

**“CAROL I” NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
CENTRE FOR DEFENCE AND SECURITY STRATEGIC STUDIES**



STRATEGIC IMPACT

No. 4[61]/2016

Academic quarterly acknowledged by CNATDCU,
Indexed in CEEOL, ProQuest, EBSCO, IndexCopernicus,
WorldCat and ROAD ISSN international databases

**“CAROL I” NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING HOUSE
BUCHAREST, ROMANIA**



EDITORIAL COUNCIL

Gheorghe CALOPĂREANU, PhD Professor, “Carol I” National Defence University, Romania, Chairman
Daniel DUMITRU, PhD Professor, “Carol I” National Defence University, Romania
Valentin DRAGOMIRESCU, PhD Professor, “Carol I” National Defence University, Romania
Marian STANCU, PhD Professor, “Carol I” National Defence University, Romania
Vasile BUCINSCHI, PhD Professor, “Henri Coandă” Air Force Academy, Romania
Florian RĂPAN, PhD Professor, “Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University, Romania
Florin DIACONU, PhD Associate Professor, University of Bucharest, Romania
Stan ANTON, PhD Lecturer, “Carol I” National Defence University, Romania
Dariusz KOZERAWSKI, PhD Professor, National Defence University, Poland
Bohuslav PRIKRYL, PhD Professor, National Defence University, Czech Republic
Pavel NECAS, PhD Professor Eng., University of Security Management, Slovakia
John L. CLARKE, PhD Professor, “George C. Marshall” European Centre for Security Studies, Germany
Ilias ILIOPOULOS, PhD Professor, Naval War College, Greece
Adrian GHEORGHE, PhD Professor Eng., Old Dominion University, USA
Georgi DIMOV, PhD Associate Professor, “Rakovski” National Defence College, Bulgaria
Dana PERKINS, PhD Assistant Professor, Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences, USA
Gabor BOLDIZSÁR, PhD, National University of Public Service, Hungary
Peter TÁLAS, PhD, National University of Public Service, Hungary
Mircea TĂNASE, PhD, General Staff, Ministry of National Defence, Romania
Igor SOFRONESCU, PhD Associate Professor, “Alexandru cel Bun” Military Academy, Republic of Moldova

SCIENTIFIC BOARD

Mirela ATANASIU, PhD Researcher
Cristian BĂHNĂREANU, PhD Senior Researcher
Cristina BOGZEANU, PhD Researcher
Ecaterina MAȚOI, PhD Fellow Lecturer

Constantin MOȘTOFLEI, PhD Senior Researcher
Visarion NEAGOE, PhD Professor
Alexandra SARCINSCHI, PhD Senior Researcher
Elena ȘUȘNEA, PhD, Associate Professor
Mihai ZODIAN, PhD Researcher

EDITORS

Stan ANTON, PhD, Editor in Chief
Daniela RĂPAN, Deputy Editor in Chief,
in charge with linguistic revision & proofreading
Mihai ZODIAN, PhD, Editor in charge
of “Colocviu strategic” supplement

Contact address:

Șoseaua Panduri, nr. 68-72, Sector 5, București,
România
Telephone: +4021-319.56.49, Fax: 4021-319.57.80
Websites: http://cssas.unap.ro/index_en.htm, <http://cssas.unap.ro/en/periodicals.htm>

Disclaimer:

Opinions expressed within published materials belong strictly to authors and do not represent the position of CDSSS/ “Carol I” NDU.

Authors are fully responsible for their articles' content, according to the provisions of Law no. 206/2004 regarding good conduct in scientific research, technological development and innovation.

ISSN 1842-9904 (on-line); ISSN-L 1841-5784



CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE

Stan ANTON, PhD	5
-----------------------	---

POLITICAL-MILITARY TOPICALITY

<i>Romania after Warsaw Summit. Our Contribution for a Safer Security Climate in the Black Sea Region</i> Ștefan TINCA, PhD	7
--	---

SECURITY AND MILITARY STRATEGY

<i>Resilience and Human Security</i> Filofteia REPEZ, PhD Dănuț Mircea CHIRIAC, PhD	10
---	----

GEOPOLITICS AND GEOSTRATEGIES: TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES

<i>Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands – Landmark in Redefining the Power Politics in the East China Sea</i> Alexandra DAN.....	19
---	----

THE TERRORIST THREAT

<i>Hezbollah and Boko Haram – Cooperation or Imitation?</i> János BESENYŐ, PhD Vivien KERESZTES	29
---	----

ANALYSES, SYNTHESSES, EVALUATIONS

<i>Romanian Stability between the Majoritarian Model and the Consensus Model of Democracy</i> Dănuț Mircea CHIRIAC, PhD	41
--	----

***Ways of Promoting National Interests in Diplomatic Negotiations***

Eleonora STOIAN..... 47

***Environmental Stress Generated by the Intervention
of the Human Civilization***

Mădălina Virginia ANTONESCU, PhD..... 54

INFORMATION SOCIETY***Considerations on Personal Data Security***

Zbigniew SKWAREK, PhD..... 65

BOOK REVIEW***Front-line Confessions of a Military from the First Echelon
of the Romanian Army***, Visarion NEAGOE, PhD

Daniela RĂPAN, PhD..... 71

SCIENTIFIC EVENT***International Scientific Conference STRATEGIES XXI “The Complex and Dynamic
Nature of the Security Environment”, 24-25 November 2016***

Irina TĂTARU, PhD..... 73

CDSSS AGENDA***Activities of the Center for Defence and Security Strategic Studies,
October-December***Daniela RĂPAN, PhD
Raluca STAN..... 75**GUIDE FOR AUTHORS** 78



EDITOR'S NOTE

The fourth edition in 2016, no. 61, comprises a collection of eight papers, the first two having been delivered at the Symposium organised by CDS on November 2, 2016, on the theme “Change and constancy in the Euroatlantic security post-Warsaw”.

The journal is opened with the rubric **Political-Military Topicality**, where Mr. Ștefan Tinca, State Secretary for Defence Policy and Planning within the Ministry of National Defence, points out, in a synthetic but comprehensive analysis, aspects on *Romania's contribution for a safer security climate in the Black Sea Region, after Warsaw Summit*.

There follows the rubric **Military Security and Strategy**, where you can read an article on *resilience and human security*, authored by Colonel Filofteia Repez, PhD. Associate Professor and Dănuț Mircea Chiriac, PhD Professor.

Next, there comes an article on **Geopolitics and Geostrategies – Trends and Perspectives**, in which Ms. Lieutenant Alexandra Dan focused on Asia, approaching the controversial subject of the property of *Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands* – that are *a landmark in redefining the power politics in the East China Sea*.

At **The Terrorist Threat** rubric of this edition, Mr. Janos Besenyo, PhD, in collaboration with Mrs. Vivien Keresztes elaborated a research paper on *Hezbollah and Boko Haram* – launching the question *cooperation or imitation?*

The issue continues with the heading **Analyses, syntheses, evaluations**, containing three articles. In the first one, Mr. Dănuț Mircea Chiriac, PhD Professor approaches the issue of *Romanian stability between the majoritarian model and the consensus model of democracy*.

The second article deals with *ways of promoting national interests in diplomatic negotiations*, written as a result of the personal experience of Mrs. Eleonora Stoian, Superior Counselor within the MoD, as Defence Advisor at the Permanent Delegation of Romania to NATO.

The third article belongs to Mădălina Virginia Antonescu, PhD Scientific Researcher, who dwells on the *environmental stress generated by the intervention of the human civilization*.

Further on, at the rubric **Information society**, Mr. Zbigniew Skwarek, PhD, from Poland, contributed to this edition as well with *considerations on personal data security*.

The book we chose to signal our readers in this edition at the specially designed rubric, **Book Review**, is a recent Romanian specialised work, entitled *Front-line Confessions (Confesiuni din linia întâi)*, belonging to Major-General (ret.) Visarion Neagoe. The book is reviewed by Mrs. Daniela Răpan, PhD.

At the rubric **Scientific Event**, you will find out details from the International Scientific Conference STRATEGIES XXI on the theme “The Complex and Dynamic Nature of the Security Environment”, that took place on 24-25 November 2016.

As always, we bring to our readers attention **The CDS Agenda** for the period October-December, while signalling the scientific activities we planned for 2017.

In the end, we included the **Guide for authors**, useful to those who wish to disseminate the results of their research in our journal.



For those who open *Strategic Impact* for the first time, we mention that the journal is an open access publication of the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies within “Carol I” National Defence University (available at <http://cssas.unap.ro/en/periodicals.htm>) and is a *prestigious scientific journal in the field of military science, information and public order*, according to National Council for the Recognition of University Degrees, Diplomas and Certificates (CNATDCU).

The journal is being published in Romanian for sixteen years and for twelve years in English and approaches a complex thematic: security and defence related issues; security and military strategies; NATO and EU policies, strategies and actions; political-military topicality; geopolitics and international relations; future of conflict; peace and war; information society, intelligence community. Readers may find, in the published pages, analyses, syntheses and evaluations of strategic level, points of view which study the impact of national, regional and global actions dynamics.

Regarding international visibility – primary objective of the journal –, the recognition of the publication’s scientific quality is confirmed by its indexing in the international databases CEEOL (Central and Eastern European Online Library, Germany), EBSCO (USA), ProQuest (USA) and Index Copernicus International (Poland), to these adding recently WorldCat and ROAD ISSN, but also by its presence in virtual catalogues of libraries of prestigious institutions abroad such as NATO and of universities with military profile from Bulgaria, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia and so on.

Strategic Impact journal is issued quarterly in March, June, September and December, in two separate editions: one in Romanian and one in English. The journal is distributed free of charge in main security and defence institutions, as well as in national and international academia in Europe, Asia and America.

In the end, I would like to encourage the persons interested to publish in our pages in the forecoming year to prospect and evaluate thoroughly the challenging dynamics of the security environment.

Colonel Stan ANTON, PhD
Editor in Chief,
Director of the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies



ROMANIA AFTER WARSAW SUMMIT. OUR CONTRIBUTION FOR A SAFER SECURITY CLIMATE IN THE BLACK SEA REGION

*Opening address at the Symposium organised by CDS on November 1, 2016
On the theme “Change and constancy in the Euroatlantic security post-Warsaw”*

*Ștefan TINCA, PhD**

Distinguished guests,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to begin by thanking the organisers for the opportunity to bring to your attention a set of reflexions on a subject of strategic importance for Romania, in connexion with the adaptation processes of the NATO approach in the current security context.

The strategic importance of the Summit is valued primarily by the enhanced common vision on the new security context, marked by the existence of an “arc of insecurity and instability”, expanded geographically in both of the Alliance’s neighbourhoods. This arc has generated as a direct consequence of a new actional matrix whose main feature is represented by the interdependence between risks and threats of a conventional-classical type and those associated with globalisation.

Warsaw is an essential landmark in the process of operationalisation of the new allied posture on the eastern flank in the context created by the Ukraine crisis. From an operational

perspective, this can be considered the terminus of the demarches initiated in Wales regarding the increase of the Alliance’ responsiveness. In these coordinates, Warsaw formalised the transition to a higher stage (qualitative and quantitative) – deterrence and defence – of the NATO engagement centered on two components – the Enhanced Forward Presence (EFP) and the Tailored Forward Presence (TFP), which are basically the pillars of the new posture on the east side.

Also, the Warsaw Summit represents a crucial milestone in the process of consolidating awareness by NATO security realities in the Wider Black Sea Region (WBSR), the more relevant in the context of the Ukraine crisis. The mere quantitative evidence of the mentions referring to the Black Sea in the Communiqué adopted in Warsaw reflects this situation.

Clearly, we are witnessing a structural change in the security paradigm in the Black Sea Region. Russia’s actions in the context of Ukraine crisis and, subsequently, strengthening military capabilities deployed in Crimea engender an increased uncertainty whose destabilizing effects

** Ștefan TINCA, PhD., State Secretary for Defence Policy and Planning within the Ministry of National Defence, Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: dpap@mapn.ro*



add to the fullness of risks specific to this area. In addition, the impact of developments in the Black Sea extends beyond the geographic region.

This is even more visible in the context of Russia's actions, which is using military facilities in the Black Sea for projecting force in the Eastern-Mediterranean area, as it is the case of Russian presence in Syria.

Romania's strategic option to the WBSR in the regional security context at the border of the Alliance was the main milestone in our approach to prepare the Summit decisions. The central objective, consistently reaffirmed, aimed at strengthening stability, prosperity and democracy in the Eastern proximity, simultaneously with the opening of the Black Sea region to the EU and NATO values and processes.

In substantiating the answer to the challenges in the region, developing the Tailored Forward Presence – (TFP) is one of the supporting elements of the contribution assumed by Romania in the context of adaptation.

On this dimension, we put forward a set of proposals related to strengthening the deterrence-defence posture, corresponding to the three types of categories of forces: operationalisation of a multinational brigade, the initiative of combined air training and, last but not least, setting up a framework for naval cooperation intended to contribute, by training missions and joint training, to an increased interoperability between Member States. In our view, the proposals complement themselves harmoniously through the Combined Joint Enhanced Training Initiative (CJET), in correlation with the exercise plan developed at NATO level.

As noted, the approach proposed by Romania and, I emphasize, shared at NATO level, consists of an integrated package of measures tailored to the specificities and characteristics of security in the southern eastern flank. Basically, TFP, in which the role of Romania is an important one, derives from the common vision of the allied states in the area towards the way in which NATO commitment responds to their concerns and interests, associated with the current security environment.

Operationalisation of commitments benefitted, thus, of consistent developments recorded in the Defence Ministerial in late October 2016. Practically, we refer to the planning exercise of the TFP associated structures, and subsequently, their integration into the overall context of the allied planning process in a synergic manner to the developed presence in the north-eastern flank through ETP. What I want to emphasize, in order to answer questions and concerns associated to this level, is that both dimensions of the allied posture are placed along the same lines, namely those of NATO solidarity and cohesion.

We cannot speak of a competition or of an unequal distribution of the operational effort. The structure and manner of articulation of EFP and TFP are generated according to the specific and particular conditions of each region. As seen in the Warsaw Summit and in the October Ministerial, they are treated as components of the same package adapted to the risks and threats from the eastern flank. The common element of these approaches is the vision of the Member States in this geographical area of the Alliance against risks and implicitly towards the way of formulating an optimum response. The corollary of this situation is the emergence of an "Eastern Awareness" whose foundations also include shared historical experience, accumulated especially in the second half of the last century.

The analysis of the Warsaw Summit decisions cannot exclude cooperation with the states of the Wider Black Sea Area, part of the defence capacity building initiative (DCB). As known, the meeting in Warsaw noted the transition to a higher stage of development of cooperation with the states beneficiary of the opportunities provided by NATO, including those of the Eastern Dimension – Republic of Moldova and Georgia.

At this level, Romania's contribution was placed in support of a practical approach of individualised cooperation programs with DCB states, coupled with a balance in managing the two branches of the NATO initiative – South, respectively East. In our opinion, effective cooperation programs can only be achieved by adapting them to the needs and realities of those



countries. Subsequently, their identification should be done through a constant and full of substance dialogue with the receiving countries. In the latter segment, Romania was one of the main countries that have consistently supported the strategic relevance of capitalizing their regional expertise, in support of the allied processes to define optimum ways to respond to the risks and threats manifested in the immediate vicinity of NATO.

Clearly, Romania's contribution (with personnel and financial assistance) in the mechanisms of cooperation between NATO and the Black Sea region has yielded to significant results appropriately valued at the Warsaw Summit. They add to the consistent support granted in bilateral format to the countries in the region. I should mention the assistance given to the Republic of Moldova in implementing the defence reform (operationalisation of the NATO Liaison Office in Chisinau), including the component of developing the normative and strategic framework. In this context, assistance is granted for the professionalization of the military, carried out by Romanian military education units. A further nuance in this context covers the role played by Romania in the management of the voluntary assistance fund for the destruction of pesticides in Moldova, Romania's financial contribution exceeding 650,000 Euro.

On similar coordinates, Romania's commitment is also reflected in terms of

supporting the defence reform in Ukraine, with an individual component in the management of the trust fund designed to combat cyberwarfare.

I would also like to note the substance valences introduced by the Warsaw Summit regarding the structuring of NATO-EU cooperation, including the size of cooperation and partnership relations developed in report with the states in the two neighbourhoods. The complementarity of commitments undertaken by the two organisations is a central element of Romania's positioning, including in terms of harmonisation of concrete steps and assistance mechanisms.

On these lines, Romania's commitment to strengthening security in the BSWR gains additional value also from the prospect of the EU membership. The political dimension of this approach is matched by operational facets commitments assumed by Romania in the missions conducted by the EU in Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia.

Returning to the theme of today's activity, I would like to conclude by saying that the Warsaw Summit was clearly one of the strategic landmarks in the evolution of NATO, an opportunity to reconfirm and capitalise Romania's commitment in assuming consistent responsibilities in managing the security situation on the borders of NATO and the EU.

Translated from Romanian by Daniela Răpan.



RESILIENCE AND HUMAN SECURITY

*Filofteia REPEZ, PhD**
*Dănuț Mircea CHIRIAC, PhD***

In the contemporary security environment, characterized by complexity, dynamism, transformation and uncertainty, a new concept complements traditional modes of action to maintain an adequate level of security for people, communities and states. It is the concept of “resilience”, expressing the responsiveness of people (communities, states) to resist, to adapt and to recover after a traumatic event.

Official documents such as the Declaration of Heads of State and Government participating in the North Atlantic Council meeting in Warsaw on 8-9 July, 2016, Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy in June 2016 and the National Defence Strategy 2015-2019 – a Strong Romania within Europe and the World refer to increasing the resilience of countries and people in confronting various security threats.

In this article, we highlight a few defining elements of resilience and human security and relevant aspects of the resilience-human security relationship.

Keywords: *resilience, human security, approach, North-Atlantic Treaty Organization, European Union, Romania, challenges.*

1. Theoretical Aspects on Resilience and Human Security¹

In different fields, resilience reflects the capacity to adapt to a complex world, in quick change and uncertainty. Also, this capacity to respond to a shock, disturbances and unexpected adversities inspire a series of scholarly discussions for a wide range of disciplines (Psychology, Sociology, Geology, etc.). For example, in the article “The profound emptiness of resilience”, the literary critic Parul Sehgal considers resilience became “an obsession among middle-class parents who want to prepare their children to withstand a world that won’t always go their way”².

For Myriam Dunn Cavelty, senior lecturer in security studies, the concept of resilience knew “a successful story”, its impact being in permanent expansion – a bigger number of states identified resilience of social and technical

¹ Aspects of this article were presented in the Symposium “Change and constancy in post-Warsaw Euro-Atlantic security”, organised by the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies, “Carol I” National Defence University held on November 1, 2016.

² Parul Sehgal, “The profound emptiness of resilience”, *New York Times*, available online at: http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/magazine/the-profound-emptiness-of-resilience.html?_r=0, accessed on November 7, 2016.

* Colonel Filofteia REPEZ, PhD is Associate Professor within Security and Defence Faculty, “Carol I” National Defence University, Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: filofteiarepez@yahoo.com

** Colonel (ret.) Dănuț Mircea CHIRIAC, PhD is Fellow Professor with “Carol I” National Defence University and Professor with “Hyperion” University in Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: danutmirceachiriac@yahoo.com



systems as a main goal of security policies and of national and international crises management³.

In theory and practice, a multitude of constructive formats of resilience are known, namely: psychological, biological, urban, organizational, institutional, business, economic, financial, political, informational, social, etc.

The number of publications analysing human and states resilience in risk situations that become threats against human and national security surprisingly increased between 2003-2013, from 500 to more than 3000, with a further increasing trend⁴, offering new conceptual connections and a change in the approach of national security policies.

In the late years, resilience became an important topic in the security studies field; as governmental philosophy resilience places the optimal recovery following an unfavourable event (crisis situations, emergency situations, etc.) in the core of security processes⁵.

The concept of human security is characterized by the accent on individuals and communities security. In regard to the Commission on Human Security, human security brings together “human” elements of security, rights and development, and is an interdisciplinary concept that has the following features: *human focused, multi-sector, comprehensive, specific context and oriented on prevention*⁶.

Member states of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

(OECD), such as Canada, Norway, Japan etc. and United Nations bodies have contributed to placing human security on the political and development agenda globally. Addressing human security should be based on consultation and collaboration with sets of actors, who often have different interests, e.g.: civil/military, government/nongovernmental, local/national/regional/ international⁷.

Resilience and human security are objects of national, regional and international official documents, specialty studies achieved by many institutions (for example: *Centre for Security Studies (CSS) – Risk and Resilience*⁸, *Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)*⁹, *Stockholm Resilience Centre*¹⁰) or materials presented in the framework of different international scientific conferences¹¹.

Resilience and human security are topics frequently used in the Human Development Report 2014 “Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience”. We highlight some examples: efforts to intervene in emergency situations are important and necessary, and the adaptation capacity requires comprehensive efforts to build capacities for preparedness and response; reducing vulnerability and building resilience capacity are essential for sustainable human development; recovery means and public policies should include both measures that create resilience and stabilizing measures to respond and cope with future challenges; building

³ Myriam Dunn Cavelty, *Resilience in security policy: present and future*, available online at: <http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSS-Analysis-142-EN.pdf>, accessed on November 7, 2016.

⁴ Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Mareile Kaufmann, Kristian Soby Kristensen, *Resilience and (in)security: Practices, subjects, Temporalities*, p. 5, available online at: <http://sdi.sagepub.com/content/46/1/3.full.pdf>, accessed on November 8, 2016.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 6.

⁶ *Human security in theory and practice. An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*, p. 6, available online at: http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org/humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf, accessed on November 8, 2016.

⁷ Karim Hussein, Donata Gnisci, Julia Wanjiru, *Security and human security: an overview of concepts and initiatives what implications for West Africa?*, p.11, available online at: <https://www.oecd.org/swac/publications/38826090.pdf>, accessed on November 8, 2016.

⁸ See papers published by the Center for Security Studies in Zurich, <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/risk-and-resilience-reports.html>, accessed on November 8, 2016.

⁹ See papers of the Economic and Social Research Council, <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/>, accessed on November 8, 2016.

¹⁰ See the papers of Stockholm Resilience Centre: <http://www.stockholmresilience.org/search.html?query=human+security&submitButton=Search>, accessed on November 9, 2016.

¹¹ See, for example: <https://www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=5652>.



resilience requires increasing the capacity of individuals, societies and countries to respond to various shocks; human development approach of resilience focuses on people's and their interactions – resilience is built for individuals and society in terms of their individual capabilities and social skills; addressing human development is incomplete without incorporating vulnerability and resilience in the analysis¹².

2. EU and NATO Approach on Resilience

Resilience is a term frequently used in official documents of the European Union. Such a document is the Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries 2013-2020, according to which increasing resilience was conceived as a central objective of EU external assistance¹³.

European Commission Communication on “A Framework Strategy for a Resilient Energy Union with a Forward-Looking Climate Change Policy” of February 25, 2015 materialises the objective of a resilient Union energy, that has in the centre an ambitious climate change policy to provide EU consumers (households and businesses) secure, sustainable, competitive and affordable energy¹⁴.

Joint Communication of the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy to

the European Parliament and the Council, entitled “Joint framework on countering hybrid threats. A European Union response” issued in April 2016 comprises a distinct point referring to resilience – point no. 4, called “Organizing the EU response: building resilience”. Resilience is defined herein as the state's ability to cope with stress and to restore and become stronger after challenges. Strengthening resilience will be achieved by the following means: addressing potential strategic and critical sectors (such as cyber security and critical infrastructure – energy, transport, space); protecting the financial system, public health; supporting efforts to combat violent extremism and radicalization¹⁵.

Another EU official document which pays special attention to resilience is *A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy* in 2016. Based on the 17 ambitious goals for sustainable development set for 2030, resilience is a broad concept that includes all individuals and society as a whole. A resilient society should have the following characteristics: the existence of democracy, trust in state institutions, placing sustainable development at the centre of all concerns of the state. According to this strategy, “a resilient state is a safe state, security is essential for prosperity and democracy”¹⁶.

Resilience occurs frequently in the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization documents. Resilience was an important theme for the NATO Summit in Warsaw on July 8-9, 2016; thus, in the Declaration of the participating Heads of State and Government there were set a series of measures to strengthen collective defence, development capacity and increasing *resilience* of the Alliance.

Resilience is “a central element of collective

¹² United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 2014: Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*, pp. 7, 10, 16, 17, available online at: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr14-report-en-1.pdf>, accessed on November 9, 2016.

¹³ European Commission, *Commission Staff Working Document. Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries 2013-2020*, Brussels, 19.06.2013, available online at: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/policies/resilience/com_2013_227_ap_crisis_prone_countries_en.pdf, accessed on November 9, 2016.

¹⁴ *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of the Regions and the European Investment Bank. A Framework Strategy for a Resilient Energy Union with a Forward-Looking Climate Change Policy*, available online at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/RO/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52015DC0080>, accessed on November 9, 2016.

¹⁵ *Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council* entitled “Joint framework on countering hybrid threats. A European Union response”, Brussels, 06.04.2016, pp. 6-17, available online at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52016JC0018&from=EN>, accessed on November 9, 2016.

¹⁶ *Shared vision, common action: A stronger Europe. A Global strategy for European Union's foreign and security policy* 2016, pp. 18-19, available online at: http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf, accessed on November 9, 2016.



defence seen as a corollary of disincentives and reinsurance in the military classic sphere as part of the Alliance's security strategy"¹⁷. The core areas evaluated in the resilience field are: ensuring the continuity of government and critical governmental services; resilience of energy sources; ability to act effectively if uncontrolled movement of persons occur; resilience of water and food sources; ability to cope with accidents; resilience of communications systems; resilience of transport systems. They apply to the full spectrum of crises, from a hybrid evolving threat to demanding scenarios taken into consideration by NATO planners¹⁸.

NATO's approach in this segment of concerns is frequently focused on cyber resilience, without which military capabilities would not operate. Information technology (IT) resilience is vital to fulfil the basic tasks of NATO; "without a modern, efficient and resilient IT infrastructure, long-term transformation of the Alliance would become just a strategic dialogue without technical substance"¹⁹.

3. Resilience in Romania's National Documents

On national plan, the concept of *extended national security*²⁰ was introduced with regard to provide enhanced resilience for all the state institutions and civil society in confronting forcible or persistent crisis situations in an international security environment characterized by complexity and dynamism. Promoting national security interests and the capacity of

¹⁷ NATO Review, *Resilience: a core element of collective defence*, available online at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/Review/2016/Also-in-2016/nato-defence-cyber-resilience/EN/index.htm>, accessed on November 10, 2016.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Cyber resilience: protecting NATO's nervous system*, available online at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2016/Also-in-2016/nato-cyber-resilience-security/EN/index.htm>, accessed on November 16, 2016.

