

**THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY „DIMITRIE CANTEMIR”  
INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES**



# **STRATEGIC UNIVERSE**

**ROMANIAN ACADEMIC MAGAZINE OF SECURITY STUDIES**

**QUATERLY ENTRY**

**No. 2**

**June 2010**

**ISSN 2069 – 0282**

**PUBLISHER: CHRESTIAN UNIVERSITY “DIMITRIE CANTEMIR”**



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*L*e monde est conflictuel. C'est depuis toujours comme ça et, probablement, il en y sera toujours. L'Univers entier est conflictuel. Le conflit est omniprésent, parce qu'il produit le mouvement, le développement. Ce sont la construction durable et la destruction continuum qui font le développement durable. La construction suppose une structure de résistance qui, dans l'architecture du monde, signifie des valeurs, c'est-à-dire des véritables briques qui s'ensablent dans son corps durable, mais l'effet de l'action d'ensablement aussi, vision sur l'avenir, ouverture sur l'avenir et, en même temps, négation de ce qu'il y a eu auparavant, destruction de ce qu'il y a eu et, conformément à un intérêt, il en fallait le détruire. Triste, mais c'est le monde ! Esse este excrucianti. Tout ce qu'il existe mérite périr. Parce que rien de tout ce qu'il existe n'est et ne peut être éternel. Même les valeurs aussi – sur lesquelles on édifie l'unité et la durée du monde – sont périssable. Depuis un certain temps, elles se seront dégradées. Parce qu'elles ne sont pas actives, ne produisent pas et ne se reproduisent pas, mais seulement elles attestent, soutient et se soutient. Elles fond parti de l'architecture d'unité et de stabilité du monde, mais elles n'y poussent pas vers l'action, elles ne constituent non plus le mobil et le motif de l'action. C'en Y est l'intérêt qui le fait. L'intérêt naît des politiques, mais les politiques sont toujours conflictuelles. On peut voir le monde par ses valeurs, mais aussi par les intérêts qui le divisent, qui le détruisent et, en même temps, le font perpétuellement actif, constructif.

L'intérêt pousse l'homme et son monde vers l'action, et certaines des effets et les produits de l'action, en se thésaurisant, devient des valeurs. Les systèmes de valeurs sont celles qui ont élevé le monde au degré de civilisation d'aujourd'hui. Mais, sans l'action et, par ça, sans l'accumulation de nouvelles valeurs, le monde serait seulement un musée... La processualité de ce monde, c'est-à-dire du monde où nous vivons, même si ça semble prévisible et, en ce sens, cognoscible et gérable, elle est, de fait, complexe, avec de déploiements prévisibles et avec un nombre immense de transformations imprévisibles, loin d'équilibre, qui naissent des incertitudes et des angoisses, insécurité et, en certaines zones, un *modus vivendi* dangereux.

L'équilibre dynamique et très compliqué d'entre valeurs accumulés et assemblés en systèmes de valeurs, les intérêts qui déterminent des actions et les actions qui engendrent des produits et des effets qui peuvent devenir des valeurs durables ou seulement



*des résultats avec un existence éphémère, ainsi que l'existence de nombreuses facteurs aléatoires et imprévisibles, qui mentent à ce qu'on peut nommer évolution chaotique, donc incontrôlable, loin d'équilibre, configurent des coordonnées ou on peut identifier, définir et évaluer l'état de sécurité ou d'insécurité du monde ou des ses composantes. Les deux états se complètent réciproquement et, s'assemblent dans un tout entier. Mais aucune n'est complète, finie, parfaite. Les systèmes et les processus tendent vers un niveau de sécurité intégrale dont on ne peut atteindre jamais. Le fait qu'on vit dans un monde dynamique, en mouvement continu, dans un monde où des réalités et des volontés se confrontent non seulement pas pour résoudre des différends d'entre elles, mais aussi pour se positionner mieux dans le marathon de la durée et dans celui de la sûreté et de la sécurité du jour d'aujourd'hui et de demain, amplifie nos vulnérabilisées aux pressions, défis, périls et menaces de la transformation. On regarde dans l'avenir, mais on vit en présent. Cette réalité nous stimule explorer le passé, appeler au syllogisme, à la statistique, au fait et à la logique, sans tenir compte toujours que du fait que le soleil se lève chaque jour, on ne résulte avec nécessité qu'il se lèvera demain aussi...*

*Les systèmes et les processus ont souci d'optimiser, tant qu'il est possible et comment soit possible, des systèmes de protection et ceux de sécurité intrinsèque, mais la sécurité, comme l'insécurité aussi, ne dépende seulement de ceux-ci, mais aussi d'un grand nombre d'autres facteurs qui peuvent influencer d'une manière significative le devenir, c'est-à-dire le développement, le progrès ou, au contraire, leurs détérioration et même leurs destruction. Nous vivons dans un monde incertain...*

*Après certains auteurs, par exemple, si on ferait un référendum dans l'Allemagne, probablement qu'on constatera que 90 pour cent de la population voterait pour quitter la zone euro et pour revenir au mark. En 1991, au sommet du Maastricht, Helmut Kohl et François Mitterrand ont décidé euro. Pour les diligents allemandes, c'était presque une philosophie de survie de réaliser la banalisation de l'Allemagne et sa diffusion dans un concept européen et dans une dimension intégrale européenne. On considérerait l'intégration comme la plus efficace modalité de finir, une fois pour toujours, avec le «Sonderweg» des Allemagnes, avec le nationalisme de Allemagnes et avec la culpabilité pour trois guerres> 1870, 1914 et 1939. L'unification, l'envoi des militaires Allemagnes au delà des frontières en missions de maintien de la paix, la contribution remarquable à la soutien financière et économique de l'Union Européenne sont déjà des réalités que une partie de la population les considère comme fardeau...*

*Il n'y a pas d'alternative. Ni pour l'Allemagne, ni pour des autres pays de l'Europe, ni même pour l'Europe. L'Europe Unie signifie la sortie de sa conflictualité ancestrale ou, si une telle sortie n'est pas entièrement possible, alors sa gestion par un management politique et stratégique européen sur mesure. Presque tous les pays de l'Europe se confrontent avec des effets de l'Histoire, avec une partie des fantasmes de l'Histoire, même-ci avec les effets extrêmement réaux de la crise actuelle*



*et L'Union Européenne ne réussit trouver des solutions convenables pour tout le monde. La politique européenne de voisinage, le partenariat pour l'Est, la dimension méditerranéenne, la dimension nordique, l'accord de partenariat et collaboration avec la Russie, les nouvelles négociations en vue d'un nouveau accord, les problèmes de la sécurité énergétique, le partenariat avec la Chine et le partenariat avec les Etats Unies etc., le récent Traité de Lisbonne, mai surtout les nouvelles reconfigurations géopolitiques ou les systèmes financières, les réseaux informationnelles les organisations internationales, OTAN et UE, les organisations régionales et les grandes puissances ont de difficultés dans le processus d'harmonisations des intérêts sous les pressions des nouvelles défis et menaces envers lesquelles le monde est de plus en plus vulnérable, et les risques sont de plus en plus grandes et nombreuses et de plus en plus difficile à calculer et assumer. Toutes sont des composantes d'une architecture de sécurité plus tôt fragile que robuste, flanqué par de nombreuses effets non-sécuritaires.*

*La fin de la Guerre Froide, avec la victoire de l'Occident démocratique, n'a pas résolu d'une façon acceptable le problème de l'équilibre stratégique, mais, au contraire, a créé des nouveaux déséquilibres, avec nombreuses foyers actives de conflictualité extrême. Les questions du monde sont de plus en plus nombreuses, mais les réponses et les solutions difficile à trouver. Après la Stratégie Européenne de Sécurité, chaque année, quarante millions de gens meurent de faim ou de malnutrition. En ce temps, d'autres millions de gens quittent leur maisons à la recherche du travail. Les écarts entre le monde riche et le monde pauvre deviennent plus grandes, les ressources trop faibles, les difficultés trop grandes. Le monde se trouve en guerre économique, les batailles pour les marchés et pour les ressources sont en plein essor, avec des évolutions difficile à prévoir, la crise financière a relevé des vulnérabilités qu'on ne peut pas les envelopper, qui réclament la réforme radicale de l'actuel système financier, et les acquisitions des armes, même-ci toutes les armes sont soumis à un contrôle rigoureux, se continuent. Dans le monde, il y a environ 12.000 de têtes nucléaires actives qui représentent la plus grande menace de celles qu'on a connues jamais. Il y a aussi sur les planchettes des fabricants des armements des nouveaux types d'armes, basés sur l'amplification des ondes, sur lasers, sur nanotechnologie etc.*

*Non-prolifération et le contrôle des armements ne résoudraient pas le danger nucléaire, ni ce des armes de destruction massives, mais on permet seulement une certaine gestion de la menace, assez précaire, mais il n'en avait un autre. Les Américains et les Russes auront réduire leur arsenaux nucléaires à 1550 missiles balistiques, mais ils n'en renonceront jamais. Certains pays, en dépit des traités de non-prolifération, se sont dotés de telles armes, les autres chercheront des solutions plus sophistiquées. Parce que, dans un monde conflictuel, chacun se prépare, tant comme il le peut, pour faire face aux dangers et aux menaces qu'il considère réelles et possibles.*



*Personne n'a jamais renoncé à ses armes, mais seulement et tout seulement quand on a les remplacées avec d'autres plus perfectionnées et plus performantes. Les systèmes d'armements de haute précision, les nouveaux missiles stratégiques, les unes d'entre eux non-détectables ou difficile à les détecter; les nouveaux systèmes de commande-control, communication, ordinateurs et information, recherche et surveillance tendent à couvrir, par leur puissance et par l'effet de réseau, la planète entière, en se constituant dans un sort de puissance de la puissance ou de garant de la puissance en vue de la bataille pour la suprématie stratégique sur tous les plans.*

*De menace et de dissuasion, de pression, décompensation et, rarement, décompression... Des effets en chaîne omnidirectionnels. Un papillon qui batte de ses ailes sur le bord de la Mer Noire et, un mois plus tard, on en a avoir à faire avec un ouragan désastreux en Pacifique, nous dit la théorie du chaos traduit en langage commune... Un électron rebelle fuit de sa orbite et, de cette cause, on peut en avoir avec un catastrophe de la ionosphère et, par la chaîne causal, avec la destruction de la vie sur la Terre... Les possibles fonts des glaces et, de cette cause, il est possible la destruction de côtes des océans, la génération de comportements bizarres de toutes les systèmes et processus évolutifs en bifurcations, avec le changement de l'axe de rotation de la planète, du mouvement de révolution, de l'entre dans le tourbillon cosmique... Des scénarios catastrophiques ou des réalités possibles.... Une évolution dangereuse des connaissances pourrait conduire à génération des concepts qui produisent des évolutions imprévisibles et dangereuses sur le plan de la connaissance, à la transformation de la Parole-démiurge en impulsion destructif...*

*De quel sort de sécurité parlons-nous ?*

*Une sécurité de la sécurité, une harmonie entre Oui et Non, entre yin et yang, c'est-à-dire dans l'espace de la probabilité conditionnée, une équilibration relative d'un monde qui, chaque moment, fait son déséquilibre, d'un monde qui, en se mondialisant, se défragmente, d'un monde qui donne de prospérité pour les uns et la pauvreté pour les autres, la sûreté relative et la sécurité pour assez fragile pour quelques uns et non-sûreté, angoisse et terrorisme pour tous les autres, c'est-à-dire pour 90% de population de la planète...*

*Mais, il y a quand même une sorte de sécurité. Une sécurité incertaine, flexible, avec des croissances et décroissances prévisibles ou imprévisibles, réelles ou imaginaires et, en même temps, avec des déploiements chaotiques dans le prévisible et dans l'imprévisible des interdépendances d'entre Etats, entre les entités qui changent toujours leurs identités et même leurs vocations, dans l'harmonie paradoxale conflictuelle du monde où nous vivons. Paradoxale harmonie du monde où nous vivons... L'oxymore de ce monde.*



# PROPERTY, CRISIS, RESPONSIBILITY

*Prof. PhD. Momcilo LUBURICI*

## **Abstract**

*In the last two decades, essential mutations have taken place. They shaped and set new expectation horizons in terms of whole life of people and community, but they particularly established fundamental benchmarks, irreversible and sufficiently prominent and consistent in what regards the lifestyle and parameters of national and European being and sustainable development. Three of these items seem essential to me: democracy, property and responsibility. Democracy has recreated the fundamental institutions of Modern Power – Parliament, Government, Judiciary Power –, property has reintroduced in the equation the indispensable constant of freedom, including freedom of work, education and creation, and responsibility, defined by the three resistance pillars of modern society – democracy, property and law – and completing them, namely translating them into law norms and conduct rules, has introduced the necessary variables into the functional equation of this type of society. The system could have worked perfectly, as it had all the necessary elements. But it was not so.*

Keywords: democracy, property, responsibility, law, education, creation

## **1. Facts and interrelations that have generated vulnerabilities and dangerous fragmentations**

**I**n order to be functional, the social, economic and educational systems, it is not enough to have elements and structures, conduct norms and rules. Even if they are supported by the three traditional pillars that should be very strong – legislative, executive, judicial power –, and which give it the democratic nature, is durable only if it integrates the three essential items in an interrelationship, by which the dynamism and complexity necessary to a society's functioning are achieved. The realist, constructivist, reforming, conservationist or liberal theories should generate models predominantly integrative, but without distorting either the components or the system itself. Construction always starts with the foundation, but not limited to



this. Unfortunately, the creation of this coherent integrative and inclusive system has proven to be more difficult than expected, and the effects too, have taken to a large extent strange turns and surprising evolutions. The factors that have generated such developments are numerous. Some come from within the system that has failed to assemble the elements durably, becoming vulnerable to the planned or desired changes and developments. These vulnerabilities often had unexpected and unpredictable developments and configurations, which created and still creates complicated, even serious problems, both as regards sustainable development, and the required dynamic balance. For these reasons, the system has diversified and fragmented too much, sometimes generating elements and subsystems with chaotic and even conflicting developments.

Other factors come from the predictable or unpredictably exterior, shaped by the country's condition, its international relations, integration into NATO and the European Union, from the exigencies of these institutions and, obviously, from the international complicated economic-financial and even military processes, with chains of effects more or less predictable. Breaking bipolarity has not diminished the conflicting state, but only reduced its level and dispersed it by redistribution.

The essential mutations produced in the last twenty years have, as primary substantial effect, reaffirmation of *property*, as support of freedom and durability, which in fact represents the reconstruction essence of the entire political, economic, financial and social mechanism. This should have been, as I said, a very solid foundation for the following stages. However, a shaky, ragged foundation resulted, vitiated by abnormalities and even endogenous and exogenous enormities, of narrow interests and subtle and perverse opportunisms. Thus, property has not been reconstituted, in all cases, on the healthy support of respect for this institution, to this concept, of truth and justice, of law and sufficient reason. The process of ownership right philosophy reconstruction has had, in many cases, tortuous developments, from „original repairs”, truncated or imposed by decisions of CEDO, to seizure-free and, often, with no connection to the right. Thus, in these last two decades, Romania has known a bizarre philosophy of returning rights, often based on a forceps extraction of the ownership right, on the constitution of a clientele or conjectural property, marked by oddities and quirks of all sorts. Thus, a very small part of the nation's wealth is in the property of enterprising people, of good quality and even good faith. But ownership right is sacred (at least, this is how it should be) and, probably, a long time still has to pass until all the owners know what they should do with their properties, and the state learns to really respect property and owners, to help them, to rely on them and ensure their security, in the conditions of the market, network, globalization and European integration process.

Unfortunately, in all these twenty years, the state has proved to be much too rigid, often inflexible, sometimes biased and, very often incapable to adapt to the new conditions. This explains, inter alia, the late integration into the European Union,



incapacity to use European funds efficiently, to make a realistic and competitive reform of education, health public system, pensions and social assistance system etc.

The incomplete reconfiguration and, in many cases, vitiated, of the property, the lack of a property culture, persistency of communist egalitarianism tares, unexpected occurrence of some owners without honour, dignity and verticality that, in addition, despise work, lack of continuity in the governance act, development and application of privatization policies and strategies insufficiently elaborated, sometimes overly delayed, other times overly hasty, promotion of mediocrity, imposition of norms and criteria generating bureaucracy and inefficiency have made vulnerable property and its supportive mechanisms to maximum, have diminished the country's economic and financial potential, have created dangerous dependencies and, in general, significant economic uncertainty.

Imbalances, awkwardness, uncertainty, clienteles, political instability, sometimes arrogance, other times humiliation or indifference have brought great damages to the political, economic and social area and particularly to the educational one. Workforce has migrated over the limits of national economic security, even creating economic insecurity, in part, the specialists and professionals of high quality (informaticians, physicians, engineers, professors, workers of high qualification etc.) have looked for jobs abroad – and, obviously, found them –, better remunerated and where their profession was respected, while in Romania a continual degradation of these professions have occurred, in the conditions of numerous economic and social units' disappearance. Even the newly-established ones, from which an economic recovery was expected, were not at all fostered and helped. If, for example, in 1976, Romania extracted from its soil around 15 million tons of crude oil, at an equivalent consumption, in 2007, the extraction was of barely 5000 tons, under the conditions of the same consumption. The rest, namely over 10 million tons, is imported. The competitive Romanian oil industry has disappeared.

The economic growth from 2007-2008 generally based on the consumption acceleration on the support of foreign currency inflows made by the Romanian workers from abroad who deposited their savings in the Romanian banks (over seven billion EUR annually) and the foreign investors who, as a rule, built up commercial networks (around seven billion EUR) and not on an increase of internal production and exports. This fact did not generate economic and financial stability, but only an acceptable state, namely an appearance that hid, in fact, a huge vulnerability.

The requirements for integration into NATO and the European Union focused efforts in the pre-accession periods, on meeting the criteria required, this representing, for some of the governments that succeeded each other too fast at the country's ruling, priorities *per se*, on short term and not effects of coherent policies of sustainable development.

The parties' programs have as primary objective to gain over the electorate not Romania's development. Sustainable development, primarily understood as economic



development, was a kind of implicit objective, one that results from the approach, not from coherent policies and strategies, which perpetuate, in their resistance structure from a government to another and to vary only in the doctrinarian components. That is why, most often, the vote has been cast in ignorance, only supported by personal liking for a party or another, to a leader or another, and not on the rigorous analysis of programs, doctrines and possible effects. For the voting citizen, the vote has not been an act of assumed responsibility, but only a way to give trust to a quasi-unknown person, a politician that seemed nice and competent.

These types of policies and strategies are chameleonic, fool voters and keep them in ignorance and incapacity to understand realities and their development. The electoral phenomenon, badly managed, distracts the governments' and parties' attention from the real priorities and generates a vicious circle, which makes property, individual, community and society even more vulnerable.

In normal times, these situations are „repaired” in motion, of course, over time, while the relationships are harmonized and constitute a culture of democratic systems and processes. But, in times of crisis, such vulnerabilities are extremely dangerous. Falls are sudden, serious and unpredictable, and the chains of effects become numerous and with strange behaviours in bifurcation.

### **2. Crisis and responsibility**

Crisis is a complex phenomenon, a sum of all abnormalities accumulated unexpectedly and even chaotically, and its effects are radical and ruthless. There are numerous talks about predictability or unpredictability of crises. They are important, but only solve the problem of causes to a small extent and particularly the one of crises' effects. It is important the society is prepared to cope with crisis situations, both predictable and unpredictable or unexpected. No society can get out of a crisis without pains, but pains, deteriorations and bearable adverse effects are one thing, and disasters and destructions caused by unknown or not covered on time vulnerabilities are something else. The society must be able to fight the crisis, have variants of solutions, find systems and methods for defence and protection of vulnerable zones and can limit effects to maximum.

Crisis has, in most cases, the effect of a hurricane. In general, crisis destructs. But the societies prepared to face cataclysms of this kind create reserves, maintains strong nucleuses that can survive disasters and put again the reconstruction effort into motion. America has been strongly hit by the bankruptcies of banks on the Wall Street, but the government intervened immediately, covering the huge loopholes created by such a complicated situation, of the type of the ones between the years 1929-1933.

At the moment when the Central Bank of SUA (Fed) bought from the market the treasury bonds, Giles Bonafi compared that day – 18th of March 2008 – with



„Black Thursday” (it is about the crash from 1929), as it marked, in his vision, the end of dollar.<sup>1</sup> Jorion announced „the end of capitalism”, and the analysts from the bank Standard Chartered defined the day of 18th of March as „the day of dollar’s death”. Alan Ruskin, analyst at RBS named it as... „the fall of Rome”. The idea that, for the first quarter of the year 2009, Europe and the United States risk implosion, has been put forward. This sudden and somewhat unexpected financial fall was regarded and analyzed in contrast with the situation of the great continental poles (ASEAN, CEI, North American Union) which, as Bonafi said, were in expansion.

According to these visions, it seemed that we were closing impetuously and uncontrollably the end of nations, or at least of the nations’ epoch, and to the appearance of some „large ensembles that would have the regions as administrative echelons.”<sup>2</sup> Alternatives have been found immediately. The scientific world has had regard, over time, to situations of this kind. Herbert Marshall McLuhan published, in 1997, the work « *War and Peace in the Global Village* », that proposes a new concept named *glocal*<sup>3</sup>. According to this author’s opinions, in this world confused by the new technologies, the city becomes a stable entity, which releases itself ever more from its productive function, the one of exchange and information treatment (that it sends into the cyberspace) and focuses on the new organization forms, at local level, in the sense that it becomes autonomous and needs no more assistances or tutelages of whatever nature.

The information has contributed to the outbreak and unfolding of the current crisis, by accelerating the financial inflow at the level of entire planet. That is why, attempts were made to put this information under control, seeking to solve the crisis, inclusively by consolidating the IMF role. But IMF is not agreed by anybody, as it sets conditions and restrictions. The network has made this flow dynamic, the economies getting out of the rigid national systems and become even more a kind of systems of systems, in a supersaturated strategic medium, intoxicated and extremely fragile and vulnerable, in which a new dimension is generated, cultivated and courted today in Europe – the regional one. The states, as political, economical and legal entities, as subject of international law, proved extremely vulnerable to crisis, and the relations between them did not succeed in preventing or controlling the phenomenon efficiently. Of course, the crisis phenomenon too was „shaped” on the political, economic and social existent structure, ahead of it and surprising it most of the times. It is beyond doubt that, in the case when the society will organize itself differently (in the network, by regions, strong urban modules etc.), the crisis phenomenon will also be adapted to such structures, as it is part of the human communities’ life and, at least up to the present, nobody has ever managed to avoid it.

<sup>1</sup> [www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB890.pdf](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB890.pdf) , Gilles Bonafi, *Crise systemique – Les solutions (no.4 : regions et monnaies complementaires)*, Mondialisation, 30 avril 2009 (accessed on 27.06.2010)

<sup>2</sup> [www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB890.pdf](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB890.pdf) , Gilles Bonafi, *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> Glocal – a kind of mixture between global and local, on which an architecture of the new world order is defined, the continents being on one side, and the regions and large urban agglomerations on the other side. Then the continents will not count anymore.



Then alternatives were sought. Bernard Lietaer and Margrit Kennedy have published a book entitled „*Regional currencies. New ways to a durable prosperity*”<sup>4</sup> by which such a delicate and controversial topic is treated, analyzing and proposal possible solutions. Even in the *Introduction*, the authors underline: „The financial crisis that outburst in 2008 is of an unprecedented scale and complexity. The recession heralded promises to be long, tough, the most difficult since the 1930s onwards. In this epoch, we have managed the economic situation and socio-political degradations inefficiently. This triggered a wave of Fascism, which culminated with the Second World War.” Although nearly two years have passed since the onset of the current financial crisis, for now, nobody knows what its long-term effects will be. Probably the most serious effect is borne by the countries with economic and financial deteriorated balances, which have created rigid structures or accepted dangerous dependencies.

Also, some authors argue that the current crisis reveals a regional dimension and a kind of end of the national states’ absolute sovereignty. In the report of Eduard Balladur, entitled „*It’s Time to Decide*”, 20 proposals to this effect are recorded within the *Committee for the local communities’ reform* from France, most of them being adopted unanimously. The same thing is with the establishment and functioning of the eight regions in Romania. Balladur’s Report shows: „The regional echelon is deemed by the Committee to be best adjusted to the new conditions of competitiveness, finding that there is an European consensus in what regards the regional level importance in the development policies.” Articles 2 and 3 of the *European Chart of local autonomy* underlines that „local autonomy must be recognized in the internal legislation”, this autonomy being defined as the „right and effective capacity of local communities to regulate and endorse, within the law, under its own responsibility and to the benefit of their populations, an effective part of the public issues”. Unfortunately, some local communities understand by this regional policy a support for ethnic separatism when, in fact, the European Chart of local autonomy envisages completely different goals. It is about a new architecture by which both bringing the lagging regions at the European level and creating a greater flexibility that would permit a better resistance to crises and conflicts is ensured. That is exactly the opposite of what the ethnic separatists promote.

Bernard Lietaer, former member of the Club of Rome, argues that governments should „permit cities and local authorities to choose themselves the complementary currencies that seem interesting in order to foster and accept them in the payment of city’s or state’s taxes.” (White Book, p. 28)<sup>5</sup> Even if, for some, this seems to be impossible, such experiences have existed in history and are still practised today in Switzerland (WIR) and in Germany (Chiemagauer). Gilles Bonafi gives such an example also from outside the European continent. The Mayor of Curitiba (Brazil)

<sup>4</sup> Lietaer and Margrit Kennedy, *Regional currencies. New ways to a durable prosperity*, Charles Leopold Mayer Publishing House, Paris, 2008 (translated from German) ISBN: 978-2-84377-144-6.

<sup>5</sup> [www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB890.pdf](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB890.pdf), Gilles Bonafi, *Ibidem*.



has created a coin in the form of counter that the citizens earn for cleaning the dirt from the city. In this way, Curitiba became one of the cleanest and prosperous cities in Brazil, and the citizens enjoy the advantages of such a coin. There is also the example of collaborative activities, of the type of those used for the creation of popular encyclopaedias on the Internet. Lietaer proposes the creation of *B2B systems* (Business-to-Business) at the companies' level. A Russian businessman – German Sterligov – has invested millions of dollars in London, Paris, Brussels and Hong Kong for the establishment of anti-crisis centres that allow the companies to organize payments based on a new payment system, where moneys, credit, interests disappear

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But not everyone agrees with these innovations. Some of the specialists argue that the mutations occurred during these possible reconfigurations could generate armed conflicts and even wars. Generally, it is asserted that the territories reorganization and regions number diminution is concomitantly with their growing autonomy. The first proposal in Balladur's report unanimously appropriated by the members of the Committee for local communities' reform in France refers to „favouring voluntary regroupings of regions and changing their territorial limits in order to reduce their number to fifteen.” At present, France is a unitary state, consisting of 26 de administrative regions that have no legislative or other kind of autonomy. It is well-known that Romania has 40 counties! And the fragmentation process, according to some, should continue!

Proposals of the of the twenty ones made in Balladur's report can be met almost everywhere in Europe, but, for the time being, they are used neither for crisis prevention, nor for getting out of the crisis or effect combat. But they find their place more and more in the European policy of euro-regions.

Crises are interdependent. Economic crisis is tightly connected to the financial, social, ecologic, energetic, raw materials, food crisis and even the political and military one. One cannot be analyzed without the other, as one's effects are or can be causes for the others and even for its own development. That is why, Gilles Bonafi, as other authors, deems that the problem of crises should be analyzed both globally and by levels, out of which the most important are the following: financial and titrisation; monetary system, which has dollar as pillar (deemed to be during the crisis and afterwards, during the collapse, but with remarkable subsequent recoveries); adaptation of the economic system to the new information technologies that destroy millions of jobs (the work notion should be reanalyzed); energy (it is deemed that the traditional energy sources are about to be exhausted and valid alternatives have not been found yet); the danger that threatens democracies and freedom, due to the fact that real power is held by a group of people by accumulation of capital (John Kenneth Galbraith's warning comes true, he underlined in an interview published by *Nouvel Observateur* from the 4th of November 2005, that only „few sellers, enough powerful and convincing are required in order to determine what people buy, eat



and drink”; ecocide (the act of destroying an ecosystem, especially by its excessive exploitation) caused by the current economic system.

These levels are conditioned, intertwined and try to put order in the vulnerabilities identification and risk management, particularly the extreme risk. Reality shows that extreme risk does not consist only in the dangers represented by the nuclear weapon that, out of control, can destroy the world, or in the unpredictable, bloody and execrable actions of the terrorists, but only in the disastrous effects generated by the financial crisis, itself being, in fact, an effect of effects, namely a disaster produced by disasters and, in its turn, generating other disasters.

In most countries, particularly in the Western ones, with old democracies and consolidated economies, the current crisis has found economic and financial structures enough strong and flexible to face such exceptional situations. And even if these countries were not exempted from serious economic losses, of bankruptcies of some banks, corporations, industrial societies etc., the governments’ flexibility, economic power and reserves managed, in a relatively short time, much shorter than the predicted one, to balance the situation, to stop recession in some places and even to record slight increases.

Of course, it is hard to develop now categorical judgments. The world is still in crisis, and the crisis is not being manifested linearly, but, in many regards, unpredictably and even chaotically. In our country, the effects are felt now, and the forecasts are not very optimistic.

### 3. Responsibility of the solution

In such cases, what we call as a rule „urgent accountability” is addressed, defined within a relatively narrow framework, in which the decision-maker is obliged to act rapidly, in a way of another. The lack of a mature and consistent thinking to have analyzed in advance the international environment of economic, social and even military security and, based on the conclusions resulted, to have ensured the development of an option package, has facilitated strategic surprising, more precisely, strategic self-surprising. Many countries have been surprised by this crisis. The political parties have been – as they are most of the time – in electoral campaigns, and the state structures, affected by the internal political competitions, have often been detracted from their affairs and found themselves in front of a consumed fact. Obviously, in such cases, the leaders bear the entire blame, and their acts, in the absence of some consistent expertises they thought they did not need, have been and are, at least in the case of Romania, subjective and even arbitrary. It is true, there are few solutions. But, in case of crisis, solutions must be based on the acceleration of financial means circulation, on the creation of jobs, on the concentration of economic and social activity, on nucleuses generating economic security, namely on infrastructures, communications, simple and efficient production



systems, diminution of the public sector and encouragement of the private one, which absorbs a part of the qualified employees of this sector, on the reduction of fiscal evasion and obviously, on economic and social solidarity. In such cases, the debates are held with specialists, institutions of strategic studies and research, and the academic environment must work hard and supply expertises, variants of solutions, ways of adaptation to the country's concrete conditions. Interdisciplinary teams should be established for solutions expertise or even for solutions finding by areas, by administrative or productive units which correlate all the data and find the critical way. The macroeconomic solutions, if not completed by concrete pragmatic actions, are not always the most plausible in cases of crisis. Sometimes, they can lead to regional economic disasters, population's pauperization in certain areas and even the bankruptcy of some economic units that should be established as viable supports for getting out of the crisis.

Accountability, in such cases, is not assumed at large levels, as it has no object, but it is individualized, shared by all the society's members, is built up on a national idea, on a group of solutions, on rapid actions (but very well developed) of fiscal evasion combat, exchange acceleration, inclusively of the exchange-barter between companies, economic units and even between natural persons.

At the macro level, there are two policies and, obviously, two strategies extremely controversial. One of them claims the state's massive and rapid intervention, and the other one, of a neoliberal colour advocates the state non-intervention and letting the free market to regulate the course of events. Getting out of the crisis, by the state's intervention, prevents neither disproportion, nor the disaster of some units, but only perpetuates the system, selection of the units it supports, itself being subjective in its turn. The market adjustment would be, according to some specialists, more healthy, as the units that manage to save themselves will be more powerful and better balanced, more flexible and more capable to face the fluid economic and financial environment and often, unpredictable.

As it is well-known, following the *Wall Street effect*, the American government has intervened by huge salvage plans, granting very large aids to the bankrupt banks and insurance companies. But the drastic decrease of consumption costs and moratoria on the loans have affected seriously even the most powerful companies. The States intervened again, developing and applying new plans and further series of expenses. In fact, some argue that the very interference of the state in the economy has generated such crises. The consumption credits of a high risk degree – generally imposed by the measures of consumption credits encouragement, the most of them in the form of subprime loans<sup>6</sup>, taken, supported and even guaranteed by the states in favour of the poor stratum – led to the impossibility of their repayment and the bankruptcy of some of the largest banks and insurances companies in the world. But John B. Taylor has the opinion that the very actions and interventions of the government have caused,

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<sup>6</sup> *Subprime loans* are risk credits with a high interest (to cover the risk rate).



prolonged and aggravated the crisis.<sup>7</sup> Even the establishment of an investigation commission was asked over this crisis of the type of the one that was formed for the analysis of the causes of the events from September 11, 2001.

The classic explanation of the financial crises consists in monetary excesses, which trigger a boom and a crash. These are inevitable. This is what happened this time too. The real estate boom, then the crash caused the explosion of real estate loans and financial assets based on those, after which the collapse followed.

Certainly, there are other opinions connected to the philosophy and physiognomy of this crisis, with its causes and effects. Some argue that not only the state intervention in favour of the poor stratum and support of the nonperforming credits constitute the crisis cause, but also the banks' greed, granting consumptions loans of a high risk degree in excess, as well as the inadequacy of the current financial system to requirements of real economy, market and life. All this, connected, represents in fact, the true cause of this disaster. The state, in their opinion, did nothing but intervened for the protection of the system that is obviously created by itself. It seems that, following this crisis, American economy gives up the Milton Friedman<sup>8</sup> model and starts to coquette with interventionism.<sup>9</sup> The interventionist ideas of James Tobin, laureate of the Nobel prize, start thus to get a contour and support. In other words, John Maynard Keynes returns into contemporariness. The American President Barak Obama has signed an economic stimulation plan in the value of 787 billion dollars. The effects start to show. The American economy is getting out of the recession.

Once again it is proven that, in times of confusion, the rigid doctrines are not the most adequate. At the moment when the reference interests become close to zero, in some specialists' opinion, the options of the USA Federal Reserve or American Central Bank (Fed) are necessary for economy's stimulation. Hence, flexibility is required. The optimal rate of unemployment, James Tobin argues, is zero. Like John Maynard Keynes, he states that the government should intervene in the economy for the maintenance of the employment rate at a level as high as possible. Friedman considers that taxes should be diminished, the market liberalized and a strict control performed of the money pumped up in the economy. The ones that follow the line of Tobin think that the government should intervene in the economy, inclusively by means of costs stimulation packages. Of course, the influence of Tobin's ideas is very great in Washington, but not as great as his adepts would want. Richard Levin, the president of Yale University, asserts that, within the fiscal stimulation program of Obama administration, less reductions of taxes and a stronger implication in the creation of new jobs would have been desirable, namely, exactly the reverse of what

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.contrepoints.org/Comment-le-gouvernement-a-cree-la.html> (accessed on 28.06.2010)

<sup>8</sup> Milton Friedman developed a theory of permanent income, by which it is argued that the temporary increase of incomes, unlike permanent increases, does not trigger the significant increase of consumption.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.zf.ro/business-international/sfarsitul-pietei-libere-economia-americana-renunta-la-milton-friedman-cochetand-cu-interventionismul-4051488/> (accessed on 28.06.2010).



John. B. Taylor argues.

It is certain than, this time too, the crisis has proven that the financial speculations, application of some theories rigidly, chaotic liberalization of the market, excessive increase of consumption, lack of balanced economic and social policies can lead to dramatic events, spectacular collapses of economic and financial power and imbalances hard to manage, with multiple effects, complex and hard to remove or manage, inclusively on the national and international security. But this is the risk of market economy and market liberty. The intervention for the risk control can diminish risk or, on the contrary, can generate an even higher risk. Even if all this seem to be a vicious circle, a dynamic balance is required between the liberal policies and the interventionist ones, so that the crisis effects are bearable.

Obviously, the cause of this boom lies in the monetary policies excess. The Central Bank of USA (Fed) maintained its interest rate, particularly in the period 2003-2005, under the limit of known monetary recommendations, which indicate what policy should be adapted, depending on the precedents and historical experience. The researchers from OCDE have showed that, the greater is monetary relaxation, the more important is the real estate boom. The effects of boom and financial crash have been amplified by numerous factors, among which the use of subprime loans and variable interests that have amplified the risk degree. In the United States, the quasi-public bodies Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac have been encouraged to buy financial products based on real estate loans, inclusively on risky subprime loans.

Some specialists argue that the hasty, even precipitated of the state, without a thorough analysis of the situation of possible effects, can trigger panic and chaotic developments. Panic can be amplified both by the political decisions to help certain financial institutions and not others, as well as the confused anti-crisis programs, developed in a hurry, under fear and pressure. Yet, in such cases, nobody else, besides the state, can intervene efficiently. But it depends on how and when it does.

The crisis has expanded rapidly all over the world. A great part of the states in the course of development, taking advantage of the low cost of loans and foreign investments, increased the public loan. At this moment, refinancing the public debt and current deficits has become very difficult, even impossible. If the foreign banks refuse to give loans to these countries, bankruptcies and unemployment could explode. Under these circumstances, FMI, World Bank and Central European Bank intervene to avoid political chaos. But from here, it does not result that the insecurity effects in a chain, generated by the crisis, are reduced or that the threat amplified by the chaotic states from financing and economies, disappear.

The Romanian experience is also conclusive. But the economic and financial levers of the Romanian state are very few and unfortunately, neither these have been used and are used efficiently. The loan from FMI, with all the drastic conditions it requires, is a cheap loan, which, under certain circumstances, could support the country for the deficit balancing. But this action should be corroborated with very



well developed measures for the fiscal evasion combat, production stimulation and internal consumption, limitation of unjustified budgetary expenses, stimulation of profit reinvestment, stimulation of the autochthonous producers and use of country's potential.

### **Conclusion**

The anti-crisis measures should not affect property, but, on the contrary, they must have as support the very optimal correlation of the concept of property with the one of responsibility. Property is neither an abstract notion, nor an absolutely independent fact, but an interdependent reality, integrated in an economic and social environment it defines and depends upon, which is based on connections, responsibilities, initiatives and on compliance with the law. Or, property is often understood as a rigid, hard to connect entity, as a castle with locked gates and not as a support for the goods and services production, as a productive entity, generating prosperity, liberty and security. The anti-crisis measures, in order to be efficient, can only be made in a context in which property is not affected, but one in and through which responsibility is stimulated within property. The owners should know that, in such cases, their role and capacity of owners are defined, proved and certified, they are capable to generate constructive effects, namely production and stability, even if, for this, very big efforts of profit reinvestment and solidarity are required.



# LEGAL SECURITY AND ITS EFFECTS

PhD. Corina DUMITRESCU<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*Security is not just a simple state of silence, safety, a condition for the proper functioning of political, economical, social, informational, cultural, and military systems and mechanisms, but an effect generating effects, as well. Such an effect can be generated only in certain conditions. Some conditions are variable, some enjoy a specific stability, namely a coherent and substantial flow of determinations. This flow is included and must be included in a system of standards, in a framework which makes possible the connections, interactions and control of effects. But the standards which regulate a company's functioning are neither arbitrary, nor conventional but, anyway, conventionality has a wide range of objective determinations, which removes it from voluntarism, and objectives, as well. Objectivity derives from the correspondence between right and law which established the legal standard, from the range of determinations and connections and, obviously, from the executive and legislator authority of knowing, understanding and transposing into standards this dynamic and complex determinism, relying on the structure of significant ontological values. The quality and substantiality of determinations, connections and feed-back relation generate the security effect. This bond does not always function perfectly, and the consequences complicate the effect's philosophy, significantly displacing it to what we call insecurity, including legal insecurity.*

Keywords: security, legal, principle, insecurity, standard, right.

As it is well known, the concept of legal security has some important characteristics. It is considered to be even a principle – the principle of legal security – and it refers to the citizen's protection “against a danger which derives even from the right (...), created by the right or which is about to create”<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Lucien François, *Le problème de la sécurité juridique*. In *La sécurité juridique*, Ed. Jeune Barreau de Liège, Liège, 1993, p. 10, apud, Cosmin Flavius Costaş, The Principle of Legal Security <http://www.fiscalitatea.ro/principiul-securitatii-juridice-342/>



Legal security has many dimensions and components and it does not imply only law's non-retroactivity<sup>3</sup>. Because law cannot regulate all the situations which have occurred or which are possible to occur, it is generated a context which can lead to what we call legal insecurity. Under these conditions, neither the law, nor the citizen is well-protected. To avoid such situations, or more exactly, for this context control which can become legally insecure, or a generator of legal insecurity, there are certain measures adopted, such as: the access to legislation; the rapid spreading of law and the development of law knowing conditions; the administration's obligation to clearly define the way of law's application and its effects, creating as a consequence the legitimate trust, namely all the necessary conditions for the security of cause and effect; the right to the unitary interpretation of law by the trial courts and the creation of a unitary and well consolidated case law.

This principle of legal security is established at a European level on a jurisprudential way. It belongs to the community legal order and it must be observed not only by the community institutions, but by the Member States of the European Union, also. This is why a community measure must be clear, namely non-ambiguous and certain, with a predictable application. This thing refers to the European states, as well. Each Member State of the European Union pledged, at the same time with the acceptance of the mechanism of accession and the imposed conditions, to qualify for that case law which relies on the right's or legal security. Any non-observance of the application terms and stipulations leads to legal insecurity.

Legal insecurity affects at the same time the citizen, cause, the legal mechanism, also, and, finally, the general security of the citizen, propriety, social relations, political, economical financial, educational systems and mechanisms, etc. Transformed into law, the right proves not only the form of its universality, but its true determination, as well. "This is why, when we represent our enactment – Hegel writes -, we must not consider only one from the moments, the one according to which by law it is declared a rule of conduct concerning us all; but the internal essential moment, before the other one lies the knowledge of the content into its own determined universality".

Of course, law transposes the right, the system of objectively determined relations within a company, in legal standards, namely in compulsory rules of conduct and, at the same time, in a base for the community security, of that specific activity, institution, and, obviously, of the person. This is, of course, the principle. But, from the principle to reality, many favourable and disturbing factors often occur. The process of going from particular to general, from the right to legal standard, even in the case of the common right, is complex and implies superior rationality, capable of an effort which is substantial, coherent and congruent of legal construction. Of course, the state, by its mechanisms, and the international community, by its

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<sup>3</sup> Article 2 of the Napoleonic Civil Code of 1804 states that "The law only regulates the future. It does not have a retroactive effect".



systems of interconnection between the sovereign states – the only subjects of the international right – consider upon this transcendence into universal to fulfil into complete security. At least, it should be like this. Actually, as it is well known, things are even more complicated. The settlement of legal security or the right's reliability (Rechtzekerheid), according to the Dutch doctrine, is difficult because it must solve the law's imperfections and its effects, to build the security into an uncertain or determined, limited certain environment. No law in the world can offer a direct response to all the problems from the field it regulates. The solution stands as a legal construction, based on legal fundamentals, case law and the court's authority to join and conclude the arguments.

But this represents just an aspect of the extremely important problem, of course, but not the only one. People and institutions do not always show to the trial court, but they live together, work, solve a lot of problems, etc. Almost every minute, the man must obey a rule, a standard, or a law. Liberty is not an abstract concept, but a concept restricted by law. Law is, actually, an essential condition to liberty in human society. From Plato to Hegel, the concept of liberty did not escape its determinations, and these determinations are regulated. Loosely, security is nothing else than liberty insurance, by reducing vulnerability and correspondingly threat diminishing, and these issues can only occur within some legal standards, legally confirmed.

Legal security is, consequently, a law principle. The purpose of this principle is protecting the citizen against the right's secondary negative effect, especially against the effects of legislative incoherence or against the negative effect of laws complexity and regulations. As it is well known, regulation excess causes not only incoherence, but even legal instability and insecurity, deriving from here to all fields, because the legal dimensions or relations are essential in human society. Legislative changes are too frequent, exaggerate and unjustified, without positive effects, but, on the contrary, they can lead to the right's devaluation, and even to what we call legal insecurity.

We all know that law must be comprehensible, predictable, rule-making, and to express the legislator's competence in that specific field. Or, there are laws far to qualify to these requirements although the legislator considers that such laws are necessary and useful to the times we live. How necessary and useful they are (some of them) can be seen if we are to have a look to the effects. Therefore, there must be a suspension between the law generating system and the right's reality which must represent a support for this generation. This rupture is due to the lack of sufficient knowledge or to the false knowledge of realities and determinations, spreading and generalisation mechanisms. This happens not because the people dealing with such problems would not have the authority of transposing by means of law the right to a viable legal standard useful to the cohabitation and development process, but it happens because of the simple but complicated reason that objective determination is replaced to a great extent by the subjective, fragmentary, partial, or private interest.



It is true that we belong to such times where we face significant changes of political, economical, social, cultural paradigms. It is about the adaptation of theories, concepts, methods and methodologies, as well as regulations to the new demands of the globalisation process, to the new dimensions and coordinates of sovereign states modernisation, the only subjects of law, of the international relations, education, culture, economic life, etc. But, concerning the right there are no revolutions, but only coherence, substantiality and durable constructions, because the right is the first condition of social and individual, national and international condition, the first condition to implement, protect and control normality.

Starting from here, the fields of legislative security, to put it another way, should obey some rigours which are absolutely necessary because you cannot disobey some coordinates beyond which you cannot be certain of anything. When there is a house to be built, the builder takes measures for the scaffoldings' safety, substructures' resistance, and the workers know and observe labour safety rules, adapted to the requirements of that construction.

Building the present Romania needs not only a proper legislation and the security of those who make decisions and those who apply these standards, but it needs the security of this legislation, as well, namely a firm guarantee that the new legislation does not produce legal or other form of insecurity. Or, in our opinion, this issue was not taken into account or, anyway, it did not enjoy the necessary attention. And we can see the effects. Regarding them, we would highlight only some which we consider extremely serious:

- law's non-observance and, consequently, the respect for law due mostly to the fact that, at law's elaboration and implementation, no real determinations that Hegel referred to since 1854 were taken into consideration, but only some momentarily interests or random (crisis) situations insignificant when generating the legislative process determinations;

- the creation of a subversive philosophy and the definition of legitimacy in terms of interest, and not law security;

- the creation and perfection of a legislative insecurity environment where law does not serve and protect the citizen, but it transforms him into a suspect and even possible culprit (the citizen has to stay in queue to pay his debts, obtain authorisations, necessary documents, etc and when he disobeys this torment he is warned, summoned, and subject to a destructive stress);

- the proliferation of political voluntarism into the system of economy, education, public relations and law (law's preferential, differentiated and non-unitary application, the precedent's exclusion);

- the fracture of the democratic system and the serious degradation of the communication and control system between the states powers;

- self-isolation of authority and the emphasis of dictatorial components.



Legal security represents an expression of the natural law concerning security and, thus, it must be founded in the constitutional law. It is not enough though it should be. Sometimes constitutional stipulations are considered much too rigid or, on the contrary, much too obvious, preventing the natural law concerning security. Constitutional law should transpose into an accessible, coherent, intelligible, and functional form of the natural law and not to create sophisms, traps or voluntarism. But even if the fundamental law of a country does not create such issues, each time it is accused of incoherence and non-substantiality. A country's constitution cannot be established neither according to the groups' interests, nor the parties' interests, but according to the international, national and objective determinations of a period when the legal standard has to be proclaimed at the level of a state, depending on the constitutionality's parameters in the modern world. Constitution is not an expression of will, but an expression of some determinations which objectifies, regulates and examines will so that it would represent a guarantee for a correct and coherent way of a rational ontology and sufficient reason. Modern society cannot exist outside a modern constitutionality.

Legal security is essential for the legal system of the rule of law, for the rule of law itself, its durable economic development and the exercise of citizens' rights. Although the legal security principle is very old – it can be found under a form or another in many regulations – its acknowledgement is relatively recent. It appeared in Germany and the international acknowledgment based on the case law of the European Community's Court of Justice, starting with 1962. In France, according to the 1789 Declaration, the safety right belongs to the article 2 in the Constitution, which places safety as one of man's natural and inalienable rights, along with liberty, propriety, and resistance to oppression.

Non-observance of this principle automatically leads to the excessive proclamation of the legislative standards, to a complexity with chaotic effects, to the promotion of a dense, complicated, incoherent legislation, with rule-making excesses and, obviously, with negative effects in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the country.

Non-observance of this principle creates legal insecurity, and this leads to the fracture of legality and legitimacy, equality in the eye of the law, to arbitrary, subjectivity, voluntarism, misunderstandings, etc.

The legal reality of Romania during the last twenty years abundantly proves it. Because it is very difficult, even impossible to apply coherently a fluid, uncertain, hesitant legislation, with incomprehensible changes, unexpected evolutions, depending on interests, junctures, and many other random factors.

This principle – valid in justice – actually develops in other fields or, anyway, it influences it. The frequent variations in education regulation, for example, create a dramatic effect of educational and cultural insecurity at all levels.

