities and benefits,



spreading initiatives and not imposing dictates”, determined by the “interests’ community”, configured by the globalization process, has to ensure security and stability. None of the major security contemporary challenges (the endemic Balkans, African or Middle East instabilities) will be not effectively managed if there is no strategic partnership involving a reliable institutional projection, among the two sides of the Atlantic: “Neither Europe nor the US should be arrogant about the other. Nor the Balkans, nor the Middle East...will be resolved without a partnership between the two. The truth is, the world over, the nations are moving closer together, pooling risk and opportunity, seeking in this ever more interdependent world, the comfort and necessity of alliance”³. The theorists unanimously appreciate that the actual threats equally affects all the people in the world. Thus, combating them is recommended not only for the state institutions, but for the civil society, too. This exchange of ideas completes the extremely dynamic view of theoretical approaches needed to give the particular solutions to counteract nowadays dangers, threats and challenges. In this framework, there is a first group of new concepts imposing:

- **security globalization**, as a replay to the globalization of insecurity. The most recent papers estimate that a constant of the new strategic environment is the relation between the national security and the international one. It is said that we witness a structural interdependency process between the regional and the global level. The national societies are more interdependent, interconnected. The actual security environment and its trend determine us to estimate that the areas where security was involved tend to become congruent and inseparable;

- **conceiving regional and global security on the co-operation and partnership basis** (reevaluating, improving theoretical approaches from the ‘90s)

- **achieving national security through actions conducted outside national borders**. This concept aims an update and a logical development of the self-defense classical concept related to the dynamic, anarchic nature of the newly emerged threats. In this new international environment, to defend yourself means actively participate in international crisis management. And this is supposed to be done through preemptive actions aiming to stop any instability hotbed.

The future of humankind is also continuously threatened by the environmental decadence. Ozone level decrease, scaring floods, tornados, animals and plants species disappearing indicate a real degraded natural environment. And many scholars tend to appreciate this process as an irreversible one.

The security can not ignore this reality anymore and can not ignore the negative evolution of demographic indicator, resources distribution, illiteracy, migration movements and organized crime.

From this perspective, the **security system multilevel** is stressed out. There are no major or less important levels anymore, but only priorities.

Transformation and transforming transformation became very used notion lately. Toffler, in the ‘70s, prefigured this situation: “transformation tempo will increase at a higher level that our imagination will not be able to follow it”⁴.

Thereby, fighting against time becomes a new co-ordinate characterizing actions at the security level. Last trends on the global scene revealed time as the most important component in the time-space equation. Consequently, a new mentality, a new way of managing time emerged, with deep implications at the security level⁵.

We can not allow to be overtaken by the course of events. 9/11, Madrid, London, Indian Ocean earthquakes, floods in Romania, hurricane Katrina, all of them impose a prospective vision attaining security systems, starting from the citizen’s level to the planet security one. This imposes preventive actions carrying out by operative forces, on all levels and having enough disposable resources.

Thus, it is considered that **action, not reaction** is a nowadays characteristic in order to maintain security at any level. Periodical reevaluation, **transforming** security systems and organizations considering actual global trends constitute a modern, beneficial concept. Its efficiency is still at a low level, because it is applied especially in the military component of security.

Istanbul NATO Summit, in 2004, consecrated the necessity for transformation and modernization within North-Atlantic Alliance. The enlargement to 26 members located on three continents must give us the real image related to this politico-military organization in accomplishing regional and global stability and security. Its efficiency resides both in its members’ cohesion as well as in its capability to rapidly and permanently adapt its strategies and



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tactics needed to counterattack the risks, dangers and threats to security on all levels.

That is why the Romanian Armed Forces, as a part of military branch of national security, are implied in a gradual transformation process in order to act efficiently in defending the country, as well as accomplishing NATO, UE and other international organization engagements.

Concluding, in the last period of time the security theory is in a very pushy period. Its stimulant was assured by the international community, which is in the search for common security architecture. This must efficiently respond to actual and future threats.

NOTES:

1 Cf. Zbigniew BRZEZINSKI, **The Choice, Global Domination or Global Leadership**, Basic Books, 2004.

2 Zbigniew BRZEZINSKI, *National Insecurity is the New Reality*, Newsweek, web edition, March, 31, 2004.

3 Tony BLAIR, **Remarks at the Manson House**, 15 the November 2004, www.number-10.gov.uk

4 A. TOFFLER, **Șocul viitorului**, Ed. Politică, Bucharest, 1973, p.84.

5 See R.S. COVEY, **Managementul timpului sau cum se stabilesc prioritățile**, Ed. All, Bucharest, 2000, I. PINCOVSCHI, M. MIHAI, **Managementul timpului**, Ed. HGA, Bucharest, 2001.

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CIVILIANS, MILITARY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Alexandra SARCINSCHI

The security state is a general goal. In the last decade, the vision on civil-military-national security trinomial has changed, but there is a constant idea that the military must protect and support democratic values and the national and international security. The framework for analyzing this issue is complex due to the fact that the society's civil realm (the nonmilitary one) is formed by two different-in-nature-and-interests subsystems: the political society and the civil society. Such problems originate numerous pro- and contra- debates, but it's obvious that the civil-military relationship and the national security realm must be studied only with an interdisciplinary and comprehensive approach.

The end of the 1st World War brought a new trend in the development of the civil-military relations meaning the dissolution of the borders between those two social groups. The trend itself is very dangerous due to the fact that the conduct and consequences of the war have now unlimited effects on human society.

Also, this process has been accelerated at the same time with the development of the informational technologies and the access to them. The dissolution means not only civilian vulnerabilities during a war but also their capacity to influence war's causes, conduct, and results.

Thus, the national security is still a main issue on the political agenda even if there are new concepts such as human security or international security.

The framework is complex due to the fact that the society's civil realm (the nonmilitary one) is formed by two different-in-nature-and-interests subsystems: the political society and the civil society. The military institution connects with both subsystems and it is a basic constituent of the society's political subsystem.

1. The civil society, the military, and the national security

There is a premise in the democratic and developing states that the national security is fulfilled with a minimal sacrifice regarding democratic values, norms, and practice. The main problem regards the complexity of the relations between the political realm, the civil society, and the military. By definition, the military are not a part of the civil society. The civil society is an aggregate of various non-governmental institutions that are strong enough to counterbalance the state. Also, the civil society is able to stop the state to dominate and to split the rest of the society without hinder its activity¹. The civil society represents the realm of some civil values closely linked to democracy and liberty. Thus, it tends to become a normative system destined to evaluate the contemporary state's actions.