²⁰ Presidential Administration, *National Defense Strategy of the country for the period 2015-2019. A strong Romania in Europe and the world*, (in Romanian: *Strategia națională de apărare a țării pentru perioada 2015-2019. O Românie puternică în Europa și în lume*), București, 2015, p.5.

state institutions and civil society to confront different challenges against security and defence impose having a good knowledge of the regional and international situation, a good capacity to prevent and overcome different crises situations, as well as identifying of means to consolidate the resilience capacity. In this document is seen the practical dimension of the relation resilience – human security, materialised by the provision of security to citizens and communities and by legal and diplomatic protection guarantees offered to the Romanian citizens abroad.

A special place is granted to the critical infrastructures resilience, those infrastructures on which are depending stability, safety and security of systems and processes. There is need for preventive measures, namely the protection of these types of territorial infrastructures, to be combined with the limitation of post-factum effects²¹.

Fulfilment of the guidelines set by the National Strategy on critical infrastructures protection²² will be possible by the conjugated efforts on a series of coordinates referring to the preventive component and to the resilience protection of critical infrastructures, namely: prevention, diminution and limitation of effects, response/intervention and sustainability.

4. Resilience – Human Security Relation

The relation between resilience and human security will be emphasized by presenting some aspects related to two components of human security – food security and health security.

Resilience is, according to Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), the support of sustainable development. Persons having resilient living means are more capable to prevent and to reduce the impact of disasters (traumatic events) in their lives. For this

²¹ Ionel Nițu, *Rolul soluțiilor geospațiale în protecția infrastructurilor critice*, available online at: http://www.marketwatch.ro/articol/12654/Rolul_solutiilor_geospațiale_in_protectia_infrastructurilor_critice/, accessed on November 17, 2016.

²² Published in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 555/4.VIII.2011.



organization, resilience represents the capacity to prevent and attenuate disasters and crises, as well as the capacity to anticipate, to adapt and to recover timely, efficiently and sustainably²³.

FAO was the first organisation to adopt the concept of resilience in the field of food security. The activity of this organisation on resilience is multi-sector, involving all the aspects related to agriculture (cultivating vegetables, livestock, fishery, aquaculture, forestry, natural resources and value chains management). In the late decade, natural disasters provoked damages rising to about 1.3 trillion dollars and from which 2.7 billion of people suffered; agriculture is the sector most damaged in the developing countries, absorbing about 22% of the damages provoked by these disasters²⁴.

Worrysome statistics (e.g. 795 million people in the world suffered of malnutrition between 2012-2014²⁵) and the need to reduce vulnerabilities in front of natural hazards and climate changes imposed, in regard to FAO, a comprehensive strategy to minimize the exposure to risk and to maximize efficient reactions. This must include the increase of agricultural ecosystems resilience by the sustainable approach of agricultural lands by programs of consolidating social-economic resistance (as the social protection, better governance of agricultural market and the development of value chain) and by programs to concretely provide efficient early warning systems²⁶.

²³ *Subregional strategy and action plan 2016, Resilient Livelihoods for Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition in Countries Affected by the Syria Crisis*, Cairo, Egypt, January 2016, p. 5, available online at: http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/user_upload/rne/docs/Sub_regional_action_plan_2016_2017.pdf, accessed on November 14, 2016.

²⁴ *Resilience to natural hazards and resulting disasters*, available online at: <http://www.fao.org/resilience/areas-of-work/natural-hazards/en/>, accessed on November 14, 2016.

²⁵ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Meeting the 2015 international hunger targets: taking stock of uneven progress*, Roma, 2015, p. 3, available online at: <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i4646e.pdf>, accessed on November 15, 2016.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

For FAO, resilience became *corporate priority*. One of FAO initiatives designed to build and strengthen resilience is the establishment of *Resilience Analysis Unit (RAU)* in Nairobi (Kenya), became operational since 2014. In regard to RAU approach, the analysis of resilience context is based on the following seven principles:

- resilience should be measured in relation to a certain result;
- it should be associated with shocks and tensions;
- it can be understood as a set of capacities of absorption, adaptation and transformation;
- it can be measured on different levels: household use, community, sub-national, national and regional;
- it is the best understood by integrating some quantitative methods, as well as qualitative, taking into consideration objective and subjective measures;
- it should be understood in a significant temporal framework; by revealing data on how the risks, responses and resilience interacts and affects food security and nutrition, in time and over shocks;
- a useful analysis of resilience for agencies of implementation should refer to actual programs and policies in order to offer them suggestions where enhancements are necessary²⁷.

In order to argue the relation between resilience and human security, we will briefly refer to the health component. In the context of this component of human security (health security), resilience is the capacity of individuals and communities to use different leverages to take care of their health and wellbeing and particularly the capacity of vulnerable groups, by adapting to unexpected events (for example, natural hazards, serious acute diseases, famish and conflict) and generalized challenges persisting (for example, increasingly effects of climate changes, chronic

²⁷ Resilience Analysis Unit, *Resilience Context Analysis Resilience to food insecurity and malnutrition in Karamoja, Uganda*, April 2015, p. 11, available online at: <http://resilience.igad.int/attachments/article/273/RCA%20Karamoja%2006.07.2015.pdf>, accessed on November 15, 2016.



diseases, abuses of human rights, violence).

Human security goals in the field of health identified by Marcelo Korc, Susan Hubbard, Tomoko Suzuki, Masamine Jimba are the following: increase of vulnerable groups resistance (homeless persons, persons with disabilities, old people, etc.) in order to allow them to enjoy better health; quality, available, acceptable and accessible health services; promotion of health by understanding thorough causes of vulnerabilities varying in regard to the local context and involving often a network of interconnected measures; internal policies of the states focused on the level of living, wellbeing and dignity of persons; stability for health systems; promotion of confidence in oneself and in community²⁸.

Mental health is a basic element of resilience, healthy actives, capabilities and positive adaptation allowing people not only to confront adversities and to help them to reach their higher potential. Also, mental health influences the physical health by setting health behaviour, that is “socially ornamented and deep rooted in social, cultural and material circumstances of humans”²⁹. Factors such as stress or anxiety negatively affect activity results; other factors such as social support or rewards at work have a positive influence on health and results. In her studies, Dr. Lynne Friedli highlights, by comparison, the effects of economic disadvantage on health in rural resilient and non-resilient localities.

According to the World Health Organization, women, children and the elderly support most physical, sexual and psychological abuses; a quarter of the interviewed adults declared they had been physically abused as children; one in five women reported that she was sexually abused during childhood; one in three women has been a victim at some point in life of physical or sexual

²⁸ Marcelo Korc, Susan Hubbard, Tomoko Suzuki, Masamine Jimba, *Health, resilience, and human security: moving toward health for all*, SUA, 2016, p. 26, available online at: <http://www.jcie.org/researchpdfs/HealthHumSec/guide/HHS-2016.pdf>, accessed on November 15, 2016.

²⁹ Lynne Friedli, *Mental health, resilience and inequalities*, 2009, p. III, available online at: http://www.euro.who.int/data/assets/pdf_file/0012/100821/E92227.pdf, accessed on November 15, 2016.

violence of the intimate partner³⁰.

The resilience-human security relationship takes on sensitive shades if demographic movements occur. It is the EU case, which has seen over a million refugees, mostly fleeing war and terror in Syria and other countries in difficulty. According to the European Commission, providing food, water and shelter for these people is a burden on the resources of some EU Member States. In total, in 2015 and 2016, the Union has allocated over 10 billion Euros from its budget to cope with refugee crisis³¹.

Professor Albert Moncusí Ferré believes that effective integration of refugees into communities is a process made up of four dimensions:

- *a structural dimension* (acquiring rights, inclusion, status in educational institutions, training, housing and citizenship, employment);
- *a cultural dimension* (behaviour change, means of knowledge, attitudes);
- *a social dimension* (interpersonal relationships, friendships, family relationships, labour market, associations);
- *an identification dimension* (ethnic and national identity)³².

Integration of refugees into local communities involves a set of rights and obligations for them and its compliance by all parties involved in this process.

Along with human rights, human security is also focused on human development. As for the resilience-human security relationship, resilience is a basic parameter of the personal development of the individual. Resilience refers to positive adaptation to the difficult conditions with traumatic character keeping intact mental health and adaptation to new, i.e. to change. Every

³⁰ World Health Organization, *Global status report on violence prevention 2014*, p. VIII, available online at: http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/, accessed on November 14, 2016.

³¹ European Commission, *UE și criza refugiaților*, July 2016, p.3, available online at: https://europa.eu/european-union/file/11805/download_ro?token=fLP0EJDA, accessed on November 15, 2016.

³² Albert Moncusí Ferré, *Segundas generaciones la inmigración como condición hereditaria?*, available online at: <http://www.uv.es/moncusi/AIBR.pdf>, accessed on November 16, 2016.



person of the over 7.4 billion people of the Blue Planet³³ has different components of resilience, such as: optimism, ability to solve problems, adaptation to the environment, communication skills, strength to handle difficult situations, the ability to identify solutions.

Conclusion

In this globalised world, a single definition for resilience is impossible to formulate; most experts consider that it has acquired value of paradigm as it is a concept linking different fields (politics, economy, environment, crisis management, geopolitics, health, food, financial, informational, etc.).

The feature of resilient approach in terms of human security is to try to identify how the combined effect of economic forces, social conditions and climate change affects the frequency and severity exposure to risk of individuals and communities, especially of vulnerable groups.

Emphasizing the importance of resilience-human security relationship, the document *Human Development Report 2015. Work for Human Development* shows that “overcoming the existing human deprivations and addressing the emerging human development challenges will require optimal use of the world’s human potential. Such use would also accelerate the achievements in human development to date and impart human progress with greater resilience”³⁴.

For many educational institutions or specialised publications, human security and resilience are interdisciplinary approaches required to understanding global issues. For instance, there is an MA organised by the Department of Security Studies and International Affairs at the *Embry-Riddle Aeronautical*

*University (USA)*³⁵ as well as articles in the *Journal of Human Security and Resilience (JHS & R)*, published online by the University of Colorado, *Colorado Springs* in order create a useful forum for discussing issues of fundamental human security and resilience worldwide³⁶.

The most relevant expression of the relationship between resilience and human security was left to mankind by the famous British scientist Charles Darwin, who laid the foundations of evolution theory and of natural selection theory: “In the struggle for survival, the fittest win out at the expense of their rivals because they succeed in adapting themselves best to the environment.”³⁷

Adopting a resilient thinking, which emphasizes the capacity for renewal, reorganization and development would be an advantage for the humanity; and “if we turn resilience in a powerful antidote against security threats”³⁸, then we could decrease our vulnerabilities and stop many of our vulnerabilities and we could take advantage of our planet’s opportunities to ensure future generations an easier life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. ALEXANDRESCU, Grigore; VĂDUVA, Gheorghe, *Infrastructuri critice. Pericole, amenințări la adresa acestora. sisteme de protecție*, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare „Carol I”, București, 2006.

³⁵ For more information, see: Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University (SUA): <http://daytonabeach.erau.edu/degrees/master/human-security-resilience/index.html>, accessed on November 23, 2016.

³⁶ More information can be provided on site: <http://www.thinkhumanssecurity.org/about.html>. The site was accessed on November 23, 2016.

³⁷ Charles Darwin, *The Origins of the Species*, 1859, apud <http://www.quotes.net/quote/37742>, accessed on 23 November 2016.

³⁸ Jessica West, *Resilience: A powerful new antidote to security threats*, available online at: http://ploughshares.ca/pl_publications/resilience-a-powerful-new-antidote-to-security-threats/, accessed on 23 November 2016.



2. CAVELTY, Myriam Dunn, *Resilience in security policy: present and future*, <http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSS-Analysis-142-EN.pdf>.
3. Center for Security Studies in Zurich, Risk and Resilience Reports, <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/risk-and-resilience-reports.html>.
4. DARWIN, Charles, *The Origins of the Species*, 1859, apud <http://www.quotes.net/quote/37742>.
5. Economic and Social Research Council, <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/>.
6. Food and Agriculture Organization, <http://www.fao.org/home/en/>.
7. FRIEDLI, Lynne, *Mental health, resilience and inequalities*, 2009, http://www.euro.who.int/data/assets/pdf_file/0012/100821/E92227.pdf.
8. *Human security in theory and practice. An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*, http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf.
9. HUSSEIN, Karim; GNISCI, Donata; WANJIRU, Julia, *Security and human security: an overview of concepts and initiatives what implications for West Africa?*, <https://www.oecd.org/swac/publications/38826090.pdf>.
10. NIȚU, Ionel, *Rolul soluțiilor geospațiale în protecția infrastructurilor critice*, http://www.marketwatch.ro/articol/12654/Rolul_solutiilor_geospațiale_in_protectia_infrastructurilor_critice/.
11. KALDOR, Mary, *Securitatea umană*, Editura CA Publishing, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.
12. KORC, Marcelo; HUBBARD, Susan; SUZUKI, Tomoko; JIMBA, Masamine, *Health, resilience, and human security: moving toward health for all*, SUA, 2016, <http://www.jcie.org/researchpdfs/HealthHumSec/guide/HHS-2016.pdf>.
13. Resilience Analysis Unit, *Resilience Context Analysis Resilience to food insecurity and malnutrition in Karamoja, Uganda*, April 2015, <http://www.resilience.igad.int/index.php/news/255-the-launch-of-the-resilience-analysis-unit-rau>.
14. *Revista de investigare a criminalității nr.1/2015*, Academia de Poliție “Al. I. Cuza”, București.
15. SEHGAL, Parul, “The profound emptiness of resilience”, *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/magazine/the-profound-emptiness-of-resilience.html?_r=0.
16. Stockholm Resilience Centre, <http://www.stockholmresilience.org/search.html?Query=human+security&submitButton=Search>.
17. National Defense Strategy of the country for the period 2015-2019. A strong Romania in Europe and the world, (in Romanian: Strategia națională de apărare a țării pentru perioada 2015-2019. O Românie puternică în Europa și în lume), București, 2015.
18. National Strategy for Critical Infrastructure Protection, (in Romanian: Strategia națională privind protecția infrastructurilor critice), published in the Official Gazette of Romania, part I, no. 555/4.VIII.2011.
19. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report 2014: Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*, <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr14-report-en-1.pdf>.
20. NATO website, www.nato.int.
21. EU website, www.europa.eu.
22. World Health Organization, *Global status report on violence prevention 2014*, http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/.
23. FERRÉ, Albert Moncusí, *Segundas generaciones” ¿la inmigración como condición hereditaria?*, <http://www.uv.es/moncusi/AIBR.pdf>.
24. Worldometers, <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/>.
25. United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2015, Work for Human Development*, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2015_human_development_report.pdf.



26. *Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University* (USA), <http://daytonabeach.erau.edu/degrees/master/human-security-resilience/index.html>
27. *Journal of Human Security & Resilience*, <http://www.thinkhumansecurity.org/about.html>
28. Jessica West, *Resilience: A powerful new antidote to security threats*, http://ploughshares.ca/pl_publications/resilience-a-powerful-new-antidote-to-security-threats/.



SENKAKU/DIAOYU ISLANDS – LANDMARK IN REDEFINING THE POWER POLITICS IN THE EAST CHINA SEA

*Alexandra DAN**

The Senkaku/Diaoyu islands have been shaping security relations between China and Japan since 1970, disrupting the entire region of the East China Sea. For Japan, Senkaku is a guarantor of control and sovereignty. For China, the Diaoyu are a witness of defeat and humiliation. But for both players, the islands are a point of geostrategic and economic interest, an objective of utmost importance. The disagreements concerning the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands demonstrate a sustained struggle for power, initiated by antagonistic ideologies and offensive behaviour. The paper presents the Chinese and Japanese courses of action, stimulated by the dynamic dispute over Senkaku/Diaoyu and the results of strategic calculations, consolidated into a counter-balancing mechanism, specific to power politics.

This article aims to provide a perspective on the dynamics of the relationship between China and Japan in relation to the islands of Senkaku/Diaoyu. The main objective is to determine the impact of conflict dynamics on the evolution of the actors' behaviour which continually gravitates towards an arms race.

Keywords: *counterbalancing, hegemony, interest, offensive behaviour, power, security.*

1. Introductory Considerations

The Asia-Pacific region often received global media attention due to turmoil resulting from conflicts of interest and aggressive power policies. Tensions generated by aspirations of power, whose threat transcends regional borders, disturb the stability of the entire international community. A potential outbreak of conflict, the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands represents the critical constant of the relations between China and Japan, actors with antagonistic interests and conceptions, which govern economically and politically the region. Recent developments in the game of interests, based on the instincts of power, led to the shaping of a dichotomy that threatens regional stability. China's rise to hegemony threatens the interests of other countries in the region. Competitions between China on the one hand, and Japan, with the United States, on the other hand, over the control of the archipelago distort the regional stability configuration, eroded by the aggressive policies of the two actors.

The situation in the region requires special attention, given the outlook of exacerbated disputes maintained by incongruent interests of the involved states, whose development can generate effects with systemic impact. The emphasizing interdependence of the

** 1st Lt Alexandra DAN is a PhD Candidate in the field of National Intelligence and Security at "Carol I" National Defence University, Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: dan_alexandra@mail.com*



international system to which China belongs enhances collective vulnerability to regional conflicts. However, the alliance between Japan and the United States constitutes an anchor of US security policy in Asia-Pacific, the only one capable to respond effectively to China's assertiveness.

The strategies adopted by players support a realistic approach to relations in the region, endowed with the typical offensive elements. The claiming of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands by China stigmatized by the international community as the instigator of the conflict, sparks relations with its neighbours, despite international admonition.

The strategic importance of the archipelago comes from its position that benefits the governing state from a geostrategic point of view. Archipelago integration under its own autonomy provides access to the exclusive economic zone and the opportunity to take advantage of the islands.

The proclamation of Japanese sovereignty over the archipelago, based on the *terra nullius* principle that guarantees control over a territory not claimed by any actor, is aggressively condemned by the Beijing government. Amid intensifying tensions between China and Japan, investment initiatives in the Japanese defense industry have raised suspicions among Chinese authorities who perceive it as a threat to national security.

The article is structured in three parts, during which we will pursue the courses of action combined with the need for counterbalancing a potential hegemon, whose ascent is impregnated, emphatically, in the evolution of regional and international developments. Revisionism discouragement is supported by the power counterbalancing mechanism which seeks to confine the aggressor and restrict its ability to stimulate offensive policies. To balance the rising power of China, the Asian countries have found a viable ally in the United States, which have superior offensive capabilities and whose power can be designed effectively within the system.

2. Considerations Regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands

Senkaku Islands, known as the Diaoyu¹, comprise 5 islands and 3 rocks, covering an area of only 7 square kilometres. The geographical position of the islands is the critical point in redefining relations between China, Japan and Taiwan, being situated at about 170 km north-west of the island of Ishigaki, 170 km from Taiwan, 330 km south-east of China and 410 km west of Okinawa² Island, delimiting the central area of the East China Sea. The largest island is Uotsuri/Diaoyu Dao, an area of 2.3 square kilometres, located 383 m above sea level³.

The islands' importance is impregnated by their geostrategic position and by the natural oil resources offering a significant economic potential. The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA)⁴ identified petroleum and natural gasses in the depths of the East China Sea, approximately 100 million barrels and up to 600 billion cubic meters of natural gasses. According to the Japan's Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism⁵, the Senkaku/Diaoyu

¹ In Japan's references, the islands are named Senkaku, while the official name employed by China is Diaoyu. At the same time, Taiwan officially recognizes them as Diaoyu Tai.

² Akiyama Masahiro, "Geopolitical Considerations of the Senkaku Islands", *Review of Island Studies*, available at <https://www.spf.org/islandstudies/research/a00007/>, accessed on 14.09.2016.

³ William Choong, "The Ties That Divide: History, Honor and Territory in Sino-Japanese Relations", *Adelphi Papers*, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), available at <https://www.iiss.org/en/publications/adelphi/by%20year/2014-de9e/the-ties-that-divide-a777/ap445-05-chapter-two-3d30>, accessed on 14.09.2016.

⁴ The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) is the statistical and analytical agency within the U.S. Department of Energy. EIA collects, analyzes and disseminates independent and impartial energy information to promote sound policymaking, efficient markets and public understanding of energy. The full report regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands is available at <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/regions-topics.cfm?RegionTopicID=ECS>, accessed on 14.09.2016.

⁵ Cary Huang, "Diaoyu Islands dispute about resources not land", *South China Morning Post*, available at <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1096774/diaoyu-islands-dispute-about-resources-not-land>, accessed on 14.09.2016.



area is rich in manganese, cobalt and nickel reserves and is also a productive fishing area.

The archipelago's position offers a geostrategic advantage to the state in control, facilitating access towards the West Pacific area. Close to the Miyako strait, the islands allow the exploitation of proximities that confer economic and military advantage. From a military point of view, the islands can serve as observation posts, early warning positions and support sites, all vital elements for conducting maritime operations. Currently, all Chinese naval bases are located in the East and South China Sea. The Ryukyu archipelago, along with the Bashi canal and Tsugaru Strait, provides the Chinese forces access to the Pacific Ocean's open waters. For now, the Tsugaru Strait is obstructed by conflicts between Japan, South Korea and Russia. The most accessible and used route by Chinese forces to penetrate the West Pacific is through the Miyako Strait and control over Senkaku/ Diaoyu Islands provides direct access.

Authority over the islands extends jurisdiction over the continental shelf and the exclusive economic zone, offering full exploitation in the area. According to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea⁶, the coastal state enjoys sovereign rights to exploration and exploitation, conservation and management of natural resources and for the protection of these rights, the state can adopt all legal measures for law enforcement purposes.

The increased antagonism between Japan, China and Taiwan⁷ are due to the discovery, in

⁶ The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982) establishes a legislative framework regarding a legal order for the seas and oceans and the utilization of their resources. The Convention was ratified by both China and Japan. For more information, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is available http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf, accessed on 20.09.2016.

⁷ As part of the sovereignty dispute over the archipelago, Taiwan claims it was first occupied by the Chinese, all the way back during the Ming dynasty, constituting an annex to Taiwan. Official statements regarding ownership invoke geographical positioning, geological structure, historical connection with China, as well as resource usage considerations. Taiwan's territorial claims are not included in this paper. Details on Taiwan's situation in the conflict's context can be found in the following article: "The Republic of China's Sovereignty Claims over the Diaoyutai Islands

1969, of the islands' abundant natural resources. China claims that the Senkaku islands were usurped⁸ by Japan amid the Sino-Japanese War, claiming they constitute their own territory by invoking the reason that they have been discovered and used by Chinese seafarers, being incorporated into the Chinese empire, beginning with the fifteenth century. Japan rejects the allegations and does not recognize the conflict which delays implementation of effective solutions.

3. Japan's Policy Regarding the Senkaku/ Diaoyu Islands

The annexation of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands by Japan in 1895 was based on the *terra nullius* principle. Since 1896, the islands of Uotsuri, Kuba, Kitakojima and Minamikojima were commissioned through a lease agreement for a period of 30 years to a Japanese business man, Tatsushiro Koga⁹. In 1932, four islands passed into private ownership under the possession of the businessman Zenji Koga¹⁰. During the 50 years between 1895 and 1945, the Senkaku Islands were under the jurisdiction of the government of the prefecture of Okinawa as part of the prefecture of the Nansei Islands, a chain extending from south-western Kyushu all the way into the northern waters of Taiwan.

At the end of World War II, the islands were taken by the United States as a result of the defeat of Japan. With the conclusion of the Treaty of San Francisco¹¹, in 1951, Japan joined the "principles of constitutional democracy and rejoined the

and the East China Sea Peace Initiative", Foreign Affairs Ministry of Taiwan, available at <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/cp.aspx?n=38CD1D3C91067AEC>, accessed on 20.09.2016.

⁸ Tadashi Ikeda, „Getting Senkaku History Right”, *The Diplomat*, available at <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/getting-senkaku-history-right/>, accessed on 18.09.2016.

⁹ Yasuo Nakauchi, "Issues Surrounding the Senkaku Islands and the Japan-China Relationship", available at https://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/pdf/digital_library/Nakauchi_Senkaku.pdf, accessed on 19.09.2016.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ For more information, the Treaty of Peace with Japan is available at <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20136/volume-136-i-1832-english.pdf>.



international state system as an US ally¹². This treaty provides the framework for granting judicial sovereignty of Japan in exchange for its imperialist tendencies and suppression of Formosa and the Pescadores islands restitution. However, according to Article 3 of the Treaty, Nansei Islands, which included the Senkaku Islands, remained under US jurisdiction. The treaty of San Francisco is not recognized by China due to it not being present at the negotiating table.

In 1953, the Senkaku Islands were incorporated into the Ryukyu Islands prefecture, over which the US exercises its control. The bilateral treaty regarding the restitution of Okinawa Island¹³, signed in 1972, returned the islands and the Senkaku archipelago under Japanese control.

Since 2002, the Japanese government leased the islands of Uotsuri, Kitakojima and Minamikojima. On 11th of September 2012, they were acquired by the Japanese government, sparking violent actions from Chinese nationalists. Kuba Island, remaining in private ownership, has been chartered by the Japanese government and used, together with Taisho Island, by the US to conduct military actions.

Currently, the islands belong to Okinawa Prefecture and are uninhabited. The Japanese government permanently maintained its position regarding its authority over the islands. The strategy adopted by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, in response to Taiwan's initiative to cooperate for peace building in the region, as stipulated by the terms stated in the Initiative for Peace in the East China Sea¹⁴, demonstrates that Japan does not recognize the existence of the conflict on reclaiming territorial sovereignty.

¹² Henry Kissinger, *World Order*, Bucharest, Rao Publishing, 2015, pp. 156-157.

¹³ Okinawa Reversion Agreement (1972) is available at <http://www.cfr.org/japan/okinawa-reversion-agreement-1972/p30266>.

¹⁴ East China Sea Peace Initiative, launched by the Chinese government in the context of East China Sea regional disputes, reaffirms Taiwan's sovereignty over the islands and urges towards peaceful conflict resolution, according to the UN Chart and international law. More details are available at <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/theme.aspx?s=780E70E6D142B833>.