Education is the most regulated field from the Romanian economic, political,



social, cultural, informational, and military fields. The reform of Romania's education system – necessary and possible – generated, as it was conceived during the years – insecurity and imprecision in the educational system, subjectivism and voluntarism. Each change of the government brought a new change over the education conception, and the adopted policies and strategies placed, in many ways, extremely far by the realities of the Romanian education. If the present education law project – composed in hurry, without any serious scientific and methodological base – would be accepted in the form it was submitted for debates, it just violates values already gained during these democracy years – university autonomy, tenure examination, inter-university relations, etc – to some constructions' advantage which accentuates excessive centralisation, voluntarism, free enterprise discouragement, curricula, etc.

### Conclusion

Legal security principle represents one of the basic principles of the legal system security and, by consonance, of the economic, social, ecological, cultural, educational, informational, military systems, etc. Legal security represents in the same time a guarantee for law's reliability, legal system's coherence, unity and functionality, a guarantee for liberty and democracy. This principle application is not simple, because legal construction during a period with many uncertainties where its challenges, dangers, threats, vulnerabilities, and associated risks proliferate, it becomes difficult and imposes a very good knowledge of realities and determinations. Legal construction during such period should base on values and realities, not on interests. Interest generates policies, values and realities generate supports for creating the best and efficient system of transposing the right into legal standard, into law.



# CONTEMPORARY RECESSION

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## A retrospective overview of the Financial Crisis, causes, consequences and predictions.

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*Stefan MINOVICI*

### HOW COULD THIS HAPPEN?

What started out as simply a liquidity problem in the United States banking system, morphed the entire globe into a twisted entity, as the most prominent economic recession since the Great Depression of the 1930's began to erode corporations, banking institutions and governments on an international scale. It spread through the industrialized world within a matter of months as a deceleration of international economic activity prevailed. The National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) suggests that the financial crisis begun in the United States as early as December 2007. However, it was only until September 15, 2008 when Lehman Brothers filed for chapter 11 bankruptcy, that the economic downturn really started to take shape. The American financial system, on that fine Monday morning in early fall, was shaken to its core. The reckless and unsustainable financial lending practices, real estate securities trading, oil and food price hikes, and impending asset bubbles merely became sideline details, as a period of major panic erupted on the inter-bank loan markets. Overnight, the US state of affairs took top spot on agendas around the world.

Governments, including the newly elected Obama administration, seemed to fumble at how to deal with the resulting catastrophic collapse of corporations and banks and how to tackle an ever-treacherous job market slump. A renewed interest in Keynesian economics occurred as stimulus packages attempted to help private institutions though public sector monetary and fiscal policies. However, the increases in public debt led to notable financial problems around the world, especially the Greek financial collapse of late. The European Sovereign Debt crisis of 2010 has followed on from the US originated financial crisis, and currently has the potential to lead the world economy into what is being dubbed a “double-dip” recession.



Regardless of what predictions may be made regarding the future of the financial crisis, the period has been characterized by a share and real-estate price collapse, the failure of financial and commercial institutions, increases in public assistance, a decrease in international trade, large scale unemployment and collapses and fluctuations of commodities prices. An in-depth overview of conditions prior to the recession, causes, effects and responses will provide a unique perspective at how the United States attempts to emerging ahead of the pack, as the green shoots of growth tinker on the horizon, like a mirage in the desert, amidst the devastation of the past three years.

### **ASLEEP AT THE WHEEL**

While the financial crisis seemed to emerge out of thin air, as an erratic consequence that is the beast of complex financial institutions, a number of vocal economists who predicted the danger were largely ignored. In between 2000-2006, forecasts of an impending recession materialized. Based on an imminent housing market bubble in the United States, Bezemer's paper "No one Saw This Coming" discussed the highlights of over ten academics describing just this agenda. Warnings that various imbalances in US monetary policy and financial conditions would lead to some sort of economic collapse in the future remained unheeded as the global economy marched towards self-destruction. Three main areas of interest existed and have been retrospectively explained as the following.

The commodities recession of the 80's, and 90's ended around the year 2000 with global boosts in various commodity prices. Items like oil and various food goods reached absurd levels around 2008 leaving serious economic damage in their wakes. High inflation and unemployment rates coupled with a reverse direction of overseas outsourcing, or reverse globalization as it is termed, threatened the global economy. Brent barrel petroleum spot prices, as a representation of the oil commodities market, spiked in 2008, suggested to be the result of "Peak Oil." Motorists were forced to pay over \$4.00 per gallon in the USA and between £4.70 and £5.00 per gallon in the United Kingdom. Prices crashed nearly threefold at the onset of the recession as global demand plummeted amidst economic collapse. Almost every other commodities was adversely affected but included, among others, industrial items such as Sulfuric Acid, Sodium Hydroxide and Platinum.

Housing bubbles were identified throughout the world by early 2007,



in regions including the USA, Europe, South Africa, Australasia and parts of South America. As early as 2005, notable executives and federal opinions indicated that there seemed to be a problem on the horizon in terms of the real estate industry. The fact that a housing price crash was looming did not spark enough action to prevent the large-scale consequences that were seen.

Various publications, in early 2008, suggested that inflation levels were at historical levels for a number of speculated reasons. Money supply, growth surges in Asia, commodity price fluctuations and growth, agricultural collapse, rising costs of Chinese products and services, and the exponential demand from emerging markets have all been earmarked as having a hand in the manufacture of the inflationary conditions. Unregulated oil exporting economies experienced the highest inflation rates, along with the least developed nations (LDN's – IMF) and developing Asian countries, on account of food and oil price hikes.

### **HOW DID IT HAPPEN?**

With such far-reaching consequences and loss of economic value on a worldwide scale, the investigation in to the real and deliberate causes of the financial crisis and “who to blame” have been a debate of contentious nature. Finger pointing, lack of accountability and an overarching concealment of information have and with furthermore plague ongoing investigations. However, a central area of focus has been the US public monetary policy makers and respective private financial institution operations.

Information in various, well-respected publications in October of 2008 also claimed that various individuals fervently opposed any sorts of regulations to derivatives. Furthermore, it was a type of financial instrument known as “mortgage-backed securities,” a derivative, that ultimately caused the entire financial crisis and subsequent collapse to occur. The individuals who opposed regulation include, most notably, Treasury Secretary, Robert Rubin, Federal Reserve Board Chairman, Alan Greenspan, and Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman, Arthur Levitt.

Through Greenspan's role at “The Fed,” lowered federal rate funds in the order of only a single basis percent over a period of less than one year led to a flurry of relatively effortless financial credit funding being introduced into the market. This credit flux in the economy resulted in a period of highly flawed and unsustainable economic growth. It was partly a result of pressure



upon Greenspan to drive the US economy further away from the dot com bust of the early 2000's which led to shortsightedness and which only delayed the onset of recession.

Reports as far back as 1999 indicate that the Clinton administration's push to support subprime lending may have had a devastating effect as an addition to cause of global recession. Articles in publications, such as the New York Times, described how the government pushed financial institutions to offer loans to medium and smaller, more risky individuals. This new push for riskier loans began as early as 1995, when attempts to jump-start a stagnant homeowner market introduced a new level of hazard to the industry. Even earlier, advances by the Bush Senior administration in 1994 had weakened regulation of financial institutions. While congress at the time had structured orders for companies to be in possession of larger liquid asset cushions when taking out risky investments, the Clinton administration failed to implement the laws until some nine years later.

The Gramm-Leach-Bliley act of 1999, also signed by President Clinton, was in direct contravention of the Glass-Steagall act of 1933, which disallowed financial institutions from taking on the roles of an investment bank, commercial bank or an insurance company concurrently. Once the new act had been ratified, financial institutions really had free reign as to what and how business would be conducted. However, it has been argued that this new act also softened the blow for financial institutions suffering in the financial crisis, as the mergers and acquisitions that took place would have otherwise been illegal, allowing some sense of recovery to be achieved.

A 2009 paper by Fratianni and Marchionne discussed the role of the US economic debt in the causation of the financial crisis. The real estate asset bubble burst is said to be late on a list of activities to produce the economic slump. Subprime mortgage failure rates were the first symptom of a bust economy, but were not to blame for the brutality of the observed crisis. Nonetheless, low class mortgages served to feed the fire of economic destruction at a rate and to an extent never seen before. They became a part of the cause due to a number of reporting activities and motivational factors. These include: the sale and transfer of low quality mortgages in a market, ex-bank; the securitization and construction of corrupt and complex financial vehicles; lack of applicable evaluations of securities by responsible risk rating agencies; mark-to-market and "fair-value" accounting principles; and the lack of regulation in identifying and heeding signs of evident future troubles.



With an unsustainable economic boom taking place led by an exploding credit market, and the growing real estate asset bubble, those willing to take a chance stood at making incredible returns on investments. And the opportunity proved irresistible. Banks and investors partook in riskier activities as they over leveraged their own balance sheets and borrowed incredible funds to take advantage of the too-good-to-be-true conditions. It was, unfortunately, only if the unsustainable economic conditions of the time persisted, and the growth seen in the housing market continued, that these investors would be able to have repaid debts. This miscalculation in risk and the future certainly caused the financial crisis to develop on such a remarkable scale.

A calculations formula, known as David Li's Cupola Model, became persistently used throughout the financial industry to analyze Collateralized Debt Obligation prices, using prices of related Credit Default Swaps. Investors, rating agencies and issuers used this tool, which ultimately was flawed. As changes in the market due to the onset of the financial crisis occurred, the model began to fail until 2008, when the entire financial market, largely backed on Li's model crashed and shattered as the financial system found itself at the mercy of none. The model could not take note of the inherent risk injected into the markets, and the surrounding changes and absurdities in the financial environment. It has been estimated that the period two years prior to 2007, approximately \$450 billion dollars worth of Collateralized Debt Obligations were issued, with about 30% being mortgage backed and ultimately, risky. In the height of the recession, recovery rates on these instruments were running at 5-32%, a figure that further dampened the sustainability and liquidity of corporate balance sheets internationally.

This economic boom and bust pattern is an excellent example, as proposed by the Austrian School of Economics, of the Austrian Business Cycle Theory. Described as such, central banks alter monetary policy to lower interest rates to low levels that a period of false economic growth ensues. When these simulated conditions do not represent a state found in free markets, numerous poor investments become a direct result of cheap and easily obtained credit used primarily to invest in real estate and capital assets. The demand forces prices to rise and as individuals see positive growth in investments, put savings and other long term initiatives to the sidelines. This results in a strained financial and economic resource, on which the cheaper credit relies and should be backed against – physically it becomes impossible for banks to give out more money than what exists through consumer savings.



A tipping point is suddenly reached when investors collectively realize the problem as interest rates rise once more, causing a total collapse of the foundations of the market. The sudden drop in demand and consumption results in the onset of a recession.

It has been argued that the reality of the recession followed what had been long described by the Austrian Business Cycle perfectly. The actions of the Federal Reserve, previous presidential policies, poor investments based on weak analytical methods, carefree investments due to cheap and easy credit, over consumption and the housing bubble all feed the process. The tipping point, shown to be the collapse of Lehman Brothers, spurred a panic throughout global markets, which ultimately brought on the full scale recession, as explained through the business cycle theory. It is specified that any of the events in isolation would not have been adequate to explain the observed consequences, but rather a “perfect storm” of events, which occurred, was required.

And while most agree that the prior discussed causes to this recession seem to explain the observations, a number of other events are claimed to have added to the problems. An economist has shown through detailed calculations that the US economy would not have been thrown into a recession had the oil price boom of late 2007, early 2008 not taken place. While agreed that this was probably not a determining factor, the oil price fluctuations certainly have played a substantial part in the global economy during these periods. Other factors considered include alternate issues with the Federal Reserve and monetary policies; overproduction of goods and globalization in China, India and other emerging markets; and the fact that previous failures and lack of due diligence by financial companies in the US have gone unpunished and created a false sense of security in the US market.

### **QUOD ERAT DEMONSTRANDUM**

Being dubbed the world's most severe recession since the Great Depression, this latest financial crisis has rewritten the books and posted some new records on the severity of certain issues. While the globe still finds itself teetering on the outskirts of a recession, the world economy finds itself in the second longest period of contraction ever. The devastating issue has been that the effects have been so widely felt from country to continent worldwide. The knock-on effect, which has ravaged every sector, every industry in



nearly every market on earth was literally unstoppable. The pervasive effects of the recession include the collapse of trade and industrial production, unemployment, the decline of financial markets, insurance industry changes, small business lending policies, diminished travel and enlarged pollution rates. Analysts hypothesized that the recession was the response of the market to counter act the prior periods of intense economic integration and expansion through a process of deglobalization. Industrial output in the of the worlds most manufacturing rich markets (including Germany, Japan, Russia and Brazil) fell between 12-31% in the months between January 2008 to January 2009. The financial crisis most certainly included a manufacturing crisis, as the recession hit hard in countries who were net exporters. International trade, a net creator of value, is said to have fell by 50% in one week in October 2008, as measured by international shipping rates. However, the fall of prices, albeit commodities and stocks, spurred on the acquisition of low priced purchasing by private high worth buyers and sovereign funds from the Middle East and Asia. China went on a shopping spree primarily in 2009 to stock pile commodities and guarantee itself a steady supply of oils and minerals in the future.

One of the most prominent issues to come to the forefront of social concern was the effects of the recession upon employment figures and rates. It has been estimated that by the back end of 2009, over 20 million jobs had been lost in the US alone as a direct macroeconomic consequence. Global estimates put the total scale of lost roles at 50 million. Job loss has not been limited to the most effected industry – finance, but has been seen across job markets in a multitude of sectors including real estate, manufacturing and construction. The US has been one of the hardest hit job markets with unemployment rates falling from 4.9% to over 10% by October 2009. A very troubling fact in this period were the excessive cuts made by corporate executives who feared the worst for the future. The overkill job shedding meant that companies saved cash in the short term, but decreased productivity over the medium, thereby increasing the potential for defaults. In many instances, a percentage of those made redundant, were hired back over the following months. Various European countries, such as Spain, had an extremely difficult time weathering the job market crash as some reports indicate unemployment rates running as high as 19%. These conditions were not helped by the fact that emerging market economies, and typically the BRIC countries, were providing a skilled labor pool, which helped pressure global wages down.



It is very obvious that a market based on financial transactions would be extremely hard hit by a recession as fear and panic strangled the global economy. And while it was believed that financial volatility of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a “thing of the past,” the arrival once more of stock, commodity and currency volatility destroyed what remained of false optimism. The first quarter of 2008 marked the onset of a global shares crash, as prominent financial authors gave January 21, 2008 the term: “Black Monday.” The devastation was insidious in financial markets, from the US, to China and Europe. This “Monday-type crash” would take place three more times in 2008, August, September and October. Some 30-40% of financial market value had vanished in a period of 10 months. Russian markets were suspended on the back of notable value loss, an oil price crash and political tensions with the west, while other emerging markets followed suite. Bans in short selling of stocks were put in place in the US in the third quarter of 2008, and countries like the UK and Australia tagged on shortly thereafter. And with the financial assets market left in absolute ruins, the gold price shot through the roof as investors tried to sure up wealth in tangible and sustainable assets. This move was seen to affect other precious metals and land, rather than real estate.

A number of lesser discussed effects took place in smaller sectors, or those areas not explicitly covered in the media. The insurance industry made notable changes to their operations during this time of turmoil. While predictions of insurance price hikes were made, very few markets raised premiums, including, most notably UK insurance providers. Small businesses, part of the backbone of the US and global economy, were dealt a severe blow with the onset of changes to lending and credit policies. Large banks were being bailed out with federal funds while a considerable decrease to small business funding in the order of 4-6% occurred. While there has been a sincere drop in demand for funding as many small businesses have defaulted, or lost credit score, it has been argued that this does not fully explain the total drop in lending rates.

The Obama administration, on the back of changes to international environmental policy, had started to look at introducing environmental reform in the shape of a cap and trade regulation. However, with the onset of the recession, both the administration and corporations dropped any ideas of ecocentrism for profit and cost reductions. However, a decrease in greenhouse gas emissions has been hypothesized for the period 2008-2010, as manufacturing and other industrial processes tapered off. The tourism and



travel industry has also felt the effects of a troubled global economy. Travel and tourism turnover dropped as a result of new company policies, personal financial situation, the prevalence of special deals and lowered rates. While the “Sine Flu” breakout did much to deter travel, estimates to the loss of turnover in this period are in the order of some 6-8%.

### **THE GLOBAL DOMINO EFFECT**

While one the fundamental characteristics if this financial crisis has been the widespread and pervasive effects felt throughout the world, some countries have been affected to a greater extent than others. This is primarily a product of what the local economy has been based upon. Looking at a multitude of macroeconomic factors has resulted in the quantification of consequence and the impact of the crisis on certain nations. The financial weakness or strength has largely been analyzed by looking at equity market movement, currency volatility and devaluation, and rise or fall in sovereign bond spread. Rapid response to changing conditions at the onset of the crisis also helped some economies weather the storm much more effectively than those too sluggish or leveraged to move. The USA, UK, Hungary, Baltica, Ireland, Mexico and Russia, along with the Ukraine, Jamaica and Argentina have been the most adversely affected nations. Interestingly, Japan, India, Peru, Australia, China and Iran have been least affected in comparison.

The onset of the financial crisis caused not only financial instability of markets, but socio-political upheavals, fear and panic gripped populations worldwide. Mass protests and civil unrest have not been uncommon over the past three years, staged in defiance of governmental and corporate actions, even though this type of action has not been rare in even good economic and political times. Greece has been a region of intense upheaval, where strikes and riots put the country on high alert as school and airports shut in late 2008. The Icelandic government was strained to hold elections in early 2009, almost two years ahead of the scheduled date. The French youth went on a rampage against the Sarkozy administrations policies while the Latvian Cabinet of the Premier, Ivars Godmanis witnessed a rally from opposition parties and trade unions turn into a riot, “in his honor.” This type of action has been seen throughout the rest of Europe and Asia. Developing nations, those with less freedom to deal with the financial crisis, have experienced more disruption than developed nations, although this clearly has not been a hard



and fast rule. However, this theory also becomes defunct as the length of the recession increases and new problems, such as the European Sovereign Debt crisis emerge. Also, it is typical for those nations who are more vulnerable to dissatisfaction, augmented by dysfunctional governments and high level corruption, to experience widespread social frustration.

### **HOW GOVERNMENTS RESPONDED**

The financial crisis has promoted a number of governments to take charge of a failing private sector and help revive flailing local economies. The focus of numerous attempts to stave off the effects of the recession have been initially aimed at central banking systems and the banking industry in general, and then the greater economy and private business thereafter. This kind of Keynesian economic approach took place when economic incentive strategies were launched in the US, China and the European Union. “Bailouts” of private corporations also took place in India, while the G-20 nations took up this kind of crisis management to task.

#### *USA*

As early as September 2008, the Federal Reserve, SEC and Treasury took steps to embark on a campaign to help save the economy from total annihilation and to intercede in the process. Less strict financial rules, along with a \$50 billion program to insure investments formed the basis of federal moves to address the crisis. Other programs that came into act were the lowering of interest rates, introductions of bailout packages designed by the Bush Administration. Unsustainable trading practices, such as short selling, were banned by the SEC as an attempt to stabilize markets. However, it was the “Obama stimulus package” which became the focus of US policy as a response to changing financial conditions. Announced in January of 2009, the bill came into effect with Obama’s signature on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 2009. The plan has been said to cost \$825 billion with funds set aside for a number of sectors including: unemployment and low income aid, infrastructure, health care, education, energy, homeland security, law enforcement and a wide array of respective tax cuts. One of the key areas of interest to rebuilding the US economy has been the emphasis placed on the exporting of both goods and services to offshore areas.



### *ASIA-PACIFIC*

Indonesia introduced changes into policies allowing commercial banks to borrow funds from the central bank at lower rates than previously given while Australia injected vast amounts of funding, three times higher than was reportedly required, into the banking system. India followed suite, and too introduced funds into its economic systems through a refinancing deal. Countries like Japan and Taiwan opted for cash injections into various financial systems, while Taiwan also altered legislations regarding reserve portfolio requirements. While most other nations in the region, developed or emerging, introduced incentives or stimulus plans in the order of 1-3% of GDP, it was China's plan, accounting for 16% of GDP which brought attention to the responses of the Asia-Pacific region into the forefront. The Chinese economic stimulus plan came into existence around November 2009 in the order of \$586 billion that, by the end of 2010, will be invested in infrastructure and social welfare. While China is reported to not technically be in a recession, this plan has been aimed at maintaining and developing the future growth of China. Included in the plan are key investments in the sectors of housing, transportation, health, education, environment and energy, manufacturing, disaster recovery and tax cuts. Largely based on exports, the Chinese have tried to ensure, through tax breaks, that manufacturing is retained in the country, or offshore opportunities are attracted to set up shop via favorable economic conditions. The stimulus plan has been valued worldwide and identified as one of the key pillars of strength needed in the stabilization of the global economy.

### *EUROPE*

Lagging behind the USA, Europe only started to feel the knock-on effects from across the Atlantic some months on. It was countries like Spain and Italy that were initially involved with any sort of policy response earlier than quarter three of 2008. Tax reform and similar, relatively smaller scale initiatives had use only in few specific sectors. It was the fourth quarter of 2008 when activity in Europe gained momentum, as economy after economy fell prey to the ever increasing crisis. Sweden, German, Spain, Italy, UK, and the Netherlands developed specific initiatives to tackle the impending recession as the European Union announced plans for a 200 billion euro



stimulus package. It has been estimated that \$200 billion was introduced by European central banks into European financial systems in a single week in September 2008. Bailouts and nationalizations of corporations and banks continued to take place in Belgium, Netherlands, Germany and Luxembourg. The British government announced late in 2008 its stimulus package of around \$850 billion which would be introduced into the economy over a series of fund injections. Even with such noteworthy activity, the EU still contained a sense of opposition to the views shared by the US in the relatively liberal dealings of stimulus funding. This may be partly due to recent activity throughout Europe.

The European Sovereign Debt Crisis of 2010 and financial crisis survey of Eastern Europe suggest that the region is still in desperate need of close attention and reformation. Greece, Portugal and Spain have been at the centre of a second financial collapse as fears still exist that a double dip recession may be on the cards. Countries have bankrupted themselves through a number of policies and funding choices and are in danger of imploding their own economies. Corporations in Eastern Europe seem to be operating on running down inventories rather than hiring or expanding and still debt has worsened. The latest World Bank survey including countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Kazakhstan and Turkey contains some worrisome information. Using Romania as an example of the region, 54% of firms suggest that the financial situation in March 2010 was worse than 6 months prior, compared to 12% who suggest the situation has improved, while 35% say the conditions have remained stable. 73% of companies suggest that sales have decreased while 62% have decreased the number of permanent workers. About 50 % of Romanian companies do not believe they will be able to repay their current debts within six months.

## **PREDICTIONS**

With the global economy still in a sense of urgency, false hopes have quickly been dispelled as Europe has plunged into a second round of financial instability. Governments and private corporations have been battling with the beast of recession and attempts have been made to ensure this kind of economic activity is never to be repeated. But looking back on the history of recession in the US alone, one can only have a pessimistic outlook for the future. Between 1796 and 2010, there have been no less than 47 periods of



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## DOCTRINES, STRATEGIES AND SECURITY POLICIES

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economic contraction, or recession. Very few have been on the scale of the Great Depression, or the current recession, but it seems to be part of the ebb and flow of the business cycle taking place, occurring on average every 4-5 years. Legislation will change; companies will alter operational policies to try ensure safety in the future, regardless of the macro economic factors that get thrown at them. But no one can guard against the unknown. I am sure 20 or 50 years from now, this current recession will be talked about as a myth, not to occur again. But the economy of the world is changing, as natural resources become scarce, global political situations become locked or teeter on the brink of war, so will the economy be affected. This is not the last recession. But the scales of those to come cannot be predicted.



## “MILITARY CULTURES AND EDUCATION: HARMONIZING OR STANDARDIZING EUROPE?”

Sylvain PAILE<sup>1</sup>

*“I fully support this French Presidency’s initiative to explore the possibilities for improving the exchange of officers during their basic training. I consider it an important contribution to increasing the interoperability of the European armed forces and to providing full knowledge of EU instruments and EU objectives to ensure the comprehensive approach towards crisis management that we want to promote.”*

Javier Solana<sup>2</sup>

European military officer’s education is now at the beginning of a new era. The recent developments taking place in the European Union environment concerning an initiative meant to ease and foster mobility among military institutions are questioning the sacred value of sovereignty with regard to the education and training of ones national military elites. The emerging and consolidating European Security and Defence Policy has paved the way, during the last decade, towards a greater European conscience in the policies and actions of the national armed forces. The initiative, often named “military Erasmus”, is meant to raise this conscience in the early education of the military officers, but isn’t it another top-down project meant to feed the fiction of a “European army”?

Military officers’ educational institutions educate and, for achieving this objective, they have to define themselves in this field. For some of them, they chose to integrate fully the European Higher Education Area and be legitimately recognised as excellence poles in implementing the Bologna process. Moreover, officers’ institutions educate the future military elites, and then, have to conciliate the intellectual and vocational aspects of the profession’s requirements in their curricula. National equilibrium would be challenged by the new European projects and the question is thus asked whether Europe is looking for a new equilibrium based on a fiction or based on the sum of the national cultures in terms of military education.

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<sup>2</sup> High Representative – Secretary General of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Document S309/08, Brussels, November 10<sup>th</sup>, 2008.



### **1. The European initiative for enhancing a common defence culture**

#### **1.1 Military education in Europe: a mosaic of national traditions**

Military higher education, i.e. educational processes aimed at training cadets to their future functions as officers, remains very much coloured by the national visions regarding the role of their armed forces in defence and security issues. Trough the recent emergence of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) – to be renamed Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) if the Lisbon treaty is ratified – the question was asked whether this had an impact on the shape of military higher education and the curricula of the future military officers. The answer, at the time being, is negative. There was no general assimilation of this particular form of education related to the change happening in its environment. However, an “organic” mutation can be observed.

In the preparation of the European initiative for the development of exchanges of young officers during their initial training, which will be detailed in this article, the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) provided a stocktaking on the European dimension of military higher education<sup>3</sup>. This document showed that some connections exist between the national systems, which should be improved if Europe is willing to be seen as a security and defence cultural area.

Exchanges already take place between military institutions at the basic level of officers’ training with various shapes and objects. They extend from simple courtesy visits made by commanding staff or students for one or two days to the complete integration of curricula -measured in years- between two EU Member States. They can involve students, scientific, academic or administrative staffs. They can take place in the academic aspect of a cadet’s education or in vocational –i.e. military and professional- training activities. They can also be organised between military institutions or between one military institution and a civilian one, for example a university. Most of the time, however, they are organised on the basis of bilateral agreements and do not resort to exchange tools used by their civilian counterparts, such as the Erasmus programme. Some military institutions convened for example to meet in branches’ configuration in order to exchange their views on the training of their cadets. The European Air Force Academies (EUAFA) launched initiatives for enhancing cultural exchanges and sport competitions between the Air Force military institutions for short periods. This forum, where commandants of the institutions meet, is also a place for discussions about the curricula and the way to bring them closer for allowing longer exchanges. Within the Navy forum, called the Conference of Superintendents, such discussions also took place notably on the Bologna process implementation challenges. However, no exchange possibilities were concretely realised on the basis of exchange programmes and this issue was largely reported

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<sup>3</sup> General Secretariat of the Council, Document 12843/08.



into the stocktaking together with financial and organisational ones<sup>4</sup>.

The organisation of the military curricula is also very different from one Member State to another. The Bologna process, meant to upraise the obstacles to mobility, is considered as a global asset of military educational systems for joining the European Higher Education Area and being assimilated to excellence poles regarding their academic education. 17 Member States have started, or did, to transform their military education to integrate the Bologna *acquis*. Nevertheless, the Bologna process does not prescribe to implement all the three cycles. Then, what might be observed is that some officers' curricula contain only the first cycle (Bachelor), some only the second (Master), others the both of them, in the compulsory basic training a cadet shall attend in order to be commissioned. In some cases also, the third cycle (Doctorate) is proposed to the future officers. For those that had implemented the Bologna process, the ECTS accreditation system was generally shared and could consequently help in the recognition of foreign education.

The stocktaking document also showed a shared expectation in the European Security and Defence College for organising common educational modules to be proposed to the cadets regarding major international security-related topics, such as the ESDP itself.

Then, if not allowing to observe one common Europe in the field of military education, important tendencies noticed from the stocktaking suggested that an effort coordinated at the EU level would help educational systems to open to their European counterparts.

### **1.2 The initiative for the exchange of young officers, inspired from Erasmus**

The birth of the initiative for the exchanges of officers at their basic education level has been a slow process.

The French EU Presidency –held during the second semester 2008- decided to propose an initiative to boost the exchanges of cadets between the military higher education institutions and created an especially dedicated working cell within the Ministry of Defence's (MoD) structure. From September 2007 to June 2008, the so-called "military Erasmus" cell studied the interests of such an initiative for the Member States and their institutions. It worked on a questionnaire to be sent to the Member States to proceed to the above mentioned stocktaking of the military education in Europe and to ask the military institutions about their expectations related to the project. From the stocktaking, a preparatory group drafted a series of recommendations with the objective to improve the European interconnection of the educational systems. The Council of the European Union, in its Defence

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<sup>4</sup> Notably, the point was raised that the exchanges would depend on the proficiency of the cadets in following education given in foreign languages.



configuration, endorsed these recommendations in the Declaration of November 10<sup>th</sup> 2008<sup>5</sup>. The Declaration introduces this initiative in stating that it is meant to develop interoperability in the basic education of the officers, with respect to the national specificities and traditions.

The first part of the recommendations deals with measures to be taken at the European level. Those that are common to both academic and vocational training - i.e. professional and military - include the needs for comparing the skills and competencies required from the cadet along his/her curriculum, for creating a database presenting the programmes offered by the educational institutions and their demand/offer in exchanges, and for identifying the obstacles to the enhancement of these exchanges. On the academic aspects of the training more specifically, the Declaration recommends to develop ESDP and international security training modules to be proposed to the military institutions and to ease the access to internet distance learning for enlarging the academic offer of the institutions, notably in the field of ESDP education. The ESDC shall play a major role in that particular area while it is already its mission of education but addressing other publics. Besides, it is asked to develop, on the model of the academic training, credit transfer systems such as the ECTS and attraction mechanisms for exchanges in the military training.

The second part of the recommendations addresses the Member States and their military institutions. Two of these recommendations' points are related to the Bologna process implementation. Member States are asked to encourage this integration of the *acquis* and to recognise education received in other Member States, which eventually is a major point of the process. Moreover, they are asked to encourage mobility of the students and teaching staffs and to promote the development of the education in and of two foreign languages within the military institutions.

The third part concerns the follow-up and the concrete implementation of the initiative. It plans the creation of an implementation group and outlines the need for a continued assessment of relevant measures with regard to the objective of the initiative.

### **1.3 Fostering a common culture of security and defence through exchanges**

The initiative thus conceived intends to enhance a European culture in the field of security and defence, in fostering the conscience of sharing a same identity and objective among the concerned actors.

At the individual level firstly, simplifying mobility and acquiring new know-that and know-how would greatly contribute to professional development and broadmindedness of the future officer. Moving in an open space of education would also favour his/her self-learning of the ethics and values which compose the European construction. This would apply to exchange students but also to hosting institution's

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<sup>5</sup> Council of the European Union, Document 5155/1/08.



students through social interaction. The scientific, academic and instruction staffs exchanged would benefit also, for their own works, from interaction with new ways of thinking and doing.

Military institutions, then, would obviously benefit from this opportunity to show the excellence of their education and to demonstrate their role and visibility in the European Higher Education Area.

Member States would have the use of these constituted capacities of experts in ESDP functioning but also in multilateral logics. Their armed forces would improve their abilities to work with their foreign partners and allies.

Finally, the European Union itself would very certainly benefit from the apprenticeship of interoperability by the officers for the multilateral operations it would be willing to engage in.

We may propose, in that sense, to distinguish two main directions that use the initiative for acting on the ESDP acculturation and stimulate two correspondent aspects of an emerging culture: a formal direction and a normative one.

The formal direction is meant, in our mind, to accustom students to the role they might fulfil in the European defence context. Although European armed forces may be involved in various forms of multinational operations such as United-Nations' operations or NATO missions, flexibility shall be outlined as a major asset of the European officer's nature. At the institutional level, that suggests notably to launch a debate within the institutions on the conditions of use of languages such as English, adaptation of ECTS system to vocational training, or on the use of cooperation instruments such as the Erasmus. The recommendations outline some of these points, as explained above, in stressing the mobility challenges. Through exchanges of knowledge and values, the initiative would trigger a "Europeanization" of the defence education and consequently stimulate the emergence of a European culture of defence.

The normative direction deals with the amount of knowledge of the students related to the European defence issues, which the recommendations encourage to raise. In that sense, this point is subject for debate only at the national military institutions' level: amount of courses related to such issues, importance of these teachings in the curricula (compulsory or not, ECTS attached, time organisation...). The military institutions are thus asked to educate the cadets to the "Europeanization" of defence, which is expected to contribute to an other aspect of the European culture in security and defence: a European defence culture.

Besides these two main directions followed by the initiative, a third one might be outlined: a "crossover" possibility. It gathers both the formal and normative directions in providing an adequate European environment to a specific ESDP education. A practical implementation of this idea might be developed through projects of combined educations that are called for in the recommendations. The organisation of common academic modules by partner institutions, probably under



the aegis of the ESDC, would provide the students a common knowledge in a common environment. In that sense, academic resources might also be rationalized and common values may arise from these social interactions. This specific possibility would then combine both the two cultural aspects mentioned above and constitute an important symbol for the emergence of the European culture of security and defence.

## 2. The European Union and its emerging role as a security culture actor

### 2.1 Efficiency of the EU in being a cultural stimulator

The political declaration issued by the 27 Ministers of Defence in November 2008 addresses the 27 Member States of the EU and plans that the European Security and Defence College assures the coordination of the initiative. The European Union is, however, only one chain of the security strategies of the Member States. The 12 “new members”, joining in 2004 and 2007, have not mainly integrated the Union for security and defence purposes. 10 of them, the biggest in terms of population, had actually joined NATO before the EU<sup>6</sup>. The European Security and Defence Policy was obviously not considered as being the most important instrument for assuring security according to these Member States, counting now for about half of the EU sovereignties. The European Union itself is not a dedicated forum for these issues, security and defence being part of the second pillar of the EU policies, and is mostly concerned with Community matters, i.e. more economical issues.

The European Security and Defence Policy is very new and, one might say, still emerging, although NATO has proved its stability over the last 5 decades. The Alliance already issued a certain number of evidences showing that it has raised a culture of security and defence, notably in standardizing procedures (STANAG) or dealing with education, through the NATO Defence College. The question might be then asked whether the EU, relying on a fragile experience of security and defence, may be considered as an efficient cultural stimulator. In fact, the ESDP is a common policy of 25 Member States<sup>7</sup>, although NATO gathers 21 of these Member States. Austria, Finland and Sweden choose not to join NATO and preserve their neutrality but participate to the ESDP enterprise, which eventually confirms that the security culture raised by the EU and NATO are different. One security organisation actually gathers all the EU Member States; the Western European Organisation (WEO). However, if the WEO was, at the time the Maastricht treaty<sup>8</sup> was signed, the common –but unused– reference organisation for a purely European security and defence coordination, the emergence of the ESDP progressively withdrew its substance from the WEO’s *raison d’être*. The Lisbon treaty<sup>9</sup> –to be currently ratified– even copied

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<sup>6</sup> Cyprus and Malta did not join NATO.

<sup>7</sup> Denmark has opted out from the ESDP and Ireland participates on a very limited basis.

<sup>8</sup> Treaty establishing notably the European Union and its ESDP dimension.

<sup>9</sup> Article 42.7 Treaty on the European Union, Lisbon treaty consolidated version (05/2009).



articles 5 and V of the respective Washington and Brussels treaties. Consequently, the EU also formally appears as a potential cultural stimulator in security and defence aspects even if the definition of this new role for it is still an ongoing emergence.

In December 2003, although Europe was shared between its alignment with the Bush administration's doctrine of intervention and its principles based on international law regarding the conflict to come in Iraq, the ESDP stakeholders<sup>10</sup> nevertheless agreed on a security strategy defining the most important threats for the European security<sup>11</sup>. These were defined as:

- Terrorism;
- Non-proliferation of weapons of mass-destruction (WMDs);
- Regional conflicts;
- Failure of States;
- Organised crime.

These threats were in no case intended as being synonymous of armed intervention. The strategy document has no legal force from a formal point of view<sup>12</sup>. Diplomacy remains the privileged instrument of the EU within the Common Foreign and Security Policy, which ESDP is an aspect of. However, if one of these threats is realised and if diplomacy fails, the ESDP may be used as a coercitive instrument with respect to the United-Nations Charter and regarding the actions possibly taken within the North-Atlantic Alliance.

The Security Strategy was updated as to integrate the new emerging threats in December 2008. Cyber security, energy security and climate change were thus integrated into the scope.

In practice, the ESDP interventions are more pragmatically motivated and, in a number of situations, the missions make use of either civilian or military, or both, instruments. The external anticipation of its own security lead Europe to send notably police forces or legal assistance on the field it considers as being challenging. The EU vision of its external security maintaining can thus be considered as "soft", compared to NATO doctrines, and as a sign of cultural individuality.

The European Union can legitimately be considered as a cultural actor in other sector of its activities. If the initiative for the exchange of young officers is about the future of its security policy, it is also, and maybe above all, about the higher education of its citizens. In this area, which is at the basis of "culture" in its most substantial meaning, the EU has done a lot to outline its assets. All the 27 EU Member States are taking part to the Bologna process for lifting "the barriers to knowledge" and realise the European Higher Education Area. The European Community, however, did not wait for this continental coordination and, since 1988, launched its famous Erasmus programme for the exchange of students in higher education. This programme allows

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<sup>10</sup> Including the 12 States which, at this time, were still to join the Union.

<sup>11</sup> European Security Strategy « A secure Europe in a better world », Brussels, 12 December 2003.

<sup>12</sup> A project of « white book » on the European security and defence has been discussed many times along the last few years. Such a document would give more legal force to its content than the Security Strategy.



the signatory institutions of an Erasmus university charter to exchange students, staff and administrative personnel among them through mobility or in putting knowledge in common in creating combined educational modules. In that sense, Erasmus shall be conceived as a “toolbox”. The programme concerns not only the academic education but also the vocational one, since 2007. In the preparation and conduct of the initiative for the exchange of young officers, this particular *acquis communautaire* is conceived as the main toolbox to be used for effective mobility.

Thus, the European Union -to be understood as including the European Community- is indubitably to be seen as a cultural area in its broadest meaning. The EU has already proved itself a reliable cultural stimulator in the past and, through this initiative inspired from Erasmus, is now looking forward, on the basis of its experience, to build a similar cultural community in the field of security and defence.

### 2.2 Its means: harmonizing without standardizing

The initiative for the exchange of young officers rests upon the basis of the Europeanization of the higher education itself. The Bologna process and the Erasmus programmes are now, or are about to be, widely considered as a stable and consensual ground for making the higher education area emerging. Within the European Union, a majority of military institutions are now aware of the importance of the potentialities of such instruments. Many of them already implemented these actions, some are about to do so. It is, here again, a sign of this cultural conscience the European Union is seeking to foster within its frontiers. Due to the specificities of their activities, i.e. educating the tacticians and strategists of the future armed forces for the new kind of missions they will have to lead, the military institutions could have made the choice to remain outside the stream. However, societal and practical motivation lead them to “reconfigure” the shape of their education. Indeed, after the fall of the Iron Curtain, national armed forces and their *raison d’être* were challenged because of the disappearance of the “enemy”. On the one hand, the support for military elites being rapidly –for the needs of their protection mission-trained mainly for fight considerably lost importance. Public opinions considered them unadapted to the new missions of a new world. Then, the choice was made to train them also as societal elites, i.e. intellectual and educated actors of their society, which suggested a need for the military institutions to become comparable to the civilian higher education. On the other hand, more practically, the need for numerous human capacities lost its importance and many European armies made the choice during these last two decades to end conscription and retire a considerable amount of their human resources. A difficulty was revealed when these officers had to reconvert themselves on the civilian labour market: they were under-qualified. Anticipating the reconversion issue has been an other stimulation in bringing the military higher



education closer to its civilian counterpart.

This assimilation of military education with the civilian one is not sign of a standardization of the higher education in general, nonetheless. The military specificity is to be preserved and the Bologna process is providing a common understanding of the educational issues rather than standardizing the curricula. Even if it organises the studies in cycles, the process does not prescribe any particular pre-determined form: studies may be bachelor or master levels. National military educational systems remain diverse in their organisation of the officers' basic training; some choosing the bachelor level while others continue to the master one and may even propose doctoral studies. The only standardized issue is the ECTS –inherited from the Community Erasmus programme- for the accreditation of the academic modules or courses. However, in this particular matter, only the name “ECTS” is standardized because the States develop individually the criteria of the ECTS accreditation<sup>13</sup>.

The initiative itself is not intended to standardize the military curricula. The national institutions remain free for organising their exchanges in the way they prefer. The initiative is only meant to provide the necessary instruments for the institutions that face difficulties in finding the suitable partners. To sum it up, it is about lifting the barriers...To military knowledge. In that sense, the only implementation of the Bologna process actions and of the Erasmus is not sufficient because of the specificities of the military education, notably with regard to the vocational education. Is it not either about standardizing the exchanges procedures. As mentioned in the previous part, some institutions use to meet in specialized *fora* such as the Conference of Superintendents of the Naval Academies or the EUAFA for Air Force educational institutions. These *fora* have already thought about exchange strategies and the European initiative is ultimately meant to hand in the new shape of military education to these *fora*, which are the most suitable for discussing the concrete exchanges, regarding to their activity in a specific armed force branch. In the form of the initiative as much as in its content, it shall then rather be talked about harmonisation –bringing closer- than standardization.

Europeanizing the military higher education is thus about preserving the specificities of the armed forces' components, but also the national know-how, in line with the European principle of subsidiarity: relevant actions shall be taken at the most adapted level. The initiative thus respects the most important principles at the basis of the European Union's action in order to stimulate an interoperability of the capacities as early as the basic education level.

Some elements of standardization however appear in the content of the European initiative. The preparation of common educational modules, first related to ESDP and certainly later also about international security issues, is already ongoing

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<sup>13</sup> According to the Bologna Follow-Up Group (BFUG), the ECTS are defined according to the student's workload and/or the learning outcomes expected from the module or course. Nevertheless, reports showed that the former is often privileged and the BFUG is now seeking to encourage taking into account the both of them in the accreditation process.



and the results will be proposed, within a short term, to the military institutions that would like to benefit from an expertise concerning these issues. The European Security and Defence College, which primarily trains civil servants and career officers to ESDP notions and developments, intends to adapt its orientation course to a cadet attendance. The content of this educational module would then be standardized as much as a pedagogical exercise can be considered as being “standardized”. This aspect of the initiative deals with a common security and defence reality and, as a consequence, it is not meant to challenge the national characteristics of officers’ education.

Finally, it shall be mentioned that the initiative is ultimately addressed to the cadets, who will be at the centre of this mobility. The exchange of knowledge in military education is primarily intended to feed the competences of the future actors of the European defence. They shall thus be made responsible also for their own education. In order to hand in these expected results of the initiative, a website and a forum will be built in the coming months as to allow discussions and feedbacks of this cultural enterprise. In doing so in the context of the initiative, the European Union is, in our sense, promoting the idea of a “soft-governance” in the cultural area. The EU must leave the Member States free of their action in the conduct of their future exchanges, but a coordination of these actions is helping in giving the tools to ease the emergence of a common culture in security and defence.

### **Conclusions:**

In the preparation and conduct of the initiative for the exchange of young officers, specific attention was made to respect the specificities of the national systems and the room for manoeuvre of the institutions responsible for the education of the future military elites. In that sense, the initiative fully complies with the spirit of the European Security and Defence Policy, which is about preserving the sovereignty of the States in defining their defence priorities. The process in which these institutions engaged is not a top-down one but rather a bottom-up one. It is about meeting the individual resources and projects concerning the shape of the military education in order to define the scope of the commonalities and, therefore, to start growing new projects from this ground.

The emergence of this expected common culture of security and defence at the EU level is, and will be, a long process. The first exchanges may be expected to take place on a middle term. The Bologna Follow-Up Group itself, in its most optimistic forecasts, hopes that the process be completed with the creation of the European Higher Education Area only in 2010. It would only be on a long-term perspective that we could thus expect to measure the first concrete effects of this European acculturation among the officers. At the action level, they will be noticed when the cadets will participate as officers to multilateral operations - which might



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be relatively quick - but, at the decision level, it must be waited that these officers reach real decisional high-ranked positions within their national armed forces –which will eventually take much more time.

Nevertheless, even if the effects of this initiative might not be fully measured before long, clues that were given by the example of the Erasmus programme for the civilian higher education, now considered as a symbol of the European integration, assure that this pro-activity of the military institutions in the context of the ESDP grants the success to come.



# IMMUNITY OF FOREIGN SOVEREIGNS IN U.S. COURTS: LAW AND POLICY

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## I. Introduction

*As a leading country, the United States historically has faced multiple conflicts with various sovereign states. From ancient mercantile disputes to modern complex financial transactions done with and by sovereign states; from war crimes and genocide to terrorism, U.S. courts increasingly face foreign states as defendants.*

*The uncomfortable and arduous tasks courts have to deal with in these complex cases include: differentiate state actions as private or public in nature; the awareness of all stakeholders in a claim; the common intervention of the Executive Branch on a claim against a foreign state and the overlap of judicial scrutiny and foreign policy. This paper explores these issues.*

*(1) We analyze the history and legal evolution of the concept of sovereign immunity in the United States: the absolute theory of immunity, the restrictive theory introduced by the Executive Branch and finally the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 (hereinafter FSIA). Special emphasis is given to FSIA's commercial exception; the retroactivity of its application to acts is done by sovereign states before its enactment and the necessary nexus of the act with the United States.*

*(2) We turn to the delicate question of political influence over judicial decisions when a sovereign country is a defendant. What kind of scrutiny should be taken? What deference (if any) to the Executive Branch should be given? How do these decisions affect U.S. foreign relations?*

*(3) In conclusion, this paper suggests the equilibrium of judicial analysis and deference to the Executive Branch in foreign sovereign claims in order to avoid international turbulences on the public side, and the indiscriminate use of U.S. courts to resolve singular interests on the private side.*

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## **II. Foreign Sovereign Immunity in the United States**

Foreign sovereign immunity has long existed in the United States. It enjoys a noteworthy characteristic of involving all three branches of governmental power. The concept of immunity of sovereign states in the United States has moved from absolute to restrictive immunity, later on to codification to eliminate political “lobbying” and now backs to a balanced and sensitive look to the State Department foreign policy issues. Despite being codified, a number of controversies still challenge U.S. courts, and the matter is far from being unanimously understood. We analyze next these issues.

### **A. The Absolute Immunity Theory**

It is a principle of customary international law that no state may be subject to the legal process of other states without prior consent of the former. This understanding was adopted with no exceptions by the United States with the classical formulation stated in the *Schooner Exchange vs. Mc Faddon*.

This case involved a dispute for the property of a vessel between a U.S. citizen and France. Allegedly by orders of Napoleon, a ship was violently and forcibly taken while in voyage from Baltimore, Maryland (U.S.A.) and St. Sebastian (Spain). The attorney for the United States filed a *suggestion* that there should be no seizure, arrest, detention or molestation of French vessels in U.S. harbors and ports, since the United States and France had a state of peace and amity.

The issue, as stated by Chief Justice Marshall, was whether an U.S. citizen can assert, in an U.S. court, a title to an armed national vessel, found within the waters of the United States. It was held that the vessel, while an extension of a sovereign state in peace with the United States, was exempt from the jurisdiction of U. S. Tribunals while, in a friendly manner, occupied United States waters.

While we see some rationale for the commercial exception further given by FSIA, 19<sup>th</sup> century U.S. courts granted absolute immunity from suit to all foreign sovereigns, precluding courts from analyzing the merits of the case. This understanding was not limited to the United States. At that time, all of international law embraced the theory of absolute immunity.

The fundamental understanding was that since all states are equally sovereign and independent it would be a violation of the notion of sovereignty itself for a state to rule over or sue another *par in parem non habet imperium*. Notions of honor and dignity were strongly involved. It was simply understood that foreign sovereigns were immune and besides, it was the general practice. On the practical side, as *Mc Faddon* suggests, reciprocal nations not only expected, but gave foreign sovereigns immunity when disputes arose. The only way a foreign state could be sued under



this theory was if it expressly waived its immunity. Absent waiver, the doctrine presumed that the political process, not the judicial forum, should resolve disputes with a foreign sovereign.

If, under the absolute theory, a claim was brought against a foreign sovereign, there were basically two routes the defendant-state could use: (1) appear before the court, invoke its immunity and allow the Judiciary to make the immunity decision; or (2) claim immunity from the Executive Branch. By choosing the latter, any decision made by the United States Department of State was definitive.

