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MILESTONES OF THE SECURITY ARCHITECTURE BUILDING IN THE BLACK SEA AREA

Eugen BĂDĂLAN, PhD

The world we are living in transforms and reshapes itself continuously. The confrontation strategies are replaced by partnership strategies, expressed in political and economical cooperation, in actions of international crises and conflict management.

One of the areas where this trend is primarily represented is the Wider Black Sea Area, a region of strategic opportunity, which should be characterized by prosperity, stability and security.

The integration of the Wider Black Sea Area within the Euro-Atlantic system could not only consolidate the foundation of this system, but also protect it against the future threats to stability and peace, which represents, in our opinion, the top priority of the moment.

Considering that the contemporary world is facing new challenges and threats – terrorism, proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction, illegal immigration, drug and human beings trafficking – emphasizes the fact that *the Wider Black Sea Area has become one of the fighting advanced posts in their annihilation.* The regional presence of some so-called *frozen conflicts* (Trans-Dniester, Abkhazia, Chechnya, South-Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh) which could inflame in any moment the entire zone, defines the security environment and strongly requires a specific attitude.

The neighbourhood with the Middle East and its particular problems represents another element that contributes to the development of the regional strategic importance.

The Wider Black Sea Area has to be the Western efforts epicentre for projecting stability in a broader European space and beyond. The interface between the Euro-Atlantic community and the Middle East goes through the Wider Black Sea Area. The present generation confronts with the challenge of projecting a stability climate toward Middle East, which will be significantly sustained by the stability and long lasting success obtained in the Wider Black Sea Area. Both the mechanisms

and alliances, applied and emerged by Europe and the United States, and those ones initiated at regional level, aimed to coagulate the cooperation efforts in Balkans, Caucasus and in the Black Sea region, could prove efficient in a long term approach of expanding the Middle East democracy.

The Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization, the partnerships and the bilateral and multilateral relations established in the Black Sea area are solid realities of the general and economic policies in this region and their results generate *a necessary security construction.*

Under these considerations, the process should start in areas that were once of confrontation, and a relevant example is the Wider Black Sea Area. The effect of this construction will be the transformation of the Black Sea Area into a region with a consolidated democracy, promoting and propagating security and stability. *It is necessary to build security, economic, political and military pillars in this area,* which would extend in the adjacent area and contribute to the tensional defusing and to a better crisis and conflicts management in Middle East and Central Asia. This transforming approach of the Wider Black Sea Area into a security and stability pillar corroborates with the fight against terrorism, connecting the regional countries and active actions for developing democracy, market economy building and human rights processes.

That is why the Wider Black Sea Extended Area should be attached to the Euro-Atlantic security architecture and necessarily benefit from a special and focused interest from security organizations as NATO and EU, and from relevant actors as the US, Russia, China and Japan.

The successful NATO and EU enlargement completed by incorporating an important group of Central and South-East European countries, most of them former communist, in concert with *their effective results during transition towards democracy and market economy,* contributed decisively to stimulating regional levels of ambition. Many of



the accumulated obstacles and constraints started to diminish or disappear.

The existent partnerships system represents an instrument for promoting regional security, stability and peace, forms a favourable acceleration framework for the globalization and democratization processes and enables the preventive action against current threats and challenges.

The multiple and diverse Black Sea area interdependencies produce the need for a large regional cooperation which must centre firstly on terrorist action prevention and control, on complex and combined, military, political and economic, life and equal opportunity improvement measures and actions.

Within this context, it is worth noting the US – Russia strategic partnership, the US – Turkey relationship and the US – Ukraine partnership. The EU – Russia partnership and the will of some nations in this area, Turkey, Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia, to integrate into EU also represent favourable coordinates for the transformation strategy which aims to shape the Wider Black Sea Area into a durable development, security and stability pillar.

NATO developed individual partnerships with PfP nations in the area in order to strengthen the regional stability and security. During the Istanbul Summit, NATO adopted *The PfP Strategic Orientation towards Caucasus and Central Asia* that offers the opportunity, within PfP, to develop maritime and SPODs actions, complementary to the regional initiatives. Within the same framework, Romania launched the Border Defence Initiative in May 2004 aiming to strengthen border security and counter weapons of mass destruction proliferation.

Based on these circumstances, it is clear that the Black Sea strategic value will continue to grow as all major political actors, interested in this area, realize its importance and this process will lead to specific politics definition and implementation within this area.

Internationalizing the regional security process represents a mechanism with a major efficient and beneficial effect to guarantee the peace in this area. This requires NATO and EU political, economic and military presence in order to ensure an efficient management against asymmetric threats and providing the durable development conditions.

The regional stability and cooperation process do have Romania and its Armed Forces as a com-

mitted partner through cooperation forms development to prevent unconventional and conventional risks, promoting transatlantic values and security standards, through interoperability in crisis management, cooperation in border security and civil emergencies management. There is also assistance offered to the neighbouring countries to reform the security sector and develop the military organization reform programs.

However, it could not be ignored the fact that the Romanian Armed Forces and the other nations in these area activities *increased the mutual confidence*. For this, the contribution to *implement the CFE Treaty* referring to arms control, the contacts and the Open Sky agreement implementation based on the mutual air missions over national territories to increase the confidence and military operations transparency are worth mentioning.

In its effort to project a durable cooperation model in this area, Romania takes an active part in the South-Eastern Europe Defence Ministerial process and to its military structure, the South-Eastern European Brigade, which represents an important instrument to fight against asymmetric risks, to increase the political and military confidence, to enlarge the dialogue and crises resolution and conduct peace keeping and humanitarian aid operations under the aegis of NATO, UN, EU and OSCE. Noteworthy, SEEBRIG has been committed to the ISAF mission in Afghanistan since February this year and Romania is a major contributor.

Together with the neighbouring and Black Sea coastal nations' armed forces, Romania participates in the BLACK SEA FORCE meetings and exercises and currently holds the command responsibility. This represents a regional element cooperation and interoperability between the military forces of the Black Sea nations.

Securing the area requires an increase of the regional cooperation and security organizations role (Black Sea Economic Cooperation, BLACKSEAFOR, SEEBRIG, GUAM) which, in concert with the international level organizations (EU, OSCE, NATO) have to ensure building a real effective regional security architecture integrated into the global and European security architectures and with the active participation of all committed political factors.

The area will represent the Early Warning and Surveillance Platform for protecting the strategic



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security interests of both Russian Federation and Western Europe.

Within the perspective for Romania to become EU member, the Eastern Romanian Border will be the EU Eastern border and will trigger Romanian increased obligations for area security.

Consequently, Romania commenced, and currently implements, the Black Sea Control, Surveillance and Observation System (SCOMAR) that represents an integrated national electronic surveillance and visualization instrument for low altitude air and maritime space for developing Romania's coastal area air, electronic and naval situational awareness.

This system is planned to respond to the Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Administration and Interior and Ministry of Transportation surveillance needs for Romania, NATO and EU maritime areas of interest and will act concurrently as a national system component in the fight against terrorism.

The system implementation responds to the related requirement of the National Strategy for

National Border Integrated Management. The Alliance partners manifested interest for this system completion which addresses the interconnection requirements with neighbouring nations' similar systems as the next step of the regional inter-states cooperation.

The diverse and numerous dynamics of the Wider Black Sea Area and its proximity spaces, the Mediterranean Sea, the Greater Middle East or Central Asia, can be neither predicted nor predetermined but imply unique solutions and actions generated only by mutual consultation and cooperation.

In the end, we underline that military cooperation in this area requires new strategic models. Ad-hoc coalitions, integrated actions, functional solidarity affirmation and initiatives revitalization and consolidation represent just some of these models that aim to create efficient operational instruments in the fight against terrorism and other transnational threats. Differences do not represent an impediment within the efforts for regional stability as long as neither state nor non-state actor can solely control the area complex processes.

General Eugen BĂDĂLAN, PhD, is the Chief of the General Staff. He substantially approached the Wider Black Sea Area topic in his paper "Eseu despre arta strategică". He is one of the supporters of the military culture concept, especially the strategic one, its importance for training officers, building some economical, political and military security pillars within the Black Sea Area, situating the area in the epicenter of Western efforts for projecting stability in a wider European space.



THREATS AND CONFLICTS WITHIN OSCE

*Mircea MUREȘAN, PhD,
Simona MALEȘCU*

Within OSCE, threats and conflicts are in a permanent transformation, their nature being very diverse. The tools used by the organisation to solve the conflicts and potential conflicts are numerous. We can see very clearly that the low efficiency of the own approaches derives from the tasks extension and the restriction of financial possibilities and also from the obstruction of some member states through their right of veto in adopting important decisions.

The new OSCE activity demands a more determined action and involvement of the OSCE states especially the big ones, efforts to strengthen the organisation, to enlarge the cooperation of the security organisations, more determined approaches to permanently use means politically coordinated by all member states, as stipulated in the European Security Charter.

1. A pan European institution in an ongoing change and adaptation

The space of the 55 OSCE member states, from Europe to North America and Central Asia, is the territory of some radical changes, where the pan European organisation of negotiation and trust and regional security, a form of political dialog and structures specialised in field activities, has been involved and seeks to get actively involved in security support and democratic development, international cooperation and reconstruction.

The enlarged activities within the three dimensions of the OSCE (politico-military, human and economic and also environmental) have had, in time, considerable effects, leading to the transformation of the respective states in democratic communities, more stable, more peaceful and more prosperous than ever.

Chronologically and rigorously analyzing the effort to change and adapt the organization, we see that OSCE activity is very ample and complex, es-

pecially starting with the 90s, when a real crisis recrudescence occurred. We find natural to mention here the significance of the CSCE Summit in Paris in November 1990, which opened the way to new relations between the European states, marking, actually, the end of the Cold War.

This was made possible through the documents adopted at the summit, documents of overwhelming importance for Europe at the end of the millennium: the Treaty to reduce conventional weapons in Europe, the Declaration of NATO and Warsaw Pact member states regarding the non use of force, the Agreement on measures to increase the trust and security¹.

The Paris Charter for a new Europe (1990) which together with the Final Act in Helsinki and the European Security Charter (1990) form the main tools of the organisation, gave an impulse to the OSCE actions, institutionalizing and creating OSCE operational capabilities. As a result, the permanent Secretariat has been created (in Prague) as well as the Centre for Conflict Prevention (Vienna) and the Bureau for Free Elections (Warsaw).

The High Commissariat for National Minorities was established in 1992 in Helsinki and its mission was to manage ethnic tensions.

The Security Cooperation Forum was also established then. Through member consulting, it sets up measures to strengthen the continental security and stability. In December 1992, in Stockholm, there was established the CSCE Ministerial Council which enacted the state institution.

In 1994, the Summit held in Budapest decided to change the name of the process started in Helsinki during the Cold War.

It was named the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, transatlantic intergovernmental organisation with the role to prevent the conflicts and manage the post-conflict crisis, a European general forum of debate and partnership in matters of security, economic cooperation and in the field of human dimension.



It's remarkable, in the last years, the OSCE activity, through the Bureau for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, to ensure democratic elections in different countries, which led to a real "coloured revolution" (Armenia, Ukraine, etc.) within the ex-USSR.

At the same time, numerous measures focused on adapting the organisation to the challenges of the new century. OSCE helps the states with security, economic and politico-military problems and develops its main activity in the field of human rights and good administration.

Assuming an important role in coordinating the will of the states taking part in the struggle against international terrorism, the organisation has also adopted decisions to discourage it, ensure the cargo transport security, travel documents security, small and light weapons transfer control, fight against corruption and intolerance, rising against xenophobia, racism, discrimination of Muslims and other religious groups very active within OSCE.

In 2004, at the ministerial reunion in Sofia, there was adopted the decision to create a group of eminent persons to draft a special report to strengthen and enhance OSCE efficiency, suggesting a strategic approach for the organisation in the 21st century.

2. Threats and conflicts within OSCE

Gathering all the countries in Europe, North America and Central Asia around the same security project, the OSCE realm is an area where the threats and conflicts are in an ongoing transformation, which determines common efforts, within the Stability Pact for South-East Europe, to coordinate, under OSCE, an ample group of measures to stabilise the Balkans, through the weapons sub regional control and develop other initiatives to handle the weapons and disarming the region.

The OSCE strategy regarding the threats to the security and stability in the 21st century, adopted in 2003 at the Ministerial Reunion in Maastricht, is still of present interest. This confirms that the political and military threats still worry the participant states and the fact that it addresses to the violent inter/intra states conflicts remains a key task for the organisation.

The documents states that "The threats to the security and stability within OSCE region are, at present, rather negative, destabilizing consequen-

es of the development of politico-military, economic, ecologic and human dimensions than those deriving from a major armed conflict".²

In a more detailed form, we can say that the nature of the existing or potential threats and conflicts within OSCE rises from:

- economic and financial aspects (economic delays, lack of balance, crisis, economic and financial instability, foreign economic resources dependence);
- historic conditionings;
- political determinations (lack of credible politicians, coherent state politics, confused and mediocre policies);
- social problems (not ensuring the right to social rights, lack of minimal standards, discrimination or inadequate treatment, intolerance);
- cultural aspects (contradictions between cultures and religions lead to armed conflicts);
- serious environment changes (with strong impact on this one);
- terrorism problems (intra national instability caused by local religiously extremist forces, major terrorist attacks);
- weapons and ADM technologies proliferation;
- virulence of organized crime;
- illegal immigration implications;
- acquisition of violently radical tools by groups or individuals, as a product of globalisation;
- combination of some of the above elements.

Confronted with conflicts or conflict-like situations, OSCE uses a series of tools to solve them, such as:

- missions to gather the observers' data and missions;
- missions and other types of field activities, as instruments for long term conflicts prevention, crisis management, conflict solving and the region post-conflict rehabilitation, with different and flexible mandates, dimension and activities;
- OSCE personal representatives, with a precise mandate in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management;
- ad-hoc committees, with only a few members, with the mission to counsel the organisation presidency on conflict prevention problems, crisis management and dispute solving;
- mechanisms to solve the conflicts in a peaceful way – procedures streamlining the direct and prompt contact between the parties in conflict;



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- peace-keeping operations – important operational element of OSCE general capability to prevent conflicts and manage crisis.³

Within OSCE, the war in the former Yugoslavia represents the last confrontation of this kind. The conflicts take into consideration the atypical form of ethnic internal confrontations both in the former Yugoslavia and in the Black Sea, Caucasian and Central Asia. This involves powerful non-state actors and uses the conventional weapons accumulated here since the Cold War which, widely spreading into the society, intensify the violence spiral.

A special conflict for the OSCE is that one from Transdnister, where the Russian Federation support and manage to maintain, despite the international community approaches, through the presence of troops and ammunition, an illegal and separatist administration on the territory of a sovereign state, the Republic of Moldavia. This third generation form of conflict represents a confrontation of the legitimate state authorities with the organised crime, with borderless interests and relations and with the pressure of a foreign army, present there in order to separate, allegedly, the parties in conflict, in fact to support the separatist force.

The new way to make war, the asymmetric way used by the terrorists, relies firstly on information technologies and conventional and non-conventional weapons. The nuclear weapons, especially in Asia, are a tool of power and deterrence on a regional plan. Countries like Iran, Pakistan, North Korea have them or aspire to have but the danger to use them is preceded by that of using biological and chemical weapons by different non-state actors.

The general technological progress and the trade globalisation make possible the acquiring of materials necessary to make WMD and their vectors.

At the same time, there is the danger for the sensitive war materials to fall into the hands of unauthorized persons who would use them for terrorist, destructive purpose. The easy access to double-use materials – civilian and military – increases the risk of using some of these against the people.

The recent success of some Asian states in building missiles, weapons and nuclear technologies within or near the OSCE led to the increase of the threats for European and Asian countries. These

threats are increased also by the limitations of export control regime. That's why the OSCE process, started in 1972, must continue, promoting the transparency of the armed forces from the Atlantic to the Ural, the military actions predictability and the decrease of the risks of unpredicted military activities, the trust and security measures (annual exchange of military information, previous declare and observe military activities, mutual visits, verification mechanisms, the cooperation rules in case of crisis and achieving the electronic information net covering the whole area of the OSCE.

Since conflicts like Kosovo or Cecenia may occur anytime, the OSCE countries are forced to apply the measures to regulate the transfer of conventional weapons, to stabilise the local circumscribed crisis and the code of conduct regarding the military and political aspects as well as the new regulations for crisis situations.

They also have to increase the cooperation, stability and transparency in accordance with the 1999 Istanbul OSCE Summit Agreement regarding the conventional forces in Europe and the Wassenaar Agreement regarding the transparency of conventional weapons transfer.

The conflicts within OSCE including those in the West Balkans, Black Sea, Caucasian and Central Asia (Kosovo, Transdnister, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Osetia) are low intensity conflicts in a "frozen" or latent state, generated by the weakness of some countries which are not able to control their own force instruments, by Russia's desire to establish a protectorate of the region, the secession desire of some countries, the presence of foreign troops and weapons on the territory of independent states, providing military aid for the secessionists and the development of organised crime, weapon traffic, drugs, general corruption, armed violence, terrorist activities.

Their dimension is regional, with implications for the OSCE and around it.

Their effects within the OSCE are well-known:

- they represent a major source of instability for the respective country and the adjacent region;
- they undermine the efforts of the respective states of Euro-Atlantic integration;
- they drain these countries resources, already poor;
- they inhibit the states building process;
- they delay their democratic development;



- they generate corruption and organised criminality;
- they facilitate weapon proliferation and the intimidation climate;
- they are either penetrable terrorism areas or terrorist fiefs.

The slow progress of the reforms and the democratization of the Eastern OSCE increase the dangers and the threats to the security in the area, crisis and conflicts or the reactivation of others, generate new elements of tension and insecurity.

These demand a permanent and lasting involvement of the OSCE, especially regarding the disarmament, weapons control and the trust and security measures. The multitude of challenges to the space security and its vicinity want solutions through politically coordinated means by all the OSCE countries, as stipulated in the European Security Charter, adopted in 1999 in Istanbul.

3. The OSCE involvement in solving its own conflicts

At present, as a result of a series of serious active or frozen conflicts and post-conflict situations, the OSCE has the following missions: *the mission in Skopje*, helped to prevent tensions and conflicts, a greater transparency and independence of the judicial system; *the mission in Georgia*, supported the negotiations towards a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Osetia and Abkhazia (since 1999 it has had a mandate to supervise the border moves between Georgia and Chechnya, since 2001 the conflict with Ingushetia and since 2003 the conflict with Dagestan); *the mission in the Republic of Moldova* focused on the political settlement of the conflict in Transnistria, *the OSCE Centre in Dushanbe*, an OSCE ex-mission in Tajikistan (since 1994), designed to support the development of a legal framework and a democratic institution which should respect the human rights; *the mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina* with a contribution to the development of the democracy and the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina; *the mission in Croatia* started in 1996 provided assistance and expertise at all levels to the Croatian authorities, extended today to the reform of the Croatian legislation and the applying of Croatia's financial agreements and engagements; *the mission in Kosovo* supported the UN ad-interim Administration for democratic institutions and promoted human rights and

law enforcement; *the mission in Serbia and Montenegro* provided assistance and expertise to the authorities in implementing law and justice, monitored the democratic development of the institutions, processes and mechanisms.

The OSCE is also present in Albania, Tashkent (Uzbekistan), Minsk (Byelorussia), Alma-Ata (Kazakhstan), Ash Abad (Turkmenistan), Bishkek (Kirghizstan), Ukraine, Yerevan (Armenia) and Baku (Azerbaijan).

Doubts have been and will be expressed regarding the OSCE real capabilities to contribute to the success of the negotiations in conflicts within its area of responsibility. These doubts were motivated by the lack of efficiency proven especially in the first years of the new millennium. It's well-known the fact that the OSCE doesn't have the mechanisms to implement its own decisions and, at the same time, it depends on the interests of different member states, interests shown directly or indirectly through the use of their right to veto the decisions taken.

That's why the powerful countries, like the Russian Federation, block many of the organisation's actions, imposing their own points of view.

The facts prove that the OSCE has a limited role, comparing to NATO and EU, in preventing conflicts, such as Kosovo and Macedonia.

This intervened afterwards, in the post-conflict phase, acting along with the other security institutions. The implication in different phases of the crisis shows the different role of each security organization.

Thus, in the Balkans conflicts, the OSCE promoted the democratic laws, monitored the elections, streamlined the dialog between different ethnical or religious community, the educational system reform, establishing measures to strengthen the security and trust between the parties involved in the conflict, develop the recommendations to relax the tensions between different communities.

The cause for all these was the fact that the organization couldn't solve the crisis through its own mechanisms, as it had vainly tried in 1998-1999 in Kosovo.

We will see that, for the same reason, when the organization was given a more significant role, as it was the case of the conflicts in the Republic of Moldova, Georgia and Azerbaijan, it wasn't able to solve them because, unlike NATO and EU, it doesn't have either the force necessary to solve



the conflicts or the support of the international key actors. While NATO and EU have developed specific relations with Russia, the OSCE diminishes its role and importance in the international dialog on security matters.

The OSCE relevance is different for the Caucasians and Asia and for the Balkans and the Republic of Moldova. That's why its role in solving the conflict in Transdnier is disputed and the EU and US are preferred at the negotiations, even as mere observers.

They are considered to be the only ones to activate the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the Dniester and ensure the settlement of the conflict, through the reunification and stabilization of the country, its consolidation and future integration in the EU.

All started from the fact that the Russian Federation engagements at the OSCE Summit in Istanbul, referring to the withdrawal of the Russian military, weapons and ammunition from Transdnier and the separatist regions in the Caucasians are only promises. Moscow conditions this through the recognising the status of "peace-keeping forces" for some units in Transdnier and Abkhazia, which, otherwise, wouldn't have to be withdrawn from the area (!). Moscow also demands the linking of the assumed engagements to the ratifying of the CFE-2 Treaty including by the Baltic countries which should become a part of it.

The OSCE couldn't successfully solve the frozen conflicts in Transdnier, Osetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh as long as Russia had the possibility (which it successfully used) to use its right to veto the decisional process of the organization's Ministers Committee, to speed up the adopting of the OSCE Parliament resolutions regarding the financing of its budget and in the organization's areas of interest, to have a powerful lobby within the committees⁴.

To all these added the fact that the very missions of the organization have been and still are disputed or supported, depending on certain interests, by the Russian Federation and other CSI member states on one hand or the US and some European states on the other. The first group agrees that the OSCE should solve the conflicts but give up the elections monitoring and the observance of the human rights and democratic values while the second group considers NATO and UN to be the ones who should solve the conflicts and the post-con-

flict situation. In their opinion, the OSCE should have minimal tasks but ample responsibilities in the elections and the problems of the democracy and the human rights.

The numerous disputes about the activities of this organization's representatives concerning the situation in Transdnier, disputes coming from the civilian society and the democratic parties⁵ want to demonstrate the fact that the OSCE doesn't have the ability necessary to efficiently intervene in solving the conflict but could ensure the monitoring of the elections. The blaming of the OSCE activity in Moldova by the civilian society was especially due to the fact that it favoured one of the parties involved in the conflict, with solutions that affect the country's territorial integrity, suggesting other country's domination in the Republic of Moldova, the country's federalization.

The OSCE Belgian presidency states that in 2006 it would be better that they should find partial solutions of the conflict than to re-launch a theoretical discussion about Russia's engagements to withdraw its troops and ammunition from Transdnier. Some analysts and even representatives of the organization's member states agree to this idea which could represent a step forward in solving the conflict.

However they don't forget that Moscow has always blocked any reference to the engagement it took in 1999 at the Istanbul Summit. Moscow even blocked it last December at the OSCE ministerial reunion in Ljubljana. The new OSCE president speaks about the withdrawal of *some* Russian troops, fact which considerably diminishes and delays to an indefinite date the Summit request that *all* Russian troops be withdrawn.

The most recent evolutions show that, at the 5+2 negotiations, there was no obvious success to solve the conflict in Transdnier. The matter of the region's demilitarization was tailed off and no agreement has been reached regarding the OSCE monitoring mission to prepare democratic elections in Transdnier. It has been decided upon a draft to establish the conditions of the activity of the mission to monitor the enterprises from the military and industrial complex in Transdnier, draft which should be discussed and approved at a future meeting.

In the east of the OSCE, the conflict in South Osetia seems to have a new optimistic perspective through the suggestions launched last December



by the Tivali leader, Eduard Kokoit. Russia, its political and economical supporter, is believed to have a part in this.

Russia seems to want Abkhazia's integration in this peace process, which is unacceptable to the Georgian authorities.

The OSCE, considered to be inefficient and incapable to solve this conflict, has the opportunity to amplify its role, participating in developing the South Osetian plan that foresees the creation, at the level of the mixed control commission (Russian, Georgian and North and South Osetian), of a working group, before February 1st.

It should make possible the ceasefire in South Osetia in three phases: the demilitarization of the conflict area, the region's social and economical rehabilitation and measures to regain a lost common trust. Here, the OSCE European Commission financing is very important and the political settlement of the differences between Georgia and the South Osetia Republic.

Aspiring to achieving an area without crisis or conflicts, the OSCE must be more determined and prompt, letting the international community know the aspects affecting the regional security, also having a particular role in solving the conflicts and monitoring them by exterior actors, international or nongovernmental states and organizations.

The wider involvement of some of these organizations, such as the EU or NATO, in areas of close neighbourhood and within the OSCE decreases its activity, conferring the OSCE a more decorative role, too less visible in a practical plan.

That's why, within the EU-OSCE tandem, the efficiency analyses suggest the need of a clearer cut division of work in which each organization should focus on a certain area or field, thing which would lead to the increase of the added value, the influence and role of the two organizations⁶.

This doesn't exclude the synergy and the complementarities of the organization's activities with those of the European Council and the EU which, according to the European Council Summit held in Warsaw on the 16th of May 2005, will cooperate in common areas of interest, in their fight against terrorism, to protect the minorities and against the traffic with human beings, conflict-generated elements within the OSCE.

Conclusions

Analyzing the security environment in the OSCE area of responsibility, we see that its central-Asian area is one of the most risky and dangerous and threatening. The political analysts state, with good reason, that "the regional imbalance will be felt in Eurasia and will have a substantial impact on Europe"⁷.

The "natural gases" war, weapon focused by Moscow on the East European and Western countries, is the most recent political and economical threat at the beginning of this century. It's expected that the deaf struggle to control the energetic resources in the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea transport water means and the ethnic and religious conflicts in the South Caucasus should be the most acute global and regional instability which must be decreased by the participation of the OSCE mechanisms.

The European security organization has and will have a lot of work to do to prevent or solve the conflicts in the epicentre of Moscow's pressures to maintain a significant influence and geostrategic positions in the Caucasians and Central Asia.

The key to the success of its security approaches will consist in the firm engagement of its own structures in the all-embracing treating with the military, political, economical and human security, involving all the countries, the consistent application of common principles, norms, values and standards and also of tools, mechanisms and unique expertise in the field of preventive diplomacy.

The conflict prevention and control within the OSCE will be consolidated by the EU application of the European neighbourhood policy (PEV), which will solve the ongoing disputes, will establish close political and economical partnerships, will control the migration and any form of illegal traffic, will protect the security of the EU citizens living outside the EU, etc., and also through the considerable effort of the states which will form its South East border after their joining the EU – Romania and Bulgaria. But the OSCE contribution will depend decisively on its dynamism based upon its member states' engagement to implement the policies and to increase the capability to apply the decisions at the organization level, and on harmonising its own actions with those of NATO starting with the measures assumed by the OSCE.



THE POLITICAL-MILITARY PRESENT

We have to state here that at the OSCE ministerial reunion in Ljubljana at the end of 2005, the Russian Federation insisted for an immediate reform of the organization.

Considering, naturally, its own interests, the refusal to fulfil its engagements taken in Istanbul, Russia mentioned the thematic disproportions of the OSCE activity: the fact that its efforts focus especially on the humanitarian field, while the economical and politico-military ones (the last one involving the fight against international terrorism) are at a standstill and the fact that the OSCE is more and more a tool designed to serve the interests of a small group of members, of some isolated states.

Replying to the Russian minister of foreign affairs Sergey Ivanov who said that “things aren’t looking too bright in the OSCE” and that the organization has “well-known geographic and thematic distortions” imposing a reform, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs of the American State Department Nicholas Burns emphasized that “the OSCE didn’t break up so it doesn’t need a reform” and that the US want changes within the organization “in the sense of strengthening and not weakening it”.

The organization’s priorities for 2006 presented in front of the UN Security Council by the OSCE president are the institutional reform, the global security approach through a more efficient balance of the political, military, economical and human dimensions, the focus on the fight against international criminality, the conflict prevention and the crisis management (in Kosovo, Moldova – Transdnister, Nagorno-Karabakh and Georgia – South Osetia and finally, the fight against terrorism). All these prove the OSCE focus on the most difficult problems of the present.

The new president of the organization intends to send an OSCE delegation in Transdnister, formed of specialists in constitutional rights who should study the situation there and try “to find a formula to include Transdnister in a federation with Moldova”⁸ (the Romanian attitude towards this is that of the necessity to respect the independence, sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Moldova).

As for establishing the conditions allowing for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Transdnister, the high representative considers this to be “a very difficult problem”.

Therefore, the world mustn’t expect a quick and real solving of the conflict through the elimination of the causes.

Taking part in the democratic process, the borders control and the fight against organized crime are very important for the OSCE, as elements of the non-military dimensions of crisis management. The efficiency of the OSCE activity can increase visibly within a system of multilateral security structures (NATO, UN, OSCE), with renewed functions and in an appropriated normative environment, system which correlates and improves its cooperation.

As the European security strategy stresses, “In a world where the threats, the market and the media have a planetary dimension, our security and prosperity depend more and more on the existence of an efficient multilateral system.

Our objective is to build a more powerful international society, reliable international institutions and an international order founded on an ensemble of rules and regulations.”⁹

To be “ready to act before a crisis occurs”, prevent “through trustworthy measures and weapon control systems”¹⁰ represent areas where the EU, OSCE and other international organizations with a role in the regional and global security can have a significant contribution with a decisive impact on Europe’s stability, stabilizing and unity, on the cooperation and trust from Vancouver to Vladivostok, the countries within the OSCE.

Translated by Diana Diaconescu

NOTES:

¹ Dr. Ioan COȘCODARU, dr. Visarion NEAGOE, **A dream in the making: united Europe**, Axioma Edit Publishing House, Bucharest 2002, p.91.

² *The OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-first Century*, adopted at the 2003 Maastricht Ministerial Meeting.

³ Dr. Teodor FRUNZETI, dr. Vladimir ZODIAN (coord.), **World 2005, Political and Military Encyclopaedia**, CTEA Publishing House, Bucharest 2005, p.97.

⁴ Dr. Radu GORINCIOL, *Republic of Moldova’s cooperation with the neighbouring states and the international strategic actors*, Strategic Impact



no.4/2005, p.73.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p.73.

⁶ Colonel Dumitru MATEI, “Solana” *European security strategy – the EU response to the new international risks and challenges*, GMR no.2/2005, p.37.