Post-war pacifism, impregnated in Japanese politics as a necessity to fit in the strategic landscape, diminished the warfare ability due to conditions imposed by the American regime. In response to security threats arising from neighbours who take advantage of Japan's demilitarization¹⁵, the need to improve the ability to conduct military actions is highlighted. This statement is reflected in an official report issued by the Japanese government in 2013, according to which "the circumstances of the country's security become increasingly difficult (...) it has become absolutely necessary for Japan to make proactive efforts in line with the principle of international cooperation"¹⁶. Japan's policy so far has been geared towards self-defense, civil security and payment of liabilities arising out of the treaty with the US, the basis for building a "moderate defense capability"¹⁷ in line with the fundamental principles of the Constitution.

Relations between Japan and the US help balance the security environment in the region. The alliance between the two international players creates a space conducive to their interests' interrelation, with the ultimate goal to maintain a stable climate in the area. The US-Japan Security Treaty is a cornerstone of "strengthening the traditional relations of peace and friendship between the two actors and support the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law"¹⁸. The treaty does not provide the necessary framework for mutual defense, noting that any aggression on the territories administered by Japan will be reported and transferred to the UN Security Council. Under the treaty, Japan may consider intervention in military operations

¹⁵ Henry Kissinger, *op.cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁶ Henry Kissinger, *op.cit.*, p. 158. The author concludes with the obvious need to adapt the Japanese strategy to the current world order and readjusting its role in the international system dynamics, strengthening the alliance with the United States.

¹⁷ Ministry of Defence of Japan, www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/d_policy/dp02.html, accessed on 21.09.2016.

¹⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America is available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html>, accessed on 20.09.2016.



alongside the US, depending on the circumstances of the moment and the possible effects arising from such action.

Threats occurring on the periphery of Japan and the security environment's dynamic led to refocusing the national security strengthening strategy to increase military capabilities, while aligning the legislative framework to current reality challenges. The direction to increase military capabilities, supported by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, has been widely condemned by opposition and the civil society, arguing that the current government forces the state into a military conflict.

In February 2012, in order to enhance maritime security, Japan has expanded its deployment of coast guard authority by reviewing the legislative framework governing foreign ships navigating in the territorial sea. Also, the amendment of Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan, which regulates the military actions outside of Japan, has been a subject of intense debate between the civil society and China, which announced its disagreement, considering the legislative initiatives as a challenge to peace in Asia-Pacific. Article 9 limits Japan's aggression, excludes war as a sovereign national right and denies the ability to threaten with use of force as means of settling international conflicts.¹⁹ Legacy of the Second World War, this article defines Japan's behaviour in the international system, prohibiting the use of methods and tools that could degenerate into an aggressive militarism.

Japan's defense program²⁰ includes measures to strengthen the capacity to deter and improve response solutions for different situations. Japan aims to secure the sea and air space around it through continuous observation and monitoring and by optimizing intelligence and warning capabilities. Operating procedures in case of a ballistic missile attack, attacks in cyberspace or outer space are also improved.

In 2003, the Ministry of Defense has requested the inclusion in the 2004 budget of the need to

¹⁹ *Idem*.

²⁰ Japan Ministry of Defense, "Defense Programs and Budget of Japan", available at http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_budget/pdf/280330.pdf, accessed on 21.09.2016.

create and strengthen a missile defense system whose origin has been initiated since 1993 in cooperation with the US. In June 2006, the Japanese government launched a joint project with the US on missile development, Standard Missile-3 Block IIA Cooperative Development (SCD) Project²¹ whose performance was evaluated both through simulations and tests conducted in the US. In order to counter threats to the more remote islands under the control of Japan, China developed its continuous surveillance capabilities, ensuring and maintaining air superiority and supremacy, maritime rapid response capacity and infrastructure for C3I. Development of military capabilities requires augmentation defense spendings. The budget allocated to the armed forces consists of personnel expenses and expenses related to material resources that meet employees' salaries, training costs, costs of purchasing and maintaining equipment, technology and facilities, the support or new operations already underway and the research and development costs. Starting with 2013, Japan has initiated programs in order to increase the budget allocated to defense. To counter China's offensive manoeuvres, Japan wants to increase the defense budget for 2017. The annual growth of the defense budget, planned value of 5.17 trillion yen, 2.3% more than in previous years, aims to support the capacity to respond to threats raised by China and North Korea's actions by developing amphibious forces and modernizing the mobile PAC-3²² air defense.

Japan's military potential augmentation succeeds China's expanding military presence in the proximity of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, reflected by incursions of jet fighter penetrating adjacent space. H-6K bombers and combat aircraft Su-30 tactical exercises alarmed Chinese authorities in Tokyo, fostering tensions.

²¹ Japan Ministry of Defense, "Japan's BMD", available at http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/bmd/bmd.pdf, accessed on 21.09.2016.

²² Justin McCurry, "Japan defence ministry seeks record budget to counter Chinese threat", *The Guardian*, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/31/japan-defence-ministry-record-budget-counter-chinese-north-korea-nuclear-threat>, accessed on 21.09.2016.



However, Japan's offensive behaviour is difficult to integrate into the system dynamics due to a legislative device that hinders enforcement. Opposition in Parliament and from the civil society counterbalances the aggressive initiatives of the current prime minister. Also, the alliance with the US is a factor supporting Japan's security and a key element in mitigating the security dilemma in the region by obstructing the government in Tokyo to resort to arms in response to China.

The authenticity of the jurisdiction of Japan over the islands is demonstrated through a series of actions as law enforcement regarding illegal fishing, charging tax to Kuba owners and conducting researches by the Japanese Government, which are aimed at strengthening its control and discouraging any external attempt on its territorial claim.

Military actions by Japan in the Senkaku islands culminated with the use of two Japanese fighter planes whose trajectory was intercepted by two other fighter aircrafts of Chinese origin, on 17 June 2016.²³ This incident followed Chinese response measures materialized in incursions.

3. Security Dynamics and Counter-balancing Strategies

China's tumultuous history has left a bloody stain on the memory of the nation. The opium war, disproportionate treaties, the Boxer Uprising, Western military interventions, the surrender to Japan in 1895, accompanied by humiliation and insults to national dignity, the vicissitudes of people caused by internal programs meant to exalt the nation, all desecrated popular consciousness, but justify orientation towards enhancing its regional power.

After the publication by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)²⁴ of a report confirming the existence oil deposits,

²³ Megha Rajagopalan, "China criticizes Japan over 'dangerous' jet scramble", *Reuters*, available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-japan-idUSKCN0ZL28B>, accessed on 23.09.2016.

²⁴ For more information, the "The Senkaku Islands" report can be found at the following address, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/senkaku/pdfs/senkaku_en.pdf.

interest in the archipelago increased, generating numerous conflicts. In 1971, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs officially stated²⁵ the territory belongs to China.

In April 1992, China issued the Law on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Area of China²⁶ in order to extend sovereignty over the territorial sea and the contiguous zone. The Beijing government claims that evidence of Chinese sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands based on old documents attesting they were Chinese property during the Ming and Qing Dynasty. China's claims are founded on the idea that the islands belong to Taiwan since the Ming Dynasty, serving as a point of defense of China against Japanese pirate attacks. The first Sino-Japanese war was an opportunity for Japan to take control of the islands. The treaty of Shimonoseki, imposed to the Qing Dynasty by Japan, authenticated Taiwan's ownership of the archipelago.

Avoiding discussions on the situation of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands during the Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China²⁷ in 1972 in order to maintain a "climate of peace and friendship" confirms the acceptance of tensions instigated by mutual interests in the region by both countries. Incidents in the region have worsened already antagonistic relations between the two international players. Incursions led by China in the islands' territorial waters and contiguous area were blamed by Japan and the United States.

The nationalization of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands by Japan in 2012 increased

²⁵ During the "Diaoyu Islands belong to China" interview, Fu Ying offers an overview of the Senkaku/Diaoyu situation from a Chinese perspective. The interview is available at http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/diaodao_665718/t981210.shtml, accessed on 22.09.2016.

²⁶ For more information, the Law's dispositions (25 February 1992) are available at http://www.un.org/depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/CHN_1992_Law.pdf, UNO, accessed on 22.09.2016.

²⁷ Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China is available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/joint72.html>, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, accessed on 22.09.2016.



China's presence in the region, amplifying the deterioration of bilateral relations. The anniversary event celebrating 40 years of diplomatic relations between China and Japan was cancelled and sovereignty proclaimed by Japan over the islands was violated on numerous occasions.

In November 2013, China announced the creation of an Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea, whose perimeter coincides with Japan's ADIZ. Aircraft entering this zone must be subordinated to the requirements formulated by the Chinese authorities on aircraft navigation. This initiative, aimed at protecting the state's sovereignty, land and air territorial security and order maintenance flight, demonstrates a step forward for China in its proclamation as a regional power. Area air defense establishment supports the aggressive behaviour of China in the East China Sea, forming an attempt to provide a legal basis for the establishment of control over the islands. Also, the air defense is imposed as a response to military operations undertaken by the United States, being defined as "the result of a political process to neutralize the efforts of the United States and other possible actors, to assure access to East China Sea"²⁸.

Both Japan and Taiwan limited themselves to only blaming China's offensive actions. Japan condemned the air defense, claiming to represent a significant contribution to "escalating the situation regarding the Senkaku Islands"²⁹ and Taiwan has expressed regret, bringing safeguards to protect national security. US denounce China's "national security protection" method, urging Beijing not to implement the threat to penalize airplanes not complying with instructions in this area.³⁰ The US also expressed their intention to

²⁸ Peter Mattis, "China's East China Sea ADIZ: Framing Japan to Help Washington Understand", 05.12.2013, available at http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=41719&cHash=bc62eef7405484e553573b1d002184b1#.V-fgEvl97IV, accessed on 23.09.2016.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Kimberly Hsu, "Air Defense Identification Zone Intended to Provide China Greater Flexibility to Enforce East China Sea Claims", U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Report, 14.01.2014, available at <http://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/China%20ADIZ%20Staff%20Report.pdf>, accessed on 23.09.2016.

continue to execute flights over the archipelago, intent demonstrated by entering China's ADIZ with two unarmed B-52 bombers without prior notification of the Beijing authorities.

The establishment of an air identification and defense area succeeds the implementation of an anti-access, area denial system (A2/AD)³¹ whose acquisition demonstrates China's revisionist behaviour. This system has both defensive and offensive capabilities, giving the owners the opportunity to counter the actions of other actors and to deter aggressors. The anti-access, area denial system includes conventional arms, ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons, as well as effective doctrine based on political and psychological warfare techniques.

The Jingkai frigate's penetration of the archipelago's contiguous zone in June 2016 represented an initial display of China's strategy of manifesting jurisdiction by using an armed ship. Also, tensions between the two actors were amplified following Chinese aviation exercises with fighter planes and bombers, who crossed the Miyako Strait, followed closely by Japanese fighter jets³².

Beijing has shown an increased interest in transiting the strategically important intersecting with the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. China's emphasis on offensive behaviour and intensification of military presence in strategic areas such as the Miyako Strait and the Bashi Channel, were condemned by authorities in Tokyo as *unilateral acts*³³ that intensify tensions in the East China Sea region.

³¹ Dean Cheng, "The U.S. Needs an Integrated Approach to Counter China's Anti-Access/Area Denial Strategy", 09.07.2014, available at www.heritage.org/research/reports/2014/07/the-us-needs-an-integrated-approach-to-counter-chinas-anti-accessarea-denial-strategy, accessed on 23.09.2016.

³² Ankit Panda, "Japan Scrambles Jets as China Air Force Flies Bombers, Fighters Through Miyako Strait", *The Diplomat*, available at <http://thediplomat.com/2016/11/japan-scrambles-jets-as-china-air-force-flies-bombers-fighters-through-miyako-strait/>, accessed on 23.09.2016.

³³ Kyodo, "Japan protests after swarm of 230 Chinese vessels enters waters near Senkakus", available at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/08/06/national/japan-ramps-protests-china-fishing-coast-guard-ships-enter-senkaku-waters/#.WHvypIN97IU>, accessed on 23.09.2016.



The development of capabilities and, implicitly, conduction of full spectrum warfare operations has distorted the balance of power between China and all the other Asian states. From a strategic point of view, political war constitutes an essential element in diminishing the verisimilitude of an opponent's actions by influencing public opinion and through denigration.

At the operational level, China aims to augment its electronic and intelligence warfare capabilities by improving its C4ISR (command, control, communications, computer, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance).

At the tactical level, the fight is geared towards limiting the effects of enemy air attacks through both preventive measures and neutralization of enemy capabilities. Air capacity development is a prerequisite for success. Also, destruction of enemy air power provides a strategic advantage on the battlefield. Intensifying offensive ability, in addition to the defensive, ensure successful airstrikes and hence, power projection on the opposition.

China's efforts to impose its control over the islands were antagonized by Japan by establishing a radar station, constituted as a permanent information collection post. The station is located on the island of Yonaguni, in the far western part of a string of Japanese islands in the East China Sea. In turn, China has started building a radar whose goal is condemned by Japan, considering it a deviation from the 2008 agreement on cooperation for resource development in the region.

China's focus on developing its battle capacity correlates with holistic efforts to integrate all elements of national power to offer a concrete response to threats. China's strength is counterbalanced by the United States, whose support capabilities effectively balance the rise of China and maintaining the status quo. The joint Japan-US exercises contribute to augmenting the fighting power of Japan and popularizing the idea of an efficient bilateral alliance in the region.

Conclusions

Due to its geostrategic importance, the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands dispute is the epicentre of the tensions between China, Japan and Taiwan. The archipelago consists of five islands and three rocks, of which the largest is Uotsuri/Diaoyu Dao. The position, delimiting the distance between the 3 actors, provides access to important shipping routes, paving the way to the deep waters of the Pacific. From a military perspective, the islands can be important strategic points. They are also likely to hold significant deposits of oil and natural gas, but also a rich maritime fauna. Having control over the archipelago provides access to the exclusive economic zone and the right to exploit the specific value of the islands.

Tensions arising from the conflicts in the islands continue to deteriorate China and Japan's relation. Starting with September 2012, when the three islands of the archipelago of Senkaku/Diaoyu passed into state ownership, China's military actions in the region have intensified. On numerous occasions, China tested Japan's auto-proclaimed authority over the islands by deploying in the area a growing number of vessels. The establishment of an Air Defense Identification Zone in the East China Sea shows China's realistic behaviour as a rational player whose actions are aimed at strengthening its own power.

The increasingly significant role China assumes constitutes a drastic change of the East Asia region. China's expansion has caused uncertainty among the other countries in the Asia Pacific region. The increasing population and growing economy, as well as China's industrialization and modernization of the armed forces have tilted the regional balance of power in its favour. Adding to all of this, the Chinese force design, supported by offensive actions, reduces the water's blocking power by intensifying naval and air capabilities.

In support of Japan and to counterbalance the growing power of China, the US assumes the role of ally, as stipulated in the Treaty of San Francisco. US military presence in the region is



obvious, which is oriented towards deterrence of China's coercive actions. The installation of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile system in South Korea aims to strengthen security in the region and protect allies under the shield's umbrella. This can be interpreted as a threat to China, reducing the viability of its nuclear deterrence capabilities.

The dynamics of events in the East China Sea require special attention from the international community, involving potentially systemic factors in destabilizing today's world order. Currently, the strategic competition between China, on the one hand, and Japan, alongside the US, on the other hand, threatens regional peace and security, altering systemic stability. China's increasingly offensive foreign policy is oriented towards strengthening oversight in the East China Sea and maximizing relative power. This challenging strategy of China, with accents drawn from an imperialist culture, intensifies the disputes between China and Japan and sharpens the regional competition between China and the US, generating effects on an international level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. ***, Treaty of Peace with Japan, San Francisco, 1951, UNO, available at <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20136/volume-136-i-1832-english.pdf>.
2. ***, Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China, 1972, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/joint72.html>.
3. ***, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982, UNO, available at http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf.
4. ***, "Diaoyu Islands belong to China", available at http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/topics_665678/diaodao_665718/t981210.shtml.
5. ***, "Okinawa Reversion Agreement (1972)", available at <http://www.cfr.org/japan/okinawa-reversion-agreement-1972/p30266>.
6. ***, "The Senkaku Islands", Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, available at http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/senkaku/pdfs/senkaku_en.pdf.
7. ***, "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America", Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html>.
8. ***, U.S. Energy Information Administration, "EastChinaSeaReport", available at <http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/regions-topics.cfm?RegionTopicID=ECS>.
9. ***, Law on territorial sea and PRC's contiguous area (25 February 1992), available at http://www.un.org/depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/CHN_1992_Law.pdf.
10. ***, PRC Foreign Affairs Ministry (Taiwan), "The Republic of China's Sovereignty Claims over the Diaoyutai Islands and the East China Sea Peace Initiative", available at <http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/cp.aspx?n=38CD1D3C91067AEC>.
11. ***, Japanese Defense Ministry, "Defense Programs and Budget of Japan", available at http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_budget/pdf/280330.pdf.
12. ***, Japanese Defense Ministry, "Japan's BMD", available at http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/bmd/bmd.pdf.
13. KISSINGER, Henry, "World Order", Bucharest, Rao Publishing, 2015.
14. MEARSHEIMER, John J., "Tragedy of great power politics", trans. Andreea Năstase, Bucharest, Antet Publishing, 2001.
15. WALTZ, Kenneth N., 1979, "Theory of international politics", Bucharest, Polirom Publishing, 2006.
16. CHENG, Dean, "The U.S. Needs an Integrated Approach to Counter China's Anti-Access/Area Denial Strategy", 09.07.2014, available at www.heritage.org/research/



reports/2014/07/the-us-needs-an-integrated-approach-to-counter-chinas-anti-access-area-denial-strategy.

17. CHOONG, William, “The Ties That Divide: History, Honour and Territory in Sino-Japanese Relations”, available at <https://www.iiss.org/en/publications/adelphi/by%20year/2014-de9e/the-ties-that-divide-a777/ap445-05-chapter-two-3d30>.

18. HUANG, Cary, “Diaoyu Islands dispute about resources not land” in *South China Morning Post*, available at <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1096774/diaoyu-islands-dispute-about-resources-not-land>.

19. IKEDA, Tadashi, “Getting Senkaku History Right”, available at <http://thediplomat.com/2013/11/getting-senkaku-history-right/>.

20. Kimberly Hsu, “Air Defense Identification Zone Intended to Provide China Greater Flexibility to Enforce East China Sea Claims”, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission Staff Report, 14.01.2014, available at <http://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Research/China%20ADIZ%20Staff%20Report.pdf>.

21. KYODO, “Japan protests after swarm of 230 Chinese vessels enters waters near Senkakus”, available at <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/08/06/national/japan-ramps-protests-china-fishing-coast-guard-ships-enter-senkaku-waters/#.WHvyplN97IU>.

22. MASAHIRO, Akiyama, “Geopolitical Considerations of the Senkaku Islands”, available at <https://www.spf.org/islandstudies/research/a00007/>.

23. MATTIS, Peter, “China’s East China Sea ADIZ: Framing Japan to Help Washington Understand”, 05.12.2013, available at http://www.jamestown.org/programs/chinabrief/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=41719&cHash=bc62eef7405484e553573b1d002184b1#.V-fgEvI97IV.

24. MCCURRY, Justin, “Japan defense ministry seeks record budget to counter Chinese threat”, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/31/japan-defense-ministry-record-budget-counter-chinese-north-korea-nuclear-threat>.

25. NAKAUCHI, Yasuo, “Issues Surrounding the Senkaku Islands and the Japan-China Relationship”, available at https://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/pdf/digital_library/Nakauchi_Senkaku.pdf.

26. PANDA, Ankit, “Japan Scrambles Jets as China Air Force Flies Bombers, Fighters Through Miyako Strait”, available at <http://thediplomat.com/2016/11/japan-scrambles-jets-as-china-air-force-flies-bombers-fighters-through-miyako-strait/>.

27. RAJAGOPALAN, Megha, “China criticizes Japan over ‘dangerous’ jet scramble”, available at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-japan-idUSKCN0ZL28B>.

28. Website, Ministry of Defense of Japan, www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/d_policy/dp02.html.

29. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Taiwan, www.mofa.gov.tw/en/theme.aspx?s=780E70E6D142B833.



HEZBOLLAH AND BOKO HARAM – COOPERATION OR IMITATION?

*János BESENYŐ, PhD**

*Vivien KERESZTES***

Hezbollah is one of the greatest threats to Africa, especially to Nigeria, not because they are planning to attack targeted regions of the continent, but they are also liable to give support to dangerous extremist groups. In this article, we mainly focus on suicide bombers of Hezbollah and Boko Haram. Furthermore, we examine the relationship and possible cooperation between these two terrorist groups.

Keywords: *Boko Haram, Hezbollah, IMN, martyrdom, Nigeria, suicide attacks, terrorist networks.*

Motivation towards Suicide Attacks

Managing to find disillusioned and/or impressionable people who are vulnerable to extremist ideologies and religious dogmas is crucial for the training of suicide attackers. According to different studies related to suicide attackers, the recruitment and training methods are mainly successful when the terrorists choose such soldiers or martyrs. Between 2000 and 2010 the number of suicide attackers increased significantly, approximately by 300%.¹ A dramatic change occurred in this regard from

¹ Adam Lankford, *The Myth of Martyrdom: What Really Drives Suicide Bombers, Rampage Shooters, and Other Self-Destructive Killers*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, available at <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/249/html>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

2000 and more than 3,000 suicide bombings took place during the last 15 years. Without doubt, the attack against the World Trade Center played a significant role and gave an example to follow for terrorist organizations ideologically identified with al-Qaeda.

These organizations carried out more than 85% of suicide bombings and 95% of other suicide actions in 2013. Suicide attacks have more effective public impact due to the greater number of fatalities and their effect on morale (see Figure 1.).

Psychologist Noam Shpancer noted that those who kill themselves in this violent way have a special relation with brutality, conformism and distortion. Taking² into consideration their social circumstances (which includes their religion, affecting their identity and influencing their personality remarkably), it is an important aspect of being a suicide bomber that they must have an unshakeable belief that their group has the final and exclusive truth. Poverty, exclusion, aggression, anger, frustration and isolation are key-factors which make a great part of the population vulnerable to fanaticism.

² Noam Shpancer, "Understanding the Suicide Bomber", *Psychology Today*, 2010, available at <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/insight-therapy/201009/understanding-the-suicide-bomber>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

** Colonel János BESENYŐ, PhD is the Head of the Science Department of the Military Staff of the Hungarian Defence Forces. E-mail: besenyo.janos@gmail.com*

*** Vivien KERESZTES is an MSc student in International Relations at the University of Szeged, Hungary. E-mail: perszephonex@gmail.com*



Shpancer argues that young members of terrorist groups who grow up in bad circumstances tend to believe desperately in the ideas that welfare and happiness is available for them also, with the provision that they must die for their religion.³

Ivan Sasha Sheehan cites an Israeli psychologist, Ariel Merari, who has never met a suicide attacker who had psychotic disease.⁵ Merari has been studying suicide attackers for

Participation in terror attacks against non-combatant targets may be highly context specific and in this article, we mainly focus on suicide bombers of Hezbollah and Boko Haram. Furthermore, we examine the relationship and possible cooperation between these two terrorist groups. Hezbollah introduced suicide attacks first against Israeli military bases in Southern Lebanon and later against Western soldiers in Beirut. Hezbollah supports the radical Palestinian

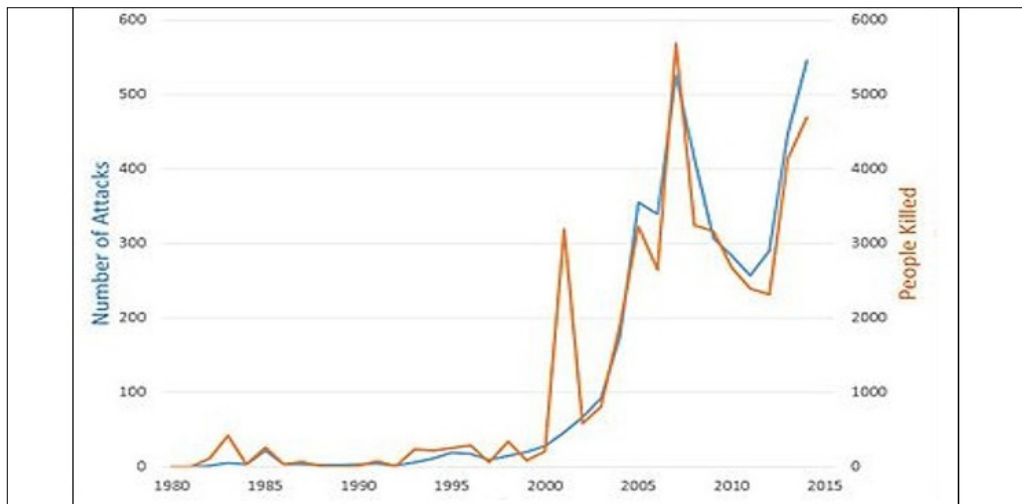


Figure no. 1: Suicide attacks worldwide⁴

the last 18 years in the Near-East. According to his studies, the only abnormality is the absence of fear of death in their behaviour. However, there are some features in their character which make people particularly impressionable to violent behaviour.^{6,7}

³ Noam Shpancer, "Understanding the Suicide Bomber", *Psychology Today*, 2010, available at <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/insight-therapy/201009/understanding-the-suicide-bomber>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

⁴ Source: *Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism*, The University of Chicago, <https://cpost.uchicago.edu/>.

⁵ Ivan Sascha Sheehan, "Are Suicide Terrorists Suicidal? A Critical Assessment of the Evidence Innovations in Clinical Neuroscience", in *Innovations in Clinical Neuroscience*, 2014, 11/9-10, pp. 81-92, available at <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4267802/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

⁶ Ariel Merari, "Personality characteristics of suicide bombers and organizers of suicide attacks", in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2009, 22/1, pp. 87-101.

⁷ Anat Berko, *The Path to Paradise – The inner world of suicide bombers and their dispatchers*. London: Praeger

movements, Hamas and Islamic Jihad in their campaign against Israel.⁸ They traditionally provided their allies with suicide bombers, and training experts, to support all those combatant organizations that fight against their common enemies. There are some sources suggesting that Hezbollah provides Boko Haram with expertise related to the training of suicide bombers.

The Emergence of Hezbollah

Hezbollah was founded after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and was mainly created to strengthen the resistance against Israeli activities. The number of suicide bombings, carried out by Hezbollah in Lebanon were some 200 from the early 1980s until the beginning of the 21st century and it was not motivated

Security International, 2007.