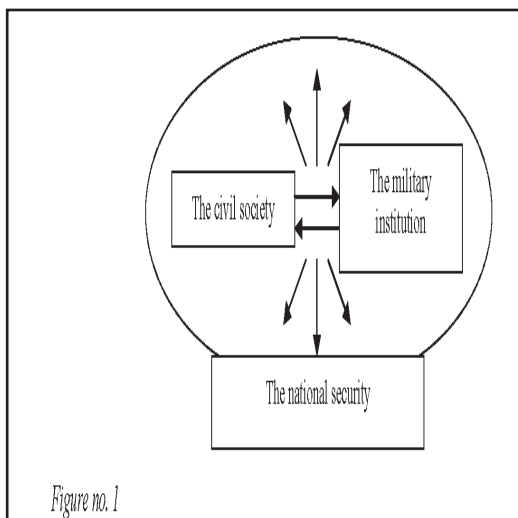
Seeing that the main dimension of civil society is represented by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the development of NGOs' system is very important for the transition from the totalitarianism's logic to a democratic one. They are necessary in order to harmonize the civil society's concerns with the private interests. They may gather and disseminate information, lobby for a suitable legislation, publicly evaluate their programs and performances etc. The essential idea is that the NGOs achieve and maintain a dynamic balance between individual and group interests and the society's interests, between groups' needs and aspirations and the society's projects.

The civil society is an essential element of the domestic security environment. Its organization, maturity, and political and social engagement directly influence the country's social, political, and economic security. Still, the civil society's organizations may turn into risk factors or dangers to society. This situation is possible only if they use violent means in order to promote their own inter-

ests in the public realm and also if the failure of the system's development leads to an unwanted trend that promotes non-values and deviant behaviour that threat the national security and stability.

In the same time, the civil society may be the object of various risks, dangers and threats caused by military actions. For instance, the Iraqi war unleashed an ample series of debates on its effects on civil society. The scholars synthesize some treats². The most important threat regards the alteration of the civil society's agenda. The war distracted both the attention and resources from non-military issues (gender, social and economic justice, environment protection, human rights) to Iraqi crisis. The democracy and civic participation are also threatened. Even in the USA, where the attitudes on war are ambivalent, the voices that militate against American involvement in Iraq are stronger than the ones pro. In Iraq, the public participation was for a long time an unknown concept and right now its citizens do not have the opportunity to decide on their civic destiny.

In conclusion, the relationship between civil society, military, and national security is very complex. The interactions between civil society and military institutions have not only positive effects, but also negative. Those two institutions might be severe harmed by the badness of their management and there are negative consequences on social system's security. We can synthesize these relations in the following figure in order to better understand the analyzed processes:



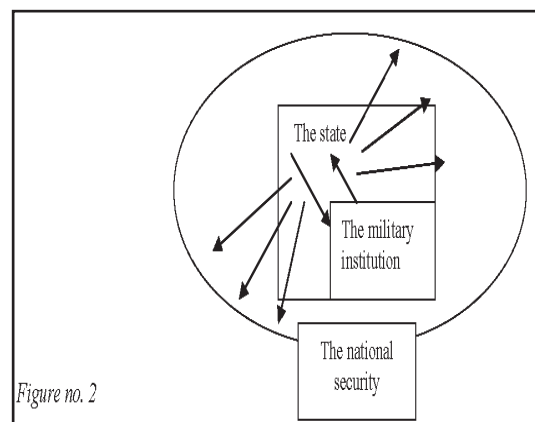
2. The state, the military, and the national security

The relationship between state (state's institutions) and military is both ways: the political class has the monopoly on various decisions regarding the military institution and the military directly or mediatory influence the same political class. Although the military are a state's institution, the interdependence between them is both necessary and essential.

The political class decides on the following issues regarding the military: the institution's organization, structure, and functions; the peace and war principles and norms; the relationship between the military institution and the other governmental and non-governmental institutions; the means, the purpose, and the result of military involvement in the country's socio-political life.

The otherway of the analyzed binomial is about military's influence on political class. The influence is directed or mediated and it refers on issues such as: the government system and state's domestic and foreign policies; the ways to solve domestic conflicts or conflicts between states or groups of states, etc. In the same time, the military must serve the democratic state and be controlled by it. Although the civil democratic control over the armed forces is a purpose of each state, in the democratic ones it depends on interactions between the civil institutions and the military ones that are charged with state's defence and values.

Also, the type of relationship between state and the military institution influences the national security. We can draw the following figure:





In the democratic societies, these relations do not harm the national security. The civil democratic control's mechanisms are clear: the executive effectively oversees military institution's activity and educates the public on national security policies and priorities (there are some limits on the military's access to influence and public participation), and the legislative is motivated to ensure accountability of the military institution that is seen as a guardian of society's freedom.

3. The framework of national security and the new trends in civil-military relations

The classical theories regarding the relationship between civilians and military, such as those suggested by Samuel P. Huntington and Morris Janowitz, fall into insufficiency together with the transformation of security environment.

In the last years, the security privatization matter became more and more important. Private security companies and other nongovernmental agents that take over the role of security provider privatize the domestic security. From this point of view there are four main types of security environment's actors^c established by both social life's public and private realms and the main principle of economy – the relationship between demand and bid: states that use public security forces for fulfilling the security state; states that use militias or private military companies; firms that pay public security forces for protection; rebel movements, guerrillas etc. State's vision on national security is not always the goal of those actors.

Furthermore, the state might fail in fulfilling the security state for some social groups. That is why more and more individuals, communities or organizations require private security organizations' services.

There are three trends that induce the change of paradigm: the growth of the number of civilians possessing weapons; the development of private security forces; the greater involvement of merce-

naries in ongoing military conflicts.

The debates on state's monopoly on violence were accelerated by the fear of individuals regarding the growth of violence, crime, and social degradation, the absence of state's visible protection, and the resistance of citizens in front of state's involvement in their life. The citizens of most of the developed countries feel that state's specialized institutions cannot answer their security needs. Also, in the developing countries, the corruption eliminates the possibility that the government to protect its citizens. Thus, it's easy to understand the reason for the national and international development of private military companies. In a world of developing market values, we shall not discard private companies' bearing to security field.

Therefore in the post-Cold War world, the security state is a general goal. The vision on civil-military-national security trinomial has indeed changed, but there is a constant idea that the military must protect and support democratic values and the national and international security. Such problems originate numerous pro- and contra- debates, but it's obvious that the civil-military relationship and the national security realm must be studied only with an interdisciplinary and comprehensive approach.