In its day, the theory was generally accepted mainly because the volume of transactions between nation states was relatively small, and disputes were easily resolved through the Executive Branch by ambassadors or delegated from conflicting countries.

Problems started to arise when business developed between countries, and sovereign states increasingly became players in the market. These complex relations, which often gave rise to conflicts of interest, imposed a new approach to the principle of foreign sovereign immunity.

### **B. The Tate Letter: Adoption of the Restrictive Theory**

The 20<sup>th</sup> century marked the affirmation of the United States as a major player in global business. Vast numbers of U.S. companies began commercial transactions with foreign states, and these new actors in a once exclusively private area, imposed a heightened desire from the United States government to protect those businesses. The theory of absolute foreign sovereign immunity was leaving U.S. companies without legal recourse when faced with a breach of contract by a foreign state.

On May 19, 1952, Jack Tate, the Acting Legal Adviser for the Department of State, wrote a letter to the Attorney General of the United States explaining the need for a policy change regarding foreign sovereign immunity, that is, the adoption of the restrictive theory.

Tate's letter became the bedrock for the adoption of the restrictive theory in the United States, and had been named in general the Tate Letter. Tate's main reasoning: (1) a number of states had already adopted the restrictive theory (excluding the United Kingdom and the Soviet Block members) such that international support for the absolute theory was virtually nonexistent; (2) the United States' position abroad had been not to assert immunity in foreign actions against it; and (3) given the increased number of states involved in commercial transactions, citizen dealings with such entities deserved access to courts.

The main concept of the restrictive theory, in the wording of Tate, was that "the immunity of the sovereign if recognized with regard to sovereign or public acts *jure imperii* of a state, but not with respect to private acts *jure gestionis*. This was a limitation already recognized internationally to the once absolute concept of *par*



*in parem non habet imperium*. Needless to say, with the adoption of the restrictive theory a number of actions were brought in the U.S. courts against foreign states. Tate anticipated that the State Department's change in policy would not bind courts, but noted that the courts were unlikely to allow an immunity claim that the Executive Branch would not permit.

Accordingly, courts later adopted the restrictive theory even without the suggestion of immunity by the State Department. When immunity was suggested by the Executive Branch, courts nevertheless continued to defer to its opinion even if another court would have imposed jurisdiction after a neutral application of the restrictive theory.

The point for practitioners in this area to understand is that the influence of the Executive Branch over judicial decisions involving foreign states has always been important. During the period of absolute immunity there was no risk a foreign country would be sued. Since the adoption of the restrictive immunity the Executive Branch has played a protagonist role in judicial review of matters involving foreign sovereigns.

After the adoption of the Tate Letter understandings, the United States Department of State created a quasi-legal procedure to examine whether it would request immunity to a foreign state. Both sides were allowed to file briefs and make oral arguments; informal hearings were held with both the private claimants and the foreign state representatives, sometimes with witnesses, all of which were conducted to analyze whether a recommendation for immunity would be appropriate.

Some problems arose in the process, like failure by the State Department to notify private litigants that it had analyzed and rejected a request for immunity of a foreign state, thus making that party litigate over something already decided by the Executive Branch.

The gravest problem though was the extra-procedural influence that sometimes foreign states tried to exercise over the State Department's decision, most of which was not related to the merits of the immunity determination. The political nature of the procedure became obvious, and what was supposed to be a legal standard proposed by the Executive sometimes produced decisions contrary to the policy that that branch itself implemented.

These procedural and political problems created a necessity to codify immunity, not only to establish due process, but also to remove the political pressure inherent to the Executive Branch proceedings. Finally, in 1976, the restrictive theory of foreign sovereign immunity was codified in the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act.

### C. The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act

The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act ("FSIA" or "The Act") 28 USC 1330, 1332 (a)(2)(4), 1391(f), 1441(d) and 1602-1611 was created with the intention to achieve four basic goals: (1) to codify the restrictive theory of foreign immunities; (2) to remove the political influence over the Executive's sovereign immunity



determinations by leaving solely to the Judiciary the assessment of the facts and the application of the restrictive theory; (3) to provide procedures for service and establishing jurisdiction over a foreign state; and (4) to create procedures for executing any judgment that was obtained against a foreign state. The Act explicitly maintains the notion that, as a general matter, foreign states are immune from claims in U.S. courts. The Act lists the exceptions in which foreign sovereigns do not enjoy immunity against claims in the United States courts: **1605(a)(1)** – explicit or implicit waiver of immunity by the foreign state; **1605(a)(2)** – commercial activity carried on in the United States or an act performed in the United States in connection with a commercial activity elsewhere, or an act in connection with a commercial activity of a foreign state elsewhere that causes a direct effect in the United States; **1605(a)(3)** - property taken in violation of international law is at issue; **1605(a)(4)** – rights in property in the United States acquired by succession or gift or rights in immovable property situated in the United States are at issue; **1605(a)(5)** – money damages are sought against in a foreign state for personal injury or death, or damage to or loss of property, occurring in the United States and caused by the torturous act or omission of that foreign state; **1605(a)(6)** – action brought to enforce an agreement made by the foreign state with or for the benefit of a private party to submit to arbitration; **1605(a)(7)** – money damages are sought against a foreign state for personal injury or death that was caused by an act of torture, extrajudicial killing, aircraft sabotage, hostage taking, or the provision of material support or resources for such an act, if the foreign state is designated as a state sponsor of terrorism under section 6(j) of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. App 2405(j) or Section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371). **1605(b)** – a suit in admiralty is brought to enforce a maritime lien against a vessel or cargo of the foreign state which maritime lien is based upon a commercial activity of the foreign state.

As one can easily imagine, much controversy arose from these provisions. This paper analyzes three questions that are often reviewed by U.S. courts: the commercial activity exception to foreign immunity; the retroactivity of the dicta of the Act to hold foreign states responsible for acts done before its enactment and the nexus of the activity with the United States.

### a. The Commercial Exception

The essence of restrictive sovereign immunity is that a foreign state will not enjoy immunity if the particular transaction under scrutiny is labeled a “commercial activity”. As the Supreme Court stated, this exception is the most significant in FSIA. The difficulty faced by courts, however, was in how to define an act to be “commercial”.

The Act defines the commercial character of an activity by reference to the *nature* of the course of conduct or particular transaction or act rather than by



reference to its *purpose*. The approach to the *purpose* of a transaction means that the scrutiny to be done shall analyze the “sovereign or public purposes” behind the action. For example, a French court once characterized the sale of cigarettes by a private company to the Vietnamese army a public immune from French jurisdiction.

On the other hand, the approach to the *nature* of the transaction means that a commercial transaction should be defined only according to its commercial nature, and that the transaction’s purpose is wholly irrelevant. It has been argued that consideration of the purpose of the action produces unwanted subjectivity, and therefore uncertainty and unpredictability into the immunity’s analysis. Another argument made was that “once...courts start inquiring into the underlying motives of a State partner to a transaction... they will most probably end up with some political purpose somewhere.” Having codified the *nature* of the act in its legislation, U.S. courts have followed this understanding. Moreover, the U.S. Supreme Court defined the commercial activity by establishing the “private person test”.

In *Republic of Argentina v. Weltover*, the Supreme Court had to analyze whether Argentina’s default on certain bonds issued as part of a plan to stabilize its currency was an act taken in connection with a commercial activity, so as to subject that foreign state to suit in an U.S. court under FSIA. Justice Scalia, in pointing out FSIA as the “sole basis” for obtaining jurisdiction over a foreign sovereign in the United States, noted the difficulty in defining what a “commercial activity” is. He concluded that when a foreign government acts, not as a regulator of the market, but in the manner of a private player within it, the foreign sovereign’s actions are “commercial” within the meaning of FSIA.

The distinction between purpose and nature was also analyzed, and it was held that the test is not the assessment of whether the foreign sovereign is acting with the aim of fulfilling uniquely sovereign objectives. Rather, the issue is whether the particular actions that the foreign state performs, despite the underlying motive, are the type of actions by which a private party engages in “trade and traffic or commerce”.

Argentina uselessly argued on the *purpose* of its acts, alleging that the bonds at issue differed from ordinary debt instruments in that they were created by the government to meet its obligations under a foreign exchange program designed to address a domestic credit crisis, and as a component of a program designed to control a critical shortage of foreign exchange. The Supreme Court’s preemptory decision was that it was irrelevant *why* Argentina participated in the bond market in the manner of a private actor; it matters only that *it did so*, thus holding Argentina not immune from the claim under FSIA.

After verifying if the activity done by the sovereign state to be commercial in its nature, courts must verify two other issues imposed by FSIA: (1) was the acting person an agent or an instrument of a foreign state? And (2) had the activity any connection with the United States?



### a.1 The Concept of Agency or Instrumentality of a Foreign State

At first, when one thinks of an act done by a foreign state the image that comes to mind is something done by a government official, some official document issued, or some contract entered into, by a sovereign.

The increasing complexity of transactions and participation of governments in the private sector created a situation where the actor is not necessarily a member of the public sector, but acts on behalf of, or is hired by, a foreign government. For this matter, FSIA introduced the concept of “agency or instrumentality”, which serves the purpose of bringing these hybrid actors into the commercial exception to jurisdictional immunity.

Section 1603(b) of FSIA provides three requirements that need be met by an entity before it is defined as an agency or instrumentality of a foreign state: (a) the entity must be a separate person, (b) the entity must be an organ of a foreign state or a political subdivision thereof, or a majority of whose shares or other ownership interest is owned by a foreign state or a subdivision thereof, and (c) the entity must not be a citizen of the United States nor created under the laws of any third country. When discussing the adoption of FSIA, Congress explained in the House Report that the definition of “agency or instrumentality” was “intended to include a corporation, association, foundation, or any other entity which, under the law of the foreign state where it was created, can sue or be sued in its own, contract in its own name or hold property in its own name.” Furthermore, Congress characterized some entities that normally have government participation as being transport organizations such as shipping lines, airlines, steel companies, foreign banks, state trading corporations or export associations.

Common actors that can be defined as agency or instrumentality of a foreign state are the Foreign Government Owned Companies (“FGOC”), mainly because most of commercial transactions done by governments pass through companies, which have an obvious private nature and purpose, hence engaging in transactions that normally any wholly private company would enter into. A simple case is when a government owns more than 50% of the shares of a company, thus being deemed as an agency or instrumentality under FSIA. A more complex situation occurs when there is shared ownership of foreign states in the same entity or when the foreign government does not directly own the entity but one of its agencies or instrumentalities is part of the chain of ownership. In the event of these complex situations, lower courts developed a broad interpretation of the concept of agency or instrumentality by creating a situation of *pooling* or *tiering* ownership interests in order to define the entity as an agency or instrumentality of a foreign state.

To overturn this understanding, the Supreme Court very recently granted review of the matter, narrowly interpreting “agency or instrumentality” when it comes



to subsidiary companies of a state-owned parent company. In *Dole v. Patrickson*, plaintiffs (farm workers from Central U.S. countries) sought compensation against Dole and other companies (“Dole Petitioners”) from alleged injury from exposure to dibromochloropropane, a chemical used as an agricultural pesticide in their home countries. The Dole Petitioners impleaded Dead Sea Bromine Co., Ltd. And Bromine Compounds, Ltd. (collectively the Dead Sea Companies). The Dead Sea Companies tried to dismiss the claim on the grounds of FSIA, claiming to be instrumentalities of the foreign state Israel. The Court of Appeals for the District of Hawaii resolved the question of FSIA applicability by holding that a subsidiary of an instrumentality is not itself entitled to instrumentality status: The Supreme Court agreed.

Justice Kennedy, writing for the majority, found that the State of Israel did not have direct ownership of shares in either of the Dead Sea Companies at any time pertinent to the suit, observing that, rather, the Companies were, at various times, separated from the State of Israel by one or more intermediate corporate tiers. The narrow interpretation given by Justice Kennedy was that the assessment must be made as to the ownership of *shares* of the company by the foreign sovereign, with corporate formalities (i.e. corporate law) in mind, irrespective of whether Israel could be said to have owned the Dead Sea Companies in everyday parlance. It was concluded that Israel did not own a majority of shares of the Dead Sea Companies, thus holding them not instrumentalities of a foreign sovereign, derogating the *tiering* principle set forth by lower courts.

The fundamental aspect to be observed in *Dole* is the conceptual distinction made by the Supreme Court regarding control and ownership. Majority ownership of shares of a company by a foreign state, not control, is the benchmark of instrumentality status.

### **a.2 Nexus of the Activity with the United States**

The statutory provision of the commercial activity exception to sovereign immunity is broken into three parts, each classifying an act that is sufficiently related to the United States in order to satisfy the jurisdictional nexus requirement. All three requirements impose that the cause of action be founded against certain acts or activities of a foreign sovereign.

U.S. courts have subject matter jurisdiction if the foreign government carries commercial activities with substantial contact with the United States. Subject matter jurisdiction is also established if an act performed in the United States is connected with a commercial activity elsewhere. The intention here was to apply the exception to a situation where the conduct of the foreign state in the United States that related either to a regular course of commercial conduct elsewhere, or to a particular commercial transaction concluded or carried out in part elsewhere.

Finally, and perhaps most controversial, is that U.S. courts have jurisdiction



over an act exercised outside the United States, in connection with a commercial activity that causes a direct effect in the United States. Giving subject matter jurisdiction to U.S. courts both other acts and commercial activities done by foreign states *outside* the United States, but that cause a “direct effect” in the United States is obviously the most controversial nexus requirement of the act.

The term “direct effect” is obviously ambiguous, and has generated a number of lawsuits that affect foreign relations of the United States.

Moreover, the interpretation of “direct effect” is not uniformly applied by U.S. courts. Two views divide the interpretation of “direct effect”: a broad one, espoused by the Second Circuit; and a narrow one, developed mainly in the District of Columbia and Ninth Circuits.

Under the latter interpretation, it is held that the legislative history suggests that the clause should be understood in a way consistent with the principle of section 18 of the Restatement (Second) of Foreign Relations Law of the United States. The Restatement, in turn, calls for courts to consider whether the defendant’s activity outside the United States has a *substantial, direct* and *foreseeable* effect in the United States.

The *substantial* element in the Restatement’s test demands “significant financial consequences”, to the plaintiff resulting from the foreign state’s activity, thus providing a safeguard against de minimis suits brought against foreign states.

The definition of *direct* was given a rather literal interpretation, as we can see in *Zedan v. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, where the District of Columbia adopted the *Upton* analysis and found *direct* to mean that there was no intervening event between the defendant’s act and injury suffered in the United States. In the same way, the Sixth Circuit has interpreted in *Gould v. Pechiney Ugine Kuhlmann* that *direct* means that the plaintiff was the primary direct, rather than indirect, victim of the defendant’s activity.

The third definition, of *foresee ability*, is considered by some commentators perhaps the most important of the elements comprising direct effects under the Restatement. Courts have interpreted the Restatement’s foresee ability requirement for direct effects as excluding injuries that plaintiff suffered fortuitously. This interpretation has been followed as well by the Third, Fifth and Sixth Circuits.

A broad interpretation was given by the Second Circuit in *Texas Trading & Milling Corp. v. Federal Republic of Nigeria*, rejecting the Restatement’s three elements test, since, as stated: “the Restatement concerns the extent to which substantive U.S. law may be applied to conduct abroad, not the proper extraterritorial jurisdiction reach of U.S. courts.” Because FSIA’s statutory language “implies that federal substantive law will not always govern in FSIA cases”, and because the Restatement’s requirement of substantiality and foresee ability were intended to “minimize unnecessary conflict between United States and foreign substantive law”, these requirements are irrelevant in FSIA. As the law currently stands, there



are two streams of interpretation regarding the “direct effect” provision of the nexus requirement on the commercial exception contained in FSIA, and it appears that, depending on which Circuit the case is brought into, the outcome is likely to be different. To this point there is no unanimous understanding of what “direct effect” of the act in the United States means, and thus “forum shopping” may well be invited.

Turning back to the general nexus analysis, the Supreme Court, in *Saudi Arabia v. Nelson*, helped clarify how to find the nexus of the act with the United States. In 1983, Scott Nelson, a U.S. citizen, responded to an advertisement for a job at a state-owned Hospital in Saudi Arabia. This ad was posted in the United States by the Hospital Corporation of America. Nelson interviewed in Saudi Arabia and returned to the United States to sign his employment contract and have orientation (held by the Hospital Corporation of America). After some time working in Saudi Arabia, Nelson found some serious problems in the oxygen and nitrous oxide supplying equipment, problems which he reported but were ignored by the hospital and government officials. Seeing that the problem would not be solved, Nelson tried to resign his job but the hospital would not permit it, holding him forcefully in a jail cell. There he stayed for thirty-nine days, where he was tortured and beaten, while his wife was pressured for sexual favors in exchange of Nelson’s release. In the end, Nelson was freed by the actions of a United States Senator.

A lawsuit was brought in a U.S. court by the Nelsons against Saudi Arabia and the hospital. The District Court for the Eleventh Circuit dismissed the case for absence of subject matter jurisdiction, holding that there was no “commercial activity” that removed Saudi Arabia’s immunity. Furthermore the court held the inexistence of a nexus between Hospital Corporation of America’s recruitment and the relevant harms brought in the claim.

The Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit reversed, concluding that the relationship between the Saudi Government and Hospital Corporation of America was sufficient to establish “sufficient contact” with the United States. Moreover, the court held that mainly because the torts were a consequence of his diligent work, there was acceptable nexus between the recruitment and the aforesaid torts.

The Supreme Court reversed. Justice Scouter made a detailed interpretation of the terms “based upon” and “commercial activity”. “Based upon” means that a cause of action has to be directly related to the immediate elements required to establish a claim for relief. For this reason, the respondent’s claims could not be “based upon” Nelson’s recruitment and training in the United States, but only with the conduct that had a direct effect on Nelson’s harm. In relation to the concept of “commercial activity”, Justice Scouter restated the need to assess the *nature* rather than the *purpose* of the act to define the activity as being commercial under FSIA. He found that the claim inappropriately relied upon a supposedly commercial “purpose” for the retaliation, holding that the “nature” of the act boiled down to abuse of the power of state power by the Saudi Government. The *Nelson* definition of assessing the



nature of the activity instead of its purpose has been followed by the lower courts and especially in the recent decision of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in the polemic Hwang Geum Joo v. Japan, known as the “comfort women” case.

### **b. Retroactivity of FSIA to Prior Acts of Foreign States**

Often courts face foreign state actions that occurred before the enactment of FSIA.

Sovereign defendants often allege inapplicability of FSIA on the grounds that FSIA was made retroactive to the date the Tate Letter, or May 1952, but not before it. This understanding was affirmed by the Second Circuit, having it concluded that FSIA did not apply to default on Russian bonds issued 1916, but the court implied that the Act would apply to commercial causes of action arising between 1952 and the enactment of FSIA in 1976. The rationale was that only after 1952 was it reasonable for a foreign sovereign to foresee being sued in U.S. courts on commercial activities.

The D.C. Circuit found retroactive application of FSIA in *Princz v. Federal Republic of Germany*. While the court decided the case without holding for the retroactivity of FSIA, there was much discussion over the retroactivity of the Act. The *Princz* court pointed out that the coverage of the gap between 1952 and 1976 was proper. The District Court relied on the language of the Act that states that “claims of foreign states to immunity should henceforth be decided by courts in the United States in conformity with its principles set forth in this chapter.” The interpretation of the statutory provision given by the D.C. District Court in *Princz* was that the Legislative intent was for “FSIA be applied to all cases decided after its enactment, regardless of when the plaintiff’s cause of action may have accrued.”

This interpretation suggests that actually the enactment of FSIA was a mere codification of a policy used since 1952, and the objective enacting FSIA was not to establish a restrictive theory of foreign sovereign immunity in the United States, but rather to alleviate political pressures and to establish procedural certainty for the litigating parties.

Very recently, in *Republic of Austria et al v. Maria V Altmann*, the U.S. Supreme Court enlarged FSIA’s retroactive application to pre-Tate Letter acts done by foreign sovereigns. After discovery of relevant documents by an Austrian journalist, Mrs. Altmann sued to claim ownership of six Gustav Klimt paintings that belonged to her uncle and were seized by the Nazi Regime or expropriated by the Austrian Republic after World War II. The Republic of Austria and the Austrian Gallery (the latter acting as an instrumentality of the Austrian government) filed a motion to dismiss the claims on the grounds of sovereign immunity, among others. Basically, the defendants argued that as of 1948, when much of their alleged wrongdoings took place, they enjoyed absolute immunity from suit in U.S. courts. Proceeding from the premise, defendants next contended that nothing in FSIA should be understood to



divest them of that immunity retroactively.

Overruling the Second Circuit rationale discussed above, the Supreme Court concluded that “the principal purpose of foreign sovereign immunity has never been to permit foreign states and their instrumentalities to shape their conduct in reliance on the promise of future immunity from suit in U.S. courts. Rather, such immunity reflects current political realities and relationships, and aims to give foreign states and their instrumentalities some present “protection from the inconvenience of suit as a gesture of comity.” This set out the conclusion of unrestricted retroactivity of FSIA to foreign sovereign acts even prior to the Tate Letter: “In this *sui generis* context, we think it more appropriate, absent contraindications, to defer to the most recent such decision—namely, FSIA—than to presume that decision *inapplicable* merely because it postdates the conduct in question.” The essential conclusion was the understanding that when Congress commanded that “*Claims* of foreign states to immunity should *henceforth* be decided by courts of the United States and of the States in conformity with the principles set forth in this chapter”, it meant that this language suggests Congress intended courts to resolve *all* such claims “in conformity with the principles set forth” in the Act, regardless of when the underlying conduct occurred. Finally, Justice Stevens writing for the majority added, applying FSIA to all pending cases regardless of when the underlying conduct occurred is most consistent with two of the Act’s principal purposes: clarifying the rules that judges should apply in resolving sovereign immunity claims and eliminating political participation in the resolution of such claims.

### **III. Political Influence over Judicial Decisions in Sovereign Immunity**

What is the overlap between the Judiciary and the Executive powers when dealing with foreign sovereign claims?

Traditionally, foreign relations are carried out by the Executive Branch, since the Constitution explicitly gives the power for the President to make treaties with other nations and to receive ambassadors.

As discussed before, the Executive Branch traditionally played an important role in disputes involving foreign countries. The adoption of the restrictive theory came from the Executive, changing the secular absolute theory settled in the Judiciary. One of the main reasons for the enactment of FSIA was the removal of the political pressure imposed by foreign states on the Executive, mainly because of the management of foreign relations done by that branch. From every side that one analyzes, the participation of the Executive Branch in disputes involving foreign sovereigns until today is apparent.

Did FSIA actually remove the so-called “political pressure” over decisions involving foreign states? Is it correct to simply include this sensitive matter of ruling over a sovereign in the U.S. legal system and treat it like a domestic dispute,



once jurisdictional discovery has been made? Is or should, for instance, a poor and politically ostracized like Syria be treated equally as Japan, a major economic partner and friendly country, when defendants in U.S. courts? What kind and what different effects can these decisions render internationally?

### A. Political Question Doctrine

The principle of non justiciability of some cases that involve Executive or Legislative prior actions or interventions comes from an awareness of the Judiciary of the need to coordinate the branches of the Federal Government, a primary function of the separation of powers. The Supreme Court in *Baker v. Carr* states clearly that the matter becomes “political” not when there is a review of the Judiciary of actions by the States, but strictly within the two other branches.

Aware of the problems that unrestricted exercise of jurisdiction by U.S. courts when met the exceptions of FSIA could bring to foreign relations, the Supreme Court used its political question doctrine in *Baker*. The political question doctrine states that a very limited class of cases so closely involves politically sensitive issues that courts should refuse to hear those cases. It defines the scope of the Judiciary to review Executive and Legislative actions and points out in which instances. Additionally, there is a need for appropriateness under the U.S. system of government of attributing finality to the action of the political departments, and also the lack of satisfactory criteria for a judicial determination.

The political question doctrine is ultimately committed to the essential preoccupation with the necessity of the equilibrium of the U.S. government with the separation of powers. What are the elements of a “political question” determination? (1) the textual appointment by the Constitution for the matter to be finally resolved by another branch; (2) the absence of satisfactory judicial standards for discovery; (3) the need for a previous policy determination for a “kind clearly for nonjudicial discretion”; (4) the impossibility of the Judiciary to make an independent decision without crossing the line that separates the powers of government; (5) or finally the incongruence in having multiple decisions by different powers in the same matter.

Domestic cases reaching the external relations of the United States comprise the largest class of cases to which the political question doctrine has been applied. However, post-Baker Supreme Court case and even lower court cases have cautioned against the excessive use of the political question doctrine. As one commentator stated, “the political question doctrine has both a limited and cautious heritage”, and its application is far from being squarely done.

The unique and delicate foreign policy implication that a suit against another sovereign in U.S. courts brings is a difficult task for the U.S. federal government to deal with.



### **The role of the Executive Branch in Sovereign Immunities Claims and its Effect in Foreign Relations**

A fundamental U.S. constitutional principle is that the power to conduct foreign relations is vested in the Executive Branch. On the other hand, by the doctrine of separation of powers, courts must decide cases independently and without discretion and influence from the Executive and Legislative branches. The cornerstone of U.S. democracy is an independent Judiciary.

A close relationship exists between the separation of powers and political question doctrines. Both state that international relations are properly the domain of the Executive and the Legislative, and outside the reach of the Judiciary. As seen in *Tel Oren v. Libyan Arab Republic*, there is a pragmatic concern that judicial activism may have inconsistent and disruptive effects on the foreign policy of the United States. Senior Circuit Judge Robb states that Federal courts are unable to deal with a case moved by Israeli and U.S. Citizens against the Palestine Liberation Organization, Libya and Palestine Information Office involved terrorist acts. The main topics argued were that: (a) the case involved standards that defied judicial application; (b) it involved questions that touched sensitive matters of diplomacy that uniquely demand a single voiced statement of policy by the government; (c) it brought questions connected to the activities of terrorists that have historically been within the exclusive domain of the Executive and Legislative branches; and (d) the possible consequences of judicial action in this area are injurious to the national interest. These assertions clearly show the deference courts are likely to give to the Executive Branch in cases with delicate foreign relations characteristics.

In *Baker*, the Supreme Court cemented the leading role of the Executive (and Legislative) powers to deal with foreign relations by giving the sweeping statement that all questions touching foreign relations are political questions.

For these reasons, judicial scrutiny in a case involving a foreign state without deference to the Executive Branch can possibly affect not only the separation of powers, but the foreign relations of the United States.

This seems to be the most recent understanding of the Supreme Court. In *Altmann* Justice Stevens writing for the majority considered the filing of an *Amicus Curiae* brief by the United States on favor of Austria. The court clearly states that deference should be given to the opinions of the Executive Branch whenever it expresses its opinion on the implications of exercising jurisdiction over *particular* petitioners in connection with *their* alleged conduct. The Executive opinion can, in the wordings of the court, “well be entitled to deference as the considered judgment of the Executive on a particular question of foreign policy.”

Traditionally, the State Department has influence over foreign sovereign cases subject to judicial review, mainly because of its already asserted role as prominent actor in foreign affairs. FSIA empowers the Judiciary in a way that is the sole forum



for discussions over foreign sovereign immunities in the United States. All the reasons stated above ought to be considered by the courts in their decisions, but by no means are they bound by what the Executive recommends. This maintains the principle of equality and separation of powers, maintaining the independence of the Judiciary to freely decide the matters brought to its jurisdiction.

Again in *Baker*, right after recognizing the prominent role of the Legislative and Executive Branches on political matters, the Supreme Court restated that it would be an error to suppose that every case or controversy which touches foreign relations lies beyond judicial cognizance. Justice Brennan provided a three prong test for a discriminating analysis of a particular question related to foreign relations: (1) the history of its management by the political branches; (2) its susceptibility to judicial handling in light to its nature and posture in the specific case; (3) and the potential consequences of judicial exercise. This test seems the most accurate for determining a “political question” while facing a case that involves a foreign sovereign.

In practice, the foreign policy statement given by the State Department assumes a great influence in the Judicial decision, and if not an active participant of the claim filing an *Amicus Curiae* brief, courts are likely to look beyond its jurisdiction and consult with the State Department before deciding over foreign sovereign’s immunities.

The increasing international transactions worldwide and the even greater importance that foreign relations assume in the government’s agenda are certainly matters that the Judiciary needs to be aware of, and the likelihood of claims arising that will directly affect the United States’ foreign relations is evident.

Looking from the other side, a government sued in U.S. courts will potentially exercise pressure over the Executive for the matter to be taken out of the scope of the Judiciary and be treated in the diplomatic arena. If not treated properly, the matter can negatively affect U.S. foreign relations, or possibly generate claims against the United States abroad.

Another route that the Executive Branch can use to avoid the influence of the Judiciary is by entering in a treaty with a foreign government to negotiate and settle any impasse created, a power granted by the Constitution. The existence of a treaty between the United States and the defendant-country, approved by Congress, may preclude courts from exercising jurisdiction over a foreign country, especially if the treaty explicitly states that settlement of disputes arising from it ought to be resolved through intergovernmental settlements. The main problem from the plaintiff’s side, though, is that while the claim is brought by a private party seeking some kind of compensation from the defendant state, the treaty is made between governments, precluding private contenders to seek relief in courts.

It seems impossible to separate the Executive Branch from the Judiciary Branch when the latter faces claims against a foreign state through FSIA; while it is not even the intention of the Judiciary to act without having at least some input from



the Executive or some basic examination of the foreign relations policy adopted by the latter.

### IV. Conclusion

The immunity of sovereign states against jurisdiction of U.S. courts is a major legal issue. It is a matter historically treated by international law that now assumes an even greater importance with the substantial enhancement of cross-border transactions, movement of people and the global perspective businesses and information are taking.

The United States as one of the leading countries in the world, politically and economically, has thus the burden to establish sounds and coherent approaches to domestic litigation involving foreign states.

FSIA and interpreting case law go a long way in giving the necessary procedural mechanism in resolving actions against a sovereign state and at the same time put the Judiciary as the ultimate deciding authority, removing from the Executive Branch its past politically-influenced decisions in this subject. However, despite this shift in deciding authority, it is notable especially from *Altmann*, the influence of the Executive, at its own discretion, and the deference of the Judiciary to it, in cases against foreign sovereigns.

FSIA was enacted in order to avoid political pressure and to give procedural certainty to the contending parties, moving away from the Executive Branch the power to decide if a foreign sovereign is immune from suit in the United States. It would be naïve to think though that the enactment of FSIA would simply remove the Executive Branch as an actor in claims regarding foreign sovereigns. The difference is that, because of FSIA, the Executive can now only *recommend* immunity or inform the court what is its policy in certain contended matters, hence participating in claims at its own discretion.

Even though it seems that it is not the intention either from the Judiciary or the Executive to taint the relations of the United States with friendly nations, hence preserving them immune from suits the publicity, length and stress that litigation itself brings may be understood as a method of pressure to make the foreign state be open to negotiate or at least to not ignore its disputed actions.

The FSIA is a powerful tool U.S. Citizens and aliens have in order to seek compensation for an act done by any foreign state, but there has to be a narrow application of it. Although relatively easy to determine, and the little or no political influence in a day-to-day business activity, these matters cannot have the same scrutiny as others involving international law violations done by foreign sovereigns. In other words, a default on the payment of bonds issued by a developing country cannot be scrutinized the same way as genocide and war crimes.

The first is the consequence of the mixture of public and private activities



in international commercial relations, which became common in the past decades; the latter exceptional and radical activities, which call for the bilateralism or multilateralism of intergovernmental negotiation and understanding, not a unilateral decision by the Judiciary.

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# TRANSFER OF THE DEMOCRATIC NORMS OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS INTO SOCIALIZING PRACTICE

*Dr. Marian ZULEAN*

*Motto: "Theory is theory...but the practice kills us all!"*

## Introduction

The Romanian society has experienced a dramatic pace of transformation and change after 1989, at all levels of society. Before 1989 Romania was a communist country, a member of the Warsaw Pact, which experienced one of the fiercest dictatorial regimes, having an excessive nationalistic defined defense doctrine, large armed forces of about 300.000 conscript soldiers and an overdeveloped defense industry. Today, Romania is both a NATO and EU member, with an active contribution to the international security, whose peacekeeping troops are spread from Iraq and Afghanistan to the Balkans, possesses volunteer army with a flexible force of 75,000 soldiers and 15,000 civilians and its security sector experiences a profound transformation.

The pace of reform was dramatic not only in terms of downsizing the military and setting up a mechanism for democratic control of the armed forces but also in terms of strategic thinking and vision about the role of the military in a democratic society. Despite the fact that the reform process started from a domestic impulse the role of Western assistance, particularly the NATO's open door policy, was instrumental in encouraging and guiding the efforts to build a democratic soldier, based on Democratic Peace theory.

The issue of civilian control of the military was high on the political agenda in the Romanian transition. Both Western institutions that assisted the Romanian transition as well as the domestic political forces asked for democratic norms of civil-military relations and institutions. The basic norms of democratic soldiering were successfully adopted in Romania both due to the public support, particularly its willingness to return to its Western identity and protect from a set of threats, but also due to Western assistance. However, the consolidation of democracy and internalization of the norms is a long process, which needs further research. No study



until now assessed how the individual military internalized the norms of democratic control. They focused mostly on “supply side”, how the norms were institutionalized and legalized, if the curricula or regulations are in place or if the military organizations adopted the norms.

The military education also faced a radical change after 1989, related with the acceptance of indirect career track, double specialization for military graduates and change in curricula to encompass such courses as Leadership, Management and Sociology. In the practical training of soldiers, such courses as CIMIC Doctrine or International Humanitarian Law were also incorporated. However it was not clear in what degree the democratic norms and practices are internalized by the military. The analysis of strategic documents, such as National Security Strategy, proved an emerging interest to clearly define the model of democratic soldier and the norms of good governance and civic education.

The main goal of this paper is to explain how the Romanian militaries understand the model of democratic soldier and to assess the military culture against the ideal model. “How were the democratic norms of civil-military relations transferred into military socializing practice?” is the principal question of the research.

In order to answer the question an empirical fieldwork was carried out over the Summer and Fall of 2008, a set of interviews conducted by the author. A set of 24 of semi-structured interviews (11 officers, mostly majors and LTCs, 2 lieutenants and 13 NCOs) were conducted but only 17 of them were valid after the transcription. Majority of the soldiers have had experience in the peacekeeping operations abroad.

This paper is part of a larger research project “The Image of Democratic Soldier”, funded by the Peace Research Institute in Frankfurt (2006-2009). The interview guide was provided by PRIF and adapted for the Romanian language by the author. However was hard to apply it *ad litteram* because some of the questions didn’t apply to the Romanian case and part of it regarding the participant observation during the courses didn’t apply either. The findings of the empirical fieldwork are presented below.

The study is divided into four parts. The first part of the paper investigates the way the military represent their role-model. The second part investigates the acceptance of the democratic soldier by civil society. The third part tries to explain how the armed forces deal with the tension between the democratic norms and functional military necessities while the last part explain the perception of the out-of-area missions pursued by the military.

### **1. Military Role –Model: on personal motivation, self image and ideals**

The first part of the interview was designed to inform about the self-images and professional identities among the soldiers, to understand the way they represent the role-model and the motivation to choose the military career. From the human



resource strategic documents it is expected that the role-model proposed by the leadership that an Officer should be "...a military leader, a specialist, an educator, a citizen in service of nation and a fighter" while a NCO should be "... a fighter, a branch specialist, a small group commander, an educator and a citizen"<sup>1</sup> to have a clear operationalization into practice. However, the role model is not very clear connected to the paper statements. The lack of a clear ideological training on democratic soldering -such as the German concept of Innere Führung- could be explained by the runaway from the recent past, when Political-Ideological Education was a mandatory course for the Communist Military.

Regarding the mission and objectives of the soldiers, there is a perception of adaptation to the new challenges; only the way of doing the job has changed to a peacekeeping. However some of the NCOs are very critical to the peacetime administrative jobs: "...we are cleaning toilets...our unit became a kolkhoz" (I 14, paratrooper).

The perception regarding the role-model of a good soldier is that of a knowledgeable, disciplined, well educated, good fighter, patriot, good example for society, man of honor and altruist. Some of the militaries would favor physical qualities such a LTC that see a good soldier as "...not a Schwarzenegger but an efficient fighter, having broad worldview" (I2, LTC) while others would favor a balanced view "...a good sportsman, having integrity, aware of his mission, a symbol of Romanian society" (I6, LTC). On the other hand, even though the women in the military have no long tradition their male peers consider that they should be treated equal.

*Military ethos* seems to be a paper concept, almost unknown in practice by the soldiers. A LTC considered that "...it represents the military spirit and beliefs but we don't have a specific training for soldiers" (I2) while another LTC guessed that it might be "...a military folklore and spirit which characterizes the military system...a set of habits... ceremonies..." (I6). After seven interviews I decided to come up with a definition in order to trigger the discussion but it was not useful at all. A lieutenant bluntly put it: "Yes, is a new word for me...probable it is already used in our military system but nobody gave me a definition or I have never talked about that..." (I13, Lt).

By the same token, the soldiers don't perceive themselves very well connected with a certain tradition. Some respondents associate the military tradition with the military branch tradition. Thus, a LTC (I1) invoked Gen. Mochulski, an Alpine troop hero during the WWII while a paratrooper invoked Gen. Bastan, the founder of the post-WWII Special Forces (I6).

The style of command and leadership seems to be of greater interest for majority of the soldiers. The ideal commander should have native managerial skills, a capacity of empathy, should be a good professional who should make him respected by the

<sup>1</sup> See Marian Zulean, "The Image of the Democratic Soldier. Transfer of the Normative Model into the Military Institutions and Their Socializing Practice: Romanian Case, PRIF- Research Paper No. II/13-2008, pag.5, available: [http://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/downloads/Romania\\_2\\_02.pdf](http://www.hsfk.de/fileadmin/downloads/Romania_2_02.pdf)



subordinates. A LTC considers that "...the authoritarian style is specific to military but some branches such as Air can adopt a participatory one" (I3).

The militaries don't consider themselves as the "guardians" of certain values but they consider the "Armed Forces" as the guarantor of national identity, independence and national security of the Romanian state. That is quoted as such by many officers.

In summary, it can be stated that the role-model of a democratic soldier is well designed on the paper but there is not very well explained and internalized by the soldiers. The concept of military ethos is unknown although some of democratic values are transmitted into the socializing process.

### **2. The image of the soldier and acceptance of the armed forces in society**

The Army is one of the most trusted institutions in Romania. As has already been explained in the first paper realized for the PRIF project, a public opinion barometer showed that -between 1996-2006- the Military was one of the most trusted institutions, alongside the church. About 70% of the public trust the Military<sup>2</sup>. Even if the trend is declining it is expected that the image of the soldier is very good and the civil society has a high esteem for the military.

Surprisingly, the respondents mentioned the contradiction between that trust measured by the opinion polls and the way the military is presented in the media. Some explain the contradiction as a recent image created by the media that the military earn high salaries while the public understand less and less the roles and responsibilities of armed forces. A lieutenant of Land forces considers that:

...there were so many public shows to a certain TV channels in which the reporters tried to underline the negative aspects of the military...that the militaries are very well paid and, except the missions abroad for peacekeeping they do nothing... (I 5).

Otherwise the debates about the ideal soldier are very rare and only when it was related to the Romanian efforts to join NATO. Therefore the interviewees consider that the civil society hardly understand the military within, due to the law that suspended the conscript army. Due to such misunderstanding there are many stereotypes and prejudices in the mind of civilians, such as the ones related to high salaries. A LTC from NDU considers that "... Our image is getting worst within the civil society ...the civil society doesn't understand properly our role. They think only that we earn some good money... (I 5, LTC). However there are some positive stereotypes that a military is very organized, clean and punctual.

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<sup>2</sup> See Marian Zulean, "The Normative Aspects of Building Democratic CMR in Post-Communist Romania, PRIF-Research Paper No. I/13-2007, available at: [http://www.hsfl.de/fileadmin/downloads/Romania\\_13.pdf](http://www.hsfl.de/fileadmin/downloads/Romania_13.pdf)



### 3. Democratic ways of organizing the military

The next part of the study will answer the question on how the armed forces deal with the tension between the democratic norms and functional military necessities. Despite the fact that the Army is regarded as an authoritarian organization, one of the constant concerns after the Revolution of 1989 was the democratic way of organizing the military. Since the Army was the driving force of the “Revolution”, a group of young officers founded in the early 1990s the Action Committee for Democratization of the Army, the so-called CADA, which proposed a set of changes, including some proposals to regulate the military life.

As shown before, the discipline is the trademark of the modern armies and military identity. Therefore the new norms regarding the way the tensions and conflict are regulated and internalized should be very clear. Generally speaking, the respondents claim that the conflicts and tensions among the soldiers are very well regulated by the military codes of conduct. “...conflict resolution and problems solving are very well regulated by the military codes, such as RG-7...” (I 6). However some respondents considered that the conflict settlement should be more transparent and democratic, beyond the military code. They didn’t elaborate but seems that the Commandant has extensive powers to judge and settle the conflict.

Practically any problem you should report to the Commandant, it is normal. You have a problem? You should go to your boss who is in charge to represent your interest... (I 2).

When comes to the issue of protecting the individual rights and liberties in the army, the soldiers believe that they are respected. However they are aware that some liberties are contained due to the specificity of the military life.

One of such rights is the right to be involved in politics. Of course the soldiers can vote but they cannot campaign or candidate as a military for any political office. They see politics and the military as opposing concepts. Majority of the interviewees agreed with the statement that “A soldier has to serve his nation and should not care about politics”.

We are not political partisans. All our actions are non-political.

We only have to be informed (in order to vote?? - n.a.) but I don’t think we need to practice politics because it is not our job (I 3).

Such courses as civic education are not seen as very important although they pursue some lessons on civic education. The respondents don’t see it as a requirement for the military life; they rather advocate that the Army should recruit the volunteers already educated in the spirit of civic culture.

In conclusion it can be assessed that the soldiers assumed that a military life has some limitations of their personal rights but they perceive it as normal. “...Of



course our rights have some restrictions, we all entered the military system aware of that...since I accepted I think my basic rights are protected...” said a LTC. (I 7)

It is not evident if the new changes proposed by the new regulations are internalized. However the general norm of civilian control of the military was fully embraced. None of the respondents questioned the statement that a soldier should not care about politics and focus on their professionalism.

### 4. Relations with out-of-area missions

The military doctrine during Ceausescu regime - *The struggle of entire people* - was based on the assumption that Romania never attacked a neighbor and pursued just wars only, for defending its territories. However, when NATO and Partnership for Peace opened the doors for the former Communist countries they asked the candidate countries to show the willingness to participate in the out-of-area missions. That triggered debates in the early 1990s about the peacekeeping missions. The next part of the research would deal with the issue of legitimization of out-of-area missions and perception of both the militaries and civil society about such missions.

The opinions of the militaries were diverse ranging from some that view the missions abroad as an opportunity for Romania to contribute to the global peace and, others, that would favor a more balanced view between foreign missions and domestic ones. Thus a LTC considers that “...being a NATO member you have to execute whatever NATO decides...today you cannot rely on self defense, you cannot live alone...of course it is related with the process of globalization...” (I 1).

On the other hand, some others consider that it is a win-lose strategy, the more you invest in mission abroad the less you get for the military units at home.

I have the feeling that we have two armies: one that fight in the missions abroad, well trained and equipped, and another that does what it always did, training more or less, depending on the funds allocated by the Government (I 6).

Thus, the strategic culture of the Romanian soldiers changed over time, starting from a critical approach to sending troops abroad to an enthusiastic approach in sending troops in peacekeeping missions and even to the “Alliance of the Willing” such was the mission in Iraq. The politicians were more critical than the militaries in sending troops abroad. The criticism of the military was mostly related to rational allocation of resources but they understood that a mission abroad would increase the Romanian chances to join NATO and EU.



### Conclusions

The title of the paper has been chosen starting from a saying of an Anonymus soldier that answered the interview questions and represents a rough conclusion of our research. As shown in the first part of the paper the role-model of a democratic soldier is well designed in the strategic or education documents but there is not internalized by all the soldiers. Concepts such as military ethos or civic education are not very well understood.

On the other hand, even though the military is one of the most trusted institutions in Romania that doesn't correlate directly with the democratic image. In the last year some soldiers claim a stereotype from the media and a bias of presenting the Military as earning more money and doing not much for the country.

Regarding the issue of limitation to their individual freedoms it is an assumed choice. It seems that the general norm of civilian control of the military was fully embraced by respondents. A young lieutenant explained that "...I think it is normal to have a civilian control over the armed forces, because control means transparency and civil society should permanently know what the military does..." (I 16).

As a general conclusion of the empirical study it can be noticed a gap between the ideal-type of democratic soldier drawn in strategic documents and the socializing practice. I didn't meet a single ideal soldier whose discourse proved that he fully understood the norms and habits of democratic military and pursued civic education or military ethos courses. The lack of a clear ideological training on democratic soldiering could be explained by the runaway from the recent past, when political-ideological education was a mandatory course of Communist indoctrination. Despite the shortcomings it can be assessed that the norms of democratic soldiering are internalized by majority of the military and included in the socializing process.



# THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY AND THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP IN EU AND RUSSIAN FEDERATION'S VISION

*Constantin Gheorghe BALABAN Ph D*

## **Abstract**

*Although, in the first years of implementation, the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) score significant results both through the assistance given to the partners in order to draft a detailed reforms plan and through the much more intense and efficient assistance from EU, the political instability and the weak governments from its Eastern neighbourhood could bring a negative influence over the Union<sup>1</sup>. As a result, the future European action will fasten on the exacerbation and revitalization of such partnership so that, in the new European structure, the benefic internal and external effects to increase.*

*On the future, the main actions, which must carried on in order to enhance ENP, aims the granting of better incentives to partners in order to get forward the reforming process and to facilitate the access on internal market of EU, taking into consideration the impact which these measures will have over the European internal policies. On the economic integration background there is the conclusion of bilateral commercial agreements.*

Tags: partnership, neighbourhood, Eastern dimension, Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine

## **1. The Eastern and Caucasian dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Russian's approach**

The concept of European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) follows up the transformation of the border notion into a space of cooperation and political, economical and social connection which will avoid the creation of a Iron Curtain type fissure and the participation to ENP doesn't represent neither theoretical, nor practical, a „substitute for the membership status or a stage which will lead

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<sup>1</sup> There are taken into consideration the risks toward the European energy security, threats to the environment and, not the last, the illegal migration increasing.



absolutely necessary to rich the membership status”<sup>2</sup>.

Same as European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) rejoin the countries which are situated in next proximity of EU, countries to which Union tries to develop closer cooperation relations, favourable relations with Russia remain essential. Furthermore EU is interested now to grow the stability and security in the next proximity through the promotion of a stable countries circle, well lead, on the Eastern part of Union (Moldavia, Ukraine, Belarus), in South Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan), through the cooperation with Russian Federation.

The European Security Strategy singularizes, one it was enacted, in December 2003, the South Caucasus as a region where the Union should be involved more and importance gained by this area was underlined, later, by the EU Special Representative for Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, Peter Semneby, at the summit called *South Caucasus – 2006: new development's tendencies, threats and risks*, which took place in October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2006<sup>3</sup>.

Related with this, in our paper “European Neighbourhood Policy”<sup>4</sup>, the Trans-Caucasian area is presented as “competition zone”, not only between bigger and more powerful neighbours (Russia, Turkey and Iran) but also between great powers what, in author’s opinion, gives to those countries a “larger manoeuvring space”<sup>5</sup>.

So, for EU, the comprisal of the South Caucasus countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia), in ENP<sup>6</sup> represent a “step forward in the EU relations with South Caucasus countries”<sup>7</sup>. As a result, the consolidated cooperation and good neighbourhood relations between EU and Russian Federation have and will have in future „a crucial importance for the stability, security and prosperity of entire Europe and of neighbouring countries”<sup>8</sup>.

ENP offers certain *possibilities on the matter of multilateral cooperation* and the creation of a community EU – Black Sea, after the Northern Dimension, seems to increase and encourage the dialog for a more stable, secure and democratic neighbouring and, even more, if didn’t emerge the „Georgian conflict”.

In fact, EU *proposes to its neighbours* from East and South Caucasus area (Belarus, Moldavia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) *a privileged relation* in order to develop, at its borders, a peaceful, secure and prosperous space based on cooperation and of which goals are the strengthening of political cooperation

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<sup>2</sup> The European Parliament Resolution from July 10th 2008 regarding the Commission’s strategic document concerning the enlargement 2007/227 1 (INI)

<sup>3</sup> We keep in mind that at this conference, organised by the Centre for Strategic Analysis - Spectrum, it was pointed out over the richness of energetic resources in the area, and so we understand better the increasing of strategic importance of South Caucasus and also of its potential danger.

<sup>4</sup> Balaban Constantin Gheorghe, *European Neighbourhood Policy*, University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009

<sup>5</sup> Balaban Constantin Gheorghe, *European Neighbourhood Policy*, , University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p.53

<sup>6</sup> Council’s Decision from June 14<sup>th</sup> 2004 followed by the visit of European Commission’s President, Romano Prodi, and Commissar Potocnic in area.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, p. 55

<sup>8</sup> Balaban C.G., *Op. Cit.*, p. 69



and economic integration. ENP is not synonym with EU enlargement but *remain a distinct process of adherence*.