⁷ Mustafa AYDIN, **Europe’s Next Shore: The Black Sea Region after EU Enlargement**, European Union Institute for Security Studies,

Paris, 2004, p.6.

⁸ Gabriel PLEȘEA, *For the OSCE president the problem in Transdnier is “very complicated”*, Romania Libera Online, 01/17/2006.

⁹ *Une Europe sure dans un monde meilleur; Strategie europeene de securite*, p.17, www.issu-eu.org

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p.19.

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DYNAMIQUE D'UN TRIPTYQUE TOUJOURS COMPLEXE: POLITIQUE-STRATEGIQUE-TACTIQUE

Dr. Gheorghe VĂDUVA

Peut-on parler d'une dynamique en ce qui concerne ce triptyque de plus en plus complexe: politique-stratégique-tactique ? Ce triptyque est-il, souvent et, surtout, surprenant, changeable, comme est, généralement, la politique et tant de choses, des activités et des événements de la très compliquée vie des hommes ?

Certainement, le réponse ne peut être que affirmatif, même si, nolens-volens, ces questionnes naissent toujours des doutes et des incertitudes. Bien que la stratégie soit, en essence, une manière de mettre en œuvre une décision – d'habitude, une décision politique –, et ça suppose flexibilité, voir fluidité, elle aura toujours une structure de résistance qui lui confère durabilité, endurance et stabilité, des éléments composants qui se combinent fractale et aléatoire, lui donnant une architecture spécifique, force artistique et personnalité.

Peut-on considérer la tactique – en sa qualité de fondement de n'importe quelle stratégie et, finalement, de n'importe quelle politique –, un pic de lance de ce triptyque qui devient de plus en plus consonnant et indestructible ?

Consonance et indestructibilité

La stratégie n'est pas un donné. Ni la politique n'en est pas. La politique c'est une synthèse des intérêts des hommes et de la cité. Autrement dit, la politique exprime ce que les gens et les communautés des gens en le veulent. Plus exact, la politique c'est, donc, un expression, voir une exposition de l'intérêt, et l'intérêt est, toujours, le premier et le plus fort impulse de l'action humaine. Les gens n'agissent pas à cause d'inertie, ni à cause de la vocation, ni même à cause du respect d'un système ou d'autre de valeurs, mais par la détermination et par la pression de l'intérêt. La vocation donne à l'action consistance et force, même génialité, mais ça ne peut pas produire l'action, ne se trouve à la source de l'action. C'est bien sur l'intérêt qui se trouve, toujours et

partout, à l'origine de l'action. La politique, la science, la volonté, la conscience et le pouvoir de générer des buts et des objectifs, d'établir ce *qu'on a à faire* et *comment* il faut le faire. La stratégie est la science, la volonté, la conscience et la capacité d'établir comment faire ce qu'il faut faire. Cette relation n'est pas simple, bien que, parfois, pour la comprendre, il doive la présenter en schémas trop simples, accessibles, comme en géométrie euclidienne, ou les déterminations sont linéaires, c'est-à-dire très claires et très précises. La politique c'est une sorte d'architecture à géométrie variable, fractale, ou il est très difficile de rester dans un système des règles précises, comme sont, par exemple, celles du déterminisme mécaniciste.

La politique est variable, parce que les intérêts des gens et des entités humaines, de n'importe quelle nature soient-ils – personnelles, individuelles, d'équipe, collectives, politiques, économiques, sociales, financières etc. –, restent et resteront toujours variables. Les gens veulent toujours quelque chose – c'est une première certitude –, mais ils veulent tout à fait autre chose aussi – c'est la deuxième certitude –, entre les deux types de certitudes et de volontés étant, également, une relation de contradiction et un rapport de complémentarité aussi.

Parfois, la conscience et, surtout, la possibilité du pouvoir ne font pas, *da capo al fine*, bon maison avec la volonté politique, mais c'est déjà une autre chose. Pour ça, la politique, fréquemment, ne se présente seulement comme un fleuve avec des méandres, des anaphores et des abîmes variables, qui, de règle, coule tranquille dans son lit (quand même, il déborde parfois de son lit), ou comme un torrent qui balaye tout devant lui, mais aussi comme un fluide qui pénètre toujours et partout, accapare tout, étouffe et, au même temps, donne la vie.

Il y a une politique de force et diktat, de menace, prévention ou dissuasion, mais il y a aussi une politique des petits pas, une politique de la



goutte, patience et tranquille, bien dosé, à long terme, avec des moyens généralement modeste, qui s'appuie surtout sur une sorte de sagesse stratagémique qu'on appelle parfois diplomatie. Bien sûr, le mot *diplomatie* est plus vaste que la politique de la goutte, parce que les gouvernes, les alliances, les coalitions, les organismes politiques internationales n'hésitent pas d'utiliser, maintes fois ou quand les intérêts l'impose, une diplomatie de l'avertissement, d'interdiction, de force, des sanctions, d'embargo, de dissuasion etc.

La politique basée sur la force (économique, financière, militaire) est, d'habitude, *symétrique* ou *dissymétrique* (non symétrique), en fonction de partenariats et d'adversités. En échange, la politique des petits pas ou de la goutte est toujours *asymétrique*. La symétrie, en politique, en stratégie, ou n'importe dans quel domaine d'activité suppose toujours des doctrines semblables, des forces, des moyens et des actions compatibles, plusieurs fois sur les yeux de tout le monde, qui gardent toujours cette relation de complétude et d'interdépendance, comme dans les jeux stratégiques avec somme nulle (je gagne, tu perds; tu gagnes, je perds).

La symétrie, en politique, se réalise notamment au niveau des grandes puissances, des organismes internationaux, des États, des alliés, des blocs militaires etc. L'ONU promeut une politique symétrique, de l'équilibre, c'est-à-dire une politique des relations transparentes, égales, en vision de tout le monde.

Mais le monde n'est pas comme le veulent les onusiennes et, dommage, ni l'ONU n'est comme la veule le monde, et, en tout cas, le moins une partie de ce monde, un monde en plein chaos, qui se dit mise en transformations radicales, en même temps cohérentes et antinomiques, qu'on voit finaliser par la globalisation, mais qui ne peut pas éviter, sous aucune forme, le développement des types de ségrégations agressives et dangereuses. Parce que, dans cette étape, d'une part, le monde se globalise et, d'autre part, se fragmente.

La symétrie de la terreur du temps de la guerre froide a disparu, mais les symétries qu'y se construisent ou sont construites par les partenariats politiques et stratégiques ne sont pas encore définitives et n'en peuvent être, parce que les nouvelles architectures politiques et stratégiques sortent de limites du déterminisme mécaniste d'autre fois et approchent les déterminations des processus dynamiques complexes, ou absolument

tout, y compris la symétrie, est variable.

Dans ces conditions de chaos (compris comme désorganisation en vue d'une nouvelle organisation), nous avons à faire avec un *symétrie dynamique*, donc variable, ou le processus d'adaptabilité politique et stratégique est plus complexe, et plus *accelerando*. Mais la fonction essentielle de la symétrie – celle des „relations en miroir“, que fait-tu, je le fais aussi – reste intacte. Et l'ONU, notamment par son Conseil de Sécurité, a tout le soin de cultiver un tel concept qui signifie équilibre dynamique et stabilité.

Dissymétrie (non symétrie), en politique, et non pas seulement en politique, c'est disproportionné, non contact, avec des décalages immenses et, en même mesure, manqué de communication. Cette affirmation semble tout à fait paradoxale.

Comment n'y a-t-il pas de communication et transparence dans une société prédominante informationnelle qui tend à devenir épistémologique, caractérisée, déterminée et même dominée par la connaissance scientifique? C'est possible.

Une „communication non contact“, basée sur longues monologues, couvent parallèles, ou chacun s'écoute et se comprend seulement dans une seule dimension, celle qui s'appelle soi-même. Il n'y a rien de nouveau sur le soleil. Le monde a été depuis toujours antinomique et paradoxale et, probablement, restera toujours comme ça, jusqu'à la fin.

C'est elle, la *dissymétrie politique*, coupable de plusieurs maux qui se sont passés sur la planète, même si, parfois, elle aurait fait quelques bonnes choses, en le sens qu'une compétition, menée en secret, stimule, en même temps, la pensée scientifique et la pensée qui cherche à savoir et à tromper, qui cherche les vulnérabilités d'autrui, c'est-à-dire la pensée stratagémique.

Mais le plus grand et le plus dangereux effet de la dissymétrie politique, dans l'époque du dynamisme sociale complexe, c'est *le terrorisme*. Le terrorisme c'est, donc, un produit de la *dissymétrie politique* et notamment de la *dissymétrie politique dynamique*.

La *dissymétrie politique* produit des failles stratégiques graves, des décalages immenses, des tensions, des conflits. Dissymétrie politique est de même âge avec la politique et, probablement, elle sera toujours dans sa compagnie, comme la symétrie politique, parce que elle fait partie de ça, est une caractéristique de celle-ci.



L'asymétrie politique est, peut-être, la composante la plus sensible et la plus fluide de la politique. Elle tient de stratagème politique, est très active et consiste dans la connaissance et l'exploitation des vulnérabilités d'autrui. Les vulnérabilités, en politique, sont nombreuses et très fréquemment changeables. D'où on résulte tout sort de scénarios, de chantages, de corruptions etc. Sans doute, *la corruption* est l'un des effets de *l'asymétrie politique*. Elle a existé depuis toujours et partout. Chacun pose les yeux sur chacun. Chacun monitorise chaque mouvement de chacun, cherche les points sensible et les frappe, avec toutes les moyens ou avec quoi que se soit, exactement là ou celui qu'on vise ne peut pas se défendre. C'est une loi de la nature. Le lion chasse la chevrete qui ne peut pas réussir s'en fuir ou reste la dernière de troupeau, en devenant, dans les conditions données, la plus vulnérable.

Mais l'asymétrie, en politique, est plus qu'une réalité de réalités. Elle est très dynamique, en se proposant non seulement d'exploiter des vulnérabilités d'autrui, mais de lui produire des nouvelles vulnérabilités aussi, dans l'espace et dans le compte de celui-ci, premièrement, pour le déterminer, voir l'obliger, d'accepter à donner ce qu'on lui demande, ou pour lui donner ce qu'il, en conditions normales, n'acceptera jamais recevoir. Mais, l'asymétrie signifie aussi le tromper ou l'attirer en tout sort de combinaisons tentantes, mais défavorables pour lui, dans les pièges diplomatiques, dans les embuscades politiques etc.

Le terrorisme est un produit non seulement de la dissymétrie politique, mais de l'asymétrie politique aussi. Ce cancer a été crée pour attirer et, en même mesure, pour frapper là ou l'adversaire est le plus vulnérable. *Le terrorisme politique* – et presque toutes les formes de terrorisme, sauf peut-être de terrorisme pathologique, sont politiques – est plus qu'un concept, plus qu'un système d'actions. Le terrorisme c'est effectivement un instrument, un outil. Un outil de la politique, d'une certaine politique évidemment. C'est-à-dire, une forme de guerre. On a dit, on dit et on dira encore longtemps que les choses ne sont pas entièrement comme ça. Le terrorisme c'est, en effet, un produit de la société, il apparaisse, en fin du compte, comme une maladie de celle-ci, comme un cancer de celle-ci. La société des gens est malade, et la plus grave de cette maladie c'est le terrorisme. C'est la

vérité. Au-delà de n'importe quelle métaphore, le terrorisme est un produit de la société et poursuite, pas à pas, comme dans un miroir, mais d'autre coté de l'axe, les caractéristiques de la société. De cette perspective, terrorisme semble comme une fonction symétrique, mai de sens inverse, de l'évolution de la société. Il augmente, quand les valeurs de la société (progrès, symétrie, équilibre social et économique, sécurité, bien-être, stabilité etc.) baissent ou manquent, et baisse, quand les valeurs de la société augmentent ou se stabilisent sur un palier optimal. Bien sur, on doit faire la remarque que le terrorisme n'est pas une simple maladie, mai une *maladie politique*, un sort de *schizophrénie politique*.

L'asymétrie politique est, donc, stratagémique, omniprésente, génératrice de vulnérabilités et de toute la gamme de menaces associées à celles-ci, parmi lesquelles la plus grave est la menace terroriste. Les intolérances religieuses sont aussi graves (elles n'ont presque rien a faire avec la religion, mais seulement avec un certaine „politique de la religion“, parce que de temps de l'inquisition jusqu'au présent, il y a, dans la religion aussi, assez religion... politique), les conflits ethniques qu'on considère appartenant de la „politique ethnique“, c'est-à-dire de l'ethnie comme l'entité politique (l'autre que l'État de droit, aujourd'hui, il y en a, surtout la ou l'État politique est faible, malade ou vulnérable, mai pas seulement), et non de l'ethnie comme l'identité historique et culturelle, comme milieu culturel spécial, comme l'entité génératrice de valeurs, le criminalité transfrontalière, le trafic de drogues, d'armes et des êtres humaines etc.

Ce serait, bref, l'une de configuration, au temps $t + x$ (x prenant valeurs de 1 à n), de ce qu'on a nommé, dans ces pages, l'architecture politique, plus rare monolithique et plus souvent fractale.

Il n'y a pas politique pour la politique, mai politique orientée, dirigée. Tout le temps, la politique est orientée. Elle a une ration d'être et un horizon d'attente. Toute politique a un fondement scientifique, fruit des accumulations de la société humaine au long du temps, un système de valeurs, une expérience pratique et un concept actionnel. La politique signifie effectivement conception, c'est-à-dire modelage scientifique de l'intérêt sur des horizons, sur des buts et des objectives, analyse, synthèse, généralisation, concrétisation, abstraction, donc pensée et sagesse, pensée pleine de sagesse, création et action. Tout politique a un



sens, un but et des objectives claires.

Donc, il y a un *théorie* de la politique – politologie –, un *praxis* politique, défini par l'activité concrète des entités politiques, d'action politique, et une *art politique*, exprimée, d'habitude, par la diplomatie, mais surtout par les œuvres des grands politiciens du monde, par les créations des tous ceux qui ont réalisé et réalisent des politiques au des nouvelles dimensions et re-dimensions du phénomène politique. La politique est toujours une construction rationnelle, c'est-à-dire une science, une pratique et un art des relations entre hommes et entre des entités humaines. Même si, plusieurs fois, nous répugnons le terrible, le primitivisme ou le caméléonisme politique, notre vie reste, pour toujours, d'un bout à l'autre, dépendante de politique, c'est une vie essentiellement politique. L'homme est un être politique. Et la communauté humaine aussi. C'est une vérité qui crée toutefois et doit créer conviction et responsabilité, même si ces qualités n'excluent pas le souci, la peur, ni les chantages et les perversités politiques. Il y a un respect de la politique, mais il y a une politique du respect aussi. Toutes les deux se rencontrent en ce qu'on appelle *conception* ou *concept politique* et *conception* ou *concept stratégique*. Première signifie *ce qu'il faut faire*, le suivant signifie *comment le faire*, c'est-à-dire *le savoir faire*. Combien des politiques, tant des stratégies, combien des stratégies, tant des politiques. Pour chaque politique il y a une certaine stratégie, même si, fréquemment, une politique (une décision politique) peut utiliser beaucoup de stratégies, et une stratégie met en œuvre plusieurs politiques.

Il y a une *politique des forces*, une *politique des moyens* et une *politique des actions*. Toutes ces dimensions font partie, bien sûr, de la grande stratégie, mais chacune a, à son tour, individualité et personnalité. Donc, il y a une *stratégie des forces*, une *stratégie des moyens* et une *stratégie des actions*.

La politique des forces définit, de règle, le concept *des forces*, établie pour quoi sont-elles créées, quelles sont leurs attributions et leurs compétences, c'est-à-dire pour quoi et pour qui sont-elles nécessaires et quoi doivent-elles faire. *La stratégie des forces* s'occupe d'organisation et de préparation de ces forces, en suivant les tâches de créer, pour ces forces, les structures, les fonctions et les habilités nécessaires pour réaliser le but politique fixé.

La politique des moyens est une politique générative. Elle définit le concept *des moyens*, le seuil technologique, la limite et les limites des dépenses, les buts et les objectifs qu'on doit réaliser en ce qui concerne la dimension technique, technologique et IT de l'action qu'on préconise à effectuer. *La stratégie des moyens* est une stratégie générative aussi. Elle met en œuvre le concept politique des moyens et réalise, effectivement, ce qu'on a été établi sur le plan politique, en corroborant dans un *modus vivendi* le triptyque *forces-moyens-actions*.

Le but final de la politique est, c'est normal, l'action. Dans le processus d'élaboration de n'importe quelle stratégie, y compris la stratégie politique, on commence avec l'action, par l'action et de l'action. Mais l'horizon politique est un horizon en mouvement, d'une dynamique très complexe. La politique est celle qui doit voir au-delà de ce qu'on voit. Il faut créer et modeler cet horizon de l'action efficace. Seulement une politique puissante, bien ancrée dans cet horizon, collée étroitement de cet horizon dynamique et complexe, peut générer une stratégie correspondante. Mais aucune politique de ce monde ne peut pas générer une stratégie qui doit le mettre en œuvre, sans bénéficier d'une expertise stratégique nécessaire et correspondante. La politique et la stratégie sont toujours consonantes et indestructibles. Elle font un ensemble, c'est-à-dire, un système des systèmes.

Politique, stratégique, tactique

Le triptyque politique-stratégique-tactique vit et convit, depuis toujours, en bonne, pleine et complète ambiance. Mais le passage de décision politique à l'action directe ne se fait n'importe comment. Même dans le cadre de la politique, entre *la décision politique* et *l'action politique* s'interpose nécessairement la *stratégie politique*. La stratégie est celle qui établit, entre les limites fixées par la politique, les forces, les moyens et les actions. Parfois, la stratégie se présente comme une boîte noire, parce que, comme on le sait bien, souvent, les moyens et la manière par lesquelles on obtient des résultats ne comptent pas. Les résultats sont importants. Il y a, quand même, des stratégies transparentes, surtout dans les sociétés ouvertes, démocratiques. Il faut y voir tout et comprendre tout. Mais le monde est complexe et contradictoire, toujours dans les crises et dans les conflits armés.

D'où résulte qu'il y a et il y aura toujours et partout les problèmes qu'il faut les solutionner, les conflits et les guerres, des mécontentements et des révoltes, des situations qui réclament des interventions rapide, parfois en force, et la stratégie doit être suffisamment flexible pour assurer la préparation et l'utilisation des forces, des moyens et des actions toujours efficaces.

La tactique assure le niveau de l'action. Elle se présente comme science, pratique et art de l'action directe. Elle est celle qui conduit vers une finalité, qui réalise, en effet, l'objectif final intégral ou par les morceaux qu'on assemblera par l'intervention de la stratégie ou de la politique.

POLITIQUE	STRATEGIQUE	TACTIQUE
Générale	Intégrale	Générale
D'Etat (de gouverne)	Totale	Des actions de l'Etat
D'alliance	D'alliance	Des actions alliés
De coalition	De coalition	Des actions de coalition
Conjoncturelle	Conjoncturelle	Des actions diverses
Economique	Economique	D'unité (action) économique
Financière	Financière	D'unité (action) financière
Sociale	Sociale	Des actions sociales
Informationnelle	Informationnelle	Des actions informationnelles
De sécurité (intégrale)	De sécurité (intégrale)	Des actions sécuritaires
Militaire	Militaire	Des actions de combat

Interdéterminations du triptyque politique-stratégique-tactique

Il y a des règles précises, depuis des siècles, en ce qui concerne la route de la politique à l'action, mais, depuis des centaines d'années aussi, ces règles connaissent toute la gamme d'applications, d'adaptations et des transformations, en les respectant *in integrum* ou en ne les respectant guère. La seule règle qui a, en quasi-totalité des cas, la chance d'être respectée est celle des niveaux.

Au-dessus, on trouve le niveau politique, après le niveau stratégique, après le niveau opérationnel (opératif), et puis le niveau de l'exécution, c'est-à-dire le niveau tactique.

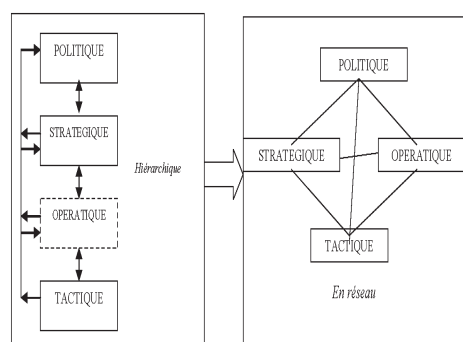
Mais il y a aussi la tendance de renoncer à cette hiérarchie, en faveur d'une philosophie et d'une physiologie nouvelles, de réseau, parce que toutes les trois (ou les quatre) composantes de l'action humaine efficiente – *la politique* (composante décisionnelle), *la stratégie* (composante méthodologique, scientifique, pratique et créative

de mettre en œuvre la décision), *l'art opérationnelle* (niveau opératif, la composante applicative de transit) et *la tactique* (composante exécutive, actionnelle) – sont des parties constitutives de même processus, sont interdépendantes, chaque ayant une mission que les autres ne peuvent l'accomplir que dans des conditions exceptionnelles.

Il y aura toujours *un facteur politique* qui élaborera une décision (évidemment, une décision politique), *un facteur stratégique* dont la mission est d'établir la manière de mettre en œuvre cette décision, les forces et les moyens, parfois *un facteur opérationnel* qui assurera la positionnement des forces et des moyens (cette mission peut être accompli parfois par le facteur stratégique) et un *facteur tactique* qui agira effectivement, en versant le sang de soldats sur les champs de bataille de l'avenir soit dans l'espace physique soit dans l'espace virtuel.

Mais ce schéma est aussi très simple ou très simplifié. C'est quand même très important de tenir compte de ces niveaux et, évidemment, des relations et des déterminations qu'ils en impliquent.

L'interdépendance des niveaux



La politique, la stratégie et la tactique se soutiennent réciproquement.

Les relations entre elles ne sont pas seulement de subordination, mais de coordination aussi.

En même temps avec le passage à une philosophie de réseau, ou l'information circulera en temps réel et utile entre toutes les composantes du système, beaucoup de fonctions d'autrefois seront disparues ou se trouveront dans une nouvelle connexion, ainsi que le réseau (qui se présente, en même temps, comme un système de systèmes et comme un processus, parce qu'il doit être toujours



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fonctionnel et doit connecter toutes les composantes du système ou des systèmes) sera de plus en plus un tout entier, ayant une vocation intégrative. Les trois niveaux – politiques, stratégiques et tactiques – s’approcheront beaucoup, s’intégreront dans un grand système, mais ne seront jamais la même

chose. Ils resteront trois éléments d’un tout entier ou trois systèmes d’un grand système. Chacun gardera son individualité, son identité, sa personnalité, mais leur existence sera toujours conditionnée de cet ensemble, de ce grand système qui est et sera de plus en plus un système de systèmes.

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GLOBALIZATION AND POLITICAL AND MILITARY DECISION

Eugen SITEANU, PhD

Globalisation is a complex, dynamic, multi-faceted process – both positive and negative – according to the decisions taken by the big powers of the world that might help humankind to develop in a new international security architecture, in a world of peace. During this process, people have to respect each other and accept the co-existence with all religions and cultures and especially to leave behind all that separates them in order to stress out what makes them similar. Today but especially in the close future the global society will have the capacity to understand the need to take some global decisions, by the structures responsible for global decisions, in order to solve out the global humankind issues.

Taking into account the present conditions presented by globalization, the whole world, including here the organizations, the armed forces, are in a continuous change. The sources of this complex process are the transformation from the economical, political, military, and social environment, as well as the demographic growth. A vital element is represented by the fact that the speed of these changes has grown; this is why we consider that it should become the subject for military and political sciences and decisions. The answer to that change should become a major concern and a priority for the decisional factors in politics and military field.

The process of globalization generates new means of perception of the society, state, and international relationships. There are theories according to which globalization is a two faced phenomenon: either a Heaven on Earth, or an Apocalypse. The history of wars represents the phenomenology of a well-known fact: the tendency of each belligerent part to take control, if possible, an absolute one. This is the principle of adversity - that along history generated hegemony and developed the present state. It is possible globalization to be governed by another principle ruling the world (the competition principle), which re-arranges the world powers ac-

ording to other criteria, into a new economic and political order, that needs to be discovered, as soon as possible, by political and military decision makers.

Globalization influences the old mechanisms and governing processes of the states, at the macro-economic management level and of the relationships between different actors of the world. The Romanian economy in transition is able to create and to maintain its functional performance, taking into account the permanent changes that take place around the world. It has to adapt itself to the challenges of a real economic war, which can destroy economic and scientific entities. All these facts are influenced by the globalization, which destroy the instruments used by small and medium states. Under these circumstances, Romania must be able to create and maintain the functional performance, taking into account the changes that take place in the world, according to the principle of a favourable disequilibrium.

According to this principle, a system has the capacity to maintain its performance and dynamics between parts. In this global society, all institutions (which are open systems) must organize themselves, because globalization is the functional expression of the liberties long dreamed by mankind. Here are some of them: free markets and trade; the economic performance that will be the main reason for conquering markets; the people will be able to find work anywhere they want.

At a certain moment, it was thought that the national states would disappear. Today, we can see that the danger exists and has to be observed, although it does not represent such a threat. We must not forget that at any moment it can become a threat to the national security. Nowadays there are different types of wars: informational, economic, diplomatic, psychological, mass media, cyber and cultural wars. The nations must look for other instruments, to replace the classical ones, for a better management of the economical, political and



military problems. But their options are limited by international organizations as: The International Monetary Fund, The World Bank, and The World Trade Organization.

A careful scrutiny reveals the fact that there is a global connection, which has already surpassed some commercial blocks; we are facing now a global capitalism. It is hard to find a definition for globalization, because it is a spectacular, blurred and hard to understand process. The most common definition is the following: "Globalization represents the process through which the geographical distance becomes a less important factor in designing and the development of cross border relationships of economical, political, social and cultural nature. The networks of relationships and dependencies have a greater potential and are on their way to become international and world relationships."¹

Globalism tries to substitute itself to globalization². Globalism represents the fact that a certain state or coalition of states dominates another part of the world. But, "the power distribution in a globalised manner delays the appearance of the new leading principle, according to which competition is the mean through which the management mechanisms of the power is to be shared among the parts of a whole. The winner will not be able to take it all. The statement according to which 'globalization will be an American one or it will not be at all', reveals the deep fears of globalism and its interest to replace globalization, changing its directions and goals"³.

The social, political and economical actors correlate their activities and reactions to the world (global) movements that already have a "standard" character. As a result, all these movements are close related: "The political decisions influence the economic strategies, which, in their turn, affect the social reactions. Thus, in a new global world, we have to adapt ourselves to the dependencies between the local configurations and the world networks, and we have to concentrate on the actions conditioned by the reactions of the actors belonging to the three spheres of action"⁴. We have to mention the fact that military sphere is also very important.

The world is on the verge of a "global civil society", a global leadership, where the power of some governments is growing, while the power of other is decreasing (namely, the national governments). As a result, the governments have to re-

build themselves as soon as possible, stressing the modern forces, in order to conquer new markets and to regain the old ones or the lost ones. This complex problem can be solved with the help of scientific research, new technologies, education, and the market economy that has to be reinforced.

On this dynamic and complex background, Romania must use the triangle growth - development and modernization and to do away with corruption. If a society is corrupted, logically, the armed forces can be corrupted, because the military life is connected with the civil society, and the military decisions, as well as the political ones, are dependent on one another.

The political, financial, economic, cultural and diplomatic decisions have a military character as well, and this character has, sometimes, a vital importance. Taking into account all these, the Romanian Armed Forces can be transformed and modernized.

The decisions must be taken in the right order, not depending on political factors. There is a need for logic, political, economic and military coherence. All the forces must go in the same direction in order to develop a stable society.

Such examples we can find in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece and Turkey. They have succeeded to stop the decline of their economy, to launch it, they defended their national values, which are also the values of a united Europe. The political class must be changed, so that the national interest should be defended, as it is stipulated in the Romanian Constitution.

The process of globalization transforms the power of each state, as well as the military politics. The national states are forced to fight for their existence, because without this fight they might disappear. So, there is a real need for a guiding principle, based on a political and economical system. This system takes into account the scientific and technological developments; that is why the scientists have an important role to play. They must not be ignored; the political factors must take into consideration their opinions, so that Romania can have the ability to rapidly integrate itself into the European Union and, at the same time, to be able to reinforce the defence system of the country.

The political and military decisions taken after 1989 have ensured an evolution in the military, defence and security domains. Our country has fought to accomplish some reforms in order to be



integrated in NATO, and it has succeeded to overpass the critical moments at national, regional and international level. As a result of these decisions, Romania has sent troops in UN and NATO international missions in Kosovo, Bosnia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Our country has also developed specialized capabilities like CBRN troops, military police, and information. These capabilities correspond to the goals established by NATO Response Force and the European Force of Rapid Reaction. Our country has sent there elite forces, gaining international credibility. Romania has demonstrated that it can cope with the efforts required by the status of a NATO member and that it can be a factor of national and international stability.

Globalization turned the classical war into a network centric one. Such warfare coordinates all the information regarding the enemy, their state and movements, the needs for supply, the availability of the Allied Forces and of the enemy. Such information must be used correctly by the political and military decisional factors and in outmost secrecy. In order to develop the network centric warfare capabilities there is a need of a support, for an integrated IT system. The Romanian Armed Forces must plan and accomplish such an integrated IT system, as a support for its NCW capabilities⁵.

Using an integrated IT system, the political and military decisional factors will be able to access the information and the resources and to connect with each staff of network user, using audio and video contact or exchanging data.

In these conditions the decisional factors will always have a complete image of the military actions, which will offer the opportunity to take the best political and military decisions.

In order to be able to do so, the joint IT systems (SC4I) will have different applications to plan and lead military actions, to collect, transmit, process, stock and display the data. SC4I will help the military decisional factors to exactly estimate the situation, so that they can plan the joint military actions, of the national, allied and coalition forces.

The great powers make the best of the use of the information technology and the Internet in order

to apply their military decisions. But the terrorists use these for the same goals. "Information is free and under no control whatsoever, each person being able to easily find out whatever interests him. There are a lot of diversified IT systems which cannot be controlled. In other words, information is not controlled, but it has total control. Information can be used as an instrument to gain power in a near future in order to accomplish a certain information order during the political, economical and cultural reorganization of the world"⁶.

Undoubtedly, globalization will reveal its secrets in a near future, and a new architecture of relational shares will help the world to develop itself after the traumas caused by war, and to heal the wounds of the history. People will understand that globalization means to accept what can unify and to do away with what separates them. Globalization does not mean only post capitalist transition, but also the transition from a post communist to a post capitalist society. The global society will be able to take global decisions, based on global structures. This is the best way to solve the global problems of mankind.

Translated by Alexandrina VLAD

NOTES:

¹ Ioan BARI, **Contemporary Global Problems**, Economic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 34.