NOTES:

1 GELLNER, Ernest, **Condițiile libertății. Societatea civilă și rivalii ei**, Polirom Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, p. 20

2 NAIDOO, Kumi, *Civil Society at a Time of Global Uncertainty*, in OECD Observer, no. 237/May 2003.

3 This typology is taken over from Bjorn Moller's paper *Privatization of Conflict, Security, and War*, published in the Danish Institute for International Studies Working Paper 2005/2. I reformulated it in a manner that reflects both the main two sectors of social life (public and private) and the main economic principle used also in the security environment configuration (demand and bid).

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THE CYBERSPACE BETWEEN THE REAL AND VIRTUAL THREAT

George RĂDUICĂ

Due to its remarkable development, the Internet has become, for the terrorist groups, an active battlespace, and as well a vital mean of communications, propaganda, recruitment etc. Also, the Internet has facilitated creating complex networks between terrorist groups due to the fact that it is a fast, inexpensive and relatively anonymous method of communications which favours loose complex networks, harder to identify and monitor.

Contemporary world has become dependent of information technology and more critical infrastructures from the developed world are network connected, thus the potential threat, especially in the societies with a high degree of informatization, can become dangerous. Certainly, up to present, the computers do not have sufficient control over vital systems to present a straightway risk from the prospect of a terrorist attack. Therefore, a possible attack has in reality minimum chances to succeed.

Although the cyberterrorism is not a direct threat, the psychological impact might be powerful, because now the information is spread faster and has a high level of cyclicity and multiplication. Mass-media has brought an important contribution into highlighting (and in the meantime alarming) the cyberterrorist threat, although up to date there is no evidence of a cyberterrorist attack planned by a terrorist organization. Only that mass media often fails to discriminate between cybercrime and cyberterrorism, some events being presented in an exaggerating fashion as terrorist acts.

In this respect, the case of some Romanian hackers is relevant: managing to penetrate the network station of South Pole National Foundation Admunsen-Scott, they threatened to shut down the heating system if they would not receive a certain amount of money in exchange. Although being a typical case of cybercrime, it was initially presented as a cyberterrorism act, perhaps due to the impact it had in jeopardizing the life of the 58 researchers in the station. In order to be classified as cyberterrorism, the activity in the cyberspace must have a "terrorist" component, which means that it

has to induce terror and has to present a political motivation.

Thus, it should be made a distinction between the terrorism which uses information technology as a weapon and the terrorism which exploits the information technology, the latter being the most visible and currently intensively used.

The presence on the Internet, due to its certain advantages - easy access, lack of restrictions, numerous public and rapid information circulation -, has determined almost all active terrorist organizations to use this modern mean of communication. These unchallenged advantages are fully exploited by the terrorist organizations, having affiliated sites that support their activity either openly or indirectly. As a main characteristic, the sites connected to the terrorist activity are very dynamic and frequently they change their web address in order to avoid being monitored by different anti-terrorist organizations.

Gabriel Weinman¹ identifies eight means used by the terrorists to exploit the Internet: publicity and propaganda, psychological warfare, data mining, finance, recruiting and mobilization, network organization, information sharing, planning and coordination.

1. Publicity and propaganda

Disposing of a, virtually, extremely numerous audience, the Internet is used by the terrorist groups as an ideal information medium. If, before the Internet emerged, the terrorist groups were dependent of the mass-media agencies to catch the attention, now the communication is freely achieved, especially by multimedia means, which leads to the exponentially increase of their persuasion power. The Internet allows the terrorist organizations to communicate with their target public whenever any other communication channels are refused to them and also to find new audience, especially young people. As a communication tool, the Internet's main advantage is, obviously, the ability to avoid censorship. Having at their disposal various sites,



online bulletins, forums or any other electronic instruments, the terrorists and their sympathizers can freely express their opinions.

From the content point of view, on the websites assumed to be associated with terrorist groups, the terrorists are very often portrayed as victims subjected to injustice and it is highlighted the humiliation they have to endure by the authorities. Presenting ostentatiously information or images which induce a sense of revolt and solidarity among supporters, using the religion as a instrument which justifies and even fully encourages their violent actions are the most frequently used techniques in the propaganda panoply of these sites.

Terrorist protests of attempts on their liberty of expression have great chances to find an echo in Internet, as for many it is a symbol of liberty, uncensored communication. For example, following the accusation brought by the Newsweek magazine to the al-Basrah site (www.albasrah.net) in which they are making propaganda to terrorism promoted by al-Zarqawi and promoting anti-semitism, the answer didn't let itself long expected in a vehement manner, accusing the whole western media of strangling the voice of the Iraqi people by closing down the site.

2. Psychological warfare

The terrorism doesn't involve only physical action, the psychological attacks being a component which is more and more important. As in the propaganda's situation, the Internet has become an efficient tool in leading the psychological warfare due to its ability to disseminate messages through multimedia means. The terrorists have tried to induce fear by spreading false information, threats and by presenting horrifying images or movie clips.

Iraqi war offered the opportunity to open a powerful front in the cyberspace confrontation. It can be distinguished mainly the organizations affiliated with Abu Musab al-Zarqawi who are using actively the Internet in order to apply the asymmetric warfare techniques, including terrorist actions designed to shock, like kidnapping, assassinations or bomb attacks. It's assumed that al-Zarqawi himself is the masked terrorist who decapitated the American Nicholas Berg, the scene being filmed and the content of the video tape being published on different Islamic websites, thus being exposed at the large scale. Likewise, different records containing

bombing or assassination threats were frequently published on Internet.

The obvious purpose was to use at maximum the terror these images induce and the exposure to as many as possible people, especially in west, where the Internet is widely accessible. The multitude of sites and forums might be an indication of increasing number of people who sympathize with militants and arguing that the Islam is in fact the target by the Christian world. The network allows the terrorist organizations to amplify the consequences of their activity even if they are not able to carry on their threats, but virtually it appears that their attacks are well planned and controlled. This is why, along with its useful information, the Internet is used also as a inexhaustible source of rumours and false reports which many people regard as real facts.

3. Recruiting and financing

The Internet may have, also, a determinant impact on potential recruits, its users being regularly better prepared from the technical point of view, but having less religious training, they are easier susceptible to the messages of these sites which encourage radical Islamic interpretations. Web chats on these sites create a feeling of unity with the other members, establishing virtual Islamic communities on the web that can take the place or supplement the real life ones.

Information published on Internet by the extremist groups are also used to encourage the support and sympathy towards them. The administrators of the web sites could obtain information about people accessing them, which offers some details about the potential recruits. The web browsers support functions which enable the servers to know what language is set on the client computer. This offers the terrorist groups information which enables them to make recruitments based on language and a certain specific audience. For example, browsers set to use English will be redirected toward a terrorist site with western target, while those configured to use Arabic language will be redirected to those destined to Islamic audience. Many sites offer multiple language options, from English to Arabian and Russian. In many cases, terrorist activists prefer to use some free servers services, like Yahoo!, these requesting little personal data and these identities can't be verified.