## **2. Eastern Partnership (EP) in EU's vision and Russia's perception**

In order to deepened the relation between EU and six East-European countries (Moldavia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and, possible, Belarus), on December 3<sup>rd</sup> 2008, the European Commission presented the conception of Eastern Partnership. This new partnership wish to be a new “instrument” through which EU offer a perspective to the creation of Free Economic Zone and, in a far perspective, to allow free visas trips in the European space. The EP is part of ENP. Cu the occasion of launching this new EU's initiative, the European Commission President, Jose Manuel Barroso, declared that the EP is an “instrument of political association and economic integration”<sup>9</sup> and will include “measures for social-economical development sustain in six countries and five notable initiatives”, which will bring the tangible proof of EU's sustain.

The new partnership opens a new chapter in the EU's **relations with our neighbours from East**<sup>10</sup>, and the concept was enacted during the first months of year 2009 by the 27 member-states of EU, respective, by the EU Council on March 19-20<sup>11</sup>. The essence of EP is presented within the Declaration enacted with this occasion<sup>12</sup> and which stated:

- The new partnership represents an important change in the EU's relations with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and Ukraine;
- The partnership prefigures the improvement of the political engagement's level, profound integration in European economy, facilitation of the citizen's travel inside the Union, in conditions of following the security requirements implied by this, the increasing energy security arrangements for all interested parts benefit and also the improved financial assistance;
- Through this ambitious partnership, EU proposes a consequent assistance in order to sustain the reform's efforts of its partners, through the new complex institutional development program and a new multilateral dimension which joint together the partners to face the new challenges which they are confronting of;
- The Eastern Partnership will help to build the trusty climate and to develop closer relations between the six Eastern partners.

So, *in EU's vision*, EP is an ambitious and balanced “offer” and answer to the neighbor's wish from the Eastern borders to go closer to EU. In the same time, the

<sup>9</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video\\_prod\\_en.cfm?type=ebs&sid=132310](http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video_prod_en.cfm?type=ebs&sid=132310)

<sup>10</sup> **Commissar for External Relations and NEP, Benita FERRERO-WALDNER.**

<sup>11</sup> Main misunderstanding between the 27 member-states concerns this Partnership's budget. The **Commissar for External Relations and NEP** interviw can be found to the link [http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video\\_prod\\_en.cfm?type=ebs&sid=132310](http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/video_prod_en.cfm?type=ebs&sid=132310)

<sup>12</sup> European Council's Decision regarding the EP can be found at <http://www.interlic.md/2009-03-20/ue-a-aprobat-bugetul-parteneriatului-estic-600-mil-euro-9162.html>



new partnership has as goal the “cooperation’s strengthening in energy security field of all participants, especially regarding the energy supply and transit on long term, including through a better energetic efficiency.”<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, through the political will and the EP’s implied parties engagement could be achieve the “political association’s goal and the economic integration and to which have to be settle four thematic platforms according to main cooperation field, as it was established on Point 5 of European Council’s Declaration regarding the Eastern Partnership, enacted on March 20<sup>th</sup> 2009:

- Democracy, good governance and stability;
- Economic integration and convergence with EU’s policies;
- Energy security and the human contacts.

EP was official launched in Prague, on May 7<sup>th</sup> 2009, during the EP Summit during the Czech semestral presidency. But at Habarovsk, during the EU - Russia summit, which took place on May 2009, the Russian officials disapproved the EU tentative to consolidate the relations with former Soviet republics through the EP, the summit emphasized, in Russia’s opinion, “much more divergences rather convergences”.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. The energetic security and its influence in EU – Russia relations

EU is the second world consumer, after USA; with 20% from world oil consumes and imports 80% from resources. The oil and gas demand<sup>15</sup> is increasing and CIS and Russian Federation will dominate the oil supply, followed by Middle East, Norway, North and West Africa. Also, the gas reserves are detained by Russia (29%), Iran (15,2%), Qatar (14,7) and, in small quantity, by Saudi Arabia (3,8%), USA (3%) and Algeria (2,5%).

As the energetic supply of EU with hydrocarbons is done from outside the Union, *the dependence of energetic imports* and remains *one of the main problems* of EU. And, truly, the EU’s officials are concern by the increasing of energetic dependence, especially by gas but also by oil. The energetic resources requirement for EU countries is covered for almost 30% by imports from Russia<sup>16</sup>. This percentage can grow up on medium term, after some estimation, till 70%.

The changes appeared in the energetic field both in the CIS and Russian Federation and EU spaces are significant.

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<sup>13</sup> Point 4 from European Council Declaration regarding the Eastern Partnership, March 20 2009

<sup>14</sup> Balaban C.G., *Effects of the South Caucasus events over the security of Black Sea extended area*, in Magazine „Strategic Universe, No. 1/ March 2010, Prouniversitaria Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, p. 202

<sup>15</sup> After the estimation of the International Energy Agency (IEA) and Organisation for Cooperation and Economic Development (OCED), the gas request for EU and Balkans, as for Turkey and Norway, will pass in 2030 from 200 billions m<sup>3</sup> (2005) to 500-600 billions m<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> According to *Favennec* (2007, p.190), the Russian oil production, leader of world production, decreased to half in 1998 and 1995: from 600 millions tone in 1980, from 350 for CIS, from which from 500 to 300 millions tone just for Russia, being recorded a „decline”. A decline which didn’t affect the exploring role and status of CIS and Russian Federation, NIES Apud Susanne, *Op. Cit.*, p.33.



Thus, the gas sector from former Soviet space passed through important changes concerning the organisation – from the administration by the Soviet Ministry of Gas to a stock-company belonging to (1,5%), Ukraine (9,5%) and Russia (89%), company which had to be privatized, finally having a 38% participation of Russian state<sup>17</sup>. According to the sources<sup>18</sup>, *the state control*, less and less in the hydrocarbons sector, *was reinstated* at the end of Boris Elțân mandate (2000).

The changes appear within the EU. Among these, we mention the crossing to a *new European energetic policy*, a policy which aims the “increasing of competition” on common market through different forms of patrimonial separation of transportation and distribution network, but through inter-connections, to more *tentative to rectify the missing institutional framework between East and West* among which can be mentioned:

- ENERGY CHARTA (1990), an initiative of Dutch prim-minister conceived like a dialog and cooperation framework over the energy between Western and Eastern Europe;

- EUROPEAN ENERGY CHARTA (1991), which became in 1994 the TREATY OVER THE ENERGY CHARTA<sup>19</sup>, an instrument with plenty limitations and ungratified by Russia;

- INOGATE, in 2001, where Russia wasn't part, constitute a sort of “umbrella” agreement which considers to favoured both development of oil and gas transportation structures and investments in former SSRU.

EU needs more and more of Russian energetic resources. This country is and, at least for the moment, remains the most important gas supplier in EU<sup>20</sup>. The Russian economic interests in EU are related to the free trade area which could, in future, contribute to the consolidation of a common market.

The energy provision of EU with hydrocarbons depends on imports but *the European countries energetic dependence have different levels towards the Russian Federation*<sup>21</sup>, despite the fact that Russia is and still remains the main supplier for Europe, EU being, as dimension, the second energetic market from the world. So, it result that even Russia depend by the energy resources export in EU.

As a result, in the analysis regarding the energetic dependence level of the EU's countries toward Russia, at the EU level we notice:

- EU member-states with zero dependence: Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Sweden;

<sup>17</sup> NIES Apud Susanne, quoted *Op.*, p.33.

<sup>18</sup> According Stern (2005) over the evolution of Gazprom, Return of state under Putin, etc NIES Apud Susanne, quoted *Op.*, p.33.

<sup>19</sup> This Treaty was not limited to Europe but included 51 de members. It had a consultative status and it was not ratified by Russia.

<sup>20</sup> Despite the decline of production during period 1988-1995 the decreasing of internal requests in all former Soviet states, during the same period, allow to CIS and Russian Federation to keep its exploring status both for oil and gas.

<sup>21</sup> According to some statistics, EU import 73% from its oil necessary and 44% from its gas necessary. Three states really counts for the Europe gas supply: Russia (24%), Norway (15%) and Algeria (11%).



## DOCTRINES, STRATEGIES AND SECURITY POLICIES

- EU member-states with a considerable dependence: Poland (47% of gas internal consume/2005), Germany (43%), Italy (30%), France (26%), Romania (23%);
- EU member-states with a greater considerable dependence: Greece (96%), Bulgaria (89%), Czech Republic (84%), Austria (70%), Hungary (62%);
- EU member-states totally dependant: Slovakia (100%), Finland (100%), and Baltic Countries (100%).

Still, the energetic imports for the European countries economies can represent also a „good and real opportunities for the economic and commercial development between Union and Russia”. That’s way, the Strasbourg Parliament, saluting the dialog’s enhancement between EU and Russia regarding the aspects related to energy, underline the fact that „inter-dependence and transparency principles should stay as background of this cooperation, together with the access equality on market, at infrastructures and investments”<sup>22</sup>.

Nevertheless, the Russia’s role of „energy super-power” induces „new fears and tensions” within the Russia-EU relations<sup>23</sup>. Furthermore Moscow took up almost all the energy resources from Central Asia (Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan stroke hands with Russia)<sup>24</sup>.

As a result, the Europe’s energetic security has in view not only the *assurance of transit alternative routes uncontrolled by Russia*, but also the *securisation of some multiple supplying sources* - diversification of suppliers and transit routes could stimulate competition on energy market that could decrease, in many analysts opinion, the blackmail potential. In this context, the most important project, which aims to meliorate the energetic dependence of many European countries from Russian gas, is the one which follows *the connection of EU suppliers with the gas suppliers from Central Asia through energetic corridors and transit routes uncontrolled by Russia and Gazprom*. This energetic macro-project rejoin three other inter-dependent micro-projects: *gas pipeline SCGP* (South Caucasus Gas Pipeline) which connect Baku (Azerbaijan) with Erzurum (Turkey) and which is counting, especially, on oil-deposit exploitation from Sah Deniz. In this context, the major interests of Europe and USA follow the development of SCGP through a Southern corridor which will split in two strategic directions:

- Pipeline TGI (Turkey-Greece-Italy);
- Pipeline Nabucco<sup>25</sup>, which connects Turkey by Austria going through Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary.

The Nabucco project aims to build a pipeline of 2,000 mile which will transport

<sup>22</sup> Balaban C.G., *Neighbouring European Policy*, University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p. 68

<sup>23</sup> Even if, due to the EU energetic dependence toward Russia, the European leaders proposed alternative energy sources development plans and of finding new suppliers: <http://www.eu4journalists.eu/index.php/dossiers/romanian/C42/67/>

<sup>24</sup> Balaban C.G., quoted *Op.*, p.69

<sup>25</sup> The project will be realized by a consortium in which companies from five partner-states Botas (Turkey), OMV (Austria), MOL (Ungaria), Bulgargas (Bulgaria) and Transgaz (Romania) have equal participations.



gas from Caspian Sea to Austria through Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary. The main benefit of project is the fact that Russia will have no role within and being created an alternative gas source in order to diversify the energetic supply for Europe. Nabucco will have 3,300 kilometres length and the construction suppose to start in 2009 and to end in 2012.

On its turn, Russia proposes pipelines which compete both with Nabucco and TGI – initiatives through which, we believe, follow not just the annulment of Nabucco project but the amplification of Europe's energetic dependence. On these lines, Russia proposes the construction of two pipelines - South Stream and North Stream<sup>26</sup> -, through which Russian Federation can be connected directly with the biggest European market: Italy and Germany.

### Conclusion

In order to reduce the dependence from Russia, the European Commission approved a "rectification packet" valuing 2.3 billions Euro (3.2 US\$ billions) in order to sustain financial different energetic projects EU. This financial support is an answer to prevent the tensions generated in the last two years over the Russian - Ukrainian gas when many countries were out of gas during the hard months of winter.

Since its creation, in 2002, the Nabucco pipeline project made very few progresses. This is, mainly, due to the political misunderstanding of the implied countries, the technical difficulties and high costs, and also to the doubts regarding the project's capacity to supply a great gas volume because the sources aimed by this project were already bought, for 25 years, by Russia.

Also, the Nabucco project is seen, by many, as a "rival" to the similar project "South Stream"<sup>27</sup>, initiated by Russian Federation. Due to the fact that both projects have "similarities" in their design, the only difference being the "Russia's exclusion" and the EU's interest remain the same: "diversification of its suppliers" in order to "reduce the energetic dependence from Russia", who can use this dependence to put pressures during the political, economic or social instability times, as it happened in 2009 winter.

Recent, during Houston/Texas energy conference called "Energy – Building a new future", "Paolo Scarone, CEO of Italian energy giant ENI, proposed a revolutionary idea in order to combine the two projects – Nabucco and South Stream – in only one.

European Union – also claim former Polish foreign ministry, Bronislaw

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<sup>26</sup> The consequences of the pipeline's operationalisation will be dramatic for the European energetic security: increase the blackmail potential of Gazprom toward Ukraine and Poland and the assign possibility from preferential prices.

<sup>27</sup> "South Stream" was initiated by Russian Federation and aim to bring gas from Caspian Sea through the Black Sea bottom to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Hungary, Slovenia and Austria.



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Geremek, recently Euro-parliamentary –, must look to present Russia as a „new Russia, as an important player in Europe, but with one condition: and Russia to follows the rules of the game/.../ EU could not agree that Russia will use the energetic resources as political pressure lever over the neighbours” .



# EUROPE'S ISLAMISATION OR ISLAM'S EUROPEANIZATION? WHO'S AFRAID OF WHOM?

*Isabele ANCUT PhD*

## Abstract

*The old dilemma continues to incite the academic world and not only. Once with the Islamic movements revival, more than ever, it is speaking, with fear, about the avalanche of the Islamic civilization with all its aspects over the Western-European civilizations. Is this the true or it is, again, about a new witch hunting?*

In an old article, Mihai-Ştefan Dinu<sup>1</sup> remembered us that the Islam issue and the challenges brought by him appeared once with the Iranian revolution from the '70 years. But this makes us to wonder, if we think about history, what was the meaning of the crusades? What unleash them and who where the true authors of these crusades?

The European space is considered to be the one with the greater capacity of cultural tolerance, but recent events seems to contradict this statement. It is true that there is a common experience, but the different way in which this experience was lived by different nations made Europe to be divided by linguistic, religious and political border. Next to ethnic, religious or ethnic-religious confrontations within Europe appears a new tension determined by the matter of Islamic religion.

Back to present, within the European space are living almost 15 millions Muslim, this number becoming a problem on the internal, and even external, agenda of the countries, reason to win or to lose electorate. From this point of view (followers number), Islam became the second religion in this space. So, can a community with almost 99% from population of Islamic confession to become member of the European space? Is the Islam from Europe an integral part of the evolutionary cultural environment or a threat to the European society? The representations of Islam have a strong influence over the political culture, national identities, over the attitudes vis-à-vis migration, security and multiculturalism?

We must remember that, in 2008 (January 10<sup>th</sup>), 400 Muslim communities

<sup>1</sup> Dinu Mihai-Ştefan, *The role of religion in the building the future Europe*, National Defense University „Carol I”, Center for Defense and Security Strategic Studies, National Defense University „Carol I” Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009



signed, within the initiative „2008, European year of the intercultural dialog”, a Charter containing the European society rights and responsibilities, in 26 points being included the clarification of notions such Islam, Djihâd, and other aspects, mainly those who sight out the use of force. Important is the fact that the Charter elaboration was coordinated by the Federation of the Islamic Organizations from Europe who decided that in this way they might help the European decision makers and, implicit, could unify the European Muslim populations. This initiative is not a singular one, we can mention also the Spanish initiative sustained by Turkey and adopted by UN in 2005 under the quotation of „Civilization’s Alliance” (the initiative appeared soon after the 2004 Madrid bloody attempts).

We must never forget the difference which we must do between Islam and Islamism, between social and political Islam, between the normative and doctrinaire Islam. So, when we will speak about Islamism, we will refer to the interpretation and use of the religion in political purposes, being different by Islam as religion. Any spiritual erudition could be considered meaningless if it is not followed by startup, action, so any religion could represent a critical reflection over the policy<sup>2</sup>, ascertainment which can be generalized, its specificity being given by the exceptions. So, Islamism is a particular interpretation of Islam and Mihai-Ştefan Dinu considers that it would be an error to consider religion *per se* as a major problem comparable with terrorism, for example. So, once again, Islam does not mean terrorism just for the simple fact that terrorism is a practice and not a belief, a result of an ideology.

Regarding the Islam’s followers, it is rather difficult to set out the distribution spaces of the Muslim communities in Europe or the exact specification of those community from the attitude’s diversity perspective regarding the affiliation to Islam because this fluctuate from the negative attitude – the refuse to declare the religion or the indifference towards this – to positive attitude as a representative of this culture. Of course, existed proposals o realize a typology of these attitudes (Dassetto and Nonneman<sup>3</sup> in 1996) but the above mentioned attitudes are continuously changing in time due to the external environment (social pressure), peaceful followers could transform themselves in fervent followers and vice-versa. Equal difficult could be the identification of ethnical, lingual and cultural characteristics diversity of these European communities, to which we can add the multitude of nodal points of networks which connects the other regions, significant for massive or majority presence of Muslim communities. So, we can have two distinct categories of Muslim populations, Muslim communities from Western Europe (EU states) and those from the Balkan space, the difference between these two coming from the connection with origin-state, administrative location (Muslims from West are located in cities, those

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<sup>2</sup> Cavannaugh William T., Scott Peter, *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, Blackwell, Malden and Oxford, 2007, p. 3

<sup>3</sup> Dassetto Felice, Nonneman Gerd., *Islam in Belgium and the netherlands. Towards a typology of „transplanted” Islam*, în Nonneman Gerd, Nibloke Timothy & Szajkowski Bogdan (EDS), *Muslim Communities in the New Europe*, Ithica Press, 1996, p. 187-218



from Balkan are located in villages), adaptability to the residence-state (Muslims from Balkan are speaking fluent the origin-state language) or the attitude vis-à-vis the status-origin (Muslims from Balkan have different territorial and national claims in time, while the western Muslims are targeting the unification/ federalization of the institutionalized forms of Islamic religion). In order to analyze these communities we must take into consideration their diversity and/or homogeneity as a result of Islamisation process imposed by the Ottoman presence from 14 to 20 centuries. The cultural homogeneity is based on different ethnic groups who pass to Islam – Albanian, Slavic, Turkey, Romanian – each of these ethnical groups/lingual groups being, at their level, divided on ethnic and national level, in Albanian, Bosnian, Turkey, Pomaci<sup>4</sup>. From the religion point of view, the Balkan Muslims majorities are followers of Sunnis – who came through the Hanafi school line<sup>5</sup> – and we include here also the Bektashian minorities (Albania and Kosovo) and Alevian. The majority of Muslim communities from Balkan are living in villages and the latest population deployment led to a decreasing number of Christians in this pace comparative with the Muslims population. So, it had been produced the ethnic homogenization in regions as Kosovo, Western part of Macedonia, Sanjak and Rodopi Mountains regions. In the same time, the urban Muslim elites disappeared from Eastern part of Balkan (Bulgaria and Greece) due to the migration policy to Istanbul and Anatolia, exception being only Romania. There are great differences between the Muslim communities located in urban area near other communities who lost, in time, their religious fervor, and rural communities which are still and deep attached to the religious traditions and specific cultural practices.

We've mentioned already that these Muslim communities are not equable allocated in Balkans or Europe, exception being some communities from East and South-East of Europe and Balkans, the other communities placed in Europe after 1950. They emigrated or came legally to work, they came to be with their families or due to the mix marriages, they request asylum or stood after obtaining a academic diploma, they are Muslims from belief or after a spiritual revelation, but finally, the European Muslims are increase, in 2015 their number will be 30 millions. Hereby, we have almost 5 (unofficial 8) millions Muslims in France, 4 millions in Germany, over 2 millions in great Britain (where we find over 1500 mosques and over 100 Muslim schools).

Lately, the Islam issues and his implicated aspects became a much contested one. In France, the problem of the burqa/niqab wore by Muslim girls in public school initiated ardent quarrellings. In Germany and Spain were the public debates regarding the presence of the Christian cross on the walls of the lecture rooms and, of course the burqa/niqab wore by Muslim girls in the same places. The most recent example is

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<sup>4</sup> Pomacians are Muslims who are speaking Bulgarian language. Among the Muslim communities who are speaking Slavic language we can mention Torbeshians (Macedonia) and Gorans (Macedonia and Southern part of Kosovo)

<sup>5</sup> Hannifin is one of the four judicial schools 4 belonging to the Sunni branch of Islam, who was established by Abu Haneefah in 8 century b.c. The school was declared official in entire Ottoman Empire.



the case of Swiss where the debates regarded the construction of the mosques.

However, this is the true reason of the problems arose by Islam or it is something more profound, much inconvenient? The analysis of this aspect brings us a little brightness. From the demographic point of view, the Muslim population shows an increasing rate towards the rate of non-Muslim population, birth-rate of the Muslims being 3 times higher. Also, as a result, the average age of Muslim population is younger than the non-Muslim population. It is enough to analysis the statistics and we will see that a third part of the French Muslim population is at most 20 years old, while only a fifth part from the total French population answer to this criteria. Similar figures we find in Germany and Great Britain. Going forward with the analysis we will observe that, till 2015, the Muslim population will double as number while the non-Muslim population will decrease with at least 3,5%.

If we take into consideration, for the comparison, the political organization of Europe (democratic institutions democratic, modern constitutions) and the governmental organization in Islamic countries (Koran, Shari a) we will observe that the difference between these is pretty small. We can say only that the European system succeeded, official, in some places, to separate the speech and religious institutions by political and judicial power, keeping still the ideological and educational power of those because, no matter what it said, the general principles which rules the European law are based on religious principles. At so-called opposite pole, for most Muslim, the relations between policy and religion is material, legal and constitutional.

Generally speaking, the Europeans put equality between Muslims and Islam, used as religious perception without making any differences among different degrees of religious implication of this kind of population. So, we will find denominational Muslims (Islam is religion and social, cultural and political *modus vivendi*), believers (those who accepts religious, ethic and social principles of Islam without follow strictly these obligations), liberals (those who pay a greater attention to the ethical and philosophical aspects of Islam to the detriment of the religious and political aspects) and agnostics (those who reject the religious implication in social and political life)<sup>6</sup>. Practically, in Islam, the majority current is the traditional, conservatory one, tagged by the promotion of an unchanged world from the religious and social point of view, considering Islam to be an all-embracing religious and moral religion, perpetuating the idea of the conflict between *dar-al-islam* and *dar-al-harib* – and where *dar-al-islam* wins – advocating the idealization of Early Islam and Prophet. To this current there Muslims who oppose and who believe interpretative approach of Koran, in liberties and responsibilities of human being (modernists) and Muslims who believe in a strictly interpretation of Koran and wish to return to the existent strictly rules from the period of Early Islam (fundamentalists). The fundamentalists are those wrongly assimilated with radicals and extremist Muslims.

<sup>6</sup> Dinu Mihai-Ştefan, Rolul Religiei în construcția viitoarei Europe, Universitatea Națională de Apărare „Carol I”, Centrul de Studii Strategice de Apărare și Securitate, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare „Carol I”, București, 2009



None of this currents lives in pure form because their representatives are exposed to some complex factors such as those determined by the origin-country or host-country.

Generally, the Muslims must accommodate to the institutional standards and rules of the host-country sometimes stirring substantial efforts in order to realize that. There are environments where the institutional context is similar with those from origin-country and the adaptation process is quite easy but there are spaces where this integration is at least difficult. For an effective integration, the politics voted by decisional factors should take into consideration the specific aspects (religion, legislation, education), diminishing, in this way, their impact over others within the national security dimensions (social – economical, cultural and political dimensions). Also, it should take into consideration that the Islam has a huge importance within the Muslim communities, so, same importance will have the religious celebration or those days which have meaning and importance on Muslim calendar, the places where could take place such manifestation (mosque), in other words, going on the recognition of the religious freedom and of the religious institutions, the non-discriminating treatment applied to the minorities.

The integration aspect is the one which, in most of the cases, sets out the compatibility or incompatibility between the values of Islam and Europe. Taking into consideration the recent cultural conflicts, we can not claim that this compatibility in on hand. In fact, the most eloquent example is the issue of hijab, the debates having a great rage in France, Germany, Spain and Turkey. To wear the hijab is perceived, by liberal and feminist movements as a sign of women's tightness although is admitted that, generally, this is a sign of religiousness being considered one of the Islam's institutions.

There were opinions which sight the study of the harmonization modalities of Sharia's with national and European legislative norms<sup>7</sup>, emphasizing the fact that, in order to maintain the social cohesion, it is necessary to coalesce some aspects of Islamic laws in the national laws. This first attitude was articulated by a figure of British clerk and shows us that the Islamic law enforcement is a reality within the British Muslim communities and it maybe is the case for an upgrading of the present legislation according to the European social realities, just to avoid the existence of legislation parallel with the official one<sup>8</sup>.

Generally, the European Muslim communities doesn't form a compact group, each of them building its own individuality related with its cultural, ethnical, national background, its personal ways of interpretation of Islamic erudition.

The presence of Islam in Europe has influenced her construction in important field such as population (as number), the impact of the isolation of the Muslim communities over the regional and national security, the impact over the present

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<sup>7</sup> We are talking about the Canterbury Bishop, [http://news.bbc.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/77232661.stm](http://news.bbc.uk/2/hi/uk_news/77232661.stm)

<sup>8</sup> Sookhdeo Patrick, *Islam in Great Britain*



developing processes and projects of EU, correlation between the development of Islam in Europe and the ascension of the right wings parties.

On long term, the Muslim factor will have a special impact over the internal policy of the European countries, over the European society development through the possible implication in the future elections and increasing number of Muslim parties which will have, as a result, a new definition of the national and external security politics.

It is well-known the fact that a series of tensions, crisis and conflicts within the Middle East had echoes within the Muslim communities from the European space. If we think twice, the Wahhabi current exceeds Bosnia (leader of the movement is Muamer Zukorlić, who is also the leader of the Muslim community from Sandjak/South Serbia), the radical imams from Kosovo starting to speculate the difficult material and financial situation in order to gain more followers. Although the Serbian political elite tries to limit Zukorlić's actions, he started his anti-governmental campaign in order to protect his interests in region, to increase his population and to attract attention over the regime to which the Islamic community from South Serbia is obeying, over the ethnic imbalance dezechilibrului from the state administration and Muslims discrimination in the context of religious proprieties. These actions are, on long term, threats to the regional security if we take into consideration that they are financed by Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Turkey. We know that the above mentioned countries are looking to increase their influence within the Muslim communities, the most used method being the granting of scholarships to the Islamic universities from these countries.

In an analysis made from the political point of view, Charles Kurzman and Ijlal Naqvi shows us that the religious parties from the Muslim world are not an inexorable force how they try to look, that the victories of the Islamic parties in Egypt, Palestine, Turkey and Europe are exceptions of the political world and doesn't reflect, truly, the Muslim's electorate choice. Furthermore, the more the elections are free and just, more the output is bad, so we can face to a democratization of those due to the electoral process. True or false? To a careful analysis we can observe that the electioneering of some radical Islamic parties never rest on Djihad or Sharia, going to certain liberal aspects connected with democracy. No less true is the fact that those parties and their candidates come into conflict with the Islamic revolutionaries considering that „a Muslim who militate for democracy” can be considered „a Jewish Muslim or a Christian Muslim”.

Taking into consideration the demographic statistics of the Muslim communities mentioned above, will really count so much the votes of the European population of Muslim confession? Or it is something more in the fear, justified or not, of the non-Muslim Europeans regarding the Muslim electorate? Paradoxical is the fact that the radicals or extremists are angry on those who join to the Parliamentary policy although they admit that, somehow, can be helped by that. Historically speaking,



the centennial autocrats suppressed the pro-democratic Islamic movements sending their members to clandestinity and concurring to their radicalization. Can be reverse this process after some many years? Paradoxical, the dictators and terrorists are those who, this time, are wishing to prevent the participation of the Islamic parties to the free competition for votes, fact that make to increase their popularity.

If we ignore the social, cultural, political aspects, latterly, we can find out a true witch hunting, nebulous from the starting base and goals point of view. It is true that almost European countries are looking solutions for the immigrants' integrations and for redefinition of the European collectivity entity notion. Also true is the fact that Islamic extremists are looking for new followers through Internet and within those who travel in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Syria, Jordan where is made the brainwash and, sometimes, the military training. We don't know if it is equal fair to aver that the terrorist's attacks from Europe were done only by this kind of people, but it is true that we can say they magnify the resentfulness toward the Islamic presence in Europe, resentfulness which already had on background pretty much polemics regarding the social problems, principles and ideas concerning Islam.

France was among the first countries which launch a debate concerning the national identity and its basic values, but she maintains her concepts according to in order to obtain the French citizenship means to line up to the her civilization's specificity, to the values and moral percepts connected with this.

Swiss forbidden, at the end of 2009, the construction of minarets and, in Germany, right wings groups (Pro NRW-North Rhenania, Westphalia) launched, for the same reason, an extremely virulent campaign. Unawares, the German authorities "draw upon" these ideas when they took the decision to put into force an European integration model with the final goal to nationalize the immigrants (in the first stage it is take into consideration the insertion of „integration contracts" in which the immigrants will come into line, strictly, to the German's society fundamental values).

The Great Britain took the decision of elimination, from University campuses, of the extremist's ideas but didn't assign, very clear, the ways wherethrough will be put in force this fact. Spain had the most radical approach, the Spanish Senate approving, with a small difference of votes, a motion in which is requested that the Government to forbid the cover of the face in public places, invoking the national security. So, could be transgressed the religious freedom, the liberty and the right to individual privacy in order to assure the communities security, the national security - „*a greater good*"? The Commission for culture, science and education of the Parliament Ensemble of the Europe Council a declared that the religious veil wore by women is, often, perceived as a symbol of women's slavery towards men and could be a threat to the women's dignity and freedom, but can not be decided a general interdiction to not wear burqa<sup>9</sup> or niqab<sup>10</sup>. According to a draft resolution, enacted within the Istanbul

<sup>9</sup> Veil covers totally the face but have a hole – very small – only in the eyes line.

<sup>10</sup> Veil covers face and mouth but let to be seen the eyes.



Summit, on May 11<sup>th</sup> 2010, the Commission avers that the judicial restraints can be justified by security reasons or by the fact that the public or professional position of a person presumes the religious neutrality or the necessity that her face must be visualized. The general interdiction could not be conforming because it breaks the religious liberty principle, guaranteed by the European Convention of Human Rights. The suggestions sight out the attempts which must be realized by the European governments in order to inform the Muslim women about their rights, their families and community's rights and to encourage the participation to social and professional life. The Report regarding the Islam, Islamism and Islamophobia was elaborated by the Danish Parliamentary Mogens Jensen and he requested from Switzerland to go behind the general interdiction regarding the interdiction of minarets constructions on Swiss territory.

This Commission's declaration was debated within the full session the Parliament Ensemble of the Europe Council from June 21<sup>st</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> 2010, at Strasbourg, the resolution's enactment of the Commission for culture, science and education took place one day before the resolution given by French National Ensemble regarding burqa. The resolution, after she was going to the vote on May 12<sup>th</sup> 2010, shows that burqa is against the French republican values, readjusting being the first step before the vote from July, given over a very controversial law which forbids wearing burqa or niqab in public spaces from French territory. So, France joint to Belgium, where the Representatives Room voted a law which forbids the face's covering in public places in terms of the face visualization impossibility. Switzerland, Netherlands and Italy have in mind partial interdiction regarding the wear of burqa or niqab. And still .

On June 23<sup>rd</sup> 2010, members of Parliament Ensemble of the Europe Council pronounce against the forbidden, in general, in Europe, of the integral Islamic veil. Inside the integral enacted text, the 47 member-states of the Council of Europe recommend „to not be enacting a general interdiction of the integral veil or other religious robes, but to defend the women's right to chose to wear or not religious robes”. The APCE members requests „to keep a good watch over Muslim women in order to have same possibilities to attend to public life and to carry out educational and professional activities” but mention that „the legal restriction imposed to this freedom can be justified due to security reasons or when the public position of a person requires a neutrality proof or to show the face”. The document bans the death threats and death sentences pronounced against the persons who criticize Islam or political opinion related to Islam. Also, the paper requests that the immigrants who belongs to a minority culture in the receiving-country „to not isolate themselves and to try not institute a parallel society”. The Parliamentarians from the Council of Europe requested from Switzerland to abolish the interdiction regarding the construction of minarets claiming that it is discriminatory for the Muslim community from this country.



# THE BLACK SEA EXTENDED AREA – A POSSIBLE SYNERGY OF VALUES, POTENTIALS AND INTERESTS

*Gheorghe VĂDUVA PhD*

*We have been re-discovering what has been known since Antiquity, in a way or another: the Black Sea Area – in the small dimension of the six seaside countries (Bulgaria, Georgia, Romania, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine), and in the wider one (seaside countries, the Republic of Moldova, the Caucasus countries, a part of the Danube countries, eventually the Balkan states, connected largely by Danube and the Black Sea) – has sometimes had a special place, both in the South-East European construction and in the Eurasian one. Sometimes, it has not been but a marginal area, derived from the history myriad and lost in the present mazes. The littoral states and the ones located around the second circle are carrying old civilizations, with remarkable contributions on the appearance of the Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and, later on, the European cultures, but also the Islamic one, and to the fracture or improvement of the fault line between religions and cultures. The schism from 1053, as well as the substances of the peaces from Westphalia, dated 1648, is also related with this region. This is also the area where one of the bloodiest ethnic-religious fractures is located, which generated, by the end of the Cold War, the wars within the former Yugoslavia area. We think that, in order to real change the Black Sea Synergy – a forceful and consistent European project, but also a risk requiring to be assumed –, it is necessary, first of all, to have a very good knowledge on the region, in its whole complexity, but especially on the constructive and culture generating one.*

Tags:: Black, Sea, areas, Euro-Asian and universal culture

## 1. Inauspicious circumstances

Each country from the planet is unique in its way. But the uniqueness consists not in isolation or differences, but mainly in specificity and in the way she generates confluences and participates to their generation. There are areas predominantly confluences consumer and areas predominantly confluences generator. Besides, the confluences represent an effects *modus vivendi* and they are generated just from the necessity of connection, management and improvement of



these effects. And this goal is very important because the geographical, political, economical, informational, cultural and military cohabitation can be done only through communication, culture and cultural consume, through active dialog spiritual consistence. The confluences are special architecture, insidious, gradate and very sensible. They oppose to the conflict, rupture areas and have always a common value's support which generate itself through the conjugation and combination of transfer or crossing national values. The confluences areas are build in time and not necessary due to the human's will, but mostly due to the human social's need and from their calling for communication and cohabitation, from historical requirements, from the effective requests of life and of the cross-border of human existence. The man is a social human being. He can not live isolated and without communication. Same characters we find also to the community he belongs. There aren't intrinsic communities but just identities which have meaning only within the relationship with other identities. These relationships are complex because they include contradistinction, contrasts, antinomies, conflicts, but also inter-influences, confluences and connections. The connections are equally based on values and interests. The values aren't always clashing, but the interests can be. And they are. The crisis, conflicts and wars are not generated by values but by interests.

So, the confluences have always an increasing value's support but also a common interests horizon. Where aren't common values, aren't confluences. It can't be done those resistance structures which will allow a common interest's management. Because, it is well-known, where common interests or interests who can be aren't match, can't exist common actions which will approach same strategic goals. The values are just supports, backgrounds; the interests are goals, engines which give purposes and aims to confluences and connections, dynamism and their waiting horizons. Confluences and connections can't be done only on values supports, but through interests packs which can be harmonized and transformed in common interests. Or, all this process requires, on one side, very good knowledge of realities and, on other side, the capability to look ahead, to understand the meaning and the calling of connections.

Apparently, in the Black Sea area, there are few connections or are totally missing. Furthermore, being long time a theatre of war, population's movements or almost continuously migration to West, hardly we can took about confluences, but rather of differences, some identified, some not yet. In other words, the stabilization and values, resources and interests identification processes in the area in not yet ended. Mainly because it didn't start. If, in Western Europe the identification process of differences and confluences supports – meaning the common values –, but also of the common interests, was accelerated and even enforced, because here it was build during the time one of the most important power point, especially after the Ottoman Empire fall, the Black Sea area was isolated, becoming insignificant for the European inter-war geopolitics and even during the Cold War.

In a way, after Turkey took-over the narrows and Russia, especially on Soviet



formula (extended after the World War II inside the Romanian and Bulgarian space), the situation was polarized. NATO, through Turkey, controlled 32 % from Black Sea seaside and the Soviet Union the rest; bipolarism also in the Black sea area. It is right that a half century of bipolarism didn't change the region's essence, but neither allow any benefic development of the area and of the relations among the coastal countries. Without the infusion of democratic changes dynamic within the European space and maintained – from both sides – as a flank area, the Black sea region hadn't, practical, and any identity.

In this circumstances of strategic rupture, any geopolitical or cultural confluence inside the Black sea area was, practical, very hard to be done, even if not impossible. This is how the block interests decelerate and even crushed not only the region's progress but the natural process of communication and political, economical, social and cultural collaboration among the countries from this area. Once more, the block politics, as those imperial from former times, actual blocked the region's development, the communication and partnership. During the inter-war and Cold War period, the Black Sea confirms its name and fame to be really ... „black”. Of course, not due the blame of this sea with an impressive history<sup>1</sup>, but due to the politics and strategies which brings her to boundary and, in a way, isolated her.

From all this doesn't result that the Black Sea area – we are talking about the countries which compound the area – remained in hibernation or, worst, backed away. There weren't coherent and competitive regional politics and strategies – other from those in the block –, and those from the block hadn't this region priority, but other hot or more important regions for those politics: the Baltic Sea area, the Polish passage, Mediterranean, Red Sea, Persic Golf s.o.

During this total inauspicious period for the Black sea development, the collation and confluences effects were exhibited especially inside each seashore countries, inside the limits allowed by the those ages and national policies. Inside of some countries these effects were benefic, inside others were deepened the discrepancies and amplified the conflict status. From all the seaside countries, it seems that only Romania and Bulgaria didn't have and doesn't have any internal problems related with Black Sea area. And still, the internal situation from each seaside countries, the past's legacy, the history's phantasm – multitudinous in area –, prejudices and interests mad and still makes hard the identification and connection process of common values and interests.

Each of the countries had and still has its problems related with internal policy, essential interests, with economic and social situation, conflict and social disorder s.o., and all of these don't allow, for the time being, the effort's full centering and concentration on the regional external dimension, the implementation, at regional level, of some consistent politics and strategies and unanimous agreed. Turkey – since Atatürk – builds its own identity trying to solve the difficult problems which

<sup>1</sup> Presently, the 4047 km of Black Sea seaside are allocated as it follows: Turkey – 1295 (32%); Ukraine – 1174 (29%); Russia – 566 (14%); Georgia – 486 (12%); Bulgaria – 284 (7%) and Romania – 242 (6%).



she confront with, taking into consideration neither have a too quiet neighborhood (she has problems with almost all her neighbors), nor a comfortable internal situation, mainly due to the terrorists actions to which she have do deal with, due to the secessionist actions of one of the Kurd population's organizations, due to the conflict created between Islamism – Turkey is still an Islamic country – and the country's legitimate aspirations for democracy and full admission in EU.

Turkey has border with Armenia, Iran, Iraq and Syria, exactly in a region with compact Kurd population, population with over 20 millions people, raising an extremely serious problem for our days meaning the possibility of drawing up a Kurd state in area, appealing to history, Sèvres treaty from 1920 and the right to separation, to self-determination. All four countries – Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria – have big problems with Kurd populations, but their politics and strategies regarding the problem's settlement are totally different. The Kurd secessionists actions covers all shapes and forms, from those mend to sensitize the international public opinion and pressions of communities living abroad, to violent actions and even war and terrorists actions of all range.

Reduced, after the Ottoman Empire decrease, decline and disappearance, to the present Euro-Asian space Turkey seems to be, for many people, drew from the great strategic passages of Eurasia and isolated in that small island called Small Asia, to never be what it was before. And even if Turkey still holds an important European bridgehead, as Bosphorus and Dardanelle narrows, being, in a way, winner in the Battle of Black Sea, battle ended long time ago because the Western Europe, after the First world War took all the measures that the former Empire's resurrection to never be possible. But the things aren't so simple. While Samuel P. Huntington, in his famous book *Clashes of civilizations...*<sup>2</sup>, considers Turkey as a possible core of Islamic civilization, through the tradition's force, glorious past and its leader capability, important persons of this country since Kemal Atatürk choose another road for this country which never goes below its ancestor's dignity: *the modern democratic civilization road*.

The Theory, which predicts, in actual circumstances, a balance within the international relations grows from the system build on Westphalia Treaty 1648.<sup>3</sup> In this system all countries shares the European common culture, which make them distinguishable from Ottoman Turkey and other nations. They considers that the nation-states forms basic units of the international relations and accepts, starting from here, the theoretical and legal equality between states different as size, wealth and power. The common cultural affiliation and judicial equality facilitate in this

<sup>2</sup> Robert Ballard, who discovers Titanic, made some immersions and researches in the southern par of Black Sea, using sonar and modern equipments, most recent of these being in made in September 2000. His researches confirmed, widely, the theory, promoted by William Ryan and Walter Pitman, according to which near 7500 b.C., due to the increasing level of planetary ocean caused by glaciers melting, the Mediterranean Sea broke the isthmus from present Bosphorus area and flood over a lake located 150 meters below this raised waters, with a force 200 times greater than of Niagara cascade, causing a catastrophe known as Noe's flood. Probably such researches will be done in the future also in other area of Black Sea, including in the Romanian side.

<sup>3</sup> Huntington Samuel P, *The Clash of Civilizations the Remaking of World Order*. Simon & Schuster, 1997



way the use of power balance in order to counter-balance the emergence of a unique hegemonic power.

During that age, still, the results were far away from perfection. *Will be now? And especially in a stuporous area in Balkans, Caucasus and even in the Turkey's depth but deprived of essential connections on political and strategic level, it is possible to be created those so-desired and much-expected supports of Eurasian connections?* It is hard to answer. It is certain that EU, although can not give up to USA, is forming into a counter-balance to their tendencies to rule the world, to maintain themselves as hegemonic power and, especially, to keep in check the European continent, guilty of starting two world wars. But even Turkey, candidate to EU's admission and following already a pre-adherence program, although cooperate effectively in the area with USA, doesn't admit what is not convenient for her. And it is, somehow, naturally. Turkey has enough problems in the area and the USA's policy toward the democratic and prosperous great Middle East is not quite to the detriment of Turkey's strategic vision, it is too far from Turkey's actual concerns for solving the acute security problems from its neighborhood. Further more, the Atatürk weir built on Euphrates could generate, in time, a cute water crisis which will unlatch, in this part of world, one of the worst wars – water's war<sup>4</sup>. Of course, Turkey will be not guilty for such war but she could be involved especially when part of the water's resources which maintain the region is coming from the Turkish Mountains. Turkey is one of the few countries from region which is not confronted with the lack of water, but also generates problems through its control over the water in entire region.

Exceeding the complex of Westphalia peaces from 1648, are raising more and more acute and uncompromisingly long lines of questions: *What is anyway Turkey? It is Turkey a pure Islamic country, a leader of Islamic world? Did Turkey came out from its millenary traditions and becoming a Western, democratic and prosperously country, which denies its origin and walks now, in forced march, on West's road? Is so, Turkey a 100% European country, which belongs to Western civilization?* These questions generate other interrogations equally necessary, trenchant and acute: *Can be Turkey a European bridgehead within the Islamic world? Inside the Middle East hugeness? On main strategic rupture of the current world, more precise, between the European or Euro-Atlantic type civilization and the Islamic civilization, taking into consideration the European vocation of this country? Or, vice-versa, does Turkey build an Islamic bridgehead within the European civilization, with consequences hard to predict for the Europe's future taking into consideration the reality that, in its depths, Turkey remains, still, a country where the predominant religion is Islam? In other words, is Turkey a double bridgehead and, effectively, the bridge between the two heads – one in the Islamic world, the other in western world –, teething such possible model for tomorrow reconciliations? Is Turkey an interface-country, a*

<sup>4</sup> *La revue internationale et stratégique*, no. 34/ summer 999, Huntington Samuel P, *Superpuissance solitaire* (article in Foreign Affairs/New York Times Syndicate, 1999)



*confluence area between these two giant civilizations?*<sup>5</sup>

The temptations are big to answer, justify and sustain the most convenient answer. We don't know if such an answer is or can be the most real one. Of course, Atatürk Turkey chose the road of democracy, modernization, the laic state, of economic and social development, of the liberties necessary for prosperity and culture. And it is going forward on this road. But Turkey never miss the future's projection; neither the respect for the past. The Ottoman Empire wasn't neither good, nor bad then other empires, but the present Turkey is a country sign on with all forces in solving the region's problems, including the Black Sea area, in consolidating the security environment just inside of the one of the most sensitive zone of Eurasia.

Turkey is a strong and stable country even she has to deal with a lot of problems, some of them being imposed by the fire circle which surrounds her, others by the internal conflict realities, built here during the time.

From this point results two disturbing questions: *Is Turkey an entity with complex functions for the future's construction or remain just an interface between two worlds in conflict? There is, really, a conflict between the two worlds or is just an enormous misunderstanding, a huge mistake?*

We insist a little longer on region's Turkish horizon because this country is, simultaneously, one of the region's engine and development's brake. Through this, we want to underline the complexity and difficulty of this country's politics and strategies, country who detains a large part of Black sea seaside, in the European policy implementation regarding the neighborhood and of the NATO strategic concept concerning areas security and its role within the European, Euro Atlantic and Eurasian energy security.

Ukraine, who owns 29% of Black sea seaside, doesn't represent, for the moment, the gateways necessary to a very good collaboration in area. She has problems both with Russia (over 60% of Crimea's population is Russian or Russia's supporter) and Romania (the Bâstroe Ditch effects, the recent process regarding the exclusive economic area which ended in favor of Romania s.o.). From this doesn't result that Ukraine isn't or can't be an important and constructive partner within the new European architecture of Black Sea Extended Area, but, opposite, she can generate force and stability and/or, simultaneously, tensions and conflicts, especially due to her role within the former Soviet Union and, as a result, of the role she has now as transit country for the gas transported through Russian pipelines to Western Europe and heir of the old South-West frontiers of red empire.

Georgia – Caucasian and seaside country – is, for the time being, in a pretty hard situation due the conflicts inside the Caucasus area, Russian military intervention from August 2008, and unsolved internal problems or solved by force and due to the past's legacy. The entire Caucasian area is restless zone, with active, half-frozen or

<sup>5</sup> Turkey has its own water resources. The Turkish surface water's flow is 270 billions m<sup>3</sup>/annual. Turkey has 900 natural lakes with 1 million hectares surface, 100 weir lakes with 170,000 hectares surface and a volume of 53 billions m<sup>3</sup>, lagoon areas with a total surface of 70,000 hectares, 700 natural stews with 1 million m<sup>3</sup> water, and 37 dams with a surface of 25,000 hectares. Total length of the Turkish waters flows is 175,000 kilometers.



frozen conflicts, with clashing interests and dissymmetrical cultures unharmonized yet.

During the past years, different interests clashed here generating all kind of conflicts. The smaller countries – Romania, Bulgaria, Caucasian countries – came, total or partial, under Russian Empire or Ottoman Empire, or under other more or less stable powers and the people's life was always going on under pressure and war's effects, natural catastrophes few years of peace and stability. That's way, the cultural dimensions and configurations of the area are diversified and complicated. And, maybe, this is the reason of the existence of the richness of gradates, sensibilities and retentivities. Each country shelter disturbing monuments and beauties, but rarely was tried to identify them the common or different values. The strategic rupture areas generate not only war and agonies, but also great cultures based on giant values, coming out from turmoil, misery, but diversified and durable. The intensity is given by enormous pressions of the times, the diversity is created by the identity value, and the durability is generated by misery.

The population's cultures and values in the area aren't the result of a great synthesis, last synthesis or meta-synthesis, but, maybe, the result of small and temporary turmoil chain of synthesis. First of these synthesis was produced not by confrontation, but by confluence and cohabitation (post-confrontation) between the sedentary populations and the migratory warrior population from disturbing foyer which extend from somewhere near Northern part of Caspian Sea till to the Far East<sup>6</sup>. The battle between these populations, which Chaliand considered to be essential, was gain, finally, by the sedentary populations. But from here it doesn't result that the sedentary populations never met influences from behalf of migratory warrior population, more disciplined and well organized, transformations, becoming, over which these warrior population, convicted to a continuous rightness, let their mark. The local cultural confluence – which is, first of all, a value's confluence – took place after-confrontation and consist of the assembling these values in order to create a new value's system which, on his turn, consist of a symbiosis between the sedentary values, proponent and ageless and migratory values, intense and powerful.