² Researches realized for the programme of CNC-SIS GRANTS, ASE Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, p. 37.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

⁴ Ioan BARI, **op. cit.**, p. 35.

⁵ Major-general lecturer Dumitru CRISTEA, PhD, The integrated IT system of the National Defence Ministry – a support for the development of the Network Centric Warfare capabilities, *The Military Sciences Magazine*, V year, 2005, no. 2(9), Bucharest, p. 30.

⁶ General, Professor, Mircea MUREȘAN, PhD, Brigadier-general Gheorghe VĂDUVA, PhD, **The future war and the future of war**, National Defence University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, pp. 109-110.

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THE NATURAL RESOURCES - A SUBJECT FOR LARGE INTERNATIONAL DEBATES

Constantin-Gheorghe BALABAN, PhD

In the last decade, in the process of formulating the foreign affairs policy, world states had to pay a larger attention to the issues connected with the natural resources. The main reasons: both developed economies and the ones on this way depend more and more on the energetic resources, so their exhaustion is a real phenomenon.

Under these circumstances, having natural resources, disposing and using them, especially the energetic ones, represents a tension and crisis source, even a conflictual one. That is why the natural resources are largely debated at international level. These discussions intend to solve out the issues connected with the resources' disposal and their division.

About the problems of natural resources, especially about the energetic ones there is a lot of special political, economic literature, because the natural resources have been placed in time in the middle of debates and negotiations on establishment of a new inter-states relations structure, the last decade being, as Zbigniew Brzezinski mentions, the witness of a democratic change in the world politics¹.

The most important resources are food and energy² - an indispensable element for most of human activities along with raw materials whose problem remains a major concern in the present day international circumstances, if it is to consider the unprecedented need for these resources. Moreover, on one hand, most of developed economies depend on energetic resources wherever on the Earth and the prospect of their limited characteristics and their exhaustion became more obvious.

On the other hand, by increasing the level of interdependence among the countries benefiting from these resources, new and complex problems emerge from the need to provide access to resources for all states with a view to sustain their

economic development. But in the most of specialists' opinion, the access or loose of access to these resources can have unpredictable consequences³.

The problems concerning the availability of resources are correlated. They have exercised and continue to exercise a real influence of a major impact on the states' policy, the availability of resources being up to the present day a source of tension and potential conflict. The fact is demonstrated by a lot of arguments presented in the specialty literature, the more recent problems, difficulties and concerns emerged even at the beginning of January 2006: Russian gas crisis, the crisis of negotiations in the nuclear Iranian file, which already made the oil price to raise up to 70 \$ per barrel⁴.

1. Historical and political aspects of covering the natural resources needs of the society

There are many reports and studies on these issues, whether they don't treat them globally. Among the pioneer work in the field with a smaller impact due to their limited to specialists' circles circulation (technicians, scholars, economists, sometimes politicians) less accessible to the public there could be mentioned:

Resources for liberty (1952), *Penury and growth: the economy of the natural resources availability* (1963), *Natural resources and international development* (1964), *The primary products and the international trade* (1965), *Resources and man* (1968), etc. Four reports of the Rome Club are added in the following years to these works - *The limits of growth* (1972), *The humankind at the crossroads* (1974), *International Order Restructuring* (1976), *Beyond the Age of Waste* (1976) - a well known series of research materials dedicated to "elaboration of the global models of the world among which resources have a primordial role".



The limits of growth, as Ilie Dodea noted on the Romanian edition of the Report to Rome Club entitled *Beyond the Age of Waste* (Political Publishing House) is the first far-reaching published issue of the Rome Club. Elaborated in 1972 by a group of specialists⁵ from the Institute of Technology in Massachusetts, led by Dr. Denis Meadows, the Report, edited on the basis of the mathematical model proposed by Jay Forrester, emphasized *the limited character of resources and their unequal repartition*, proving a highly pessimistic opinion about the prospects regarding resources on the globe. Even that time two aspects have been revealed: on one hand, *the deterioration of the quantitative balance and limitation of the existent resources* at the planetary level, generally speaking about energy, water, food, raw materials and *the even bigger needs determined by the social-economic growth*, and, on the other hand *the deterioration of the qualitative balance of the environmental factors*, by the action of the economic and social factors and by pollution of water, air and soil.

The influence of the report, meant for the world public opinion, exceeded its authors' expectations. The conviction that we live in a limited planet with limited resources started to gain ground among those ones who gave a little attention to this problem. If the population of the globe, the industrial development, pollution of the environment, consumption of resources and food will continue to grow with the same rate, the limits of the growth on the planet will have as result, according to the first Report to the Rome Club authors' opinion, a sudden and uncontrollable decline of population and industrial capability.

The authors of the second report to the Rome Club, *The humankind at the crossroads*, gave also a truthful alarm signal: "The rapid succession of crises comprising the entire globe is the clearest sign that the humankind is at a crossroads of its historical evolution" and the most careful estimations of scenarios based on the model of the world system elaborated by the authors of the report lead to unavoidable conclusion according to which (...) "the options at mankind's disposal for avoiding a disaster are decreasing and delay in exercising these options are simply fatal".

As it has been demonstrated later, the promotion of "zero growth" strategy in order to prevent an early exhaustion of the main reserves of raw materials did not take into account the technical

progress and its impact on the problem of raw materials. The authors of the first report to the Club of Rome and not only, as noted by Ioan Bari, has made confusion between the two notions of ended and exhaustible. That is because the mineral resources are not lost by their use. They are incorporated in other final products together with other elements and are indestructible, i.e. as Lavoisier himself stated, nothing lost everything transformed.

The third report to the Club of Rome, *The international order restructure* (1976) also re-addresses the problem of resources, but this time from the new international economic order perspective.

Prepared under the coordination of a famous economist, the Dutch Professor Jan Tinbergen, for many years Chairman of the UN Committee for Development Planning, the report differs from the first two ones by its vision and stipulated conclusions and solutions. "The recent estimations – mentions the report – have shown that the expressed fears in the last years about the exhaustion of the natural resources could be exaggerated, at least in certain cases". Even more, on a longer term, if we suppose the progress in creating a new equitable social and economic international order leads to a fusion of the world material and non-material resources, the minerals reserves might be seen as a common patrimony of the whole humanity.

The authors of the forth report to the Club of Rome⁶, *Beyond the Age of Waste* (1976), are the physicist Dennis Gabor, Nobel Prize Laureate and Umberto Colombo, co-Chairman of the working group⁷, Alexander King and Ricardo Galli. Their essential conclusion – "to reduce the waste in order to prolong the natural resources availability and to limit the disturbing effect of consumption" – demonstrates too the need for changes within the institutional politics, so that research and development to be effectively cultivated and applied – the science and techniques being inestimable elements for solving the serious problems raised by the limited character of resources. "For natural resources the experts are not predicting any critical limit", states the conclusion of the report.

In other words, the trend is for the future towards an economy based as far as possible on energetic resources practically inexhaustible, on the use of largely available or re-usable raw materials, on the recycling process of the rare materials, on a clever management of resources of food and quality of environment, as well as on technologies



with reduced consumption of energy and raw materials.

The authors state that in order to fulfil these objectives, the institutions should be deeply improved at national and international levels, the education, life style, working conditions should be modified and, on a longer term the social scale of values should be transformed.

Other studies and papers will continue to be published. Political and economic literature mentions also works by world famous specialists, studies elaborated by large interdisciplinary collectives under UN, UNCTAD, UNO, UNESCO, FAO aegis, presentations and interventions during the International Economic Association Congresses⁸, other studies and works prepared by Dag Hammerschold and Bariloche Foundations, International Foundation for Development Alternatives, World Federation for Studies about the Future, Institute of Social-Economic Sciences of the Third World, etc. all of them relevant for our study. For example, *The next 200 years. A scenario for America and for the Whole World*, elaborated by Herman Kahn, William Brown and Leon Martel, assisted by Hudson Institute from the United States, has been edited in 1977 and it is different in many parts from the previous works. The authors' conviction is that by the use of human intelligence and a better administration the economic growth could be continued for a considerable period of time. The raw materials for the next generations are abundant, in authors' opinion, and with increased economic and technical development the abundance will become even bigger.

As it concerns the energy, the authors appreciate the energetic prospects on a longer time could be very good even the oil embargo of that time was demonstrating how vulnerable is the world on a shorter time. In the same way, in the field of food resources, except the regional fluctuations generated by natural disasters, inadequate politics or improper use of resources, the prospects on a longer period have shown the existence of sufficient reserves.

The future of the world economy is another study, edited under the UN aegis, supervised by the economist Vassili Leontief, Nobel Prize Laureate, imposing by its scientific aspect and by the theoretical and operational value of the stipulated conclusions, recommendations and solutions. The study demonstrates that the limits the humanity

confronts with "are more of political, social and institutional nature than of physical one", proving the lack of arguments of the fatalist concept about the future of the humankind to which we have already referred. At the same time, *The industry at the horizon 2000 – new prospects* is an interesting study conceived in a direct link with the objectives of the new economic international order seen from the viewpoint of specific tasks in the field of industrialization. The study has been elaborated in 1979 under UN aegis and examined by UN Organization for Industrial Development during its third General Conference in New Delhi, India, in January-February, 1980.

The above mentioned study is inspired by the basic principle that "the world economy restructure must imply the world industry restructure and to coincide with it"⁹. The problems of resources are presented in the study directly connected with the needs for a more rapid industrialization process in developing countries. The relevance of the initial premise of the study is synthesized, we think, in a conclusive manner in the following paragraph: "The increasingly rapid exhaustion of the un-regenerative energetic resources should have a determining influence on the structure of the industry and on the populations' life style. The cost of the forms of energy both classical and non-classical will remain high, engaging a change in proportion of the different factors of industrial production. A new generation of less consuming energy techniques should be created in order to deliver a new ground for the world cooperation and independence".

Equally relevant for the proposed study is a paper entitled *North – South. A program for survival*. In fact, it is a report by the Independent Committee on problems of the international development published in 1980. As a result of two years investigation, this report is also a comprehensive political analysis of the most important problems of the developing countries, accompanied by indications and a program of priorities meant to solve, by dialogue and co-operation, the fundamental that time problems of North – South contradictions. As it is mentioned in the specialty literature, the report devotes as particular and distinct from the previous studies a special chapter about disarmament and development issues. It pleads for adoption of concrete measures for disarmament on the ground of the new concept of security revealing that



“within the global context, the real security can't be achieved by an enormous accumulation of armaments (defence, in a narrow meaning), but only by creating the basic circumstances for peaceful relations among the nations as a solution for both military and non-military problems”. Two chapters are dedicated to the problems of resources: one, referring to the trade of products and the other one to the energy, including the establishment under the UN aegis of a Center for Global Research on Energy.

2. The characteristics of the natural resources consumption

According to the International Agency for Energy, only in 2001 nine states the world have consumed 57% of the yearly oil production and five of them are members of G8¹⁰, the group of the most industrialized countries in the world.

Also, in 2003 the oil consumption was estimated to 125 millions barrels per day, what means - for a yearly raise of the needs for oil with about 2% - an increase of the current production with approximate 80% till 2015 in order to assure consumption. Or, according to the same sources, the oil fields are in decline yearly with 5%.

Moreover, a recent study of the World Bank states that ten countries among the 208 countries of the world are controlling today 75% of the world economy. Among them the United States is the most powerful economy in the world and the largest oil importer, followed by Japan and China - having also an impressive economic development and providing 60% of their needs of oil from the Middle East. This partly explains their attention paid to the events in the region and their military assistance to certain states such as Iran and Syria.

The developed countries in Europe and North America will produce less oil and gas from their own sources and, consequently will be more dependent on import from OPEC member oil and gas producer - states, especially from the Middle East, Russia and Caspian Sea neighbouring countries.

However, the Persian Gulf remains the major oil provider for the global economy, two thirds of the industrialized economies needs being imported from here and the rest from OPEC exporters.

The OPEC member countries are also the main energy suppliers for EU with 50% of the needs. Due to the increase of the energetic consumption,

there will increase the Union's dependence on delivering countries, estimated up to 2020 as 70% for gas and 90% for oil. But in the circumstances of the more obvious difficulties in providing these resources, there emerges the need not only for diversifying energetic resources but also for finding alternatives such as the natural force of the wind, sea waves, rivers, solar heat or lava. In Denmark, for example, 20% of the electricity is produced by the use of the wind. Germany, Holland and Spain have passed to Aeolian energy and India also requires a good place in the top of those countries of the world having capability to use such kind of energy. The US themselves are using more than 13 thousands Aeolian electricity turbo-generators. Also, about 16% of the total electric energy is provided by 430 nuclear reactors. The report of the International Energy Agency for 2003 mentions also some other nuclear power plants, among them 17 being developing countries from Asia.

Of course, the long expected victory in Iraq and the prospect of the influence on the world oil market will have a beneficial impact on the largest world economy. The American economy would have an assured future. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) already estimated an increase of 2,7% in 2003. In the circumstances of a slower development of the European economies and when Japanese economy rather stagnates, the United States is the main engine which could enhance the global growth¹¹.

But there are signs¹² that even since the beginning of the intervention in Iraq the rate of growth of the American economy will not exceed 2,2% and during the entire year 2003 will reach only two thirds of the period 1992-2000, which is not at all an optimistic prediction. Even the military operations have been declared closed on 1st of May, 2003 the development in USA and in the entire world- as stated that time David Weiss, main economist in Credit & Standard Poor's - “will continue to be pale in the best case and the consumers and businessmen will be forced to face the same fragile economy”. The truth is the war continues. Without the typical patterns for classical armed confrontations, but with all their negative consequences, insecurity and instability. According to the recent estimations of the International Monetary Fond the world economic growth will slow down this year at 4, 25%. For the moment, the development rate of the most industrialized countries of the world will



be moderate this year because the higher price of the oil, which already is about 70 \$ for barrel, both because of the higher need of the US, one of the biggest consumers of oil at the global level¹³ and the Iranian file including the results of elections in this country having in the newly elected in supreme position of the state Mahmud Ahmadinejad, an anti-American President. Any disturbing event in the international energetic environment (the increase of the price of oil, for example) affects the national security of each state and not only its energetic dimension.

This explains why an important part of the foreign policies as well as of the policies of power is concerned with the access to the pipelines, terminals and future itineraries, partnerships, etc., and the geopolitics today is more and more dominated by the "strategy of resources", especially of the energetic ones¹⁴. The geopolitics, as Paul Claval mentions in one of his works¹⁵, determines the subjects to take into consideration "the entire range of actors' preoccupations on the international stage" and is permanently "interested in calculations by one or another, in their objectives of co-operation and détente of relations, but also in the use of force or sly games."

NOTES:

¹ Zbigniew BRZEZINSKI, *Marea tablă de șah – Supremația americană și imperatiile sale geostrategice*, Ed. Univers Enciclopedic, București, 1999, p. 11.

² In the forth report to the Club of Rome authors' opinion, and not only, the debate regarding the energy is often complicated by its ambiguity resulting from the wrong use of terms such as "production" or "consumption" of energy or from wrong comparison of the different forms of energy.

³ See: Nicolae DOLGHIN, *Geopolitica. Dependențele de resursele energetice*, în *Studii de securitate și apărare*, vol.1, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare, București, 2005, pp. 118-151; C.G.BALABAN, *Consumul de resurse naturale al societății, creșterea economică și dezvoltarea durabilă*, în *Tratat: Valorificarea resurselor naturale*, vol. II: *Creșterea eficienței valorificării resurselor naturale*, Editura International University Press, București, 2005, pp. 58-68.

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⁴ According to the international press agencies, Iran requested OPEC to reduce production of oil with one million barrels a day and a raise as much as possible in the brutto price of the barrel in order to determine the international community to understand that it has a "tool for economic response" in case of UN economic sanctions.

⁵ Donella H. Meadows, Jorgens Randers and William W. Behreius.

⁶ *Beyond the Age of Waste*, Pergamon Press, New York, 1978, It has been translated into Romanian by Political Publishing House, 1983.

⁷ In order to cover the vast aria of knowledge and needed competence for such a study, the Working Group included specialists in some domains not presented by the members of the Club of Rome, each member of the group contributing with notes and comments to the elaboration of the initial form of the work.

⁸ For example: *The economic growth and its resources*, Tokyo, 1977; *Human resources, the use of labour and development*, Mexico City, 1980; *The structural changes, interdependence and development*, Madrid, 1983.

⁹ The main framework defined as such became a basis for the Charter of the world industrial co-operation.

¹⁰ During 6 – 8 July 2005, the leaders of the most industrialized countries of the world – Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Great Britain, United States of America and Russia – met in Gleneagles, Scotland and have also approached the eradication of poverty and the climate problems.

¹¹ C.G. BALABAN, *Securitatea și dreptul internațional – provocări la început de secol XXI*, Editura All Beck, București, 2006.

¹² *The Business Roundtable*, a group of 150 executive directors of important American corporations; the Chairman of the American Federal Reserves, Allan Greenspan, considers the war in Irak will endanger the recover of American economy and the IMF reduces the estimations of the growth of the American economy from 2,4% to 2,2% , a rate inferior to the one needed for improving the situation with the unemployment and creation of new places of work.

¹³ US even intended to bring OPEC to trial while it follows only to get profits as a profitable company

¹⁴ See Dr. Nicolae DOLGHIN, *op.cit.*, p.120.

¹⁵ Paul CLAVAL, *Geopolitică și geostrategie. Gândirea politică, spațiul și teritoriul în secolul al XX-lea*, Editura Corint, București, 2001, p. 10, apud dr. Nicolae DOLGHIN.



thus an impressive potential development for.

The status of the Caspian Sea and the division of the seashore among the five littoral countries is a major issue, especially from the perspective of the obstacles imposed for oil exploitation. In 2003, Russia, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan signed an agreement for the division, but the other two littoral countries, Iran and Turkmenistan, didn't support the agreement. The signatory countries are likely to start drilling for the oil, while Iran and Turkmenistan should keep on waiting.

So far, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan have experienced the largest increase in oil production – over 70% since 1992. Moreover, economic analysts estimate that the region oil extraction capacity has not reached its maximum, the total production being at present 1.6 million barrels (250,000 cubic meters) a day – approximately the same amount as Brazil. This quantity is expected to increase three times till 2010.

b) The new “great strategic game”

In the 19th century, the Euro-Asian arch, expanding from the Balkans to Afghanistan was the grounds for competition of the British and Russian conflicting interests. In the next century the actors of the great game changed – after 1917 Russia was replaced by the Soviet Union, and, after World War II, Great Britain was replaced by the United States. The end of the cold war and the dissolution of the Soviet Union led to the emergence of new states in Caucasus and Central Asia.

The great 21st century game is a continuation of the ‘zero-sum game’^a rivalries, at a more complex level and with more actors involved. The confrontation over the area of influence in the Caucasus goes between Iran and Turkey, Iran and The United States, Russia and Turkey, and between Iran and Russia on one hand and the United States and Turkey, on the other.

In this new strategic game, the interdependence of the players and of the regional actors as well, complicated the situation. Moreover, the United States and Russia remain the main actors in the game of energy resources in the area. To a lower extent, multinational oil or non-oil companies also represent a set of distinct actors in the great game. The strategies pursued are still different – while the states are interested in expanding their influence and strategic position, the multinational companies are mainly led by economic drives.

Generally speaking, the American policy concerning Russia focuses on US attempts to attract and integrate this state into the economic and security structures (as G-8, WTO^b). If we speak about Central Asia and the Caucasus area, Washington policy concerning Russia is somehow different, seeking to limit Moscow influence by different means.

Turkey is becoming a more important actor in the area, and above all, an ally of the Americans in the new geopolitics of energy. But the historical legacy and the infrastructure of the region favour Russia. For instance, the communication and transport infrastructure are still orientated towards the former Soviet Republics, and Russia maintains control over the oil and gas transport pipelines network.

Even though the projected transport routes that cross Southern Caucasus and Iran (especially the Baku, Tbilisi, Ceyhan pipeline that will be completed this year) will decrease the Russian monopoly, Russia is striving to maintain its area of influence in the Caspian region. Its policy of “close neighbourhood” for Caucasus and Central Asia confirms it. On the other hand, the United States want to limit the Iranian influence and to diminish, as much as possible, the Russian presence. At the same time, the Teheran authorities follow a pragmatic policy towards its northern neighbours, by focusing on economic cooperation and decreasing the ideological differences, in order to intensify its links with the area and to ensure some sort of connectivity to the pipeline network.

2. Profile and interests of the main actors in the area

The international actors from the Caspian area can be grouped in three categories: global actors, regional actors and international security and co-operation organizations such as NATO, EU, ASCE, CIS, GUAM and BSEC.

The global actors are the beneficiaries of economic and military capabilities, which allow them to pursue their own interests independently from other actors. They are the United States, Russia, and, to a certain extent, the European Union, whose interests in the area have significantly increased.

The second group of actors is made up of regional powers – Turkey, Ukraine, Romania, etc. Due to economic, political and other types of con-



straints, these states cannot act completely independent, playing rather the role of geo-strategic allies.

This group includes the states for which regional interests is one of the most important aspects of their national policy. It is worth mentioning that, usually, their national and regional interests are not contradictory, but complementary. Frequently, the regional actors are strongly interested in maintaining regional security and stability, in promoting long lasting development and ensuring the running of the energy resources transport pipelines – irrespective of the great actors various interests. For these states, one can identify clear opportunities to coordinate their national interests into generally beneficial actions. For example, new forms of cooperation or alternative stability and security structures can be initiated. Although this process is extremely difficult, it could prove to be successful.

Under the current circumstances and characteristics of the international order, these states are more likely to choose to coordinate their strategies and priorities with those of the main global actors.

The interests and actions of the third group, the international organizations for security and cooperation, influence directly the regional processes and the distribution of power in the area. The security and cooperation organizations are interested in the Caspian area mainly due to its huge economic and energy potential, but also due to its geo-strategic location, especially from the perspective of regional security and stability.

NATO is the most important member of this group. The events of September 11, 2001 created the premises for an international cooperation system of the great powers in facing terrorism as a global threat. This new configuration of the international order also led to changes at the level of strategic relationships and foreign policy options for the states in the Caspian Sea area. Most of the former Soviet states chose to accede to NATO. By this, the officials of these states are engaging in efforts to promote internal reforms necessary for a real democratic change, as well as to embrace the sum of the democratic values and the architecture of the Euro-Atlantic security. On the other hand, NATO is interested in expanding the security and stability umbrella eastward as far as possible, including by facilitating the resolution of the

regional conflicts. The strategy NATO involved in the region includes a wide range of partnership actions developed with states outside its traditional area of responsibility, as the countries from Southern Caucasus and Central Asia.

The main actors from the first category of regional players are, obviously, the United States and Russia. Their influence in the region is determined by a range of cultural, economic and social factors. In spite of the fact that the United States' economic power is far superior to the Russian one⁶, the Russian influence in the area is stronger than the American one. This is a fact, especially in the light of the events that took place in the region during the last year, when Russia appeared as having a central role to the detriment of the American relationships with the states in the area. The cooperation relationships of the states in Central Asia, especially of Uzbekistan, with Washington administration decreased, in spite of the wave of the political and social movements called 'orange revolutions' which determined changes of the regimes not only in Georgia and Ukraine, but in Kyrgyzstan as well. In spite of all these, having in view that the quasi-revolutionary movements that took place in the Community of Independent States and in Caucasus opened the way to a pretty long process of democratization, it seems that on a long term, the main winner in the strategic fight for the Caspian area will be the democratic system of values, and implicitly, the Euro-Atlantic community of interests and security, and not Russia.

Therefore, a main characteristic of the actors in the first category is that their interests are sometimes contradictory and competitive. Only the American interests of the North Atlantic Alliance and of the European Union are somehow complementary, in well determined areas.

a) The interests and the strategic approach of the United States

The events that took place on September 11th 2001, and especially their effects on some states from the wider Caspian Sea area, as Afghanistan and on Iraq, changed completely the situation and the geopolitical relationships in the area.

The most important result was the acknowledgement of the US as a dominating actor, that proclaimed the region in its area of strategic interests and who is now trying to modify the traditional balance of power in the Caspian Sea basin. The



United States national security strategy, presented by Bush administration in September 2002, proclaims the Caspian Sea area as being one of strategic interest, not only due to the natural resources reserves, but also to its value as a bridgehead for access to possible markets in Pakistan, India and South-Eastern Asia.

The complexity of the problems related to the regional economic development might be a factor which has direct influence on US-Russia relationship. The situation determines a number of states to be involved in a much more intense dialog with the United States and other Western states. A number of agreements for the transport of oil and/or of natural gas, signed in Istanbul, have as effect undermining the Russian influence in the area and amplifying the US role (as well as the Turkish role). The Baku, Tbilisi, Ceyhan oil pipeline played an important role in smartening the process of Turkey getting closer to the European Community, but the most important consequence will be the diminishing of the economic and political dependence of the states in the region by the Moscow politics, through eliminating any control of the Russian Federation over the transport process of the energy resources in the Caspian Sea.

Nowadays, Russia has almost a full monopoly over the transit routes in the Caspian Sea towards the Western Europe. A number of quite recent agreements concluded with key energy producers in the region will guarantee the preservation of this monopoly for the next 15 or 20 years. From another point of view, another effect of the American campaign in Iraq was also that, by ensuring the access of the American companies to the Iraqi oil, the officials in Washington lost their interest in the Caspian Sea oil. Moreover, this possibility of accessing the oil is much more expensive and more vulnerable as compared to the transportation of the Iraqi oil, because of regional conflicts. On the other hand, the possibility of transporting Iraqi oil is not too secure either, a rather high degree of vulnerability being generated by the insurgents' access to the pipelines and by the possibility of conducting terrorist attacks.

From the economic point of view, of all the alternatives for transporting the Caspian oil, the Odessa-Brody-Gdansk pipeline^d is probably the most feasible and the most profitable one. From this perspective, it is most probable that the next NATO enlargement process will target states from

South-Eastern Europe, such as Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan. The US position in the region obviously has more advantages compared to Russia, mainly due to its economic influence on the political situation in the Southern Caucasus. The economic interests also explain the US involvement and Washington's active role in the negotiations of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Washington connected almost all economic projects in the area and in Armenia to the resolution of this conflict.

One of the most important aspects of the Euro-Asian region was, for a long period of time, the advancement of the American military role, from the military presence in Afghanistan and in the Persian Gulf, to the US military bases in Uzbekistan and Georgia. The American military involvement has already become a condition for maintaining regional security, stability and nonproliferation, and it co-exists with the interests of other states in the area, which do not have their own great powers ambition in the region.

It is obvious that one of the American long term objectives in the region is to keep Russia away from the area, by diminishing its regional, economic, political and military influence. An important part of the American strategy in the region is continuing the policy of integrating the post communist states in the Euro-Atlantic structures. After the accession of the seven states to NATO, the Alliance refocused its efforts towards Caucasus and Central Asia. So, if in the past Russia and other actors in the area were the main regional, geopolitical players, nowadays the US and its allies within NATO appear more and more significant factors in the regional geopolitical game. This changed dramatically the balance of power and interests in the area.

b) The Russian Federation and the efforts to maintain its area of influence

Today, Russia is trying to consolidate its influence on world policy, by becoming more and more active in the international affairs. From the Peter the Great's age, Russia considered its access to the 'warm seas' and especially to the Caspian Sea a central factor in its national security equation. This importance led Russia to get involved in numerous conflicts and wars and to intervene in the internal affairs of the states in the area. Nowadays the situation is rather different, mainly due to the fact that the new states which emerged after the dissolution



of the Soviet Union are trying to consolidate their independence and sovereignty by keeping away from the Russian control.

The newly developed role of the US in the region – especially the American active politics concerning Georgia and, until some time ago, Uzbekistan, – contributes, as we have previously mentioned, to the decrease of Russian influence. As Russia's attempt to create the collective security system within CIS, based on the Taskent Treaty (Collective Security Treaty) proved to be inefficient, Moscow is trying to impose itself militarily and economically by creating some intensified connections and by building the Common Economic Space, instruments meant to facilitate influence over the states in the Caspian area.

At the same time, Moscow took active measures for extending its control over the energy resources in Central Africa and for exerting new and intensified ways of influence over the Ukrainian economy and politics, in view of determining its increased cooperation with Russia. Extremely bothered by the loss of political influence in Eastern Europe and Baltic states, confronted with the American military presence in Caucasus and with the political and economic expansion of the US influence in Central Asia, Russia is desperately trying to prevent Ukraine from diminishing its dependence upon its Eastern neighbour.

Moreover, Russia is trying to move westward only to politically counterbalance the American influence in the area; the Moscow officials understand well enough the American interests and the tools used by Washington to ensure their achievement in the region, but they cannot act efficiently to counteract them, because they don't have the necessary tools – including the political ones. In this context, Russia makes consistent efforts to institute a new partnership – alliance in the area, made up of a number of key post soviet states – Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan – unified under the framework of economic cooperation (Common European Space, or CES^e) under Russian domination. But this association is viewed in Moscow as involving currency and customs union, which would in fact mean the end of the sovereignty of these states^f.

In spite of all these, politicians in Moscow are aware that, as far as the economic support is concerned, Russia can not ensure regional welfare by itself. To solve the regional problems, it is neces-

sary to provide the economic, political and social environment for the stable and dynamic development of the states in the region, not only through political and military involvement, but also through diplomatic actions.

The main Russian priorities in the Caspian region are to maintain its political, economic and military influence; to subordinate the foreign policy of the countries in the Russian area of interest and to impede third parties (mainly, USA, Turkey and other Western countries) from gaining power and influence in this area.

Mainly, Russia is not interested in creating new sub-regional cooperation structures, either powerful or weak, especially if they start running beyond the Russian control. At the same time, a vital interest for Russia is to prevent ongoing conflicts from escalating. This might create big problems for the national security of Russia, including from the point of view of their connection with the Russian organized crime.

c) The importance of energy resources for the European Union

Due to the resources in the North Sea, the dependence of European markets on the Persian Gulf resources and on Russia has significantly decreased since 1980, up to the end of the '90s. Nevertheless, from the point of view of a sustained development, the present discrepancy between the volume of oil consumed and resources available is a serious challenge for Europe on medium and long term, which has to be solved in a realistic manner. This is even more necessary as the elimination of the dependency upon only one supplier is desired.

The recent crisis of gas supply to Western Europe provided by Gazprom has determined a series of analysts to intensify their warnings to the dangers involved by the dependency upon only one supplier that uses its economic advantage as a politic instrument. "It is a wake-up call for Europe, which has to become aware of the fact that Russia uses its natural gas to knee Ukraine^g and Georgia. Russia is the driver". This is what George Soros has recently stated at the World Economic Forum in Davos. Having the same idea in mind, we can notice that the balance of power can easily lean towards Russia, with a Europe in full-speed of economic development, with its power resources consumption depending more and more upon the Moscow decisions.



Europe depends upon Russia for more than 25% of its gas import, and the Russian Federation is planning to increase its export to Europe with one third every year until 2020, but its total share from the European imports will remain constant, as the European consumption increases at the same time. The Russian oil export has also increased, reaching a top level for the post-soviet period in December 2005. Providing 10% of world oil, Russia is the second worldwide oil exporter, after Saudi Arabia, and its main beneficiary is Europe, for which it covers more than one third of raw oil requirements.