In parallel with recruiting activity, the Internet is used by terrorist groups to request donations and find potential financial supporters. Often, terrorist groups are sponsored by organizations who operate publicly and legally and do not have a direct link with terrorist operations, mainly under humanitarian or charitable organization form.

4. Source of information

Above all, the Internet is a rich source of information, offering billions of pages easy to access at a low price. Terrorist groups have been capable of using the web network as a mean of gathering information about potential targets, anti-terrorist offensives, armament and strategy. Having at hand search engines, anybody can find, relatively easy, various maps, charts and other crucial data of numerous facilities and networks. Like any other Internet user, the terrorists may find information about various centers of interest.

The Internet is also adequate to facilitate information exchange between terrorist groups. Many websites offer the requisite information in order to build chemical weapons and blasts or guides of how to organize a terrorist group.

For example, it has been published, in several websites, "Guerilla warfare" manual, which presents detailed instructions of waging guerilla warfare. The manual includes guerilla strategies and how to organize it and as well ambush tactics.

The author (authors) of the manual considers guerilla training as being the most important: "Guerilla warfare needs a special kind of preparation. We start with a group of people who have the same ideas and who have no other capacity to enforce their views on others. So these people start from point zero preparing armed groups, preparing the local inhabitants, and preparing the geographic environment. More than that, they need to have at least arms, ammunition, and supplies"²².

Another guide published on the Internet presents detailed instructions of organizing a terrorist cell which operates in the urban environment. The guide describes the necessary operations to be executed by every major group inside of the cell and the methods of using them with maximum efficiency. It is highlighted the importance of a diffused leadership and the fact that neither group must not interact. Every cell is divided in four groups: leadership, reconnaissance,

preparation and execution, every identity remaining distinct³.

5. Network organization

The invention and spread of the Internet gave the opportunity to fully integrate it in almost all social spheres, resulting thus a new model of organizing the human society. Rapidly adapting to these new realities, various terrorist cells are using the Internet to create complex and efficient networks. The fast, cheap and anonymous means of communication on the Internet offer the possibility of decentralized organization and communication, harder to identify and monitor. Many terrorist organizations are built as quasi-independent network cells which operate horizontally and which have no hierarchical leadership⁴.

The terrorist networks have remarked quickly that in order to avoid detection in the developed countries they must adopt some of the qualities of virtual networks, which are more efficient in countries with powerful anti-terrorism institutions. Maybe is not randomly, the idea initially appeared in the USA, being promoted by the leader of a far right extremist movement, Louis Beam⁵. He says that the hierarchical organization is extremely dangerous for the insurgents, in special in the technological highly advanced societies, where the electronic observation can often penetrate the organization's structure, revealing its chain of command. In the leaderless organizations, the groups are operating independently one from another and they don't have to report to the central structure. The leaders don't give orders, they inspire the cells to have the initiative of the actions. Thus, the new terrorism is self-organized, having the ability to adapt easier against attacks, to correlate, to collect new members from similar cells and to self-reproduce, being fundamental elements of these cells. Elements of self-organization produce a complex network of cells which seek spontaneously opportunities to spread and adapt in the face of diversity and to every new form having a more virulent character than the previous. In the terrorist cells the innovation comes from the people rather from one single leading person. Hierarchical organizations can never be as resilient as complex networks because their power lies not in leadership but in the ability to spontaneously adapt to the environmental changes.



At social level, for a network to work properly, it depends on the level its members know each other and how solid are the connections between them. These strong personal connections, often founded on friendship and common experience may ensure high levels of trust and loyalty. Each individual is free to contribute as much as possible with his talent, not deferring to bureaucratic rules in implementing new ideas, technologies or strategies. Once an idea, technology, strategy etc. is considered having a high probability of success it is immediately implemented in the whole network.

Another characteristic of these networks is that they can appear, organize their activities and then disappear as spontaneously as they were created. In other words, their flexible, agile and very often without a coordinating leader structure, can act according to the circumstances, exploiting enemy's weaknesses. The advantages of network organization are obvious because leader's disappearance doesn't involve the disruption of the network or discontinuing its activities, its actions being often determined by the consensus.

In a epoch marked by an unprecedented mobility, the terrorist networks manage to insert easier in the communities they have as future targets. Now the terrorist can use the technology advantages to have a dispersed leadership, training and logistics not only at regional level but at global, creating and moving the cells in practically any country being relative easy taking in account that millions of people live outside their countries of origin and the intense traffic of nowadays.

The vulnerability of electronic means to be intercepted offered to the Internet a greater value, the communication being realized mainly by this way,

through Islamic sites. This trend will continue in the future and the leadership of different terrorist organizations will rely more and more on the Internet in order to disseminate their messages, discuss tactics, their presence in the cyberspace becoming as vital on long term as any other action. Being difficult to detect those who read these messages, the identification of future terrorist will become more and more difficult.

In conclusion, up to date, data shows that terrorist groups use on large scale the Internet, but so far they haven't resided on cyberterror or manifested serious inclinations that they would go towards this direction. At time being one can talk only of information security, because at this moment the terrorists used the Internet as source of information, communications, propaganda, fund raising etc.

Although the cyberterror remains a possibility for a terrorist, the attacks in the cyberspace look like a hard goal to achieve, as the systems are more and more complex, and the control of the attack and obtaining the desired level of destruction is harder to obtain than with the physical weapons.

NOTES:

1. Gabriel WEINMAN, *Special Report*, „How Modern Terrorism Uses the Internet”, www.terror.net
2. SITE Institute, <http://siteinstitute.org/index.html>
3. Idem.
4. David RONFELDT, John ARQUILLA, *Networks, Netwars and the Fight for the Future*, www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue6_10/ronfeldt/ http://www.firstmonday.org/issues/issue6_10/ronfeldt/
5. <http://www.louisbeam.com/leaderless.htm>

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ENGLISH AS A NATO LANGUAGE AND THE LEVEL OF COMPETENCE

Ana-Maria NEGRILĂ, PhD

Due to the advancement in science and technology and to the increased use of computers and the Internet, English has become an international language that connects east and west. After WW II, English was used as a means of communication within NATO countries. It was important that the military personnel should have a common language that would help them communicate in multinational operations. English was first chosen because of its apparently easy structure and usage even if later its ostensible simplicity seemed to be hiding cultural discrimination and resentment.