After our knowledge, the only sedentary significant population from this area is the Romanian one with its ascendant braches loosing in history. All populations who passed through here – amongst only some remained – mainly, Magyars from Transylvania, Secui, some Slavonian, Turks from Dobrogea area s.o. – they let their mark also over the Romanian culture, without deforming or destroying it. The influences can be found inside lexicon, especially at the village and water's names, s.o., in some behavior and the confluences in chosen harmonies, which give a disturbing and very consistent variety and a great sensibility. The cultural exchanges and connections from area aren't, still, significant they don't bring consistence to some cultural and civilization architectures of great synthesis because such great synthesis didn't produced neither cultural field, nor in economical and social one. The

<sup>6</sup> Chaliand Gérard, *Anthologie mondiale de la strategie des origines jusqu'au nucléaire*, Edition Laffont, 1991



wars and conflicts grinded to much the area, they sup sorrowed the souls, deepened ad amplified the misery.

There are at least three support-horizons on which were generated and multiplied the values of populations from this area:

- survival;
- misery;
- identity.

All these three horizons are related among them in a complicated way and, often, paradox. The identity becomes, in all Black Sea, Caucasus and Balkans space, an essential condition for survival, while the survival – which is vastly, including for the big countries population, dominant, an effect of misery – become an identity generator. You can live in this space not till the measure you have a consolidated identity because the identity is the only resource to survive and exceed the misery, the only resistance to aggression. The values of the Romanian space are, generally, crossed through the misery specter, of its population and culture's resistance to the imperial aggression from all times and all kinds. And even the two empires from the rupture area – Tsarist and Ottoman Empires –, to which can be add the Western expansive force, disappeared, those period's effects will be feeling long time and will make difficult a true and consistent confluence in area; but not impossible.

Among the main characteristics of the areas cultures and civilizations can be placed, in our opinion, the following:

- the identity, factionary characteristic;
- the very pronounced social characteristic;
- the lack of inter-cultural consistent dialog;
- the lack of transfrontalier connections and of common values;
- insufficiency of complementarities and confluence's parameters.

These characteristics are viable not only for small countries (Romania, Bulgaria, Caucasian countries, Balkans countries), but also for the populations from former empire' areas.

Among the specific population's culture in area (which can be identified with other from area's countries) and the politics which tries to realize and even brake in some connections, there area true hiatus. It seems that the politics – which synthesizes the nation` interests from area, of EU, of Russia, of Turkey, of Ukraine, of NATO – doesn't succeed to underlie on common values not even on common interests because the values are different and the interests of the area's countries – even we try to say that their seem to convey to common goals (integration in EU, the achievement of economical prosperity, the increase of security level, especially the energetic security s.o.) are not counting on the same realities, don't have same coordinates. The remanent rupture effects are still to strong to allow durable assembling and significant restyles.

Peoples live still in ancient war's backwater and conflict's turmoil. The collective memory didn't clear up its awful memories of wars, of battles for unity, identity and integrity. The Soviet Union disappeared through implosion, Yugoslavia



decayed through war and the new state entities are still looking their values and build slowly, slowly their identities. The old bipolarity from Black Sea within the Warsaw Treaty and NATO still neither give up the place to a security architectures with two pole – NATO and Russia –, not to a construction with six nuclei because aren't created all conditions. The Black Sea Synergy, the European Neighborhood and Partnership Policy (ENPP), the Eastern Partnership and the Euro-Regions Policy (Black Sea Region) build a European framework, truly, very generous but not enough to represent a viable solution for all seaside countries and for those which are part of Extended Area. There is something more needed, meaning a more consistent connection of politics and strategies with the realities of this space which does prove by far its valences and resources.

### 2. A measured optimism with flexible geometry

We find interesting the Sever Voinescu<sup>7</sup> observation. The name Black Sea, during the Greeks and Romans, was *Pontus Euxinus* (The Hospitably Sea). Strabon wrote that, before the Greek colonization, the sea's name was *Pontus Axeinos*, meaning The Non-Hospitably Sea, *axsainia* meaning, on Persian line of this itinerant word „black” or „dark”. It can be make a lot of speculations about this name. The sulphureous waters from depth, the lack of vertical flux, great number of storms, abysmal bend which goes down suddenly from 150 meters to over 400 meters (probably the line which dissociate the configuration before that of 7600 from the ancient, after the Mediterranean flood over the sweet water of old lake and increasing water's level with 150 meters), the circular current circular which brings, still, salt water from Mediterranean, bath the Turkish shores and crushes the Romanian shores, and gets out the les salted water from here, maybe the ancient's indifference and even of current historians toward this area qualify this name.

Black Sea sets apart, in a way, Europe from Asia and, in our opinion, maintain still active the role of rupture or strategic rent between two great models of civilizations – the European one and the Asian one –, to which we can add other fact findings about the non-catalyst role of this sea, about her job of „freezing” some marginal realities out of perspective and dynamism.

At southern part use to pass, once, „The Silk Road” and on the Northern shores, and even to Southern ones, tempest the warrior torrents of migratory populations on their way to West, without letting essential traces on Black Sea. None of seaside populations behave as maritime powers. That's way the economic, social and cultural binder function of Black Sea was reduced as much possible, even almost nonexistent, beside the continental one. Black Sea remains, somehow, intact, as a sort of fluid tampon-zone or of strategic security between the empires which increased and decreased here, but never more.

<sup>7</sup> Sever VOINESCU, *Pontic speculations and European hopes*, <http://www.dilemaveche.ro/index.php?nr=123&cmd=articol&id=578>, accessed 05.02.2010



## THE GEOPOLITICS OF BLACK SEA

The interests of the two empires from area – the Tsarist and Ottoman Empires –, at which can be added the European ones, never targeted the Black Sea, generally, just only the Bosphorus and Dardanelle narrows, but even those not in particularly. The battle for the narrows was between Russia and Turkey but, today, this thing is less important. Although the narrows are managed by Turkey, in 1962, the Russians had no difficulties to pass through them the cargos boats with strategic missiles which will be fixed up in Cuba...

We are now not looking after the strategic value of this sea (which some doubt about that) but her possible synergy function on the plan of culture, interests and relations between seaside communities. Although all six seaside countries, Black Sea represents a maritime ate to world – with a giant importance on trade plan and maritime transportation –, the populations from here are not aimed still significant on this dimension. Neither the governments give her proper importance. This, we consider, because the things are neither yet settled and the resonances and history's remanences are not yet ended effects or metamorphosed, nor consonances or prior waiting. And, in our days, Black Sea, beside the Caspian and Mediterranean Sea still remains, at least for a while, a boundary sea...

Numerously regional organizations of different configurations and nuances – OCEMN, BLEAKSEAFOR s.o. – expresses generous political will, which breaks in the motionless realities, relatively closed, and proposes to get out from motionless, from frozen, an area which might low in the future Euro-Asian shape. The reality is neither simple, nor lineal, but complex and roundabout. There is, in area, a triple reality: of the value one; of the ea interests and wills. Unfortunately, these realities are disparate, they are neither crossing, unless in very few points (this explains the area's „frozen”), nor „assembly” in systems or shapes which will allow the synergic effect. This doesn't mean that such an effect isn't possible, but just that he doesn't result from effective realities or „breaking” the realities. The connections are not planning, neither created through enforced assembly and, often, unhappy, nor by willingness which does not want to confront themselves, in order to facilitate the coexistence among them, but they are effects of some natural developments, of some intelligent actions of identification, optimization and interests correlation.

The platforms on which these interests – extremely differently – of the area's countries can be correlate and connected are, usually, economic and, especially, energetic. But these are ambiguous, horizon less and shadowed by the effects of small, marginal history, on which all people from here perceive as a curse<sup>8</sup>. The model which all countries around Black Sea wishes to follow and at which wishes to line up are the EU model. Romania and Bulgaria are already EU members, Turkey flows a pre-adheretion program, Georgia waits green light (but this light depends also of the EU-Russia summits), Ukraine, who has 29 % from Black Sea seaside and can be a huge gate of EU to East, but has still problems related both of the relations with

<sup>8</sup> VOINESCU Sever, *Pontic speculation and European hopes*, <http://www.dilemaveche.ro/index.php?nr=123&cmd=articol&id=578>, accessed at 05.02.2010



Russia and its status in region and much more.

The Black Sea region – in its both restricted and extended version – is remodeling from two perspectives which, for time being, is not assembling and not fully coherent: the *European strategic* and the *local*, regional one. The European strategic is shaping on EU's interests, especially, on those energetic, on future strategic concept of Alliance, which, undoubtedly, will have in mind also this area, on Russia-EU partnership, on emergence of Turkish politics and strategies and on USA strategic implication (the lay-out of some vectors of anti-missile shield in Romania, for example).

This perspective generates a favorable waiting horizon for the area's countries and a clear set of scale marks toward to which they will reorientate their strategic interests. She builds herself in a support-framework for the politics and strategies of the area's countries, and also in a guaranty of some benefic and predictable endings, even if the evolutions can be neither lineal nor without difficulties. But, if EU, Russia, Turkey and USA wishes (under some requests pressure, especially of energetic security and strategic stability) the area to be important, then many things will be changing here, with or without the will of population and countries from the area.

Benefic will be, probably, the fact that the people from this area will never look the region as a history's curse, as a limitation, but will understand that the area can become very important both for Europe and Asia, for NATO, Russia and USA and also for each country from the region. If the great powers and big security organizations wishes to transform the area a strategic security one, then this thing can not be benefic for all world, and her metamorphosis from rupture's area in confluence's area, in the presence of major interests, will become not only possible, but necessary.

This external strategic perspective is not enough. It is absolutely necessary like such a construction, such a transformation to start also from area's interior. Or, for ages, between the internal perspective and the external one of the geopolitical construction in the Black Sea areas aren't enough connections; or, in any case, the connections are rare. Everyone has another road and another manifestation way. The local perspective is strictly dependent by the external strategic one and doesn't answer to some internal commandments because it seems that such commandments are not enough clear and methodic. The local, internal resource of the region's synergy has, in fact, two essential supports: *the values support* of culture, which intend to the resistance structure of area's synergy; *the interests support* which has to be the engine of development, initiatives, of actions. Or, till now, none of these supports can rich the necessary connection parameters in order that the area, really, generate security and prosperity. But this is not a firmly statement, but just an ascertainment. The time, willingness and consciousness of the people who are living on these lands will solve, we are convinced, this dilemma.

The region depended too much on the great power interests – when these existed and demonstrated themselves, visible, through confrontations and wars,



through politics and strategic ought coherent – and to less „self-consciousness” of the region’s people. But this doesn’t mean that such a consciousness never existed. The Black Sea politics and strategies, as many they were, were elaborated, mainly, within the Moscow and Istanbul clerical room, but also in the great clerical rooms of European Occident. The Ukraine and Georgia acting a part, as independent countries, didn’t diminished the Russia’s role in region’s management, but also brought new coordinates, new interests. One of these interests – which ended with a trial at Hague – were the Ukraine’s exacerbate revendications, disfavoring Romania, regarding the economic exclusive zone. It seems that The Hague Court’s decision was satisfactory for all but it doesn’t result, from here, that all problems related with Black Sea were solved and will not appear others. The region is rich in oil, the Black sea will remain, simultaneously, a transit area, Turkey and Bulgaria already considers themselves as oil transit countries s.o., but the new battle for Black Sea didn’t even started. We would like that such a battle neither generate a major exogenous conflict, nor actuate forgotten endogenous supports, but to be a battle again prejudices and distortionated realities, for connections and durable development.

The EU enough quick intervention, through the neighborhood and partnership policy, but also through the Black Sea synergy, the alignment of defense anti-missile effort on Southern-Eastern Europe, the strategic partnerships of USA with Russia and Romania, special relation with Turkey, the more and more consistent presence of NATO in area can stimulate this synergy or, contrary, can maintain the area only the position of non-confliction, limitative rupture. Anyhow, the EU politics and the new NATO strategic concept, which we are waiting eagerly, as the Russian and Ukrainian politics regarding the area, can encourage or discourage a resurrection of vital general interest and of significant interests of all countries from the region (Caucasian countries, Moldavia, Balkans countries, also of Romania and Bulgaria, which are directly involved in European and Euro-Atlantic politics), for the effective participation to this synergy.

From here appears the identification need for common values which were stratified here during the time, starting with 7600’s cataclysm, present in myths, in popular documents, in the history and folk customs of each country from here.

The elements related to each country’s culture – especially of political and history culture – is building on, generally, local heroism, on the fight against the invaders, the nature’s storms, on sacrifices, but also on pride, winning, fighter, conqueror spirit (to some win through the supreme sacrifice, to others win through power and superiority) s.o. The culture of the countries from the region is to less a confluence-culture and more a citadel-culture, a survival-culture, or, in the case of great power from area, of imperial arrogance. Or, in these circumstances, what could have in common the area’s countries? And still there a lot of common elements which can form viable and vital supports for a region’s culture. It follows that, through the efforts of researches, scientists and culture people, of governments and international and locale organizations, to be identified and capitalized these consonances which can



constitute backgrounds for the exit of each country from the centennial citadel and connection, with all its heritage, to the great European spirit, to the great European culture and, why not, to the great Euro-Asian and universal culture.

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# LES FRONTIERES, LA SECURITE ET L'EFFET DE FAILLE

*Gheorghe VĂDUVA*

## **Abstract**

*Le XXème siècle a été, sur le continent européen, surtout en sa première moitié, mais pas seulement, un siècle des frontières territoriales fortifiées et militarisées. La sécurité du XXème siècle a signifié, premièrement, la sécurité de la frontière. Tant a celle défensive, comme a celle offensive, expansive aussi. Le rêve de l'unité européenne, formulé en 1500 et réitéré en 1815, semblerait avoir été effacé. La nécessité de l'identité et de l'individualité étatique – donc politique, économique, ethnique et culturelle – était plus grande et plus pressante que celle de l'unité continentale. C'était normale, parce que – nous le savons tous – il n'y a pas de l'unité là où il n'y a pas de l'identité. Défendre des frontières de l'Etat national contre les ennemis de l'extérieur et de l'intérieur c'était la vraie mission principale des forces armées des Etats. Ça, parce que les guerres étaient, avant tout, les guerres des frontières. Maintenant, au début d'un nouveau siècle, on a changé quelque chose de cette philosophie de la paix, de la guerre, de la sécurité et de la frontière ?*

Les mots clefs : frontière, faille, limite, ligne, séparation, espace

## **1. Pour quoi des frontières ? Pour quoi des failles ?**

Il y a eu des grandes mutations stratégiques, à la frontière d'entre deuxième millénaire et troisième millénaire, qui, quoique ils n'ont pas changé fondamentalement le monde (le monde est depuis toujours et pour toujours le même, en le sens de son éternel devenir), ont créé des problèmes nouveaux et très compliqués et, en même temps, on a recréé et réactualisé ce qui existait depuis toujours. Parmi les questions importantes de la planète des hommes on peut situer les suivantes aussi:

- la question des ressources énergétiques ;
- la question de l'eau ;
- la question de ressources alimentaires ;
- la question de l'environnement ;
- la question des frontières ;



- la question des failles ;
- la question des décalages ;
- mles questions du processus de mondialisation ;
- les questions génératrices de batailles identitaires ;
- les questions de la dissymétrie et de la symétrie des relations internationales ;
- la question de la violence asymétrique, y compris de la violence terroriste ;
- la question de la survie ;
- la question des armements ;
- les questions complexes du cyberspace.

Ce qu'on voit, les unes de ces problèmes sont interdépendantes, quelques unes se distinguent, en temps que les autres se ressemblent ou même fusionnent. Mais tous on un trait commune : *générer des failles et des tensions*. Rarement ils trouvent des solutions ou des effets bénéfiques pour la société humaine. L'effort des nombreuses forums de l'ONU, des organisations et organismes internationaux pour trouver des solutions pour ces problèmes est remarquable, mais les résultantes ne sont toujours ce qu'on en attend. Tant que le monde se développe beaucoup, tant qu'il devient plus vulnérable aux menaces traditionnelles qui l'accompagnaient depuis toujours, comme aux autres nouvelles qui surgissent comme des champignons après la pluie.

Les plus compliqués problèmes restent quand même les problèmes qui sont liés au *processus de la frontière* et du processus de divise et rompre la planète en failles. Et ces processus s'intègrent, à leur tours, en ce qu'on pourrait nommer *la grande guerre du mondialisation et les nombreuses batailles antimondialisation* qui s'inscrivent dans le spectre des stratégies politiques identitaires.

Il y a deux sortes de causes de ces processus. Les unes vient de la contradiction existentielle et même conflictuelle entre les frontières politiques trabées après la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale et non changées que dans quelques situation (la déchirassions de l'Union Soviétique, de l'Yougoslavie et de la Csehoslovaquie, la réunion de l'Allemagne), le conflit de Transnistrie, en l'Europe, des guerres frontalières en Afrique, des incidents armes en Caucase, Cachemire, en Asie Médiane et an Amérique Latine et la globalisation de l'information et de l'économie, surtout des transportes, et les autres sont générées par le croissance des décalages notamment économiques.

Le monde ne marche pas sur une bonne route. Presque quatre millions d'hommes, dont 90% des civiles, ont perdu leur vie en guerres et en conflits armes, 18 millions ont quitté leurs maison et leurs pays, 45 millions de gens meurent chaque année de faim et malnutrition. En ce temps, 3 milliard d'hommes ont, pour vivre, moins que 2 euro par jour.<sup>1</sup> L'Afrique Saharienne est plus pauvre qu'il y a 10 ans et la migration Est-Ouest continue. La statistique estime que, jusqu'à 2050, la population diminuera dramatiquement, de 22 millions à 16 millions. En tout ce temps, les maladies spécifiques au fin du XXème siècle et au début du XXIème

<sup>1</sup> *Stratégie européenne de sécurité*, Bruxelles, 12 decembrie 2003, pp. 5-6, [www.iss-eu.org](http://www.iss-eu.org), accesat la 14.05.2010



siècle – les maladies de malnutrition, les maladies cardio-vasculaires, le SIDA et le cancer – anéantiront des dizaines de millions de gens, notamment dans les pays pauvres ou avec les graves problèmes de sante. Les sources d'eau se diminueront. Il e possible que, en certaines zones, notamment dans le Moyen Orient et dans les régions sècheresses, on déclencherait une véritable guerre de l'eau qui périlitera les frontières des Etats et le fragile milieu de sécurité qu'on essaye de le consolider sur la Terre. Les dépendances énergétiques accentueront. A l'heure actuelle, le continent européen importe 50% du nécessaire de pétrole et de gaz et, en 2030, cet import augmentera à 70%.

Toute cette réalité exerce une influence significative sur le processus de la frontière. Les dépendances et les interdépendances, les nouveaux types de menaces et de vulnérabilités, la dynamique des intérêts et les systèmes de groupement et de regroupement des forces font et refont des réalités difficiles a les prévoir et même a les analyser et a les comprendre. Le chaos qu'on a déclenché après la fine du bipolarisme n'a pas été et n'est pas un simple étape de transition, comme on en a cru, en le définissant comme une désorganisation en vue d'une nouvelle organisation, mais une réalité qui se prolonge indéfini, qui a ses propres caractéristiques, qui produisent certaines types de pressions sur les frontières existants, en imposant même des nouveaux types de frontières.

La notion *frontière* vient d'un très vieil adjectif français, *frontier (iere)* qui signifie faire face a quelqu'un, voisin (en catalane, *frontaler = limitrophe*, qui nourrit des soldats qui font la garde de la frontière. Le sens du mot *frontière* reste le même y compris dans nos jours. Il provient de mot front (le bord d'un entité) a lequel on a ajute un suffixe : front – frontal – frontière, *frontalier*. Avec le temps, le sens initial de limite d'avant s'est transforme en ce de limite vis-à-vis de quelque chose, c'est-à-dire en devenant *ligne de séparation* de deux entités, voir *la frontière*.

D'ici il résulte déjà beaucoup de choses. Premièrement, la frontière est non seulement une ligne fixée en clous ou an bornes, mais elle est comprise comme une limite flexible, qui, de règle, s'étend, comme un processus, comme un phénomène. Deuxièmement, la frontière devient une relation, plus exacte, comme un limite-relation ou une interface entre des systèmes différents. Troisièmement, on comprend par frontière non pas une simple limite ou une simple ligne, mais un phénomène complexe, avec des déterminations multiples et très différents.<sup>2</sup>

La frontière est comprise comme un discontinuité de l'espace, comme une manière de délimiter, de différentier et d'identifier un espace en rapport avec un autre espace.

Quels sont des effets de la frontière? Quelles sont les ramifications et les limites de ces effets? Qu'en est que s'est la frontière? Barriere ou passage au niveau? Ligne de décence? Zone de refuge? La douana protectrice ou zone de contact? Périphérie

<sup>2</sup> General de brigadă (r) Sever Neagoe, general de brigadă (r) Ilie Tender, general de brigadă (r) dr. Gheorghe Văduva, *Istoria grănicerilor și a începutului poliției de frontieră*, Editura Scaiul, București, 2004, pp. 19-22.



ou zone privilégiée de coopération ? Différentiations absolues, de milliers des années, ou zone d'homogénéisation par de l'osmose ? Ligne de séparation catégorique ou zone de confluence ? Mur impassable ou zone de migration permanente ? Zone par laquelle un peuple se différencie d'un autre ou zone où un peuple fait l'amitié avec son voisin ? Limite de la connaissance ou limite d'avant de la base de départ pour une permanente offensive de la connaissance ou n'importe quel autre chose ? La frontière entre deux Etats se suppose-elle aux mêmes lois comme se suppose des frontières de la connaissance ? Dans l'époque de l'unification du continent européen, quelle est la philosophie et le rôle de la frontière ? Pourrions-nous renoncer à n'importe quel type de frontières ? Si non, alors qu'est-ce que sont, qu'est-ce qui semble être et que deviendront les frontières dans l'avenir ?

Autrement dite, qu'est-ce que c'est la frontière ? Est-elle seulement une ligne, conventionnelle ou naturelle, qui générera toujours une question discutable ? Pour quoi la frontière pose toujours des questions discutables ? Est-elle une réalité vivante, une zone génératrice de discussions, des tensions et de conflits, à cause, d'une part, du mouvement naturel de populations et, d'autre part, du phénomène de l'expansion de la frontière ?

La frontière est la ligne naturelle ou conventionnelle qui sépare (délimite) le territoire d'un Etat de territoires des autres Etats voisins, ou les surfaces des eaux qui ne font pas partie de son territoire : limite, confins. Dans l'antiquité, par exemple, en Grèce, la frontière représentait les limites d'une cité, avec tout ce qu'en signifie ça, notamment avec les terrains cultivables. Concomitant avec la réunion de Grèce (sous Philip de Macédoine), l'individualité des cités est finie et les villes font leur apparition. La frontière se limite au domaine régale, et puis s'étend au domaine régale tout entier.

Dorénavant, la frontière n'est qu'une simple zone montagneuse ou de champ, de marais, limite par un fleuve ou une rivière etc., parfois protectrice, parfois comme support ou base de départ pour une expansion toujours possible.

Comme par tout, la frontière a été comprise plus tôt comme une zone de passage d'une part à l'autre d'un obstacle. Le Traité de 1659 sur Pyrénées, par exemple, établissait la frontière franco-espagnole sur la ligne de la crête et partageait la surface de l'eau des rivières en deux, mais n'a jamais interdit aux bergères de passer leurs moutons d'une part à l'autre pour pâturage, ou aux paysans d'avoir des possessions. On sait, l'Antiquité et le Moyen Age se caractérisent par le mouvement presque non-limité des populations, notamment de celles nomades, mais des bergères sédentaires aussi et même des agriculteurs qui cherchaient un endroit plus bon, plus productif. Dans ce temps-là, les frontières étaient plus tôt des limites de l'expansion ou de l'arrêt de celle-ci.

Avec l'écroulement du temps, la notion frontière-ligne s'impose, parce qu'elle simplifie beaucoup les relations des Etats et des entités. Les enclaves disparaissent et l'identité reçoit un contour véritable.



Quand même, dans le XX<sup>ème</sup> siècle aussi, on a tenu compte de ces réalités, de traditions, de propriétés etc. en établissant concrètement, sur terre, de la ligne de frontière, surtout quand on s'agit de la frontière conventionnelle, qui ne suit pas une forme de relief (la crête des montagnes, un rivièr etc.). Si on suit le trajet de la ligne de frontière de l'Ouest de la Roumanie, on voit des nombreux angles droits, des cols de sac, des boucles, des unes très étranges. C'est normale, parce que, après le Trianon et le Sèvres, el établissant le trajet de la frontières, on a fallu tenir compte de configuration administrative des villes et des villages et même des domaines. Notion *frontière* (limite) a été imposée par l'historien américain James Jackson Turner dans une série de essais ramasses, Jn 1920, dans un livre.

Donc, les frontières sont des limites, des limitations ou des délimitations. Elles apparaissent, également, comme des bords, des lisières, comme des confins d'un territoire, comme disait Nicolae Iorga<sup>3</sup>, même aussi comme des lignes de séparation. Il y a des nombreux types de frontières : politiques (entre des Etats, même en sens figuratif aussi, entre des concepts, des doctrines politiques etc.) ; idéologiques ; géographiques ; naturelles ; conventionnelles ; terrestres, maritimes ; aériennes ; scientifiques ; culturelles ; religieuses etc.

« Le phénomène de la frontière exprime la totalité des processus par lesquelles on manifeste un expansion historique, soit d'un peuple, soit d'une civilisation, soit d'une religion ou d'une idéologie, ou, enfin, d'un empire. On parle, en ce cas, de la frontière des peuples, des civilisations, des empires ou, purement et simplement, de frontières religieuses, idéologiques etc. »<sup>□</sup>

Le phénomène de l'expansion de la frontières n'est pas et ne peut pas être traite seulement comme un effet d'une agressivité. C'est un phénomène extrêmement complexe qui suppose, également, l'expansion et la limitation ou la délimitation, c'est-à-dire, arrêté ou barre de ceux-ci, le nomadisme et le sédentarisme. Sammuel P. Huntington, en son célèbre livre *Conflit des civilisations...*, relevait que, d'entre les sept ou huit civilisations (chinoise, japonaise, hindous, islamique, africaine, orthodoxe, occidentale et, éventuellement, latino-américaine), seulement la civilisation occidentale est aggressive, expansive. Elle este celle qui a impose un processus dynamique de la frontière politique, même de la frontière scientifique, culturelle et religieuse aussi. Ce type d'expansion a créé des nouvelles frontières, mais des nouvelles failles aussi. Parce qu'il y a et existe non seulement une expansion frontalière, c'est-à-dire une agressivité frontalière, même aussi une résistance a cette agressivité (chez les roumaines, ca a été cent pour cent culturelle), un contre-attaque et même une contre-offensive civilisationelle, déployé par autre moyennes (voir l'expansion actuelle des populations de l'espace chinois et de l'espace islamique). Ces véritables batailles et même des guerres de rencontre ont produit des failles, qu'on a beaucoup de difficultés à remplir ou à dépasser. Les unes de celles-ci sont

<sup>3</sup> Nicolae Iorga, în lucrarea *Hotare și spații naționale*, apărută în 1938, aducea în dezbatere noțiunea de *hotar*: El definea hotarul ca „producător de sinteză”. Hotarul cuprindea o regiune întreagă.



millénaires, les autres ont surgit brusquement, après la fin de la Guerre Froid.

L'une de plous troublent conclusions de l'analyse du phénomène de la frontière c'est que « toutes les nations industrielles augmentent au-delà de leurs frontières. »<sup>□</sup> Dans l'époque de la société informationnelle, on produira, probablement, une nouvelle faille, dan le cyberspace, et d'ici, une nouvelle expansion qui, cette fois ci, n'aura pas des vainqueurs et des vainques, mais seulement une approche fatidique der l'entropie zéro.

Entre 1851 et 1900, l'Europe a exporte 35 millions de gens, parce qu'elle n'a pas pu le nourrir. C'est l'expansion de la frontière nord-atlantique. Mais, l'expansion la plus complexe et la plus long est celle qui s'est déroulé est s'y déroule, avec le sens Est-Ouest, en ayant comme zone de départ le foyer perturbateur, qui s'étend du Nord de la Mer Caspienne e jusqu'au Manchourie, et, comme zone d'arrivée, l'Europe Occidentale et, surtout, les Etats Unies de l'Amérique.

### **La prolifération des menaces sans frontières**

Un monde sans frontières c'est un monde mort. D'ailleurs, nous considérons que, concomitant avec la disparition de la dernière frontière, le dernière homme disparaîtra aussi. C'est parce que les gens ont besoin non seulement d'unité et de communauté, mais aussi de diversité, d'identité et d'intimité. C'est beau ce qu'on fait l'unité des gens, mais c'est aussi important ce qu'on les sépare. La valeur n'est seulement l'unité, mais elle est aussi l'identité.

Les frontières supportent toujours des agressions, soit par des autres frontières, soit par un grand nombre de menaces et de vulnérabilités des systèmes qu'elles y les délimitent. Parmi les plus importantes menaces qui attaquent les frontières et, en même mesure, génèrent des nouvelles frontières et même des nouvelles failles, nous y considérons les suivantes :

- le développement sans précédent des armements, surtout des armes de destruction massive (ADM) et la croissance incommensurable de la vulnérabilité des Etats et des communautés aux attaques avec ce type de moyens, n'import l'adressant ;

- l'apparition des nouvelles types d'armements (laser, a l'énergie dirigé, a l'amplification des ondes, géophysique, non-létales etc.) qui, d'une part, dissuadent la conflit, mais, d'autre part, l'amplifie, le complique et le diversifie, parce qu'ils substituent et complètent l'arsenal déjà existant et imposent des nouvelles rédimissions stratégiques ;

- l'accumulation d'un impressionnant arsenal d'ADM, de systèmes d'armements ultra-perfectionnés et des moyens résiduels du temps de la course des armements (des dépôts nucléaires, chimiques, des laboratoires biologiques et même des produits destinés à la guerre biologique et biophysique), que peuvent être utiliser par les groupes non-étatique, par des organisations terroristes etc. ;

- la croissance des décalages économiques et technologiques, la polarisation



excessive de la fortune et de la pauvreté et, de cette cause, la multiplication des effets insupportables, des situations désespérées, des situations-limites et des réactions violentes ;

- la réchauffage de la planète, la multiplication de l'effet de serre, la modification de l'ionosphère et des autres couches de protection de la biosphère ;

- la diminution des réserves d'eau potable et de nourriture ;

- la limitation des ressources énergétiques et l'absence du découvert des autres nouvelles, naturelles ou non-conventionnelles, qui peuvent compter ;

- la dégradation continue de l'environnement, l'apparition de la notion de guerre géophysique et sa mise en œuvre ;

- l'amplification de la dispersion sociale et individuelle, surtout dans la zone des pays sous-développés ;

- la prolifération des discriminations sociales, de l'infractionnelle, de la criminalité et du comportement aberrant, concomitant avec l'augmentation de l'intolérance de la société face aux phénomènes sociaux anormaux, en s'enfonçant ainsi la faille stratégique entre d'une part ces plateformes humaines et, par correspondance, l'effet de faille, principalement, le terrorisme ;

- la multiplication des menaces frontalières, surtout dans la zone des États qui se sont séparés (intempestivement, mais avec les héritages impériaux qui se sont produits) de l'ex-Union Soviétique (Ukraine, Caucase, les pays de l'Asie Centrale etc.) et, par conséquence, l'apparition et la prolifération des disputes (par exemple, la stratégie de force et d'intimidation que la Russie pratique en relation avec la Géorgie etc.) ;

- la prolifération du phénomène de la migration et l'impossibilité de la société occidentale de l'y contrôler et stopper, avec toutes les conséquences qui suivent ;

- l'augmentation de la violence individuelle et sociale dans tous les pays, sur tous les continents et dans tous les milieux ;

- l'amplification de l'extrémisme fondamentaliste religieux, surtout celui de nature islamique et, en certaines zones, de l'extrémisme ethnique ;

- la prolifération du phénomène terroriste, la création d'une faille (pour le moment, impossible à l'identifier et à l'annihiler) entre la plateforme, le système ou le mélange des systèmes violents et protestataires qui produisent le terrorisme et les systèmes politiques et sociaux menacés ou visés par les actions terroristes ;

- l'apparition d'une guerre en cyberspace, concrétisée dans les nombreuses batailles de réseaux, dans l'agression de gestionnaires de l'information et de produits informationnels contre les consommateurs de l'information numérique, dans les virus des ordinateurs, dans la piraterie informatique et dans le danger produit par l'action de casser les paroles et de pénétrer les réseaux des systèmes de sécurité informationnelle, économique, politique et militaire.

Tous ces défis sont extrêmement graves, parce que il y a beaucoup de vulnérabilités des systèmes visés qui leur correspondent. Malheureusement, en temps



que la société se développe, les vulnérabilités s'amplifient, les plus d'entre elles en se trouvant dans le cyberspace.

### **Des nouvelles frontières, des nouvelles identités**

Les frontières et les failles ne sont pas disparues et de disparaîtront. Mais, comme n'importe quelle existence de ce monde, elles ont une vie, donc, une durée et, de ca, passent et devraient passer par un processus de transformation. L'étape que nous parcourons se caractérise, entre autres, par le passage de la frontière délimitative à la frontière limitative, c'est-à-dire de la frontière-ligne à la frontière-espace, ou surface. Les frontières politiques du XXème siècle ont eu, généralement, des frontières-lignes-de-séparation, imposées par de traites conçus à la suite des guerres. Chacun a accaparé combien il a pu le faire, l'objectif principal étant d'avoir accès aux fortunes et aux ressources. Ainsi, la Fédération Russe, qui est le plus grand pays (comme surface territoriale) de la planète et dispose de les plus grandes ressources du monde (la Russie est, pratiquement, le réservoir de matières premières, surtout énergétiques, du monde) a élargi artificiellement ses frontières. Il a occupé le heartland du Mackinder, sans tenir compte d'immense diversité des populations, des cultures, des mentalités et de volontés de cet immense espace. Les frontières qui obligent ces populations à être ensemble, quoiqu'elles n'ont presque rien en commun et ne veulent être ensemble, ne sont pas prédestinées à durer. Elles sont comme les clôtures de fil de fer barbelé des prisons. Le monde est plein de telles frontières qui, en leur essence, sont de frontières politiques qui ne délimitent pas des entités, mais des espaces, des territoires, des camps ou des agglomérations.

Tels frontières ne sont pas faites pour long temps. On pourrait être possible que la destruction de l'Union Soviétique ne se soit pas, premièrement, un effet de la stratégie d'endiguement, utilisée par les américaines, conformément à la théorie de containment du géopoliticien Nicolas Spykmen (la théorie du rimland), mais, surtout, un effet de l'implosion, c'est-à-dire une manière consciemment de quitter des incompatibilités frontalières. Ainsi, on pourrait suivre, d'une part, la reconstitution de l'espace vital et la construction ou la reconstruction d'une Roussie puissante et durable, de point de vue économique, et, d'autre part, la création des prémisses pour que ce pays soit redevenir une puissance mondiale qui peut dominer l'Eurasie et, notamment, le foyer perturbateur. Ça – c'est-à-dire la domination ou seulement la gestion de foyer perturbateur – est, d'ailleurs, l'un des objectifs stratégiques du monde entière, que presque toutes les grandes puissances (La Roussie, la Chine, L'Inde, L'Union Européenne, les Etats Unies et même le monde arabe) aspire le joindre. L'Yougoslave aussi s'est déchirée par un effet d'implosion et, en même temps, par un effet d'explosion, mais les paramètres de ce processus ont été ajoutés à fait les autres.

On peut définir l'espace roumain actuel comme le dernier l'espace-noyau,



c'est-à-dire ce qu'il a resté de ce qu'il était resté, qui se caractérise par unité et indivisibilité. Mais ce n'est pas suffisant. Il faut qu'un espace délimité par des frontières génère de la force et de la stabilité, c'est-à-dire de la force économique (des ressources) et culturelle (des systèmes de valeurs) et de la stabilité politique et sociale. Sans ces éléments, les frontières ne sont que des petites fils de fumée et d'illusions qui s'éparpillent au vent à la première brise. Donc, le processus de la frontière suppose une existence intérieure, une intégration intérieure, au fil du temps, une santé spirituelle, économique et politique. Une énergie qui vient du profond, et qu'on en fait matérialiser par l'effort et le maintient par l'intelligence et le dévouement.

Le monde agit unitairement, spécifiquement et différemment, contre les millions de menaces et de vulnérabilités qui visent les frontières, sur trois piliers :

- la construction ou la reconstruction des identités ;
- les partenariats stratégiques ;
- la mondialisation (globalisation).

On réalise la construction ou la reconstruction des identités par deux dimensions fondamentales :

- la construction des nouvelles identités (par exemple, l'Union Européenne qui sera une identité des identités) ;
- la consolidation des identités et des entités étatiques qui déjà existent, ainsi que la frontière-ligne-de-départ, la frontière qui ramasse et délimite devienne identique avec la frontière qui identifie, avec la frontière-espace.

Les partenariats stratégiques ne détruisent pas des frontières et ne construisent pas des frontières. Seulement, ils transforment les frontières qui séparent en des frontières qui unissent. Ce processus a lieu sur des grandes surfaces, entre deux ou plusieurs pays et vise des objectifs communs ou particuliers, mais qui demande la collaboration, l'entente, le soutien mutuel etc. Le partenariat stratégique entre la Russie et les Etats Unis de l'Amérique est un partenariat entre deux grandes puissances et vise, simultanément, l'exploitation des ressources naturelles asiatiques, la stabilisation et la stabilité de l'Asie Centrale, la sécurité globale, le développement économique, la lutte contre le terrorisme etc. Le partenariat stratégique entre la Roumanie et les Etats Unis de l'Amérique vise la création des conditions pour combler est désamorcer une faille stratégique, la réalisation d'une soudure entre l'Europe et l'Asie dans une zone instable, le soutien de la Roumanie pour mettre en œuvre son rôle de liant stratégique dans la zone de la Mer Noire, des Balkans et de Caucase, la stabilisation de la zone etc. Aujourd'hui, les partenariats stratégiques sont égaux avec des failles stratégiques (dans la zone de chaque faille se trouve un tel partenariat le moins), et leur vocation c'est de réduire l'effet de faille et d'assurer la paix et la sécurité.

Ces objectifs ne sont pas simples et on ne peut pas les réaliser facilement. Les zones de failles (la faille nord/asiatique, les failles du foyer perturbateur, la faille Asie-Pacifique, la faille kurde, les failles balkaniques, les failles africaines, la



faille islamique, les failles latino-américaines etc.) sont dynamiques et fonctionnent comme la sismicité de la terre : ils s'activent à l'improviste, en générant des graves conflits, des crises, criminalité, trafic illégal et même des guerres. Le partenariat stratégique russo-chinois, par exemple, vise la domination de la faille de l'Extrême Orient, notamment de Manchourie, et la gestion de la conflictualité de l'espace estique du foyer perturbateur, la création d'une zone de stabilité dans l'Asie de Nord-Est, parmi les autres, en vue de l'exploitation du pétrole sibérien aussi. Le partenariat stratégique entre Roussie et l'UE (en construction fluide et assez instable) vise la réalisation, en fin de compte, de l'unité et de la stabilité de l'espace eurasiatique, par la revigoration du heartland d'autrefois, comme l'en préconiser Mackinder. Déjà, l'appropriation et les relations spéciales d'entre La Russie et l'Allemagne, la France, l'Italie, les projets North Stream et South Stream représentent les premiers pilions d'une telle architecture eurasiatique.



# THE GEOPOLITICAL ARGUMENT ACCORDING THE RUSSIAN POWER PHILOSOPHY

by Grațiela VLĂDĂIANU

## Abstract

*It is indisputable that, from a geopolitical aspect, Russia is the undeniable beneficiary of a unique situation in the world by its location in the area of the Eurasian (Eurasia), the meeting point of great civilizations, a state virtually unparalleled in this respect, which, by its essential features, is both European and Asian. Obviously, from this mixture, completely original, the result is a specific ethno-cultural reality, but which can not be definitively assigned either in Europe or Asia. According the significance of this specificity, Siviu Neguț considers that it (n.n. specificity) „ dictates an assessment of the Russian geopolitical position, relatively ambiguous, historically speaking. First, Russia serves as a « bridge » between two « subcontinents », assessment that would justify the desire of Russia's integration in world civilization, but also the masked trend of expansion, on the other hand, is neither Europe nor Asia but Russia itself, which would justify the exceptionalism of this world power; particularly the trend has been promoted by the nationalist and extremist circles ”<sup>1</sup>.*

*What are the geopolitical arguments, elements of power which Russia hoped, maneuvering „ in one area of the uncertainty to regain something of the greatness of the past ” □.*

## 1. Territory

Russia (Russian Россия / Rosiia), or the Russian Federation (Российская Федерация / Rosiiskaia Federations), is a country that stretches over a vast territory in Europe and Asia. With an area of 17,075,200 km.<sup>2</sup> Russia is the largest country in the world, nearly two times higher then Canada, the second largest territory .

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<sup>1</sup> Siviu Neguț, project dir. (co), Romania's geopolitical analysis – the position at the intersection of the new geostrategic and geo-economic axis, grant type, research final report: contract number 33518 / 2003, issue no. 17 CNCIS code 356. A.S.E. Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 76.



The first four countries in the world in order of the territorial area are:

Loc	Țară	Suprafață (km <sup>2</sup> )
1	Russia	17.075.200,00
2	Canada	9.976.140,00
3	USA	9.629.091,00
4	China	9.596.960,00

The simplest description of Russia is that the continental spread is high, with extensive coastline and a number of adjacent islands and an enclave (Kaliningrad, in south-east corner of the Baltic Sea).

Borders and coastline, from north-east, counterclockwise <sup>2</sup>, are : borders with Norway and Finland; a short coastline on the Baltic Sea, the port of St. Petersburg from Finland to Estonia; borders with Estonia, Latvia, Belarus and Ukraine ; Black Sea from Ukraine to Georgia, borders with Georgia and Azerbaijan, the Caspian Sea from Azerbaijan to Kazakhstan, Kazakhstan borders with China, Mongolia, again with China and North Korea.

Very large Russian coast allows access to all seas and sea links with all nations and all straits: the North Pacific : Japan Sea (the western coast of Sakhalin ), the Ohotk Sea (the eastern coast of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands and the Bering Sea; the Bering Strait (where small Russian island Ratmanov – Little Diomedé – separated by only a few kilometers of water from the Big Diomedé Island, belonging to Alaska in the U.S.) to the Arctic Ocean, including: Ciukci Sea (with Island Wrangel), Great Eastern Siberia (with Novosibirsk Islands ), Laptev Sea, Kara Sea (the islands of Novaya Zemlya), Barent Sea (the islands of the Franz-Josef, port of Murmansk, where the White Sea forward deep into the continent).

The Kaliningrad region consists on enclave and has borders with: Poland at south and Lithuania at north and east, and has the coast at Baltic Sea.

Russian coast ports of Baltic Sea and the Black Sea have less access to other seas, unless the Pacific Ocean and the Arctic Ocean, but this do not decline it's significance. The Baltic Sea provides immediate access to nine other countries ports and between continental Russia and Kaliningrad enclave. The straits between Denmark and Sweden, the Baltic and North Sea is linked to the oceans north and west of the latter. Black Sea ports allows immediate access to five other countries and, through the Dardanelles and Bosphorus straits and the port of Istanbul, liaises with the Mediterranean and beyond, via the Suez Canal and the Strait of Gibraltar to the Indian and Atlantic oceans. Caspian Sea, the largest saltwater lake, is an enclosed sea, with no access to Ocean.

It requires, however, some considerations concerning the position of Russia

<sup>2</sup> Paul Dobrescu, Geopolitics, Communication.ro Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 283.



on world map: at first sight, everything looks absolutely fine, from the exceptional scope, to the sea escape, not less, enjoying a very large coastline, at least statistically speaking. However, this huge coastline can not be realized at full capacity, bringing Russia minor benefit because, at least as regards the north shore, it is dominated by ice from the Kara Sea to Chukchi Sea until in June. Navigation is possible only along the coast in August, the waterway remains open until October. Starting this month, winds from the north and northeast push the Arctic ice to the shore, closing the Chukchi and Laptev Seas, followed by the closure of the East Siberian Sea, and, finally, the Kara Sea in November. In December, the strait between Novaya Zemlya and the mainland is covered by ice. In late December or early January, ice is formed in the Barents Sea also. The western Barents Sea remains not covered with ice because of the North Atlantic Stream.

Regarding the Bering Sea, most of its north is frozen, the navigation is possible only in spring.

Why do I need to talk about those issues? Very exceptional Russian situation explains both the expansion policy of the past (I mean the Czarist Empire, later the USSR) — we speak about centuries of conquests and territorial annexations —, and also its current policy: all actions of this state are subordinate to a vital purpose, a prerequisite for the existence and the economic prosperity, is to leave the continent and gain access to warm seas, which to foster trade, but also an advantage, namely, comfort and security policy, considered vital for raising claims of great international power.

Because, as we stated, Russia has great resource, but which, in those geographical conditions are extremely difficult to exploit due to the inability to practice an effective maritime transport (as we know, shipping is very affordable because of the low costs involved, compared with other modes of transport, and because the large quantities of goods that can be operationalized relatively easily). And if these huge resources can not be recovered also by export the country is doomed to economic backwardness. Yet a foreign policy performance and a great international power status can not be sustained without no economy match.

I think that the things like that are required to see when it comes to the trends of territorial expansion and control over neighbors who have exits to the warmer seas, navigable almost throughout the year, especially the Baltic States, because of its access to the Baltic and Ukraine seas which the country enjoys. For that, with the collapse of the USSR and the Baltic states and Ukraine's loss, Russia lost much from the escape in the Black Sea and Baltic Sea, access being very severely restricted.

In this sense, Paul Dobrescu says that "Russia's geographical situation is indeed paradoxical. A large country has expanded enormously by military force, does not have safe trip to Ocean. The classic suffering "oceanic return" of the Russia has increased dramatically after the Cold War, when he lost the escape to the Black Sea and major access routes to the Baltic Sea, between it and this sea interfering



the Baltic states; therefore, are authors talking about Russia as about a “dead end Mainland.” Naturally, Russia offset this disadvantage by privileged position: it occupies the largest area and the heart of Eurasia. It is situated at the junction of areas not only political but also of great cultural spaces. Country of continental dimensions, Russia plays the role of true buffer, the hub and the world interest is that this turntable to exist and operate.”<sup>3</sup>

Here should be classified also the effort of the sought West- witch referred this geographically paradox and the vulnerabilities arising from this —, to encircle Russia, to suffocate and not allow it to restore a large force. All major Western geopolitical paradigm in their heart have the same obsessive concern: Russia’s closure of the continent. In turn, Russia’s entire foreign policy focuses on output, at all costs, from the mainland prison.

### 2. Natural resources

Russian federation, in the whole, can be considered the country with the most diverse and valuable natural resources in the world. The main natural resources are: oil – the Volga-Ural, Precaspian Field and Western Siberian Field (third place in the world); natural gas (Russian Federation is placed first on top of the world, accounting for almost one third of world reserves of this energy)<sup>4</sup>; Coal (Pecioara basins, the Lena and Yenisei) (third place in the world); iron ore (Ural, Valdai Plateau); ferrous ores (Urals and Siberia); diamonds, gold and uranium (Central Siberian Plateau, Shrine Mountain); electricity production, the Russian Federation ranks second worldwide, after USA, with a structure that has comparable proportions; water resources, which occupies 0.5% of the territory, we are talking about „ large water reserves, the water also tends to become an essential resource, which is not given due importance ”<sup>5</sup>; huge swathes of forest, where „ wood tends to become a material increasingly rare and expensive ”<sup>6</sup>; a huge agricultural potential, in a context in which the planet’s food resources are increasingly compromised.

To track the dynamics of the Russian economy, relative to the recovery of its vast resources, it is notable the findings made in an article published in Eco-

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<sup>3</sup> The global distribution map of natural gas resources, made by the „ BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2008 “, shows the Eurasian continental shelf as the second region in the world rich in natural gas, a quantity of 59.41 trillion cubic meters. The same report states that the Russian Federation is the State that has the largest natural gas proven reserves to the global, with an amount of 44.65 trillion for 2007 meters cubes. Russian territory is 25.2% of world natural gas, and on the ranking of gas producers and exporters, the same country is on top. Russia’s natural gas reserves are concentrated in Siberia – and biggest lie in Zapoliarnoi. According to Gazprom’s 2007 annual report, 60% of Russian gas reserves and all the pipelines that cross the country you is owned by Gazprom. The largest quantities of natural gas in Russia are exported to the EU and the former Soviet republics (Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, the Baltic States, Azerbaijan), Turkey or Japan. The Russian gas reaches the European consumers via conducts passing through Ukraine and Belarus.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 322.

<sup>5</sup> Eco, Economic Magazine, no. 206 / 4 February 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



Economic Magazine, no. 206 / 4 February 2009: “Russia’s economy has been weakened by decades of Soviet polity (at that time, Russia was able to produce oil, nuclear missiles, Kalashnikov rifles and very few other items of interest to Western market economies); followed by the reforms that former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had implemented, Boris Yeltsin former president Revolution and market liberalization.