More than this, the estimates of analysts on the power consumption of the world market must take into account the increasing demand from the South-East Asian states. This region, with its developing economy, will most probably become the next big consumer and importer of energy resources from the Persian Gulf. This is why, for the next 10 years, the strategic importance of Caspian region for European Union will significantly increase.

If two years ago we could imagine that Europe could survive without Caspian Sea resources, after the 10 (soon 12) new states accession to EU, the total energy consumption and, consequently, the dependency upon the two major providers (Persian Gulf and Russia) seriously increased - especially if we consider that the newly acceded states are characterized by a high degree of dependence upon Russian power resources.

These developments, along with the risks for the European security triggered by the frozen conflicts in Caucasus and Caspian sea region, have drawn the attention of European Commission ever since the mid '90s. Some of the most important measures considered by Commission for the region were:

- To provide support in order to maintain the independence and territorial integrity of new states in the area;
- To strengthen the democratic institutions and human rights as the basis for a coherent framework of stability and security;
- To discourage the conflicts by using politic and economic reforms, which highlights EU as donor and impartial partner for investments and trade;
- To support change and economic development in accordance to the principles of sustainability and environmental responsibilities;

- To actively involve the economies of all states in the decisions regarding investments, power resources and mining policies, as well as in the routes of the future transport pipelines;

- To develop a more relevant strategic role for EU, especially by maintaining an intense political dialogue with countries in this region.

In 1998, the European Council has stated, within a common declaration, **the commitment to get involved in the Caspian region**. In this document, aside from the main focus on energy, the paragraph on transport pipelines is particularly remarkable, proving the Council's decision to keep the distance from geo-politic evaluations and leaving the major decisions to the corporate groups.

The European Energy Charter is one of the most important instruments of European policy for Caspian region. It was signed by EU member states and other 51 countries in December 1991, and the basic idea of this document was to create the circumstances for an incipient, but stable economic development in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union.

The final plenary meeting of the Conference for The European Energy Charter, in Lisbon, December 1994, has conducted to the Agreement for the European Energy Charter. The signing countries were, besides the EU members, all countries from Eastern Europe, countries of CIS, Japan and Australia. The US and Canada were granted the observer status. The agreement was enforced in 1998, when it was ratified by 13 countries. The most important objectives of the Charter were:

- To guarantee **the equal treatment of all domestic and foreign investors** in all countries that signed the Charter, as well as to correctly allot funds, without any abusive interventions;
- **To apply the rules of WTO** (World Trade Organization) for customs and customs duties, including for states that are not WTO members;
- **To ensure the security of oil transportation**, with an additional focus on the cases in which it would have been possible to cut or to hamper the shipment for political reasons;
- **To establish an International Court for disputes settlement**. The fact that Russia did not ratify the agreement cannot reduce its importance as an instrument to counteract the risk of making a political issue out of the oil and of the resources transport along the Caspian area.



The European Energy Charter reflects the impact of the modernization on the development of energy industries, the emergence of more and more integrated regional and global power markets, and the influence of free markets. This is a background for a pre-constitutional collaboration that may lead for the future towards a global power market. In terms of economic strategies, it is thought that this pattern is the most modern way to establish agreements of this type, highlighting principles like transparency, opening, and non-discrimination and establishing some competitive power markets. A major role played by the European Power Agreement has been the result of applying the stipulations of the agreement in order to discourage the possible excesses on the domestic market of member states. This is how it was used, in certain cases, by the liberal politicians (in the sense of economic liberalism) from Russia and other former communist states.

In spite of all these developments, Iran's involvement in the process, as one of the most important regional oil producer, would have significantly contributed to the relevance and value of the Charter. Up until now, this state has been excluded from negotiations and, from the perspective of the latest evolutions in Iran's nuclear program, it is unlikely to include it in the Charter.

Generally speaking, the policy of the European Union concerning the states in the Caucasus and Caspian region was somehow contradictory. Thus, while the European states, individually or on a common basis, represented important donors for the Caucasus area^h, the European policy in the region was often characterized as an 'expensive failure' or as a 'gorgeous isolation' policy. Other European organizations, such as OSCE, the Council of Europe, and increasingly stronger NATO (especially by the Partnership for Peace program and by the Individual Partnership Action Plans with the countries) got seriously involved in the area.

The main objective of European Union policies developed during the '90s was **to develop closer relations with all former Soviet states**. In this respect, the EU created a privileged cooperation format, the so-called **Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCA)**, a sum of composite and mixed agreements that would shape a stable collaboration and cooperation framework, even though the real prospects for EU integration of those states were lacking. The cooperation within a Partnership and

Cooperation Agreement might include trade, financial transactions and investments.

Moreover, The European Union cooperates with the states in the area within the TACIS (Technical Assistance to CIS countries) program. In this context, the INOGATE (Inter-State Oil and Gas to Europe) program, as part of the TACIS, is extremely important for the energy policy in the area. This regional project aims at reconstructing and modernizing the oil and gas transnational pipelines, mainly in the CIS states and in the Caspian area in particular, the overall cost of the project rising to about 50 million euro.

In spite of Europe's ambition to become a global actor, as stated in its own Security Strategy, the European Union decided upon a less intense involvement of the Caucasian states. While part of the European states insisted upon a more clear role of the European Union in the Caspian area (the particular request of the European Parliament for of a strategy for the Caucasus), the uncertainty of the European decision makers and the lack of a long term strategic vision were evident in 2003, when it was decided not to include the states from the area into the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), although other regions, such as Northern Africa and the Mediterranean were included.

Despite all these hesitations, the Caucasus states were included in the European Union Neighbourhood Policy in June 2004, a development which was considered to be extremely positive. Furthermore, it is desirable to develop a dialog with the European Union, in order to improve the institutional and administrative capacities of the countries in the region. One definitely must keep in mind that the degree of harmonization depends on the political will of the states involved, and some fields may remain outside this cooperation, especially since the Neighbourhood Policy stipulates nothing about the possible accession to the EU of the participant states.

Conclusions

The Caspian Sea area will remain, on the medium and long term, one of the main arenas for the geo-strategic confrontation of the economic interests and political influence of the great international actors: US, Russia European Union, NATO, CIS, Turkey, etc. Though the political role and profile of the United States relies mainly upon



its military presence and active role the US has assumed in NATO in order to increase the cooperation with the states of Caucasus and Central Asia, Russia continues to benefit from its monopoly on certain economic factories (oil and gas export), from its geographical proximity and its historical heritage that also provide it with a central role on the Caspian scene.

The post September 11 developments made the Washington officials rethink the cooperation strategy for the states in this area, in order to build a bridgehead that might provide easy access to the theatres of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. The good relationships developed throughout the years with states such as Georgia and Uzbekistan have proved to be extremely useful within this context. Moreover, the support of the Coloured Revolutions in the region has also led to pro-western attitudes which proved to be extremely beneficial to the future economic, political and military cooperation with the states in the area. Nevertheless, Russia's recent actions with respect to its gas exports to Europe and its decision to use its gas export as penalty instrument and/or a means of influence for the states in the area, especially Ukraine and Georgia, demonstrate the existence of Moscow carefully elaborated strategies, and Russia's intention to make use of every "American power void" in the region. As a result, the two great actors are involved in a strategic zero-sum game, in which the actions of one are considered to be inherently targeted against the interests and the strategic relevance of the other

The European Union, present in the region especially through its Neighbourhood Policy and through the energy cooperation program (The European Energy Contract), aims at identifying a specific role in the region, based mainly on the economic dimension. Despite all these, a series of decisions, or better said, of political indecisions that characterize EU strategy in the Caspian region made a number of political commentators illustrate the EU involvement a 'expensive failure'.

Regardless of the apparent lack of coherence concerning the cooperation policy with the states in the region, the EU's main objective of expanding the current energy exchange in order to reduce the dependence upon the Persian Gulf and Russia, will make the Brussels officials get more and more involved in the region and intensify the political cooperation programs.

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NOTES:

¹ Concept developed within game theory, describing a context in which the gain or loss of a participant is perfectly balanced by the gain or loss of the other participant. Its name is given by the fact that the total sum of gains and losses of all participants in the game is zero.

² Although Russia has been a candidate to the World Trade Organization since 1993 – GAT (General Agreement on Tariffs) at the time - it has not been accepted in yet.

³ It is worth mentioning that Russia's Gross Product is lower than New York gross income

⁴ The pipeline is currently crossing Ukraine, from Odessa to the Polish border, in Brody. Due to its geopolitical importance, the pipeline was the basis for intense international disputes, mainly because the initial project envisages that the final point should be Gdansk town



in Poland. The Russian government pressures exerted over Ukraine determined the former president Kucima to change the course of the pipeline, turning it into a route for the transportation of Russian oil to the Black Sea, and from this point to the Mediterranean areas.

In 2005, as a result of the Orange Revolution and the accession of Victor Iuscenko to power in 2004, the new government proved to be interested in using the pipeline as originally designed, in transporting the oil from the Caspian Sea to the western European markets.

⁵ On August 27, 2005, in Russia, the presidents of the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan have taken the decision of creating the Common European Space for the three countries. Within the same CIS summit, the president Putin has stated that Ukraine proved to be interested in participating as the fourth country in this cooperative pattern. Although, keeping in mind the latest development within bilateral relations Ukraine-Rus-

sia and the policy of Ukraine to keep at a distance from Russia, such a development is less probable.

⁶ The decision to establish CES does not imply the simultaneous implementation of common market principles. The mechanism to be applied depends on further decisions of member states officials, that makes of the last year approach rather a political act dominated by Russian insistences.

⁷ Although the two states have reached to an agreement on solving the power crisis that has marked the beginning of this year, the compromise made by Kiev politicians has engaged Ukraine in a parliament crisis that compromised the governmental stability, already weakened by the domestic confrontations between president Iuscenko and Ukrainian law system.

⁸ Since 1990 over 1 billion euros have been given to the region.

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THE ECONOMIC WAR IN THE MARKET ECONOMY

Irina CUCU

Globalization has as effect the development of more than simple commercial relations, although lately almost everything is now for sale. While in the past, states were the main actors of the economic expansion, they are now replaced by enterprises and multinational corporations, aiming to dominate the world by every means. After the collapse of the communist block, the transition period from a centralized planned economy to a market economy turned out to be an extension of the economic war.

The economic development always had an influence on defence capabilities, military power, and – as a consequence – on war. Nevertheless, over time, war – due to its requirements -, had an influence on the economic development. The correlation between economy and war has become more obvious in conjunction with the development of the production forces, the modernization of weapon systems and the evolution of war typologies (in the way the war is fought).

As Silviu Brucan stated in his work **The World after the Cold War**, “the threat of the nuclear war has fade away and the balance is now in favour of the economic and technological factors, now dominant in the game for power on the international arena. The global market has now become the main ‘battlefield’. I might say we are in the situation where the success in combat for power in the world is not measured by the size of land conquered or the number of bombs and missiles, yet by the place and share on the global market”. Now the fight has moved from the battlefield, and the efforts of research and development – initially made to design new types of weapons and “accessories” for war – are now spent for developing and reaching access to new energy sources and new markets.

Overtime, the social production embraced the form of natural economy, where goods created served to the producer’s consumption. Step by step, the social production has restraint its area

of responsibility to exchange economy, in which goods are produced primarily for the market. Thus, every human society had to organize its economic activity, in order to find answers to the following questions: What, how, and for who is producing? What goods and in what quantities they must be produced? How to use different sort of resources to produce these goods? Who are these goods produced for? To these questions, the society had found different answers.

According to Macmillan Dictionary for Modern Economy, *the market economy* is defined as a system in which decisions are made based on the prices resulted as a consequence of voluntary exchanges between producers, consumers, workers and owners. In the market economy, the decision is de-centralized, decisions are not made bottom-up, by planners, but independently, by economic groups or individual actors. The market economy is also known as *capitalist economy* or *free market*. There is also a *mixed market economy*, in which private competitive production and a specific level of centralized control are combined, the latter playing an important role in determining the aggregate production level through fiscal and monetary policies and in exerting control over several economic sectors, of national significance. Hereby, this type of mixture among private and public economy is functioning very well within the most capitalist, developed states.

A comparative analysis of real market economies led to identifying three main models of “successful” economy: the *social* market economy (Germany, northern countries), the *consumption based* market economy (USA), and *administratively/organizationally-led* market economy (Japan).

In his work **Capitalism vs. capitalism**, M. Albert identifies two distinct models of current market economies: *the neo-American* model (USA, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand), and *the Renan* model (Germany, Switzerland, The Netherlands, Sweden, Austria, Japan).



In the *neo-American* model, the public sector has a small and decreasing significance, the state has a minor involvement in the economy while the market has a determinant role in the transfer of goods from producer to consumer; the economic policy is based on the offer stimulation, a great emphasis is on individual success and on maximizing the short-term profit, taxes are low, the firm is considered a commercial good, the stock market has the decisive role as the barometer of the economic activity, the social mobility is high, middle-class is relatively small (50-60% of the total population), the education system is elitist, social protection (assistance) is low.

The Renan model is characterized by the intervention of national state as the defender of the social protection and free negotiation among social partners, social equality and equity are correlated with economics efficiency, the non-commercial economic goods quantity and value are significant, the economic policy promote savings and income redistribution through a higher taxation, a sound banking system ensuring the long-term financing for firms, partnerships among shareholders, trade unions and top management to manage the firm; the firm, the employees and the state are equally responsible for professional development; there is a strong union movement; the middle class is large (75-85% of the total population), a high degree of social protection.

An important weapon of the economic war used mostly in the market economy nowadays is the psychological tool which regards the elements of national psychology: change in attitudes, aspirations, ideas, theories, behaviours, traditions, etc. There are used very difficult to track down methods of manipulation, founded on basic instincts exploitation (to feed, to defend, to procreate), and on human primitive behaviours.

One way of action is to inoculate and develop *consumer behaviour*, against that of *savings*, through manipulating advertisements, stimulating greedy instincts, exploiting the self-importance, the shallowness, the innocence, and other negative individual features. To ensure a normal life, every individual has to satisfy a large number of needs. The economic invader intends to develop inside the human/individual-target and nation-target, artificial needs and requirements, to squeeze the last penny from his pocket or from the bank, to make him a lame duck, dependent on loans which he,

the manipulator, can offer. Thus, if the individual and/or nation-target cannot resist the crafted temptations, he will end-up as an economic slave. This phenomenon can be observed also in Romania. Currently, there are consumed more and more luxury imported items, and the banks are challenged to offer very tempting credits.

Another way of action is to distract the attention and to diminish the awareness of the citizens from the economic sector, where goods and values are produced, to non-productive or negative alternatives.

We can currently notice, in Romania, a substantial increase in number of supermarkets, where no production is involved but many items are sold instead.

Simultaneously, in the conscious (and subliminal) mind of nation-target, there are inoculated false human and technical values, aiming to replace the real, traditional (national) values. It becomes a practice to destroy the public image of the leaders or politicians which are fighting for the economic development of their nation; at the same time, these leaders and politicians are overfed with false information on the field they are managing, especially economy-related.

The most critical situation is when the economic affairs of the country with other states and different firms throughout the world are damaged. To achieve this objective, different methods are used: change in economic beliefs (making people to believe they could have profitable businesses only by interacting with specific groups dominated by specific ideologies), promote the non-professionalism among the economic leaders, disparage inland goods and services through psychological means (black propaganda, rumours, practical jokes, false information in the media, etc.).

Of course, the *economic invaders* make business with everyone, despite the ideology, religion, etc. For the global economic war there is no other ideology than the one of the economic advantage. A typical case of damaging the economic relations among states is that one of Scandinavian states and the Arab world.

The economic intelligence is an important and the most frequently used mean used by a state or a firm/enterprise to seek and collect clandestinely economic information for maintaining and developing the economic advantage/supremacy. The information is power. If you are the first one who



gets it on the market (e.g. about new market opportunities, resources, new and competitive products), you can have a substantial economic advantage.

Currently, in the world, there is an economic competition not only among states, but also among big companies with profits higher than GDP of many developed states; this led to the occurrence of new forms of economic war: the struggle for imposing standards for specific class of goods (each producer is interested in forestalling as much as possible of the global market, to get rid of competitors, by imposing the standardized products); the forced depreciation of national currencies through financial speculation (e.g. the case of the pound sterling, depreciated by the actions of billionaire George Soros); the creation of consumer dependence on a product by maintaining a very low price, and by raising the price once the population from the market-country has become dependent (e.g. the case of Russian natural gas).

All states of the world are currently involved in a form of international cooperation, especially economic – free exchange zones or custom unions. It becomes more obvious than ever that an economic autarchy cannot function nowadays, that it is doomed to fail, causing enormous sufferings to the population. Maybe with only one exception – North Korea – the other autarchies, on trial-economic ones, are not self-imposed, yet caused by international embargoes. These situations are characteristic for the states where the national interest is not democratically formulated, being a perverted, false one. This is in fact the interest of a group which makes discretionary use of power, it is imposed by force and promoted as a national interest.

The international economic cooperation promoted by this type of regimes is also perverted, aiming not to optimize the national economic system and its subsequent development through taking part in the international division of labour, yet to satisfying the ambitions of the group in power. This type of international cooperation may function only as reduced and random exchanges and cannot develop up to the level, still embryonic, of an economic integration.

Briefly, one may say that only the democratic states, where promoting national interest is real, are able to take part in economic integration initiatives.

The participation in economic integration

mechanisms is though an expression of every state need for economic security. According to Emilian M. Dobrescu, the existence of democratic principle represents a *sine qua non* condition for economic integration: “*only an European Union that respects the national identity of each member state - which are developing as a result of their differences - and remains powerful through its own institutions, will be able to evolve on the way of economic and social progress, of security and dignity*”.

The most important features of current global economy are: markets liberalization (the free flow of capital and labour); the dominance of information technology, telecommunications and audio-video businesses; the tough competition amongst the three pillars of economic and commercial power: NAFTA (SUA, Canada and Mexico), European Union and South-Eastern Asia.

In his work **Globalization and trivalent development**, M. D. Popescu states that the current global economy faces a triple challenge:

1. The globalization and its effects on national economies competitiveness;
2. The contradiction between market laws (the economic reasoning), and the role of the state in ensuring a certain degree of “distributive justice” (the social reasoning);
3. The contradiction between economic reasoning and the need to protect the environment (ecology).

Currently, there are two major and incongruent tendencies on the international arena: on one hand, the competition amongst states and groups of states for new markets and resources (which may lead to conflict of interests, and from competition to war), and on the other hand, the tendency for cooperation and integration, stimulated by the new technologies.

The economic competition active for centuries, has become dominant nowadays, and unfortunately transformed from competition to conflict, the belligerents being not only the national states but multinational companies, fighting for markets and resources.

According to some authors, the economic war represents the post-competitive economic phase, the step where competition become crisis and crisis turn into conflict.

There is no clear line between economic competition and economic conflict. Prof. Mircea Mureșan, PhD, considers the economic war may



be observed at three relevant levels:

- At national level, among the economic entities;
- In the process of economic globalization;
- At global level, between global and underground economy.

The end of the Cold War made possible the former communist countries economies to open, shifting from centralized to market economies. During this transition period, a fierce competition has started among the powerful industrialized states and multinational corporations, to control the markets and the resources in this area; states from this area are now targets of the economic war, aiming to achieve control over resources. Simultaneously, the investments made in some industrial branches by foreign investors (states or corporations) brought them higher rates of return, considering the high qualified but cheap labour force, the lower price of raw materials, and the low industrial infrastructure costs – comparing with industrialized countries. All these factors caused the transformation of the competition into economic conflict. As it can be noticed from the table below, among the top 50s world economic powers, they are not only national states, but also big corporations able to penetrate the world markets, and whose profit is higher than the GDP of many developed states

No.	Country/company	GDP/profit (billion \$)
1.	USA	7.745,7
2.	Japan	4.201,6
3.	Germany	2.100,6
4.	France	1.398,5
5.	Great Britain	1.271,7
6.	Italy	1.145,4
7.	China (including Hong Kong)	996,4
8.	Brazil	786,5
9.	Canada	603,1
10.	Spain	531,4
11.	South Korea	442,5
12.	Russia	440,6
13.	Australia	391,0
14.	The Netherlands	360,5
15.	India	359,8
16.	Mexico	334,8
17.	Argentina	322,7
18.	Switzerland	293,4
19.	Belgium	264,4
20.	Sweden	227,8
21.	Indonesia	214,6
22.	Austria	206,2
23.	General Motors (USA)	178,2
24.	Denmark	161,1
25.	Thailand	157,3
26.	Ford Motor (USA)	153,5
27.	Norway	153,4
28.	Mitsui & Co (Japan)	142,8
29.	Poland	135,7
30.	South Africa	129,1
31.	Mitsubishi (Japan)	128,8
32.	Royal Dutch Shell (Great Britain – The Netherlands)	128,1
33.	Itochu (Japan)	126,7
34.	Saudi Arabia	125,3
35.	Exxon	122,4
36.	Wall-Mart (USA)	119,3
37.	Greece	119,1
38.	Finland	116,2
39.	Marubeni (Japan)	111,2
40.	Sumitomo (Japan)	102,4
41.	Malaysia	97,5
42.	Portugal	97,4
43.	Singapore	96,3
44.	Toyota Motor (Japan)	95,2
45.	Israel	92,0
46.	General Electric (USA)	90,8
47.	Columbia	85,2
48.	The Philippines	83,1
49.	Nissho Iwai (Japan)	81,9
50.	IBM (USA)	78,5

Top 50s world economic powers (Capital, 09.12.1999)

The multinational corporations are - as stated in the Millennium Declaration - , a special place within the new economic constellation of the world. They created a unique economic environment, where individual decisions can influence the economic perspectives of people and states. The fact they are present everywhere allows them, literally, to control the world - especially since they have to deal daily with weak ruling systems and uneven negotiating position of the host nations. In their relationship with the political branch, companies – representing the economical branch –, know how to play and always win. And when the economical branch supports the political branch to win the power of a state the latest will eventually end up favouring the economical branch, through protectionist fiscal policies.

This is the most common situation where the economic branch, the companies get huge benefits and imposes their will in this permanent economic war, apparently very peaceful at the first sight, yet extremely brutal and outrageous. As the profit of big corporations gets higher, the competition and conflicts among them will increase the influence on states and on the future geopolitical configuration. For states with a transition economy, not based on strictly applied rules and laws, the economic integration is a real chance for reducing the probability of being a target in the economic war.

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ROMANIA IS KNOCKING ON EU'S DOOR. OPPORTUNITIES – CHALLENGES – RESERVATIONS

D. MANIKA*

Among the changes survened lately in the South-East Europe it is also the fact that Romania joined NATO and is knocking at EU's door. As a NATO member, Romania benefits from security and offers security. Its geographical position, the fact that the European transport axes cross over its territory as well as its remarkable resources, turn Romania into an attractive country both for the Alliance and for the EU than ensures, in turn, conditions for prosperity, peace that need to be achived by a balance between Challenges and Opportunities.

The events of the last 15 years have created a universal environment, completely different from that one of the previous century. The arising changes and differentiations have influenced in a catalytic way Romania's close environment and have brought about overthrows and regime transformations, relations, dependences and tendencies readjustments and specifically fragmentation and secession in the region of the Former Federation of Yugoslavia. In this period of time, the new states and regimes have acted and continue to act following political activities axes often contradictory, but with obvious aspirations, such as:

- a. The reinforcement of their state entity through the strengthening of its national characteristics.
- b. Their accession to the EU and NATO in order to reap the fruits of development and prosperity offered by the EU as well as the support and security ensured by NATO. NATO's full membership or their efforts to enter the North Atlantic Alliance leads them to establish rapid, selective and beneficial bilateral partnerships with the USA and that is the reason why they offer so much and are available.
- c. The preservation of all not liberated and vindicated objectives and visions of the past and their ostensible adaptation to the new conditions

and situations. In particular, they are insistently searching for infiltration areas, unofficially and directly stated aims, in the territory and concepts of the European Patrimony and needs, demands and contributions for security, peace and growth.

The EU, the NATO and particularly the USA, demonstrate, with sovereign characteristics their own ambitions, their own interests for the SE Europe. Even the EU states, in particular the ones with a great past, try to include in these developing relations and situations their own objectives or to prevent or even undermine others visions which are undesirable or do not comply with their own.

The Russian federation repelled by NATO's expansion and under the pressure of the coloured revolutions, tries to preserve its influence in the region, by holding to the relations and bonds of the past (Empire and USSR) and exploiting its modern dynamic characteristics like energy, the preserved and evolutionary military power, the perspective of a rapid and dynamic economic development and the constantly reinforced relationships with the large and fast developing SE Asia countries.

The Russian Federation is obviously concerned about the deployment of Euro-Atlantic (USA) Forces and establishment of Military Installations in SE Europe. It regards them as a double threat. On the one hand, they stall the development of its relations with the EU by supporting anti-Russian feelings in the former WP countries and on the other hand because they provide the base of interventions and interferences in the ex-USSR countries.

At first sight, the Euro-Atlantic intentions to use SE Europe as a stationing and passing point of forces and means including their support in interventions or interferences in troubled or to be regions of the East Mediterranean, North Africa, Middle East and Central Asia are evident.

Respectively, the willingness of the new NATO members to offer and in particular to claim the

* The views expressed in this article belong to the author and do not represent the CDSSS' point of view.



maximum benefits concerning stationing and passing facilities is obvious.

Romania is obviously aware of this situation and normally seeks a position in all these.

Romania has successfully dealt with the regime and political problem and for the first time in its history, lives in Democracy. This country is already a NATO member and therefore feels secure. It is at the EU's doorstep, waiting for a new stronger development and prosperity conditions which will make Romania exploit all its productive capacities.

There are challenges and opportunities, as well as problems. The question is to maximize the positive for Romania results via the acceptance of the above mentioned challenges.

A sector which demands political choices is the exploitation of the Euro-Atlantic (mainly USA's) demand to use Romania's soil (space) and infrastructures for stationing and transporting support, peacekeeping and dynamic interventions forces in case of troubled or under the threat of causing turbulences regions of the planet. Romania's geographical position paves the way for destinations such as the Black Sea, Caspian and Central Asia. Using Romania's territory will inevitably lead to the use of the trans-European axes network which traverses Romania towards the Black Sea, i.e. IV, VII and IX:

a. The VII (Danube) is exclusively Romanian for any use from and to the Black Sea.

b. The IX is also mainly of Romanian interest. Even in the case of its direction to the South (Aegean Sea), again from the East of Romania, towards the Rouse junction, it passes through.

c. The IV is the most important Romanian axis due to the fact that the branch Budapest – Bucharest – Constanța traverses from West to East, therefore the development of its infrastructures creates the main backbone of Romania's transport grid. The fact that this axis is the fastest, if not the only connection point with the Black Sea (Constanța), offers Romania an irrefutable argument for priority in European and allied financings. IV's axis south branch practically does not exist, since it lacks junctions and is considered to be less indispensable provided it is easily substituted for the X axis when moving towards the Aegean Sea, as well as for the IX axis, in the Sector via Rouse, the domestic territory of Bulgaria (connection with

X and VIII) and towards Constantinople (following the X axis).

Taking into account that the European axes are not only road but railway axes as well, Romania fulfils at the maximum its transport needs with its present railway network.

The significance of the transit European axes via Romania is not limited only to the aforementioned case. These axes are of same, if not greater, importance for the European transportations from the EU towards the Black sea countries and vice versa. Any other passing point would be far more costly for the infrastructures as well as for the transport cost due to its length and morphology. In the future, the IX axis via Romania will gain significant value, since it detours the Black Sea and whatever problems there are in the Straits and leads directly to the Aegean. A big part of transports and all means of communication from Ukraine and Moldavia to the EU will be adapted to this axis.

Romania is certainly not only a country of transits and trade transports. It has very valuable wealth-producing resources and a productive population. The painful interim period towards Democracy and the free market has inactivated if not destroyed, productive infrastructures and specialized personnel. The conformity to the EU demands and its support to the above mentioned demands create for Romania ideal development and prosperity conditions and also call for their fulfilment.

Historically, from the Dacians times, Romania has been, until recently, in the middle of frictions and conflicts between great Empires and Superpowers or in the way of big movements as well as nation and hordes immigrations. Despite all influences, its population (people) kept several particular characteristics capable enough to shape and preserve the Nation and the National Consciousness. It was never completely subjugated or totally free or independent.

Today Romania is a free and independent country with a clear democratic regime. Its engagements and dependencies are made at free will with the respective consequences. Its indeed progressive Constitution offers a secure basis for any kind of minority problem settlements in interior and in relation with its neighbours. The extracted part of Moldavia after the Second World War is and will continue to be a problem for Romania, maybe the price it has to pay for its auspicious prospects.



NATO AND EU: POLITICS, STRATEGIES, ACTIONS

It is certain that Romania will face problems due to the emerging use by the Euro-Atlantic structures, particularly if it is to be blamed for having the intention to proceed to the speculative interventions in Central Asia.

Romania, as well as the rest of the former Warsaw Pact countries (with the exception perhaps of Bulgaria and Slovakia) has the right to put before its demand for security due to the fearful memories from its former overprotecting ally, the USSR. This demand for security leads Romania, as mentioned above, to the development of special bilateral (within NATO of course) relations with the USA. The USA offer security guarantees, military support (Free – Guarantees – Preferences), partnership privileges as well as upgrading prestige and importance illusions within the Alliance. In exchange, they offer political identification with USA's particular political choices in the UNO, the OECD, NATO, the Cooperation for Peace and sometimes within the EU. They also provide facilities in the territory of their national sovereignty so as to serve these so called political choices and occasionally act jointly or participate in their application.

There are times when this willingness surpasses the equilibrium boundaries of offer and exchange. This happens either in the illusive struggle to gain the role of the most favourite Ally or in the effort of serving personal national interests (from the anticipation of satisfying old national vindications from the neighbouring countries up to their safeguard against respective demands from the neighbours) and gaining privileges.

All of these, on the basis of serving national interests, are understandable and perhaps permissible even though practically damaging to the EU since they can become dangerous not only for the EU but the involved in these games countries themselves when they suspend the real unification with the EU and mainly delay the agreement and application of the European Common Foreign and

Security Policy (CFSP).

The CFSP, an expression and consistent practice of the integrated common European will ensure the EU, as a whole, and its Member States, the optimum security against any kind of threat. It will relieve EU's Member States from feeling insecure, the competition and the search for protection outside the EU borders.

We must all realize, believe and embrace the thought that the EU is not only a consortium of economic relations and a source of capitals (financial aid) which helps in the economic reconstruction and growth of the weakest financially Partners. On the contrary, it is a special State Organization that brings together, via its economic cooperation and development, on the basis of acceptance and respect for the common principles and rules, European countries and ensures the conditions for their development, welfare, peace and security. As an entity representing common will and power, it acts in the universal theatre scene at the benefit of the EU (and its Member States, of course) and the rest of the world. The foundation and evolution of the EU was based and will continue to be based on dialogue, comprehension, compromise, convergence and consensus for the common good. At the same time, it demonstrates its force for tolerance and acceptance of every legitimate particularity and difference. All EU Member States, for the sake of EU and in particular their own benefit, must admit and serve the purpose of promoting the true EU. They must put aside their phobia syndromes and secret aspirations and safeguard any special or personal characteristics of their nationality so as to "walk" together as a whole.