⁸ Shaul Shay, *The Shahids – Islam and suicide attacks*, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, 2004.



by religious reasons in most of the cases.⁹ The movement was strongly supported by Muslim religious leaders. The commanders of the group were followers of Ayatollah Khomeini, and its armed forces were trained and equipped by a contingent of 1,500 Iranian Revolutionary Guards that arrived from Iran with permission from the Syrian government.¹⁰

In the 80's, Israel took over a territory in the south part of Lebanon. The South Lebanon Army (SLA) supported by Israel exercised power over this area. Hezbollah engaged in a guerrilla crusade against the SLA. Israel withdrew in 2000 and the SLA had collapsed. Described as a "state within a state"¹¹ Hezbollah has become a strong association, having participants in the Lebanese government, too. Hezbollah maintains strong support among Lebanon's Shia population. The Hezbollah possesses fighters not just in the Near-East, but all around the globe. Hezbollah, from 1997 till today, is considered a terrorist organization by the United States of America (US Department of State, Bureau of Counterterrorism), while the European Union (European Council) designated only the Shia Islamist group's military wing (not its political institution) as a terrorist organization.¹²

The United Nations is permanently adopting resolutions related to terrorist organisations

⁹ Yotam Rosner, Einav Yogev, and Yoram Schweitzer, "A Report on Suicide Bombings in 2013", *INSS Insight*, no. 507, 2014, available at <http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20507%20-%20Yotam,%20Einav,%20and%20Yoram%20for%20web.pdf>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

¹⁰ Adam Shatz, "In search of Hezbollah", *The New York Review of Books*, 2014, available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2004/apr/29/in-search-of-hezbollah/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

¹¹ Defense Industry Daily, "Iran-Syria vs. Israel, Round 1: Assessments & Lessons Learned", 13 September 2012. available at <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/iransyria-vs-israel-round-1-assessments-lessons-learned-02558/#more-2558>, accessed on 21.11.2016.

¹² Alessandria Masi, "US Imposes Sanctions On Members Of Hezbollah's Nigeria-Based 'Foreign Relations Department'", *International Business Times*, 2015, available at <http://www.ibtimes.com/us-imposes-sanctions-members-hezbollahs-nigeria-based-foreign-relations-department-1830882>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

and their homicidal attacks.¹³ Although both of Saudi Arabia¹⁴ and Israel¹⁵ asked the U.N. Security Council in 2014 to add Hezbollah to its list of "terrorist organizations", this request was not addressed till today. The UN is repeatedly giving calls for Hezbollah to disarm and some resolutions are definitely accusing the group for the destabilization of several regions in Lebanon. Hezbollah is also considered to be one of the richest groups because of its rich financial assets.^{16,17} Hezbollah has operated in at least 45 nations, 11 of them are in Africa.¹⁸

Hezbollah's Presence in Nigeria

The stressing of cultural, ethnic and religious conflicts has resulted in destabilisation of several regions in Africa. The Muslim population of Nigeria's certain regions allow Islamic movements to position themselves in these areas.

Hezbollah is one of the greatest threats to Africa, especially to Nigeria, not because they are planning to attack these regions but they are liable to give financial, military and training support to dangerous extremist groups like Boko Haram. Their aim is definitely to gain notable

¹³ UN Security Council, Counter-Terrorism Committee, *Resolutions*, available at <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/resources/res-sc.html>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

¹⁴ YaLibnan, "Saudi Arabia urges UN to designate Hezbollah as a terrorist group", November 20, 2014, available at <http://yalibnan.com/2014/11/20/saudi-arabia-urges-un-to-designate-hezbollah-as-a-terrorist-group/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

¹⁵ Tzvi Ben-Gedalyahu, "Israel-wants-un-to-recognize-amas-as-a-terrorist-organization", *JewishPress.com*, 2014, available at <http://www.jewishpress.com/news/breaking-news/israel-wants-un-to-recognize-amas-as-a-terrorist-organization/2014/10/28/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

¹⁶ Doug Philippon, "Hezbollah: The organization and its Finances", in Freeman, M. (ed.). *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013, pp. 49-62.

¹⁷ Colin P. Clarke, *Terrorism, Inc.: The Financing of Terrorism, Insurgency, and Irregular Warfare*, ABC-CLIO, 2016.

¹⁸ NOW, "ISIS vs Hezbollah in numbers", 22 September 2014, available at <https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/specialreports/564076-hezbollah-in-numbers>, accessed on 20.11.2016.



auxiliaries to broaden their international network in Africa. With the help of their sophisticated and extremely fanatic training processes they are able to promote terror organisations so that they become regional powers.

Hezbollah is widely known for their special suicide attack training. There are signs that they are providing their allies like Abu Bakr Shekau's militias with training professionals that, with the help of their own experts, the affiliates are able to become powerful and notable. We know that Hezbollah has several cells in Africa but mostly we don't have reliable information about the factual details and operations of these collaborations. Contrary to this ambiguous and questionable cooperation with foreign cells, Hezbollah has well-known ties in Nigeria with a quite active establishment, the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN).

The Jihadist Influence of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN)

The Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN) is a jihadist organization supported by an estimated 5 million Shia Muslims living in Nigeria. It gets support from Iran.¹⁹ Actually, the roots of the IMN can be traced back to the occurrences of the 1979 Iranian revolution, when Nigerian students belonging to the Muslim Student Society travelled to the Islamic Republic and were trained to establish an Iranian-style revolution in Nigeria.²⁰

Sheikh Ibrahim Zakzaky was the head of the branch formed by Nigerian students. He was first influenced by the ideological system of Sayyid Qutb, an ideologist of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (his theoretical conceptions are parts from the basis of al Qaeda's principles, too). It is remarkable that Zakzaky changed his religion and became an adherent to Shia Islam.

¹⁹ Jacob Zenn, "The Islamic Movement and Iranian Intelligence Activities in Nigeria", Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 2013, available at <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-islamic-movement-and-iranian-intelligence-activities-in-nigeria>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

²⁰ Dawit Giorgis, "Nigeria's Hezbollah problem", Global Public Square, 2013, available at <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2013/06/14/nigerias-hezbollah-problem/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

It seems unequivocal that, in return for this act, he expected financial assets and expertise from Iran. Former Iranian diplomat Adel Assadinia confirmed that the IMN is operating with the financial support of the Iranian government and is modelled after the Lebanese Hezbollah.²¹

In the past, Zakzaky had several conflicts with the Nigerian government, he was even imprisoned for years. He stated publicly that he accepts only the laws of the Islam and the instructions of the Quran.²² Nowadays, Zakzaky is one of the most important religious mentors in Nigeria. He is an emblematic character for the Shiite population, just like Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was in Iran. When he speaks to his followers, Zakzaky usually sits under a big portrait of Ayatollah Khomeini and he uses the special rhetoric manners which are frequent in the speeches of Hassan Nasrallah, a Hezbollah leader. It is not surprising that he often awakens aggression towards Jews and Israel. In the context of Nigerian people's poverty, he also talks about the importance of social justice in Nigeria and building support for Iranian policies in Africa.²³

There is a reason to believe that Hezbollah gives religious and military support to this group. It is not surprising that they are supporting Zakzaky's Nigerian organisation, being that Shiites have the same religious beliefs as they do. Nowadays, Zakzaky still leads Nigeria's main Shia movement, seen as being largely peaceful recently, and has campaigned for a government with stricter adherence to Sharia law.²⁴

²¹ Christopher Okonkwo, "Iran's Nuclear Deal: Threat to Nigeria's Security", The African Executive, 2015, available at <http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazine/articles.php?article=8402>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

²² Dawit Giorgis, "Nigeria's Hezbollah problem", Global Public Square, 2013, available at <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2013/06/14/nigerias-hezbollah-problem/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

²³ Dawit Giorgis, "Nigeria's Hezbollah problem", Global Public Square, 2013, available at <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2013/06/14/nigerias-hezbollah-problem/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

²⁴ Al Jazeera, "Nigeria arrests trio over 'Hezbollah cell'", 31 May 2013, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/05/201353175149437728.html>, accessed on 20.11.2016.



According to current reports and intelligences, the military wing of Hezbollah operates successfully with its affiliates despite the fact that there are hundreds of kilometres separating them. Hezbollah's ambition to enhance its presence and their influence on other continents has become successful. These allies represent a significant threat to the international community and its activities all around the world raise several questions concerning security issues.

The Uprising of Boko Haram

As we mentioned before, Hezbollah definitely maintains its presence in Nigeria. The Shiite extremist organization, based in Lebanon, appears to be able to provide its allies with weapons, expertise and financial backup. Recently, several reports and news disclosed the presumption that Hezbollah has links to the Nigerian terrorist group who is responsible for 6,644 deaths in 2014 and displaced persons even much more.²⁵ Since the extremely violent terrorist group, Boko Haram's increasing radicalization led to uncontrollable uprising, extremist organisations have the chance to expand their influence in West-Africa.

Boko Haram militants gained control of large areas in their home state of Borno, estimated at 50,000 square kilometres in January 2015.²⁶ Boko Haram is the deadliest terrorist group in the world, according to *The Global Terrorism Index 2015* released in 18 November 2015²⁷. The group is even worse than the Islamic State (IS), which

was responsible for 6,073 deaths.²⁸ Boko Haram became the IS' "West African Province," although the factual collaboration between the groups is ambiguous. Boko Haram pledged allegiance to IS in the beginning of the year,²⁹ but analysts say that the act was just another effort to create fear and false image about their power. Till now, there are no signs for cooperation.

Although we have no serious claims yet that Boko Haram and the Islamic State conduct practical collaboration, we have some evidence that Hezbollah supports Boko Haram in various fields, as mentioned previously. The allegation that Shiite Hezbollah is giving assistance to the Sunni Boko Haram seems quite implausible since the relationship of the two forms of Islam has been undoubtedly turbulent.

Exceptional Cooperation – the Link between Hezbollah and Boko Haram

There are pieces of ambiguous information about a union between Boko Haram leaders and Hezbollah. The possibility of the collaboration of these two groups seems improbable, since it is very rare that original Shia and Sunni groups would cooperate with each other. Even so, there are some occurrences we must examine to draw adequate conclusions related to these information.

In 2013, Nigerian police forces jailed three Lebanese citizens in northern Nigeria on suspicion of being members of the Lebanese movement Hezbollah. Soldiers uncovered a secret storehouse of arms that Nigerian government forces consider belonging to members of the Shia political party's armed group. The three suspects were arrested in Kano, reported Captain Ikedichi Iweha in his written

²⁵ Dionne Searcey and Marc Santora, "Boko Haram Ranked Ahead of ISIS for Deadliest Terror Group", *New York Times*, 2015, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/world/africa/boko-haram-ranked-ahead-of-isis-for-deadliest-terror-group.html?_r=0, accessed on 27.11.2016.

²⁶ David Blair, "Boko Haram is now a mini-Islamic State, with its own territory", *The Telegraph*, 2015, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/11337722/Boko-Haram-is-now-a-mini-Islamic-State-with-its-own-territory.html>, accessed on 27.11.2016.

²⁷ *Global Terrorism Index*, Institute for Economics and Peace, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf>.

²⁸ Laurel Raymond, "The World's Deadliest Terrorist Group Has Killed 40 People in the Last 48 Hours. It's Not ISIS", *Think Progress*, 19 November 2015, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/world/2015/11/19/3724000/worst-terrorist-group-isnt-isis/>, accessed on 27.11.2016.

²⁹ Laurel Raymond, "The World's Deadliest Terrorist Group Has Killed 40 People in the Last 48 Hours. It's Not ISIS", *Think Progress*, 19 November 2015, available at <http://thinkprogress.org/world/2015/11/19/3724000/worst-terrorist-group-isnt-isis/>, accessed on 27.11.2016.



statement. According to the reports, the jailed suspects confessed to be members of Hezbollah. The government verified that the armament and ammunition would target at facilities in relation with Israeli and Western interests in Nigeria.³⁰ Nigerian troops belonging to Kano's Joint Task Forces claimed that investigations related to properties and the discovery of some local arm storage entities owned by Lebanese foreign citizens in Kano proves that Boko Haram extremist militants maintain connections with the Lebanon-based Hezbollah.

The fact that the Hezbollah endeavours to strengthen its presence in Nigeria is not enough to claim that they are intending to build practical collaboration with Boko Haram. We have to mention that Boko Haram is widely condemned by the Islamic population, especially since the extremist organisation committed attacks against Muslims. Many imams excommunicated the terrorist organisation, labelling them as un-Islamic. Contrary to this, Hezbollah is highly supported by Lebanese and other Arabic nations both openly and secretly.

Hezbollah is not against western education; their members often graduated while Boko Haram soldiers are barely educated and widely criticize western education. Moreover, Hezbollah does not kill their own citizens while the Boko Haram crisis has hit everyone in Nigeria, Muslims and Christians equally. In addition to these facts, Boko Haram operates mostly in Northern-Nigeria, where 90% of the population are Muslims. Up to this point, Boko Haram has killed more Muslims than Christians.³¹

Despite these facts, some sources are telling us that there is a link between Hezbollah and Boko Haram related to the recruitment and training of young innocent girls as potential suicide bombers for use in parts of northern Nigeria. The

³⁰ Al Jazeera, "Nigeria arrests trio over 'Hezbollah cell'", 31 May 2013, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/05/201353175149437728.html>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

³¹ Premium Times, "Boko Haram has killed more Muslims than Christians, says Mohammed Haruna", available at http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/93481boko_haram_has_killed_more_muslims_than_christians_says_mohammed.html, accessed on 27.11.2016.

cooperation and partnership between the Near-Eastern jihadist group and the Nigerian extremist organisation reportedly have been successful in recruiting and training over 177 young girls under the ages of 15.³² The possibility of a link with Nigerian group Boko Haram was being investigated, said Captain Iweha.³³

In addition to these occurrences, Nigerian military forces have found an underground bunker where they discovered different kinds of weapons. Spokesman announced that all of the arrested people have admitted to have undergone Hezbollah terrorist training. Bassey Etang, the Kano State director of State Security Service, confirmed that the explored Hezbollah cell in Nigeria means an unquestionable hazard for the West African country.³⁴ Before Iweha's announcement that the link between Hezbollah and Boko Haram had been investigated, intelligence services never revealed any evidence of a link between Shia Hezbollah and Sunni Boko Haram.

The predominant population of Muslims in Nigeria are Sunni, but there are a few millions of Shia Nigerians too, as I mentioned in the first part of the paper, in relation with the Iranian-supported Islamic Movement in Nigeria. Iweha declined to say if there is any connection of the incident to IMN. Otherwise according to IMN's leader Zakzaky's public speech, he condemns Boko Haram because of the group's attacks against Muslim targets (For instance in the north eastern Nigerian city of Potiskum, a Boko Haram suicide bomber attacked a Shiite Muslim procession. The attack resulted in the death of 20

³² 247 U Reports, "We Have 75 Female Suicide Bombers.' – Boko Haram Source", 247 U Reports – Impartial Observers, 2014, available at <http://247ureports.com/we-have-75-female-suicide-bombers-boko-haram-source/>, accessed on 27.11.2016.

³³ Al Jazeera, "Nigeria arrests trio over 'Hezbollah cell'", 31 May 2013, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/05/201353175149437728.html>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

³⁴ Al Jazeera, "Nigeria arrests trio over 'Hezbollah cell'", 31 May 2013, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/05/201353175149437728.html>, accessed on 20.11.2016.



victims according to reports).³⁵ The country has a significant Lebanese population, but this was the first factual clue which led the Nigerian security bodies to report that Hezbollah has ongoing interest in Nigeria, related to Boko Haram.³⁶

Suicide Bombers, Engaged with Hezbollah

Hezbollah committed several military and terrorist actions over the past twenty years. These include attacks against citizens of Western states; they carried out a series of kidnappings, the suicide bombings against US Marine barracks in 1983 in Beirut, in which 200 Marines lost their lives. In 1985 they hijacked an airplane, and in 1987 they carried out an action against the Hungarian embassy in Beirut, which forced the security forces to evacuate the embassy.

Since the death of Hussein, and the constant persecutions in connection with the fight against oppression, martyrdom was every time present in Shiite Islam. This ideological background which emphasizes that martyrdom is one of the reasons why it was quite easy to make their sympathizers to accept their violent way of fighting, especially the suicide attacks. In modern times, Hezbollah was the first organization which identified suicide attacks as legal ways of fighting for freedom, and they used this technic related to their military operations commonly.

The first suicide attack took place in Tyre against the Israeli army headquarters. This initial strike was followed by more than two dozens of similar attacks.³⁷ Khomeini's reinterpreted doctrine of martyrdom means that suicide attacks are the highest levels of self-sacrificing for Islam.

³⁵ Center for Security Policy, "Will Sunni-Shia tensions spread to Nigeria?", 3 November 2014, available at <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2014/11/03/will-sunni-shia-tensions-spread-to-nigeria/>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

³⁶ Al Jazeera. "Nigeria arrests trio over 'Hezbollah cell'", 31 May 2013, available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/05/201353175149437728.html>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

³⁷ Shabak, *The Tyre HQ Bombing – First Suicide Attack against Israel* (1983), Israeli Security Agency, available at <https://www.shabak.gov.il/English/History/Affairs/Pages/TheTyreHQBombing.aspx>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

This theory behind their intentions has made their approach appealing to Sunni extremists, too.

The links between the Shia and Sunni interpretation are oppression by other ethnic or religious groups, the fight against tyranny and occupation, but in this case these elements only represent a demagogic and empty ideology. Hezbollah uses these dogmas during the training of their suicide attackers. Palestinian Islamist extremists, for example members of Hamas were participants of these training camps on many occasions. These kinds of collaboration and assistance provided results in many Palestinian suicide attacks against Israel.³⁸

It is an important aspect of these acts that the Sunnis who apply these Shia ideologies to recruit, train and commit suicide attacks, only take these ideologies as an instrument to give a religious background to their aims, not taking over the idealism of Hussein's martyrdom. They often take advantages of the Shia technics because they can deepen radical influence on their fighters. The fighters trained by Hezbollah are international terrorists and they are strengthening the global threat of political violence by recruiting more and more foreign fighters to widen their presence all around the world.

Increasing Frequency of Boko Haram's Suicide Bombings

Since the emergence of Boko Haram in the '90s, the terrorist organisation operates at an exceptionally high level of violence. Nigerian authorities struggled to establish a new security framework to protect the population and to fight successfully against Boko Haram. Their efforts proved little in terms of results, Abu Bakr Shekau and his militias have carried out numerous deadly attacks against the civil population. Recently, they often committed these crimes with the help of suicide bombers. Apparently the Islamic jihadist group has adopted the Hezbollah's model of Jihadism in its usage of children as suicide

³⁸ Shaul Shay, *The Shahids – Islam and suicide attacks*. The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, 2004.



attackers in crowded places full of civilian targets.³⁹

Since Boko Haram uses female suicide bombers to terrorize Nigeria, the deadly suicide attacks by Nigerian terrorists make headlines nearly every week. The group has launched its suicide attacks in the past years and their new tactic involves girls and women to cover their attacks even more efficiently. Boko Haram carried out its first suicide bombing in 2011.⁴⁰ It was an important step for the terrorist group, an extremely harmful development. Elizabeth Pearson, a gender and radicalization researcher who is also a member of the Nigeria Security Network stated in an interview by *The World Post* that Nigeria does not have a history of suicide bombing and suicide is not culturally accepted. They committed their first female suicide bombing in the summer of 2014, when a woman blew herself up at army barracks in Gombe, northeast Nigeria. This was the initial attack of a wave of suicide bombing by women and girls in Nigeria.⁴¹

Since November 2014 there have been numerous attacks killing many innocent civilians by female suicide bombers each month. In total, 27 women and girls have reportedly been involved in suicide attacks in the country.⁴² Several media are deeply concerned with the fact that there is a great chance that Boko Haram soldiers will use Chibok schoolgirls as suicide bombers. The

reason why these fears emerged is that the first wave of female martyrs came only a few months after Boko Haram abducted the schoolgirls in April 2014.⁴³ Since committing martyrdom is a privilege according to the Islamic extremists and martyrs are going to Paradise, this theory seems implausible because the kidnapped girls are sinners in the eyes of Boko Haram soldiers thus it would not be logical to give the advantage to them. Notwithstanding many acts committed by Boko Haram are completely opposed to Islam. Even so, there's no evidence of using the Chibok girls as suicide bombers. The great amount of female martyrs does not mean that there are no suicide bombings by men. Several researchers interpreted that female suicide attacks are signs of collaboration between Boko Haram and other Islamic militant groups. Woman on the battlefield are not advocated widely between Islamic groups, but Hezbollah has often used females as martyrs since its existence.

In 2014, 85% of all female suicide bombers blew themselves up in Nigeria.⁴⁴ It is questionable whether we can even call the children suicide attackers or terrorists. Female suicide bombers may be mainly under pressure, but we have to admit that there are some women willing to engage in these deadly attacks. The international coalition launched joint forces to fight against terrorists, and the African Union plans a 7,500-strong military force, named the Multinational Joint Task Force, and staffed by Nigerian, Cameroonian, Chadian and Beninese troops.⁴⁵ However, Boko Haram did not seem desperate. Their campaign has only grown in intensity. We

³⁹ 247 U Reports, "We Have 75 Female Suicide Bombers." – Boko Haram Source", 247 U Reports – Impartial Observers, 2014, available at <http://247ureports.com/we-have-75-female-suicide-bombers-boko-haram-source/>, accessed on 27.11.2016.

⁴⁰ Charlotte Alfred, "How Boko Haram Uses Female Suicide Bombers To Terrorize Nigeria", *The World Post*, 2015, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/28/boko-haram-female-suicide-bombers_n_6763386.html, accessed on 27.11.2016.

⁴¹ Charlotte Alfred, "How Boko Haram Uses Female Suicide Bombers To Terrorize Nigeria", *The World Post*, 2015, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/28/boko-haram-female-suicide-bombers_n_6763386.html, accessed on 27.11.2016.

⁴² Charlotte Alfred, "How Boko Haram Uses Female Suicide Bombers to Terrorize Nigeria", *The World Post*, 2015, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/28/boko-haram-female-suicide-bombers_n_6763386.html, accessed on 27.11.2016.

⁴³ Charlotte Alfred, "How Boko Haram Uses Female Suicide Bombers to Terrorize Nigeria", *The World Post*, 2015, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/28/boko-haram-female-suicide-bombers_n_6763386.html, accessed on 27.11.2016.

⁴⁴ Charlotte Alfred, "How Boko Haram Uses Female Suicide Bombers To Terrorize Nigeria", *The World Post*, 2015, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/28/boko-haram-female-suicide-bombers_n_6763386.html, accessed on 27.11.2016.

⁴⁵ Peter Dörrie, "The African Union Readies an Army to Fight Boko Haram", 2015, available at <https://medium.com/war-is-boring/the-african-union-readies-an-army-to-beat-boko-haram-694150ba6ebb#.4ft1nimh>, accessed on 27.11.2016.



do not see the group facing a shortage of recruits. They pay or force people to fight through threats and kidnappings, and they also have a support base. They only need more people as their ambition has grown.⁴⁶

In the beginning of 2015, United States government imposed sanctions on Hezbollah members in Nigeria, showing the transnational reach of the Iranian, Lebanon-based group. They jailed the suspects; they were arrested for being part of the Hezbollah's "Foreign Relations Department" in the Nigerian capital Abuja. They reportedly gave Nigerian officials names of several other Hezbollah members based in the country. But according to the statement announcing U.S. sanctions, they are running a Hezbollah front. The arrested people are members of a foreign Hezbollah cell and they constantly enforce recruitment, training and generally support African allies of Hezbollah. The U.S. Treasury statement has not talked about any cooperation between the Shiite Hezbollah branch and Sunni Boko Haram.⁴⁷

Hezbollah seeks not just to extend its impact in other countries, but they are also searching for new financial backers, to secure permanently the financial background of their operations. Hezbollah owns approximately 500 million USD in financial assets.⁴⁸ In addition, it does not seem that the international community would have a concrete strategy which could be effective against Hezbollah. The group knows this very well, in fact they are so confident, they widely communicate that the foreign operations against them are unsuccessful. Hassan

Nasrallah, Secretary General of Hezbollah sent video message from his hidden shelter for the anniversary of the 2006 Lebanon war. "Israel has no strategy for defeating Hezbollah" boasted the terrorist leader.⁴⁹ Hassan Nasrallah proudly declared that the lack of real military concept reflects that the Israeli army's new military strategy is a great failure of the Israeli army chief of staff, Gadi Eisenkot. He believes that Israel alone cannot defeat Hezbollah's fighters. Israel, neither by air nor by land can be effective against Hezbollah, which strengthens their influence in other regions.⁵⁰

In respect to Hezbollah's international dimension, an establishment of professional actions with the responsibility of security and management developments across the countries where its interests have become vital. The affected countries should bring forward proposals in relation with the successful investigation of Hezbollah cells and put the initiatives into action as soon as possible.

The African Union has to investigate the possible supporters of Boko Haram, to bring an effective combat into effect against the terrorist group. Information gained from allied Intelligence Agencies is a useful base for current measurements facing Boko Haram insurgency.

Conclusions

The evidences presented in this article suggest some possible connections between Hezbollah and Boko Haram. Having in mind the facts that Nigeria is tackling poverty, religious and ethnic conflicts and, as a result of these factors, a great part of the population is vulnerable to extremist ideologies, we have to say that the society of the

⁴⁶ Charlotte Alfred, "How Boko Haram Uses Female Suicide Bombers to Terrorize Nigeria", *The World Post*, 2015, available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/28/boko-haram-female-suicide-bombers_n_6763386.html, accessed on 27.11.2016.

⁴⁷ Alessandria Masi, "US Imposes Sanctions On Members Of Hezbollah's Nigeria-Based 'Foreign Relations Department'", *International Business Times*, 2015, available at <http://www.ibtimes.com/us-imposes-sanctions-members-hezbollahs-nigeria-based-foreign-relations-department-1830882>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

⁴⁸ Johnlee Varghese, "Forbes Israel: ISIS is World's Richest Terrorist Organisation in History", *International Business Times*, 2014, available at <http://www.ibtimes.co.in/forbes-israel-isis-worlds-richest-terrorist-organisation-history-613806>, accessed on 20.11.2016.

⁴⁹ Bihari Anna, "Izraelnek nincs stratégiája a Hezbollah legyőzésére", *Kitekintő*, 2015, available at http://kitekinto.hu/iszlam/2015/08/18/izraelnek_nincs_strategiaja_a_hezbollah_legyzesere/#.VIGHuHYvfiU, accessed on 20.11.2016.