The benefits of having a common language are numerous. The military comings from different countries with different languages need to communicate through a common language. However, English is not as easy as one may think. There are several barriers raised in front of those who want to use it. Even if we hear English spoken on TV, in movies, or we listen to songs with lyrics written in English, functioning in NATO is a whole new ballgame. According to Mark Crossey: *The need for effective communication is particularly acute in peace-support operations where linguistic misunderstandings risk leading to mistakes, which might, in a worst-case scenario, result in casualties. To date, it seems that language difficulties have contributed to putting soldiers in embarrassing and even dangerous situations, but have not actually been the cause of any casualties. This should not, however, be viewed as a reason for complacency.*

People who consider English an easy language to be learned should take into account the fact that knowing how to answer the phone or asking the way will definitely not be enough when working in a multinational environment where people need not only to understand each other, but also to deal with informal language, inference and different accents. Researchers have shown that many delegations with non-native speakers are

disadvantaged because of their language skills and blame this situation on their training.

However, teaching people in a very short period of time may be a very tortuous endeavour. Knowing to communicate at LEVEL 2 STANAG may not be enough when lives are at stake and not only mere information, but also nuances and inference are valuable. Cummins (1980; 1981; 1996) argues that there are two kinds of English proficiency that ESL students must learn. The first is **basic interpersonal conversational skills (BICS)** that ESL students need when they speak. BICS English is characterized as context-embedded since contextual cues are available to both speaker and listener involved in the conversation, and it is cognitively undemanding. Once ESL students have attained fluency in a period of usually 2 or 3 years, they can give a detailed account of what happened to them personally.

The other proficiency is **cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP)**. CALP English is characterized as context-reduced, as is found in written texts in content areas such as math, science, and military terminology. Because of CALP is decontextualized, it is very difficult for ESL students to understand what they read and to express what they know in writing. CALP English used in context-reduced academic learning demands high cognition on the part of the ESL student. Cummins considers that students will acquire CALP English in 5 to 7 years. According to Collier (1987, 1989; Collier & Thomas, 1989) grade-level CALP can take up to 10 years depending on the kind of English instruction students receive because they need CALP English in order for them to read and comprehend content area textbooks and perform cognitively demanding tasks such as writing research papers, participating in debates and presenting research papers.

NATO requires a high level of proficiency from all its personnel. Level 3 English cannot be so easily acquired. The new NATO members



had a multitude of problems related to English acquisitions. If in the traditional NATO countries the military had enough time to learn English, in the countries from the former Warsaw Pact, the situation was different as many officers were not familiar with this foreign language and had to be trained as quickly as possible. This led to a number of shortcomings. On the one hand, most officers had a low level of proficiency and needed long training courses that did not always result in impressive improvements. On the other hand, they had to be removed from their posts and sent away, being able to go back to their units only after very long periods of time.

Since the end of the Cold War, the selection of NATO personnel has proved to be a difficult task. There have been notable differences in the way in which different countries understood what was meant by “professional” level of foreign language knowledge. In the late 90s, the difficulty to obtain similar STANAG tests for all the member states also led to confusion. The local tests were inspired by different others commercial test such as TOEFT or Cambridge which were not able to help the teachers assess the abilities required by NATO. Furthermore, even if the assessment was accurate, it was not clear enough what abilities were to be considered more important. The selection was ruined also by the fact that the military personnel was selected to participate in missions taking into account certificates that had been obtained a long time prior to their departure. In time, the level of proficiency had decreased leaving those people with insufficient knowledge of English. The result led confusion and discontentment. Even if in time countries tried to eliminate these problems, they have continued to exist even in the 21st century.

Nowadays we are still far from having solved the language problem. Insufficient English knowledge still generates confusion and misunderstandings, and may also lead to casualties especially in

peacekeeping operations. In addition, in some working groups, some tasks may be given to native speakers just because they will be able to understand their complexity. Senior officers who are non-native speakers may also be in the position to make decisions and operate at a linguistic level which is not convenient to them. However hard the may try, they will never be able to be as proficient as native speakers as learning English takes time. As Mike Crossey points out: *Native speakers may also for linguistic reasons be the preferred first point of contact in an office, unwittingly creating an impression of “cultural discrimination” and undermining the sense of self-worth of non-native speakers. The political implications of this situation are clear. Perceived weakness in English may directly reduce the influence of national delegations.*

Therefore, considering English a *cup of tea* will lead to interoperability problems that will become more acute as time goes by. *Cultural discrimination* is a real problem and resentment brewing under the surface may cause further shortcomings unless countries take measures to solve the language problem.

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LARGE CRUDE OIL CARRIER AS THE TERRORISTS' TARGET. THE NEW CHALLENGE FOR THE COASTAL STATES' SECURITY

Krzysztof KUBIAK

The fact that the main areas of oil consumption are remote from centres of production is one of the most significant attributes of modern, global economy. It causes that the great volume of oil is traded internationally.

The oil is moved mainly by two methods: oil (crude) tanker ships and oil pipelines. More than three-fifths is transported by sea and less than two-fifths by pipelines.

Only tankers have made global, intercontinental oil transport possible, only vessels offer low cost, high level of efficiencies and extreme flexibility.

On the other hand, tankers are the very attractive targets for different kinds of political extremists due to:

- ◆ the significance of oil transport for global economy;
- ◆ the regulations of the contemporary Law of the Sea;
- ◆ the liberal backbone of shipping business;
- ◆ the growth of tankers' number and size;
- ◆ the oil trade routes;
- ◆ the bulk, the cargo which is transported by tankers.

Thanks to its role for global economy, the maritime system of oil trade can be called – without any exaggeration – the blood-system of contemporary world. The ships' benefits make to be transported more than 30 millions barrels of oil every day through seas and oceans.

The breaking of supplies' smoothness, the disruption of oil flows can have not only a large impact on world oil prices, but also can beget over-regional recession.

The importance of the problem is enhancing by the fact that Far East (among others: Japan, Tai-

wan, Republic of Korea, China - one of the most significant – from economic point of view – area of contemporary world) is supplied with oil only by sea trade. Other developed areas have also only limited possibilities to replace tankers by other means of transport.

According to contemporary the Law of the Sea, maritime areas are behind sovereignty of any countries. Freedom of navigation is the first fundamental pier of the international order and the remaining of executive authority over sea vessels to the country whose flag the ship flies is the second one.

Both regulations make organising the terrorist attacks by the sea and from the sea easier. The country has extremely limited possibilities to extend its control over the open sea and the vessels under the flags of other states.

The right of visit and search defines events when the country's flag exclusiveness can be suspended. Additionally, the Law of the Sea does not know the institution of "advanced self-defence".