The balance between Challenges and Opportunities and its exploitation in the framework of the correct perception of the European Patrimony, will pave the right way via the necessary Golden Means.

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GLOBALISATION, INTEGRATION REGIONAL ET INTERET NATIONAL

Petre DUȚU, PhD

L'intérêt national est la finalité essentielle suivie de tout Etat. La globalisation et l'intégration régionale sont des phénomènes corrélatifs, complexes et multidimensionnels qui répondent aux impératives de l'intérêt national. C'est pourquoi les Etats du monde s'impliquent active, volontaire, conscient et concerté dans leurs déroulement.

1. La globalisation- phénomène complexe, omniprésent et multidimensionnelle

La globalisation représente un *phénomène complexe* puisque se déroule dans tous les secteurs d'activité humaine de tout le monde, dans les conditions extrêmement de différent de développement économique, sociale, politique et culturel. Elle promeut, d'habitude, les intérêts des Etats puissants et des entreprises multinationales. C'est ici qu'une interaction apparaît avec les intérêts régionaux et nationaux. Lorsque les effets génèrent par la globalisation sont perçus comme négatives peut apparaître des manifestations antiglobalisation.

La caractéristique *phénomène omniprésent* indique le fait que la globalisation il y a dans tout le monde et dans tous les domaines d'activité. Ainsi, la globalisation représente le processus dans lequel la distance géographique diminue son importance en établir et maintenir les „obstacles” dans la voie des relations économiques, politiques et socio-culturels entre tous les Etats du monde. Dans ce contexte, les acteurs non étatiques, c'est-à-dire les différentes organisations régionales et planétaires, économiques, politiques, culturelles et d'environnement, ont un rôle significatif.

La globalisation, comme *phénomène multidimensionnel*, est une étape future du processus général de développement politique, économique et culturel du monde. D'abord, la globalisation représente un processus géoéconomique et puis un processus géopolitique et géoculturel. Ce procès n'est plus une approche, une intégration des éco-

nomies de beaucoup pays, mais un échange des caractéristiques qualitatives de ces économies qui se transforment d'un system ferme en composante d'un system mondial. Toutefois, on échange la notion de „économie nationale”. L'institution économique de base deviens la corporation transnationale, qui remplace ses fabriques et commercialise ses produits là-bas où lui est plus convenable, sans tenir compte d'existence des frontières étatiques. Parce que maintenant a lieux l'approfondissement du processus de division internationale du travaille, mais dans le cadre d'un Etat, soit il développe, fait apparaître „la double économie”, avec des enclaves prospères, mais et des régions - donateurs, des régions créanciers. Ainsi, des régions entières se transforment en fournisseurs de matières primes et des marchés pour les corporations transnationales, sans développer leurs productions.

Le processus d'approfondissement de division du travaille naît des graves problèmes sociaux et politiques. Dans les débats sur la globalisation se parlent de plus en plus des „perdants”, c'est-à-dire des catégories sociales ou voire les nations entières qui se sont réveillés dehors de développement économique, sans la chance de sortir seules d'une situation extrêmement difficile, telle comme est la circuit libre de marchandises de pays développés vers les pays en développement diminuent la possibilité de pays pauvres de développent leurs productions dans les divers domaines. Le décalage entre les pays riches et les pays pauvres est dans une augmentation continuelle, c'est-à-dire entre Nord et Sud s'accroît continuellement.

Cependant, la globalisation a un potentiel énorme de générer croissance, mais elle dans le même temps provoque de „status quo”, c'est-à-dire fait faiblir la réglementation sociale, politique, économique et financière nationale sans fournir une alternative satisfaisante.

En conclusion, la globalisation représente un phénomène complexe, omniprésent et multidimensionnelle, qui affecte tous les domaines d'ac-



tivités humaines et implicitement tous les Etats. Les uns auteurs pensent que la globalisation est une phénomène capable d'apporter la bonheur et la prospérité pour tout le monde, pendant que les autres l'apprécient comme étant nuisible pour l'humanité, par ses effets qu'elle génèrent¹.

D'habitude, les mouvements sociales ont une attitude profond négative contre la globalisation qu'ils considèrent responsables pour les inégalités entre Nord et Sud, pour l'augmentation du chômage, pour l'exploitation par les pays riches aux ressources matériels et humaines des pays en développement, pour diminution des revenus par travaille et pour les croissances de revenus par capital, pour approfondissions le décalage entre les riches et les pauvres.

2. L'intégration - processus régionale

L'intégration représente une relation, une interaction dynamique entre deux entités distinctes- le système qui s'intègre et le système qui intègre. Dans le temps, ce processus, génère de mutations en les deux systèmes. En fonction du caractère active de premier et de la capacité de réponse du milieu qui s'intègre, on distingue beaucoup de phases de ce processus : *l'accommodation, l'adaptation, la participation et l'intégration propre dite*².

Si on analyse l'ensemble des démarches faites de Roumanie pour accéder en l'Union européenne se constateront que ont été accomplis toutes ces phases. Ainsi, *l'accommodation* commence au premier février 1993, quand la Roumanie signe l'Accord européen, parmi lequel s'institue une association entre notre pays et les Communautés européennes et les Etats membres de cette Union. D'abord, se sont appliquées les prévisions commerciales de l'Accord européen. Cette phase est celle dans la quel la Roumanie commence connaître systématiquement des valeurs et des normes qui dirigent toute l'activité de l'Union européenne. En juin 1995, notre pays a déposé sa pétition d'adhésion à l'Union européenne. Ce moment marque le début de la phase *d'adaptation* de la Roumanie à l'exigence de l'UE, mais en juin 1999 s'adopte le Plan National d'Adhésion à l'UE. Pendant cette phase a eu lieu une harmonisation législative entre notre pays et l'Union européenne. En février 2000, se déclanche le processus d'adhésion de notre pays à l'Union européenne, par l'ouverture officielle des négociations entre la Roumanie et l'Union euro-

péenne. Maintenant, on commence l'ouverture des chapitres de négociation. (Un chapitre de négociation concerne un certain domaine de la législation européenne- par exemple, l'agriculture ou la politique régionale. Il y a 31 chapitres que chaque pays doit les discuter avec l'Union européenne, ils représentent ce qui est connu comme acquis communautaire).

La phase dite la participation commencera, pour la Roumanie, le premier janvier 2007 (si la Roumanie accomplira toutes les exigences imposées par l'Union européenne), notre pays deviendra un Etat membre avec les droits complets de cette union d'Etats. La quatrième phase est la dernière du processus analysé la constitue l'intégration propre dite, l'étape dans la quelle commence l'intégration sociale, économique, politique, culturelle de notre pays dans l'UE. De fait, maintenant, les valeurs et les normes spécifiques pour la vie et l'activité de l'UE sont assimilés, appropriés, intériorisés et mise en oeuvre tant des institutions d'Etat que des citoyens de notre pays qui se considèrent comme citoyens européens. De plus, tous les citoyens agirent pour défense et promouvoir des valeurs et des normes de l'UE parce qu'ils les considère comme propres valeurs et normes et pas parce qu'ils contiendraient par quelqu'un. Pratiquement, dans la quatrième phase commence réaliser l'intégration de la Roumanie en UE sous tous les aspects et sur tous les plans. Dans ce contexte, notre pays accomplira effectivement:

- *l'intégration normative* (la mesure dans la quelle les valeurs de l'UE devient valables pour tous les citoyens du pays);
- *l'intégration culturelle* (les normes et les valeurs culturelles de l'UE sont assimilés et appropriés de tous les Roumains);
- *l'intégration communicationnelle* (l'échange interpersonnel de significations);
- *l'intégration fonctionnelle* (l'échange de service, qui varie de l'interdépendance à l'autonomie);
- *l'intégration psychosociale* (le processus d'assimilation ce qui permet les membres de l'UE agir selon des normes et des valeurs du milieu intégrateur);
- *l'intégration sociale* (l'ajustage aux relations des membres de l'UE conformément aux normes et aux règles existant dans son sein);
- *l'intégration politique* (le processus d'acceptation de membres de l'UE-les Etats et leurs ci-



toyens -d'une manière d'action, de sentir et de voir spécifiques pour le milieu intégrateur);

- *l'intégration économique* (l'ensemble de mesures destinées supprimer les discriminations entre les économies de pays membres de l'UE).

3. L'intérêt national-la finalité essentiel pour l'action des acteurs étatiques

L'intérêt national représente l'expression active des nécessités de l'Etat national, c'est-à-dire la finalité qui dirige tout le temps sa conduite. De fait, théoriquement, tout l'Etat national dans ses activités poursuivent un but c'est-à-dire l'intérêt national. En outre, l'intérêt national est un concept multidimensionnel, il concerne tous les domaines d'activité humaine. C'est pourquoi on peut parler d'intérêt national dans le plan économique, militaire, politique, culturel, social, diplomatique, financier, informationnel.

Dans le même temps, l'intérêt national constitue un argument forte utilisé par les gouvernants lorsque passent à l'adoption des mesures non populaires, à la diminution ou à la restriction des droits humains. Par exemple, dans la Roumanie, en janvier 2006 a commencé augmenter les prix aux gazes naturels, à l'énergie électrique et à l'énergie thermique pas des rations économiques mais pour harmoniser les prix intérieurs avec le prix similaires de l'UE.

Aussi, par les rations de sécurité, dans le combatte contre le terrorisme international les pays démocratiques ont adoptés des mesures parmi lesquels se restreint une série des droits généraux de homme, par exemple la libre circulation entre pays, le renforcement de garde sur les aéroports et les compétences de forces d'ordre.

Toutefois, l'intérêt national constitue, le moins théoriquement, le facteur déterminant des actions intérieurs et internationales de l'Etat dans tous les domaines d'activité. Par exemple, la mesure de l'implication active de la Roumanie dans la lutte contre le terrorisme international, y compris, par la participation avec les structures militaires à la coalition internationale de l'Iraq, le gouvernant le justifient par l'intérêt national.

L'intérêt national, est aussi le facteur qui fonde le consensus national, la cohésion sociale et l'obédience de la population. Ce parce que lorsque il s'agit de l'intérêt national tous les citoyens ou leurs majorité sont d'accord faire des efforts sup-

plémentaires pour accomplir des objectives stratégiques, d'agir solidaires dans le même sens, de se soumettre conscients aux mesures adoptées par les gouvernants afin d'assure pour le développement durable et pour la sécurité de pays.

L'intérêt national se pose en évidence par l'activité de l'intérieur de pays mais et en dehors, dans tous les domaines. Il se traduit par la préoccupation constant des institutions de l'Etat, de ses citoyens et de la société civile d'assurer le développement économique durable du pays, de réaliser des échanges avantageux avec les autres Etats, de préserver l'indépendance, la souveraineté et l'intégrité du pays.

Dans le même temps, il se traduit par la préoccupation constant de l'Etat de garantir la sécurité humaine de ses habitants, d'établir et d'entretenir des relations utiles et nécessaires de la Roumanie avec les autres pays et les organisations internationales, ainsi que la société civile régionale et internationale, de promouvoir la culture nationale, de faire toutes les activités nécessaires pour l'intégration régionale et globale.

Le contenu de chacun dimension de l'intérêt national connait une évolution dynamique, comme suite des échanges produits dans tous les domaines d'activités humaines. Par exemple, l'intérêt national en ce qui concerne la souveraineté, aujourd'hui quand la Roumanie est membre de l'OTAN et aspire à l'adhésion de l'UE, s'exprime dans une autre forme et dans des autres paramètres comme il y a 15 ans. D'ailleurs, les documents qui définissent l'intérêt national dans le domaine rappelé, à leurs tours ont connus des transformations fondamentales. Ainsi, ce qui on comprendrait par la souveraineté de l'Etat Roumain en 1989, par exemple, est différent d'acceptation donne maintenant à ce concept.

4. La corrélation entre la globalisation, l'intégration régionale et l'intérêt national

La globalisation, l'intégration et l'intérêt national sont en corrélation. Cette affirmation a en vue le fait que l'intérêt national est fondamental pour tout acteur étatique, qui feras tout ce qui dépende de lui pour l'accomplir à des paramètres désirés et en temps optimale. Puis, la globalisation et l'intégration régionale se trouvent dans une interdépendance et dans une forte interaction. Pratiquement, les Etats choisissent l'intégration régionale tant



comme forme primaire pour satisfaire leur intérêt national, que comme une modalité de participer active et avantageuse à la globalisation.

Toutefois, l'intégration régionale permet aux Etats d'atténuer les effets négatifs de globalisation par un effort commun et concerté.

L'intégration régionale peut aussi être interprétée comme une première étape de la globalisation. Les Etats de diverses régions du monde se constituent des organisations surtout de nature économique, essayent par cette voie se posent en valeur leurs potentiel dans un domaine ou dans un autre de l'activité économique. Un bon exemple d'intégration régionale complet (économique, politique, militaire, culturelle) le représente l'Union européenne qui se compose, aujourd'hui de 25 Etats. Dans le même temps, elle possède toutes les institutions afférentes d'une fédération d'Etats.

Ses résultats, sur tous les plans, surtout économique, la recommande comme forme efficace d'intégration régionale qui permet un développement durable et avantageux pour tous les Etats membres et leurs citoyens.

La globalisation, comme phénomène complexe, multidimensionnelle et omniprésent, génère tant les effets favorables et que les effets négatifs. On semble que l'intégration régionale, vue comme processus précurseur de la globalisation, contribue à minimiser des effets négatifs et à amplifier des effets positifs. D'autre part, l'intégration régionale une fois réalisée, permet les Etats une implication active dans le processus de la globalisation.

Si on tenue compte que l'intérêt national est la finalité poursuivre de tout acteur étatique, alors est évident que les pays du monde ferment tout ce qui ils peuvent pour son accomplir intégrale dans les conditions avantageuses, y compris par l'acceptation conscient et volontaire des conséquences de l'intégration et de la globalisation.

Dans une façon et dans une certaine mesure, l'intérêt national impose que les Etats accepter et agir dans la direction de l'intégration régionale et de la globalisation, dans leurs qualités des phénomènes qui définissent l'évolution du monde.

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5. Conclusion

L'intérêt national est le facteur fondamental qui mobilise les Etats du monde aux actions multiples et sur tous les plans. La globalisation et l'intégration régionale sont des phénomènes corrélatives et définitoires pour l'évolution de l'humanité. Elles répondent adéquat pour accomplir l'intérêt national. C'est pourquoi les Etats sont motivés d'agir concertés dans la direction de l'intégration régionale et s'impliquer active dans le processus de globalisation.

Il est vraie que tant l'intégration régionale que la globalisation supposent une série de coûts sociales et économiques, parmi d'autre, mais refuser ces phénomènes n'est pas bénéfique pour aucune Etat. Aujourd'hui, sur l'arène mondiale, agit assez consistant une multitude des acteurs non étatiques, qui possèdent des grands puissances économiques. Il s'agit des organisations internationales financière et économique (multinationales ou transnationales) qui ont la capacité financière et économique, ainsi que l'influence politique nécessaire de promouvoir et de soutenir avec succès la globalisation. Elles sont intéressées d'obtenir un grand profit et pour cela elles agissent tout le temps et par tous les moyens dans ce sens, mais la globalisation satisfais leurs attentes.

Par la suite, les Etats ne se peuvent pas opposer à cette tendance d'évolution mondiale, s'ils veulent se développer durable et en complet harmonie et la sécurité. Pratiquement, pour ils est plus avantageuse de s'impliquer dans l'intégration régionale et dans le processus de globalisation que de s'opposer à ces phénomènes, qui à leurs tour sont appuis par les multinationales et des autres organisations mondiales.

NOTES:

¹ Voir: BAUMAN, Zygmunt, **Globalizarea și efectele ei sociale**, București, ANTET, 2004.

² ZAMFIR, Cătălin, VLASCEANU, Lazăr, **Dicționar de sociologie**, București, Editura Babel, 1998.



INSECURITY FACTORS OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Cristian BĂHNĂREANU

North and South seem to have different visions on the security challenges – one concerned by terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, other by poverty and underdevelopment. The new worldwide insecurity factors as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, unsolved conflicts, criminality, environment problems, etc., alongside new conflicts physiognomy as ethnic disputes, guerrilla war or others low intensity conflicts, determined changes in the organization and structure of forces, way of action, technique and fight means.

In general, international community has common or similar points of view on major vulnerabilities and insecurity factors of the today world.

Some distinctions are persistent regarding the importance of some categories of these factors and counteracting modalities.

The UN report entitled “A more secure world: Our shared responsibility” considers there are several threats – insecurity factors – which affect both powerful and weak states: international terrorism; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; interethnic and interreligious conflicts; organized crime; environment problems; development gap between North and South.

Certainly, there are some other points of view regarding threats on international security. Some specialists consider also as global threats: accelerated demographic growing; science and technology advancement out of controls; economic, cultural and political globalization, especially its conflict aspects (markets, energy resources and staples competition); bad governance; “clash of civilizations”, etc.

At the beginning of the 21st century the insecurity factors are the result of a varied and complex aggregate of political, economic, social, military, ecological effects that reflect the globalization process dynamics.

International terrorism

Terrorism represents a strategic threat, not only for USA and EU states, but for Russia, China, India and more others countries, including Romania. After 9/11 attacks, the world entered in terrorism epoch, manifesting in all forms, threatening peace and security of millions of peoples. The possibility of a terrorist attack with weapons of mass destruction or explosives remains very real. Last attacks with hundreds of victims – Turkey (November 2003), Spain (March 2003), Great Britain (July 2005) and numerous attacks in Iraq – demonstrate that the fight against that new world’ scourge must be intensified, and cooperation between threatened states and between them and security organizations must be more efficient. The campaign started by USA against international terrorism coagulated whole international community, past enemies are now partners in that unprecedented fight.

International terrorism, peculiarly associated with Islamic fundamentalism, extended considerably its actions space, from Chechnya to Central Asia, from Arabian Peninsula to Pakistan, India, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonezia, Philippines, Australia and even in regions populated by Muslim Uygurs from China.

Lately, there has been noticed a proliferation of terrorism’s global message and reorientation of terrorist actions from governmental, diplomatic and military targets to civilian ones as banks, hotels, trains, worship places, which have a strong symbolic relevance and having many victims. These actions lead to national public opinion pressures on decision-makers to accept the rebels’ claims. A conclusive example is revealed by the terrorist attacks dated March, 11, 2004 (Madrid) that conducted the Spanish Socialist government’ decision to retract immediately the contingents from Iraq.

The terrorism prevention and counteracting require a systematic reinforcement of international coordination, consultation and cooperation and



measures based on states' efficient multilateral consensus and underlined by provisions of international law.

Weapons of mass destruction proliferation

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) represent an important threat to international peace and security, a major danger even for existence of human civilization. The nuclear weapon has the first place in all mass destruction systems and it is able to a rapid, massive and radical annihilation of "lively force and military technique".

In present, WMD proliferation has double determination. First, it is illegal the export of a state with equipments, technologies, staples, and licenses for NBC weapons or ballistics rockets' production. Second, it consists in efforts of a state to research, develop, produce and testing that kind of weapons, activities that are usually secret. Further, more and more states and terrorist groups have access to NBC weapons and ballistic rockets technology.

That double determination imposed the revision of WMD international treaties and agreements and Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. But, some international relations and foreign policy' experts sustain that the probability of a war and threatening with a nuclear war was much reduced at beginning of the 21st century. They argue the globalization will intensify the economic interdependence of the states.

The possibility of nuclear pole' development in Asia (China, India, Pakistan, North Korea, Iran) it's quite in accordance with Occident's vision, especially USA. In present, the nuclear problems that preoccupy the international community are North Korea and Iran from the "axis of evil". The continuation of those programs may transform these regions in a permanent source of tensions and insecurity.

WMD constitute an important matter, especially in relation with terrorism, which may be adequate counteracted only through efforts coordinated by involved states in scope to consolidate and respect the WMD international legislation.

Interethnic and interreligious conflicts

These conflicts are mainly determined by poor economic conditions and trans-border crime pro-

liferation, reciprocal territorial claims, ethnic or religious distinctions, forces balance, external pressures, etc. Conflicts and disputes as Israeli-Palestinian, India-Pakistan, Kosovo problem, Chechnya, and the frozen ones from Transdnester, South Osetia, Nagorno-Karabah, etc. form a real insecurity complex and constitute profound worries sources both in regional and international level.

In the last period, the tensions and interethnic and interreligious conflicts have intensified in other regions, too.

On Africa continent, military fights, ethnic purges, massacres are present in Sudan (Darfur), Democratic Republic of the Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, etc. This situation became more complicated as a result of strong intertribal adversities and developed powers' interventions, which are in energy resources and staples competition. These tensions and conflicts, some historical, are registered in Afghanistan, Pakistan (between Baloch, Punjabi, Sindhi), Kashmir province, India (between Muslim and Hindu), Sri Lanka (Tamil revolt), Indonesia (Aceh province), Thailand (Muslim actions), etc., in Central and South America, the left side guerrillas action in Colombia, Peru, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, yet. In some cases, the armed fight against the authorities expresses the Amerindians revolts that are politically and socially marginalized. In other cases, rural guerrillas also act in connection with coca cultivators and drug traffickers (South America, Birmania, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, etc.).

According to the last study elaborated by Center for Defense Information, at the beginning of 2005 there were recorded 22 major armed conflicts and 28 hotspots caused by ethnic, religious, territorial or ideological problems. These conflicts resolving must be a priority for all the involved states, a real solution certainly requires the involvement of the international community.

Organized crime

Organized crime is appreciated as a residual phenomenon of the globalization process that speculates the opportunities given by borders permeability and communication revolution, in order to increase the crime networks' ability, proliferate its actions, and consolidate its position in different states.



Organized crime network' actions consist in drugs trafficking, human beings and armament trafficking, financial transgressions. We are witnessing an "internationalization" of organized violence and crime to the level of different societies, states and nations through appearance and proliferation of new illegal actions and crimes committed with violence and corruption in order to inspire fear and horror to the public opinion and affect the human rights and freedoms.

The main trends that define the evolution of the organized crime phenomena in the 21st century are: extension and diversifying of the transfrontalier transgression phenomena; a much more organized, conspired and international character; clever speculation of the existent law; connecting the profitable illegal activities with other violent transgressions (terrorist, destabilizing actions), etc.

International security is much more affected by the control of the organized crime over more territories and internal and external markets that impose a preventive, systematic, coordinated approach of the global security problematic, harmonization of the state and international politics on this major threat counteracting, reinforcing the global action institutions and mechanisms.

Environmental problems

This kind of threats will be perceived to their real value maybe in the next years when vast Earth areas will be uninhabitable. Actual trend to destroy the environment, especially in industrialized countries, constitutes a major aggression against essential ecological systems. If that continues, then the ecosystem' capacity to maintain the human society to an acceptable level of civilization will be destroyed.

Environmental aspects which affect the security represent a wide set of diverse and complex factors as: climate changing; biodiversity losses; forests ravaging; desertion; reducing the ozone stratum; pollution; reduction, rarity and unequal distribution of natural resources; management of disasters (nuclear, chemical); wars that produce ecological losses, etc. The consequences of these factors or their combinations are hard to foresight.

Environmental degradation is an important "hidden" factor and possible fatal to the economic system operation. The economic aspect is very clear: despite the common technique, the unpol-

luting technique didn't raise the production' value of merchantable goods. So, there is a fundamental conflict between pollution counteracting and permanent productivity rising. The environment crisis shows us that to maintain untainted the present ecosystem we must place the environmental considerations over the economic and politic ones.

Development disparities

The accentuation of economy globalization inevitably conducts to deeper economic disparities between world regions – rich states/states union became richer (USA, EU, Japan, China) and undeveloped or in course of development areas became poorer (Africa, Eastern and South-Eastern Asia). Extreme poverty, financial and energy resources crises, pressures exerted by developed states and big economic organizations over less developed or economic instable areas constitute threats to the zonal and international security.

The economic domination increase of several states or multinational organizations/corporations puts in debate the problem of persistent and extension poverty from some regions. Demographic problems (population/consumption growth in relation with planet resources, unhealthy living conditions and diseases spreading, irrational urbanization, etc.), food problems (poverty, starvation, excess consumption, cultivable lands and water resources degradation, etc.), economic problems (maintaining of unsustainable production models, social instability regarding penury and unequal resources distribution, etc.) are factors that impede the development process of the less favoured areas, growth and global economic circuits.

International efforts intensification in scope to counteract this phenomena and reinforce the poorest countries capacity to solve their problems constitutes a priority on UN agenda (through Millennium Development Goals), International Monetary Fund and World Bank (through assistance programs „Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility”), World Trade Organization (through politics of free economy), etc.

The main contemporary world' insecurity factors are profound interdependent and problems as terrorism, interethnic and interreligious conflicts or poverty can't be independent approached ones from others. Consequently, we must use the best resources and ways to counteract these ma-



SECURITY AND MILITARY STRATEGY

for threats. The new Romanian National Security Strategy, which will be presented in the Parliament this year, will explore more detailed the non-military dimensions of security and among the major threats there will be the ones mentioned above, and action directions will be more efficient and diversified.

A common conception of the North and South regarding security may be developed if we understand the fact that many of the actual insecurity factors are common threats that impose common solutions. Only a cooperative security with roles and responsibilities well stated may ensure the stability, peace and prosperity in our days.

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NATIONAL STATES OF SECURITY AND INSECURITY

Mirela ATANASIU

The world is in a period of continuous and profound transformations, as a result of the change from an organizational type to other, totally different and with other bases as the latest. This reality brings a vulnerability state of societies to multiple risks, dangers and threats regarding their national security.

Moreover, we assist to a complex process for reconstruction of our cultural, ethnical and religious identity. This process is characterized by two major tendencies: fissure effect and confluence effect. There are spaces where one's effects are manifesting or even both simultaneously, which can lead to some acute asymmetrical states apparition.

The purpose of the national defence policy is the discouraging any aggression aiming the state, and if one is generated, the preservation by military means of the fundamental national interests.

1. Argument

Nowadays, individual security and defence are strongly linked by collective security and defence and from here raises our responsibility as a NATO member and a future EU one. There can't be totally excluded the possibility of some collateral effects, owed to the new responsibilities and obligations which are in our country's task, as well as in our geostrategical position in the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Security reckons on political stability and the military one, these being complementary conditions. A viable European security system could be built only if there will be consolidated both components.

The actual security policy is based on cooperation and on renouncing to any idea of imposing stability by confrontation means. Its goal is the one of promoting cooperation for preventing conflicts in the political sphere and reducing the danger of armed confrontation. It has the goal of avoiding

potential conflicts grow underlining the opening and transparency promotion. Romania, as a NATO member and a future EU one, has a series of responsibilities at regional level, as well as globally.

That's why its security gets new manifestation meanings and forms. So, now, it surpassed its individual dimension to the collective one.

2. Security state

In the context of systemic type approaches which have as reference field and subject the international relations, „national security state” is defined by the national politic and state entities stability and relation established in regional and universal plan¹. So, „security” is perceived as:

- „domestic peace” or „the equilibrium state necessary for the national organization”;
- „international peace” or „the relation of interstate equilibrium, based on their cooperation”.

The ideologists concluded that *security* is the expression of concrete modalities for sociability manifestation, collaboration and cooperation of the predominant relations in front of the „confrontation” ones. Any person feels the internal need of safety, security and safety. At first glance, we could conclude that security means, in fact, the force actions limitation or excluding them from the social-political relations.

The idea of „common security” was the result of some newborn concepts through the analysis of the security concept, as „peaceful coexistence” (desirable especially for the small states), „collective security” (desires the safety of all the nations after the principle „security is indivisible”) and „equal security” (a desire that can be applied only in sensitively equal states).

The security is a system and a systems' system function. It manifests in all the forms:

- economic;
- political;
- social (collective);



- individual;
- environmental;
- informational;
- military;
- cultural;
- informatics;
- inter-relation.

Security systems are: *global, regional and national*.

The *national security system functions* on a national defence strategy, which presumes:

- a) the integration degree increasing for the system which must be secured;
- b) the increase of the informatics, military and economic potential;
- c) integration in international and regional security systems already existent;
- d) secret agreements;
- e) alliances and partnerships;
- f) information and experience exchange between states with similar interests;
- g) diversify and turn flexible the safety activities;
- h) the growth of the involvement degree in creation of an integrated system of international security.

National security refers in fact to the state security, not to the nation's one, as we could deduce at a first sight. There are a multitude of menaces regarding it - terrorist, weapons of mass destruction proliferation, organized, economic, social, political, ethnical, demographical crime, etc.

The most well-known and threatening is *terrorism* because of the ambiguous character of the involved persons' methods, the negative psychosocial, demoralizing effects and the status created, drastically deduction of the trust in the state's institutions helpless of presuming some kind of act.

Trans-national crime is another insecurity and threat factor, even regarding democracy, economy, by specific actions: drugs, weapons, human beings, forbidden substances traffic, smuggling, intellectual property theft, etc.

Nuclear weapons proliferation is the one of the biggest fears of humanity. This is more dangerous for us because we are situated at the confluence of the two opponent strategic area, Russia and the USA.

The demographic threat tends to menace even our country as a sequel of the youth exodus to Western Europe for looking a job. The calculus is

simple, the population average age rises, the remained youth are fewer for being able to cover the security necessary not only strictly military, but even from civilian, social, identity and cultural perspective.

Ecological menace. The natural medium is in an ongoing deterioration. The human – the worse endowed creature with self-defence measures – replaced this handicap using his intellectual capacity for modifying the environment for serving his necessities, action which lead in time to planet's agglomeration, excessive industrialization and urbanization, many species of plants and animal disappearance, the natural equilibrium destruction of the biotope where we led our existence, desertification, the ozone layer destruction, etc.

The security system contains "an ensemble of principles and norms referring to security adopted by a state group, as well as the institutions and instruments of accomplishing security and their respect is imposed"². Security is analyzed, peculiarly, as a status parameter of nation, which results from the dynamic equilibrium of the organized forces, generating stability and economic, social, politic, cultural, ecologic progress to it.

Consequently, *national security* is, as a rule, defined as a resultant of the phenomena which produce on two different plans but closely correlated: *objective* plan, which refers effectively to the situation of being sheltered from any danger and the *subjective* one, which refers to the feeling inspired by the lack of threat³.

Concluding, it can be appreciated that in the systemic approaches where contoured more interpretation, that tend to consider more aspects which can be investigated by theoretical positions adopted by the annalists.

The national state must offer social solutions to each critical situation and to avoid the "social crises" generating from nation's reproduction management in the frame of some national security strategies without any ideological approach.