Very quickly, a group of young businessmen, many of them having ties with Yeltsin, has accumulated wealth by billions of dollars worth taking advantage of the few remnants of the Soviet system. Meanwhile, many ordinary citizens were left with empty pockets having lost their government-guaranteed jobs. The only assets that remained were the apartments. To Western ‘90s represented a Russian political scene exciting, but insignificant in economic terms. In an era of low oil prices, the country’s natural resource wealth, Russia holding the largest gas reserves in the world and being in second place in terms of oil reserves, does not count.

Its loser status was apparently assured when, in 1998, the government devalues the ruble and default the entrance into debt. “<sup>7</sup> But” Russia has made considerable progress in terms of the economy in the last decade, led by President Vladimir Putin, who managed to put the feet of the Russian economy, reinforcing the key points: oil and gas sector. 20 years ago, few would have predicted that Russia would attend a period of accelerated growth in a short time [...]. Thanks mainly to high oil prices, over the past eight years, the Russian economy has grown at an average annual rate of over 6%. The oil and gas are growing, of course, but a similar increase is enjoyed also by the commodities producers “<sup>8</sup>.

### 3. Population

Russian Federation includes a population of approximately 141 million inhabitants, which means the 6th place in the world, constituting a true ethnic mosaic, involving a potential point of conflict extremely high: in this land we meet around 100 nationalities and peoples: Russians (over 80%), Ukrainians, Chuvashs, Bashkirs, Belarus, Ossetian, Dagestan, iakuți, Karel etc.

Thus we have the following classifications, in terms of population concentration area (density), and in terms of birth rate and mortality: the European side, which comprises 25% of Russian territory, lives 75% of the population ( between 50-335 inhabitants / km<sup>2</sup> ), maximum concentration in the European side is 200-300 inhabitants / km<sup>2</sup> (Moscow region, St. Petersburg) and in the extreme northern Europe

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<sup>7</sup> Simion Mehedinți (1868 - 1962), academician, geographer and Romanian geopolitician. Philosophical spirit, formed at Titu Maiorescu school, has conducted an extensive cultural activity as educator of the masses and especially youth, through his numerous writings and conferences held for the Romanian students all over the country’s universities - source: wikipedia.org

<sup>8</sup> Comment on Simion Mehedinți - Paul Dobrescu in Geopolitics, Comunication.ro Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 110.



the density is falling below one inhabitant per km.<sup>2</sup>; the maximum concentration on the Asian side is the central Urals (some cores) 40 inhabitants / km<sup>2</sup> and coal basins (the Kuzbass) of 35 inhabitants / km<sup>2</sup>. Far Eastern Siberia, the density decreases by 30 inhabitants / km<sup>2</sup>. Huge Area taiga are uninhabited. These areas are also in the north of the country. Birth rate is of 14.5%. Mortality rate is 10,5%. The urban population is estimated at 75% of the population.

In terms of population, seen as part of the State power, several considerations are imposed. First, we have the celebrate appreciation of Simion Mehedinti<sup>9</sup> that we find in his work „The Politics of words and the political man” that „the power of nations increases and decreases as their populations increase and decrease”<sup>10</sup>. Romanian scientist identifies, therefore, an inextricable link between demographic trends and the nature power that the state made it worth. Following further Mehedinti proposed paradigm, we see that he does not forget to refer to the population density, it uniformity, and the relationship that the majority population has with the ethnic minority, regarded as vital indicators to assess the power of a nation<sup>11</sup>: „And if there is an ethnographic axiom that a people’s power lies in direct proportion to the thickness and homogeneity, it is obvious for anybody that the fundamental problem of the state ... is obsessed population. All legislate from the economic, health, administrative, school, church and culture in general must spin around the cardinal point”<sup>12</sup>.

Analysing the “axiom” proposed by Simion Mehedinti, Paul Dobrescu argue that the indicators of population, meaning, number, ethnic composition and density, are undoubtedly very important “in equation takeoff, climb and consecration of a national community. It’s not about a mere presence, but one supported by the number and power that gives the number”<sup>13</sup>. Further, the author accepts, as legitimate, public positioning as “the most important priority of a state”<sup>14</sup>, because “it is a barometer of health of the social body. Population increase when the amount of economic, social and cultural rights are met. It is, thus, par excellence, a synthetic indicator. Under that angle the population growth is the most reliable sign of nation status.”<sup>15</sup> And, obviously, an indicator of security.

I wanted to make this clarification because it is appropriate to discuss a very serious issue, facing the Russian Federation, as other countries, especially in Europe, namely, a process of sustained demographic decline, perspective „absolutely disturbing because it is difficult to control haveing place in the largest state of the

<sup>9</sup> Comment on Simion Mehedinti – in Dobrescu, Paul Dobrescu Geopolitics, Communication.ro Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 113.

<sup>10</sup> Id., p. 114.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Dobrescu, Geopolitics, Communication.ro Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 318.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

<sup>15</sup> Comment on demographic studies undertaken by the ONU after the Cold War - in Geopolitics Paul Dobrescu, Communication.ro Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 319.



world and in a context which gives meaning to true national security issue.”<sup>16</sup>.

It is known that, after dissolution of the USSR, Russia is experiencing a severe demographic crisis. Thus, if in 1991, it numbered 148, 5 million inhabitants, in 2007, the population reached a figure of only 141 million inhabitants. In turn, the birth rate is one of the lowest in the world (9 / thousand) and is obvious to all researchers that Russian phenomenon has never faced such a demographic involution than during '30, during the Grand Terror, the war and after the hunger period. Moreover, the prospect is pretty bleak in the sense that demographic decline is so acute that by ONU estimates, in 2050, Russian population will have 121 million inhabitants.

No less important is that demographic involution which is subject Russia, in the future could expose the state to a series of territorial claims (see previous Kosovo, where the Albanian population, became majority, complained of unilateral independence from Serbia, not to ignore the Chinese immigration into Siberia, perceived as a risk factor in the future), provided that we identify a true demographic expansion of neighboring states, „ a situation can be defined as a threat to Federation security. By some estimates, Russian population will decrease over the next two decades to about 120 million people, while Turkey's population reaches about the same level. To add that all the Muslim states of southern Russia record high rates of population growth. If we were to refer only to the Muslim population of the territory of the former USSR's 50 million Muslims have a number of kids as the 145 million Russian. Which means, as I said, that over two generations majorities in both communities will be cvasimatch, proposing to inaugurate a series of dramatic processes, if current trends persist ”<sup>17</sup>.

Regarding the ethnic composition and the potential danger of instability that comes from this direction, is telling the ONU assessment that „ population movements in former Soviet territory are the largest, most complex and highest potential for destabilization of any region at the end of World War II ... The main reasons that gave rise to these movements are armed conflicts, the disintegration of the Union, initiated deportation feedback from Stalin ”<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Geopolitical theory developed by Nicholas Spykman (1893-1945), naturalized Dutch journalist, professor of international relations and then director of the Institute of International Studies of Yale University, one of the foremost representatives of American geopolitical school. Broadly, his theory advances a new concept - Rimland's (land to the edge). This is the “ring” formed by landlocked countries, which surrounds most parts “Heartland's” core, the heart of the world “, a concept developed by british Harlford Mackinder, space that corresponds broadly to the former USSR, Eurasia , territory currently occupied, in large part, by the Russian Federation. Spykman launched formula is: “Who is dominating the Rimland (maritime border of the Eurasian continent) dominates Eurasia, whot dominates Eurasia takes in the hands the destiny of the world.” This theory has been applied, however, successful (although it wasn't crystallized in this form) in the interwar period, by the famous sanitaire cordon, which was part of Romania, including so-called buffer states between the civilized world, democratic and Soviet Russia , but also during the Cold War and, very importantly, as shown, applys today, continuing isolation, impoundment and suffocation in mainland Russia, therefore, in a controlled area - information collected from Sergiu Tamas, Geopolitics - a prospective approach, New Alternative Publishing, Bucharest, 1995, pp.89-91.

<sup>17</sup> Viktor Vladimirovich Erofeev, Encyclopedia of Russian soul, Paralela 45, Bucharest, 2003.

<sup>18</sup> Tatiana Tolstaia (Russian: Татьяна Никитична Толстая, born in 1951 in Leningrad) is one of the most representative voices of contemporary Russian intelligentsia.



Here the discussion on this topic is of great importance, while the power of a nation is a deterministic relationship with the quantity and quality of its people. It is obvious that the only way we can explain a range of domestic policy pursued by successive governments in Russia, and especially, the only way we can objectively assess the state of determination and perseverance of this state to use absolutely all its geopolitical arguments, from population to land and resources, to exit the continental shelf, to the warm seas (Russian diplomacy has always priority) and to escape the grip of Anaconda <sup>□</sup>, more present than ever — tactics used by the Western powers to collect and suffocating mass of mainland Russia, as never to become a great power, not in any case a power that can threaten U.S. military and economic supremacy.

As we shall see later, things are not quite so, and the West is not always successful when it comes to Russia, because, although we are witnessing a dramatic decrease of Russian people, we can not lightly over the quality of this population, over its morale, exceptionally, over those traits that make up what is called “national character”, meaning that traits that characterize a people as brave, resigned, courageous, or rather, lazy, timid, cowardly, etc.

#### 4. The morale of the population and imperial past nostalgia

When talking about „Mother Russia”, Viktor Erofeev, one of the most talented contemporary Russian writers, submit our attention an area of mysticism, chaos, messianism, misery, despair, superficiality, but also a place of rebirth, permanent regeneration, with the source „of a flare and nostalgic pathos” <sup>□</sup>. Russia is, in this vision, Phoenix, that which is said to rise from its own ashes.

On the same line, Tatiana Tolstaia <sup>□</sup> makes a insight hard blunt in what is called, usually, „Russian soul”, in an absolutely astonishing evocative language:

„If I was destined to live all my life in Russia, to come into contact only with the Russians, certainly I would be hanged. And not because I do not like Russians or because I would consider them uninteresting, contrary. I do not know anything more interesting, paradoxical and contradictory than the Russians. Russia is a great institution, on the door it hangs a large barn lock, in turn has walls; the ceiling is very low and below the feet, instead of floor, is the abyss, in which doctors have lost their minds and the patients, in their own way, understand how things are, pretend to be mad, not to favor the doctors, but simply because it's so interesting, more convenient and fantastic; where nightmares and nocturnal fantasies materialize before becoming tangible and simple objects, at hand, needed, taken to close, turn out to be illusory and immaterial, extend your hand - fog.

It is impossible to wanders through this house, relying on an itinerary and hoping to reach a predetermined place; in the Russian world no logic exists, the doors does not open by key, but with the chants, the stairs are just drawn, diagrams maze



change without warning. The best guide would be a *bedekker* Russia (n.n. *guide*, in German) illustrated by Escher, □ directional indicators designed by Kafka, Beckett and Ionesco.

And, since you don't have where and why to move from place, and time has no dimension and direction, **Russia's claims** (that conquered half the world, that subject and oppressed many peoples, that is guilty of stagnation in the economy, destroyed crops, has subjugated peoples, and even on its own), from the Russian point of view, has no basis, is relative. What claims may exist, only Einstein would explain everything! But from your point of view, from the viewpoint of the observer from abroad, Russia has spread from one ocean to another because you, with your Western linear logic, believe the cardinal points of the universe, the atmospheric pressure in miles and kilometers. But the Russian point of view, we are HERE. We move a thousand miles, and we are HERE again. We do not believe in arithmetic. Where are we, where it HERE. Where not the same one ? ... It is absurd to speak of stagnation, because we live NOW, while stagnation is a process, and we do not understand processes. Is absurd to speak of the destruction of a beautiful cathedral. it was, TODAY, is not. But we can tell also the opposite: TODAY is not, but YESTERDAY it was. And the DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY again it was not. So the DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY is no different from TODAY, and YESTERDAY is just a dash of whimsy wave of muttering and it went. Maybe will muttered again. Maybe (avosi - „one as ” a dear Russians expression, meaning neither yes or no, neither right nor left, neither before nor back) □ .

In other words, we meet here, as in the writings of Viktor Erofeev, same chaotic universe, hallucinatory, mystical, moving its law after escaping the Western linear coherence, consistency of the measures, which relate naturally to technical mathematics parameters. Here, says the author, is the homeland of literature, of a people „fell into a strange and dreamy lethargy in poetic reverie ” . „The Russians themselves ”, says Tatyana Tolstoy, „do not understand what was happening to them ”<sup>19</sup>, their life is taking place around three cursed questions: „What to do ? Who is to blame ? And when the true day will come ? . Can be identified, therefore, the fatalism and the Messianism of this population, endlessly awaiting the big day, the true day, intended to save and to put things in order.

Moreover, Tatiana Tolstaia provides an explanation at least unusual about the Russian appetite for conquest and territorial rapture, whose source might be find just in the poetry and pathos of the Slavic soul: „The Russians seem to be always sad, attracted by the distant, by unknown lands, but they can't move. And if, occasionally, something awakens in Russian, dynamism, enthusiasm ... then they rush aggressive, without no regard to grabs, to conquer, to obey, to destroy, to rob – because then, the momentum will be lost, will be sober, to look disconcerted the conquered territory, devastated, and to wonder and forth ? And why ? And now, where ? – And to despise

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.



the people who have left the conquered, and to despise distant lands, because a sweet dream has been turned into a brutal reality, a dirty one. And isn't that why Russians are attracted of the long expeditions – military or simply interest – because the road, long to infinity, leaves the soul to swing in the false impression of an activity which, allegedly, takes place in the false consciousness of a goal which, allegedly, shall be touched and alternating landscapes, colorful images even manages to create the illusion of time that flow ”<sup>20</sup>.

As a personal comment, I can say that it is quite misplaced, however, to put at the base of Stalinism millions of victims (it is only an example, since neither the Czarist Empire was not noted for piety and gentleness towards its own population), the poetic nature of Russians, to consider that the subjugation of neighboring peoples and territories is only a form of „lethargy, reverie and poetic dreaming ”. Basically, we are talking about a history of rags, from beginning to end, with blood and marked with terror. But unfortunately the full world history is so. Which could still take the „poetic side ” of the Russian is his on back acceptance of terror, with enough serenity, or even an extreme fatalism. Many analysts, trying to find an explanation for the atrocities committed during the communist period, concluded that the population of the former Soviet Union space supported by the right Dostoyevsky manner the terror, as part of their own destiny, a punishment that has to be accepted, because it's the only way to reach salvation. Rightly told that „Mother Russia ” has developed a fascination for the monstrous terror.

In turn, Emil Cioran, in the „Transfiguration of Romania ” – paper from „his youth Guard ” (note that almost all reference Romanian intellectuals in the interwar period are Legion: Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Nae Ionescu, etc.), highly controversial, even disowned by the author (this does not meet the work does not has ideas, which can be exploited in a creative way) – talks about the Russian people Messianism, about its destiny in the nineteenth century, century which „proves prophetic consciousness and upset, a true Messianic hysteria ”<sup>21</sup>.

Cioran explanation is quite unusual, but plausible, the Russian conduct in reference to the history : „Any people that fall into history, when others are in adulthood, is suffering from an imbalance caused by unequal historical level. Russia was born to life after sleep – just like Romania – entire centuries. Does not have anything left to do than burn the phases. She has not known Renaissance, while Russian middle ages was dark nonspiritual ”<sup>22</sup>.

Moreover, this messianism continue to be an unexpected career in the communist period, „Bolshevik ”, as the expression of the author: „Even if Russian Bolshevism has given to Russia a theoretical bounded horizon, the breathing soul amplitude, has remained the same. The dream of universal domination, which some Slavophile designed in the right grotesque way, under the reign of Pope and Tsar,

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Emil Cioran, *Transfiguration of Romania*, Humanitas Publishing, Bucharest, 1990, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.



reviving Constantinople as a new center of the world, continued to Bolshevism, with another ideology, but no less fantastic. Russians will soon disappear from the globe, cancel physically, than to abandon the idea of their destiny ” <sup>23</sup> . In fact, every nation in the world will disappear, since even the mission is not known.

What you must understand here? Beyond the exposure, undoubtedly picturesque and bold issues of the Russian civilization and importance in the world, beyond the enthusiastic style, youthful — which simply defies and stream, often the scientific exposure rules, making allowance for the principle — rigor, we identify, however, major elements. When people talk about Russian imperial nostalgia today, we do not strictly refer to the case in the USSR and to the communist period. Contrariwise, the USSR is seen rather as a framework that allowed to continue, under another form of ideological, of course, the imperial aspirations of Czarist Russia. In fact, between the empire of Peter the Great and the Soviet Union is only a difference of ideology , of political system. Moreover, the geographical extent and on world domination aspirations remains the same. Here we talk about the attitude of a population which has always seen itself as part of a grand plan. And this is speaking about Emil Cioran.

Paul Dobrescu identifies another dimension of Russian messianism, namely „ Panslav Messianism, which take into account Russia’s role in protecting Slav from other areas, especially from the Balkans. It is true that between the two dimensions (n.n. religious Messianism and Panslav) no clear distinction can be made. Slavs from the Balkans are also Orthodox religion. Therefore, invoking a religious reason - the protection of Orthodox believers – or Panslav – the protection of other areas Slavs - does not exclude the existence of deep geopolitical reasons, the actual expansion of Russian influence ” <sup>24</sup> .

Here, we find also the much-publicized Russians falling love for Stalin: they do not love Stalin the communist, but the leader, authoritarian „ daddy ” that made from Soviet Union a world power. So I think it is wrong to think that the entire population of the former USSR has Marxist nostalgia, rather it is fair to say that, in the outlook, the communist period is associated with winning the Great Patriotic War and a grand foreign politics, to dominate of a large part of the world.

This issue was discussed quite extensively in our media, who often is employing wrong these feelings of the Russian population regarding the past. There are also articles that correctly identify the relevant source of moral despair and sense of frustration and helplessness that you seek, for almost two decades, this nation, which, by the Soviet collapse, see its own national identity widowed: „ Some observers argue that Russia’s current love for Stalin and broad approval of Putin’s methods are a reflection of the desperate moral, material, psychological and post- socialist. Russian people and its leaders have a deep need to feel good about themselves and their country .... For many Russians, the dissolution of the

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Dobrescu, *Geopolitics*, Communication Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 293.



Soviet political system and breaking the empire led to a sense of loss of the national identity. By giving up communism, millions of Soviet citizens' beliefs became empty of content. Eliminating their past, denied them the sacrifices they made for decades. Meanwhile, Russia's 1990 declaration of independence was, for many, the lowest point in history. « Independence » was followed by years of anarchy in a real danger, when over 50% of Russia's population, including teachers, scientists, doctors and army, have found a decrease in living standards, while many other million woke up outside the Russian Federation. In these circumstances, the only thing that could give the Russians a proud reason is the history that transformed the Soviet Union into a world power, that the public associate with the name of Stalin ”<sup>25</sup>.

In turn, Fyodor Lukianov, an analyst of the magazine „Russia in global politics”, comments: „Russia recognizes these new frontiers, but psychologically, they still do not exist ”<sup>26</sup>.

„In 1991, when the Soviet Union collapsed, ending a historical period whose start dates practically from the time of Peter the Great and that meant two or three centuries of almost continuous expansion. Many of the problems facing Russia, parts of his behavior on the international stage is explained by the fact ”<sup>27</sup>, considers, in turn, the French historian Laurent Rucker.

Likewise, Paul Dobrescu believes that „the most delicate problem (n.n. facing Russia, as regards public mind) is still one of transition from the imperial rule to the postimperial. It is delicate because of three hundred years, the Russians are living in mind with the imperial idea, which gave them a kind of compensation for hardship and deprivation of daily life. This time, the collapse of empire was accompanied by a fall in the living standards and even personal security. He disappeared also the « ideological flavor » that spread, however, the existence of the empire: we suffer, but at least we are big and fearsome. Therefore, people are tempted to regard the loss of empire as a loss, as a tragedy, more like a « plot » concocted (n.n. by the West) to carve out a regime and a nation ”<sup>28</sup>.

The fact that the disintegration of Russian empire is attributed to a plot orchestrated by the West (n.n. perception not entirely false, for otherwise) reveals a disturbing reality: the Russian people felt misled, abandoned and forced to leave a prestige and power status, which is taught to regard as legitimate. The sense of humiliation and abandonment that people live give them no other options, than to flee in the remembrance of glory before.

This is appreciated by Tatiana Tolstoy as a true tragedy, the feeling of love for the country is poorly understood and deliberately distorted and the interests of Russian people for other non-Russian peoples is regarded as their ambition to conquer and subject : „... But life fractures our society, our country, our history and

<sup>25</sup> Ana Ilie, Stalin rehabilitation - source: [http://www.phg.ro/stire.php?id=27820&cat\\_id=35](http://www.phg.ro/stire.php?id=27820&cat_id=35)

<sup>26</sup> Russians complain after the URSS , source: <http://stiri.ro/ro/content/view/26242/2/>

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Dobrescu, Geopolitics, Communication Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 299.



our future, not on those faults as we want. The natural feeling of love for the country is now usurped and soiled by ipochimenii chauvinist, the feelings of sympathy and interest for the non-Russian peoples, and they all so natural, are taken by these nations as imperialistic veleitarism”. The „Russians” term is applied double and triple standard: not only that there is no common understanding on the content of this term, but even its use is increasingly viewed with suspicion and opprobrium. Identifying itself is difficult: the language, ethnos, territory and history – everything is questioned and questioned. In short, now is a time when, in the chaos, seeking self-determination is made individually by each, but whatever the outcome for each individual will be, he will be ridiculed, blamed or simply regarded as illegitimate and not just only by the enemy maybe even by the friend.

When a man whom I respect very much, asked me how I define my place in this Russian madhouse, I replied that I consider to be a patriot without nationalism and at the same time – a cosmopolitan without imperialism. That’s way – he said – you, Russians, are in the same chauvinist and imperialist. Sad. He does not understand me, and I do not understand him”<sup>29</sup>.

I said at the beginning of this study that one of the most important elements of state power is its elites, is well known that a company’s voice is the voice of the elites, and when elites are sleeping, the society is sleeping also. I tug a topic, the intellectual elite Russian concerns to provide doctrinal support for this policy, domestically regards the rebirth and the rebuilding of the Russian state, and externally, regards regaining the status of a great power, lost after 1991.

Thus, we identified as a crucial political movement in contemporary Russia, the eurasiatism, guidance that is not new (it is reported among the Russian emigration, around 1921), but because of the feeling of frustration, widespread throughout society, knows a spectacular revival.

Commenting on this, Paul Dobrescu insists on special implications involving the eurasiatism revival, arguing that it is based on the following premise: „Russia formed a separate space anchored in the two continents, but with a precise identity, unmistakable. Particular geographical position should dictate ... a separate policy to preserve the identity of Russia”<sup>30</sup>. Eurasia „, is a special distinct world, [...]. Russia occupies most of this area that is not divided between two continents, and form a third one, independent, and who does not only has a geographical sense”<sup>31</sup>. In turn, Henry Kissinger say that post-Soviet eurasiatism is based on the idea of The „uniqueness” of Russia and that (n.n. Russia) are the borders with no historical precedent. Like Europe, it will have to devote most of its power to define their identity”<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Tatiana Tolstaia, Russian universe, article written for the Guardian - in [www.Scribd.com](http://www.Scribd.com)

<sup>30</sup> Françoise Thom, “Eurasisme et neo-eurasisme” Commentaire, no. 66, 1994 - in Paul Dobrescu, Geopolitics, Communication Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 295.

<sup>31</sup> Henry Kissinger, op. cit., - in Paul Dobrescu, Geopolitics, Communication Publishing, Bucharest, 200, p. 25.

<sup>32</sup> Drang Nach Osten - the famous “road for east” promoted by Karl Haushofer (1869 -1946), geopolitics german central figure who has been reported to Halford Mackinder and his projection upon Eurasia. Concerned about the dangers that threatened Germany - danger that came from the powers which controlled shipping - Haushofer



It is interesting to note that, in view of much of the intellectual elite, Russia now has the strategic mission of articulating, in geopolitical terms, an alternative to atlantism<sup>33</sup> action, however, that has to be designed by a grand manner reported to the large spaces: Russia can only have grand plans for reconfiguration (obviously, in his favor) the balance of global power.

I will raise, in this sense, the theory of Alexander Dughin, Russian geopolitician, a brand extensively debated in the Treaty of geopolitics by Ilie Badescu, theory that, provided that, in geopolitical terms, Russia is the core of the heartland, can be identified „ two general findings: a) heartland is a disputed area continentaliste powers, which appear as so many « big geopolitical virtual spaces », b) the hardland is contested by the two great powers that pass their conflict on the whole world: continentalist or telurocratic powers (n.n. terrestrial powers) and atlanticist or talasocratic powers (n.n. sea powers). Under the former findings Dugin indicates that the same area's heartland is disputed by the four major geopolitical virtual spaces, as follows: United Russia (Russian Eurasia), China, with expansion to the North, Middle Europe (with the Drang nach Osten)<sup>34</sup> the Islamic block that advance to Central Asia ”<sup>35</sup>.

Aleksandr Dugin identifies beyond the competition between continental power, what he called „ Atlanticist mondialism ”<sup>36</sup>, which would, in fact, be a really big challenge that Russia must cope with, the whole paradigm reduced to the continental opposition / euroasiatic – atlantism. In fact, talking about a modern version of Mackinder's theory, that human history took place under the perpetual conflict between land and maritime powers.

As in the Attali's theory, marked by messianic accents on the American power and the dominant role it should play in the world, we identify the same messianism on Dughin when he speaks about the need for Russia to oppose the atlantism. The Russian Geopolitical said in a masterly manner, „ a non Russian Eurasia is impossible without the clearance of the russian people, which, he concludes, is impossible ”<sup>37</sup>.

Regarding the intellectual debates among Russian elites, on the role that Russia should play in future, in a clear attempt to define and retrieval the lost identity with the collapse of communism, Dughin argues that even in contemporary russian

analyzed and set lines of force for the political culture distributions. Thus, german geopolitical shown convinced that only a counterbalance alliance of German with Russia, and Japan can ensure the survival of its country as a great power. This explains the Haushofer opposition to the war with the Soviet Union. Although the concepts he promoted, Lebensraum (vital space) and the Drang Nach Osten (east route) which would ensure the establishment of a German Kulturboden compact (real diffusion of German culture), gave Hitler an ideological basis, subsequently advocated a reorientation of German expansion to the south, south-east (Drang nach dem Süden). Aware of the damage to the discipline which he served a life due to its Nazi enslavement in the thirties, he indicated that its objective is to provide Germany's top political thinking, Wehr-geopolitik (geo-strategy). Thus, Haushofer tried to exculpate geopolitical in a final Ahtum work, published in November 1945, Defence of German Geopolitics.

<sup>33</sup> A. Dughin's comment on - in Ilie Badescu, Treaty of geopolitics, vol 1 Bucharest: Little Wallachia Publishing, 2004, pp 183-184.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.



society were articulated in this regard, two projects, namely, the liberal project (pro-Western) and the Soviet-tsarist project, identified as anti-Western, they are just pink, a true „blind alley for Russian people” (first provides „gradual removal of national peculiarities of the Russians in cosmopolitan area” and the second „is so quick to revive the nation and the state in those forms and historic structure that had led the Russians to failure”).<sup>38</sup>

Aleksandr Dughin propose a pragmatic variant with no ideological content, hinged solely on Russia's geopolitical arguments. Thus, stresses Dughin, „« ... today, the Russians do not have a state. The Russian Federation has no history state, its borders are random, the cultural orientations are troubled, the political system is unstable and confused, the economic structure is fragmented and disorganized, the ethnic map is heterogeneous. The Geopolitical structures that were formed by inertia after the collapse of the URSS, are random and unstable. What is the Russian Federation ? The Survivor and legal successor of the USSR ? A regional state ? A multinational state ? An Ethnic federation ? The Eurasian Gendarme ? A pawn in the american projects ? A sum of areas intended to remain apart ? A Russia would still be a successor to a state that would reaffirm the global demands; a regional Russia would be more than one regional secondary state. In all other variants Russia would be only a separatist field experiences. » The conclusion and also Dughin's warning: « Russian Federation is not fully the Russian state »” □.

The worrying question that arises is, obviously, that if any of that, apparently, is not in harmony with Russia's geopolitical reality, then where we get? What is, however, Russia, provided we accept the idea that it would have a geopolitical vocation (it seems that the messianic idea aims us continually) ?

Alexander Dughin's answer is, this time, unequivocally, observing it, if not necessarily an ideological load, then, certainly, a deeply religious, mystical, in a word a prophetic approach to Russia's identity, in substance, a call to the Russian people to seek i its lost identity in history, in its culture, meaning in those dimensions that shows, without doubt, a remarkable uniqueness:

- „« The Russian people and not the state or another formula, such as, for instance, that of the federation, is the center of Russia's geopolitical outlook;
- Russian people is the only stable political issue, only Organic reality ;
- Russian people was the focus that has served to create more states: East Slavic principalities (until the Moscow Russia), Peter the Great's empire and the Soviet bloc;
- Russian people is the basis of their ethnic state formations that are so different;
- Russian people expressed the soul enthusiasm in a various geopolitical

38 A. Dughin's comment on - in Ilie Badescu, Treaty of geopolitics, vol 1, Ed. Little Wallachia, Bucharest, 2004, p. 187.



formulas (after each earthquake in history);

- Russia is the Russian people, not the state, but like geopolitics potency;
- Russian people inclined to assimilate all the Eurasian space; Russia's interests related to the size of Eurasia;

- Russian people is the bearer of a particular kind of religiosity, different from the Catholic-Protestant or the postchristianity civilization;

- Russia's cultural antithesis is the entire West.

Russia didn't want a monoethnic state, but aspired to a universal mission, an empire that includes a mixture of peoples, cultures, religions, regimes. The Russian people is the basis for his « soteriological » perspective, a planetary scale, involving not the trend « the widening vital Russian space, but on the orientation towards the strengthening of Russian-type conception of the world (...) who claims the last word in world history ». This mission has an eschatological part: the supreme task of the nation like « faithful people ». « Not to deprive the Russians of this eschatological faith is equal to their spiritual castration », says Dugin. « The universalist contemporary Right (which largely is coping the Roman law) recognizes as the only political topics the individual and State ». Therefore there is the « code states' rights » and the « humans », while the notion of « rights of the people » is missing ».

### Conclusion

In conclusion, I recommend and I insist on these approaches of the Russian intellectual elite, especially on the model offered by Aleksandr Dugin, regarding the universal civilizing mission that the Russian people feel entitled to aspire, moving and looking to other peoples, cultures, religions, etc., in an inclusive vision when it is necessary to consider the psychology elements of the Russian population, relevant and streamlined detected factors that can explain and legitimize the efforts of this society and its elites, to rebuild the Russian state and to restore internationally power and prestige.

So Russia's Power architecture has strength in its structure, a huge geopolitical basis.



# CROSS-BORDER ORGANIZED CRIME - A THREAT GROWING

*Cristina VASILE MARDALE PhD.*

## **Abstract**

*Border organized crime (BOC) is considered by experts in the field, the scourge of modern society. Information, international relations and economy are the first to have already acquired by virtue of objective tendencies, international and even global scale.*

*Areas such political boundaries but did not ignore conduct, on the one hand, a human community and solidarity, on the other hand, a new relationship, a new architecture that tends to unity and complementarily. Organized crime is, at present, a danger for all states.*

*Define the concepts of organized crime and corruption is very important for understanding the socio-political dimensions and implications of each segment of crime, the adoption of effective strategies and tactics to eradicate their. In this regard, we must recognize that modern scourge, with profound implications worldwide, require an antidote as we have an obligation to find and to use both a combat and as prophylaxis.*

Keywords: crime, cross border trafficking, illegal migration, drugs, terrorism

Regarding Romania, Romania, located in the transition, as we used to call it, cross, actually a period of profound transformations in the legislative, economic and social. Laws repealed indiscriminate and without others put in their place, only because they were the emanation of another regime, naturally created a legal vacuum and chaos in society, a truly “inter-regn”.

Moreover, regulations developed and adopted by Parliament so hastily, and especially the Executive, with social implications, without the organs of state power and administration to properly assess “ab initio” own possibilities and strategies have provided a fertile ground for proliferation great crime. It is difficult now to assess the costs, but it is absolutely necessary to wake up to reality and take in the full knowledge which should be really done to ensure social balance desired. The geopolitical context of major transformations, economic and social currently facing the international community, organized crime gets new values, expanding



the coverage and scope at a alarming concern for most countries of the world and especially for those whose economies are transition process, given the vulnerability and fragility of the legal systems of democratic institutions in these countries.

In their work, transnational criminal organizations threaten national sovereignty and authority of states, democratic values and institutions, national economies and democratization processes in countries recently freed from totalitarian regimes. These organizations are flexible, sophisticated easily adaptable to the situation and act as the strategy of multinational companies, expanding the permanent alliances and agreements in order to obtain greater access to know-how on new technologies to ensure better protection of national, risk reduction and opening new channels for their illegal activities.

Many of the democratically elected political leaders are more willing to address short-term problems than to deal with those whose solution spans a longer period of time. Some are unable to adapt legislation to revise the basic principles of civic and social, taking care only of their own welfare.

Excessive attention to personal rights is an important factor of vulnerability of developed Western societies. It is not easy for a politician to admit that there is social vulnerability.

Mutations occurring in criminal activity, from national to transnational, were favored by a number of factors, such as evolution of the concept of common European space, with their incumbent facilities, which opened the windows unexpectedly organized crime networks by universality Community Cold War, the triumph of democracy in former socialist countries and primitive mechanisms that regulate economic activity, increased migratory wave by developed countries and ethnic networking, which is true enclaves of crime difficult to penetrate because of language barriers, cultural, and mechanisms that govern their work, the revolution in communications has led to increased flexibility and mobility of transnational criminal networks, liberalization of movement of persons pursuant to agreements and bilateral and multilateral agreements between states, etc.

There is no single model criminal organizations, they vary in form, rules of conduct, experience, specializing in criminal activity, area of operation, tactics and defense mechanisms, as for the prevention and fighting and fighting it requires a high degree complex, which necessarily advertising and interstate cooperation.

### **1. Forms and areas of the (COT)**

Consider it necessary to define the concepts of crime, organized crime, mafia, terrorism; and most recently strategic crime, to better understand the phenomenon or phenomena that surrounds us and affects us equally, us all, without embarrassment, scruples or common sense, may be associated with organized crime: „*That organization (large or small group) who uses and perpetuate criminal conspiracy, is*



*an organized structure, its existence based on fear and terror; corruption and illegal handling and seeks financial benefits and other benefits<sup>1</sup>.,*

United Nations Framework Convention against organized crime in article 1 states that; organized crime; means: The activities of a group of three or more people with foreign connections or hierarchical type, by violence, intimidation or corruption, both to support criminal activity and to infiltrate the legitimate economy, in particular:

- illicit trafficking in drugs or psychotropic substances and money laundering, as defined by the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of December 1988;

- trafficking in persons as defined by the Convention for the suppression of trafficking and exploitation of prostitution, from December 2, 1949

- counterfeiting currency, as defined by the International Convention for the Suppression of fake currency from April 20, 1929 ;

- illicit or stolen cultural objects, as defined by the UNESCO convention on the means of prohibiting and preventing the illegal import, export and transfer of cultural property rights, of 14 November 1970 and UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural objects from June 24, 1995;

- theft of nuclear materials, their improper use or threat of their use against the population, as defined by the Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, 3 March 1980;

- terrorist acts;

- illicit or motor vehicle theft

- corruption of public officials<sup>2</sup>

The kind shown, corruption is misuse of power for themselves. Corruption includes all acts and acts of people taking advantage of the function or social position they occupy, working to obtain personal benefit in violation of the law.

Cross-border crime is a crime adaptation phenomenon, with all components and dimensions to the new. These new conditions are:

- significant reduction in domestic political authority on behalf of international regulations;

- the internationalization of information, creation of companies and corporations with an international dimension, involving significant expansion, change or transformation of economic borders and, often, they enter into conflict with the policy ( such a conflict, creating more vulnerabilities that are extremely beneficial for cross-border crime);

- speeding up information exchange, economic and other ties between state entities, economic, information, international, etc., Leading to the creation and upgrading of transport infrastructure, communications, production, storage, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> National Security Council, International Crime Threat Assessment, web site ([www.terrorism.com/documents/2006](http://www.terrorism.com/documents/2006))

<sup>2</sup> Dr Paraniac, Dr. Ioan Geantă: *A terrorist attack in Europe future*, Editura Centrului Tehnic Editorial al Armatei, București, 2008, pg.101-102



The emergence of new vulnerabilities and therefore, new opportunities for terrorism and organized crime;

- creation of databases of real and virtual networks that can be used for organized crime expansion of its operations for its own protection and hinder the actions of state authorities against Mafia organizations, the economy, smuggling networks, etc<sup>3</sup>

Organized crime in Europe is a growing concern. It threatens democracy, rule of law, human rights, security and stability and social and economic processes in this region and its impact goes beyond Europe. While we recognize that there is no universally accepted definition for the purposes of this initiative, an organized crime group means a structured group of three or more persons existing for a long time and aimed at committing serious crimes through concerted action using intimidation, violence, corruption and other means of obtaining a direct or indirect financial or material otherwise.

Corruption, violence and intimidation are used as means of business expansion and the evil influence of public administration and criminal justice policy.

Firm and full involvement of specialized agencies of the state assembly in the fight against organized crime, and particularly its transnational component, led to limiting its modes of expression and knowledge. Criminal concerns exponents of organized crime remain focused on the same areas, namely illicit drug trafficking, trafficking in persons and human beings, illegal migration, forgery of currency, credit cards and check travel sites NBC strategic materials and extremism, terrorism, money laundering and, not least, trafficking in precursors, the manufacture and trafficking of synthetic drugs. Often organized nature of crime becomes apparent only when viewed from an international perspective. Criminal groups are involved in extortion and racketing site, large-scale smuggling of consumer goods, particularly cigarettes, arms trafficking, illegal immigration organization trafficking in people, especially for sexual exploitation, drug trafficking, trafficking in stolen cars, environmental crimes, counterfeiting money and documents, economic crime, fraud and tax evasion, money laundering. Factors contributing to organized crime are numerous.

As with other former socialist countries, criminal groups exploiting the opportunities arising during the process of political transformation, social and economic. Reports from several countries explains the nature and scope of organized crime as a consequence of conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. Obviously, this is only one explanation. In some countries, organized crime can not yet reached critical dimensions, but in others it is considered a threat to the rule of law, democracy and human rights, social progress and economic reform, security and stability, the latter being just subject to the Stability Pact.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Comisar-șef Viorel Zburătură, *Cross-border crime as a source of national insecurity of globalization and integration of Romania into EU* Teză de doctorat 2007, pag.38-39



### 2. Unconventional threats. Causes of occurrence

Threats to national security are the capacities, strategies, intentions, plans enhancer that endanger the fundamental attributes or qualities existential Romanian state, the economic base of society, the constitutional order, rights and freedoms of citizens.

This is reflected by attitudes, gestures, acts, acts which creates state of imbalance and instability and create conditions of danger to fundamental values and / or national interests, the impact on national security.

Threats, as an indicator of an assessment or imminent danger to the national security are identified in the report such as (political, economic, military, social, environmental), form (attitudes, gestures, acts, facts, events, phenomena, actions Human), stage (latent, possible, probable, imminent), and by type of action envisaged (overt, covert, mixed, violent, nonviolent). Decoupling is needed between basic threat, development and reproduction modes of operation that threat materializes and is organized according to defense security system.

Member efforts to meet their security needs without aggressive intentions lead to increased insecurity for other states, they read as potential threats, although these steps are purely defensive.

Cold War allowed the company to enter a complex processuality move from a policy based on balance of forces in a different order to be founded on principles of democratic values, human rights and respect for world cultures and civilizations. This period of transition to a new order is called chaos; and is subject to other laws than those of the consolidated company.

Security environment has become fluid and flexible, it is possible all sorts of construction, organization and reorganization in the light of prevailing, the impact of trends, but also in relation to the dynamics of interests and change the physiognomy of power poles.

In these circumstances, we can appreciate that there is one certainty: the future world will not soon be a homogeneous, with an equal distribution of power, wealth, resources and capacity risks and threats, but a highly fragmented, which will try and interested but a partial fragmentation and reconstruction of her around completely define the poles of power: the global superpower, major global powers, regional great powers, international organizations, sources and resources, alliances, economic, cultural and military demimonde. At this stage, intensified dialogue between international actors and the globalization of information and economy, there is a unilateral transfer of technology from developed countries to least developed, with the concomitant influence of norms and values of Western civilization on the other, existence and gains amid exchanges of universal values.

In the subsequent years, the trend of insecurity in the area to be included clashes between great powers and resources contender for supremacy, so perhaps



equally, to stabilize the international situation on the basis of the values of Western civilization (which will attract, this purpose, or will share country areas and even international organizations) and actions against human values, democracy, coming particularly from the sphere of terrorism, crime, economy, drug trafficking and flesh, and of the struggle between supporters of globalization has forced the unexpected and the maintenance of national sovereignty, individuality and independence of state entities.

Terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 the United States showed that dependency creates hostility and aggression by the forces of evil, and that hostility may be vested in a place long-term war in all forms of what Americans call the war of low intensity conflict space and even nuclear.

Maintaining stability and security at national, regional and global is not only the requirement but also an indispensable condition of individual and collective development and prosperity Building new security architecture, based on democratic principles and norms, to ensure cooperation and partnership, the harmonious development of nations, human rights and increasing citizens welfare, are, under current conditions, the primary goal of European aspirations. Migration, with destabilizing effects pose a threat reasonably likely to intensify in terms of liberalization of movement of persons, state conflict and perpetuating economic crisis in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Migration, particularly in the form refugees is the consequence and at the same time, the expression of high drama situation individually and socially. But it is increasingly perceived as a risk or threat to the security of states. In terms of companies go through difficult periods of economic crisis and domestic instability, a major immigration's of immigration and could seriously disrupt or even destroy the social balance.

Ethnic clashes are subject to general concerns echo in the current period. Such confrontation is a consequence of the situation of minorities in the contemporary world.

Addressing ethnic minorities in terms of national security was often treated in a simplistic way, resulting in confusion or misinterpretation by suggesting publicly.

One of the false perceptions, be determined only by the frequency and targeted differentiated analysis of the various geographical areas, ethnic conflict is to place relations, as national security risk, exclusively in Eastern Europe. It is noteworthy that the share of states considered ethnically heterogeneous is more than giving the impression of references to some eastern European countries. Analysis of Walker Connor in the last decade on 132 countries found that 90.0% of them have a heterogeneous national composition.

Terrorist actions are increasingly out of trying to achieve various political objectives by force, either because of restrictions, more difficult to circumvent, imposed by the international community to prevent unlawful use of armed force



against other states, either because insufficient resources available. Terrorism means violence illegitimate, criminal, often indiscriminate, carried out in order to exercise some restraint with violence, creating a climate of intimidation to force a person, group or state to act in a certain way. Terrorism knows a variety of forms. Terrorist acts by their area of coverage, especially by the means used are becoming increasingly unpredictable and difficult to identify and fought. Because of its scale and its implications, terrorism was considered early in the last decade of the millennium recently concluded, among the main threats to national security. War on Terror is, in my view, only one of its primary forms.

**Trafficking of arms and strategic goods** component is the highest level of risk to security and stability of a region is, however, the trafficking of arms and strategic goods, out of control authorities due to political and social change in area countries but proliferation mafia-like groups, political change occurred after 1990.

The prospect of obtaining substantial financial returns led the development of criminal organizations specialized in procurement and marketing activities of conventional arms, together with technologies, components and materials needed for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

Terrorism is one of the most debated and controversial issues in recent decades, the most visible manifestation of the most disturbing and unconventional measures to security, a real scourge of the modern world. This real disease XXI Century-phrase used by President Putin - will accompany humanity on short and medium term, seeking always to perfect form, violence organized and educated, led by elites.

Scourge of terrorism continued to affect the world and after the events of September 11, 2001, despite the global war unleashed against his intensity war conducted and promising results in all regions Terrorist groups are generally highly motivated ideologically to the case - considered sacred - they are in a state of extreme violence, to punish unbelievers. Organized crime aimed primarily, to occupy a larger segment of the market as illicit or licit goods or services without being animated to promote their own ideology in any way.

Regionally, the Balkans has been in recent decades, the deployment stage of adverse events which were to confirm the reputation of offering powder keg of Europe. Open conflict in ex-Yugoslavia, the smoldering from Transnistria, Turkish-Greek conflict on the island of Cyprus or serious events in Albania are so many concerns to democratic values. In this picture, if we add the latent potential of ex-Soviet conflict, we have a full picture of the whole complex of existing threats to the continent Events in the Russian capital in 2002, showed once again that no purpose, however noble and generous would not justify the elimination of innocent people and proves the absurdity of using terrorist methods. The size and dramatic facts recorded in Moscow, humanity had once again (after the events of September 2001), when awareness that can reach sizes up to fanaticism, dogmatism, absurd, but at the same time, the connotation of events has brought relief around the idea that sustained combat



this scourge, will have to act together all responsible forces of the contemporary. Threats that must deal with internal security manifests itself in particular through various forms on which to take crime: thefts of all kinds, robberies, economic and computer fraud, drug trafficking, organized crime, violence, corruption, etc. ..

For a democracy in transition countries, the risk of internal conflict, a social chaos or anarchy, is one particularly, is stressed in this context, our country's current economic situation, which requires going through stages over time, under Standing under an imminent and substantial threat to national security, threats of instability in this area. Internal causes favoring the emergence and proliferation of unconventional threats to security are the following factors: economic, social, political and legal.

In economic terms, maintaining a high level of crime (smuggling, tax evasion, embezzlement, fraudulent management), the institutionalization of damaging economic programs in the area of privatization, restructuring of industrial sectors (mining, chemical industry, machine construction) and agriculture and defective regulation of economic activities such as VAT, duty, subsidized products or services, provision of rescheduling the payment obligations to the state without guarantees and without any control over that minimum economic categories, are factors favoring the emergence and development of activities of organized crime.

In addition to these serious fraud in the marketing of petroleum products, currency non-repatriation of export activity, significant amounts of currency expatriation by invoking the import of know-how, external services, maintaining a high level of incidents of payment checks, promissory order.

Among internal causes, resulting in particular legislative, and can be located:

- ♦ instability of legal rules associated with an inconsistent application of existing laws and legal procedures;

- ♦ gaps and inconsistency of laws, rules embodied in the lack or ambiguity of certain aspects, the same treatment by law or the laws of other crimes or offenses without a clear delineation between them, consistent changes to legislation, however being likely to cause confusion and different interpretations in law enforcement

- ♦ The existence of criminal procedural laws or limited possibilities for action research bodies (restrictions arising from secret bank institution; mandate to bring regulatory failure, limiting to 30 days to measure the duration required not to leave the area, which favors escape from further investigation of defendants, the lack of a separate accusation of facts which obstructs justice etc.).

- ♦ repeal of legislation, creating the legal vacuum that led to decreased authority authorized bodies with application and enforcement of the law, while affecting the purpose of justice;

- ♦ impaired perception and implementation of specific laws relating to classified information.

Parallel with internal conditions highlights a variety of external conditions



that favor the proliferation of actions directed deliberately against the interests of a state, using different methods of fighting classic, designed to attack vulnerabilities in civil society: the expansion of terrorist networks and activities, uncontrolled proliferation and diversification of technology and nuclear material, weapons, bullying, Information aggression etc.

To these are added a number of risks and transnational: the actions of groups that promote separatism and extremism, which are rooted in ethnic disputes, religious rivalries and in human rights violations, organized crime, drug trafficking, weapons and strategic materials, illegal migration and trafficking. Among external causes emerges, in particular the following:

- deployment of military conflict or tense situations in maintaining proximity to areas of Romania - the actions of organizations or groups held to include Romania in the sphere of influence, seeking recovery of the geo-strategic position and economic potential;

- failures of multinational economic recovery strategy, coupled with unrealistic approaches of socio-economic problems, without taking into account national specificities;

- the establishment by international organizations of measures for States embargo that our country market or the that significant claims have not been recovered;

- uncertain evolution of democratic processes in neighboring or nearby countries (Moldova, ex-Yugoslavia, Albania, Georgia etc..) - The proliferation of treaties recognize revisionist tendencies by determining the current state borders;

- exacerbate the problem of minorities, thus trying to obtain these privileges at the expense of other citizens, actions that create artificial tension

- religious or ideological fanaticism perpetuating other - unprecedented scale of international terrorist events;

- the explosion of information technology and increasing use in aggressive purposes - deliberate actions in different forms and circumstances that are affecting the credibility and stability goal;<sup>4</sup>

Border activities in Eastern Europe involves both a positive side, by expanding trade, tourism and transportation of energy resources and a negative in the intersection area of both the demand and supply products Smuggling. Permeability of national borders and reduced costs of transport by sea and river access routes to Western Europe was one of the factors in the development area of smuggling of goods, but also the transit of illegal migrants from Asia and Africa plus its migration East European states, due to economic and social instability. The region is also the throughput of drug trafficking routes from the Golden Crescent (Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan),

<sup>4</sup> Comisar șef Marin Niculae, *Process management of international cooperation to combat organized crime and unconventional threats to national security which manifesta in border areas*, teză de doctorat, București, 2006, Biblioteca Universității Naționale de Apărare, pp. 28-40



Golden Triangle (Myanmar, Laos, Thailand) and in some Asian countries Central, those favoring continued outbreaks of conflict proliferation activities transnational organized crime.