The next issue, closely attached to the Law of the Sea, is the liberal backbone of shipping business. It is probably impossible to mention the second kind of economic activity, which is ruled by such tolerant orders. Official establishment of shipping company and gaining flag - without any needless question - is still possible in many countries, provides terrorists the unique possibilities of receiving the legal identity.

From this point of view, the main and fundamental problem is the fact that maritime society accepts the lack of genuine link between the ship and the state of flag.

The result of the situation is the fact that the "flag of convenience"¹ can become the best way of camouflaging the terrorist activities at seas. It must be underlined that of the six largest merchant fleets, six are Flags of Convenience.



TERRORISM. WAR ON TERRORISM

Contemporary fleet of crude oil tankers and sea lines of communication

The next factor which should be taken into consideration is the growth of tankers number, capacity and size. The global capacity of world fleet of tanker increased between 1970 and 2000 from 14.7 to 285 million tons. The sizes of ships were growing too. The tanker which was able to carry 16000 tons of oil was treated as a very big ship. The first tanker with a capacity bigger than 300000 tons appeared in 1967. The end of sixties showed the “monsters” able to transport 560000 of crude oil. At present, tankers bigger than 70000 tons create more than 77% of total capacity of world tankers fleet. Relatively significant number of big and very big tankers (Aframax – capacity 75 – 125000 tons, Suezmax –115 – 180000 tons, Very Large Crude Carrier –200 - 300000 tons, Ultra Large Crude Carrier – capacity more than 300000 tons) make planning and organizing the terrorist acts against this segment of merchant shipping easier and the surprise element simpler. The same factor makes the protection of tankers and deterred potential perpetrator by force difficult. Majority of fleets have reduced the number of their men-of-war after the end of the Cold War and maintaining the ships at the all vital points at the seas is not possible, even for strong naval forces. Meanwhile even capturing one big tanker can cause an international crisis.

The oil trade routes run along coasts of many unstable countries where terrorists can organise shore bases, there are also a few very narrow straits (called “chokepoints”) which provide the potential perpetrators very suitable circumstances to organise attacks². It can be treated as a principle without strong, effective power at the land that causes the increase of violence at sea. The phenomenon is illustrated by the pirates’ activity.

Indonesia has experienced the highest number of attacks during last years (103 reported incidents in 2002, Malacca strait and coast near Aceh are particularly risky for pirates attacks). Piracy attacks in Bangladesh ranked second highest (32 attacks) and India was third (18 attacks). South America, Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Guyana all showed a marked increase in attacks. The waters of Somalia are among the most dangerous in the world. According to specialists from the International Maritime Bureau, “The risk of attack to vessels staying close to the

coastline from Somali armed militias has now increased from one of possibility to certainty”. Ship owners recommend ships not to schedule calls to ports in these areas, to keep at least 75 miles and if possible 100 miles from the coast. Use of radio communications including VHF in these waters should be kept to a minimum. The similar situation takes place in Western Africa, along the coast of Nigeria, Liberia, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone. If the areas are suitable for pirates they can also be a real “deep water” for terrorists.

The most important “chokepoints”, which by the natural way set the running of maritime oil trade routes, are: the Strait of Hormuz, the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb, the Bosphorus (Turkish Straits), the Strait of Malacca and the Suez Canal.

The Strait of Hormuz connects the Persian Gulf with the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea. Daily oil flow is estimated about 13 - 14 million barrels. It is the most important oil chokepoint all over the world. The situation in the strait is controlled by Iran, which is able to close this way. Probability of conducting any terrorist activities without Teheran accept is very low. The keys of the Hormuz Strait are firmly kept by Iran³.

The Bab el-Mandab Strait connects the Red Sea with the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea. Through the strait runs the shorter way from the Persian Gulf to Europe, and about 3.2-3.3 millions barrels pass through the Strait each day. The safety in the strait is determined mainly by the situation in Yemen and in Eritrea. Both countries are relatively weak and their attractiveness escalates from extremist organizations’ point of view. Radicals can gain support from large groups of local populations. In October 2002, French Very Large Crude Carrier (VLCC), chartered by Malaysian state oil company Petronas, was attacked by terrorist suicide bombers off the coast of Yemen, seriously damaging the ship and killing one crew member. The VLCC, called Limburg, had about 400,000 barrels of oil aboard, and was on its way to load additional oil in Yemen when attacked. The attack on the Limburg prompted a warning by the U.S. Navy’s Maritime Liaison Office in Bahrain, stating that “Shipmasters should exercise extreme caution when transiting strategic chokepoints such as the Strait of Hormuz, or the Bab el-Mandeb, or traditional high-threat areas such as along the Horn of Africa”. Following the attack, al-Qaeda issued a statement which warned that the attack on the



Limburg “was not an incidental strike on a passing tanker but on the international oil-carrying line in the full sense of the word”⁴.

Bosporus (Turkish Straits) is the waterway which divides Asia from Europe and connects the Black Sea with the Mediterranean Sea. Daily oil flow is about 2.0 million barrels. The Turkish Straits are one of the world’s busiest (50000 vessels annually, including 5500 oil tankers), and most difficult-to-navigate waterways. Under the Montreux Convention of 1936, commercial shipping has the right of free passage through the Bosporus and Turkish Straits in peacetime, although Turkey claims the right to impose regulations for safety and environmental purposes. In October 2002, Turkey placed new restrictions on oil tanker transit through the Bosporus. They include: a ban on night time transit for ships longer than 200 meters; a requirement that ships carrying dangerous cargo (including oil) request permission to transit 48 hours in advance; and a one-way traffic regulation on ships more than 250-300 meters long or carrying liquefied natural gas (LNG) or liquefied petroleum gas (LPG). The regulations reportedly have slowed tanker transit by as much as 3 1/2 days. The Bosporus (Turkish Straits) is very vulnerable to terrorist attacks due to two reasons. First, the waterway is extremely narrow – it makes easier to organize firing the vessels from the shore or attacks using explosive laden manned, for example, by suicide bombers. In both situations the vessels have very short time of reaction and no space for manoeuvrings. The second reason is attached to the closeness of Istanbul. The great city is a natural area of activity and a kind of sanctuary for terrorists. The Strait of Malacca connects the Indian Ocean with the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. Daily oil flow is about 10.3 million barrels. It is the shortest sea route between three of the world’s most populous countries - India, China, and Indonesia - and therefore is considered to be the key choke point in Asia. The narrowest point of this shipping lane is the Phillips Channel in the Singapore Strait, which is only 1.5 miles wide at its narrowest point. This creates a natural bottleneck, with the potential for a collision, grounding, or oil spill. In addition, piracy is a regular occurrence in the Singapore Strait. More than 50000 vessels per year transit the Strait of Malacca. With Chinese oil imports from the Middle East increasing steadily, the Strait is likely to grow in strategic importance in coming years. The