The national state manages the insecurity state by:

- Preventing the production and increase of socio-politic violence through juridical settlements of the disputes;
- Elaboration and maintenance of the national legal frame, necessary for preventing the nation's unsafe management in concordance with the international legal frame, on "nation will" and Consti-



tution's supremacy base;

- Substantiation and assurance of the nation's right to legislate for conferring autonomy to the legislative body;

- Maintenance, the "national power" as an expression of people's power – with its attributes (sovereignty and independence) and components (information, wealth, strength) throughout the national state is defined as a symbol of the national power;

- Ensuring the representation in public life, by creation and protection of the manifestation right of political parties and civic organization in the social order frame;

- Substantiation and legal sustenance of the military organization responsibility for preventing the "edge-situation" and conferring them legitimacy and authority in "social-political crises" management;

- Using, only as a "last instance" appeal, the international security organizations support' for the management of some critical social situations and only for supporting the nation;

- The public enforcement of the political and military elite "social crises" generator that the people should force to respond morally, political, and penal before the nation.

The national state mission is the nation governance in "security state" by knowledge, prevention and counteraction of the social aggressions and nation defence in case of aggression.

Therefore, the nation "security state" is built through people's power and sustained and supported by the national state on behalf of "social security", that organizations with explicit management services accomplishes by entire people's solidarity reported to nation against the risks, threats, dangers and any kind aggression.

3. The insecurity state

„*The insecurity state*” of nation represents its limitation or loss expression to produce and use informational, energetic and human resources, for maintaining the cohesion, unity and identity, after an inefficient politic management, aggressions and crises generating pathological social situations, systemic crises or limited situations. The threat and military conflict constituted the vectors of the insecurity generators for a long period of time. The main aspects, relevant for the insecurity issue,

strongly involved in generation of most crises are:

- insecurity is a fact-state (national or international), an objective reality identifiable among the indicators of evaluation for the considered process;

- the social-economic development level and the existent relations quality in this field are stability generators, cooperative interests, justice, morality and social satisfaction;

- the functionality of the politic relations system and the politic will and govern people manifestation can be benefactions if centred on peaceful solution of the problems;

- the alliances system, the doctrines promoted by the large states of the world exert pressures over the order and ensemble of international relations;

- the system and mechanism of the cultural values, social elite state and their activism exert ample influences. The societies tend to disintegrate if they don't manage their own cultural values and don't promote the social ideals;

- the nations are more and more conditioned by the level of forming the ecological conscience;

- the ethnic, confessional and informational dimensions of security are complementary valence of this reality, the security is a multidimensional and plurivalent feeling.

To the nation's insecurity besides the proliferation of the "pathological social situations", crises have a considerable contribution, called by the sociologists "systemic crises", an expression that designs functionalities obstruction of some organizations and social structures that support them.

Sources of menaces for a nation are:

- a. Disorganized social processes resulted from functional imperfections, incidents, resources insufficiency, management errors, productive capacity diminution or the low rhythm of nation adaptation to the destabilization factors actions.

- b. Leadership on doctrinaire base of the human-kind and organizations generator of social values, dignified in decisional errors owed to disrespect of the standards and management technologies.

- c. Informational insufficiency, owed to the lack of sufficient quantity of necessary processing information for accomplishing the leadership act.

- d. The insufficiency and unsureness of the national security environment.

The genres of unsafe situations are shared in the following categories: the one identifiable by the use of the systemic evaluations (the social



organizations enter critical state, malfunction processes, restructuring processes, disruptions in the social organization frame, status networks and inadequate roles, etc.), the one identifiable by the utilisation of the process-organic evaluations (of politic, administrative, military nature, etc.) and the one that uses the combined variable of the both.

A possible insecurity factor is represented by the lack of credibility regarding the state powers: executive, legislative and judiciary as well in the national state institutions created for protecting us: Police, Army, Special Services, etc.

4. Romania, new security valences

Romania's contribution to the peace and international security maintenance, the active participation in multilateral cooperation forms, as well as to strengthen of the international cooperation against the no conventional menaces represent central themes, assumed and affirmed of the Romanian foreign policy.

Romania is, also, preoccupied by the UE principles and used practices promotion in the region, developing own initiatives which to assure consistence for the illegal migration, generally, human being traffic, trans-boarder crime combating.

The Romanian presence in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina represents an example of our country involvement in the regional problems management, nearby the third parties engaged in this process. The network of officer in the member-states and in the one in the adhesion stadium, as well as activity in the framework of some European and international bodies reflects the Romania's preoccupation for a constant and consistent dialogue with EU partners, for developing an optimum reaction capacity against the politic developments and operative necessities in the field.

The policies that contribute to the security, freedom and justice range consolidation are:

- free person's circulation
- visa policy
- the management of the extern borders
- Schengen Space
- Migration
- Asylum
- Judiciary cooperation in civil and penal field
- Prevention and combating the drugs traffic and consumption

- EU citizenship
- Human rights
- Combating racism and xenophobia
- Police and Custom cooperation
- Criminality prevention
- Organized crime combating
- Terrorism combating
- Trans-boarded crises management in EU
- Foreign relations
- EU's extension from the Justice and Intern Affairs field⁴.

5. Romania's adhesion to the EU's security policy

European integration bases on the freedom concept, human rights, democratic institution and laws application. These common values proved to be necessary for peace and prosperity assurance in EU, constituting firm criteria for EU extension.

The European Union concept, seen as a freedom, security and justice range, was introduced by the Amsterdam Treaty, from the 1st of May 1999. This mentions that EU must be kept and developed as an area where are assured persons' free circulation and the right of residency in the entire territory of EU. Anyway, these represent essential elements of the European citizenship. The objectives are sustained by legislative and institutional mechanisms which should determine this area function without bringing prejudices to the EU's members' citizens' rights and interests.

The theoretical opinion over the unique security model in Europe is exposed by the authors James Sperling and Emil Kirchner like this: "If the minim level of interdependence between the security's military and economic elements can't be realized with the security existent institutions, this can suggest the European security architecture creation which would tolerate, if they would encourage the economic difference (or integration) together with the lesser formalized cooperation or which would include a set of institutions in the security field. The resolve of this dilemma can be found in the capacities differences in Europe after the cold war. The capacities distribution reintroduces the polarity as a critic variable in contour borders determination of the European security system's future.

If the military power becomes just the base of the interstate relations in Europe and wouldn't function more as a state operation instrument, then



the states which occupy the European security space will go on one of the logics attributed to economic multi-polarity; on one hand, this prescribes a more fertile base for cooperation and stability, on the other hand, can lead to the return in a more competitive and uncooperative world of the new-mercantilism.

The institutions elections, in the both dimensions – economic and military of security – will determinate largely which is the eventual way elected for Europe”.

Romania has, from this moment, an important contribution to the EU’s Foreign and Common Security Policy, not just through association and, implicitly, the Union’s positions and common declarations, as well as its involvement in the military missions and the European police and sharing its experience in the foreign policy sphere, on different relations.

6. The national security policy

The armed defence represents the measures and actions ensemble developed unitary in the military system, in terrestrial, aerial and maritime space for discouraging, thwarting and rejecting of any military action which could hurt the fundamental state interests.

The objective of the Romanian active participation in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures is to contribute to the politic, economic and environmental security strength for all the member countries, including itself, with the respect of the human rights and prosperity, security and social justice assurance.

The national stability assurance directly implies the participation to regional and international peace and stability maintenance. The promotion of this role is also a result of the real necessity owed to the fact that the regional instability can generate propagation effects with negative influence over the national security.

The strategic objectives in defence field are:

- Consolidation of Romania’s status as a NATO member, the integration in EU and the development of an adequate strategic profile in the frame of these organizations.

- To continue the military body reform for developing a credible, modern and efficient defence capability.

- To strengthen the civil and democratic control over the Army and improving the mechanisms of accomplishing it, in respect of the constitutional democracy principles and values.

- To consolidate Romania’s contributor status to the regional and global security.

The security is the property of the entire humanity. That’s way, the state and no state actors must act for assuring and maintaining a security, stability and adequate control climate of all the malfunctions specific for the security medium.

7. Conclusions

The national security approach must start from the intern and international medium knowledge and of the aggressions against it.

The ideologists perceive „the national security” just a power report in the frame of the interstate relations which assures the power equilibrium and as a health, physic and psychic integrity state.

As security of the ideological state, “the national security” means the socio-politic system security being defined after the politico-state entity stability and after the relations system in regional and universal plan.

The national security state is the expression of protection capacity against every kind aggression.

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LA ROUMANIE ENTRE LES DEUX GUERRES ET SA STRATÉGIE DE DÉFENSE DE L'ESPACE AÉRIEN NATIONAL

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Trait essentiel, définitoire de toute la pensée et de l'action politique et militaire roumaine le long de l'histoire, l'aspect défensif est caractéristique, évidemment, dans le développement de son aviation. La dimension stratégique défensive est présente aussi pendant l'époque contemporaine, dans le nouveau contexte défini par l'appartenance de la Roumanie à l'OTAN.

Les missions à distance, en dehors de l'espace aérien roumain, impliquent seulement une composante logistique (le transport des troupes de maintien de la paix dans les/rentrent des théâtres d'opérations et support logistique général). Entre les deux guerres, sur les mêmes coordonnées stratégiques constamment défensives, la Roumanie a eu une contribution importante dans le domaine de l'aviation.

1. L'air – une nouvelle dimension de la guerre

Entre les deux termes de l'alternative guerre de positions (de stabilisation) / guerre de mouvement, il était évident pour certains analystes, même au cours de la Grande Guerre, que la deuxième variante serait préférée à l'avenir. La solution était déjà trouvée: le progrès technique.

L'apparition et le perfectionnement des chars, l'utilisation des transports mécanisés, le développement de l'aviation ont changé les organismes militaires dans leur ensemble mais aussi bien leurs éléments.

La plus grande mutation, peut – être, est due à l'évolution de l'aviation: avec une présence symbolique et des missions auxiliaires au début, elle passe rapidement à la hauteur d'une arme indépendante, redoutable.

Elle impose des changements importants dans le plan de la doctrine et de la stratégie. La production d'avions a augmenté d'une manière impressionnante.

2. L'aéronautique dans le système militaire roumain

En 1918 dans la structure de l'armée roumaine on remarquait l'Aéronautique (le Corps de l'aviation et le Corps de l'aérostation) et un régiment d'artillerie antiaérienne.

Les théoriciens militaires roumains ont accordé une attention spéciale au développement et à la modernisation des structures de l'Aéronautique. En 1920, celle-ci était organisée en 7 groupes aéronautiques (correspondant aux corps d'armée); à son tour chaque groupe disposait de:

- 1 escadrille de combat;
- 2 escadrilles de reconnaissance;
- 2 compagnies d'aérostation;
- 1 compagnie dépôt;
- 2 sections photographie aérienne;
- 2 sections météo;
- 1 dépôt mobile;
- 1 section hangars.¹

En 1927, en évoluant vers l'autonomie par rapport à l'armée terrestre, l'Aéronautique connaît un changement important: l'organisation de la Division aérienne, en tant que grande unité. En 1928, dans la subordination du Ministère de la Guerre, apparaît l'Inspectorat général de l'aéronautique, dont la structure était la suivante:

- Aéronautique territoriale (2 régiments de défense antiaérienne, 3 escadrilles de chasseurs);
- Aéronautique des armées 1, 2, 3 (31 escadrilles de reconnaissance de proximité pour les divisions et pour le corps d'armée; 6 escadrilles de reconnaissance lointaine pour les armées; 2 escadrilles d'hydraviation pour les divisions de mer et du Danube; 9 escadrilles de chasse – protection; 3 régiments d'aérostation);
- Aéronautique du Grand Quartier Général (2

escadrilles de reconnaissance stratégique; 33 escadrilles de chasse; 27 escadrilles de bombardement).²

3. Le cadre législatif et la nouvelle organisation de l'aviation

La Loi relative à l'établissement des cadres et des effectifs de l'armée et la Loi relative à la modification de la loi d'organisation de l'armée surtout, adoptées en 1932, produisent des changements importants dans l'organisation de l'aviation militaire.

On lui assurait une autonomie administrative par la création du Sous – Secrétariat d'État de l'Air, dans le cadre du Ministère de la Défense Nationale, avec des attributions “d'organisme de conduite, d'organisation, de directive et d'administration de tous les moyens aériens sur le territoire national”³.

Par la même loi on créait le Commandement des forces aériennes ayant comme attributions „l'organisation, la préparation, la direction et l'administration des forces aériennes militaires”⁴.

Il avait dans sa subordination: le Commandement aéronautique territorial (responsable de l'organisation et de l'administration de toute la superstructure de l'aéronautique); 2 divisions aériennes; le Commandement de la défense contre les aéronefs (les régiments de défense contre les aéronefs).

En même temps on établissait une nouvelle structure pour la division aérienne, à la place des commandements de brigades et de régiments: le commandement de la division; des escadres aéronautiques (flottes d'aviation, hydraviation et aérostation, un régiment de défense contre les aéronefs); des escadres d'aviation (2-3 flottes d'aviation).

En 1934 a été supprimé un commandement de division aérienne; le deuxième sera supprimé le 15.04.1935⁵; en 1936 l'Aéronautique a été réorganisée en 3 régions aériennes, avec des commandements à București, Iași et Cluj.⁶

Le 14.11.1936 a été créé le Ministère de l'Air et de la Marine⁷, organisme d'État, autonome du point de vue de la conduite, de la préparation et de l'instruction des troupes et subordonné au Grand État-Major en ce qui concerne l'aspect opérationnel.

Conformément à la doctrine roumaine de défense, l'objectif principal des troupes subordonnées

à l'Aéronautique, dans le cadre du Ministère de l'Air et de la Marine, était la défense antiaérienne du territoire par l'aviation militaire et les troupes terrestres de défense antiaérienne. Les unités de l'aviation de combat n'étaient pas subordonnées aux grandes unités tactiques ou opérationnelles; elles exécutaient des missions d'appui en faveur de celles-ci.

4. L'aviation roumaine face à la deuxième guerre mondiale

La Région 1 aérienne Cluj, la Région 2 aérienne Iasi, la Région 3 aérienne Bucuresti, la sous région du littoral maritime – Constanța, le Commandement de la défense contre les aéronefs, le Commandement de la défense antiaérienne du territoire, le Commandement des écoles et des centres d'instruction de l'Aéronautique, le Régiment de génie aéronautique, les services affectés à l'Aéronautique se subordonnaient au Commandement des forces aériennes.

La loi de création et d'organisation du Ministère de l'Air et de la Marine précisait la structure de l'Aéronautique en temps de guerre: des formations à la disposition des commandements des grandes unités opérationnelles; des formations dans la réserve générale du Grand Quartier Général; des formations opérationnelles dans la zone intérieure.

À la mobilisation, la Roumanie créait 16 commandements aéronautiques (dont 4 commandements auprès des commandements d'armée et 12 auprès des commandements des corps d'armée) qui devaient coordonner les missions des escadrilles de reconnaissance⁸.

En 1938 la Roumanie disposait de: 3 flottes d'aviation de reconnaissance, une flotte de chasse (la deuxième était en cours d'organisation), une flotte de bombardement (la deuxième était en train d'être formée), une flotte d'hydraviation et une flotte d'aérostation.

Quatre groupes de défense contre les aéronefs, répartis dans 4 régions au niveau national, rassemblaient tous les moyens terrestres de défense antiaérienne.

Le déclenchement de la deuxième guerre mondiale trouve l'aviation de la Roumanie dans cette situation.

5. L'aviation et l'horizon de la pensée militaire de spécialité

Le rôle stratégique de l'aviation est mis en évidence par plusieurs auteurs roumains; on accorde une attention particulière à l'aviation, à côté des chars, à leur utilisation dans la bataille.

L'aviation et les chars imposent une nouvelle conception concernant la bataille et, surtout, les actions de la période initiale de la guerre.

En Roumanie, un des adeptes lucides et enthousiastes de Douhet a été Marin T. Anton, auteur de deux livres significatifs: *Le bombardement aérien*⁹ et *Le danger aérien et les mesures de défense*¹⁰.

Les spécialistes militaires sont arrivés à la conclusion qu'une guerre future commencerait par des frappes massives, déclenchées dès son début.

Le général Radu Rosetti, en 1934, dans son étude *Le problème militaire roumain, avant-hier - hier - aujourd'hui*, attire l'attention que la mobilisation d'une armée constitue une opération qui a la tendance de devenir de plus en plus difficile à cause des effectifs nombreux et que «l'intervalle de temps entre la déclaration de guerre et le début de celle-ci se réduit de plus en plus et tend à zéro»¹¹. Il pose la question: «Quel danger est le plus grand pendant les premières journées d'une guerre?»¹². Sa réponse à cette question a été la suivante: «L'attaque à l'improviste livrée par les forces ennemies contre notre armée en pleine transformation et le découragement général que cette attaque peut produire»¹³.

En analysant les possibilités de l'ennemi de commencer l'agression, le général Rosetti arrive à la conclusion que la surprise peut être réalisée suite à une attaque aérienne: «Cette attaque est sûre parce que l'aviation est toujours prête, parce que son effet matériel est plus grand et parce que son effet moral est encore plus grand et parce que décourager dès le début l'adversaire et entraver la mobilisation et la concentration de ses forces armées constituent un objectif non seulement normal mais obligatoire»¹⁴.

La conception conformément à laquelle la guerre va commencer par une attaque aérienne, application du principe de la surprise, a été commune à plusieurs auteurs roumains.

G. Vizanti et Scarlat Urlatianu, dans leur ouvrage *La stratégie roumaine dans la future guerre*¹⁵, affirment que la supériorité stratégique initiale sera réalisée par des voies différentes par rapport

à celles du passé à cause des conditions nouvelles d'une éventuelle guerre, mais aussi à cause des moyens nouveaux de combat: l'aviation, les chars et l'arme chimique.

Les auteurs sus-mentionnés considèrent que: si Napoléon avait obtenu la supériorité stratégique initiale grâce «aux pieds des soldats» (c'est-à-dire par des manœuvres bien conçues et déployées), si Moltke – l'Ancien l'avait réalisée par une concentration judicieuse des forces tandis que Moltke - le Jeune avait réussi cela par une subtilité d'organisation (les corps d'armée de réserve), dans une guerre future elle sera acquise par la surprise de son début, même si cela signifie la violation des traités et des normes de droit international.

Un pays ayant des intentions agressives ne laissera plus à sa victime le temps nécessaire de se mettre en garde «L'invasion sera équivalente à la déclaration de guerre, en laissant que l'interprétation du fait soit jugée à la table verte, comme ont été jugées, jusqu'à présent, les actions des vainqueurs»¹⁶.

Les deux auteurs présentent le tableau des actions initiales de la guerre de la manière suivante: «Pour la réalisation de la surprise, et surtout pour obtenir dès le début la supériorité, avec des conséquences incalculables, sinon décisives, marquée par le bouleversement et la désorientation de toutes les opérations de mobilisation du pays, l'aviation ennemie attaquera les centres vitaux du pays, secondée par de nombreuses troupes mobiles»¹⁷.

Le début de la guerre par une action d'ampleur de l'aviation a été également prévu par le général I. Sichitiu et le colonel A. Ioanitiu. Les deux auteurs de l'ouvrage *Éléments de stratégie* considèrent que l'aviation de bombardement pourrait exécuter des frappes derrière le front, dans la profondeur du territoire; «cette activité de l'aviation de bombardement commencera dès le premier jour de mobilisation et continuera sans cesse pendant la concentration, la manœuvre stratégique et la bataille»¹⁸. L'aviation pourrait frapper les troupes ennemies en mouvement ou en stationnement, les voies de communications et les nœuds de communications, les objectifs industriels et économiques, les centres politiques.

Les auteurs affirment, en conclusion, que l'intervention de l'aviation dans les théâtres de guerre «paralysera ou au moins interrompra toute l'activité derrière le front, en entravant ainsi les mouvements et le ravitaillement»¹⁹.

Cette analyse sera entièrement confirmée par les événements; le 1-er septembre 1939 l'Allemagne a attaqué la Pologne, sans déclaration de guerre préalable; les actions ont commencé par une attaque de grandes dimensions de l'aviation qui a réussi, en quelques jours, à neutraliser l'aviation polonaise, les transports, le commandement des troupes.

En même temps, sur le territoire polonais sont entrés trois groupements de forces, rassemblant un nombre considérable de chars, dont les actions se sont déployées rapidement, en paralysant tout le territoire.

D'autres spécialistes roumains ont apporté des contributions intéressantes à l'analyse de l'aviation en tant qu'élément stratégique dans la configuration de la guerre moderne: Emanoil Leoveanu²⁰, Dumitru I. Georgescu²¹, Mircea Bianu²², D. S. Drăgan²³, Gh. Vasilescu²⁴, V. Chițu²⁵, Const. Telemac²⁶, Florin Georgescu²⁷, Radu Dinulescu²⁸, Gheorghe Cristescu et Vladimir Poltaraschi²⁹, Iacob Bălan³⁰, V. Economu³¹, H. Dimitriu³², Gh. Constantinescu³³, I. Drăgan³⁴, I. T. Ciulpan³⁵, Mihail P. Grigoriu³⁶, Constantinescu Berzelie³⁷, Gh. Săruleanu³⁸, St. Cernătescu³⁹, M. Schina⁴⁰, Al. Sahini⁴¹, Eugeniu Săvulescu⁴².

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³ *Legea relativă la modificarea legii de organizare a armatei*. București, 1932, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

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⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

⁷ „*Monitorul Oficial*“, no. 266/ 14.11.1936.

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³³ CONSTANTINESCU, Gh., *Aviația în războiul de munte*, „România Militară“, septembrie 1933.

³⁴ DRĂGAN, I., *Aviația și pacifismul*, „România Militară“, noiembrie 1933; *Acțiunea aviației în lupta detașamentelor și în munți*, „România Militară“, octombrie 1935.

³⁵ CIULPAN, I. T., *Există într-adevăr un pericol aerochimic*, „România Militară“, ianuarie 1934.

³⁶ GRIGORIU, Mihail P., *Războiul terestru sau aerian*, „România Militară“, februarie 1934.

³⁷ CONSTANTINESCU-BERZELIE, *Apărarea aeriană a populației civile*, „România Militară“, iulie-august 1934.



ANALYSIS. SYNTHESIS. EVALUATIONS

³⁸ SĂRULEANU, Gh., *Apărarea industriei și regiunilor petrolifere față de un eventual atac aerian*, „România Militară”, septembrie 1934.

³⁹ CERNĂTESCU, St., *Problema apărării contra atacurilor aeriene*, „România Militară”, octombrie 1934.

⁴⁰ SCHINA, M., *Marea, Pământul și Aerul*,

„România Militară”, ianuarie 1935.

⁴¹ SAHINI, Al., *Acțiunea directă a aviației în lupta infanteriei*, „România Militară”, februarie, 1935; *Aeronautica în cadrul Corpului de armată și al diviziei*, București, 1937, p. 55.

⁴² SĂVULESCU, Eugeniu, *Aeronautica maritimă*, „România Militară”, iulie-august 1935.

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A FUTURE SPACE FOR PROSPERITY, STABILITY AND SECURITY: BLACK SEA EURO-REGION

Vasile POPA

The beginning of the year that previews the Romania's integration into the big family of the European peoples, underlines a forward, decisive step for the Romanian foreign policy, by imposing, on the firmament of the regional democracy building ideas and actions, the consecration of the Black Sea area as "a space for real cooperation, in the frame of a multilateral process sustained by European partners, that could consolidate the principles and democratic values operation in the area's states"¹, continent's stability and security.

The demarches are placed in the generous dimension of the objectives included in our country mandate to the European Council's Ministers Committee Presidency, responsibility which extends from November 2005 until May 2006.

This mandate, known as an opportunity for Romania's contribution enlargement for the European Council politic mandate consolidation, for Europe's stability and security strengthen and for its reunification process prosecution, has as objectives to promote the democratic standards and well-governance, to intensify the general protection of the human rights on the continent, to develop integrator societies by supporting diversity and dialogue between regions and cultures, to intensify the efficiency and coherence of the European institutions architecture.

The key-moment to propel the initiative which we will refer to, is represented by the European Council Parliament Meeting reunion (ECPM), by the end of this January, when the Romanian President brought into discussion the necessity to demarche the European Local and Regional Powers Congress Project (ELRPC) regarding the creation of a Black Sea Euro-Region, as an activity dedicated to "promote democracy at local level, and from here, to consolidate the fundament which is sustained the whole regional democratic edifice"².

It is well-known the fact that the idea of accomplishing this type of project is established into one of the main objectives, adapted to the new re-

alities of ELRPC, the one regarding to "encourage the creation of an Euro-Region". The example of Adriatic Euro-Region creation and launching (by February 2006) is a good pattern for the new Black Sea Euro-Region. The South-Eastern Europe political, economic and defence problems include the issue of the Black Sea area justifying the sustainability of trans-border, regional and inter-regional cooperation strengthening for promoting peace, democracy and durability in the Pontux Euxinus area. The regional and local cooperation play an important role for obtaining a durable protection and management in the Black Sea area, its development stability and durability.

The launching reunion of the Black Sea Euro-Region project that was presumed to take place this March, under the Romanian presidency of the European Council Minister's Committee, offers the opportunity to accomplish an open dialogue over the cooperation ways in the frame of the future Euro-Region of consolidating the democratic processes from the area and from good governance. So that, with an important European Council support, the democratic capital existent in the South-Eastern Europe begins to be extended in the close vicinity. In this frame, Romania has the possibility to offer its own transition experience, its aquis in good praxis material and promoting the good vicinity relations, the respect of the national minorities' human rights, the pluralism and inter-confessional relations.

Black Sea as well as the Adriatic Sea is confronting, as a marine space, with numerous environment and development problems regarding the pollution from terrestrial and marine sources, the dangerous substances and products transport, the fish resources and marine mammalian affectation, water's quality deterioration, the salinity regime modification, the marine ecosystem's fragile equilibrium etc. If we look in ensemble to the region's future, all these issues must be and will be approached from a global manner with the help of



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some trans-border and inter-regional cooperation mechanisms. More programs and instruments will consolidate the regional cooperation with the support of the littoral states, EU and UN from where the area benefits.

The marine, maritime and littoral aspects are the one that enter in the major preoccupations for the Black Sea region future development. It is expected that the new initiative to allow the durable Euro-region development objective reaching and to improve life quality of its inhabitants. The integrated management of the ecosystem problems, consolidated trans-border cooperation, the politic will and coordinated activities, but also the finances and partnerships closing between the public powers, parliaments, regional and local authorities, private sector and civil society will have a significant role in the accelerate development of the Euro-Region.

Black Sea Euro-Region development, of course, depends in great measure by the way how is assured its security and stability, by the rapidity how states and international institutions succeed to give away the area's "frozen" conflicts. In the same time, it must be showed that the development delay of many area's states offers a fertile terrain for the transnational criminal groups' action. The Black Sea basin placement at the Europe with Asia contact line although lays the space's states to the illegal migration, drugs traffic, smuggling crossroads that have a negative impact over the Euro-Region evolution.

Adding the danger of ideological component amplifying – *with the ethnical and religious intolerance, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism in regeneration* – to the intern difficulties, but although the Russian economic and politic pressures exercised over some region's states is obvious that the durable stabilization and development area's responsibility it isn't an easy task. It mustn't be omitted the human rights grave transgression, the lack of real market economy mechanisms, poverty, corruption, power concentration in some mafia's families hands, if we remind just the more important from the phenomena that manifest presently in many of the space's states, all constituting a serious brake in front of the region's rapid and durable advance.

There's no doubt that the Black Sea Euro-Region can put in value its great potential which dispose of, from the commerce, tourism, and energy resources transport point of view. Black Sea Euro-

Region being at the intersection of some geopolitical and geo-economic spaces presents a commercial interest which will grow more and more in the passing Caspic and Central Asia resources accession into the European and global energy markets. In the conditions when the European and Euro-Atlantic security institutions will act more dynamically and decisively in the area, the Euro-Region states will have new opportunities to strength the existent formats of cooperation, which, correlated with the UE existence and complementarities with the regional successful initiatives³ will play a catalyzing role in its accelerate and durable demarches, at the beginning of the XXIst century.

The Black Sea littoral states they still have to fight with the historical legacy, the difficulties of the reform process to democracy and market economy, which acts over their implications in regional cooperation and integration. With them are added intern economic and politic problems, conflict's aspects, the multitude of menaces from the regional security medium, which underlines significantly the regional cooperation and integration.

It's a positive fact that on regional plan, are known mechanisms and organizations designated to economic, politic and military cooperation which consolidates the durable development process in space's states stability and security. We could mention here: The Organization for Economic Cooperation to the Black Sea, the Conference for Regional Security to the Black Sea, the Group of Naval Cooperation to the Black Sea, the South-Eastern European Brigade, The Multinational Peace Force for South-Eastern Europe, the Initiative for Borders Defence. The Black Sea region is, in the same time, undergone to some real foreign pressures, which are owed to the international control mechanisms for the drugs, weapons and persons traffic, organized crime combating, the Caspian Sea area energetic resources exploitation and transport towards West, the EU's vicinity policy and this organization extension, as well as NATO's, further, to East.

The Black Sea Euro-Region project will benefit, of course, from the good effects on the plan of the security and development of the numerous specific mechanisms that function here, to the international security organizations initiative: the Development Program launched by UN, Partnership for Peace initiated by NATO, the Cooperation Initiative in South-Eastern Europe, the Action Plan for Individ-



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ual Partnership with the states from the Black Sea region, the Program “Environment security, toxic substances involved in oil and gas transport in the Black Sea and Caspian Sea areas”, Danube-Black Sea Intervention Ecologist Force, as well as another programs initiated by OSCE, GUAM and CSI.

The Black Sea Euro-Region development will be, although, corresponding influenced by the new forms of multiple, interdependent, cooperation with open to all the field, by the initiatives activity of the EU Commission for Communication regarding the Environment Cooperation in Danube-Black Sea region or the Black Sea Commission, with important effects in the environment policy, as well as the one from cultural, scientific, diplomatic etc. plan.

The Euro-Region new project’s launching under the Local and Regional Congress Powers patronage for the European Council, in the representative’s of the followed state governs, local and regional authorities presence, as well as the representatives of the civil societies, interested regional and international organizations, offers the possibility to express, through the adopted politic Declaration text, the engagement of consolidating the democratic processes in the wider Black Sea space, the development of a better governance, which to help the area’s states wellness and implicitly, the region’s, in ensemble, and represents, how the Romanian Chief of State stated “*an essen-*

tial step for opening a dialogue to the local administration level”.⁴ Romania assumes itself through that text of this declaration signing and the new European Council project’s launch finalizing, especially the responsibility “*for producing positive evolutions toward East – security, development, stability evolutions*”⁵ as a state well anchored in the security system and the civilized world realities and that develops the democracy in the Eastern frontier of NATO and EU.

NOTES:

¹ Băseșcu, Traian, *The Romanian President Speech, to the European Council Parliamentary Meeting*, the 25th of January 2006, www.precidency.ro.

² Ibidem.