⁵⁰ Bihari Anna, "Izraelnek nincs stratégiája a Hezbollah legyőzésére", *Kitekintő*, 2015, available at http://kitekinto.hu/iszlam/2015/08/18/izraelnek_nincs_strategiaja_a_hezbollah_legyzesere/#.VIGHuHYvfiU, accessed on 20.11.2016.



country represents a proper environment for the recruitment of suicide attackers.

The fact that Hezbollah is constantly struggling to extend its influence all over the world constitutes an indisputable effort by the group to establish partnerships between Muslim populations on other continents, too.

As the relations between Sunnis and Shias are undoubtedly confrontational, this questions the potential cooperation among Shia Hezbollah and Sunni Boko Haram. In addition to this, while it seems quite evident that Hezbollah's expertise would be a major and extensive asset to Boko Haram, it is therefore not entirely clear what significant benefits could be gained from the supporting operations to Boko Haram on the part of Hezbollah. Since we have no official evidence with one exception (discussed in detail earlier in this article) we can't talk about factual Hezbollah and Boko Haram cooperation, however, it is fair to state that Boko Haram tries to model successful training techniques of other terrorist organizations. Since Hezbollah waged a victorious war using suicide attacks and is one of the most active terrorist organisations in the world, their recruiting mechanism and training methods are examples followed by other violent groups.

The fact that Boko Haram started to use young girls as suicide bombers carries their brutality to a further stage. According to the research of Mausi Segun, Human Rights Watch researcher in Abuja, it is doubtful that Boko Haram would be willing to use the youth they have abducted, because the line of the suicide bomber is martyrdom. The reward for the completion of the task is theoretically paradise. According to their warped interpretation, women and girls who have been abducted would not deserve this "valuable" reward.

We cannot be sure whether Hezbollah is giving assistance to the Boko Haram training effort or Boko Haram has only copied the model of Hezbollah's Shiite suicide attacker strategy. Some intelligence reports announced that suicide bombers are on the way to the country and that

plenty have already arrived in Nigeria.⁵¹ One thing is sure: Nigerian intelligence services and armed forces have to investigate the possible links, and with governmental support, local authorities must attribute special importance to alterations of these alliances in the times of uncertainty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. 247 U Reports, "We Have 75 Female Suicide Bombers." – Boko Haram Source", 247 U Reports – Impartial Observers, 2014, <http://247ureports.com/we-have-75-female-suicide-bombers-boko-haram-source/>.
2. Al Jazeera, "Nigeria arrests trio over 'Hezbollah cell'", 31 May 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/05/201353175149437728.html>.
3. ALFRED, Charlotte, "How Boko Haram Uses Female Suicide Bombers to Terrorize Nigeria", The World Post, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/02/28/boko-haram-female-suicide-bombers_n_6763386.html.
4. BEN-GEDALYAHU, Tzvi, "Israel wants un-to-recognize-amas-as-a-terrorist-organization", JewishPress.com, 2014, <http://www.jewishpress.com/news/breaking-news/israel-wants-un-to-recognize-amas-as-a-terrorist-organization/2014/10/28>.
5. BERKO, Anat, *The Path to Paradise – The inner world of suicide bombers and their dispatchers*. London: Praeger Security International, 2007.
6. BIHARI, Anna, "Izraelnek nincs stratégiája a Hezbollah legyőzésére", Kitekintő, 2015, http://kitekinto.hu/izslam/2015/08/18/izraelnek_nincs_strategiaja_a_hezbollah_legyzesere/#.VIGHuHYvfiU
7. BLAIR, David, "Boko Haram is now a mini-Islamic State, with its own territory", The Telegraph, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/nigeria/11337722/Boko-Haram-is-now-a-mini-Islamic-State-with-its-own-territory.html>.

⁵¹ 247 U Reports, "We Have 75 Female Suicide Bombers." – Boko Haram Source", 247 U Reports – Impartial Observers, 2014, available at <http://247ureports.com/we-have-75-female-suicide-bombers-boko-haram-source/>, accessed on 27.11.2016.



8. Center for Security Policy, “Will Sunni-Shia tensions spread to Nigeria?”, 3 November 2014, <https://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/2014/11/03/will-sunni-shia-tensions-spread-to-nigeria>
9. CLARKE, Colin P., *Terrorism, Inc.: The Financing of Terrorism, Insurgency, and Irregular Warfare*, ABC-CLIO, 2015.
10. DÖRRIE, Peter, “The African Union Readies an Army to Fight Boko Haram”, 2015, <https://medium.com/war-is-boring/the-african-union-readies-an-army-to-beat-boko-haram-694150ba6ebb#.4frt1nimh>.
11. Defense Industry Daily, “Iran-Syria vs. Israel, Round 1: Assessments & Lessons Learned”. 13 September 2012. <http://www.defenseindustrydaily.com/iransyria-vs-israel-round-1-assessments-lessons-learned-02558/#more-2558>
12. GIORGIS, Dawit, “Nigeria’s Hezbollah problem”, Global Public Square, 2013, <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2013/06/14/nigerias-hezbollah-problem/>.
13. LANKFORD, Adam, “The Myth of Martyrdom: What Really Drives Suicide Bombers, Rampage Shooters, and Other Self-Destructive Killers”, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/249/html>.
14. MASI, Alessandria, “US Imposes Sanctions on Members of Hezbollah’s Nigeria-Based ‘Foreign Relations Department’”, International Business Times, 2015, <http://www.ibtimes.com/us-imposes-sanctions-members-hezbollahs-nigeria-based-foreign-relations-department-1830882>.
15. MERARI, Ariel, “Personality characteristics of suicide bombers and organizers of suicide attacks”, in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2009, 22/1, pp. 87-101.
16. NOW, “ISIS vs Hezbollah in numbers”, 22 September 2014, <https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/specialreports/564076-hezbollah-in-numbers>.
17. OKONKWO, Christopher, “Iran’s Nuclear Deal: Threat to Nigeria’s Security”, The African Executive, 2015, <http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazine/articles.php?Article=8402>.
18. PHILIPPONE, Doug, “Hezbollah: The organization and its Finances”, in FREEMAN, M. (ed.). *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013, pp. 49-62.
19. Premium Times, “Boko Haram has killed more Muslims than Christians, says Mohammed Haruna”, http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/93481boko_haram_has_killed_more_muslims_than_christians_says_mohammed.html.
20. RAYMOND, Laurel. “The World’s Deadliest Terrorist Group Has Killed 40 People in the Last 48 Hours. It’s Not ISIS”, *Think Progress*, 19 November 2015. <http://thinkprogress.org/world/2015/11/19/3724000/worst-terrorist-group-isnt-isis>.
21. ROSNER, Yotam; YOGEV, Einav; SCHWEITZER, Yoram, “A Report on Suicide Bombings in 2013”, INSS Insight, No. 507, 2014, <http://www.inss.org.il/uploadImages/systemFiles/No.%20507%20-%20Yotam,%20Einav,%20and%20Yoram%20for%20web.pdf>.
22. SEARCEY, Dionne; SANTORA, Marc, “Boko Haram Ranked Ahead of ISIS for Deadliest Terror Group”, New York Times, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/world/africa/boko-haram-ranked-ahead-of-isis-for-deadliest-terror-group.html?_r=0.
23. SHABAK, “The Tyre HQ Bombing – First Suicide Attack against Israel (1983)”. Israeli Security Agency, <https://www.shabak.gov.il/English/History/Affairs/Pages/TheTyreHQBombing.aspx>.
24. SHATZ, Adam, “In search of Hezbollah”, in *The New York Review of Books*, 2014, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2004/apr/29/in-search-of-hezbollah/>.
25. SHAY, Shaul, *The Shahids – Islam and suicide attacks*, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya, 2004.
26. SHEEHAN, Ivan Sascha, “Are Suicide Terrorists Suicidal? A Critical Assessment of the Evidence Innovations in Clinical Neuroscience”, in *Innovations in Clinical Neuroscience*, 2014, 11/9-10, pp. 81-92, <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4267802>.



28. SHPANCER, Noam, “Understanding the Suicide Bomber”, *Psychology Today*, 2010, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/insight-therapy/201009/understanding-the-suicide-bomber>.
29. UN Security Council, Counter-Terrorism Committee, *Resolutions*, <http://www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/resources/res-sc.html>.
30. VARGHESE, Johnlee, “Forbes Israel: ISIS is World’s Richest Terrorist Organisation in History”. *International Business Times*, 2014, <http://www.ibtimes.co.in/forbes-israel-isis-worlds-richest-terrorist-organisation-history-613806>.
31. YALIBNAN, “Saudi Arabia urges UN to designate Hezbollah as a terrorist group”, November 20, 2014, <http://yalibnan.com/2014/11/20/saudi-arabia-urges-un-to-designate-hezbollah-as-a-terrorist-group/>.
32. ZENN, Jacob, “The Islamic Movement and Iranian Intelligence Activities in Nigeria”, *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, 2013, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-islamic-movement-and-iranian-intelligence-activities-in-nigeria>.



ROMANIAN STABILITY BETWEEN THE MAJORITARIAN MODEL AND THE CONSENSUS MODEL OF DEMOCRACY

*Dănuț Mircea CHIRIAC, PhD**

The democratization and consolidation process of democracy is a fundamental characteristic of contemporary society evolution. Specialty literature points out several models of democratization: wave theory, modernization theory, transition studies, democratic peace theory etc. Of these, the transition studies model, analyzed by Dankwart Alexander Rustow is, in my view, extremely valuable for understanding the transition period to democracy of former communist states, such as Romania.

An analysis of modern democracy, conducted by Arend Lijphart demonstrates that, in contemporary society, the democratization and consolidation process of democracy has generated two types of democracy: majoritarian and consensus democracy.

The application of the models analyzed by Lijphart with reference to Romania leads to the conclusion of the hybrid character of Romanian democracy. This feature has been generating a series of problems, with consequences on the stability of the political and social balance.

An important conclusion is that democracy represents an important source of security. On the other hand, security represents the fundamental condition for the development of governance capacity of the state and for the development of an open and liberal society, based on the rule of law and market economy.

Keywords: *democracy, democratization*

process, majoritarian model, consensual model, security.

Preliminary Considerations

A feature of modern society is certainly the process of democratization that enclosed states after the end of the Cold War. This process was and still is not specific only for states which left Soviet control. It is a global process, generated by US hegemony in the world, and also by the generalization of the market economy in most states.

We could say that today we are witnessing an export process of the Western socio-political model and economic model, whose material and spiritual support is the process of globalization and, primarily, of economic globalization.

What is happening today, related to democratization, is not something new. The analysis of the evolution of human society shows us that the ancient society developed dictatorial and democratic politic models. Also, conditions to alternate the two forms of society organization and management were generated.

Some two hundred years of social evolution was required so that Athens would reach, in the V century B.C, the first democracy model.¹ This was achieved through institutional and social reforms,

¹ Olivier Nay, *History of Political Ideas*, Iași, Polirom, 2008, p. 48.

** Dănuț Mircea CHIRIAC, PhD is Fellow Professor with "Carol I" National Defence University and Professor with "Hyperion" University in Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: danutmirceachiriac@yahoo.com*



due to the economic prosperity. In fact, it seems that a basis of democracy is economic prosperity, which becomes a condition and a consequence of a democratization and consolidation process of democracy, viable and stable. Economic instability generates authoritarian and dictatorial political systems, going up to totalitarian regimes.

Therefore, I consider that democracy is a reality which must become the main objective of public policy for modern states. It is the solution for a prosperous, secure and stable society.

1. The Process of Democratization. Theoretic Models

In general terms, the democratization process implies the transition of a state from an undemocratic political system to a democratic one. This process implies a nonlinear change, and most often without a stable benchmark.

The conceptualization of such a process requires the concept of democracy as a starting point itself. Created by political thought and practice in ancient Greece, democracy represents a system of organizing and leading the society by the people. Based on this understanding, the ancient Greek society, within two hundred years, developed the only type of direct democracy in human history, the Athenian model of democracy.

Modern society² was the one which developed a new kind of democracy, the representative democracy. The fundamental reason for the appearance of this type of democracy was the appearance of the modern state, the nation state³, characterized by a large population, which spans over a large area, where intensive economic activities are conducted, which do not allow all citizens to become directly involved in the management and organization of society. In this

context, democracy assumes an election process of government members, chosen in free and competitive elections, with candidates coming from different parties. In this way, the people represent the constitutional counter-force in front of the executive power, and the source of its legitimacy.⁴

The essence of representative democracy is free elections. Samuel Huntington explains why: "Open elections, free and fair, are the essence of democracy, the inevitable sine qua non. The governments resulted after the elections may be inefficient, corrupt, short-sighted, irresponsible, dominated by certain interests and incapable of adopting policies demanded by the public. Due to these defects, the respective governments are undesirable but not undemocratic".⁵

The political theorist Robert Dahl identified ten major advantages that make democracy preferable to any alternative possible: avoiding tyranny, essential rights, human development, political equality, general freedom, protection of essential personal interests, self-determination, moral autonomy, favorable attitude towards peace and prosperity.⁶

Therefore, the democratization process aims to build a democratic state. The state is the embodiment and the essence of political power and the democracy - characteristic political institutions appeared as a means of democratizing governments.⁷ Jean Grugel points out that for a deep democratization of a state at least three processes are necessary: institutional reform (constitutional design of state); transformation of representativeness (mechanisms that determine who influences policies and towards whom the state is responsible); functional reform (which determines the responsibility of the state)⁸.

The essential distinction between the democratic and authoritarian state, is the one

² Przeworski, Adam; Fernando Limongi, *Modernization: theories and facts in World Politics* 49.2, 1997, pp. 155-183, accessed on line at the address http://dss.ucsd.edu/~manoii/page_4/POLI_227/files/page_1_13.pdf, on 16.12.2016.

³ Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press: NORMAN, 1991, p. 13.

⁴ Robert Jackson, *Sovereignty*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2007, p. 89.

⁵ Samuel Huntington, *Read Operas*, p. 32.

⁶ Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy*, European Institute, Iași, 2003, pp. 46-61.

⁷ Robert A. Dahl, *Read Operas*, p. 43.

⁸ Jean Grugel, *Democratization, A critical Introduction*, Polirom, Iași, 2008, pp. 78-79.



that, the use of violence in a democratic state is a measure of last resort, at least against their own citizens. Democratic states are less present in people's lives as a force of coercion; they are more rational, orderly and more predictable.⁹

Specialized studies highlight more models of democracy: wave theory, modernization theory, transition studies, democratic peace theory etc.

Wave theory was analyzed by the American political scientist Samuel Huntington in the 90s. He defines the democratization wave as being "a group of transitions from nondemocratic regimes to democratic regimes that occur within a defined period of time and exceeds significantly the number of transitions in the opposite direction from the same time. A wave usually involves the partial democratization or liberalization of political systems that are not becoming fully democratic".¹⁰

This theory is valuable because it emphasizes external influence on the processes of democratization. Until Huntington, it was believed that democratization has purely internal causes. The metaphor of waves visually is very suggestive, for the way in which democratization expanded in time and space, in a cyclical manner, twisted and with many comebacks.¹¹

Seymour Martin Lipset, substantiates the modernization theory.¹² In his view, the essence of this theory begins from the idea that "The more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy"¹³. This hypothesis has become one of the most debated and researched in social sciences. Apparently, the statement is simple. In depth, Lipset's statement contains a complex argument. He argues that economic development triggers a series of profound social changes that together tend to produce democracy.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 77-78.

¹⁰ Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, 1991, p. 15.

¹¹ Teodora Fuior, *Democratization and the reform of the security sector in the post conflict states*, PhD. Thesis, "Carol I" National Defence University, 2015, p. 30.

¹² Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man*, Doubleday, 1960.

¹³ Seymour Martin Lipset, *Some Social Requisites of Democracy* in American Political Science Review 53, no. 1 (1959), pp. 69-105.

Through these changes, Lipset notes the fact that wealthier societies tend to have higher levels of education and urbanization, more diverse and sophisticated means of communication, a larger middle class, a high level of equality and more social mobility. All these features of society are associated with, and are necessary for the birth and viability of democratic political institutions.¹⁴

Transition studies analyze the causes that trigger the process of democratization. In particular, these studies highlight the role of some agents of change, and less the social, economic, political and historical context. Claiming that democratization can be undertaken independently of the structural context, he considers the decisive role of political elites in the guidance and development of society.

Dankwart Alexander Rustow, known as the father of transition studies, highlighted and analyzed the factors that trigger the democratization process, the transition from an undemocratic to democratic society, using as case studies Sweden and Turkey. In his view, the transition process has four phases: national unity; a prolonged political battle without decisive winners; the entrance in a decision-making phase when the leaders in conflict agree to make compromises and adopt democratic rules; habituation phase, in which, gradually, democratic rules become a habit.¹⁵

I am not insisting on the analysis of these phases, but the model analyzed by Rustow is, in my opinion, extremely valuable for understanding the transition to democracy of former communist states, such as Romania. Extremely useful is the appreciation of Rustow concerning the determinative role of the elite's consensus over the new rules of the game, which does not occur until after a long, balanced and violent conflict. Conclusion: democracy is born from the dynamic of political conflict between leaders.

A theory with considerable implications in the practice of interstate relations is the

¹⁴ Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man*, Doubleday, 1960, pp. 157-158.

¹⁵ Dankwart Alexander Rustow, *Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model* in Comparative Politics, February/April 1970, pp. 337-363.



democratic peace theory. The democratic peace theory is one of the most popular and influential in international relations, the base of the current political idealism. The origin of democratic peace theory is a philosophical essay “Perpetual Peace” (Zum Ewigen Friedental), published in 1795, by Immanuel Kant.

The theory argues that democracies never go to war against other democracies. This theory is applied for decades in the foreign policy of some countries that encourage and support democratization in the world. A policy applied both by the great western powers, but also by international organizations.

Michael W. Doyle is the one who developed the modern theory of democratic peace. Doyle concludes that democratic peace is essentially due to trust. Between democracies and their elites there is mutual trust, while dictators from undemocratic states do not enjoy the trust of the democratic leaders. This is why war is not unleashed between democracies, but is often encountered between democracies and dictatorships.¹⁶

Democratic peace theory remains topical even nowadays, representing the fundamental theory of foreign policy not only for democratic states, but also for the operation of large international organizations like the UN, NATO, OSCE or EU. These promote democratic norms and institutions as a way of ensuring political stability, national, regional and international security.

All these theoretical models substantiate the idea that democracy and state security are interdependent and mutual conditioned processes.

2. The hybrid character of the Romanian democracy. Consequences

Based on these theoretical models of democratization, political scientist Arend Lijphart analyzes the organization and functioning of democracy in thirty-six countries.¹⁷ The analysis

¹⁶ Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, Norton New York, 1997, p. 83.

¹⁷ Arend Lipjhart, *Patterns of democracy. Government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*, Iași, Polirom, 2000.

concludes that in contemporary society, the process of democratization and democracy consolidation has generated two types of democracy: the majoritarian democracy and consensus democracy.¹⁸ Each of these models is characterized by rules and functional institutions. Their comparative analysis yielded the existence of ten characteristics¹⁹ that differentiate the two models of democracy.

Lijphart groups these features on two dimensions: the executive-parties dimension (five characteristics) and federal-unitary dimension (five dimensions).²⁰ In the executive-parties dimension, political parties consider the relationship between the executive and legislative, but also elements of the political system, electoral system and political parties system. The federal-unitary dimension refers to elements of state organization.

On the executive-parties dimension, these elements are:

1. The focus of executive power on “uncolored” cabinets versus sharing of executive power in large multiparty coalitions;
2. Legislative-executive relationship, in which the executive is dominant versus the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches;
3. Bi parties system versus multiparty system;
4. Majority and disproportionate electoral system versus proportional representation;
5. Pluralistic system of the interest groups, competition opened to everybody, versus a coordinated and “corporate” system, whose purpose is compromise and consultation.²¹

On the federal-unitary dimension, these elements are:

1. Federalism and decentralization versus unitary and centralized government;
2. The concentration of the legislative power by a unicameral legislative versus the separation of the legislative bodies between two chambers with equal powers, but constituted differently.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 25.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 26-27.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 26.



3. Flexible constitutions which can be amended by simple majorities versus rigid constitutions which can be changed only by extraordinary majorities.

4. Systems in which legislative bodies have the last word to say in regards to the constitutionality of its own legislation versus systems in which laws are the subject of constitutional control by constitutional or supreme courts.

5. Central banks which are dependent on executive bodies versus independent central banks.²²

The analysis of institutional and functional relationships in Romania leads us to the conclusion that the model of organization and functioning of Romanian democracy has a hybrid character.

On the executive-parties dimension, in Romania there is a switch between one governance to another, between majoritarian monochrome cabinets and multiparty coalition cabinets. Looking at the relationship between the executive and legislative, the characteristic has been and is still the dominant character of the executive. The election system is dominated by proportional representation, and the interest group system is pluralist. Therefore, on this dimension, there is a ratio of 2.5 to 2.5 between the two models of democracy.

On the federal-unitary dimension, Romania is a unitary state (majoritarian model). The Parliament is bicameral, specific to federal states (consensus model). The Constitution has a degree of flexibility regarding the possibility of adjustment, being approved by referendum with a simple majority (majoritarian model). Regarding law constitutionality there is the Constitutional Court control, based on the consensus model.²³ The National Bank is independent, based on the consensus model. As a consequence, on this dimension there is a ratio of 3 to 2 in favor of the consensus model.

I consider that this hybrid character of the Romanian democracy has been generating a

series of problems, with consequences on the stability of the political and social balance. In my opinion, the construction of a consensus model of democracy, which maximizes the dimension of the majority, would be beneficial for the Romanian citizens. Administrating the institutions based on such a model results in a wider participation of the citizens to governance, and brings them closer to the political decisions made by their leaders, by having been requested to give their agreement to future policies.

The lack of the democratic exercise and of the representative political institutions can be a major source of insecurity, injustice and abuse perceived by the people. The lack of clear rules of operation and a relationship between state institutions generates tensions, crises and political and social conflicts. Applying the majoritarian exclusivism in decision making represents a dangerous and counterproductive practice in achieving social cohesion and national unity, necessary for the stability and security of the Romanian state. The existence of some insecurity factors for the state and citizen represents a major obstacle in the way of the political, economic and social development and also the consolidation of democracy in Romania.

Democracy is an important source of security. On the other hand, security represents the fundamental condition for the development of governance capacity of the state and for the development of an open and liberal society, based on rule of law and market economy.

The analysis of the historical model of political development leads to the conclusion that small and medium states build their democracies due to contagion, after the dominant political model of big powers. Consequently, nowadays the existence of the European democratic systems, long-term international assistance from the European Union represent regional factors which are in the favor of strengthening the democracy in Romania. But this is not enough if there is not responsible leadership and political will of the national authorities. It is an indispensable condition for long-term success and sustainability of democratic reforms. It seems this requirement in

²² *Ibidem*, p. 27.

²³ The Constitution of Romania, 2003, pp. 7, 35, 56, 79, 84, The Official Monitor of Romania, First Part, nr.767/31.10.2003.



Romania is the most difficult to be accomplished. External assistance can influence and contribute to some extent to the coagulation of political will and responsibility. The most important is internal will and the responsibility of political elites and civil society.

Strengthening the democracy in Romania, based on a consensus model reduces the concentration of power and tendencies towards an authoritarian government, creates premises for transparency and public responsibility in the security and defense policy, thus in the national and individual security. Strengthening the consensus democracy in Romania is preferable also due to the fact that we are part of the European Union which functions based on this type of political model.

Conclusions

The democratization and consolidation process of democracy represents a fundamental characteristic of the evolution of contemporary society. This process is based on economic development and on the principles highlighted by a series of democratization theories: modernization theory, wave theory, democratic peace theory, transition theory etc.

The analysis of modern democracy leads to the conclusion that in contemporary society, the democratization and consolidation process of democracy has generated two types of democracy: majoritarian and consensus democracy. Political scientist Arend Lijphart analyzes the organization and functioning of democracy in thirty-six countries and finds ten characteristics which define and differentiate the two models of democracy.

The application of the models analyzed by Lijphart on Romania, leads to the conclusion of the hybrid character of Romanian democracy. This hybrid character of Romanian democracy has generated and generates a series of problems, with consequences on the stability and on the political and social balance.

For the Romanian society, building a consensus model is preferred. This model represents a guarantee of stability, transparency and accountability of political elites and civil society. At the same time, this model generates real conditions for democracy to be an important source of security.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. Constitution, 2003, the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no.767/31.10.2003.
2. DAHL, Robert A., *On Democracy*, Iasi, European Institute, 2003.
3. DOYLE, Michael W., *Ways of War and Peace*, New York Norton, 1997.
4. FUIOR, Theodora, *Democratization and security sector reform in post-conflict*, PhD Thesis, Bucharest, NDU, 2015.
5. GRUGEL, Jean, *Democratization. A Critical Introduction*, Iași, Polirom 2008.
6. HUNTINGTON, Samuel, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press: NORMAN, 1991.
7. JACKSON, Robert, *Sovereignty*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2007.
8. LIJPHART, Arend, *Patterns of democracy. Government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*, Iași, Polirom, 2000.
9. NAY, Olivier, *History of Political Ideas*, Iași, Polirom, 2008.
10. PRZEWORSKI, Adam; Limongi, Fernando, *Modernization: theories and facts in World Politics*, 49.2, 1997.
11. RUSTOW, Dankwart Alexander, *Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model in Comparative Politics*, February/April 1970.
12. SEYMOUR, Martin Lipset, *Political Man*, Doubleday, 1960.
13. SEYMOUR, Martin Lipset, "Some Social requisites of Democracy", *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1/1959.

WAYS OF PROMOTING NATIONAL INTERESTS IN DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS

*Eleonora STOIAN**

This article aims to emphasize that persons to be posted in international organizations need to undergo adequate training in international relations, diplomatic negotiations and specialized terminology. This should take place before appointment and encompass both a comprehensive theoretical education and a thorough practical experience.

The paper highlights the importance of one being familiar with the international environment, the organization one will be part of the executive procedures and the diplomatic vocabulary with its “traps”. Equally important for the fulfillment of a successful mandate is knowledge about the particulars of the national security body and its intricacies.

Likewise, the article attempts to provide a “small dictionary”, by explaining (translating into everyday language) certain widely used expressions in negotiating a document. In this context, the article’s title could be as well “Diplomacy for everybody”.