main factor which decreases the level of safety in the area is the lack of political stability in Indonesia. The bombing in October 2002 on the Indonesian island of Bali raised concerns throughout the region that other targets, including vessels in Strait of Malacca, could be targeted by terrorists as well. As of early November 2002, insurance rates had not been affected for tankers travelling through the Straits, but insurance companies did place a “war-risk” designation on Indonesian ports. It must be underlined that Singapore and Malaysia have begun escorting oil tankers and increasing naval patrols in their waters, but this has not eliminated the threat of terrorism in the region’s shipping channels. In the middle of 2003, the rebellion in Aceh province (western part of Sumatra) gained a new momentum. According to the current information, the insurgents have broadened military activities at the sea and try to collect “revolutionary taxes” from the ships at the western approaches to the Malacca Strait⁵. The Suez Canal connects the Red Sea and The Gulf of Suez with the Mediterranean Sea. Daily oil flow is about 3.8 million barrel out of this total, the Sumed Pipeline transports 2.5 million barrels and the Suez Canal only around 1.3 million⁶. Currently, the Suez Canal can accommodate ships with drafts of up to 58 feet. Very large crude carriers (VLCCs) and ultra large crude carriers (ULCCs) cannot pass through the Canal. The Egyptian government plans to widen and deepen the Suez Canal, so that by 2010 it can accommodate VLCCs and ULCC.

The safety at the southern area to the Canal can be disturbed from the territory of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Very long, uninhabited coastal lines of both countries are convenient to organize terrorist bases, where – for example – explosive boats can be prepared. Moreover, gaining of local support by perpetrators of such actions is very likely in the above mentioned countries.

Results of terrorists’ attack against large crude oil carrier

The extremely important aspect of potential terrorist attack against tankers is the bulk, the cargo which is transported by this group of vessels. Damaging or destroying any different ships do not cause such an extensive ecological (and also social and economic) aftermath. The loaded tanker is a real “ecological bomb”. It is possible to



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estimate an effect of using “ecological bomb” by comparing it with results of tanker’s catastrophes. It is a source of very rich experiences, from Torrey Canyon, through Amoco Cadiz, Exxon Valdez, to a recent disaster caused by tanker Prestige at the coast of Spanish Galicia. The scale of menace can be illustrated by details attached to an earlier mentioned catastrophe of *Amoco Cadiz*. In March 1978, the tanker under Liberian flag came on rocks by the cost of Brittany. More than 4000 tons of petrol and 216000 tons of oil found the way into seawater and the leakage contaminated 224 miles of coast. National losses were estimated at 300 million dollars. French government demanded just as great amends from Amoco Transport Co. and Standard Oil. Both concerns were also defended by fishermen, hotel owners and other people attached to local businesses. They demanded 750 million dollars. The third claim (500 millions dollars) made by local Brittany authorities on behalf of all suffered citizens of the province. The procedure in front of the court ended in May 1984 by an order amount of 3 billion dollars in aid for all plaintiffs⁷.

The disaster can also cause international complications. The catastrophe of Torrey Canyon proved that oil pollution had been able to contaminate coasts of more than a country. In a similar situation, but caused by terrorists, other countries can demand the amends from government.

The tankers can be the object of attack aimed for destroying the ships and targets for hijacking. The real battle experiences (mainly from the Tanker War) show that destroying the great tanker (especially crude oil tanker) is a very difficult task. Moreover, the attack for Limburg proved quite a high hardness of even partly loaded tanker. It indicates that the hijacking of the ship can be the best way of using it as the “weapon”. Capturing the ship makes an accurate preparing the vessel for destroying possible or gives the perpetrators an opportunity of turning the tanker to the rocky – for example – coast. One of the greatest concerns should be the usage of fuel-laden tankers against coastal cities.

The threat of hijacking a tanker is connected to the current situation on the maritime market of labour. According to many opinions, one of the biggest risks for shipping is represented by the crew itself⁸. The two countries that provide most of the world’s seamen are Philippines and Indonesia. The

first country is home of Abu Sayyaf group allied to Al-Qaeda, which has launched out sea-borne terrorist operations. In the second country, Leszkar Dżihad group is a leading force among radical Islamic organisations. One of them is responsible for the Bali bombing. Thus, a lot of sailors (even on the board of tankers) come from areas where potentially terrorists could get stooges aboard⁹.

Conclusion

To sum up, a terrorist organisation, which is able to destroy or capture a loaded tanker, gains an effective tool to make a real Armageddon or very effective argument to blackmail the target government. We could even risk a thesis, that due to potential economic and social effects of ecological disaster the perpetrators can achieve a stronger position than the government. Political after-effects of ecological disaster caused by terrorists can be even more considerable than the economic ones. The catastrophe can complicate the government’s situation if its decisions (or their lack) persuade the terrorists to execute the destruction of a hijacked ship. On the internal level, most of the people who live in the contaminated area probably will express their discontent during the next election. Hijacking a loaded tanker gives also the terrorist organization, beside a very effective tool of blackmail, also considerable propaganda benefits. Such action would have been obviously publicized by the media. The threat of causing an ecological disaster can also wake up a sense of common threat, psychosis of fear, and disbelief in the government’s effectiveness.

It seems that the terrorist threat to merchant shipping, especially tankers, will be growing. Despite the fact that at present the tankers are only sporadic terrorist targets, the extremists are cer-

Figure 1 – Oil production and consumption in 2001

REGION	PRODUCTION [thousand barrels daily]	CONSUMPTION [thousands barrels daily]
North America	14 163	23 487
Central and South America	6 634	4 590
Europe and Eurasia	16 222	19 406
Middle East	20 973	4 338
Africa	7 937	2 527
Asia - Pacific	7 987	21 339

Source: British Petroleum Reports and Publications. Oil Production, www.bp.com/liveassets/bp_internet/globalbp/STAGING/global_assets/downloads/T/Table_of_world_oil_production_thousand_barrels_daily.pdf; British Petroleum Reports and Publications. Oil Consumption, www.bp.com/liveassets/bp_internet/globalbp/STAGING/global_assets/downloads/T/Table_of_world_oil_consumption_thousand_barrels_daily.pdf

Figure 2 - Oil inter-areas movements 2002 [Thousand barrels daily]