³ See ALEXANDRESCU, Grigore, PhD and SARCINSCHI, Alexandra, *Modalities and possibilities for amplifying the cooperation within the Black Sea Area*, National Defence University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 8-12.

⁴ The presidency’s press communiqué regarding Traian Basescu’s, the Romanian President’s speech, dated 17th of February, to the international conference papers opening „Infrastructure development in the Black Sea area in the new Euro-Atlantic context”, from the Romanian Commerce and Industry Room, www.precidency.ro.

⁵ President Traian Băseșcu’s speech to the Romanian Diplomacy Institute inauguration, the 27th of January 2006, www.precidency.ro.

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MILITARY PROSPECONOMY. DETERMINATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR AN ECONOMY OF THE SYSTEM OF MANAGEMENTS IN THE MILITARY FIELD

Maricel POPA, PhD

Analyzing the military system as an economical one and taking into account its logistical and financial functions, determining the planning and the use of specific resources required for achieving the established objectives, we propose a new and modern approach, an economical-managerial one for generating and using the resources by prospeconomy - the economy of management. This scientific approach will lead to the optimization of any system.

As it is already well-known, the defence planning is an attribute and an essential component of the defence policy, representing a complex of activities and measures which deal with defining and accomplishing the objectives of national security in defence domain.

In order to accomplish the objectives and tasks that result from the documents that state the defence planning the Ministry of National Defence is building up the system for planning, programming, budgeting and evaluating the forces, activities and resources. Mentioning those facts, we wanted to underline the fact that, under the present conditions, the approach to some point of interest, like the inter operability, codification and the standardization of the military systems, must be the result of a thorough analysis of the interdependence between the economic coordinates and of the military systems, the analysis of the economic and military consequences determined by this interdependence.

Although the national defence is part of public utilities, it is relevant another aspect that shows that the tax payers cannot perceive the benefices of this utility. Only the perturbation of the security medium brings about in the centre of social attention the importance of ensuring the national defence, and the importance of the resources spent on it.

Because of this, the analysis of the inter action between the security medium – the defence policy - and the national economy cannot ignore the new economic dimension of war, as a social phenomenon, as well as the learned lesson from the crises management in different fields, especial in the financial and economic domain. The new expected and virtual levels of economic and military culture, as well as the results of the organizational management will allow the shaping of new opinions regarding the new challenges of the new century in this domain.

Any systematic approach of a military system shows that it is an economic system as well. Being a two faced phenomenon, the military system has all the important functions that determine it. According to our point of view we will analyze the logistic and financial and accounting functions. These functions are responsible for planning and the using of certain resources, much needed to touch the proposed goals. In the economic field, the logistic function is defined as “an ensemble of activities that have as a common goal to offer a certain quantity of a product, at the best price, at the right place and moment, according to the demand for such a product. This function uses logistic systems that not only distribute goods and services in order to satisfy the demand, but also promoting ideas of cultural, social and economic progress. This function is connected to the inter dependence between research and development, production, commerce, the financial and accounting function, human resources. In its turn this function offers valuable information”¹. These functions are organized in a unitary system, “with a dynamic character, and that presents internal connections of interdependence what make use of all the activities in at its disposal, that lead to the accomplishment of the objective of a perfect functioning of the system”².



We consider that it is very important to underline the fact that each function determines a distinct and specialized management, in other words, the more complex a system, the more diversified the intrinsic managements. For example, from a conceptual point of view, and based on the facts presented above, we can appreciate that the logistic inter operability, financial supported and reflected in accounting, can be an economic goal (objective) as well.

To underline some financial and economic aspects, regarding the inter operability, the codification and the standardization of the logistic domain, we will reduce the definition to this: "the art of offering the needed resources at the right time and place".³

The financial and accounting function helps the logistic function through the two component elements that define it:

a) The financial activity, has the following attributions: forecasting in order to ensure the financial resources; to use all the resources available; to control the way in which the financial discipline is observed; the relationships with the banks, the suppliers and the beneficiaries; cash operations and payments; debit supervising and recuperating, etc.

b) The accounting activity has the following roles: the synthesized and analyzed commendation of the elements of patrimony; the analysis of the financial and economic activity, especially of the costs; the activity of supervising the inventories so that they reflect exactly the resources and the means; data processing, in order to obtain financial information etc.

The budget of incomes and payments and the accounting balance represent the two main instruments of the economic and financial management.

The financial and economic activity has as its own goal the insurance of the inter operability with other systems; it uses standardization of principles and procedures and it also uses systems of codification and classification. From this point of view, accounting represents a specific system of codification, and the improvement of the accounting standards will be able to offer a greater efficiency.

The accounting and financial activity also uses a specific system of classification, that of the financial indicators.

The elements that we have already presented here can be concretized during the development of the logistic function. We would like to underline the fact that ensuring a codification for the material assets can be made by using their accounting, using synthetically and analytical methods, in a correct and operative way. Thus the military decision will be made taking into consideration all the information it needed.

For a better and more modern economic and managerial approach, we think that we need to analyze the problematic of generating and using of the resources. Forecasting the future development can have benefice results, because using this method will help us to do away with the unwanted effects.

In his book **Introduction to the Study of the Future** (New York, 1969), Watt Kenneth talks about *Titanic effect*. This is a principle according to which "the size of disaster decreases the moment people think it can be a real threat, thus finding measures to reduce its effect."⁴

As a prognosis, the society of the future will produce and use the IT values. But, at the same time, a piece of information not analyzed, not supervised and not stocked in a proper way cannot become a value, and it cannot be used as a source. Some concept like inter operability, standardization and codification are used in all the domains of the social life, according to specific interests.

Taking into account all these elements, we would like to propose a modality to systemize all the elements, which, at least for the moment, are scattered. This may constitute a new discipline, an integrating one that can cope with the challenges of the XXI century.

We will call this **prospeconomy**. From an etymological point of view, this word comes from two words of Greek and Latin origin:

a) Prospicio (lat.)- to look ahead, to be careful; words like: *prospicue* – carefully and *prospicius-careful*, belong to the same family of words;

b) Oikia, oekos (gr.)- house, medium;

c) Nomos (gr.)- law, regulation, norm.

From our point of view, *prospeconomy* is the science that studies the processes and the relationships determined by generating and using of the resources within a certain system.

The goal of such a scientific recourse is represented by the optimization of the design and administration of any system.



Prospeconomy can be defined as **the economic science of the system of managements, or as the science of the management of the managements**. We think that *prospeconomy* can be applied to all the domains of the social life, as well as to the military system.

Military prospeconomy can be thus defined:

I. Planning system:

A. Military planning (operational needs, strategic scenarios, operation plans etc.):

- a) Strategic planning;
- b) Current operative planning;
- c) Planning of the logistics of the military actions (when it is not specifically mentioned at points a) or b));
- d) The sub-system of military programming.

B. Economic and financial planning (generating and regenerating resources):

- a) Planning of human resources;
- b) Planning of financial resources;
- c) Planning of material resources;
- d) Sub-system of regenerating resources;
- e) Sub-system of economic and financial programming;
- f) Acquisitions sub-system;
- g) Budgeting sub-system (budgeting is an ensemble of techniques and methods used to ante calculate the opportunity costs, determined in the decisional process and included in plans and programmes).

II. Plan execution system (the usage of the resources):

- a) The execution of military plans;
- b) Budget execution;
- c) Logistic plans execution;
- d) Administrative sub-system (financial administration);
- e) Accounting;
- f) Other sub systems that support the plan execution system.

III. System for evaluating the plan execution (control and analysis):

- a) Sub-system of force evaluation;
- b) Sub-system of activities evaluation;
- c) Sub-system of resources utilization evaluation;
- d) Sub-systems connected with evaluation:
 - Internal control;

- Financial control;
- Internal public audit;
- Economic and financial analysis;
- Quality management.

IV. Elements of integration, adapting and standardization of the military systems (at operational, technique and administrative level):

- a) Proper standardization sub-system (compatibility, inter operability, inter changeability, community);
- b) Codification sub system;
- c) Personnel motivation and socialization sub-system;
- d) Other classification sub-systems (ordering and categorizing);
- e) Adjacent elements (rationalization, conversion);
- f) Integration and medium adaptability sub-system, etc.

We like to mention that the IT resources can be included, analyzed and systematized according to *prospeconomy*. It is well known the fact that management represents one of the essential factor that make possible the integration of individuals in a common activity, in order to obtain performances superior to the performance of each individual.

Prospeconomy is the management economy, having functions of leadership, rationalization, specialization, division of labour, motivation, control, research, development, legality, organizational structures, training and instruction oriented to development, capacity of adaptability to the changes of medium, all of these from an economic viewpoint and directed to one goal, efficiency. As to military *prospeconomy*, this theme will be developed in more details, regarding the operative and practical character.

NOTES:

¹ Ioan Constantin DIMA, *The logistical system of a firm*, Technique Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³ W.H.NEWMAN, *L'art de la gestion*, Paris, Dunod, 1969, p. 225.

⁴ Conf. MIHAI Gabriel, *Modelling and stimulation of the economic processes*, Amarcord Publishing House, Timișoara, 1988, p. 37.

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INFORMATION WARFARE AND NON-CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS

*Massimo MAURO, PhD**

A review of non-conventional weapons likely to be used in Information Warfare is presented. Strategic implications and consequences of usage by non-state actors are assessed.

The threat represented by these weapons and measures to counter it are outlined.

Notes on why conventional non-proliferation methods are not effective against this threat are presented.

Introduction

Information Warfare¹ continues to be the object of much attention, and so have various types of Directed Energy Weapons (DEW)², as well as other non-conventional weapons.

The usage of non-conventional weapons in an Information Warfare setting has not been analysed in depth, however. This paper is not a comprehensive review in this area, being rather a contribution to stimulate discussion

A simplified taxonomy of non-conventional weapons

United Nations Resolution number 46/36 L (6 December 1991), entitled „Transparency in armaments”, requested the Secretary-General to establish and maintain at United Nations Headquarters in New York a universal and non-discriminatory Register of Conventional Arms, to include data on international arms transfers as well as information provided by Member States on military holdings, procurement through national production and relevant policies.

The Register comprises seven categories of major conventional arms, namely, battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, large calibre artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, war-

ships (including submarines) as well as missiles and missile-launchers. We will consider non-conventional weapons all weapons not included in the previous categories.

We may group non-conventional weapons into:

- o NBC (Nuclear, Biological and Chemical) weapons³

- o NLW (Non-Lethal Weapons)⁴

This emerging category of weapons includes, inter alia, weapons targeted at counter-insurgency and crowd control operations (e.g. taser®, stun gun, low power microwave weapons etc.);

- o BIW (Beam and Information Weapons)

This category includes:

- Directed Energy Weapons, as lasers, High Power Microwave (HPM) weapons, particle beam weapons

- EMP-based, non-focussed weapons (E bombs)⁵

- NBW (*Network-based Weapons*)

All software-based agents (virus, Trojan horses, worms, other propagating vectors and their payloads) are included.

We deliberately excluded Kinetic Energy Weapons (rail guns, etc.) from this simplified taxonomy, as so far there is little evidence of their usage. NBC weapons proliferation and control has been extensively researched and continues to be investigated actively, besides being subject to a number of international treaties⁶ and monitoring activities.

BIW and NBW have instead not been researched extensively, at least not in the open literature, also because of the classified nature of a significant amount of projects.

* The opinions expressed here are those of the author and should not be construed as representing the opinion of the Council of the European Union, of its General Secretariat, nor of any other European institutions.



BIW and NBW applications in Information Warfare

Recent developments

In recent conflicts, at the US-Iraq war (2003), IW activity has already greatly increased, compared to previous conflicts. It is very likely to have contributed to provide US forces with air and space superiority and information superiority, though the technological gap between the conflicting forces meant that the confrontation was unequal.

It is not known whether NBW weapons were deployed, though it seems unlikely, as their usage may have not been required to achieve information superiority.

This leads us to a first consideration: in future conflicts, the usage of BIW is most likely to increase, and deployment of HPM weapons is probable. As underlined in 2000 by Col. Walling in her seminal paper on HPM weapons, „*The conclusion of the study is that high power microwave technology is ready for the transition to active weapons in the U.S. military*”⁷.

DEW developments

Given that there is little data on the precise characteristics of the DEW deployed, the effectiveness of the defences against this class of weapons cannot be easily determined. It should be recalled in passing, however, that defensive measures effective against nuclear Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) might not be effective against HPM weapons, as the operational frequency spectrum may differ.

Therefore, conventional hardening techniques and reaction controls may be insufficient, as stated by Dr. Merritt in 1998: „*We believe that common EMI and EMP mitigation techniques will not provide adequate protection against nanosecond and subnanosecond pulses from future radio frequency weapons, since active mitigation device response times are typically several nanoseconds to microseconds. Faster solid-state devices do not now have the high power capability needed to protect systems from RFW pulses*”⁸.

Other DEW are already very near to deployment stage, as for instance YAL-1A⁹, the USAF one megawatt-class airborne laser, which includes a Chemical Oxygen-Iodine Laser (COIL), was undergoing final integration testing in 2003. This Chemical laser requires, however, a significant supply of chemicals, and even a 747-400 freight-

er, which is the airplane on which the prototype is being mounted, can apparently ensure only approximately forty short bursts (of duration 5 to 30 s) with the planned payload. The difference with HPM weapons, which are not subject to this limitation, is significant.

Environmental constraints may limit also usage of lasers, as beams may be scattered by dust, smoke, turbulence or conventional countermeasures (e.g. optically enhanced chaff), much as current prototype weapons allow for automatic compensation of these effects.

The likely targets are also quite different. HPM weapons have many possible targets, though damage assessment is particularly difficult, being extremely hard to ascertain whether, using Walling’s terminology, one was able to deny, degrade or damage the target. Airborne lasers are instead „intended to operate against ballistic missiles in the early or boost phase of flight”¹⁰ (by ballistic missiles here are meant theatre-range ballistic missiles, not ICBM). Target destruction can be verified by integrating data from multiple acquisition systems (radar, satellite, etc.).

NBW Developments

In view of the accelerating integration of theatre battlefield networks, which are coming to play a central role in future engagements, ensuring that these networks either remain functional or degrade gracefully acquires a paramount importance. Military battlefield networks need to be set up instantly and reassembled swiftly.

The nature of the threats is already quickly changing: from simple viruses and worms, often identifiable via a signature, the current situation, as seen just on the public Internet is shaping the forthcoming threats, which are very likely to take a blended shape.

According to F-Secure, „Blended threats include hacker-like behaviour to automatically probe and explore system vulnerabilities”¹¹ And we are actually talking here about malware quickly scribbled by a few practitioners, integrating chunks of pre-existing code with perhaps one/two new ideas, not about professionally-led projects run by qualified IW/Information Operations specialists.¹²

Strategic consequences

These weapons may not be able to force drastic changes to the military doctrine, yet they may soon



begin to change the range of offensive capabilities, as well as shortening the acquisition-to-targeting time in the case of DEW.

Countermeasures

Let us now briefly turn our attention to countermeasures available for the various non-conventional weapons reviewed.

DEW may be countered by a series of measures linked to the frequency range in which they operate: thus optical defences (artificial smoke, chaff, highly reflective materials) will be used to „harden” against laser weapons, whilst a specific type of hardening and shielding, exclusive usage of optically coupled components and other standard techniques (as e.g. Faraday cages) will be used in mission-critical systems (e.g. missile guidance systems) to protect against HPM weapons.

With respect to NBW the situation is not as clear-cut: although some promising techniques, as for instance throttling¹³ or immune systems-based approaches¹⁴, may begin to be integrated soon also into military networks, focus has clearly shifted from intrusion detection to network survivability, that is ensuring that the network under attack will neither become inoperable, nor that it will have to be taken off-line to eliminate the intruder.

Offensive BIW and NBW deployment

State adversaries in a conflict are likely to deploy BIW and NBW for purposes similar to those established in the US military doctrine.

Non-state agents may, however, be able as well to acquire and deploy HPM weapons, for possibly a different usage, as for instance for attacks against civilian aircrafts.

Components for a simple HPM weapon (not an E-bomb, though) are available in many countries and, whilst not specially produced for this purpose, may be suitable for its implementation.

Non-Conventional Weapons Proliferation

Established non-proliferation techniques include monitoring of direct-use material (e.g. fissile material for nuclear weapons) or of technologies. For the non-conventional weapons examined these techniques are quite difficult to apply: some technologies (dielectric material for high energy density capacitors, solid state lasers, high power microwave generating tubes) may be monitored, though

most of them are dual-use materials, and there is at present no international legal instrument, unlike with fissile materials, to monitor export and trade in these materials.

As to usage of non-conventional weapons in outer space, which is being advocated, a debate is in progress on whether the 1967 Outer Space Treaty¹⁵, which most countries have ratified, or otherwise are parties to, is applicable to DEW, given that it refers to “... *nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction*”. (Art. IV). At present, there is a disagreement on whether DEW should be considered weapons of mass destruction.

Conclusion

New types of non-conventional weapons may be deployed in the near future, and a comprehensive study of their capabilities is essential to assess the impact caused on military operations.

Ways of preventing proliferation of these weapons should be considered carefully, as, though not weapons of mass destruction, some of them may also be used against civilian targets by non-state agents.

NOTES:

¹ Information warfare is defined, according to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff Publication 3-13, 9 October 1998, Joint Doctrine for Information Operations, as “information operations conducted during time of crisis or conflict to achieve or promote specific objectives over a specific adversary or adversaries” (Chapter 1, par.3 j).

² “A system using directed energy primarily as a direct means to damage or destroy enemy equipment, facilities, and personnel”. United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. DOD Dictionary of Military Terms and Associated Terms. Joint Publication 1-02. Washington, DC: JCS, 1997.

³ Previously “B” stood for “Bacteriological”. The new term reflects the possible usage of weaponised vectors or payloads, which may be of a non-bacteriological (viral, enzymatic etc.) nature.

⁴ “3.1. *Non Lethal Weapons. Weapons that are explicitly designed and primarily, employed so as to incapacitate personnel or materiel, while minimizing fatalities, permanent injury to personnel, and undesired damage to property and the environment*”. John P. White, Deputy Secretary of Defence. Non-Lethal Weapons Policy. Department of Defence Directive



Number 3000.3, 9 July 1996, p.1, http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/d30003/_070996/d30003p.pdf

⁵ For a possible conceptual description and a definition see <http://www.csse.monash.edu.au/~carlo/archive/MILITARY/APS/wp50-draft.pdf>

⁶ Inter alia the SALT/START treaties, the Biological Warfare Convention, the Chemical Warfare Convention.

⁷ E.M.WALLING, "High Power Microwaves: Strategic and Operational Implications for Warfare", Occasional Paper No.11, Center for Strategy and Technology of the Air War College, Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama (February 2000).

⁸ Statement of Dr. Ira W. Merritt, Chief, Concepts Identification and Applications Analysis Division, Advanced Technology Directorate, Missile Defense and Space Technology Center, U.S. Army Space and Missile Defense Command before the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress on February 25, 1998: "Proliferation and Significance of Radio Frequency Weapons Technology", <http://www.house.gov/jec/hearings/radio/merritt.htm>

⁹ See <http://www.boeing.com/defense-space/military/abl/news/2003/110003.html>

¹⁰ Lexington Institute, "Directed-Energy Weapons", White Paper (February 2003), p.23, <http://www.lexingtoninstitute.org/defense/pfd/DirectEngery.pdf>

¹¹ <http://www.f-secure.com/products/whitepapers/blended-threats-whitepaper.pdf>

¹² "Computer Network Attack and Computer Network Defense. CNA and CND operations target and defend computer networks and systems. As many computer networks are linked electronically, incorporating the results of EW [Electronic Warfare] planning is crucial to both offensive and defensive computer network, warfare operations. While physical access to a particular computer network may be limited, electronic access may prove the key to successful computer system penetration." Joint Doctrine for Electronic Warfare, 7 April 2000, Joint Publications 3-51, US Joint Chiefs of Staff.

¹³ WILLIAMSON (2002), <http://www.hpl.hp.com/techreports/2002/HPL-2002-172.pdf>

¹⁴ See for instance Y. WATANABE and Y. ISHIDA, "Mutual tests using immunity-based diagnostic mobile agents in distributed intrusion detection systems", Journal of AROB, Vol.8, 2004, <http://www.sys.tutkie.tut.ac.jp/~watanabe/paper/arob03.pdf>

¹⁵ <http://www.oosa.unvienna.org/treat/ost/outersptxt.htm>

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AD-TERROR AS A MEAN FOR EVOKING NEGATIVE EMOTIONS

Cristian DELCEA

Using as a starting point the studies on ad terror conducted along the years by researchers (Wilkinson, 1977; Martha, Middletonwn, & Wesleyan, 1983; Wardlaw, 1989; Wiewiorka, 1993; Wilkinson, 1997; Ganor, Ehrlich, Garcin-Morrou, 2001; Shay, 2002; Silver, 2002; Chermak, 2003; Delcea, 2004; Toma, 2004; Odorogea, 2004; Angheluş and Vescan, 2005) we took a critical approach on statements and theories on ad terror. As a result of this analysis we made an experiment in order to capture the negative emotional effect on the public as a media consumer and the cognitive and behaviour dysfunctionalities as provoked by advertised terror in the media.

Introduction

Reality shows us that mass media has become a sine qua non condition for terrorist acts, as means of mastering and paralyzing with fear the masses through psychological coercion and criminal intimidation. More often than not, if publicity is missing terrorist acts are not as efficient and can not function.

Taking a look at terrorist acts at international level we can notice that the number of assaults against Western Countries has soared, and this fact should be alarming for the western media. While publicity is the main objective of terrorists, the communication channels developed from word of mouth to media reports in the newspapers, on the radio, news reports and TV, the latter being a true communication weapon for them. An important propaganda means is also the Internet, as the ideal tool to spread their theories. (Ganor, 2002).

The fact that terrorist and international Jihad supporters use the media as a communication platform for operational messages is well known. However, some of the other media propagation means that jihadists use has remained a mystery for the specialists, and among the most infamous of them are sources that are easy to deceive, with

the declared purpose of spreading panic among the "enemies of Allah".

The smallest rumor of an imminent Al-Qaeda strike can rapidly be spread at every street corner, sowing terror among a frail population that ignores what to do in such situations. This is also sustained by a very well coordination between Al-Qaeda threat messages and actual attacks. Thus, as soon as a message is launched as a warning on terrorist sites, it is immediately taken over and perceived as a signal for further attacks. The fact that many such messages in the media were fake does not influence people into disbelief.

Any rumor that gives front page titles is transmitted and analyzed by ad-terror experts and raises the level of terror.

None of the warnings of attacks gave concrete information on the date, the targets of the attacks, or the means used for it. The media is much too easy to manipulate and too rooted in the category of the tools able to provoke psychological conflicts. The role of the media is to inform the public. However, by transmitting the messages, threats and declarations of terrorists it rather serves better their interests than those ones of the public. (Shay & Ganor, 2002).

Ad terror means spreading fear among a population through acts of violence that deliberately generate terror, fright, dread and are meant to make publicity for the terrorists' purposes. (Delcea, 2004; 2005; Law no.535/2004)

Modern terrorism means to sow fear and undermine the trust of the population. A secondary goal is to isolate each individual and disintegrate the community; threats are continuous and try to destroy the safety feeling of individuals, making their daily routine chaotic. The strategic, unarguable purpose of terrorists is to manipulate the public opinion so that it should force the state authorities into giving way to their demands. The population becomes thus a target and a tool for them in their fight, all this while they put up a political and reli-



gious agenda, justifying their deeds. (Shay, 2002; Stănescu, 2005).

Many studies made in the 80's until present day have shown a new face of terrorism: its preoccupation for the media and the concern for sowing fear among target groups.

Certainly, due to modern technologies they found a way to turn the media into a powerful destruction weapon. Further studies tried to capture the negative effects of the exposure of terrorist's attacks in the media. Many studies concentrated on this controversial phenomenon that divides the researchers to this day. Media exposed terror generated innumerable specialized studies and theories. (Stănescu, 2001).

In the 80's, Barrin Collin, a researcher with the Security and Espionage Institute of California launched the concept of "ad terror" to define deliberate and politically or religiously motivated attacks of sub national groups or clandestine agents on information, data, or computer programs that serve the media in order to spread terror (Denning, 2005). Collin also noticed that this is only a part of a more important and extremely complex tool of the terrorists. (Marret, 2002; Delcea, 2005).

Another study, published in 1997, "*The Media and Terrorism: A Reassessment*" by Paul Wilkinson, wants to study the symbiosis between the terrorists and the media as a result of the ad terror concept. His analysis starts with a general definition of the two concepts and then concentrates on the terrorists' objectives, hostage taking, the impact on the public opinion and the negative emotional response of the latter. At a certain point the two notions intertwine, and this is obvious from the terrorists' intent to obtain a legitimacy status and the need of the media for sensational stories. It may be that the media sees in terrorism an inexhaustible source of news meant to generate soaring ratings.

As we now face the issue of the intertwining between terrorism and the media, we have to look at the terrorist perspective on communication, as terrorism is in its very essence a psychological weapon depending on the way in which its threat is transmitted to society.

The vital elements of the terror acts are the threat, the wounding and the very destruction of the target groups and even the governments as efficient means to force them into giving up to their demands. (Stănescu, 2005).

The author also explores the studies of Michael Wieviorka (1993), while contesting his view of denying a symbiotic relationship between the media and terrorism by invoking arguments from psycho-sociology.

He puts forward the term symbiosis as meaning a mutual dependant relationship between two very different groups in a community, forming thus a complementary liaison. (Cathelat, 2005). Certainly, one can not deny the major input of modern technology and orbital satellites in the swelling the terrorist publicity.

Accordingly, the researchers B. Ehrlich, R. Shay, S. (2002), with The International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), put the bases of "ad terror" theory. They start with the recent terrorist attacks that use the media to spread violence, shock and combine several communication sciences to form a well defined concept to explain the phenomenon (psychology, sociology, the mass media etc). They enumerate three types of ad terror, as a strategy to intimidate the media devouring public:

- ad terror as a form of warning;
- ad terror as a form of violence;
- ad terror as a form of victory.

This is how the concept made its way into the world and took a specific form: a type of terrorism that manifests against the civil society in a hostile way; however, the studies left many essential questions unanswered. (Delcea, 2004). The purpose of this material is to study the relationship between the message of terror exposed in the media (issuer) and the public as a receiver in order to capture the activation of negative emotions in subjects exposed to media. This is an unprecedented study, though suggested by many researchers in the field (Chermak, 2003). To reach this goal, our study will contribute with the other studies to make some predictions on the impact of media terror on society.

1. Theoretical Premises

1.1 Conceptual Demarcations

The term terrorism comes from the Latin <terror>, meaning physical violence, fright and fear provoked deliberately by using means able to lead to a common peril. Its features are: violence and the threat of violence, the systematic and persistent use of violence, intimidation and raising sensitiv-



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ity to aggression and hatred (Delcea, 2004; Buş, 2005).

Political Terrorism, by Schmidt and Youngman (1988) puts forward 109 definitions of the intimidations means of terrorism, the authors having obtained them from military academies and universities that study this phenomenon. This is a statistic that shows the defining criteria of terrorism. They are: (Delcea, 2004): violence and use of force (in 83.5% of definitions); politics (65%); fright, terror (51%); threat (47%); psychological effects and anticipation of reactions (41.5%); discrepancy between targets and civilian victims (37.5%); intentional, deliberate, systematic, organized action (32%); fighting methods, tactics, strategies (30.5%).

A lot of studies tried to conceptualize ad terror as a distinct type of terrorism. Having great liberty of action, ad terror favored the emergence of biological, chemical, nuclear, radiological, informational terrorism and that of the cyberspace. The favored terrorist weapon is the human being and they have for this unlimited means. (Petrescu, 2003).

The table below presents the most recent study on the types of terrorism, "Political Power and Ad Terror" by Angheluş and Vescan (2005). This statistics shows that ad terror has the biggest negative effect on people.

Type of terrorism	Statistics
<i>Nationalist Terrorism</i>	6,3%
<i>Islamist fundamentalist terrorism</i>	6,8%
<i>Sponsored Terrorism</i>	6,1%
<i>Left-wing Terrorism</i>	5,9%
<i>Cyber terrorism</i>	7,8%
<i>Narcotic terrorism</i>	6,4%
<i>Biological Terrorism</i>	6,7%
<i>Pathological terrorism</i>	5,9%
<i>Ad-terror</i>	17,9%
<i>Revengeful Terrorism</i>	6%
<i>Offending Terrorism</i>	6,4%
<i>Ethnic Terrorism</i>	8,8%
<i>Air-terrorism</i>	9%
Total 13	100%

(Angheluş and Vescan, 2005)

Many studies have been published on ad terror. In order to understand this controversial subject

(Cosnier, 2002) we will try to define and delimitate the concept and differentiate the terminologies.

Ad is the English for advertising, the final product (the message) of the publicity process and can be, in function of the media, a press ad, a TV commercial or a radio commercial etc." (Petre & Nicola, 2004, p. 23). "Advertising, in whatever form, is nothing but a situation to which individuals have to adapt."

These situations (advertising) have some particular characteristics, of which the most important are:

1. advertisements have a call for action, an invitation, a warning etc
2. the appeal, the warning, the invitation are meant to get a feed-back from the target. (Tudoran, 2004, p.47)

So, "the ad is not only a commercial speech but also a political one, a social, a moral one : always an ideological speech "(Cathelat, 2005, p. 64) and "what reaches the public is more than a slogan, a word or a more or less explicit logo (e.g. IRA, Al-Qaeda etc.), it is a symbol or a flag, a brand. It is there that we should look for the message of an ideology. (Marret, 2002, p. 165).

"As terror is targeted to the media and not to the victims themselves its success is only defined in terms of media coverage" (Toma, 2004, p. 74), to "spread fear in the population as a psychological effect of this fighting strategy". (Stănescu, 2001, p. 55).

"In this view, the relationship between the media and terrorism is based on the principle of mutual interest, transgressing the taboo of violence, the shock of the event, the fear, the threat feeling and the irrationality of it all; on the other hand we have its visibility, and even the legitimacy of the show that the terror act receives from the media in democratic society". Garcia-Morrou, 2005, p.82).

It is also arguable that terrorist would act just to target the media and its publicity, even if it is quite obvious that they mean to involve the largest number of victims possible.

In function of dates and the symbolic places chosen it is more like a symbiosis than an objective method of launching violent information (Delcea, 2004; Tétu; 2000; Picard, 1991).

The table hereunder presents some researchers that delimitate the concept of ad terror:

Term	Delcea (2003, 2004, 2005)	Garcin- Marrou (2001, 2005)	Angheluş and Vesca (2005)	Wilkinson (1997)	Chermak (2003)
<i>Ad terror</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Publicity</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Advertising</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>Exposure of terrorism, violence and fear</i>	*	*	+	+	+

(Delcea, 2005)

The most influent definitions of ad terror come from the psycho social. We selected some of them in order to catch the multiple aspects of this field that is perceived either as a process of violent communication with a “psychological effect“(Buş, 2005), or as an ideological communication between the issuer and the target; and, without contradicting each other they put in new information that explain the complexity of the concept. Thus:

Ad terror, from the perspective of the socio-cognitive sciences is a communication of the persuasive type issued by a terrorist group through the media, targeted to the public with the purpose of making it more favorable to their demands. (Delcea, 2005, p. 60).