Keywords: *diplomacy, negotiation, diplomatic terminology, interests, mandate, compromise, consensus.*

1. Introductory remarks

During my activity at Romania’s Permanent Delegation to NATO and by virtue of my duties

regarding NATO partnerships, I realized that the most difficult negotiations take place in allied format, among the national representatives¹ of the Member States. While some nations in view of their foreign policy lines have clear objectives regarding certain issues, supporting principles, sets of values, initiatives and approaches, other nations may consider the same issues unimportant, unnecessary. The biggest “challenge” that I felt at the beginning of my activity in this environment was the difficulty to discern the purpose of the debaters’ interventions, certain arguments (or *parti-pris*) for one cause or another (I did not understand the intention of the campaigning, “what gets them in the battle ...”). Without mastering a solid basis in diplomatic negotiations, I found it difficult to distinguish the real aim of the interventions in the periphrases used. Later, following informal discussions, I had the opportunity to clarify several aspects or I recognized the logic/pattern used.

2. Ways of minimizing/maximizing one’s negotiation positions

In light of their interests, the nations deem important to highlight one aspect or another of a document (e.g. relating to a country, progresses in one field, stagnation or setbacks in another). Thus,

¹ I will use the term “nations”.

** Eleonora STOIAN currently works as Superior Counselor within the Ministry of National Defence, Bucharest, Romania. From August 2013 to August 2016 has been Defence Advisor at the Permanent Delegation of Romania to NATO. E-mail: nora_stoian@yahoo.com.*



during the discussions, I noticed a frequently used, seemingly benign expression such as *well-balanced* document.

The term *well-balanced*, although may look-like easily understandable, is also questionable and not always accurate. Nations often require that the balance tilt, more or less, in favor of specific interests. Although the international secretariat that draft these documents is professional and experienced, they can have difficulties in understanding specificities of a nation. Moreover, in certain situations (if possible) it is no harm in trying to tilt the balance in its own favor.

As a concrete example, I would like to mention that, in a document relating to developments in a very important country for Romania, I realized that progress was partly mentioned, while lack of progress was detailed. A nation that wanted to highlight the worthy work of those who prepared the document stated that the document is well-balanced, while another praised the comprehensiveness of the document (multi-faceted). As for me, I questioned the balanced nature of the document and asked for a paragraph to detail progress and explain the real causes of stagnation. Due to support granted by a group of friends, I managed to get a better, more favorable document, better suited to our interests.

Other seemingly benign phrases, or widely used language artifices in the drafting and negotiating process of the documents are *as appropriate/convenient, on a case by case basis, according to own merits, and other areas*. They are preferred when there is a big appetite to report concrete results (or to obtain a deliverable), but the maximum to get is a “*constructive ambiguity*”. These phrases may have a certain purpose, assisting the process of developing a compromise, when opinions can not be accommodated as presented, but they are, no way, benign, as they introduce a relativity in the stipulations or extend the document’s scope.

There are situations when some nations, based on more or less transparent interests, may try to minimize or even mock certain aspects. The irony may “look good”, or can even relax the tense atmosphere of a difficult meeting. Once,

a minor irony of a diplomat who, with obvious pleasure, made reference to an *off the record* remark of another diplomat, managed to cheer up the meeting.

On the other hand, sometimes an irony may look ridiculous. Hence, the response of a colleague – when I noted the progress of a country in SEDM (South Eastern Europe Defence Ministerial) – who ironically said that he would seek in Wikipedia what SEDM means, was labeled (at least in a small group) as inappropriate. Similarly, I did not appreciate the remark of a colleague, who, when I noted an article I’ve recently read, which dealt with the inter-marium concept, referring to a need for a strong relationship between NATO members positioned geographically between the Baltic and the Black Sea, on the eastern flank of NATO, asked if Romania was a riparian country. I considered inappropriate to mention that the originator of the concept is a former head of state, co-national of that person’s (Jozef Pilsudski), but I’ve provided a link to the article detailing the idea.

3. Methods of overcoming the stalemate in negotiations

The objective of the negotiation is to harmonize opinions, to develop a unitary strategy, to reach consensus and prepare for approval a document that will prevent the opponent to impose its objectives. No nation ever forgets this goal and, to accomplish it, makes concessions, trade-offs, take steps forward and backward on the chessboard-type structure of the document. Flexibility is a key requirement in diplomacy.

Instructions from “home” can be firm, containing clear and concrete targets or, conversely, can be verbalized in general terms, offering flexibility and the possibility to adjust to the general trend. It is often desired that the documents maintain an open character (*open-ended*), or be less rigorous (*developed with less orthodoxy*) to allow for subsequent nuances or periodic reviews (*a living document*), taking into account the developments in the security environment (*conditions-driven*). I have seen



instructions that provided only a general positioning element, advised to preserve the substance of the mandate and get aligned to the general opinion or the compromise proposal of the International Secretariat/Chairperson of the meeting. In this case, the goal was to preserve the unity and solidarity and to avoid the risk of being singled out, isolated or identified as an element that wishes to deepen the existing differences.

Although intense effort it usually put into accommodating divergent positions and considering all opinions (or at least elements thereof) any negotiation process can lead, sometimes to blockage. As a means to advance or overcome the deadlock (stalemate), and in order to avoid useless talks (bargain), or to gain more time to get instructions, one can use certain diplomatic tricks: placing paragraphs between square brackets – i.e. non-acceptance of the text in its existing form; insertion of alternative terms (*either/or*); inclusion of blanks (*placeholders*) to be replaced with elements from another already existing document (which may be negotiated in parallel in other committees); **bold text**, for a new proposal to which no objections were raised “at the table”; horizontal crossing of the text (~~strike through~~) to signal a request of non-acceptance until the next meeting.

In general, most national representatives are reluctant to speak up if they did not get the national vision on the issue. However, to signal interest and show up a constructive approach, a nation may express an opinion, that fits into the broad spectrum and does not tend to be excessive (minimalist/maximalist). If one wants to put forward a new, own concept, by presenting it orally or through an informal document (*non-paper*), it is useful to test in advance the frame of mind of the counterparts and their willingness to accept the idea. At the same time, it's useful to know *a priori* the personal/national sensitivities of the participants in the discussions. One can organize informal meetings aimed at informing, collecting initial opinions or views of some traditional friends, important allies or of those who might be interested in the subject. These meetings could spark discussions, highlight a pre-positioning and

could lead to shaping a common vision. One can promote the idea through a framework group that backs it and has the support of the international staff (*tiger team*), or one can send it in written form to e- mail addresses of the counterparts, inviting for a response, by a certain date. On the other hand, when a new concept is presented and it was not yet scrutinized by one's national authorities, but one knows that it could be of interest, one can welcome the proposal, keeping a positioning margins, or one can formulate short messages of support. In addition, one can ask for the enhancement/mitigation of certain elements, expression of various nuances, or even insertion of some other items of interest. In case substantial contribution is provided, one may co-author the document.

In case no added value is provided, one can offer a limited and conjunctural support or resort to a constructive disengagement from talks.

4. Ways to persuade the audience and obtain support

4.1 Typical documents and how they may evolve

Depending on the specific stakes or on the time available for negotiations, NATO documents can be: agreed by nations, then approved by a decision of the North Atlantic Council, and subsequently endorsed or noted by the ministers; Committee Chairman's reports, under his responsibility, which do not reflect negotiations or coordination between allies; discussion papers, that encourage ideas (*food for thought papers*); or factual documents (*fact-finding*) which present the current situation (*state of play*) without generating commitments. Although difficult negotiations may take place even for a text expressing appreciation, concern, encouragement or interest in a process (those that begin, as a rule with: “We welcome/encourage/appreciate/express our concern...”), the most difficult negotiations take place on a decisional documents, which should lead to some lines of action (*taskings*) and involve considerable financial and human resources. In spite of the effort, these latest types are preferred, as they have



political endorsement and clear targets, reflecting allied coordination and common understanding of the issue.

The following steps are typical for the development of a document: based on an initial tasking, a draft is prepared by the International Secretariat and exploratory informal discussions are convened to test the participants' opinion and shape an acceptable structure for an accessible document (*tune and scope*). It will be analyzed and formally debated in committees, during several meetings and, based on these discussions and national interests, revised versions are issued (rev 1, 2, ... n). Sometimes a compromise solution takes time to materialize, requiring giving up elements in specific paragraphs, to get something else in return, in others. Sometimes, it could be necessary to require more flexibility from one's own authorities. Nations preserve the right to make further changes, based on the principle that the document will be approved only after going through the entire text (*nothing is agreed until everything is agreed*). It is common knowledge that consensus means a state of equilibrium where everyone is satisfied but no one is entirely happy.

In the later stages of developing the document, when consideration is paid to simplification and synthesize (sometimes euphemistically referred to as streamlining), one should pay attention not to omit the essential. Finally, the document will be approved "at the table" (*ad referendum*) by the national representatives and then submitted for approval to the heads of delegations by tacit approval (*silence procedure*), that end at a specific date and time at ("beginning of business/cob" or "close of business/cob").

Then the document is conveyed "home" for endorsement (approval by the upper echelon) or notation (acknowledgment) by relevant ministers or endorsed/noted in foreign or defense ministers' meetings, that take place at the headquarters.

One should, at any cost, avoid that a negotiated document be subjected to the silence procedure without one's national proposals having been considered. In such a situation, one should stop the approval process and ask for the reopening

of the negotiations, by presenting arguments in a formal manner, with accurate explanations. If the desired outcome is to signal only that the agreed situation should not always be valid or should not create a precedent, one may merely circulate a letter of comment. On the other hand, the worst situation is to ignore certain negative aspects and let the document be approved in that form. In this case, they can say that the diplomat has not fulfilled its mandate. However, even in such a grim situation, I am aware of examples in which the conjunctural (*face-saving*) solution was presented as the result of a difficult process of negotiation, the mandate was post-facto aligned to the results and the failure was "sold" as a success story.

If for agreed documents several rounds of negotiations may be needed, for the state of play ones, especially if a thorough analysis of the text is not possible in short time, the chairman may ask only for spontaneous opinions (by conducting a *tour de table*).

For any type of documents, if there are absolutely divergent, clashing, irreconcilable or taboo positions that can not be subjected to negotiations (*red line*), such paragraphs may be omitted or one can make use of already agreed formulations. The same applies if the elements are not clear or if the information does not come from a confirmed source ("*if in doubt, leave it out*"). When implementing the provisions of a document, it is usual to draft progress, evaluation or stocktaking reports, reflecting the state of affairs, at a particular time. The so-called dashboards or warning boards (*traffic lights*) are useful tools that graphically highlight progresses and shortfalls (gaps) recorded in implementation.

4.2 Preventing difficulties that may arise in implementation

Based on the ability of a negotiator, the negotiation process can lead to a consolidated (enhanced, stronger) language or, conversely to a diluted, relatively weaker one. If the language is weak, not prescriptive/imperative (e.g. "may/could take into consideration...") or is overly



general and, if there was a strong controversy about the text, serious difficulties may arise in implementing the document or in drawing the roadmap. Unclear and confusing statements can satisfy some cunning negotiators, who know the concrete difficulties in the field, and are aware that the implementation process will not fall into their responsibility. Such diplomats, arguing that their mandate is limited, are happy to obtain a general formula reflecting only the basic idea and leave a difficult legacy for the representatives of the other institutions – the development of the implementation plan and the actual implementation of the document. Therefore, whenever I was back-sitting (i.e. not directly negotiating a document, only supporting the person who used to manage the file concerned), I insisted on drafting a clear document in a non-equivocal language. The more so because, in the process of implementation, when resource issues arise, the nations' commitments dwindle. I have seen instances when even the strongest supporters lost their enthusiasm, became reserved and were trying to minimize support for a beneficiary of the document. Such situation can occur either when the support is provided by the organization as such, or when a collective effort is needed – the organization being required to coagulate national bilateral efforts (*a clearing house*), to create a coordination cell for voluntary funds (*trust funds*) or to mobilize in-kind contributions.

4.3 Relations with counterparts: support, reticence, reaction

National representatives can support in specific committees opposite positions, but outside can be friends or, advocate together for other issues. Direct contacts between counterparts are of particular utility, establishing interpersonal relationship and nurturing similar ideas. In order to back an issue or an initiative, by symbolic gestures or concrete contributions, support groups may be set up. In pursuing one's goal, some people try to persuade the country officer in the staff. Although the staff members are required to be neutral as in those positions they owe loyalty only to the organization they

belong to, in certain cases they can not ignore the arguments of their nations. Hence, the attention a nation gives sometimes for the appointment of individuals in high-level ranking positions in international organizations. As an example, in one of the first meetings I took part, the chairman (Greek) managed successfully to fulfill the role of consensus- facilitator and reach to a balanced view in a difference of opinion between the representative of his country and the representative of another country (Turkey) on an issue concerning a third country – Macedonia. On the other hand, I met a situation where, given the nations' attention to other issues and due to tiredness, with the support of the country officer, a more favorable expression was inserted *all'ultimo minuto* and it was approved without much ado (*it flied*).

One of the trickiest circumstance is where one should give a reply to an unkind/malevolent intervention. Having gained experience, one generally knows the participants' positions regarding certain topics, but still tougher elements may occur after a tense negotiation. As a procedure, if one has the possibility of offering solid counterarguments, one can request a spontaneous intervention, by lifting the index (*one finger's rule*) or ask for a later interventions by raising two fingers (*two fingers' rule*). As for the substance, the most appropriate form of response is to reject unequivocally the unfavorable arguments and the grounds they are based on. After the meeting, one can ask for further instructions and provide a more elaborated response in writing.

4.4 The diplomat's most precious tool: the way of the expressing ideas

In political science, diplomatic terminology means that words and phrases have specific connotations, more or less different from the literal, common language or the meaning in other sciences. In preparation for a position that requires diplomatic negotiations, the development of a specialized vocabulary (but not only!) should represent a priority.

Diplomats' basic tools have always been



intelligence and language, as Athenian orator Demosthenes stated, more than two thousand years ago: “Messengers have neither combat ships, nor infantry or heavy weapons, nor fortresses; their weapons are words and favorable moments. In most negotiations, those moments are ephemeral, and once lost they can not be recaptured”².

Better preparedness for future diplomats would give them the opportunity to become more eloquent, confident to use to a more stylish language (in expressions such as: “recalled the previous exchange of views”, “highlighted the importance of the favorable moment created” “welcomed the UN envoy to...”, “shows opening”, “acknowledges the difficulty”, “is skeptical about”, “regards with optimism”, “express confidence that”, “confirms the availability”), thus providing diversity to the discourse.

Future diplomat would integrate more easily into his vocabulary relevant terms from other fields i.e.: “the principle of communicating vessels” about support a cause or other, given limited resources, “not accepting to resort to the lowest common denominator, for the sake of unity and solidarity” when trying to reach a compromise etc. Similarly, one would avoid using false friends type terms. This knowledge would become deeply rooted into the person’s mind and his performance would be maximized, from the first day of the appointment.

Conclusions

When appointed in an international organization, a national representative is supposed to have the knowledge, expertise, qualifications and skills that enable him to best promote the interests of the his country and to carry out his mandate in a professional manner. Even if not a diplomat by training, the one that fulfills such a position I supposed to get familiar with the international environment and accustomed to use a specific language to present

² Silviu Neguț, Clubul Studenților Diplomați, *Ghidul viitorului diplomat*, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/97179844/Ghidul-Viitorului-Diplomat>, accessed on 12.10.2016.

his objectives and messages, to be understood and appreciated by colleagues, without antagonizing those with different views and interests. And, at least in the beginning, he should simply understand what his interlocutors are hinting at. A thorough preliminary preparation could provide the possibility to better understand the interests and values of the international actors and the important stages of diplomatic negotiations. It would also create the opportunity to study the procedural mechanisms of the organization concerned. Thus, once thrown into “the great whirling” of replies and subtle exchange of views, quid pro quos (in exchange of concessions, support) or tit for tats (paying back on his own coin) – the diplomat will be able to ignore the jam and focus on the substantive issues that bring added value to his interests. A solid training would also create the opportunity to develop the specialized vocabulary, in both his native and the foreign language one uses, given the need to understand the different nuances expressed or referred to in documents. This would aid reporting “home” clearly summarizing the essence of the discussions.

However, although through a theoretical and practical experience assimilated in national and international environment one can acquire vast professional qualifications; this can only complement the profound knowledge obtained throughout one’s entire career and enhance the native qualities and abilities to properly assess specific situations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. MEDAR, Sergiu, T., *Diplomația apărării*, București: Editura CTEA, 2006.
2. NEGUȚ, Silviu, Clubul Studenților Diplomați, *Ghidul Viitorului Diplomat*, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/97179844/Ghidul-Viitorului-Diplomat>.
3. IORGA, Anamaria, “Reaching set-targets in multinational negotiations. Formal versus informal debates in NATO”, in *Strategic Impact* no. 1/2013, Bucharest, “Carol I” National Defence University Publishinghouse.
4. US, Department of State, *Diplomatic Dictionary*, <https://diplomacy.state.gov/discover>



diplomacy/references/169792.htm

5. Skills you need, <https://www.skillsyouneed.com/ips/tact-diplomacy.html>

6. Website NATO, www.nato.int

7. Delegația permanentă a României la NATO, <http://nato.mae.ro>

8. BERRIDGE, G. R.; LLOYD, Lorna, The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy, 2012, <https://books.google.ro/books?id=jvarq4i>

y5MoC&pg=PP1&lpg=PP1&dq=palgrave+macmillan+Dictionary+of+Diplomacy&source=bl&ots=LZyr0HhauY&sig=V69B1oQ8Hy3JWPIDS SgnqnPocMc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwin s9fo3I3SAhUkYJoKHWK0Bzo4ChDoAQgbMAE#v=onepage&q=palgrave%20macmillan%20Dictionary%20of%20Diplomacy&f=false

9. Macrofox Encyclopedia and Dictionary, <http://www.macrofox.com/eng/i/index-t.htm>



ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS GENERATED BY THE INTERVENTION OF THE HUMAN CIVILIZATION

*Mădălina Virginia ANTONESCU, PhD**

The development of new modalities of global legal protection, at the beginning of 21st century, due to fundamental shifts in paradigm (evolution from a consumerist society pattern to the sustainable development model, reasserted in the 2030 Agenda) is owed implicitly by the acknowledgement of new forms of stress (the stress generated by man on the nature), in the environmental law. Not only the human being, as an individual, but also the peoples, states and global or multinational actors as companies exploit, damage, destroy or irreversibly affect nature. In order to prevent and manage all these forms of exploitation, damage, destruction or pollution of the nature, derived from the consumer-society pattern within the general functioning of human civilization, it is also necessary to initiate special forms of legal protection regarding nature. Thus, the object of this paper is to acknowledge stress on the environment caused by the human being and to propose measures at regional, national and international levels to protect nature against this particular form of pollution.

Keywords: *stress on the environment, consumerist society, sustainable development, environmental security.*

1. The Right to a Healthy, Renewed and Clean Environment

According to the current international environmental law, the category of rights called “solidarity rights” also includes the human right to an international healthy, renewed and clean (unpolluted) environment¹, beside the right to an international climate of peace and security or the right to development. These rights entail both an *individual* dimension of legal protection (regarded as human rights in an individual sense) and a *collective* one (regarded as rights of the nations).

This human right (also construed as a right of the nations, at collective level) was first defined in 1972, at the *UN Conference on the Human Environment*, being the first principle in the *Declaration on the Human Environment*, regarded from the viewpoint of the *sustainable development paradigm* (obligation of the human societies to preserve, defend and improve the environment, for the present and future generations)².

According to the *Stockholm Declaration*, the phrase “healthy environment” (i.e. unpolluted

¹ Daniela Marinescu, *Tratat de dreptul mediului*, 4th edition revised and completed, Universul Juridic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, p. 387.

² Daniela Marinescu, quoted title, pp. 384-385.

** Mădălina Virginia ANTONESCU, PhD in European law, is a Scientific Researcher with the Romanian Diplomatic Institute in Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: madyantonescu@gmail.com*



adequate for the physical and intellectual health of the human being, as shown in the doctrine)³ and the phrase “balanced/harmonious environment” or “environment of a quality that allows the human being to enjoy dignity and welfare” were coined in 1972.

The fundamental human right to a healthy environment, interconnected to other human rights (not only the rights in the category of solidarity rights) is also mentioned in the Draft Declaration of Principles on Human Rights and the Environment/Geneva 1994, in the Rio Declaration/1992, in the document adopted under the aegis of the United Nations, 21 Agenda, as well as other international documents.

According to the doctrine and the international regulatory definitions, it is accepted that the human right to a healthy environment entails *several aspects*, some of which exceeding the strict definition of the *natural environment*⁴.

- The right to the highest level of health, not affected by environmental degradation.
- The right to live in a healthy environment, non-degraded, unpolluted by activities that may affect the environment, the life and health of the human beings, their welfare and sustainable development.
 - Access to adequate food and water resources.
 - The right to a healthy labour environment.
 - The right to living conditions, to the use of land and life in a healthy environment.
 - The right to assistance in case of natural and manmade catastrophes.
 - The right to benefit from the sustainable use of nature and its resources.
 - The right to preservation of nature’s representative elements.
 - The right not to be expropriated following the development of environmental activities, with the exception of justified cases and the right of the expropriated parties to receive adequate compensations, according to the law.

³ Mircea Duțu, apud Daniela Marinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

⁴ According to Daniela Marinescu, quoted title, pp. 385-386.

There are additional rights acknowledged individually: the right to the environment information, the right to participate in making and applying environment-related decisions, the right to associate in order to protect the environment, the right to remedying the environment-related damages⁵.

The Resolution of the United Nations General Assembly (XXIX), *Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of the States*, A/RES/29/3281, dated December 12th 1974, states in the Preamble, item f, the wish to *identify criteria* for the protection, preservation and strengthening of the environment, while Chapter III (Common Responsibilities to the International Community), art. 30 mentions the *principle of protection, preservation and strengthening of the environment for present and future generations* as a principle that governs, among others, the inter-state relationships, as an obligation of the states. All the states will strive to establish their own development and environmental policies, according to such a responsibility, stipulates (imperatively) article 30. It also stipulates that “the environmental policies of all States should enhance and not adversely affect the present and future development potential of developing countries”. In addition, it states (as another legal obligation of all the states parties) that the states have the responsibility to ensure that the activities under their jurisdiction or control will not cause damages to the environment of another state or of the areas outside its jurisdiction; another principle introduced is the principle of inter-state cooperation, in the evolution of environmental international norms and regulations.

The *Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development/2002*⁶ defines the main objectives of the process of implementing the sustainable development paradigm in the 21st century societies and in the decisions, strategies, actions, measures, policies assumed by the state actors and by the non-state actors (mainly

⁵ *Idem*, p. 386.

⁶ UN Documents, *Gathering a Body of Global Agreements*, UN, A/CONF.199/20, World Summit on Sustainable Development, 4 Sept. 2002, www.un-documents.net/jburgdec.htm, accessed on September 28th 2016.



corporations), based on *the global public/private partnership* (failure to involve non-state actors such as corporation in the international as well as national legal liability scope can seriously affect the essence and exercise of the right to sustainable development of the human beings and nations).

These main objectives, stipulated in the abovementioned Declaration, are the following: eradication of poverty, change in/evolving from the current patterns of production and consumption, protection and management of natural resources. This document acknowledges that “the global environment continues to suffer”, on account of the reduction of fish resources, loss of biodiversity, desertification, massive deforestation, negative effects of the climate changes, increase in the frequency of natural disasters, increased air, marine and water pollution, particularly in the developing countries, with serious consequences on the life and health of millions of people.

It is important to note that art. 27-29 of the Declaration introduces *environmental corporate accountability*, i.e. *the express legal obligation of the companies to contribute to the evolution of equitable and sustainable communities and societies*, which means that not only the states *but also the corporations* must evolve from the outdated models of consumption and production, based on exhaustion, irrational, abusive exploitation of the natural resources, on the sometimes irremediable, transnational impact on the terrestrial ecosystems, with consequences on the very planet and on the quality of life on this planet.

The Johannesburg Declaration is important because its aim is to initiate an inclusive process regarding environmental protection, the decision to save the planet, the promotion of human development and achievement of universal peace and prosperity, a task assigned not only to the states, but also to the non-state actors (corporations), thus *seeing an evolution of the legal international level* of corporation accountability as compared to the framework existing before the international definition of the sustainable development paradigm.

The 2030 Agenda, document adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on September 25th 2015 states in the Preamble that it intends to be “a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity. It also seeks to strengthen universal peace in larger freedom”. This document focuses on the paradigm of sustainable development, imposing approximately 17 SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) and 169 targets to achieve, in order to render the human rights possible in practice, for everyone (based on the “no one is left behind” principle), objectives which are regarded as universal, impartible and which create a balance among the three aspects of sustainable development (the economic, social and environmental aspect)⁷.

According to the *African Charter of Human and Peoples’ Rights*⁸, “all peoples shall have the right to a general satisfactory environment favourable to their development”. Another regional document, the Additional Protocol to the *American Convention of Human Rights*⁹, dated November 14th 1998, defines the right to a healthy environment, stating that “everyone shall have the right to live in a healthy environment and to have access to basic public services”,

⁷ General Assembly, UN, Resolution adopted on September 25th 2015, shared on October 21st 2015, A/RES/70/1, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>, accessed on September 28th 2015.

⁸ Art. 22 (the right to development defined in its both dimensions – the individual and collective dimension); art. 23 (definition of the right to peace and national and international security, starting from the UN principle of solidarity and friendly relations among nations); art. 24 (the right of the peoples to have the right to a generally satisfactory environment, favourable to their development). African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, adopted 27 June 1981, OAU doc., CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, entered into force 21 Oct. 1986, www.achpr.org/files/instruments/achpr/banjul_charter.pdf, accessed on September 28th 2016.

⁹ Art. 11 (the right to a healthy environment), paragraph 1 (everyone has the right to live in a healthy environment and to have access to basic public services), paragraph 2 (the states parties will promote the protection, preservation and improvement of the environment), the San Salvador Protocol, November 17th 1988, www.oas.org, accessed on September 28th 2016.



while art. 11 introduces the express legal obligation for the states parties to promote the protection, preservation and improvement of the environment.

1. Nature – a Living Organism. Stress, a Form of Pollution Affecting the Living Organisms

The doctrine *acknowledges stress* from the viewpoint of the international environmental law, as “another form of pollution, specific to the modern world”, being defined as “pressure undergone by the organism, on account of the noise, pollution, anxiety, various contradictions, workplace pressure, as well as the effects of this pressure on the *human body*”¹⁰. Thus, we are dealing with a *classic limited definition* of stress, seen as *affecting the human beings* although, in reality, there are forms of stress affecting the animals, as well as the elements of the environment, including the very planet.