### **3. Risk factors for non-conventional threats (human trafficking).**

According to the National Agency Against Trafficking they can be grouped into macro-social and individual factors that interact in different proportions from case to case.

*Macro-social factors* have a high level of generality and concerns: the sharp decrease of the population living standards and unemployment or lack of access to legitimate means of living for large populations, the absence / lack of relevant educational programs (sex education , couple relationships, etc..) and scarcity of educational opportunities for some segments of the population, socio-cultural environment tolerant of gender discrimination or ethnic group, and behaviors such as domestic violence, the development of international migration for employment, natural disasters or sudden disaster that causes depletion a large number of households.

*Micro-social factors* in the place of social groups and households, including: household poverty and lack of access to employment benefits and social assistance programs available, low education and lack of access to jobs, family disintegration and / or poor relationships between adults and children, deviant behaviors as alcoholism, domestic violence and / or criminal history.

*Individual factors* are very different example: the discrepancy between the expectations / goals and resources to achieve them by legitimate means, willingness to violate certain legal rules for a job abroad and lack of information on the risks associated desire adventure and / or pressure from the entourage sentimental relationships missed, mental labiality, alienation, lack of confidence in their own forces or inferiority complex.

### **4. Migration and illegal trafficking of persons. Complicating and expanding cross-border risk**

Migration is a natural phenomenon. All the time, in one form or another, large or small masses of people moved from place to place seeking work and better living conditions. The current migration is more complicated and more complex than yesterday, because it is facilitated by the Internet, communications systems already globalize, infrastructure and communication facilities which provide rapid transportation at any point on the planet. This migration is caused by the political, social and economic development in poor or unstable countries of origin of migrants and that can develop from case to case, transit countries and can cause serious effects in destination countries.



Areas of Central and Eastern Europe and countries that were part of the former USSR have become the stage where large-scale activities of criminal organizations who have built their strategies, exploiting fully the economic dislocation, open borders, control relaxed social mechanisms privatization, decentralization of power, the high degree of corruption in the political, financial and administrative.

Migration in Romania, as in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, was built in the early 90s, immediately after the fall of communist regime. This happened due to removal of the Communist regime imposed severe restrictions on border crossings, but also due to instability and uncertainty that characterized the first phase of transition. The economic crisis has encouraged thousands of Romanian labor to immigrate to Western countries. Human trafficking can be considered an extreme form of illegal migration, even if limited in size, however, is a worrying phenomenon, since it constitutes a serious violation of human rights can not be accepted in a democratic society and civilized. The consequences are dramatic - if we consider individual development objectives in the long term - the dignity of human beings and their image in the community. Romania became a country of transit and origin for trafficking, because of its position between two areas (the former Yugoslavia and former Soviet Union) have been confronted with the phenomenon of triple transition, involving not only the transformation of society and the State in democracy and a market economy in, but also consolidate a new national state This triple transition has occurred in countries experiencing war and social movements has enabled organized crime, which includes, among others, and human trafficking. The weakness of the new nation-states formed the east and south-west of Romania has turned into safe places for organized crime networks. Human trafficking is directly linked to socio-economic development of countries of origin and the existence of a market in destination countries. Human trafficking is a form of slavery, closely related to other segments of organized crime (drug trafficking, arms trafficking, money laundering, etc.), which has reached alarming levels worldwide. Globally, the figure representing women and children trafficked annually border networks in developing countries by the West was estimated at several hundred thousand. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in November 2002, stated that approx. 200 000 women were victims of trafficking networks Balkan. International Organization for Migration show that the most important countries of origin for trafficked women are Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, Russia and Bulgaria. Center of this trade is Romania, due to geographical position makes it a transit country, and because of a large number of poor people, willing to do anything for money. Incomplete and insufficient legislation harmonized with international standards - the law provides penalties for traffickers and, especially, did not offer solutions for victims, has allowed the scale of the phenomenon. Trafficked women, who managed to escape, not entering into a program to protect victims, and therefore often fall prey to traffickers revenge. Ineffectiveness of control, which is counterbalanced by the actions of increasingly



well-organized cross-border crime. Restoring border freedom of movement after the fall of communism in 1989, has led to market human trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe. As well as traditional areas of origin (northern and central Africa, Latin America, Asia), countries of Central and Eastern Europe attracted attention, particularly today, with an increasing number of women and children trafficked to Western Europe, number estimated at about 120,000 annually. The leading culprits of human trafficking phenomenon was the crisis of transition from former communist bloc countries, the economic system, social policy in the period after 1990, and regional development disparities across Europe, involving different opportunities making the material, professional, in Western countries. With the opening of borders, human trafficking has become a means of earning revenue from human trafficking is estimated to far exceed those from drug trafficking. The regional crisis in the Balkans in the last decade has boosted the phenomenon Romania are cited as generating country, but the transit of large networks of trafficking in women, especially from Asia but also in neighboring countries (Ukraine, Moldova or Belarus). In Romania, as in most Eastern European countries, the transition to a democratic society proved to be a long and painful process, especially in terms of social security. One of the effects of prolonged transition was lower quality of life. Number of jobs dropped dramatically, and unemployment rose. The statistics show that most affected are women, being the first to lose their jobs. Against the backdrop of poverty, lack of opportunities, domestic violence, to participate in family dismantled, many couples end up accepting illegal migration to the West. Normally the most significant manifestations of human trafficking are organized prostitution, pimping, illegal adoptions, and generally, illegal migration of persons and victims share is held by women and children.

Human trafficking is not tantamount to migration, but it insinuates. Basically, almost no illegal migration without trafficking, trade with people of all time was one of the most profitable for organized crime networks He is currently facilitated by modern means of communication, the network benefits offered. Trafficking is usually fractal and mosaic, chaotic and difficult to control and manage. This traffic is associated, as stated above, illegal migration, but well above its characteristics, becoming a very dangerous phenomenon from which it earns substantially. This traffic is organized and performed by structured criminal networks This traffic includes both illegal immigrants and especially seeking the seizure and sale of persons (women and children) for sexual exploitation. This traffic is huge, has a global dimension and organized crime groups in huge profits from it. They monitor and maintain market traded sex, get involved in this phenomenon can be as broad and diverse. Structures of organized crime can operate independently or in cooperation with other entities, such as pimps, even some authority or other criminal groups. Combining organized crime groups and individuals who are not involved in illegal activities such as prostitution business owners, where it is authenticated, is common



practice, because these groups are able to offer them protection and to operate transnational market for illegal sex establishments continuous supply of women in poor countries. Countries of Southeastern Europe is one of the most important transit region for illegal immigrants from Turkey, China, Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka and other countries of the Middle East and Asia on their way to countries rich and tolerant of Western Europe. Meanwhile, the region, at least until Romania and Bulgaria integration in the European Union was, in turn, generating illegal migration. Groups of illegal immigrants the last decade, among the largest in Western countries.

The pace of development of this type of activity is motivated by profits from relatively high costs and risks involved. Compared with drug trafficking, trafficking in most European countries is considered a minor offense, accompanied by mild punishment. This type of traffic does not require special equipment and no organized distribution network (as in drugs). In case of emergency, immigrants (who paid upfront for service) can be dropped easily, guides, guides, etc. ... in the worst case these immigrants are sent back to their country of origin.

Trafficking in illegal immigrants has some very important issues, both by enabling trafficking of people forced to accept this condition, whereas it should look for a job to live and some people believe that true happiness and their complete fulfillment can only be achieved in these Western countries have become targets. Emigrants traffickers corridors, Bulgaria and Romania are the most important points of entry into European Union countries, among which are also part, to illegal immigrants. Until recently and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia were significant entry points for many immigrants, Iranians and Chinese are frequent, but the situation in these countries has changed little density and intensity of migration corridors. Most women and girls recruited or abducted are often easily and simply forced into prostitution, kept in conditions of slavery brutalized, deprived of food, water, sleep and care, sold as own property by a dealer to another. After the bloody war in former Yugoslavia, trafficking in women through the South-eastern Europe has increased rapidly. Successor states of former Yugoslavia (particularly those with significant international presence) have become important destinations for women and girls from Ukraine, Russia, Moldova and Romania, Belgrade has become one of the most important transit centers. Bulgaria, Macedonia and Albania are now also important transit countries for trafficking in women.

Traffickers of women are organized in a very tight network, almost conspiratorial system and is very difficult to be discovered and eradicated all his phylum eradication.

This show is not necessarily impossible structures and police force empowered to that end, but a degradation of European societies that allow such traffic, a requirement to practice their sexuality in such unimaginable circumstances.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Comisar Viorel Zburătură: Cross-border crime to create uncertainty in terms of globalization and national



### Conclusion

Organized crime world industry and economy develop parallel legal economy, which is circulated astronomical sums. Includes procurement of false documents (passports, documents accompanying the carriage), money laundering, profit-generating activities. Evolution international organized crime reveals that crime is not a new phenomenon. Strict control of borders, transport and communications relative slowness, need to be completed transactions initiated by cash payments were real impediments to criminal groups. For many such groups, international activity was reduced in areas of regional rather than global, the principal hub of expatriate ethnic groups represented. New dynamic due to globalization, reducing barriers to cross-border movement of people and goods, given the explosion of cross-border financial transactions, while, above unseen expansion opportunities, both, zones of action and those of interest criminal groups .

Major international groups have begun to take action in general, and tentacles stretching across continents, while smaller groups, which until recently confined to the borders of a country, have become present at regional level. To note is that criminal groups have huge amounts of money that the accumulation of which is moving to the various ways of killing, the most brutal to the finest, and this means corrupting politicians or people sponsoring law involvement in political games, hiding behind the firewall created by lawyers bubble.<sup>6</sup>

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integration of Romania into the European Union UNAp., București, 2006, pag.76-78.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dr. Ion Suceavă – *Interpol at the beginning of the millennium*, Editura Meronia , București 2007, pp.30-33



# STATE TERRORISM- A THREAT TO SECURITY

*Police inspector in chief Marius BALABAN*

## **Abstract matters**

*State terrorism is not an abstract or exaggerated concept, but one which represents an all-time reality. It has been differently perceived along history. Sometimes it was considered necessary to submit rebellious populations, in other cases, especially in totalitarian regimes( but not only), it was believed to represent a form of security of the state, of protection of some political regimes etc. Obviously, state terrorism has neither justification, nor legitimacy. It never had. But people have always practised it, in one form or another, especially as arbitrary oppression of population. Currently, there are strong debates concerning this phenomenon and its juridical framing. They are trying to keep it between normal limits and avoid juridical framing that may be either unrealistic or exaggerated or conditioned by the semantic ambiguity of the concept and and its content. Not even the dramatical events of September, 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 and those that followed did not contribute to juridical clarifications in this matter. However, in the political and scientific environments, debates are continuing. We consider that there are significant facts and scientific arguments that can provide an examination which can clarify the uncertainties and even chaos that go with this phenomenon.*

Key words: terror, terrorism, state, criminality, torture, homicide, sponsorship.

“...State terrorism requires...an ideologic organisation, fundamented on a dogma, an idea pretended to be absolute, not to be contested, and which is a reason for justifying destroying evrything that opposes to it. This way it has been introduced the so-called National Security Doctrine.”

**Ernesto Garzon**

## **1. Historical references**

**S**tate terrorism refers to acts of terrorism performed by governments, its definition being controversial and meaningless in which international



organisations are concerned. From the political point of view, terrorism sponsored by the state is a term generally used to describe international terrorism sponsored by the nations-states and which can turn into financing international terrorism. As in the case of state terrorism, the exact definition and identification of examples are causes of intense political arguments. It is also used in conjunction with state terrorism which represents, as a matter of fact, an accusation of terrorism brought to governments.

State terrorism has deep roots in history. Thus, Aristotle had critical views on the terror of the tyrants against their own peoples. The oldest use of the word “terrorism”, identified by Oxford English Dictionary, is a reference to a tyranic behaviour of state, respectively the reign of ‘terrorism’ in France, in 1795. The same year, Edmund Burke deplored the existence of “these packs called terrorists” that believed they could threaten Europe. During the regime of the terror, the Jacobin regime and other fractions of the French Revolution were used by the state to execute and intimidate political opponents. Oxford English Dictionary includes in this case, as a definition of terrorism, “the government of intimidation made by the party in power in France between 1789-1794.”

Later on, examples of the state terrorism were the police state, the measures taken by the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1920s and the regime of the Nazi Germany between 1930-1940.

The academician Gus Martin describes the state terrorism as the terrorism “committed by the governments, quasi-governments and their structures against potential enemies”, that can be directed against enemies, both internally and externally. The original general meaning of terrorism was of state terrorism as it showed the 1798 supplement of the Dictionary of French Academy, which described terrorism as “systems, regimes of terror.” Similarly, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was considered to be a terrorist any person that used, in sustaining his opinions, a coercitive system of intimidation. The terms “unity of terrorism”, “the upper terrorism” (unlike lower terrorism, terrorism through non-groups of state) and “structural terrorism” are sometimes used to express state terrorism.

Enciclopedia Britanica defines terrorism, in general, as “the systematic use of violence for creating a general climate of fear to a population, thus achieving a certain political purpose” and it adds, as an example, that terrorism has been practised by institutions of state, such as the army, the secret services and the police. The encyclopedia adds that “the state terrorism or the one sponsored by the state, is hired by governments or fractions within governments, against the citizens or the government, against the fraction from the government, or against foreign governments.”

Whilst using the most modern methods of terrorism leads to victimizing the civil population in a large number, specialists give a broader interpretation to the notion of state terrorism. Michael Stohl states, for example, that all the acts of violence committed by the state are terrorist. It is important to understand that among the effects of the acts of terrorism of state by using violence and threat, the effect of the threat



is much bigger than the physical harm produced against a person, in the sense that the audience of the threat is more important than the immediate victim from the point of view of the impact produced on the target group.

### **2. Disputes of the states members of the United Nations Organisation concerning defining state terrorism**

The United Nations Organisation has tried to create a juridical definition of international terrorism, which excludes state terrorism.

The president of the committee of fight against terrorism of the United Nations Organisation declared that the twelve previous international conventions concerning terrorism did not have mentions concerning the state terrorism, which did not have a legal international concept, and that when the states abuse of their powers, these should be judged according more to the international conventions that incriminate the crimes of war, than to international standards of fight against terrorism.

Similarly, Kofi Annan, General Secretary of the United Nations Organisations at the respective moment, declared that “ it is time to be retreated from debates the so-called state terrorism. The use of force by the staes is already well regulated by international law.” Annan also added that “...no matter the debates between the governments concerning defining terrorism, the fact that is clear and I cannot agree with, is that any deliberate attack against the innocent civilians, no matter the cause, is unacceptable and goes within the definition of terrorism.” Of course, here should be stated what is the significance, in this vision, of “guilty civilian” and “innocent civilian”.

Despite all these, it has resulted a recent unofficial definition promoted by the states of the UNO, according to which “ terrorism is a method of anxiety, inspired by repeated violent actions, engaged surreptitiously and individually, by a group or state actors, to indoctrinate or for political reasons, through which, unlike assassination of a direct target, aims at other principal targets.” The victims of human violence are generally chosen at random( opportunity targets) or selectively( symbolic or representative sights of the target population) and will serve as generators of a message. The threat and violence based on processes of communication between the terrorist( organisation), victims and main targets are used to manipulate the main target, transforming it into a target of terror, a target of requests or a target of attention depending on intimidation, coercion or propaganda.

On 25 July 2005, following the events of previous weeks in London and Sharm el-Shaikh, the general secretary of the United Nations Organisation at the time, Kofi Annan, asked the 191 states members to accelerate the decision concerning one of the most delicate problems from the political point of view in this organism in the world: a definition of “terrorism”

Despite all this, up the present days, state terrorism does not enter in the



category of international terrorism. As we have shown, state terrorism has old origins and was not invented by the governments that do not succeed, nowadays, in taking a decision in this matter.

The subject requires a serious analysis of the reasons- objective or subjective- which determine maintaining the state terrorism outside the international terrorism. We can also sustain that the internal or international state terrorism is largely practised by the majority of governments that did not reach a consensus, and by endless debates they succeeded in boycotting taking a decision, but also the decision of maintaining state terrorism outside the international terrorism is a correct one, and placing it into a zone of international conventions which incriminate crimes of war, violation of human rights is a rational one, the delimitation of the two taking into consideration international priorities in the sphere of security.

### **3. Counterterrorism or state terrorism?**

This dilemma needs clarifications, because a clear delimitation between the two actions would eliminate the suspicions concerning the reasons for which the states members of the UNO did not agree upon the definition of state terrorism.

In Romania, there have been defined, according to the international standards, on the basis of Law nr.535/2004 concerning prevention and combating terrorism, both the counterterrorism and the antiterrorist intervention. Thus, the counterterrorist intervention consists of a series of offensive measures performed with the purpose of capturing or annihilating the terrorists, releasing the hostages and reestablishing the legal order, in the case of producing a terrorist attack, and the antiterrorist intervention represents the assembly of defensive measures performed prior to producing certain imminent attacks, used for reducing the vulnerability of human factors, specific and non-specific, and of the material factors. Hence, the counterterrorism is associated with the offensive fighting, even with a military character.

We can say that the difference between counterterrorism and state terrorism consists of the fact that the former is a legal action, according to the international conventions concerning human rights, and any action beyond the legal framing can be assimilated to state terrorism.

The counterterrorism can exist both inside the state, and outside of it, within some international military actions in operation theatres and respecting the United Nations Organisations resolutions concerning repressing international terrorism. Respecting this, any external action of this type that does not respect the principle of legality can be considered state terrorism, but, according to the United Nations Organisations, does not represent international terrorism.

A relevant example represents the war in Afghanistan, in course of development, which started on 7 October 2001, following the attacks from 11 September 2001 on the United States, although its planning had been made long before (1999), as a result



of other terrorist matters that existed before the attacks. Starting with 2002, Great Britain has been leading its own military operations (Herrick Operation) as part of the Afghanistan war.

The declared purpose of the conflict was identification and capturing the Al-Qaida leader, Osama bin Laden and eliminating the Taliban regime, which constituted itself as a supporting factor for the organisation.

On 20 September 2001, in a request addressed from the common session of the American Congress, the president George Bush emitted an ultimatum, requesting the Taliban regime in Afghanistan the following:

- delivering the Al-Qaida leaders in Afghanistan into the custody of the authorities of the United States;
- releasing all the captured foreigners, including American citizens;
- protecting the foreign journalists, diplomats and external workers in Afghanistan;
- closing the terrorist camps in Afghanistan and surrendering of any person suspected of terrorism to the authorities in charge and their structure, also;
- granting full access of the United States to the terrorist training camps for verifying their closure.

The first phase of the war was the period that followed the terrorist attacks from 11 September 2001, when the United States launched Enduring Freedom, to annihilate the *certain place* for Al-Qaida and use the Afghan territory as a base of operations for the terrorist actions.

The second phase of the operation represented the constitution from the part of the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation, at the end of December 2001, of the International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF) to protect the city of Kabul and its suburbs. Following this, the NATO took control of the operation ISAF (2003). Until 23 June 2009, the ISAF counted an average of 64,500 military from 19 countries, among which 29,950 militaries belonging to the United States of America, with NATO members that assured the strong center. Engaging the NATO in the conflict was extremely important for the United States, because it granted international legitimacy to the Afghanistan war.

The initial attack eliminated the Taliban from the power, but the Taliban insurgent forces regained potential. Starting with the year 2006, the Afghanistan has felt the threats to its stability, as the activity of the insurgent forces led by the Taliban has increased and so has the production of drugs, and a fragile government has formed, with a limited control outside Kabul.

Until the end of 2008, the Taliban lost any contact with Al-Qaida. In conformity with the USA high officials of the military structures of information, there may be at least 100 Al-Qaida members in Afghanistan. Even if there are different opinions concerning the military intervention in Afghanistan, these are only relevant concerning its opportunity from strategical and tactical point of view, but



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in which the legitimacy is concerned, this is fully covered, classifying the action as a counterterrorism one and not state terrorism.

If the legality has been assured as shown above, concerning the justification of protecting the interests there existed enough reasons to lead to this intervention.



# RISK FACTORS IN POPULATION HEALTH SECURITY CRISES, CALAMITIES AND DISASTERS. RISK MANAGEMENT

*Cristian RADULESCU PhD.<sup>1</sup>*

## **Abstract**

*Challenges, perils and threats to public health have not diminished, but rather amplified and intensified lately. More the ways of ensuring and protecting human health are developing, the more the perils and threats become complex and dangerous. This is a paradox. It seems implausible that, in the era of open heart surgery and brain surgery, when medical science, medical practice and medical art have achieved outstanding performances, to talk of a resurgence of the dangers and threats to human health. And yet, this is the truth. It is true that in developed countries, part of the population is receiving special assistance, but at a planetary scale, due to an increasing strategic fault between the rich and the poor world, a sanitary insecurity appears rather a healthy habitat for human life. Cosmic and geophysical factors, climate factors and human environment factors (pollution, conflict between infrastructures and natural environment, social anomaly, crime and crossborder crime), the development of dangers and threats of the cyberspace, etc. are generating new types of perils and chain threats, new vulnerabilities to them and, especially, new uncertainties that make difficult the process of analysis and assumption of the risk.*

Keywords: disasters, earthquakes, floods, murrain, epidemics, accident, chemical, industrial, nuclear

## **1. Disasters**

The concept of disaster is very broad and includes both natural disasters, due to cosmic, geophysical and meteorological events, but also man produced disasters. All disasters are affecting human life and safety.

According to the terminology adopted by OCHA / UN (Internationally agreed

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glossary of basic terms related to disaster management, UN, IDNDR, Geneva, 1992), disaster (catastroph) is understood a *serious disruption of the functioning of a society, resulting in human and material casualties or harmfully changes of the environment, that cannot be retrieved by its own resources*. Disasters can be classified by mode of expression (slow or fast) or by cause (natural or anthropogenic).

Another way to define disasters is: *Disaster = Vulnerabilities + Hazard*

- *Vulnerabilities* = urbanization, environmental degradation, lack of education, growth of population, economic fragility, poverty, corruption, bureaucratic emergency structures.

- *Hazard* = rare or extremely rare phenomenon, with a human or geophysical, climaterical, spatial etc. nature, that affects life, properties and activities of the human, whose extension can lead to disaster.

The hazards can be: geological (earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, landslides), climaterical (cyclones, floods, droughts), environmental (environmental pollution, murrain, desertification, deforestation), epidemics, industrial accidents, warfare (including terrorism).

Under this terminology are defined also: **crisis** = internal and external situation whose evolution can generate a threat to values, goals and priorities of the implied parties (separately or together); **accident** = random unforeseen happening that interrupts a normal situation, having for cause human activity, **complementary accident** = accident occurring during or after a natural natural disaster and caused by it.

## 2. Destructive natural phenomena

Nature is dynamic. Natural processes are complex, even if by transformation, according to the law of conservation of matter and energy, nothing is lost and nothing is gained. At the level of miniprocesses or specific processes, changes may have very different consequences, especially in sudden and unexpected events. Among sudden events that can have serious consequences for human life and health, there are the following: *sliding field* = the movement of the rocks that forms the slopes of mountains or hills, slopes of hydrotechnical works or of other land improvement works, *earthquake* = the brutal rupture of the rocks of earth's crust rocks, due to tectonic plates movement, generating a vibrating movement of soil that can result in human casualties and material destruction, *epidemics* = spread in mass proportions of human diseases, *murrain* = mass scale spreading of animal diseases, *dangerous weather* phenomena = weather phenomena that violently affect relatively large areas of land in long-term, causing human casualties, property damage and environmental degradation, *floods* = land covering with a layer of stagnant or moving water, which by its size and duration cause human casualties and material destruction that disturb the normal social-economic activities economic in the affected area.



### **Events with extremely serious consequences on the environment, due to accidents caused by human activity**

The most frequent and serious events, with consequences on human life, are the very same produced by humans themselves. Among these, the following are included: *chemical accident* = uncontrolled release in the environment of a toxic substance during its production, storage or transport; *biological accident* = uncontrolled release in the environment of a pathogen agent, during the production, storage, handling or transporting it; *nuclear accident* = event that affects the nuclear installations and can cause the irradiation and contamination of its staff, of the population and the environment, beyond the permitted limits; *hydrotechnical accident* = malfunction of a hydraulic construction leading to human lives loss and material destruction in downstream of its location, *major accidents of dangerous technological equipments* = destruction or damage of technological equipment, due to human negligence, resulting in numerous human casualties and great material damage; *major accidents on communication roads* = destruction or impact on transport means or on elements of the infrastructure, leading to temporary interruption of traffic, generating the destruction of these forms of communication, human and animal casualties as well as property damage; *major failures of facilities and telecommunications networks* = partial destruction of facilities and telecommunications networks due to human action or natural action; *falls of cosmic objects* = casualties or material damage caused by the impact produced on earth by earth satellites, meteorites and other cosmic materials, *mass incendies* = naturally or artificially triggered burning leading to considerable loss of human and animal lives, as well as material damage.

### **3. Protection against disasters**

*Protection against disasters involves:* prevention and intervention training measures, urgent operative intervention measures, urgent operative intervention measures after the onset of dangerous phenomena with very serious consequences, further intervention measures for recovery and rehabilitation.

*Purposes of defense against disasters:* reducing (possibly avoiding) possible losses caused by various disasters, ensuring a prompt and qualified assistance to victims, achieving an economical and social restoration as quickly and as lasting possible.

*Stages of defense against disaster:* preparing for disasters effects mitigation, disaster onset, alarming, intervention, rehabilitation of economic and social facilities affected, development of society, continued training.

*The main measures to prevent disasters:* including the issue of defense against disasters in the society's development strategies both at central and local



levels, defense completion for each type of hazard, optimizing the activity of those structures that ensure coordination and control of preventive actions, developing the scientific research field.

*The main safeguard measures against disasters:* public education about rules of conduct in case of disaster, trainings and applications with the forces and means prepared for intervention, operative preparing of the decision factors, implementation of international agreements on humanitarian assistance in disasters.

*Major intervention measures in case of disasters:* research of affected area, coordination of search and rescue (unblock and rescue in case of war), emergency medical assistance, etc., evacuation of population and property values, creation and management of victim camps, distribution of humanitarian aid.

#### 4. Files with the main characteristics of disaster

Such files were developed by OCHA / UN specialists. Below are detailed the main components of these files of our own country's characteristic disasters.

##### **Earthquake**

Cause of the phenomenon: geophysical.

General features: vibration movement generated by seismic waves that can produce land crash, seismic aftershocks, tsunamis, ground liquefaction and landslides.

Predictability: medium and long term forecasts can be realised with a high probability of success. Short-term forecasts have a low probability of success. Predictability is based on seismic activity monitoring, its history and field observations.

Vulnerability factors: the construction of settlements in high seismic areas; buildings which have inadequate earthquake resistance structures (design or execution defaults), high density housing of a population on very small areas; poor information (especially of the population) about earthquakes.

Effects: material destruction (destruction or damage to buildings or other form of infrastructure, fire, hydro accidents, landslides, etc.), casualties (high percentage appears mainly in dense populated areas or for buildings that are poorly conformed to antiseismic criteria), public health (high number of people requiring surgery, the contamination of drinking water and difficulties in ensuring minimal sanitary surviving conditions).

Risk reduction measures: planning of the investment work according to seismic zoning, informing, preparing and training the population on behaviour rules in an earthquake.

Specific preparedness measures: public notice, preparing and practicing the measures included in protection and intervention plans.

Post-disaster measures: assessing the damage and losses, search-rescue, emergency medical care, rehabilitation of economic and social facilities that are affected, aid distribution.



Impact assessment tools: scales for assessing the effects generated by the earthquake (Mercalli, MSK, Japanese, etc.).

### **Landslide**

General characteristics: it manifests in several ways or may occur as a secondary effect of other types of disaster (earthquake, hazardous weather phenomena, volcanic eruptions, etc.), and it is considered the most common geological phenomenon.

Predictability: according to the frequency of apparition, the extension of the phenomenon and its consequences, risk areas can be estimated by studying the geographical area.

Vulnerability factors: the builds on the slopes of hills and mountains, roads and communication lines in mountain areas, weak foundations buildings, aerial ducts or buried pipes.

Effects: material damage, blocking roads, destroying of the communication lines and bridges in water courses, their deviation, blocking and lake foundation, etc., Reducing the agricultural or forestry production, human losses.

Risk reduction measures: making maps of risk areas, development of legislation in this domain, ensuring goods and people.

Specific preparedness measures: education of the community that may be affected, creating a system of monitoring, notification and evacuation.

Post-disaster measures: search and rescue, medical assistance, emergency housing of the victims.

Impact assessment tools: teams of experts.

### **Flooding**

General characteristics: the speed of flood, flood's height, its duration and frequency.

Predictability: the long-, medium- and short- term weather forecasts, depending on the technical level of monitoring systems for weather and watercourses.

Vulnerability factors: constructing in flood areas, lack of the warning system of the population, low absorption capacity of soil, poor resistance of buildings and foundations, unprotected food stocks.

Effects: material damage, human losses and contamination of water sources.

Measures to reduce risk: building defense works and dams.

Specific preparedness measures: detection and alarm systems, community's education and participation, planning the execution of defense work.

Post-disaster measures: assessing the effects of the disaster, search – rescue, medical care, short-term supply with water and food, water purification and temporary housing.

Impact assessment tools: monitoring the effects.

### **Drought**

Cause of the phenomenon: fluviometric deficit, soil degradation, increasing oceans' water temperatures, increasing concentration of the carbon dioxide in the



atmosphere.

General features: disaster with temporary effect, especially on agriculture, whose manifestations depend on a number of factors (the existence of irrigation system, etc.).

Predictability: periods of low rainfall are normal in all climate systems. Weather forecasts make possible early warning about the possibility to produce the phenomenon.

Vulnerability factors: establishment of habitats in arid areas, isolated agricultural land, lack of water resources, lack in planning on allocating resources to risk areas, etc..

Effects: decreased agricultural, vineyards and livestock production, higher prices, increased inflation, reduced nutritional status of population, diseases, energy crisis, etc..

Risk reduction measures: monitoring and immediate notification systems.

Specific preparedness measures: development of an interdepartmental plan of defense against disaster impacts.

Post-disaster measures: maintaining price stability, centralized distribution of food, ensuring food reserves at current levels, providing water, etc..

Impact assessment tools: monitoring of the meteorological and hydrological, nutritional and socio-economic situation.

### **Environmental pollution**

Cause of the phenomenon: air pollution, marine pollution, drink water pollution, global growth of the temperature, ozone layer destruction.

Predictability: pollution is evaluated and reported per capita consumption, in developing countries it is growing.

Vulnerability factors: industrialization and lack of laws in this area, lack of resources to counter the phenomenon.

Effects: destruction of crops, forests and the aquifer system, material destruction, worsening health of the population, increasing of the temperature.

Risk reduction measures: setting environmental quality standards, promoting policies to protect water sources, control of the aerosol and freon products etc..

Specific preparedness measures: a plan for environmental protection and safety on a national scale, including environmental issues in developing government programmes, etc..

Impact assessment tools: land and air surveillance systems for soil, water, changes in climate, etc.

### **Deforestation**

Cause of the phenomenon: mass fires, diseases of timber, irrational exploitation.

General features: it triggers other hazards by weakening the stability of soil and by dead timber accumulation.

Predictability: it depends on the state's policy in this area and the existence of



a database on how the phenomenon manifests itself.

Vulnerability factors: underdevelopment, dependence on wood as a source of energy, lack of exploitation politics, rapid population growth, etc..

Effects: the destruction of traditional tree crops and increasing import needs, flood, drought, famine, etc.

Specific preparedness measures: community education, promoting alternatives to using wood as fuel.

Impact assessment tools: mapping forests and their supervision, monitoring of reforestation programs.

### **Murrain**

Causes: the spread in mass proportions of animal transmissible diseases.

General characteristics due to a combination of several factors such as temperature, introduction of new varieties of animals, pesticide use, quality of water and animal migration.

Predictability: systems of examination of developing status of the animals.

Vulnerability factors: the large number and variety of animals, lack of control over imports of animals and animal transport, etc..

Effects: illness in the community on a mass scale, famine, etc..

Specific preparedness measures: developing a national defense program, training programs for the government officials and the farmers, etc..

Impact assessment tools: assessment by testing the incidence and severity of infection.

### **Epidemics**

Cause: poor sanitary conditions, poverty, food and water contamination, etc..

General characteristics: high possibility of spreading, the existence of economic and social imbalances, lack of specialized personnel, etc..

Predictability: epidemiological studies and reports may enhance the possibility of diagnosis and prognosis, including diseases with long periods of incubation, etc..

Vulnerability factors: pregnancy, lack of immunization to disease, poor nutrition, poor water quality, etc.

Effects: sick and dead, economic loss, panic, etc..

Risk reduction measures: monitoring the development of the emergency medical risk factor, developing a protection plan with the necessary resources allowance.

Specific preparedness measures: checking and confirming diagnosis, identifying cases, finding sources of the epidemics, control of the evolution of the cases, etc..

Post-disaster measures: an emergency medical service, medical aid.

Impact assessment tools: epidemiological surveillance, periodic evaluation of the effectiveness of the emergency medical service.



### **Chemical and industrial accident**

Cause of the phenomenon: operational errors of the facilities, violation of the rules of storage, handling and transport, accidents on the inland communications, etc.

Predictability: monitoring systems, as industrialization will increase the incidence of these accidents.

Vulnerability factors: lack of warning and alarm systems, lack in the proper instruction of the population that is at risk to be affected, ignorance and failure to the legislation in this domain

Effects: destruction of plants and industrial structures, generating mass fires, water contamination, land and air contamination, human casualties etc..

Risk reduction measures: developing plans of training and action on a local level.

Specific preparedness measures: identifying hazardous materials, determining risk areas, developing and testing protection and intervention plans, etc.

Post-disaster measures: evacuation of the risk zone, search – rescue, decontamination of the affected area and of the personnel, first aid measures, etc.;

Impact assessment tools: monitoring system.

**Chemical accidents** are uncontrolled environmental release of toxic industrial chemicals (SCTI) in concentrations higher than permitted (inside traders, during their transport, during storage, during discharge of substances from/ in tanks on during their use in production, non-compliance with labor protection rules and IDPs), thereby jeopardizing the health of staff and employees.

**Toxic industrial chemicals (SCTI)**, are those chemical products that, due to their physical, chemical and toxic properties, manifest their harmful contaminant action, in low concentrations, at very large distances, exceeding the limits of the toxic source agent, creating action areas that may include whole communities and isolated economic units.

During auto transportation, problems may occur as a result of traffic accidents, damages to the means of transport or packaging, unforeseen chemical reactions, violation of the technical rules for packing and transportation, or other unforeseen factors. As a result of these accidents, it may occur explosions, fires, gas emissions, fumes or spreading of toxic substances in soil and environment.

Hazardous substances are transported in tanks, containers or other specific packaging (as a compressed gas, a liquefied gas, a liquid or a solid).

Means carrying such substances must be marked with warning signs and labels.

The main toxic industrial chemicals (SCTI) which present a hazard for employees (people) and most commonly used are: ammonia, chlorine, hydrogen sulphide, hydrochloric acid, sulfuric acid, carbon monoxide, etc.

When producing an accident involving such substances, a lethal (dead) zone and an intoxication zone are created. The sizes of these areas depend on the amount



of SCTI released into the environment, its concentration, time to remedy the damage and to implement appropriate measures. It is particularly important that when such an event occurs, the employees (population) to shelter in buildings, providing quick initial steps of sealing doors and windows using insulation materials at hand (textiles, sponges, putty, etc.).

Any air conditioning or ventilation will be stopped and they will not leave the premises until termination of the alarm sent by the specific means by leading staff.

In order to prevent and protect people against these substances, law requires the operator who holds, stores, uses SCTI in the production process, to prepare an action plan for protection and intervention to comply with EU legislation on environmental protection (GD nr.95/2003 regarding the control of the activity that presents major accident hazards involving dangerous substances), to disclose the following information: which unit is the source of chemical hazard, industrial toxic type it holds, characteristics and mode of action of toxic substance; the risk zone that you might find yourselves in, safeguards specific to the area, the place that provides shelter by protection or containment, disposal sites and temporary evacuation routes.

At the accommodation - isolating places for employees (population) safety measures must be ensured through: procuring sealing materials (putty, insulating tape, insulating sponges, etc. purfix.) providing special means of individual protection (mask against gas, breathing apparatus, protective suits) or improvised, achieving first aidkits, preparing a permanent water and food reserve, providing a radio receiver with batteries.

Employees (population) need to learn: knowledge required to achieve protective measures, rules of conduct in an accident in the toxic cloud.

### 5. Nuclear accident

Radiation are common in nature or can be produced artificially without being defined as any type or effect. Body's natural irradiation is due to ionizing radiation existing in the environment (cosmic radiation, radioactivity of soil, food, etc.). To these are added: the use of radiation in medical investigations and treatments, radiation in the atmosphere due to nuclear testing and nuclear power industry.

The predominant important amount in body irradiation is natural radiation 66%, followed by medical radiation 23% and (with similar values) by work and additional irradiation.

Since the radiation effects are related to the radiation dose received, associated to risk factor, the maximum permissible dose for population is established at 5mSv/year.

**Nuclear accident** is considered to be that event which affects the nuclear facility and cause radiation or contamination of the population and the environment,



over the maximum addmitted dosage.

Installations and activities which are considered as a source of a nuclear accident are: energy and research reactors, facilities for the production of nuclear fuel cycle, radioactive waste treatment facilities, transport and storage of nuclear fuel or radioactive waste, production, use, storage, storage and transport of radioisotopes used in agriculture, industry, medicine and scientific and research purposes, the use of radioisotopes for power generation in space objects

Electrical nuclear plants that have in their structure powerful nuclear reactors (500 - 1000 MW) are the most serious dangers for environmental contamination and irradiation of the population, as demonstrated by the nuclear accidents in the table below:

Country	Location	Date	Accident
USA	Houston	March 1957	Spread of radioactive dust into the environment as a result of incorrect handling of a container
USSR	Kştim	September 29, 1957	A nuclear waste tank explosion that has irradiated an area of 300 square
England	Cumbria	Oct 1957 October 1957	Fire at a reactor for producing plutonium and spreading of a large quantity of radioactive substance into the environment
USA	Tennessee	Nov 1959November 1959	Chemical explosion at the laboratory of a radiochemical reprocessing plant
USA	Idaho	3 ian.January 3. 1961 1961	Explosion at a military nuclear reactor in Idaho Falls killing three people and release a small amount of radioactive material
Asia	Indian Ocean	21 apr.April 21. 1964 1964	Fall of an artificial satellite equipped with a radioisotope generator
USA	Michigan	5 oct.October 5. 1966 1966	Failure at the cooling sodium system at a reactor near Monroe
France	Saint - Laurent	17 oct.October 17. 1969 1969	Partial melting of nuclear reactor load



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USSR	Shevchenko	1974	Explozie la un reactor nuclear Explosion at a nuclear reactor
Canada	Northwest	January 24. 1978	Fall of a Soviet satellite equipped with a nuclear reactor has spread radioactive material over a swath of 1000 km
USA	Three Mile Island	March 28, 1979	Worst accident involving the U.S. nuclear issue of radioactive gases into the atmosphere
Japan	Tsuruga	April 25. 1981	45 workers who were repairing a nuclear plant
England	Cumbria	November. 1983	Throwing in the Irish Sea of a quantity of radioactive waste from Sellafield plant
Mexico	Ciudad Juarez	1983	Irradiation of 300-500 people from a radioactive source discovered in a shipment of scrap iron
Morocco	Mohammedia	1984	Irradiation and death of eight people due to wrong handling of a radioactive source used in construction
USA	Oklahoma	6 January 6. 1986	Explosion of a cylinder with nuclear material killed a person and injured 100 people
USSR	Chernobyl	April 26. 1986	Largest nuclear accident in the world with the release of large amounts of radiation over most of Europe
Brazil	Goiania	1987	Death of four people, 54 people hospitalized and 240 irradiated at home because of transportation and disposal at home of a radioactive source
China	Prov. Shanxi	September. 1992	Three dead and five irradiated resulting from transportation at home of radioactive sources

Depending on radiobiological risk to the population and its intensity of action, nuclear accident may be classified as:

**Minor** (routine) **nuclear accident** is considered the event where irradiation



or contamination of the population and the environment exceeds the maximum permissible dose.

**Major nuclear accident:** is that accident which represents high biological risk by external and internal irradiation of the population.

**Maximum credible nuclear accident project** it is taken into account when designing nuclear power and is delimited by exposure resulting from the release of fission products with more than 0.25 Sv radiation throughout the body and 1 Sv / on human adult thyroid.

### **The causes of nuclear accidents**

Internal causes: overheating of fuel elements, the thermal state of a reactor is driven to critical, which entails an increased release of radioactive material into the atmosphere and in extreme circumstances lead to melting of the core, cooling circuit failure, damage to sewer system – the collection of radioactive waste, radioactive waste handling errors, failure to comply timely technical review.

External causes: natural disasters, acts of sabotage, the impact of cosmic objects, missiles, aircraft or large caliber projectiles.

### **Consequences of nuclear accident**

**Nuclear risk:** that complex of situations and consequences resulting from the uncontrolled release of radioactive products into the environment.

Areas affected by nuclear accident are: public health; economy in general and in particular the agriculture and animal health, other economical and social aspects of the area affected by the spread of released radioactivity.

The factors on which the consequences of nuclear accident depend are: the place where is situated the NEC where the event produces (national territory or outside national territory); the scale of the nuclear accident, the season when the accident occurs, topography and flora of the surrounding area, the weather conditions at the moment of the event, land using in the area in question for farming and livestock, distance to the communities and the population density in the area, the distances to important social, agricultural and economic objectives, local fauna, ways and means of communication with neighbouring communities.

In a nuclear accident, due to the release of radioactive substances in the environment, the following risks appear:

the risk of inhalation of radioactive substances as a consequence both of the gas emission and of the transport of radioactive substances at a distance by the air, the effects both of inhalation and of irradiation manifest directly; inhaling of radioactive iodine leads to immediate risk, having an accumulated effect on the thyroid (the permitted dose in children is 0.25 Sv).



the risk resulting from deposited radioactive materials. Risk assessment in this case is made by determining the radiation dose rate and identifying of the radionuclides present. In case that the radiation dose rate can be tolerated in terms of external radiation, it is required the control of radioactivity of the food, which is directly or indirectly affected by radioactive contamination.

Maximum permissible doses for several parts of the body:

Organismul întreg Full Body	0,01 – 0,05 Sv/h 0.01 to 0.05 Sv / h
Pielea , glanda tiroidă Skin, thyroid gland	0,006 Sv 0.006 Sv
Organe simple Simple organs	0,04 - 0,05 Sv 0.04 to 0.05 Sv
Mâini, antebrățe Hands, forearms	0,225 Sv 0.225 Sv
Alte organe interne Other internal organs	0,015 Sv 0.015 Sv

Doses allowed for staff:

Iradieră, o singură dată în 24 oreIrradiation, once in 24 hours	0,25 Sv 0.25 Sv
Iradieră repetată, în decurs de câteva zileRepeated irradiation in a few days	0,75 Sv 0.75 Sv
Iradieră sistematică (perioada 1 an) Systematic irradiation (during 1 year)	Câte 0,01 Sv /24 h dar nu mai mult de 2 SV pe tot timpul iradierii Sv 0.01 each / 24 hours but not more than 2 SV during the entire irradiation

Signal “CHEMICAL ALARM (5 pulses of 16 seconds to break 10 seconds for 2 minutes) is binding and shall notify all operators, public institutions and population situated in the area of intoxication, in the moving direction of the radioactive or chemically contaminated cloud and in the area where contamination was discovered.

Measures of restriction of movement and restricted access to affected areas are introduced, except for special forces involved.

The specialized research, the marking of the prohibited areas, the intervention itself and other specific measures will be executed only by specialized military and civil protection and specialized institutions' personnel formations, which are to be equipped with protective equipment, apparatus, specific materials in order to enable their action in RBC (radioactive, biological and chemical) contaminated areas without endangering their lives.



*NBC protection is achieved by: means of special individual protection* (for respiratory organs: gas-mask - CW operators owners will have specific cartridges; insulating masks, insulating equipment, skin protection: full protection, full unique use protection); *improvised means* (for respiratory organs: gauze or cloth mask overlaid between which is placed cotton wool are damped and applied over the nose and mouth, tying it at the nape; a towel with cotton wool inside which is moisten and bind to the neck over the mouth and nose, handkerchief, different cloth material; for skin protection: rubbered work clothes, raincoats, rubber clothes and suits of resistant plastic materials; leather clothes or densely woven clothes, Polyethylene film; clothes will end up under the neck, will have lace or elastic cuffs and sleeves; to protect the head: scarves, hats, caps, towels over which are overlaid plastic sheets or bags; to protect the feet: rubber boots, hip boots for fishermen, galoshes, overshoes, ski boots or winter boots and leather boots; to protect arms and hands: household, paint, leather or rubber gloves) and, obviously, *means of collective protection* (the operators' shelters, shelters in the basements of buildings, underground galleries, tunnels, natural areas).

To combat contamination are used: NBC Kits; antidotes; radioprotectors, other specific means of decontamination of personnel, equipment, vehicles etc.; also for the public health network; zonal veterinary network; specialized laboratories in radiation's hygiene, chemicals, health and toxicology.

Protection of material goods is achieved mainly through: evacuation, sheltering, painting, fireproofing, containerization, creating water curtains, foam, etc.

**NBC protection forces and facilities are designed:** to carry out decontamination of personnel actions (PDP), equipment (PDE), land, buildings, machinery, technical and transport facilities (PDMT) and for chemical research and radiation performance of the contaminated area.

These actions are performed by: specialized military formations, specialized formations of the economic agents that are nuclear, biological or chemical risk source; regional institutions specialized in this domain: nuclear, chemical, biological, environmental, health, veterinary, etc..

**NBC protective formations and decontamination points** are organized, equipped and insured during peacetime according to Civil Protection.

**At the economic agent** the following configurations can be formed: decontamination squad, consisting of a variable number of formations, teams, groups with a staff of up to 95 people trained in the same specialty or in different specialties (NCC team composed of five persons prepared in the same specialty, two groups NCC (Cc. Note.)).

**Depending on the nature of destruction, NBC protective formations can perform the following main missions:** chemical and radiation research of the



personnel, land, buildings, etc., decontamination of land and buildings in order to save the wounded; decontaminating of the access routes to operators, food and materials warehouses, public institutions and to places where the intervention formations carry out their action, decontamination of personnel, equipment, vehicles, (the PDP, EDP and PDMT), of the machines and installations, qualitative and quantitative determination of radioactive or chemical contaminated samples.

NBC protective formations can also take part in first aid rescue operations and transport of wounded, supply with water or with other material goods needed in the area of destruction.

It is important to take into account, during these the very complex action, of the neutralizing substances that can be used in such instances. They are:

**for ammonia** - hydrochloric acid or acetic acid in various concentrations. Reducing emissions is achieved by spraying with water or by creating a curtain of water. To reduce evaporation of the toxic substance - (ammonia, in this case) that is spread on the ground, it is covered with sand, earth or suitable plastic granules.

**for chlorine** - sulphite and ferrous sulphate, sodium hiposulfit concentrates, lime, slaked lime paste, ammonia, water, soda ash solutions and sodium hydroxide.

**for hydrochloric acid, hydrogen cyanide, hydrogen sulfide, sulfur dioxide** - alkaline solution of sodium hydroxide, lime, soda ash or ammonia water. Also can use the following solids: powder or limestone gravel, lime powder.

**for carbon disulphide** - scattered carbon disulphide is absorbed in sand or powder and covered with water; absorbent material impregnated with this substance are collected in metal drums, sealed and transported in specially designated locations where they are light from a distance. They are burned with care. In the neutralizing action and in the resulting waste collection will be used non-sparking tools.

**for sulfuric acid** - the acid will be removed with lots of water or lime. On site, sand or ash is spread. This mixture, after the acid is absorbed, it is buried in soil. Do not use rags, sawdust or other combustible absorbent material.

**for cyanide** – neutralization using sodium hypochlorite, chlorine or hydrogen peroxide.

Acute exposure limit expressed as ppm ( $1 \text{ m}^3$  of air containing  $1 \text{ cm}^3$  of gas) is the absorption dose of a single exposure which does not produce irreversible damage to human health. The limits specified by the Ministry of specialty are based on the exposure time of 60 minutes. As in real situations, the exposure time must be shorter than planned. This value should be regarded as a safe exposure limit.

**Maximum permissible concentration (MPC)** is the maximum permitted concentration of a substance present in air (at work) in the form of gas, vapors or suspended matter, which, in light of current knowledge, is not harmful to the health



of the employees and is not a unreasonable embarrassment, even in case of repeated and prolonged exposure (8 hours per day at an average working week of 40 hours).