Terrorism can not determine fear other than by the systematic use of violence. (Buş, 2005, p. 197).

Ad terror is a form of mass communication with a powerful influence on forming, consolidating and changing attitudes, tastes, opinions and behaviors; to determine a government or a target group to make a decision favorable to their purposes. (Angheluş and Vesca, 2005, p. 87).

Indeed, the press is free to choose the way of rendering the information and, more than the terrorist, it is the media who gives terrorism its public face. (Toma, 2004, p. 75).

This is how the most prestigious definitions of ad terror from the socio-cognitive perspective offer a variety of research on the relationship between the media and terrorism, a symbiosis as means of intimidating and determining negative feelings (Wilkinson, 1977; Martha, Middletonwn, & Wesleyan, 1983; Wardlaw, 1989; Wieviorka, 1993; Wilkinson, 1997; Ganor, Ehrlich, Shay, 2002; Silver, 2002; Chermak, 2003; Delcea, 2004; Toma, 2004; Odorogea, 2004; Angheluş and Vesca, 2005).

1.2. The premises of looking at ad terror as an activator of negative emotions

Terrorists began to use the media starting with the 60's due to the emotional impact they got after a huge media exposure in 1968 when a terrorist group got on a Rome-Tel Aviv plane and sky-jacked it to Algeria, asking the Israeli government to free 1200 Arab prisoners. The terror was thus hugely exposed and it deeply shocked the society. It was thus proven that their tactics, exposed in the media, are hugely effective. Nowadays terrorists found the most efficient ways to get to the public, using the Internet and the television. Along the years they got new media supports and new ways to achieve their goals. (Delcea, 2005).

Date of event	Event
1970	Dawson's Field
May, 1972	Attack at Lod Airport
September, 1972	Attack at Munich Olympic Games
June, 1976	Skyjacking of Airbus plane of Air France at Entebbe
September, 1977	Kidnapping and assassination of Sehleryer
June, 1985	Skyjacking of TWA Athens-Rome flight
October, 1985	Assassination of Achile Lauro
November, 1985	Skyjacking of Egypt-Air Athens-Cairo
March, 1995	Attack with Sarin gas by Aum sect in Tokyo, Japan
April, 1995	Attack in Oklahoma City
December, 1996	Hostage tacking at Japan Embassy in Lima
September, 2001	Skyjacking of the 4 planes in the US
March, 2004	Attack at Atoka Railway Station in Spain
March, 2005	Hostage taking in Iraq of the three Romanian journalists
July, 2005	Suicide bombing in London

(Delcea, 2005)

During the last decades, research on ad terror generated controversies among the specialists vis-à-vis the extent of the media influence on the public opinion. The Commission for Art and Mass Media of the Parliamentary Assembly of The Council of Europe (PACE) with the US State Department issued a communiqué in April 2005 which said that “The media exposure could serve the terrorist by making their message reach the public and this exposure might be the very reason why they commit these acts. The world could see horrible images filmed by the terrorists themselves. The media is systematically used today to make messages

pass between politicians and terrorist because they would not or can not engage in direct dialogue” (Stănescu, 2005, p. 299). Of the very many approaches on ad terror, the behaviorist and the cognitive ones stand out.

Behaviorism is an influential paradigm in what concerns the exposure of terror. This perspective uses such concepts as “stimulus” (terrorist message) and “response” (the behavior of the target after getting the message from the media). This paradigm also uses direct observation and careful watch of the medium and of the subject’s interactions with it, suggesting that the individuals are actually media consumers. (Petre and Nicola, 2004; Delcea, 2004). Actually, the fear in each of us is a realistic emotional response to events that can hurt us (attacks, skyjackings, bombings...) and we react to fear by retreat, by isolating it or by being shocked by it. Fear becomes fright when, beyond the specific danger, it becomes a feeling of personal vulnerability. Fright can be triggered by recent, unsolved conflicts globally exposed in the media (Iraq, Afghanistan...) that activate feelings of losing control or non adaptative states. The **actual** peril of most attacks is relatively low at the highest media exposure compared to dangers that actually threaten our daily existence such as accidents, heart attacks due to stress, obesity due to diabetes, physical handicaps or death due to smoking.

Terrorists are able to spread irrational fear, chaos, shock and fright in order to make a statement. By killing a President they make the entire people feel insecure and unsafe. By torturing, assassinating, hostage taking or raping a few people, they make ALL feel at risk. By destroying a few buildings, planes or state institutions (siege of the Beslan School) they make all the others wonder if they are not the next. The ubiquitous weapon of terrorists is the media exposure of over exaggerated fear that turns into anxiety especially if shown as such in the media. Most probably, terrorists will act by placing suicide bombs in metro stations, federal buildings or by putting clock bombs in buses, museums etc, rather than by poisoning the water or the food. In a deeper sense, everything that has anything to do with terrorism has something to do with psychology. (Zimbardo, 2005).

The behaviorist approach also says that messages exposed in the media can not be objective as they are created by the human mind; so, in a more or less overt way, the terrorists’ intentions and be-

liefs are spread among people because “the message in the media is actually a mediatic transfer of knowledge”. (Crişan and Danciu, 2000, p. 171). This approach studies the media from the angle of social sciences that are controlled, and the stress is put on measuring the audience and the effects on people’s behavior. It wants to discover patterns that could predict similar behaviors. The behaviorist think, based on some studies (Livingstone, 1998) that try to find the stimuli of violent attacks of the terrorist type (Crişan și Danciu, 2000), that the media **can** evoke negative emotions to its consumers.

The cognitive approach focuses more on the mind and motivations of those that expose terror acts in the media and provoke thereby negative emotions. One of the most important theories stressed by Albert Bandura (1990) show that mental processes (perception, understanding, interpretation, memory etc) are mediated by certain mental patterns or hierarchy structures of data organization. These patterns are cognitive structures that include various knowledge about terrorism, fear, shock and terror inoculated and learnt from the mass media and uses them as repetitive stimuli in order to declin negative emotions. The subjects being huge media consumers, they use various cognitive or perceptual patterns in order to organize their knowledge, to anticipate events and justify their behavior.

Cosnier (2002) underlines the importance of the cognitive approach as compared to the behaviorist one, showing that negative emotions are closely linked to information. He is the one who also stresses the fact that, in a first stage the inductor event is received, coded and put in a shape of mental representation at the human subject. In a second phase a preparing plan is put up for the action. Third, it is made an evaluation of the adaptative activation.

The defintory conceptions mentioned above are adopted by various cognitivist authors (Leventhal, 1984; Lazarus, 1984, etc.).

Actually, our emotional responses to negative stimuli are determined by our cognitions and beliefs on the attributes of these stimuli (Opre, 2002). The latest research show that emotional outputs can be determined by our cognitive-deductive or learnt processes. For example, Schachter (1964, 1971; Schachter & Singer 1962, after Opre, 2002) find arguments to say that emotions do not ap-



pear prior to the subject realizing the source of the physical arousal and only afterwards does he sense it as an emotion. Negative stimuli such as shocking images are usually more penetrating because they give birth to strong reactions and this is why they are easier to remember than logical arguments. It is the negative stimuli that can lead to important behavior changes faster than logical arguments (Szentagotai & Panaitescu, 1999). Cosnier (2002) lists all the studies on negative reactions evoked by the media, thus stressing symbiosis as relationship between terrorism and the media (Cathelat, 2005).

The table below shows further studies on emotions.

Negative emotion	Woodworth and Schlosberg (1964)	Ekman and Frijnsen (1975)	Izard	Schwartz and Schaver (1987)
<i>Fear</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>Anger</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>Sadness</i>	+	+	+	+
<i>Disgust</i>				
<i>Spite</i>	+	+	+	
<i>Despair</i>	+	+	+	

(Basic negative emotion, after Cosnier, 2002)

Thus, cognitive evaluation of the meanings of wellness does not lie at the basis of all feelings. The cognitive approach also takes into account learning as having an important role in behavior change or its persistency, stressing its role as a link between emotion and cognition while being exposed to negative emotion messages. (Zimbardo, 2005).

To conclude, the two approaches are adjacent due to the multiple negative effects the terrorist uses to raise sensitivity and generate negative emotions in the media consumer; these negative responses are mostly due to the high capacity of the media to express the message that the terrorist means it to.

1.3. Theories on the effects of the mass communication

Exposing the terror leads to a series of effects on the individual's psyche, in the society and in its culture. Media exposure of terror can be differentiated by several criteria: intensity, area, persistency, procedure, target group or target individual.

Media	Percentage
<i>TV</i>	98%
<i>Phone</i>	94%
<i>Video-recorders</i>	82%
<i>Cable TV</i>	67%
<i>Internet</i>	38%

Percentage of American households with access to various media

(Quoting *The White House Yearbook 1997-2001*)

Starting from these criteria of analysis of negative effects in the public, several theories have been developed on the role, the functions and the psycho-social mechanisms through which they function (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1999). This is how, in the area of the "strong effects" of the media paradigm (Cristea, 2000) we can see some significant theoretical models that were the point of departure of this study, such as symbiosis as relationship between terrorism and the media.

The media hegemony theory. This theory has at the bottom Marxist conceptions on the dual structure of the society (dominant and dominated social classes) and sustains its capacity of giving birth to an efficient instrument of social control and domination through persuasive, cultural-symbolic means.

The dominant classes control the society not by force but by using educational and information systems with the aim of imposing a system of values, rules, ideologies or behavior patterns that suit them and that can be used to ensure their hegemony on the other social categories.

For example, the Red Army fraction was often called "the group" that represented a political and ideological status that was radically different from the culture of the period's Germany. This group was so intensely exposed in the media that it was thought to be a State in State. (Marret, 2002).

The media dependency theory. This one says that human subjects can progressively become dependant on mass communication; the latter offering them information, opinions, interpretations and solutions for solving the nowadays conflicts and terrorist problems without even soliciting a sustained effort from the receivers.



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Media	Percentage	Activity	No. hours
Internet	0.1%	Watching TV/Video	1.616
Books	3%	Listening to the radio	1.389
TV	46%	Reading newspapers/ magazines/ books	332
Film/theatre	0.4%	Internet	252
Newspapers	4.6%	Rest	2.920
Video	1.7%	Time when no media is used	2.460
Radio	32%		
Cassettes	9%		
Magazines	2.4%		

Number of hours in a year when a person uses the mass media vs the number of hours in a year a person uses to do something else (average)

(Quoting: The Versiois, Suhler & Associates Communications Industry Forecast, 1997-2001)

There is a strong psychological dependency on the media that grows in times of crisis, social unrest or natural disasters (Chermak, 2003; Zimbardo, 2005; Cepulkauskaitė, 2005). One of the studies conducted after 9/11 on the “negative effect” Silver (2002), argued that there was no noticeable difference between what felt the people that lived the shock and the terror of this event live and those that saw it on TV. In conclusion, the author highlighted the fact that people with media dependency are more easily exposed to the risk of suffering disorders, from negative emotions to post-traumatic stress. (Chermak, 2003).

The theory of the “magic bullet”. This theory starts with analyzing the great propaganda campaigns that generated mass movements with deeply irrational psychological bases. The idea of conditioning crowds through the well-known Pavlovian mechanism- stimulus-reaction is often mentioned. The stimulus of the “magic bullet” presents itself through a profound psychological shock with echoes in the deepest emotional and unconscious areas (David, 2004). This allows the total merging of the individuals with the crowd, becoming true “psychological slaves”. At its turn, the crowd is manipulated through some symbols that awake patterns of conditioned reflexes (repeated threats and the Al-Qaeda slogan for example). This is how the media can act as a true “magic formatter” (Cristea, 2000) of the subjects’ sensitivity and in generating negative emotions, having the power to trigger programmed social behaviors (Mucchielli,

2002).

At the root of these theories lies the thesis that claims that the symbiosis (seen as a mutual relationship between terrorists and the media) has strong and lasting effects due to the “psychological contamination that affects our behavior” (for example non-adapting behaviors), on our cognitive zone or our emotion one (e.g. negative emotions, stress) (David, 2004, p.183). Thus, they can target the deepest areas of the social body. Actually, terrorism and the media are in a relationship that is just as complex as it is obvious. Terrorism needs the publicity and the media needs high ratings. The rule of both parties is to generate a powerful psychological effect, thus fulfilling the task of “responding to each others’ needs in the most

No.	Type of ad-terror	Target Group	Exposure environment
1	Intimidation and threat	The opposing States	Mass-media
2	Chaos, shock and terror	Non-combattant population and like groups	Mass-media
3	Negotiation	The States that do not recognize the status of terrorist groups	Mass-media, letters, phone, fax and the Internet
4	Religious Propaganda	The opposing group	Mass-media and religious leaders
5	Political Propaganda	States that oppose territorial and political expansion	Mass-media
6	Victorious announcement	States and groups victims of suicide attacks, skyjackings, assassinations, etc	Mass-media, letters, phone, fax and the Internet

efficient way” (Toma, 2004, p. 74).

Types of Ad Terror (Delcea, 2004)

In conclusion, the phenomena that influence generate negative emotions in the media or any other means of exposing terror are linked to the act of communicating, as any communication of terror is an attempt to influence the public.

The terrorists are aware of this “effect” and they use it as a strategy or a psychological element to diminish the enemy’s morale through terror. A second objective is to strengthen their forces, self-confidence and will to fight (Stănescu, 2001).

One of the most important analysts of terrorism, the British author Liddel Hart (1954), notes that in almost any great confrontation in history the winner put his enemy in psychological chess mate even before the battle.

2. Experiment

The experiment focuses on the relevance of exposing terror acts in the media and the effect thereof. Indeed, a scientific study must be joined with an experiment that would acquiesce to the theory. Starting from some observations after the human subjects were exposed to terrorist acts reflected in the media, we formulated the theory above. The check up of the theory was done with further observations through this experiment in order to confirm or reject the theories.

Hypothesis:

Starting from the research and the studies quoted above, we reached the following hypotheses:

a) *The dynamic of negative emotions evoked by ad terror influences the subject's image of himself.*

b) *Ad-terror that activates strong negative emotions will influence different behaviors on the subjects.*

Subjects:

The experiment was done on two panels of 30 subjects after recruiting them through an announcement on the official site of the Association of Studies and Research on Terrorism (ASRT). The announcement revealed a study on media exposed terror acts and their effect on media consumers. The subjects were selected from different age categories: the first 20 in the 19-25 range, then the 25-35 and 35-45. Most subjects are intellectuals from Transylvania. They were psychologically tested by filling in STAI 1 and STAI 2 forms for anxiety and depression with Beck. None of the subjects had high scores at both tests.

Materials:

We used as material 20 posters from various press agencies lent from ASRT, the Learning Department and library. Some of them supported the theory of generating negative emotions by media exposure of terrorist acts and the others generated positive emotions.

After observing and studying experimental data on negative emotions and negative emotions evoked by ad terror, the answers of the subjects ("I agree" or "I do not agree") were evaluated and confronted with a nominal scale from 1 to 4 where 1 is "very unpleasant" and 4 "very pleasant". Out

of 20 posters 10 were selected for the experiment: 5 having obtained the highest scores and 5 with the lowest. Our objective was to use only the posters generating the most intense emotions (negative and positive). The scores obtained by ad terror generating positive emotions ranged from 3.95 to 4.78 and the scores obtained by the ones generating negative emotions ranged from 1 to 2.05. The differences between the two categories were significant at $p < 0.05$.

Procedure:

The subjects were shown a description of the posters in neutral terms. They were told that they would be shown several informative posters. The subjects in the first panel saw the 5 posters generating positive emotions and the subjects in the second panel saw the 5 posters generating negative emotions.

So, we started from supposing that we will see how the subjects that received identical information on ad terror will afterwards have a change in behavior. In order to check this, the subjects were asked to answer four questions evaluating their reactions. The data we obtained were compared, considering that in this case the negative emotions evoked would lead to non-desirable reactions.

Working the data:

In order to establish the differences in reaction between the two panels after seeing the posters we used the t test for independent panels. With the following results, significant at $p < 0.01$.

$$t=3.76 (p<0.01)$$

$$t=3.67 (p<0.01)$$

$$t=8.3 (p<0.01)$$

$$t=8.7 (p<0.01)$$

We also made comparisons between the answers for the posters with the strongest emotional character. Significant results show that the three questions refer to and evaluate the same thing.

Conclusions

Analyzing the results, we can issue the following conclusions, relevant for the message of ad terror as being a form of intimidation and evoking of negative emotions. The studies (Wilkinson, 1977; Martha, Middletown, & Wesleyan, 1983; Wardlaw, 1989; Wieviorka, 1993; Wilkinson, 1997; Ganor,

Ehrlich, Garcin-Morrou, 2001; Shay, 2002; Silver, 2002; Chermak, 2003; Delcea, 2004; Toma, 2004; Odorogea, 2004; *Angheluş and Vescan, 2005*) prove, especially in Palestinian territory, the impact of evoking negative emotions, which puts the media consumer in a very unpleasant situation.

So, on the one hand, "people are scared" (Garcin-Morrou, 2005) because of the repeated exposure of violence and terror in the media. On the other hand, the terrorists become more and more present in the minds of the media consumers, and become recognized as being able to strike anywhere, no matter how secure the area, indifferent of the State, the government or the individual. Actually, the exposure of terror acts has the role to intimidate or is essentially a strategy counting on the psychological effect. (Ariel, 1993). In official definitions, (with the US State Dept., the British, the Spanish, etc.) concepts such as "influencing the public" refer to the effect of activating negative emotions (Schmid and Jongman, 1988, Delcea, 2005).

Silver (2002) noticed after a longitudinal research on 6000 people after 9/11 that the psychological effects of a deep trauma, the activation of negative emotions, the shock, the terror and the generalized fear are not reduced to the personal, live experience of the individuals but are equally important with media consumers that experienced this national drama in the media.

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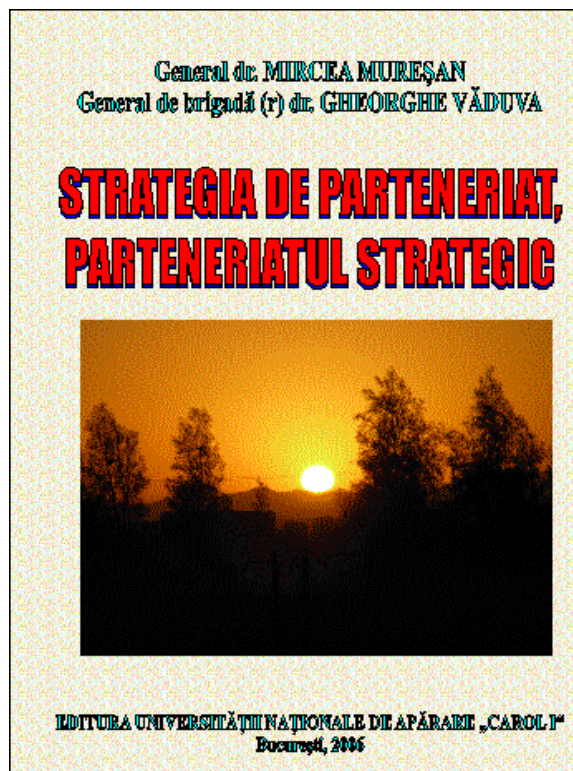
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PARTNERSHIP STRATEGY, STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP



Recently it was published by the National Defence University “Carol I” Publishing House, the volume “Partnership strategy, strategic partnership”, signed by General Professor Mircea Mureșan, PhD, the commandant (Rector) of the National Defence University “Carol I” and General Brigadier (ret.) Gheorghe Văduva, PhD, scientific researcher at the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies from the National Defence University “Carol I”. This is the second book signed by the two authors. The paper is the part of a concept of both “Carol I” NDU and its specialized structure for scientific research – CDSSS -, the one of analysis and debate, scientifically, but although from a dynamic, action, applying, perspective, the extended defence and security strategic themes at the beginning of century.

The mutations interfered in international affairs, in the new geo-politic and geo-strategic concept, NATO and EU extensions, resizing the classic, symmetric, dissymmetric and asymmetric challenges, dangers and menaces, large systems vulnerability new recrudescence

and obviously its associated risks, the munitions dangerous development and the appearance of some new breach zones, but although contact and collaboration, as could be, as an example, the extended North-Eastern Asia zone, the Wider Black Sea Area, the Greater Middle East zone etc., impose the reconsideration of some theories, principles, in the same time with some paradigms development that are correlated to the real space – virtual space, confrontation-partnership, prevention-discouraging, solution-wellness etc.

“Partnership strategy, strategic partnership” is a part of this long term philosophy, requesting promptly to the increasing need of some actual pushy analysis and those possible evolutions in the very next time-period.

It is an actual extended paper, the fruit of a courageous and long-term research, it has 410 pages, 10-chapters and treats the main aspects regarding the partnership’s strategies and strategic partnerships development, as forms of concentrating, into new concepts, of real actuality, of some new concepts and tendencies, regarding the philosophy, physiognomy and the dynamic and complex configuration of economic, social, politic and military relations between states, in the tensioned zones stabilization process, of crises and armed conflicts management, of reconstruction, in a new dimension, the one of security and stability pillars, of national, regional and global security strategic medium, on totally and alliance coordinates.

The 10 chapters are: 1.From confrontations to partnerships; 2.European and Euro-Atlantic partnerships; 3.Eurasiatic partnerships; 4.Confrontation and partnerships in Central Europe and Wider Black Sea Area; 5.Partnerships influences over military art; 6.Alliance and coalition strategies; 7.Tendencies in partnerships dynamic; 8.Partnership and integration; 9. Partnership, network, interest zones, terrorism; 10. Constants and contrasts.

Is well to know that world’s unit can’t be realized through confrontation, but through collaboration, understanding, tolerance and partnerships. Of course, the partnerships don’t exclude the confrontation, but presume a new

rationality and a new confrontation rationalization, so the elaboration and applying of some principles that reflects the actual and possible reality. The information's network development, the technologic explosion, the increase and multiplication of data bases, the economy and international relations globalization, consequently with some new dividing and fragmentation types apparition, poverty and wealth more accentuated polarization, the terrorism and urban guerrilla recrudescence rise beneath the states, states' groups, alliances, coalitions, organizations and international bodies very complex problems, hard to solve just through old, traditional and frustrating methods, through force and dictate, through strategies and stratagems generally irreconcilably, some of them exclusively bellicose and handily only for the strong people. The strong people became stronger and the possibility of a direct confrontation between them is getting far away. If the confrontation isn't possible or such violent, bellicose confrontation becomes not just unprofitable, but even absurd, so is very clear that it's replaced through something else.

The authors finds and formulates this something else, developing, alike a partnership strategy theory but although a method of dynamic strategic construction of this new possible action typology. The partnerships have very precise objectives that aren't always profitable for all the people because there aren't partnerships just for the sake of partnerships or because this is the trend.

The partnerships are useful, firstly, to partners. The first entities that appeal to partnerships and, respectively, to a partnership strategy are, of course, the big power. From here doesn't result with necessity that the big powers are always allying and will ally for sharing more or less brotherly, world's domination, namely resources and markets.

Without excluding this reality – which is presented as an our world permanence -, we must underline that the partnerships from the 21st century has other objectives than the ones of assuring the planet domination for the big powers.

The century we just entered impose very big responsibilities for all the countries especially for the big powers, international organizations and bodies, for alliances, coalitions and all kind of entities, international forces and mechanisms. The world became through mass destruction weapons unprecedented evolution, through

resources decrease, especially those necessary for life, as are: potable water, food, energetic resources, as well as through extremely dangerous systems' chaotic evolution, an entire vulnerable and dangerous. Vulnerability means fragility and rapid succession of chaos states, injuriousness resides in aggressiveness, auto-destruction factors' recrudescence, as could be: poverty, disease, than strategic fissures, terrorism, drugs, corruption, traffic, trans-border crime etc. That's why world needs and will need more and more partnerships.

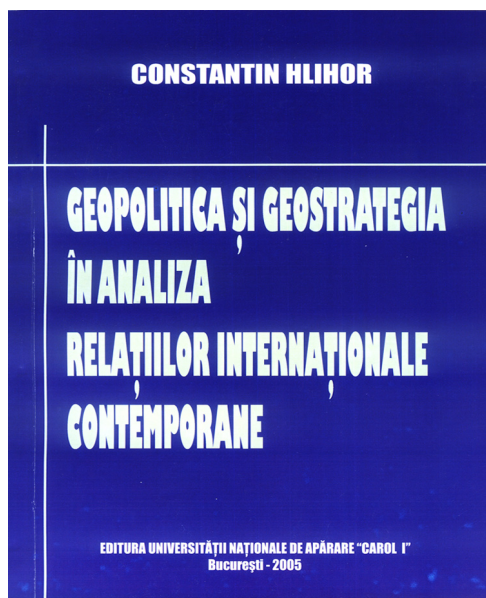
Partnerships exist from always and will exist as long as people and human communities will exist on earth. Some of them are conjectural, another are realizing through one problem solving, other ones got bigger dimensions, become strategic.

The strategic partnerships give shape to partnerships policies. Some of them are direct, another are extremely subtle and must be analyzed with very much attention. No matter how it will be, they are preferable against confrontation policies and strategies, violence and wars. The wars aren't, of course, incompatible with the partnerships, but partnerships put them in a type of control, get out them from chaos, pass them in a secondary plan, of a last instance but not as a last solution.

Partnership's strategy and strategic partnership represent new, far-reaching solutions, in general policy reconfiguration, in identification, management and solving symmetric, dissymmetric and asymmetric provocations, dangers, menaces and associated risks (assumed or imposed), that bring, more and more, under the same responsibility and wisdom sceptre, as less as remained after the permanent world's war state, big powers, great actors, NATO and European Union, international states and bodies, interests and values, politicians and generals.

The paper was edited under the Centre's for Defence and Security Strategic Studies aegis and brings in forefront last hours information, proposes pertinent analyses, strategic valuable reflections, in the military theory and practice field, as well as in the strategic art field. It continues, in fact, the started analysis, by the same authors, last year, in the "Future's war, war's future" volume and creates premises for its development through new approaches, from angles with strategic openings, contemporary politic-military and military phenomenon. (I.S.)

GEOPOLITICS AND GEOSTRATEGY IN CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ANALYSIS



These days there was edited under the aegis of National Defence University “Carol I” Publishing House the paper of a real scientific and methodological value “Geopolitics and geostrategy in contemporary international relations analysis” by Professor Constantin Hlihor, PhD.

In the large field of the actual big crises, the finding “of an optima formula for security and stability in the world” obliges for searching non-classical solutions, that consists an attentive evaluation of evolutions from international relations plan, the sources crises generator, those causes, reality investigation with scientific instruments and performing analysis methods/aspects over which the author is focusing its attention.

Its offer is far from being just a calm very well-known paradigms, methods and techniques gathering, just because an international medium rigorous analysis doesn't allow this.

Professor C. Hlihor proposes us, as some specialists prefacing it appreciate a new vision over geopolitics because is framed through paradigms and used analysis methods in the so called field named “Critical Geopolitics”.

The paper's basic merit is the one that the author's used analysis methodology leads to a better knowledge and understanding of the contemporary politic phenomenon, the concept clarifications and clearing the reports between geopolitics and geo-strategy, launching a challenge to the academic and annalists' world

over the techniques, methods and analysis instruments which geopolitics and geo-strategy use for international medium knowledge.

As regarding the discontinuity line in the international medium understanding and analysis mode, the author suggests, through the paradigms put through in public debate, critic geopolitics development and elaboration of an own analysis methodology for geopolitics and geo-strategy from inter and intra-disciplinary perspective.

The coherent and consistent author's argumentation, the historic and the situational analysis – extracted from another disciplines – determine that the observation and research of the actual geopolitical space don't appear as difficult as they are.

For the ordinary reader, but especially for the field's specialist, has great importance to offer him, as succeeds this book, a support point for the accession in the theoretical debates of contemporary geopolitics space and to facilitate the understanding of the geo-politic field operational analysis rigors.

If there is possible that the historical aspects of geo-strategic and geo-politic analysis to interest less the reader, the chapters over those don't exist doubt that he will bound attentively are owed by the respective paradigms analysis, the geopolitics and geo-strategy theory-practice reports in the contemporary geo-politic field.

Is more than usual to agree with the idea that “in absence of one paradigm, the profound research is impossible and can't exist a criteria for selecting research problems”, as well as the idea that, in the international relations study, observance and experience don't offer information which lead us to understanding the causes that generate the events, but will remain just at this level if we don't go deep the hundreds pages professor's C. Hlihor elaboration that get close the reality to the reader, providing paradigms and methodology necessary for building scenarios, anticipation of some possible geopolitics evolution trends in a space, opposing the imaginary to scientific, emotion – rationality, present – future.

Seen like this, the book is a real valuable tome, which you can travel with – even for a day or a night, or for much time, if you agree the introspection effort of reality on spaces - in the geo-politic and geo-strategic analysis world. With sure and stable gains. (V.P.)



THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTRE FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY STRATEGIC STUDIES

JANUARY-MARCH 2006

The beginning of 2006 year was marked by publishing numerous studies prepared by Studies and Researches Section: The impact of the Romania's Army Structures Regeneration Employed in Military Actions Outside Romania on the Romanian society, Missions Undertaken by the Romanian Army Within NATO and their implications for the Educational System NDU „Carol I”, The Relations Between Army and Society During the Processes of European and Euro-Atlantic Integration, The Relations Between the Romanian Army and the civil society, The Romania's Army Professionalization Impact on its Relations with the Romanian society, Methods and possibilities to Enhance Cooperation in the Black Sea area, Romania's Army and Guaranteeing the Constitutional Democracy, The Romania's Army Missions Determinations as part of NATO and EU, Collective Defence and National Defence in the context of Romania's integration within NATO and Accession in EU, Using High Light Infantry Units as Expeditionary Forces for Imposing Stability in Areas Controlled by Terrorist Groups.

On March, 2nd, Mr. Patrik Zahnd, Chief of the Regional Delegation for Central Europe of the International Committee of the Red Cross and Mr. Zoltan Toth, Chief of the Communication Department, visited the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies. During the meeting there were discussions regarding Romania's society development and tendencies, the security concerns, the contemporary realities and perspectives. There were also approached ways for achieving common research projects and programs. In the end of the meeting there was signed a collaboration memorandum that states the exchange of publications, co-organizing some scientific events (conferences, seminars, debates) on common interest topics.

Among the activities planned for 2006 we remind: the Scientific Session organised by the National Defence University “Carol I”, “Strategies XXI” (April, 13 - 14). The CDSSS will be responsible for organising the section on “National defence and security”; the seminar on “Romania's army Participation in Collective Defence under NATO and EU leadership” (May, 25) and the annual session of scientific papers, “Security and defence strategies on the East border of NATO and EU” (November, 23 - 24).

Irina CUCU



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