The doctrine as well as the documents adopted under the aegis of the United Nations acknowledge the fact that it is no longer possible for the human being to act in the 21st century as an irrational, abusive, destructive master of nature, taking actions or, on the contrary, being inactive, with intentional or unintentional destructive effects on nature, the terrestrial ecosystems, on the planet as a whole.

It is time for the human civilization to become mature, it is time *for a fundamental change in the perception of the human-nature relationship*; the human civilization must abandon the old patterns of the consumerist, commercial-patrimonial societies¹¹, excessive liberalism (manifested by the ruling of the markets at global level), the old patterns of production and consumption, of poor use and management of the resources of the planet’s resources and to evolve to a new human being/nature/planet relationship, one based on ***harmony with nature*** (as seen by the United Nations, in their numerous resolutions adopted at

the General Assemblies)¹².

Awareness of the new human being/nature/Earth relationship as one of interdependence, of harmony and respect, of the preservation of nature’s quality, of the quality of the biosphere, as a prerequisite for the quality of life on this planet and for the survival of the human civilization¹³ leads to the creation of new legal horizons in the 21st century:

- Creation of a *global, consolidated, special* regulatory framework, for the protection of nature and the Earth, called “*the global environment law*”;
- *Addition of the sustainability aspect* to the development of the human civilization (economic, financial, commercial, social, military, cultural, regulatory sustainability etc.);
- Acknowledgement of the *unique, fragile* quality of the terrestrial ecosystems, of planet Earth, which thus needs *special legal and imperative-legal protection*, at *global level*;
- Acknowledgement of *the rights of the future generations* to inherit a safe, sustainable, clean planet, rich in resources, assuring them that they will certainly live in a world free from terror, fear, despair, poverty, hunger and conflicts¹⁴;

¹² Resolution of the UN GA on Harmony with Nature (A/RES/67/214); report of the General Secretary on Harmony with Nature (A/67/317), World Charter for Nature; Report of the General Secretary on Harmony with Nature (A/66/302); Resolution of the UN GA on Harmony with Nature (A/RES/65/164); Resolution of the UN GA on Harmony with Nature (A/RES/64/196); Study on the need to know and observe the rights of Mother Earth (E/C/2010/4); Resolution of the UN GA on the International Day of Mother Earth (A/RES/63/278); Resolution of the UN GA on the International Year of Planet Earth 2008 (A/RES/60/192). See <http://www.un.org/en/events/motherearthday/documents.shtml>, accessed on September 7th 2016. Chronology of Harmony with Nature, www.harmonywithnatureun.org/chronology.html, accessed on September 7th 2016.

¹³ Also see United Nations General Assembly, *World Charter of Nature*, A/RES/37/7, shared on October 28th 1982, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/37, accessed on September 7th 2016.

¹⁴ General Assembly, UN, Resolution adopted on September 25th 2015, shared on October 21st 2015, A/RES/70/1, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>, accessed on September 28th 2015.

¹⁰ Daniela Marinescu, quoted title, p. 26.

¹¹ Also see *Harmony with Nature, Report of the Secretary General, UNGA, A/67/317*, shared on August 17th.



- Acknowledgement of *the rights of the present generations* to enjoy a safe, clean, renewed planet, rich in resources, assuring them that they certainly participate in the creation of a world free from poverty, despair, conflicts, terror and fear, generated by the production, consumption and management patterns of the natural resources and of the living resources in the current human societies, starting with the first industrial revolution.

Starting from this legal and conceptual, ethical and moral basis, regarding the new human being/nature/planet Earth relationship, it becomes easier to admit that *planet Earth and nature should benefit from a set of specific rights, from the standpoint of the global environment law*, rights meant to provide *concrete protection in relation to the state and non-state actors* (which are subjects of international or internal law, or which are transnational) and in relation to the actions, decisions, policies, interests (which often *ignore or come into conflict* with the preservation interests).

If we accept in the environmental global legal order of the 21st century that *nature, planet Earth and the terrestrial ecosystems can be subjects of law¹⁵ at global level*, which the state and non-state actors *should take into account, thus risking penalization*, this great change in perception of the human being/nature/planet *will also include a segment of global normative regulation regarding the forms of stress affecting nature, the terrestrial ecosystems, planet Earth*, including the use of advanced military technologies or mass destruction weapons.

Therefore, in the new global environmental law specific to the 21st century post-consumerist society, a definition of the “polluter pays” principle is insufficient; *new sets of rights and legal principles* will occur instead, in order to protect nature, the planet and terrestrial ecosystems from a concrete threat.

One of these rights, which the current paper

¹⁵ Since there is a positive tendency in this sense, in the international environmental law. See Mircea Duțu, Andrei Duțu, *Dreptul de proprietate și exigențele protecției mediului*, Universul Juridic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2011, p. 33.

proposes, is *the right of nature/ planet Earth to be sheltered from excessive negative stress*, a right specific to the 21st century regulatory body of norms regarding the environment (i.e. *the global environmental law*, significantly evolved as compared to the current international environmental law). *This specific right of nature, of the terrestrial ecosystems and of planet Earth is designed as a clear, concrete method of protection against the actions, policies, strategies with destructive impact, intentional or unintentional, developed or adopted by the state or non-state actors* (particularly the corporations), including domains not covered by the national jurisdiction or on the territory of another state or in areas not covered by any state jurisdiction (for activities performed by corporations). This right of nature/planet Earth *is based on the harmonious human being/nature/planet relationship*, as a fundamental relationship for the post-consumerist and post-corporate societies of the 21st century, as so ambitiously proposed in a document adopted under the aegis of the United Nations, such as the 2030 Agenda.

This means that *there is fundamental change in the perception of nature*, natural elements, planet Earth and the terrestrial ecosystems. They are no longer regarded as isolated objects of commercial value, an inventory with fixed prices¹⁶; instead, they are regarded as living elements, in permanent interconnection and dependence, in a unique, fragile balance, which is vital for the survival of the human being on this planet.

Similarly to the human body, the planet, the terrestrial ecosystems and nature are regarded as a giant organism, which includes the human being and conditions its very existence, not only its civilization. If stress is effectively acknowledged only for human organisms (and animals, at the most), the evolved society of the 21st century will acknowledge (at legal level as well) the fact that there is a type of specific negative-excessive stress, which can influence nature as such, the elements of nature (atmosphere, dryland, water)

¹⁶ Mircea Duțu, Andrei Duțu, quoted title, p. 11.



regarded distinctly, the terrestrial ecosystems, planet Earth.

Thus, the elements causing stress, as a form of pollution affecting nature, are:

1. Caused by the action, by the intentional decision of the human being (as an individual or in organic communities);

2. Caused by the (intentional or unintentional) action, by the decisions made by state and non-state actors (corporations), with the necessity to generate environmental corporate accountability and consolidated responsibility of the states regarding the environment, unlike the current legal level;

3. Caused by the action, by the unintentional decisions of the human being;

4. Natural (natural disasters, calamities such as massive earthquakes, volcano eruptions, floods, hurricanes, cyclones etc.), which are not caused by the human action or there is no known definite connection between the human action, the human decision and the calamity, disaster or condition as such).

Stress on nature cannot be regarded solely as a form of pollution, as it is in the case of the human body, but also as a form of aggression, of breaking, of jeopardizing the fragile, unique balance among the components of the terrestrial ecosystems, as well as between them and the human civilization, as such. This aggression against the natural balance among the terrestrial ecosystems *can be caused by the human civilization* (regional, world wars, local conflicts, irrational, abusive exploitations of natural resources or polluting/destructive technologies, harming the environment) *or not* (massive earthquakes, volcano eruptions, modifications of the earth shell, continuous movements of the tectonic plates, which prove that the planet is constantly changing in terms that the human being may perceive as violent forms of change, as stress on nature, when such change is actually a form of natural modification/renewal).

There are also *forms of natural stress caused to nature*, such as *cyclones, tornadoes or hurricanes*, which are rather difficult to attribute to the human activity and to a certain type of

polluting human activity or intervention in nature (since *the weather warfare is not acknowledged, therefore is not penalized* at the consolidated level of the current environmental international regulations *and there is no international convention* that provides a clear definition of this war, the military techniques of changing the environment, consequences for nature, climate, human civilization, quality of life and planet Earth¹⁷, as well as concrete penalizations for the users of such unconventional weapons)¹⁸.

The development of new methods to provide legal protection of nature at global level, at the beginning of the 21st century, *given the changes in paradigm* (evolution from the consumerist model to the sustainable development model, reaffirmed in the 2030 Agenda) is implicitly owed to the *acknowledgement of new forms of stress, in the environmental law* (stress caused by the human civilization to nature).

It is incorrect to talk about stress caused by the human being (as an individual) to nature (to the environment, in particular to the natural, wild habitats or, in a broader sense, the terrestrial ecosystems, interconnected through a chain of natural processes permanently functioning in a

¹⁷ In the disarmament law, discussing the consequences of the military operations on the environment, preoccupation of the international community ever since the 70s, the doctrine also includes scenarios of using the environment in military applications in the analysis. It mentions the signing of the *Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (ENMOD Convention)*, enforced in 1978, ratified by Romania in 1983. However, this Convention has yet to achieve its ambitious purpose, as it is unclear which is the object of the prohibition (the doctrine considers that techniques related to the field of scientific speculation are prohibited) and another flaw of the Convention is the fact that it prohibits only the use, not the development or possession for use of the weather modification techniques. The Convention attracted little approval on account of the fact its restrictions are ambiguous and they do not include all the weather modification techniques, irrespective of their level of technological and scientific advance. See details in Cristian Istrate, *Dreptul dezarmării. Acorduri multilaterale*, All Beck Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 58-60.

¹⁸ Emil Străinu, *Războiul geofizic. Tehnici de modificare a mediului înconjurător în scopuri militare*, Bucharest, Solaris Print Publishing House, 2009, pp. 33-35.



fragile balance). It would be more appropriate to determine the various types of stress caused to nature, depending on the type of *causing actor*:

- *Negative excessive stress on nature, caused by the human being, as an individual;*

- *Negative excessive stress on nature, caused by state actors* (by the states, through their measures, policies, strategies, actions or inactions regarding the processes of technological, industrial development, by large scale agriculture and chemical fertilization, activities which cause a poor quality of the products and reduction of fertile land or which are performed at the price of ruining the balance and destroying certain unique natural habitats, certain ecosystems, through massive deforestation, changes in water courses, extraction of natural resources, which pollutes or destroys the environment, consumption in large cities, causing the generation of tons of waste products and polluted waters that can no longer be reused or on which no water purification, recycling or environment-friendly disposal technologies and equipment etc. are used);

- *Negative excessive stress on nature, caused by non-state actors* (terrorist or paramilitary organizations, armed groups with various operation territories, involved in armed, local or transnational conflicts; cartels/groups of interest in various areas – from drugs to selling military technologies or chemical, bacteriological weapons or weapons of any other type, which can deteriorate the quality of life and the quality of environment¹⁹; transnational or multinational corporations, interested in profit, in acquiring new markets for their products, with on or little awareness regarding the protection, preservation or rehabilitation of environment, as well as any other sorts of non-state actors, at local, national, regional, transnational or even international level)

- *Negative excessive stress on nature, caused by the very type of 21st century-specific human civilization* (the global society based on the liberalist-capitalist pattern, guided by the market principle, the consumerist society or the non-capitalist society, which focuses on a principle

of development – industrial development, in particular, with highly polluting plants – and on a wide-scale agricultural policy – intensely chemical – to the detriment of the environmental policy, of using eco-friendly technology, equipment, services, products, obtained from agricultural activities that respect the environment, in an industry focusing on preservation and rehabilitation of the environment).

Therefore, we appreciate the great change noted in many documents and conferences, summits under the aegis of the United Nations, focused on *introducing the sustainable development paradigm*, from the Stockholm Declaration in 1972, the Rio Declaration and the Conference on Sustainable Development held on June 20th – June 22nd 2012, as well as other documents, to the 2030 Agenda, which insists on *the principle of global solidarity, on the public-private partnership*, including the assumption of responsibility by state and non-state actors, in the protection, preservation and rehabilitation of the environment and terrestrial ecosystems.

As we enter a period referred to by the specialists as the “*Anthropocene era*”²⁰, which they define as a period of “massive, repeated intervention, with often destructive consequences for the human being and for nature”, with particular emphasis on the negative impact of the lifestyle in large metropolises, of the urban habitats on the environment, both state and non-state actors (at all levels – local, national, regional, international) are included in the documents adopted by the United Nations, regarding the harmonious relationship with nature and the sustainable development paradigm, in a holistic approach, envisaging a public-private partnership. This partnership is based on the principle of global solidarity (*involvement of all the actors* in the

²⁰ P.J. Crutzen, E.F. Stoermer, *The Anthropocene*, Global Change Newsletter, vol. 41, 2000. Mark Lawrence, *The Anthropocene-Humans in the Earth System*, second interactive dialogue on Harmony with Nature, April 2012, www.harmonywithnature.org. R. E. Catton and W. R. Dunlap, “Environmental Sociology: A New Paradigm”, *The American Sociologist*, vol. 13 (1978). Capital Institute, *Economics, Finance, Governance and Ethics for the Anthropocene*, working paper of the Third Millennium Economy, 3ME project, June 2012.

¹⁹ Emil Străinu, quoted title, pp. 36-37, 56-58.



protection, preservation and rehabilitation of nature, protection and rehabilitation of planet Earth's health and integrity) and on *a new human being-nature-planet relationship, i.e. on the relationship of harmony with nature.*

Conclusions

The activities or inactivity of the human civilization in the 21st century continue to have the destructive impact (intentional or otherwise) of the previous commercial, industrial, highly polluting, capitalist, consumerist or non-capitalist civilizations, all based on the principle of development at any cost, to the detriment of the environment quality and, implicitly, of the human life. However, in the 21st century, it may unfortunately be necessary that the global society strive to *maintain* the planet, the irremediably affected environment, i.e. focus on the idea of survival, instead of sustainable development and prosperity, given the serious consequences, sometimes the irremediable destruction of nature, the impact of the human civilization (through the state or non-state actors, down to the simple individual).

The reduction of natural resources, especially the resources of drinking water, fertile land, desertification, massive deforestation, changing water courses, loss of biodiversity, endangering or extinction of rare species of animals and plants, expansion of metropolises and the intensely consumerist, polluting urban lifestyle, the focus of the states (particularly in poor regions of the globe) on unsustainable policies of industrial or agricultural development), low level of accountability among large non-state actors (transnational companies) in the development of the protection, preservation and rehabilitation of environment, as well as a low level of involvement of said actors in projects, strategies, concrete plans of the states to protect, rehabilitate and preserve the environment (at local, national, regional as well as international level) are only a few of the aspects regarding which *a new harmonious human being-nature relationship can be created.*

This is possible even by *developing a network of public-private partners* (states-companies, associations, foundations, religious groups or environmental transnational voluntary movements, mass-media etc.), also focusing on *environmental education*, on promoting green products, services and technologies, *developing an eco-friendly lifestyle in large metropolises, non-polluting energy-generating industries, waste product recycling industries*, used water purification systems, desalination, by promoting movements of proactive education (accompanied by collective actions, in partnership with the state, with the private actors, in which companies, political parties, religious cults, associations and trade unions to protect, preserve and rehabilitate nature, through concrete action).

In the 21st century, both the environment as such, the terrestrial ecosystems, and planet Earth, *Nature and the planet*, require protection (under the umbrella-term "*nature*", which opposes the human civilization, particularly to find adequate legal protection against the destructive intervention of the human civilization), in the context of a progressive development of a global environmental law (*starting from the transformation of the current international environmental law*, which has reached its limits, in our opinion); *they must have a special legal quality, that of subject of the global environmental law*, exceeding the legal patrimonial flawed relationship, which turns nature and its elements in atomized identifiable objects, with fixed process, catalogued and sold arbitrarily by the human being who considers himself/herself absolute master, even in the sense of the freedom to destroy nature for one's own needs and desires.

In the 21st century, the rights of nature and the rights of the planet will become the legal pillars of the new global protection system for the preservation and rehabilitation of the environment, of the health and integrity of the planet, which the states as well as the non-state actors will have to observe.

The human civilization in particular must become aware of the massive negative impact



of weapons, military technologies and conflicts and armed wars, in which nature, besides the human beings, has to suffer on account of the irreversible destruction (consider a nuclear attack, its consequences for the human societies, for nature and the planet).

Even wars and the military technologies developed in the 21st century will have to be “green”, i.e. eco-friendly, planet-friendly and human-friendly, reaching a level of development at which they do not endanger the life and health of the human being, of nature, of the terrestrial ecosystems and the planet, while ensuring that a war is won (in good conditions, set *according to the global war-waging regulations at global level, in the 21st century*, global regulations better developed in the sense of *being more accountable before the human civilization, nature and the planet* than the current wars).

Information wars, cyberwars, wars with military technologies so advanced that they observe the human rights, including solidarity rights (the right to life, physical and mental integrity, the right to human dignity, the right to freedom, the right to a healthy and clean environment) of the 21st century will be “*environmental-friendly*” wars, (in the sense that, in the context of the state and non-state actors, including groups of combatants, corporations producing and selling weaponry being *obligated* to observe the international *consolidated* documents on the protection of human rights, of rights of the nature and planet Earth and to observe the UN equation on sustainable development and the human being-nature relationship) and they will reach a level of development such as to observe the rights of the human being and of nature, without causing damages to the environment or planet Earth, to the human societies or concrete communities, or even to the individual.

Weaponry based on sleep-specific frequencies or “*green and legally correct*” *military technologies* (from the standpoint of observing human rights, the rights to solidarity, the rights of nature and the rights of planet Earth) will be developed in the 21st century, in the sense of avoiding the damages caused by classic warfare,

by the classic military technologies (cannons, tanks, planes, missiles etc.) to the human societies, to the urban habitats in particular (cities destroyed by bombing), to the ecosystem and the planet (given the massive impact of the weapons used).

In addition, the human civilization entering the 21st century *with a better level of maturity*, concretely observing the 2030 Agenda and the principles therein (in particular, the principles regarding the respect for nature, protection of the planet, observing the human rights, a harmonious relationship with nature) also entails *international acknowledgement of the destructive, at times irreversible effects* (negative impact of these technologies on the climate changes) *of the weather-influencing technologies used for military purposes* (used in the so-called weather warfare). ***The legal and political international acknowledgement of such war, its firm interdiction or regulation*** by the states of the 21st century international community and moreover ***through global institutions especially created***, which thus impose regulations required for the preservation of world peace (***a Global Council for Peace and Protection of Nature, for example***), with the legal tasks to regulate and penalize the states and non-state actors (corporations, groups of combatants, terrorist cells – considering not only inter-state conflicts/wars, but also conflicts/wars waged by non-state actors), is required in the future, as a concrete form of applying the principles and spirit of the 2030 Agenda.

Sustainable development, as *a global paradigm* and as intended by the 2030 Agenda, the efforts of the states to counter the climate changes, an issue which has become global and which requires global solutions, cannot omit the weather warfare; instead, they must define its nature, the method of implementation, technologies used, destructive effects on other states, on the terrestrial ecosystems and on planet Earth (by influencing not only weather conditions, such as a sudden rainfall which causes floods, but also generating long-term influences on the weather, on the target territories – causing long-



term drought or repeated floods – *with effects on the environment, on the fragile balance among the terrestrial ecosystems, on the human life and quality of life on the planet, but especially with direct effects on sustainable development* – the possibility to pass on future generations a safe, clean, peaceful, rich planet, filled with natural resources, renewed, able to provide our descendants with resources).

It is necessary that both the UN and future global institutions (that must be created for *the development of global legal regulations for the protection of the environment and of the planet*), *faced with the development of science, technology, i.e. with the destructive capacity of the human civilization, should take an authentic ethical leap*, awakening the conscience of the human beings, of the states, of the non-state actors, *regarding their relationship with nature, with the planet they inhabit and to which they are vitally bound*. The rights of nature, the rights of planet Earth must be *protected through special representatives at all levels* (regional, national, local and global), in relation to the states, the non-state actors which, in turn, must be held accountable for their actions or their inaction, with destructive effects on the quality of environment, the quality of life on the planet and on the planet as such.

Far from remaining a piece of fiction, the harmonious human being-nature relationship, as well as the sustainable development paradigm must *receive concrete interpretations* regarding the penalization method, the legal regulation for state and non-state actors, for the consequences of their actions or omissions for the environment, the terrestrial ecosystems, for life on this planet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, adopted 27 June 1981, OAU doc., CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, entered into force 21 Oct. 1986, www.achpr.org/files/instruments/achpr/banjul_charter.pdf, accessed on September 28th2016.
2. Capital Institute, *Economics, Finance, Governance and Ethics for the Anthropocene*, working paper of the Third Millennium Economy, 3ME project, June 2012.
3. CATTON, R. E. and DUNLAP, W. R., *Environmental Sociology: A New Paradigm*, *The American Sociologist*, vol. 13 (1978).
4. *Chronology of Harmony with Nature*, www.harmonywithnatureun.org/chronology.html, accessed on 7 Sept. 2016.
5. CRUTZEN, P.J.; STOERMER, E.F., “The Anthropocene”, *Global Change Newsletter*, vol. 41, 2000.
6. DUȚU, Mircea; DUȚU, Andrei, *Dreptul de proprietate și exigențele protecției mediului*, Universul Juridic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2011.
7. General Assembly, UN, Resolution adopted on September 25th2015, shared on October 21st2015, A/RES/70/1, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>, accessed on September 28th2015.
8. *Harmony with Nature, Report of the Secretary General, UNGA, A/67/317*, shared on August 17th2012.
9. UNO, <http://www.un.org/en/events/motherearthday/documents.shtml>, accessed on September 7th2016.
10. ISTRATE, Cristian, *Dreptul dezarmării. Acorduri multilaterale*, All Beck Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005.
11. LAWRENCE, Mark, *The Anthropocene-Humans in the Earth System*, second interactive dialogue on Harmony with Nature, April 2012, www.harmonywithnature.org.
12. MARINESCU, Daniela, *Tratat de dreptul mediului*, 4th edition revised and completed, Universul Juridic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010.
13. San Salvador Protocol, November 17th1988, www.oas.org.
14. Report of the General Secretary on Harmony with Nature (A/67/317).



-
15. Report of the General Secretary on Harmony with Nature (A/66/302).
 16. Resolution of the UN GA on Harmony with Nature (A/RES/67/214).
 17. Resolution of the UN GA on Harmony with Nature (A/RES/65/164).
 18. Resolution of the UN GA on Harmony with Nature (A/RES/64/196).
 19. Resolution of the UN GA on the International Day of Mother Earth (A/RES/63/278).
 20. Resolution of the UN GA on the International Year of Planet Earth 2008 (A/RES/60/192).
 21. Resolution of the UN GA 3281 (XXIX), *Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of the States*, A/RES/29/3281, dated December 12th1974.
 22. STRĂINU, Emil, *Războiul geofizic. Tehnici de modificare a mediului înconjurător în scopuri militare*, Bucharest, Solaris Print Publishing House, 2009.
 23. Study on the need to know and observe the rights of Mother Earth (E/C/2010/4).
 24. United Nations General Assembly, *World Charter of Nature*, A/RES/37/7, shared on October 28th1982, www.un.org/documents/ga/res/37, accessed on 7.09.2016.
 25. UN Documents, *Gathering a Body of Global Agreements*, UN, A/CONF.199/20, World Summit on Sustainable Development, 4 September 2002, www.un-documents.net/jburgdec.htm, accessed on September 28th 2016.



CONSIDERATIONS ON PERSONAL DATA SECURITY

Zbigniew SKWAREK, PhD*

The article focuses on the issues concerning protection of personal data on the Internet. Firstly, the legislative approach is shown, as well as key definitions. Secondly, IT security and building networks for hosting and sharing sensitive information are described. Finally, essence of managing this type of databases is evaluated.

Keywords: Internet, personal data, IT security, transparency.

Introduction

The need to protect personal data and the rank of its importance is indicated by the first article of the Law on Protection of Personal Data, which reads: ‘Everyone has the right to protection of personal data concerning them’¹. An important issue in the protection of personal data, especially on the Internet, is the fact information and data posted there is provided directly by users. The amount of this information is countless, and their form very diverse. Users of social networking sites share the data regarding their private lives directly with other entities in the ‘global village’.

Data published on the Internet is very

¹ Ustawa z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997 r. o ochronie danych osobowych, (the Law on Protection of Personal Data), Journal of Laws from 2002, No. 101, item 926.

delicate, it can even be said that it is sensitive and can have a significant impact on the privacy and personal freedom of users. J. Barta said that with the development of the Internet, there is a phenomenon called ‘transparency’ of citizens². In exchange for the use of social networking sites you submit your personal information and agree to its processing.

Personal data have become a kind of specific means of payment for services available online. Therefore, you might want to lean on the issue of adequate protection of information directly relating to account holders on social networking sites³.

1. Legislative approach

To fully analyze the problem with the issue of protection of personal data, we should refer to the Act on the Protection of Personal Data of 29 August 1997, which introduces legal standards for their protection in Poland. On May 1, 2004, after the Polish accession to the European Union,

² Janusz Barta, Paweł Fajgielski, *Ochrona danych osobowych. Komentarz*, (Personal data protection. Commentary) Lex, 2011.

³ Andrzej Chrzęszcz, Mirosław Maj, Raport: *Zabezpieczenie prywatności w usługach internetowych, na przykładzie “darmowych kont poczty elektronicznej”* (Protection of privacy in the online services, for example in ‘free e-mail accounts’), *Cert Polska*, pp. 2-3.

* Colonel (ret.) Zbigniew SKWAREK, PhD Eng., is researcher at National Security Faculty of the War Studies University in Warsaw, Poland. Email: z.skwarek@aon.edu.pl



the above Act transferred to Polish law the rules on personal data protection laid down by the European Parliament and Council Directive 95/46/EC. The introduction of the security data contained in the Act also allowed Poland to ratify the Conventions of the Council of Europe no. 108.

The law on protection of personal data identified personal data processing in the Polish legislation. It pointed out the bodies and institutions responsible for their processing, as well as defined the rights of persons to which they relate⁴. The very notion of personal data is defined as follows “[...] any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person, a person is identifiable [...] directly or indirectly, in particular by reference to the number identification or one or more specific physical, physiological, mental, economic, cultural or social features”⁵. The concept is very broad, so the easiest way is to interpret it as information that allows the identification of the person concerned.

The law divides personal data in common and ‘sensitive’ data. First type of data is defined in 6th Article, giving information how to determine the physical, mental, cultural, social or physiological features. The second, referred to as ‘sensitive data’ includes information specifying racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or political affiliation. It also includes data concerning health, addictions, sexual life and criminal convictions⁶.