From	TO											
	USA	Canada	Mexico	S & C America	Europe	Africa	Austral-Asia	China	Japan	Other Asia Pacific	Rest of World	
USA	---	102	161	171	224	10	17	23	84	92	---	
Canada	1 938	---	---	4	10	---	---	---	4	2	---	
Mexico	1 532	24	---	158	195	---	---	---	12	40	---	
S & C America	2 420	106	13	---	274	12	---	19	6	115	---	
Europe	1 161	495	15	58	---	209	---	73	14	111	---	
Former USSR	201	---	---	149	4 349	10	---	166	24	214	209	
Middle East	2 306	139	19	273	3 241	747	173	785	3 942	6 385	---	
North Africa	285	103	36	90	1 768	81	---	6	73	116	---	
West Africa	1 117	20	---	199	708	54	2	191	77	767	---	
East and Southern Africa	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	129	30	16	---	
Austral-Asia	58	---	---	---	---	---	---	32	90	235	---	
China	26	---	---	10	6	---	8	---	83	205	---	
Japan	6	---	---	---	2	---	---	33	---	46	---	
Other Asia Pacific	171	2	---	---	94	6	380	385	381	271	---	
Unidentified	138	51	---	---	1 023	---	21	---	50	6	---	
Total	11 357	1 041	242	1 113	11 805	1 131	601	2 042	5 070	8 622	209	

Source: British Petroleum Report and Publications, Oil Inter-area movements 2002, www.bp.com/presses/tp_internet/global/STAGING/global_assets/downloads/T/Tables_of_oil_interarea_movements.pdf

tainly aware of the economic and political benefits of attacking this group of vessels.

The attacks perpetrators have a broad range of combat means at their disposal. Hence, not only strong organisations with considerable financial resources and hundreds of members and sympathisers (sometimes also enjoying state support) may pose a threat to a vessel. Weak organisations with limited resources in terms of personnel, finances and equipment can be dangerous as well.

International community is not able to prevent all attack against tankers but the common co-operation is able to limit the level of danger radically. The international naval forces maintained in the vital points of oil trade routes appear as the only way to increase the safety of shipping.

If we are not be able to organize effectively collaboration in this matter the consequences can be calamitous for energy sector in all developed countries.

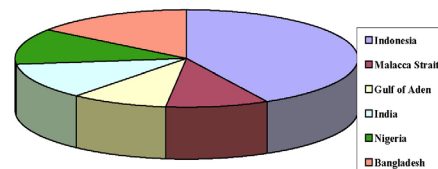
Our choice is simple: international co-operation or waiting for the disaster. We must be aware that terrorist attacks against tankers can become the most demanding challenge for the contemporary world.

Figure 3 - Flag of convenience's the largest fleets

FLAG	NUMBER	GT	AVERAGE AGE
Panama	6 245	122 352 071	16
Liberia	1 566	51 784 010	12
Bahamas	1 312	33 385 713	16
Greece	1 529	28 678 240	23
Malta	1 421	27 052 579	19
Cyprus	1 407	22 761 778	16

Source: The State of the World FOC Fleets, www.itf.org.uk/seafarers/foc/report_2001/pages/s05-01.html

Figure 4 - Piracy attacks - January - June 2003



Source: International Maritime Bureau

NOTES:

- 1 The current situation provides many examples when the flag of convenience has covered illegal activity at seas. The ships which smuggled weapon from Libya (*Santorini*) and Iran (*Karine A*) to Gaza Strait, captured by Israeli Naval Defence Forces at the Red Sea and Mediterranean Sea in 2001, sailed under Lebanese flag. The vessel arrested by Greek Coast Guard (*Baltic Sky*) in 2003, which transported explosive materials and fuses from Libya to Sudan rose the flag of Comoros. At present, flags of convenience register are conducted by: Antigua and Barbuda, Lebanon, Bahamas, Liberia, Belize, Malta, Bermuda, Marshall Islands, Burma, Mauritius, Canary Islands (Spain), Netherlands Antilles, Cayman Islands, Panama, Cook Islands, St. Vincent, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Gibraltar, Tuvalu, Honduras and Vanuatu.
- 2 D. J. NINIC, *Sea Line Security and U.S. Maritime Trade: Chokepoints as Scarce Resources*, in **Globalisation and Maritime Power**, edited by S. J. Tangredi, Washington 2002, pp. 143-160.
- 3 *World Oil Transit Chokepoints*, www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/security/choke.html
- 4 Idem.
- 5 K. Mc Geown, *Aceh rebels blamed for piracy*, BBC News, World Edition, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/3090136.stm>
- 6 *World Oil Transit Chokepoints*, www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/security/choke.html
- 7 G. MILEWSKA, *Ile kosztuje katastrofa ekologiczna*, *Budownictwo okretowe*, 1985, no. 5, p.183.
- 8 E. BLANCHE, *Terror attacks threaten Gulf's oil routes*, *Jane's Intelligence Review*, December 2002, p.10.
- 9 Ibidem

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THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRE FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY STRATEGIC STUDIES

JULY-SEPTEMBER 2005

The Center for Defence and Security Strategic Studies from National Defence University „Carol I” welcomed between July 19 – 22 a delegation of professors from the Warsaw National Defence University. There were discussions about the organization and work methods of the both institution as well as future collaboration. They agreed that CDSS with the Strategy Chair from the Polish NDU to elaborate commonly a workpaper, eventually on the terrorist issue, researchers and teachers to publish their articles in their partner publications. They decided to consider in the bilateral cooperation plan a bilateral scientific meeting for 2007. Workpaper plan, schedule and the other details should be established in the future.

There was organized an workshop about the „The role of large and medium-sized states on fighting against terrorism” where participated the Polish NDU’s representatives, researchers from CDSS/NDU and two professors from the Command and Staff Faculty/NDU.

In this period there were elaborated and published some reference works for the field, by the Studies and Research Section: „Ways of preparing and leading operations by the Romanian Army for accomplishing specific missions in the conditions of the terrorist elements action”, „Regeneration optimization of the Romanian Army structures engaged in military action over the border of the national territory”, „Military political crisis at the beginning of the millenium” and the volume „Network warfare and the future military actions”.

On November 21-22 there will be organized the international scientific communication session „Security and stability in the Black Sea Area” and the presented works will be published in a volume.

Irina CUCU



The Strategic Impact magazine has come to the 16th issue. Each of them is the result of a fruitful collaboration between the Center for Defence and Security Strategic Studies researchers and numerous authors from the Ministry of National Defence “Carol I”, from the General Staff, the National Defence University, the Services’ Staffs, the Services’ Academies, from university teaching system, from different ministerial, scientific research, military units structures, from NGOs, different companies and media. It is a privilege for our publication to host a large and competent debate on actual issues such as the military strategy, the national security. This debate has proved to be useful and necessary for stimulating the military Romanian thinking in concordance with the new coordinates determined by the status of a NATO member and a future EU one. We remark with pleasure the valuable contributions of the authors for the success of this debate and we warmly thank them.

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