The law also takes into account the conditions that must be satisfied so that personal data may be collected and processed in accordance with the law. In this issue, basic condition must be fulfilled, saying that the data can be collected only for the so-called public good, and the good of the person concerned or third parties.

Article 2 of the law in question points to the situations in which data are processed, taking into account among these: books, stock registration,

⁴ Source: [http://www.giodo.gov.pl/270/id_art/1596/j/pl/\(15.10.2016\)](http://www.giodo.gov.pl/270/id_art/1596/j/pl/(15.10.2016)).

⁵ *Ustawa z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997 r. o ochronie danych osobowych*, (the Law on Protection of Personal Data), Journal of Laws from 2002, No. 101, item 926.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

records, indexes, and ICT systems essential for this operations⁷.

The institution responsible for data protection in Poland is the General Inspector for Personal Data Protection, implemented by the above-mentioned Act, at Article 12. Thus, the above Act specifies the tasks of the General Inspector, including, among them:

- “monitoring the compliance of data processing with the provisions on the protection of personal data;
- issuing administrative decisions and considering complaints with respect to implementation of the provisions on the protection of personal data;
- ensuring performance of charged duties of non-monetary character resulting from the decision referred to in paragraph 2, by the application of enforcement measures provided for in the Act of 17 June 1966 on administrative enforcement proceedings;
- keeping the register of databases and register of administrators of information security, as well as providing information on the registered databases and registered administrators of information security;
- opinions on draft laws and regulations concerning the protection of personal data;
- initiating and undertaking activities to improve the protection of personal data;
- participation in the work of international organizations and institutions dealing with the protection of personal data”⁸.

The General Inspector should also be obliged to deal with complaints and issuing administrative decisions on the implementation of the provisions relating to data protection.

The duties, specified in the Act, include as well providing information on on-going registration of databases. Keeping the above-mentioned records also applies for registering administrators taking care of the security of information. Another obligation set out in the Act is issuing opinions on the regulations and draft laws relating to security of personal data. The General Inspector

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ *Ibidem*.



is also responsible for undertaking and initiating projects aimed at improving data protection carried out so far. The person elected to the office should also be involved in the international work and participate in initiatives undertaken by institutions that deal with data protection⁹.

The entity, which in the first instance, bears the responsibility for the protection of personal data processed is the data controller. Article 7 paragraph 4, indicates that it is an entity, person or body, or organizational unit, which decides on the purposes and the means by which personal data will be processed¹⁰.

Article 36 provides obligation to take all measures, both organizational and technical, to ensure adequate protection of the processed data. The measures taken must be appropriate to the existing threats and effective against unauthorized persons. He is obliged to carry out the appropriate documentation, which describes how to process the data entrusted to it, and what measures are used to protect them. He has the power to appoint an administrator of information security, whose tasks include compliance with the aforementioned rules of protection.¹¹ He pays special attention to personal data so it does not fall into the wrong hands, which means he provides so-called 'security of human factor', and provides protection from the technical point of data processing¹².

2. IT security of classified information

IT security of classified information is protection of "classified information that are processed in systems and networks against loss of characteristics which guarantee security –

and especially against loss of confidentiality, availability and integrity"¹³.

ICT systems play an increasingly important role in the protection of classified information. They are usually these systems which store and process classified information. It is happening because of their growing development and, what goes with it, greater security and certainty that the information is well protected.

In addition to meeting the criteria that arise from the law on the protection of classified information, the methods that are used in the protection of such information being processed in networks and ICT systems must take into account the principles developed by the Internal Security Agency and the Military Counterintelligence Service.

ICT systems are accredited by IT security. They are given it for a period no longer than 5 years. For IT systems, which are supposed to process the information and clauses which are marked 'confidential' and higher, the accreditation is awarded by the Internal Security Agency or the Military Counterintelligence Service. They have 6 months to give accreditation or reject the request – counted from the time of submission of complete documentation. Both the service may refuse to grant accreditation, their decision shall be final.

In order to release system or data communications network to function, documentation is required, which includes the so-called 'specific security requirements', in short SSR and procedures for secure operation, in short PSO. Two tables present the contents of Specific Security Requirements and the list of mandatory Procedures for Secure Operation.

⁹ *Ustawa z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997 r. o ochronie danych osobowych*, (the Law on Protection of Personal Data), Journal of Laws from 2002, No. 101, item 926.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Bogusław Nowakowski, Anna Jędruszczak, Adam Gałach, *Ochrona danych osobowych, informacji niejawnych i systemów teleinformatycznych w sektorze publicznym*, (Personal Data Protection, Classified Information And ICT Systems in the Public Sector) Wydawnictwo C.H. Beck, Warszawa 2013, s.10.

¹³ Source: <http://www.securitymag.pl> (15.10.2016).



Table no. 1: The contents of Specific Security Requirements¹⁴

	The contents of the document Specific Security Requirements
1	people responsible for implementation of means ensuring IT security
2	tasks of people responsible for IT security
3	borders and placement of spheres of controlled access and means of their protection
4	means of cryptographic, electromagnetic, technical and organizational protection of IT system or network
5	other usage for means of protection ensuring IT security of classified information
6	rules of risk management
7	rules of IT security training for people responsible for IT security and people authorized to work in IT system or network

Table no. 2: The list of mandatory Procedures for the Secure Operation¹⁵

	Security Procedures
1	administration of IT system or network
2	personal security
3	security of classified documents and materials, including procedures of making copies of these documents as well as destruction of documents and their copies
4	cryptographic, electromagnetic, physical, transmission reliability, controlled access to equipment in IT system or network
5	security of hardware and software
6	ensuring continuity of operation of hardware and software
7	configuration management
8	security audit

¹⁴ Source: <http://www.securitymag.pl>

¹⁵ Source: <http://www.securitymag.pl>



To develop the documentation, which includes Specific Security Requirements and Procedures for the Secure Operation, risk analysis should be completed. This analysis takes into account the conditions of the unit, in which classified information is processed.

Specific Security Requirements represent the ways in which communication network or system works, and identify its characteristics and construction. These data include the 'system location, type of equipment and software used, internal and external interconnection, hardware configuration and setting of security mechanisms and the description of the operating environment (description of the global environment, local environment and the electronic environment)'¹⁶.

This documentation may be subject to approval or agreement, which is dependent on the classification of the information that will be processed. Internal Security Agency or the Military Counterintelligence Service carry out audit of security of data communications system. Its completion is a second condition that must be met in order for the system to be approved for use. The certificate of security accreditation of data communications system is a proof of obtaining the accreditation from the aforementioned services.

Accreditation for the system, which will process the information having the clause 'restricted' is granted by the head of the organizational unit, and if the system will process the information 'confidential', the previously mentioned service may put aside completing the audit.

According to the Law of 5 August 2013 on the Protection of Classified Information, it should include:

1. 'The designation of authority;
2. date of issue;
3. identification of the entity applying for his release;
4. designation of the object to obtain security accreditation of IT system;
5. the establishment of the legal basis;
6. decision and the factual and legal grounds;

7. indication of the period of validity of the certificate;

8. signature, indicating the name and position of the person authorized to adopt it'¹⁷.

The person responsible for the processing and storage of information in networks and ICT systems is the manager of an organization. According to the law he is obliged to appoint:

1. "employee or employees of the protection unit serving as IT Security Inspector, responsible for the verification and control of compliance of the operation of a data communications system with specific security requirements and compliance of procedures for secure operation;

2. a person or group of persons, non-functioning as IT security inspector, responsible for the operation of a data communications system and for the following the security principles and requirements, provided for the information and communication system, hereinafter referred to as "system administrator"¹⁸.

These positions may be occupied only by persons who have received specialized training organized by Internal Security Agency and the Military Counterintelligence Service. These services have a duty to provide necessary assistance for heads of organizational units in the implementation of measures and, above all, these services make recommendations in the field of IT security.

Security systems operate in different modes of security. This happens because people who use systems in their work, are authorized to work with classified materials with other clauses. These modes are divided into:

- multi-level - if not all of the people working on the system are authorized to work with classified information about the clause 'top secret',
 - system - when all the people working with the system are entitled to access to material classified 'top secret', but some of them do not have the need to get acquainted with this information ('need to know' rule),
 - dedicated - when all the people working

¹⁷ Ustawa z dnia 5 sierpnia 2010 r. o ochronie informacji niejawnych (Law on the Protection of Classified Information), op.cit., art. 48.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, art. 48.

¹⁶ Source: <http://www.securitymag.pl> (15.10.2016).



with the system have access to information classified 'top secret' and when the need to read the processed materials in this system is a consequence of work or service performed by each of these persons.

Conclusions

To properly protect classified information in systems or data communication networks, previously mentioned elements should be used: physical, cryptographic and electromagnetic protection, as well as "transmission reliability and control over access to system devices or data communications network"¹⁹.

These elements must act and work together flawlessly as they build the security of information. The security accreditation of information and communication system is of key importance, because it is proof that the system is protected from the so-called malware, and it will not be exposed to people who want to unlawfully read the contents of the protected material. 'To assure better security of ICT, it is monitored at every stage of the implementation of the system, from planning, design, implementation, operation, to withdrawal from use'²⁰.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. BARTA Janusz, FAJGIELSKI Paweł, *Ochrona danych osobowych. Komentarz*, (Personal data protection. Commentary) Lex, 2011.

2. CHRZĄSZCZ Andrzej, MAJ Mirosław, *Raport: Zabezpieczenie prywatności w usługach internetowych, na przykładzie „darmowych kont poczty elektronicznej”* (Protection of privacy in the online services, for example in 'free e-mail accounts'), CERT POLSKA.

3. http://www.giodo.gov.pl/270/id_art/1596/j/pl

4. GWARDZIŃSKA Ewa, *Bezpieczeństwo teleinformatyczne informacji niejawnych* (IT security of classified data), [in:] *Kwartalnik Nauk o Przedsiębiorstwie*, 3/2011 (source: <http://przedsiębiorstwo.waw.pl/files/46/593/knob-3-2011-gwardzinska.pdf>)

5. NOWAKOWSKI Bogusław, JĘDRUSZCZAK Anna, GAŁACH Adam, *Ochrona danych osobowych, informacji niejawnych i systemów teleinformatycznych w sektorze publicznym*, (Personal Data Protection, Classified Information And ICT Systems in the Public Sector) Wydawnictwo C.H. Beck, Warszawa 2013.

6. <http://www.securitymag.pl>

7. *Ustawa z dnia 29 sierpnia 1997 r. o ochronie danych osobowych*, (the Law on Protection of Personal Data), *Journal of Laws from 2002*, No. 101, item 926.

8. *Ustawa z dnia 5 sierpnia 2010 r. o ochronie informacji niejawnych* (Law on the Protection of Classified Information).

¹⁹ Source: <http://www.securitymag.pl> (15.10.2016).

²⁰ Ewa Gwardzińska, *Bezpieczeństwo teleinformatyczne informacji niejawnych* (IT security of classified data), [in:] *Kwartalnik Nauk o Przedsiębiorstwie*, 3/2011 (source: <http://przedsiębiorstwo.waw.pl/files/46/593/knob-3-2011-gwardzinska.pdf>)

FRONT-LINE CONFESSIONS OF A MILITARY FROM THE FIRST ECHELON OF THE ROMANIAN ARMY



In this edition, we present our readers a recent issue of a Romanian specialised book, *Front-line Confessions*, belonging to Mr. Major General (Ret.) PhD. Profesor Visarion Neagoe. The volume, printed at the Military Publishing House, was launched at “Polemos” Book Fair on October 20, 2016, the event being honoured by distinguished personalities from the military environment.

General Neagoe is currently the President of “Regina Maria” (Queen Mary) National Association of Heroes’ Cult, engaged in honoring the heroes and raising awareness of the educational value of the cult of heroes by young people. Besides this responsibility, he continues his didactic career as PhD supervisor at “Carol I” National Defense University.

As the author himself says, the written word is what remains beyond us. Therefore, the mission of this book is to offer future generations the personal experience of the military who served at tactical, operational and strategic level and covered all the professional steps up to occupying leadership positions, such as Deputy Commander and

Commander of “Marshall Alexandru Averescu” Joint Operational Command in Buzau – structure that exercised for seven years the operational command of the Romanian troops deployed outside the state – Head of Department in the General Staff, Commander of the 2nd Division Infantry “Getica” and Deputy Chief of Staff of the Multinational Force in Iraq for the Coalition operations.

Unlike the other over 25 books elaborated as sole author or co-author, mostly written in an academic note, already part of the heritage knowledge in Military Science, this book is a soul book, coming as a corollary at the end of the military career. The volume presents us, in kaleidoscopic manner, the faces of a military with dual valence: on the one hand, decision maker, leader and, on the other hand, professor and scholar.

The title of the work refers to a dialogue of the author with the reader, achieved through the seven interviews given by Mr. Neagoe for the written press – representing Part I of the book, followed by eleven interviews for notorious radio and television programmes – gathered in Part II, to which are added eleven media materials, including press releases and reviews of his books. The journalists who conducted these interviews are, in turn, acknowledged names in the industry. We mention Colonel



BOOK REVIEW

(Ret) Ion Petrescu and Mr. Radu Dobritoiu from *Radio România Actualități* (Radio Romania News), and the team of journalists from *Observatorul Militar* (The Military Observer), ProPatria programme conducted by the Press Trust of the Armed Forces, Agerpres news agency, *Romanian Military Thinking* journal and our journal, *Strategic Impact*.

The book is prefaced by Mr. General Nicolae-Ionel Ciucă, PhD., Chief of the General Staff, who considers that “beyond the very pleasant interlocutor, open to an honest dialogue, emerges the strong personality of the professional soldier, connected directly or indirectly to the tasks carried out by Romanian troops in various theatres of operations”¹. To this, we add that reading the book, you shall find, beyond the epaulettes, a frank, genuine man, who says things straight, an officer who represented with dignity, honour and pride the Romanian flag in theatres of operations, working closely with American, British, German or French officers in high positions. The journalists who have challenged Mr. Neagoe to autobiographical confessions have sketched a highly nuanced portrait of the military leader. However, the soldierly rigor and discipline oblige Gen. Neagoe to maintain a protocolar distance from the reader, still keeping a dose of mystery and, perhaps, material for a new book.

At the end of the work, a short biography of the author has been included, together with a photo album that presents multiple instances of different activities in the last 12 years, both in the country and abroad, as well as assignments, discussions, visits and working meetings, granting awards ceremonies, religious ceremonies. We can also see a diptych depicting the young officer Neagoe in a dreamy, hopeful look, shoulder to shoulder with the General, as we know him, with piercing eyes from which emerges the experience of three decades in the service of the country. This volume “can be defined as a valuable manual of lessons learned and good conduct in the exercise of operational leadership”².

In the book, General Neagoe confesses: “I had the opportunity to use in a theatre of operation everything I learned over time, I had the satisfaction to apply what I learned and to conclude that I had good professors, that the Romanian Army is nothing less than modern armies of the time.”

In light of the above, I encourage you to share the Frontline Confessions of a general in the first echelon of the Romanian Army.

Daniela RĂPAN, PhD

¹ Author’s translation after a fragment from the Preface, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

² Ibidem.

International Scientific Conference STRATEGIES XXI “*The Complex and Dynamic Nature of the Security Environment*” 24-25 November 2016

In this period, the most prominent activity of the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies was the *International Scientific Conference STRATEGIES XXI* on “The Complex and Dynamic Nature of the Security Environment”, which reached its sixteenth edition and was held on 24-25 November 2016 in the Senate Hall of “Carol I” National Defence University.

The scientific activity with international participation was honored by the presence of numerous specialists from military and civilian institutions in Romania and abroad, which made the exchange of information and opinions to have a high potential of dissemination in different scientific milieux.

In the conference, there delivered scientific papers representatives of military and civilian universities, as well as representatives from the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Interior Affairs, Romanian Intelligence Service, Ministry of Regional Development, Ministry of Public Finance and representatives of similar research institutions from abroad.

Foreign presence consisted in participants from the Center for Strategic and Defence Studies within the National University of Public Service in Budapest (Hungary), from the Center for Defence and Security Strategic Studies within “Alexandru cel Bun” Armed Forces Military Academy in Chisinau (Republic of Moldova), from the Centre for Security and Military Strategic Studies within the University of Defence in Brno (Czech Republic), from the University of Defence in Warsaw (Poland), from the Royal Military Academy in Brussels (Belgium) and last, but not least, from the research centre within “Ivan Franko” National University in Lviv (Ukraine).





SCIENTIFIC EVENT

The main issues addressed referred to the new elements in the evolution of the international security environment, the balance of power in the context of evolutions in the international relations, potential risks and threats to the security environment, the impact of emerging states on the regional and international power centers, the role of non-state actors in the developments of the security environment.

The discussions focused on the following themes: the current geopolitical context and the potential implications for Romania's regional interests; demography and security – global reconfigurations in the XXI century; national and international threats in the context of globalisation; terrorism – the main threat to European security and defence; assessment of Warsaw Summit; cybersecurity – a new dimension of national security.

The Conference Proceedings shall be published on the conference website, www.strategii21.ro and indexed in two international databases: ProQuest and, starting with this year, in CEEOL.



In the end, we would like to express our gratitude to Airbus HELICOPTERS S.R.L. company, which sponsored the activity.

Irina TĂȚARU, PhD

Translated into English by Raluca STAN

CDSSS AGENDA

OCTOBER - DECEMBER 2016

The last quarter of 2016 was marked by numerous scientific activities organised by the Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies (CDSSS), as well as the emergence of some publications, which we will detail below.

Since October, there were resumed the CDSSS' public lectures at the Palace of the National Military Circle. Thus, on October 12, PhD. Researcher, Mihai Zodian spoke about *Pluralism and controversies in Security Studies*, and on November 9, our new colleague, Junior Reasercher Cătălina Todor addressed the theme *Demography & Security: Global reconfigurations in the XXIst century*.

On October 6, the CDSSS held a first workshop on *Cross-border threats and political risk*. The activity was attended by specialists from the Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of Interior Affairs, Romanian Intelligence Service and other governmental and nongovernmental institutions. The main issues addressed during the public lectures and discussions were: *informational aggression – means of shaping the information environment to achieve strategic objectives; illegal immigration phenomenon and asylum – associated terrorist risks; the terrorist threat against Romania; measures to combat illegal migration by the Romanian border police and political risks in the current security context*.



Aspects from the workshop “Cross-Border Threats and Political Risk”

A second workshop, organised in collaboration with the Association of Reserve Officers of Romania, took place on October 27, 2016 and its theme was *The Role of Territorial Defence in the National Security System – Concept, Role,*



Aspects from the workshop “The Role of Territorial Defence in the National Security System”

Materializing. The event offered an opportunity to exchange ideas and experience on the issues mentioned and deepening of issues related to the subject, such as: *territorial defence conceptualization; the role, missions and specific actions of territorial defence units; legislative, organisational and endowment materialisation; training of territorial defence units.*

November started with a scientific Symposium on the theme *Change and Constancy in Euro-Atlantic Security Post-Warsaw*, activity in which there were under discussion topics such as: *measures and*

actions of Romania undertaken for implementing decisions taken at the NATO Summit in Warsaw; Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy; the phenomenon of illegal immigration and asylum – associated terrorist risks; resilience and human security and, last but not least, emerging threats in the Euro-Atlantic security area. The papers were delivered by representatives of the Presidential Administration, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Interior Affairs, Romanian Intelligence Service.

The last major activity in 2016 was the International Scientific Conference STRATEGIES XXI on the theme “*The Complex and Dynamic Nature of the Security Environment*” held from November 24-25. More details about this scientific event can be found under the heading **Strategic Event**.

Referring to publications, from the beginning of the academic year, there were developed several analyses under the title “*The Dynamics of the Security Environment*” in which, for the period October-

November 2016, there were discussed themes such as: Eastern Europe: Presidential elections in Moldova; the Ukrainian crisis; Turkey: The turning point in the internal evolution of Turkey’s domestic and geopolitical developments; Syria: Elements of complexity of the Syrian crisis. These analyses can be read on the CDSSS website, at the following address: <http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/dms.htm>.



Aspect from the Scientific Symposium on the theme “Change and constancy in the Euro-Atlantic security post-Warsaw”



Aspect from International Scientific Conference STRATEGIES XXI

During the same period, we published a study entitled *The influence of conflicts from North Africa and Middle East on European Security*, conducted by PhD. Researcher Mirela Atanasiu.

In terms of scientific planning for 2017, we bring to your attention the following activities:

- March 23 – the Strategy Workshop on “Interagency Cooperation Towards Security”;
- May 24 – the International Symposium on “Interagency Cooperation Towards National and International Security”;
- October 19 – Workshop on “Military Sciences - Security Sciences - Conceptual Landmarks”;
- 7-8 December – International Scientific Conference STRATEGIES XXI on “The Complex and Dynamic Nature of the Security Environment”

Details of all scientific activities organised by CDSSS will be announced on our website at the following address: <http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/manifestari.htm>.

***Daniela RĂPAN, PhD
Raluca STAN***



GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

We welcome those interested in publishing articles in the bilingual academic journal *Strategic Impact*, while subjecting their attention towards aspects to consider upon drafting their articles.

ARTICLE LENGTH may vary between 6-12 pages (including bibliography and notes, tables and figures, if any). Page settings: margins - 2 cm, A 4 format. The article shall be written in Times New Roman font, size 12, one line spacing. The document shall be saved as Word 2003 (.doc). The name of the document shall contain the author's name.

ARTICLE STRUCTURE

- Title (centred, capital, bold characters, font 24).
- A short presentation of the author, comprising the following elements: given name, last name (the latter shall be written in capital letters, to avoid confusion), main institutional affiliation and position held, military rank, academic title, scientific title (PhD. title or PhD. candidate – domain and university), city and country of residence, e-mail address.

- A relevant abstract, which is not to exceed 150 words (italic characters)
- 5-8 relevant key-words (italic characters)
- Introduction / preliminary considerations
- 2 - 4 chapters (subchapters if applicable)
- Conclusions.
- Tables / graphics / figures shall be sent in .jpeg / .png / .tiff. format as well.

In the case of tables, please mention above “**Table no. X:** Title”, while in the case of figures there shall be mentioned below (eg. maps etc.), “**Figure no. X:** Title” and the source, if applicable, shall be mentioned in a footnote.

- REFERENCES shall be made according to academic regulations, in the form of footnotes. All quoted works shall be mentioned in the references, as seen below. Titles of works shall be written in the language in which they were consulted.

Example of book: Joshua S. Goldstein; Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations*, Longman Publishinghouse, 2010, pp. 356-382.

Example of article: Gheorghe Calopăreanu, “Providing Security through Education and Training in the European Union” in *Strategic Impact* no. 2 /2013, Bucharest, “Carol I” National Defence University.

Electronic sources shall be indicated in full, at the same time mentioning what the source represents (in the case of endnotes, the following mention shall be made: accessed on month, day, year). *Example of article:* John N. Nielsen, “Strategic Shock in North Africa”, in *Grand strategy: the View from Oregon*, available at <http://geopolicraticus.wordpress.com/2011/03/03/strategic-shock-in-north-africa/>, accessed on 10.03.2014.

- BIBLIOGRAPHY shall contain all studied works, numbered, in alphabetical order, as seen below. Titles of works shall be written in the language in which they were consulted.

Example of book: GOLDSTEIN, Joshua S.; PEVEHOUSE, Jon C., *International Relations*, Longman Publishinghouse, 2010.

Example of article: CALOPĂREANU, Gheorghe, “Providing Security through Education and Training in the European Union” in *Strategic Impact* no. 2 /2013, Bucharest, “Carol I” National Defence University.

Electronic sources shall be indicated in full, at the same time mentioning what the source represents. *Example of article:* NIELSEN, John N., “Strategic Shock in North Africa”, in *Grand strategy: the View from Oregon*, <http://geopolicraticus.wordpress.com/2011/03/03/strategic-shock-in-north-africa/>.



SELECTION CRITERIA are the following: the theme of the article must be in line with the subjects dealt by the journal: up-to-date topics related to political-military aspects, security, defence, geopolitics and geostrategies, international relations, intelligence; the quality of the scientific content; originality of the paper; novelty character – it should not have been priorly published; a relevant bibliography comprising recent and prestigious specialized works; English language has to correspond to academic standards; adequacy to the editorial standards adopted by the journal. Editors reserve the right to request authors or to make any changes considered necessary.

SCIENTIFIC EVALUATION PROCESS is developed according to the principle *double blind peer review*, by university teaching staff and scientific researchers with expertise in the field of the article. The author's identity is not known by evaluators and the name of the evaluators is not made known to authors. Authors are informed of the conclusions of the evaluation report, which represent the argument for accepting/rejecting an article. Consequently to the evaluation, there are three possibilities: a) the article is accepted for publication as such or with minor changes; b) the article may be published if the author makes recommended improvements (of content or of linguistic nature); c) the article is rejected. Previous to scientific evaluation, articles are subject to an *antiplagiarism analysis*.

DEADLINES: authors will send their articles in English to the editor's e-mail address, impactstrategic@unap.ro, according to the following time schedule: 15 December (no. 1); 15 March (no. 2); 15 June (no. 3) and 15 September (no. 4). If the article is accepted for publication, an integral translation of the article for the Romanian edition of the journal will be provided by the editor.

NOTA BENE: Articles shall not contain classified information.

Authors are fully responsible for their articles' content, according to the provisions of *Law no. 206/2004 regarding good conduct in scientific research, technological development and innovation*.

Published articles are subject to the Copyright Law. All rights are reserved to "Carol I" National Defence University, irrespective if the whole material is taken⁷⁷ into consideration or just a part of it, especially the rights regarding translation, re-printing, re-use of illustrations, quotes, dissemination by mass-media, reproduction on microfilms or in any other way and stocking in international data bases. Any reproduction is authorized without any afferent fee, provided that the source is mentioned.

Failing to comply with these rules shall trigger article's rejection. Sending an article to the editor implies the author's agreement on all aspects mentioned above.

For more details on our publication, you can access our site, <http://cssas.unap.ro/en/periodicals.htm> or contact the editors at impactstrategic@unap.ro.

“CAROL I” NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING HOUSE

Director: Colonel Alexandru STOICA, PhD Lecturer

Layout: Liliana ILIE

The publication consists of 80 pages.

“Carol I” National Defence University Printing House

Șoseaua Panduri 68-72, sector 5, București

e-mail: editura@unap.ro

Tel: 021/319.40.80/215