### **Hazard assessment**

Assessment of the danger areas, depending on the nature of the dangerous substance, are established: *the spread area, the danger area, the isolation area of evacuation.*

*Protective measures to be taken after the accident* comprise: the place of the management of the actions and links: delimitation and marking of the areas of distribution, threat, isolation and evacuation; establishing the direction of movement and size of the zone of action of toxic cloud with dangerous effects, alarming the population in the zone of the toxic cloud, if necessary; the protection of the containment housing with sealing doors and windows; temporary evacuation of people and animals in the area of action of the toxic cloud, when appropriate; removing the injured from the accident area are giving first aid and emergency medical assistance and transportation to hospital; denying access to the area and removal of unauthorized persons from the unauthorized area, area security, traffic direction, dealing with the aftermath of the accident limitation, neutralization and cleaning of the area, lifting / removing damaged vehicle, control and surveillance of the zone, restoring the traffic, public information.

*To neutralize and prevent the spread of toxic cloud, nature and concentration of the substance to be used is determined by experts.*

*After the neutralization operation, it's ensured total decontamination of the personnel and/ of the equipment which was used. Necessarilly, there are applied the antidotes and is administered the treatment established by the specialized medical formations.*

Problems that can occur in a disaster

### **Body injuries**

In any emergency, transport and means of communication can be interrupted and medical services can be overstretched. It is very important to know the essential methods of first aid. Personal treatment of minor injuries is useful in such times of crisis. Among medical problems that may arise during such an emergency there are: cuts, skin or other involvement lesions, pain of the chest, of the chest wall or of cardiac origin (possible myocardial infarction, unstable angina), head injury, poisoning; trauma, spinal injuries, neck injuries, burns, shock (allergic, toxic), nervous system disorders, confusion, amnesia, altered conscience, stroke (in hypertensive patients).

It is important to know the maneuvers in such cases of medical emergency:



Heimlich maneuver used when a person is drowning and suffocating (typically food) cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR).

### **Injuries resulting from exposure and their care**

Natural disasters, industrial accidents, terrorist attacks, create some situations that predispose to injury. In some cases, rapid evacuation of different housing is required, which also predispose to injury. Such disasters can disrupt electricity, food and water sources so that the population is exposed to certain extreme situations and can remain without shelter. Medical problems that may arise in such situations are: hypothermia and exposure to cold, frostbite (especially in extremities, fingers, nose, ears), hyperthermia by exposure to high temperatures (Heatstroke) sunburn, dehydration, insect bites (especially poisonous, which can cause allergic reactions or even death) food poisoning (from eating spoiled or contaminated foods).

### **Emotional response**

Most people caught in such a disaster are often overwhelmed, both physically and emotionally. People who witnessed traumatic events may develop post-traumatic stress disorder which can take up to one month after the incident. Symptoms of this disorder include: indifference, sleep disturbed by reliving the event reflected in dreams, avoidance of any situations that can remember the event. Symptoms can be so intense that interferes with normal daily activities and relationships with others.

If symptoms last longer than one month, or if they occur one month after the event, the person may have developed such a traumatic shock. This can occur even if the person was not physically traumatized, but only witnessed such an event.

People who have witnessed such a traumatic event can turn to professional help (counseling), especially if symptoms persist for more than two weeks and affects or interferes with daily activities.

Also, people who have lost loved ones during such a disaster need time and understanding to overcome this unpleasant event.

Traumatic events can cause depression which, in some cases, also require specialized treatment. Population health is a state integrated social development of the country, a reflection of social, economic, and moral well-being but also of the extent of health education and of adequate information about risk factors and healthy behaviors of a people. Morbid conditions are caused by complex factors acting in a synergistic system, from the overall effect on the body to specific organic diseases. Environmental and water pollution, improper diet, permanent neuro-psychological tension socio-economic stress, harmful habits, sedentary lifestyle, low level of health culture, unsatisfactory conditions at work, incompetence in matters of prevention, family planning, careless, irresponsible attitude towards the own health are conditions that favor the development of many acute and chronic diseases, and the maintaining of a high morbidity by communicable diseases (TB, STI, etc.) and



by non-communicable diseases (cardiovascular, respiratory and digestive system, nervous system and immune system etc.) in our country compared with similar indicators of European countries. There is evidence that preventive measures, prophylaxis and health education are more efficient, affordable and with essential favorable results over time. Some of these dangers and threats are part of the nature of things, there are dangers and threats to system or process, being either a result of the disfunction, or a product of the development of systems and processes. Others are caused intentionally, as a result of certain interests, of a permanent and merciless battle for power and influence, id est for resources, money and markets.

### 6. Risk of disease

In the disease risk analysis, we must take into account both the geographical location of events or the conduct of specific activities as well as the season or, in extremis, the actions or events of short duration, even during the day.

Thus, we have different risks both in intensity as in time progress, in importance or in spatial extent, depending on geographical area, terrain, altitude, climate zone and the area, as well as populational area with occupational, social, traditional or religious subdivisions

Personnel acting within the risk management and control of hazards and threats divisions takes numerous risks, the most important being:

Contacting specific diseases:

Altitude-related hypoxia: acute mountain sick, high altitude cerebral edema, high altitude pulmonary edema, peripheral edema of high altitude, high altitude eye problems, disorders of sleep in insomnia, embolism, exacerbation of existing disease, pharyngitis / high-altitude bronchitis, decreased performance.

Unrelated to hypoxia: trauma, frostbite, damage from the ultraviolet (UVA and UVB), lightning, carbon monoxide poisoning, infections, dehydration, inadequate nutrition, diseases directly transmitted from man to man (except those transmitted by vectors).

Medical screening for altitude interventions should highlight: environmental history, trauma, cardiovascular disease, pulmonary disease, neurological diseases, muscoskeletal system diseases, pregnancy, current treatments, altitude sickness, frostbite, essential hypertension, coronary disease; bronopneumopatie chronic obstructive; asthma.

Medical personnel who provides assistance to persons and military units conducted at altitude requires special training to work successfully, both because of the special medical problems and mountainous terrain.

Specific training has to respond to two requests: to provide information required for diagnosis and treatment of disorders caused by altitude, to ensure the learning of all the techniques and skills needed to use specific equipment, as well as of



the techniques for rescue and evacuation from the rugged mountain terrain.

Medical personnel should automatically recognize the dangers in the environment and immediately implement the necessary countermeasures own protection. He must be adequately equipped to deal with rough conditions.

### **7. Risks common in high-temperature zone**

Accident prevention measures:

For reduced capacity for action: Previous physical training and acclimatization;

For increased need for water: disciplining water consumption;

For alteration of sodium and other electrolytes: acclimatization, proper nutrition (overeating is rarely necessary).

For increased risk for specific diseases:

High temperature injuries: water consumption, acclimatization, activity/ rest cycles, shelter, adequate clothing;

Against sunburn: lotions and creams with UV protection factor, shelter, protective clothing (hat), snow, sunglasses etc.;

Against solar alergicodermia: personal hygiene, access to cool environment;

Against diminished psihic performance during certain tasks: activity/ rest cycles,

Monitoring and verification among comrades;

Against involuntary dehydration: water consumption, checking between colleagues.

*Risk factors in low tolerance to heat and the heat disease:* obesity, low physical training, history of the heat disease, febrile illnesses, dehydration from any cause, skin diseases, solar alergicodermia sun, sunburn, psoriasis.

*Mission planning factors required in hot environment:* mission, enemy, troops, terrain, time, water resources and water supply lines, water requirements based on weather and other environmental conditions, intensity and duration of proposed activities, protective clothing and equipment complying with the mission, assessing of the enemy, estimate of possible cycles of activity / rest possible, assesing the number and type of victims involved (fellow countrymen and foreigners), location and capabilities of medical endowment, primary and alternative means of replenishment, lines of communication; hierarchy of command, special medical requirements (equipment, spare materials, medicines), management of war prisoners.

Vulnerabilities are those states of things, processes or phenomena of inner life, which reduce the responsiveness to existing or potential risks, or facilitate the emergence and development of these situations. In Romania's internal situation are evident several types of vulnerabilities, that find their sources in the political,



economical and social prolonged transition that our country lives through: the persistancy of economical, financial and social issues generated by delayed structural reforms, the increasing of the corruption phenomena and of mismanagement of public resources; inefficient reactions of state's institutions to the increment of the economical criminality and of the disturbance of public order and citizen's safety rules; maintenance of potential sources and causes of punctual social conflicts; noncompliance with environmental laws in some industrial objectives; diminishing of the level of public trust in state institutions; maintaining developing gaps between country regions; maintaining of the informational infrastructures at a low level and delaying the upgrading this one to the standards imposed by the dynamics of globalization, etc..

The vulnerability analysis consider all risk factors, both within and outside the physical limits of the system, but also their internal and external consequences. Furthermore, although it covers a long period of time, vulnerability analysis focuses on a particular sequence of events, from the onset situation to the reach of a new state of stability.

### 8. As a conclusion

The improvement of the mechanisms of the crisis management is a major goal of internal national security, including sanitary security. In the era of globalization, the boundary between internal and external risks with major impacts on security of citizens, of communities and of the state, becomes less relevant and the possible effects of catastrophic threats - harder to predict. Reducing the influence of risks and threats to national security through an active stand in conflict prevention and crisis management and civil emergency will be an ongoing coordinated security policy of Romania.

Meanwhile, by orientation to tasks, the system will be able to respond adequately to crisis, ensuring the autonomy of sub-components, including the medical one, so they can become operational and responsive to the nature and scale of the crisis. Nationally, it is necessary to harmonize laws and procedures with the NATO and EU security crisis and civil emergency management system. To operate effectively the two organizations, Romania is currently implementing NATO's crisis response system, and EU regulations on the participation in crisis management operations in emergencies and extreme risk.





# L'IMPACT DU FACTEUR POLITIQUE SUR LES RELATIONS ENTRE ROUMANIE ET LA REPUBLIQUE MOLDAVIE

*Ph.D Petre DUȚU<sup>1</sup>*

## Résumé

*Les relations entre deux Etats sont diverses de point de vue de leur contenu, nature et formes de manifestation. Parmi leurs déterminants se trouve aussi le facteur politique qui a un fort et significatif impact.*

*Dans l'année 2009, les relations entre Roumanie et la République Moldavie ont eu une évolution sinueuse et contradictoire, sur tous les plans. Ainsi, elles ont passées d'un relatif état de normalité en janvier 2009 aux tensions et conflits diplomatiques en avril et, ultérieurement, en septembre (la même année), elles sont revenues presque à la normalité. En 2010, les relations entre les deux pays se sont améliorées significativement.*

Mots clefs: rôle, impact, facteur politique, relations, évolution des relations.

## 1. Le rôle du facteur politique dans les relations entre Roumanie et la République Moldavie

Le facteur politique exprimé par le parti ou la coalition de partis trouvée au pouvoir dans un Etat, c'est l'élément qui assure le cadre institutionnel nécessaire pour fonctionner la société respective, afin d'atteindre les objectifs et de satisfaire les intérêts de leurs membres. C'est pourquoi le facteur politique influence décisive la vie sociale entière, économique, politique, culturelle, scientifique et diplomatique du pays. En même temps, le facteur politique est celui qui oriente significatif la politique étrangère de l'Etat. Ce fait pose son empreinte forte sur le contenu de relations (économique, politique, culturel, scientifique, diplomatique), la nature de relations (relations préférentielles, relations d'indifférences, relations

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d'oppositions) et la forme de manifestation de relations (relations bilatérale de coopération, relations de collaborations, partenariat stratégique, blokada économique, boycott) qu'un Etat établie avec les autres Etats. Un exemple d'Etat ou le facteur politique détermine les relations d'un Etat avec les autres Etats, le représente la République Moldavie. Cet Etat, par son équipe gouvernementale et par son Président de ce temps-la, dans les dix dernières années, ont eu des relations avec la Roumanie très fort influencé par le facteur politique. Ce facteur a agit volontaire et concerté sur le contenu des relations avec la Roumanie, ainsi que celles-ci se sont limitées, pendant dix années du mandat présidentiel de Vladimir Voronin, seulement aux échanges prioritaires économiques. En revanche, les relations politiques se sont déroulés, de l'acceptation mutuelle, au début, jusqu'à l'opposition totale, au final.

A notre avis, le politique joue un grand rôle lorsqu'on veut concevoir, établir, se développer et mettre en œuvre des relations d'un Etat avec n'importe quel Etat du monde. Dans ce sens, le politique, par les opinions exprimées tant dans un cadre officiel que informel, par l'attitude d'amitié ou d'hostile affichée et par le comportement concret face d'un certain Etat, affirme son statut social et son rôle qu'il faut s'assumer dans la société. En même temps, le politique use largement de mass media obéissants pour attendre ses objectifs en matière de relations avec un Etat ou l'autre. Si restons à l'exemple de la République Moldavie, surtout dans le derniers 5 années, les officielles du Chisinau ont employés les presse écrits, le radio et la télévision publique pour soutenir ses idées et ses affirmations hostiles contre la Roumanie qu'il considère responsable de tous les maux intérieurs de ce pays<sup>2</sup>. De plus, le Président Voronin et les membres du gouvernement aussi ont agissent avec beaucoup d'hostilité face de journalistes roumaines qui désiraient de relater sur les faits et les événements sociales, politiques, économiques ou culturelles de la Moldavie, parfois de les refuser d'entrer dans ce pays et autrefois de les interdire de transmettre des nouvelles «live». Dans ce sens, on peut apporter comme arguments l'attitude profonde hostile des officiels de la Moldavie y compris les polices de frontière contre les citoyens roumains et surtout contre les journalistes roumains qui volaient informer sur le déroulement des élections parlementaires de l'avril 2009 de ce pays.

Le point culminant d'ingérence du politique en détermination des relations entre la Roumanie et la République Moldavie a été atteint, à notre avis, pendant de la révolte populaire du Chisinau après avoir communiquées les résultats des élections parlementaires de ce pays. Le Président du pays et d'autres officiels de la République Moldavie ont accusés, sans aucune preuve, la Roumanie que a organisée et a soutenu la révolte populaire contre les institutions de l'Etat du sept avril 2009. Comme conséquence des incidents de mardi (07.04.2009 N.A.), les autorités de la République Moldavie ont décidés d'introduire le régime de vise pour

<sup>2</sup> Voir : Moldova suverană (ziar proguvernamental din R. Moldova, din ultimii 5 ani) <http://www.moldova-suverana.md/>



les citoyens roumains. « Nous avons décidés – précisa le Président de la République Moldavie – d'introduire des vises en relation avec la Roumanie et l'ambassadeur roumain a été déclaré *persona non grata* ». Le Président de la Moldavie a demandé à l'ambassadeur roumain de quitter le pays en 24 heures. De plus, le Président Voronin accuse la Roumanie d'implication dans les révoltes du Chisinau<sup>3</sup>.

En réalité, l'atmosphère et les événements étaient complètement différents de ceux-là affirmés par le Président Voronin. Dans ce sens, voilà comme décrit le publiciste Vitalie Ciobanu les événements: «Rage, colère, indignation, violence. Par ces paroles nous pouvons exprimer les états d'esprits qui ont éclaté dans la République Moldavie lundi et, surtout, pendant le jour de mardi, sept avril. Une immense déception post-électorale a sorti dans la rue quelques dizaines mille de jeunes hommes. Ceux-ci, initialement, ont manifestés pacifiques contre l'actuel pouvoir, en réclamant la fraude des élections de 5 avril. Il ne se sait pas qui a allumé l'étincelle des violences. Les protestataires soutiennent qu'ils ont été provoqués par la police, par les forces d'ordre qui les ont poussés sur les escaliers de la Présidence. Les représentants des forces d'ordre accusent les manifestants»<sup>4</sup>. Par la suite, on peut affirmer que le politique a un impact significatif sur le contenu, la nature et les formes de manifestations des relations entre deux États, souveraine et indépendante.

### **2. L'évolution des relations entre la Roumanie et la République Moldavie pendant l'année 2009**

Les relations entre la Roumanie et la République Moldavie pendant l'année 2009 ont été influencées par les élections parlementaires de ce pays. Le Parti Communiste de la République Moldavie était au pouvoir de l'année 2000 et il a organisé son entière campagne électorale sur la critique des partis de l'opposition qui, selon son avis, soutenus par la Roumanie, apportent des atteintes à l'indépendance et à la souveraineté de la République Moldavie, à son organisation étatique<sup>5</sup>.

En essence, l'évolution des relations entre la Roumanie et la République Moldavie dans l'année 2009 a parcouru les étapes suivantes :

**La première étape** (du début de l'année jusqu'au mois mars) dans laquelle les relations se sont déroulées relativement dans un état de normalité. Il s'agit de fait que dans la Roumanie est venu au gouvernement (décembre 2008) une coalition composée du Parti Social Démocrate et du Parti Démocrate –Libéral et le nouveau gouvernement a repris les relations avec la République Moldavie par une visite

<sup>3</sup> Voir : Republica Moldova introduce vizele pentru români. MAE, indignat de decizie, [http://www.antena3.ro/stiri/externe/vladimir-voronin-republica-moldova-introduce-vize-de-calatorie-in-relatia-cu-romania\\_68910.html](http://www.antena3.ro/stiri/externe/vladimir-voronin-republica-moldova-introduce-vize-de-calatorie-in-relatia-cu-romania_68910.html), Atac asupra Moldovei” și limbajul de război al președintelui Voronin, <http://oleg-cristal.blogspot.com/>

<sup>4</sup> Vitalie Ciobanu, Revolta anticomunistă în Republica Moldova <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-opinii-5560303-revolta-anticomunist-republica-moldova.htm>

<sup>5</sup> Voir : Adrian NASTASE, Cadrul instituțional de gestionare a relațiilor dintre România și Republica Moldova, <http://nastase.wordpress.com/2009/04/14/cadrul-institutional-de-gestionare-a-relatiilor-dintre-romania-si-republica-moldova/>



du ministre de l'Affaire Etrangere roumaine au Chisinau, occasion avec laquelle on discute les problèmes d'intérêt majeur pour les deux Etats<sup>6</sup>. Comme conséquence de certaines affirmations en ce qui concerne la République Moldavie faites par les uns d'officiels du Bucarest, le Chisinau a répondu d'une manière profondément hostile<sup>7</sup>. Ici, il s'agit de l'affirmation selon laquelle la Roumanie sera un bon avocat pour faciliter l'adhésion à la République Moldavie à l'UE. Le ministre des Affaires Etrangere de la Moldavie a dit que son pays n'a pas besoin d'avocat pour adhérer à l'UE. D'ici, les relations entre les deux pays ont commencées de devenir plus froides, plus crispées et même conflictuelles de point de vue diplomatique ;

**La deuxième étape** (du mois mars jusqu'à jours d'élection parlementaires de la Moldavie) caractérisée par des tensions et même des situations conflictuelles. L'accès des citoyens Roumains en République Moldavie, mais surtout des journalistes des journaux et de télévisions de la Roumanie, est restreint forte par les officiels du Chisinau. Les raisons invoquées par les policiers de frontière sont en contradiction totale aux normes internationales et aux ententes bilatérales entre la Roumanie et la Moldavie. Dans le jour d'élection, les policiers de frontière de la Moldavie n'ont pas aussi permis l'accès des autobus avec des étudiants de ce pays qui voulaient aller au Chisinau et chez eux<sup>8</sup> ;

**La troisième étape** (du jour d'élection jusqu'à l'organisation d'élections anticipées défini par l'attitude hostile face de la Roumanie et par un comportement anti-roumain de la part de gouvernement du Chisinau. Les élections parlementaires du 5 avril 2009 de la République Moldavie ont été gagnées par le Parti Communiste de la République Moldavie. Ce fait a mécontent une série de segments de la population du Chisinau et d'autre localités du pays qui a organisée aux jours du six et du sept avril 2009 un grand proteste qui ensuite s'est transformée en violence urbaine, les manifestants ont attaqué les sièges de certains institutions publiques (Parlement, Présidence, Gouvernement). Le Président du pays a accusé la Roumanie qu'elle a organisée ceux violences du Chisinau et il a pris la mesure d'introduire le régime de visa pour tous les citoyens Roumains qui veulent visiter la Moldavie<sup>9</sup>. En même temps, l'ambassadeur de la Roumanie au Chisinau a été déclaré persona non grata et a été obligé de quitter ce pays<sup>10</sup>. Les attaques contre la Roumanie ont aussi été continues après avoir le Parlement élu n'a pas pu désigner le nouveau Président du pays. Dans cette situation, le nouveau Parlement a décidé de s'organiser des

<sup>6</sup> Diaconescu: Relațiile dintre România și R. Moldova, tratate din perspectiva europeană, [http://www.epochtimes-romania.com/articles/2009/07/article\\_49730.html](http://www.epochtimes-romania.com/articles/2009/07/article_49730.html)

<sup>7</sup> **Diplomatia romana si campania electorala din R. Moldova** [http://www.moldova-suverana.md/index.php?subaction=showfull&id=1232977936&archive=&start\\_from=&ucat=13&](http://www.moldova-suverana.md/index.php?subaction=showfull&id=1232977936&archive=&start_from=&ucat=13&)

<sup>8</sup> Interzicerea intrării pe teritoriul RM a delegațiilor române a provocat prejudicii de 45 mln euro, PLDM <http://www.jurnal.md/article/12837/>, Asociațiile studenților basarabeni din România protestează împotriva abuzurilor autorităților de la Chișinău, <http://www.jurnal.md/article/12924/>

<sup>9</sup> Svetlana Corobceanu, Voronin ne-a închis în Republica Moldova <http://www.jurnal.md/article/15047/>

<sup>10</sup> Relații politico-diplomatice din România și Moldova, <http://www.europafm.ro/stiri/dosare/externe/tensiuni-in-moldova/relatii-politico-diplomatice-din-romania-si-moldova.html>



élection anticipées en Moldavie. Ces élections ont été planifiées pour le 29 juillet 2009. Toute la campagne électorale en Moldavie s'est déroulée sous mot d'ordre « L'attaque contre Moldavie<sup>11</sup> ». Celui-ci était un film qui a roulé en chaque localité de la Moldavie et la réaction qu'il a provoqué était de nature émotionnelle (le sang, feu, criés, coups de feu, etc.) et des sentiments (peur, insécurité personnelle et groupale, haine, patriotisme, etc.), affirme la source cite : « nous sommes attaqués par les ennemis externes (Roumanie et de groupes criminelles transfrontalière) et des ennemis de l'intérieur (l'opposition libérale). Dans les conditions de récession mondiale, que nous vivrons très forte, est naturellement que l'attention de l'opinion public soit réorienté vers les réales problèmes du pays. « L'attaque contre Moldavie » coagule la société devant d'un péril commun : « il faut défendre la Patrie », nous dit le Président Voronin. Tous les discours des représentants du Parti Communiste de la République Moldavie de la campagne des élections anticipées se sont axées sur le problème étatique de la République Moldavie qui est attaqué de l'intérieur par l'opposition et de l'extérieur par la Roumanie et la criminalité transfrontalière. Malgré ces choses, au scrutin de 29 juillet 2009 a été gagné par la coalition de partis intitulée « L'Alliance démocratique » ; elle a formée le nouveau gouvernement de la Moldavie ;

**La quatrième étape** (de l'installation de nouveau Parlement du pays jusqu'à l'élu du Président de la République Moldavie) se distingue par une série de mesures légales adoptées par le nouveau gouvernement du Chisinau pour entrer dans une situation de normalité en ce qui concerne les relations entre la Roumanie et la Moldavie. Le premier pas a été fait par élimination du régime de visa pour les Roumains. Puis, on a adopté des mesures à quant au petite trafique transfrontalière, la création de deux nouvelles consulats par la Roumanie en République Moldavie, au Cahul et au Balti, mais par la République Moldavie un consulat au Iasi. Le premier ministre de la R. Moldavie a visité la Roumanie où il se rencontre avec des officiels roumains avec qui on discute des questions d'intérêt commun. Toutes ces choses prouvent une large ouverture en ce qui concerne les relations entre la Roumanie et la Moldavie, existence d'une palette large des possibilités encore non explorées en matière de communication et relation sincère et totale entre Bucarest et Chisinau.

**La dernière étape** (de l'élu du Président du pays jusqu'à la fin de l'année 2009). Le sept décembre 2009, le Parlement n'est pas choisi le Président du pays, le monsieur Marian Lupu, le candidat de l'AIE, parce que le nombre de votes a été insuffisant. A notre avis, cette période s'est déroulée sans éléments spécifiques en ce qui concerne les relations entre la Roumanie et la Moldavie.

À présent, les relations entre la Roumanie et la République Moldavie se peuvent apprécier comme bonnes et très bonnes. Ainsi, le président de la Roumanie Traian Basescu a visité la République Moldavie en mars 2010 et le président intérimaire de la République Moldavie Mihai Ghimpu a aussi visité notre pays en avril a.c.

<sup>11</sup> Voir : *Atac asupra Moldovei*” și limbajul de război al președintelui Voronin, <http://oleg-cristal.blogspot.com/>



En même temps, les relations économiques, sociales, politiques et culturelles se développent en profit des deux Etats et les sources de tensions de l'année passée ont disparus.

La conduite prochaine de la Roumanie en relations avec la R. Moldavie

A notre avis, dans le cours de la année 2009, la Roumanie a eu face de la Moldavie une attitude et un comportement corrects, équilibrées et mures, les officiels du Bucarest en évitant le conflit génère par les gouvernants du Chisinau, en tête par le Président du pays.

Dans l'avenir, nous pensons qu'il est nécessaire que la Roumanie développer des relation politiques, économiques, culturelles, scientifiques, diplomatiques avec la R. Moldavie par respecter les suivants exigences :

R. Moldavie doit être voir et considère par la Roumanie pas comme le deuxième Etat roumain, mais comme un Etat souveraine et indépendant. La syntagme « deux Etats roumaines », soutenue par le couple Ion Iliescu-Adrian Nastase, pendant la période 200-2004, a importunée visiblement les gouvernants du Chisinau<sup>12</sup>. D'ailleurs, les relations entre les deux pays attente probablement un niveau abyssaux en décembre 2001, quand le ministre de la Justice de la République Moldavie, M. Ion Morei parle de »l'expansionnisme roumain ». Dans la même période, le Chisinau accuse le Bucarest de financer non transparent et à la tente politique des unes organisations de la Moldavie ;

Les principes, les normes et les coutumes respectées par le Bucarest dans les relations avec les autres Etats du monde doivent appliquer aussi dans le cas de la R. Moldavie. Si on désire de donner un appui plus substantiel dans un domaine d'activité, par exemple, en matière d'éducation, alors il faut élaborer et signer des accords bilatéraux par les institutions compétentes de l'Etat de ces deux pays ;

La Roumanie peut accorder appui matériel, financier, diplomatique, politique pour la République Moldavie si les dirigent légitime et légal de ce pays le demande. Dans ce contexte, nous pensons qu'il est nécessaire d'élaborer des actes normatifs clairs et pertinents par la Roumanie, à travers les institutions de l'Etat, qui doit régler juridiquement un tel appui ;

Les officiels Roumains doivent renoncer d'accorder des conseils, solution et aide non sollicités par le pouvoir légitime et légale du Chisinau. Par, exemple, l'offre de la Roumanie d'être l'avocat pour la République Moldavie dans sa voie vers l'UE a dérange les gouvernants du Chisinau. La question en ce qui concerne l'union de ces deux pays dans une seule Etat en dehors d'adhésion de la République Moldavie a l'UE nous pensons qu'il n'est pas d'actualité et ni désire en réalité par les citoyens de cet Etat, soit ils sont roumains ou d'autre nationalité. Bien sur, des déclarations on peut être fait par les politiciens des deux pays en ce qui concerne la nécessité d'union les deux Etats, mais elles ont plus un but électoral qu'un fin désire et claire défini par les populations de ces deux Etats ;

<sup>12</sup> Republica Moldova – România, o relație fluctuantă, <http://www.stiri.romanism.net/?p=1232>



La Roumanie doit élaborer sa stratégie en ce qui concerne l'évolution des relations prochaine avec la Moldavie. A notre avis, la Roumanie a l'obligation légale et morale de soutenir et d'aider tous les citoyens Roumains qui se trouvent temporaire ou définitive en dehors des actuelles frontières du pays, afin que ces-ci garder leur identité nationale. Dans ce sens, des mesures divers, concrets et cohérents doivent être appliquées tant par les institutions habilitées de l'Etat que par les organisations de la société civile.

### Conclusions

Le politique joue un rôle déterminant dans le choix de la stratégie des relations avec les autres Etats du monde, mais cette chose peut aussi être contrôlée efficacement dans un Etat de droit.

Les relations entre la Roumanie et la Moldavie doivent entrer dans le plus court temps en normalité. Les tensions et les états conflictuels sur les plans politique et diplomatique peuvent affecter profondément et sur le terme long les relations économiques, culturelles et scientifiques entre les deux pays.

Etablir une stratégie adéquate en ce qui concerne les relations entre la Roumanie et la Moldavie semble être une nécessité dans les actuelles conditions. La Roumanie, comme pays membre de l'Alliance Nord Atlantique et de l'Union européenne, a une série des responsabilités dans la région en matière de sécurité. Par la suite, son rôle de générateur de sécurité doit manifester par les relations significatives positives avec les pays de la région, y compris la République Moldavie.

Soutenir la candidature de la Moldavie pour adhérer à l'UE (bien sûr si ce pays veut obtenir un tel statut) on peut faire, à notre avis, d'une manière efficace mais discrète.

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# DECOMPENSATION, CLEARING, DECOMPRESSION AND RECOVERY PSYCHOLOGICAL

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## **Abstract**

*It is possible that some fighters acting in theaters of operations for crisis management and conflict, especially in the first months of activity, but at other times difficult, unpredictable and serious risk of meeting the mission, more states pass through or less serious psychological decompensation, amid an intense operational stress and adverse conditions. It is true that these events are rare for a professional military, which usually are well trained and psychologically for such missions. It does not follow however that there are such cases. Therefore, measures of psychological compensation, psychological decompression, to use a term that we consider appropriate in these cases, and psychological recovery are necessary and useful. Sometimes people go through such states, which can seriously affect physical and mental health and safety, without being fully aware of this and even less responsible. Therefore, both psychological preparation during the mission and the first weeks of post-mission phase, fighters acting in theaters of operations should receive assistance (assessment) appropriate psychological.*

Keywords: decompensation, compensation, decompression, psychological stress, operational

## **Psychological decompensation**

Perhaps the term is too definite psychological decompensation if psychological behavior of soldiers and others who work in the theaters of operations, but we think it is good to know that there is such a phenomenon, some of the participants in such missions can pass through different phases of his.

There are several definitions and meanings of the term “decompensation”. Thus, in psychiatry, *decompensation* period is known as a mental health deterioration in a patient with psychiatric problems, leading to a diminished ability to think and to conduct activities daily.



Neurotic decompensation, as *Grand Larousse Dictionary of Psychology* is defined in a psychodynamic perspective, as a crisis with the defenses collapse on a topic of common neurotic neurosis which was by then fairly compensated and is suddenly faced with a difficult situation or emotionally dangerous, which can not cope with the emotional level. In a theater of operations, an unexpected event - a surprise attack, an ambush, an odd occurrence or a continuously rising pressure and danger etc. May cause some fighters who have some hidden neurotic predisposition, depression powerful, strong negative emotions, even into panic.

In 1971, Y. Pelicier neurotic decompensation defined as “*a disorder of behavior, more or less acute, which occurs in the history of neurosis and is manifested through number of nonspecific symptoms*”<sup>1</sup>.

It can be about an extreme phobia diffuse, ie about a paroxysm pantofobic, the anguish of moving from one object to another, about a confusion or even a psychotic state, in general, and transient type response. Sometimes, but rarely, that decompensation can be input via a chronic psychosis in a patient particularly vulnerable.

Decompensation in psychoanalysis, refers in particular to the failure of defense mechanisms and subsequent worsening of symptoms. Even if, for diagnosis and improving the behavior fighters in a very active theater of operations is not necessarily need to appeal to psychoanalysis, is good to know its mechanisms of decompensation and decoding parameters, namely, psychological compensation.

Decompensation can be defined as functional damage of a structure or system earlier work. It may occur due to fatigue, stress, disease or old age. But for a theater of operations, the main causes of the phenomenon of decompensation is strong request, namely, the strain, the fatigue, the stress.

Decompensation is a general term frequently used in other areas, such as, for example, medicine, to describe a variety of situations. For example, *cardiac decompensation* heart failure may relate to maintaining a circulation adequate blood after a long vascular disease (heart failure). May occur in case of cardiac decompensation, or other signs (dyspnea, hepatomegaly, neck veins, increased heart rate).

*Decompensation* is therefore a reverse process is disruption of compensation and the balance from a deficit or deprivation. It is a clinical manifestation of overcoming resource depletion or functional organ injured (eg signs of heart failure, etc.).

After Selye body reaction to stress would go through the following phases<sup>2</sup>:

1. *Alarm reaction* phase corresponding psychological threat, the psychological stress of living in his absence, leading to a state of anxiety. In this phase, the hypothalamus activates the pituitary ACTH activates the adrenal glands. Generalized

<sup>1</sup> Pelicier Y., *Histoire de la psychiatrie*. P. U. F., Paris, 1971.

<sup>2</sup> H. Seyle, *Știința și viața*, București, Political publishing house, 1984, pp. 340-350.



vasoconstriction occurs. If the individual dominates the situation, the reaction stops here, otherwise passing into the second phase.

2. *Phase of impact or actual defense reaction.* At this stage, the individual comes in contact with danger. Phase is dominated by increased activity of adreno-sympathetic and sympathetic catecholamine release medulosuprarenalei. Vasodilation occurs in vital organs and the assets (heart, muscle, brain, etc.). At this stage, there is often an automatic behavior. It is considered that only 16-20% of individuals can retain their composure at this stage, the rest of reacting desorganizat (Fainting, syncope, etc.).

3. *Decompensation phase* occurs when the body can not compensate for distortions produced by stress. If possible, compensation is a post-traumatic phase, to restore balance.

Selye's essential contribution is that he proved that the general adaptation syndrome phases are identical for both physical stress (eg stress syndrome) and if the psychic, the same physiological changes that occur, hormonal, organic. Thanks to these discoveries, anxiety may be included in most psychopathological and psychosomatic reasons, she became a mediator between environmental factors and body.

For now it will discuss the social or psychological factors influence the body in terms of physiology and pathophysiology.

*Psychological anxiety* is determined by the internal dynamics of psychological processes, conscious or unconscious level.

Understanding the role of emotion on the body, had a decisive role in Freud's view on the importance psihologizantă anxiety and its role in the emergence of psychopathological manifestations. Develop accurate theory on the importance anguish came quite late in Freud's work (until 1926) and it appears initially in the form of simplistic explanations: libido runs in anguish when compulsion can not achieve satisfaction. After 10 years (1936), Freud will fully review this concept, stating that anxiety is triggered by an outside threat and is thus associated with self-preservation reflex. Thus, anxiety appears now as a true function of the *ego*, a signal that allows the mobilization of all forces available. Reproduce such anguish, emotional as a mnezică ago and can recall a disease. For Freud, anxiety manifested in the *ego* is a relationship between the world organization and *I* (pole responsible for organizing the world in the interests of the individual).

The broad concept of stress, any effort that involves a release in tension, depending on how the perception of personality that process, either in a positive sense (eustres) or negative (distress). Now occur as reactions to stress or emotional responses to somatic stimuli of any kind (heat, noise, interpersonal relationships, even the ideas and make them the future).

*Social anxiety* refers to anxiety which is a source of social factors. Importance of human society is crucial, because man, as "social entity, must integrate into society



and to its subordinate. But despite these constraints, shows Ellwanger, everyone needs a space of freedom to maintain their health, polar tension between individual and society having also creative effects, stimulating or disturbing.

So we can talk about psycho-social existence of a threshold, a common denominator for all companies, ie a *threshold of psychosocial stress*.

An important contribution of nature and social anxiety brought a different socio-genetic theories and *social learning theories* primarily *anxiety*. Learning theory considers personality as a collection of learned behaviors. It was found experimentally that the anxiety to learn, as often the other behavior. Neurotic symptom is thus a learned habit, in an anxious context (repetition of behavior causing symptoms). Although organic factors do not lose its importance, many functional symptoms can be explained by theories of learning. After Beech, anxiety appears as an impulse that leads to activity, and lowering it may occur as a reward, which underpin many psychosomatic symptoms or psychopathology. Learning to speak as “visceral” fear, the importance of feedback.

Social sources of stress are numerous and can hardly be placed in a classification. Levi Leonard<sup>3</sup> speaks of some of these sources:

- difference between environmental demands and human capacity;
- difference between the opportunities offered by environmental and real human needs;
- perception of truth, the difference between human desire and hope;
- over-stimulation and under-stimulation;

*Psychological conflict* another concept is needed to understand the mechanism of psychogenesis. The psychological conflict means a clash between forces or elements that underpin human activity. Underlying psychological conflict in the concept of *frustration*. Human life is crisscrossed by situations in which individual desires and tendencies must wait to be avoided or even to stop them. Most times, the reasons for frustration are unaware, for which the consequences occur as feelings of hatred, anxiety, anxiety, aggression. These feelings and symptoms, at first glance, have no motivation.

Sivadon<sup>4</sup> introduces an original concept of sensitivity and habituation phenomena. The stress and frustration, acting on the body, can cause in some subjects can organize a defense, which is a habit, which takes place in time. In contrast, other individuals, the same phenomenon lead to the development of sensitivity, an awareness of such that, then even weak excited to be able to determine important reactions (allergic phenomena analogy is obvious).

Barrier opposing the process of adapting the organism to stress may be active or passive and is easily overcome by a person with normal adaptive mechanisms and mature, while immaturity leads to reactions by the pleasure principle. Such a

<sup>3</sup> *Stress and Disease*, edited by Leonard Levi (1971);

<sup>4</sup> Paul Sivadon, *Traité de psychologie médicale*. Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1973



reaction is either aggression or regression. Only active conflict, internal conflict can be a real psychological (emotional attitudes that put pressure incompatible and that translates into a painful internal tension). Resolving these tensions, shows Sivadon, entails a new way of considering the situation surrounding world and the individual is enriched by a new creation, *existential angst*. In fact, outsourcing conflict and desensitization underlie most forms of psychotherapy. Conflict becomes pathogenic when internal sensitization process occurs not due, often a weak *I* (with an integrative function impairment). Psychological conflict will require adaptive potentialities of the subject, the influence of frustration is related to age and maturity of personality. Man is ultimately a biological system and its behavior is the product of social systems (Spladin and Porterfield, 1980<sup>5</sup>).

Human behavior is thus defined as a function of all dynamic processes biosociale. But while stress does the same, the behaviors of individuals differ. This particular manner, stress processing, carried out, as we see, what is called „lifestyle”, which makes each individual unique and, while very different. When individuals are forced to take part directly to sudden changes, while changes occur in their selfsystem and linked to this phenomena of crisis (especially when it requires a change in social status).

From the first studies of Freud, on psychogenesis see that in the contemporary epoch, studies in this area have evolved greatly and new studies and findings will certainly be in the future. The data set is only a few general principles and concepts psychogenesis, will then, within each entity to be discussed specific manners of psychiatric pathogenesis.

### **Transient psychological reactions to situations. Decompression and restoration**

Psychogenic reactions in the transient situations, psychological conflict is not internalize the individual having to face an obstacle external passive or active (individual can not overcome an obstacle external passive or active, lacks the means to achieve its purpose, or has an individual disability like an immature personality, with immature and inadequate defenses). In these reactions, psihotraumatizant event is understandable, and current known, and symptoms are understandable and even proportionally related to events or intensity of stressful.

Which causes mental stress reactions can occur under the following forms:

- *benign stress*, which causes reactions of short duration (seconds, minutes), very common in adolescents and can manifest itself through crying, lament, but as benign do not need medical intervention;

- *moderate stress* reactions leading to lasting several hours or days and also where medical intervention is not needed;

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.scribd.com/doc/.../Alte-boli-psihice-doc>



- *severe stress*, which causes intense and lasting effects and imposing a psychological or medical assistance.

As you can see, most psychological reactions to transient situations can not be considered pathological, on the contrary they may contribute to “oțelire” character. Depending on the context in which they lived situations, we can assist is to raise awareness, the emergence of overreactions, pathological, or the phenomenon of habituation, which increases the power of adaptive psychological mechanisms.

Ey<sup>6</sup> (1973) highlights the main manifestations of psychiatric reactions in transient situations:

- side are in direct proportion to the events complained of life;
- sensibility or anxiety threshold is abnormally low;
- symptoms manifested by violent emotional reaction;
- trigger undesirable tendencies more or less unconscious, resulting in a hyperreactive and greater psychological reactivity.

### *Etiopathogenesis*

I noted above, speaking psychogenesis generally the main characteristics of this process, the role of anxiety, stress, the psychological conflict in etiopathogenesis psihogenilor. Psychogenic reactions clearly recognize the importance of psychological trauma as a cause of psychopathological reaction, but an important role of the individual personality (same existential situation two individuals does not lead to identical reactions).

Unsuitable term, the failure processing and “metabolism” stress and restore “mental homeostasis” appears as anxiety or depression. In stressful situations, the world becomes, suddenly, an uncertain place, even terrifying. Faced with this situation, there is intense anxiety, defense mechanisms occur, sometimes exaggerated. Strong state suggestibility temporary instability causes the individual to deal with their situation, the emergence of passive-dependent regression (to protect others).

In this respect, most authors agree that emotional deprivation may create an early age, but also in other stressful situations, a state of hyperexcitability, the degree of support decreases frustration with the onset of side mild aggressive protest by denial or passivity or psychosomatic reactions.

A number of physiological and organic factors, related to rapid growth, integration of their body weights, taking the issues of sexual identification, but also environmental change, the emergence of hostile situations, the hazards and threats to weaken resistance to stress factors. Degree of maturation underlying psychological reactions to explain all cases transient. Personality crisis comes and add it to the fragile process of mental alertness.

Unsuitable term, the failure processing and “metabolism” mental stress and restore homeostasis occurs in adolescents, as anxiety or depressive moods (which may be manifested by criminal behavior, drug use, violence, striking clothing),.

<sup>6</sup> EY, H., *Traité des hallucinations*, Masson, 1973.



Pressures to adapt to society, adolescent group work, absurd claims and abstract, rejection by family or friends to contribute more fragilizării process. Anxiety occurs when frequently changing situations, misunderstood, such as those in the theaters of military operations and civil military, which creates frustration and maintain at least the phase mismatch or preadaptare, personality vulnerabilities increase wrestler young, inexperienced, found for the first time such a task.

Strong conflicts can cause a state of external insulation and vacuum inside. Establishing a negative identity before we will put a person who tends to rebel, which is hostile, rejecting contemporary bulk values, even if not directly show, which will expose him as a chronic psihotraumatizant system.

In DSM IV, stating that mental disorders related to critical situations occur in conditions of stress arising from the external environment. The more specific also need the patient was able to not have had previous psychiatric history. Show the transient nature of these transient states.

Psychological reactions to critical situations are still unclear and bulk, with, in this area, many controversies concerning the types of pathological behavior.

Many crises of life (loss, divorce, life disruption. Etc.) is often solved by the person himself or by others (most serious are suicide attempts). Often prefers to accompany a diagnosis of symptomatic diagnosis disturbing situation (depression of mourning, for example).

The first issue discussed in the literature is that of crisis. Kaplan (1996) describes four sequences of the crisis:

1. Impact phase, which lasts from several minutes to several hours. During this period, the individual appears in a state of shock or disorientation often a great distraction.

2. In the second part increases ambiguity and uncertainty, with emotion and feelings more acute as those of hatred, guilt, anxiety and depression. Responses patients are ineffective.

3. At this stage, all resources are mobilized internal and external. External environment is explored and the reconstruction is a new world, new relationships.

4. The last phase involves a long period of rebuilding and rebalancing. Direction reconstruction may be positive but may be obtained and conditions of chronical nonadaptable.

Coleman and Broen (1972) and describe them all in this framework, four acute-phase reaction:

1. *Shock stage*, in which the subject is agitated or apathetic. Awareness is often missing, and often others are accused. Stuporous states may occur with disorientation and amnesia of the traumatic event.

2. *Suggestibility stage*, in which one becomes passive, suggestion and quickly to save others, even less affected him, but not from altruism but from impulse. However, its behavior is very inefficient.



3. *The level of return*, the individual gradually regain psychological balance, often with the support of others, including using a supportive psychotherapy (made by doctors or others in entourage). In half the cases occur in this phase, the initial trauma nightmares that remind.

4. *The level of depression*. In cases with massive losses, the acute condition is followed by a long depression, with thoughts of guilt on the disaster or even survival.

In late adolescence (19-23 years) mental reactions may be largely similar to those in adults (depression reactive reagent so paranoid.). Many reactions may occur at this age under the influence of separation or individualization process. They are urgently required to change social status (marriage, beginning in the profession, change of employment status, promotion etc.). And that is young and not a wish, or not ready for it. For one who, in this situation is a theater of operations, the difficulties are even greater.

*Depressive reactions* presents the clinical picture of depression of different intensities. Fund often express depression by inactivity, fatigue, excitability, decreased appetite, weight loss. Depression occurring immediately after a failure. Subjects become inactive, emotional, anorexic. If the condition is prolonged, stress depression, subjects close to themselves, are irritable and suspicious. During the night, panic crises may occur, diffuse anxiety, state of reverie, and intellectual potential drop dramatically over this period.

*Escape reactions* have an acute, sometimes with conscience moderate dizziness, disorientation or even the form of twilight state. After some violent conflicts, often occurring between the close, the large losses in family, work group, the subunit, subjects run randomly, become aggressive when they are off, not take account of site hazards. Sometimes it manifests itself as an escape hoinăreli aimless, after which subjects they return home. In these cases the background is obviously depressed. Often, the camps of the theaters of operations, some fighters are more thought, is walking through narrow spaces, become silent, sensitive and very irritable. These states, however, go fast, since the mission requirements, thorough training, support others, camaraderie and loyalty outweigh mental failures of any kind, even when they take the stress, frustration or uncontrolled reactions to the threat. But the commander and psychologist should not rely solely on that. Known cases, especially among military professionals who have gone through terrible moments (the Vietnam war, warfare which were losses) which remained traumatized for a long time, some even for life.

*Pathological states of emotion* psihotraumă occurs immediately after, as found in the cases studied in the form of psychomotor agitation and restlessness, the impulsivity, self-destructive tendencies, even by self-mutilation or suicide, vasomotor reactions, crying, screaming. Marked agitation and autonomic responses are intense. Often taken to hospital, patients have experienced a state of dizziness, sometimes with amnesia of the episode.



*Hysterical reactions* is presented as a range of psychiatric disorders polymorphic, including the dissociation of consciousness, restlessness, disorientation, panic anxious, various forms of conversion.

Found in these forms should be added and other forms that we found recorded in the literature. Kolb, for example, describes other forms, such as:

*Withdrawal reaction* occurs after stress, emphasis traits as shyness, inhibition, apathy, etc. docile obedience. These reactions occur mainly in families (groups, sub, communities etc..) Rigid, punitive, the young (including young professional soldiers) with different physical disabilities, some hidden, others to view, which is dominated by shame emotional life and the alleged failure to exhaust levels required by the spirit of those elite family, the division, the weapon. These young people are constantly sad, sullen, prone to fantasy, social isolation, decreased opportunities for assessment of reality. If this situation continues, we see a pathological development of personality, with the final printing of these features caracteriale. Some of them reach or reckless acts are unable to withstand the stress of professional and still less the current operational theaters of operations for managing crises and armed conflicts.

*Hiperanxiety reaction* is characterized by a strong reaction to stress. This is due to behavioral patterns from childhood and developed an awareness in the context of the developed personality psihotraumatizant person. These people are characterized by excessive fear and anxiety, psychosomatic symptoms, depression, shyness. They feel inferiority, complain and subjected others to maintain their security is linked to the phenomenon of not disturbing, not to ask to not be engaged in confrontation to please. This is especially disadvantaged class of persons or of different minorities, with a low standard of aspiration, but the lower ranks of the army, especially the ordinary fighters, still snipe in the battle space.

*Aggressive and antisocial reactions* appear to some people who, after stress, become cruel, aggressive, authoritarian, but not feel guilt. Such persons shall culpabilizează others, leaving the sociability of tolerance, of comradeship and enters a state of continuous aggression and agitation unhealthy.

Ey (1973) he describes a series of psychological reactions to stress and difficult requests, traumatic. We refer, briefly, and to them, because they have a great connection with the behavior of mentally traumatized persons, including some soldiers traumatized, humiliated, scared, panic or who have witnessed horrific events. Some of these types Psychiatric reactions seem interesting, and our documentation and the work that I was very careful to operate diverse symptom which can outline.

*Confuzo-anxiety reactions* are carrying out clinical picture of stuporous state with agitation and confusion. Appear very strong stress, such as those from the very serious events, such as loss of people close, the wartime ambushes, extremely tough experience assumption generated by surprise enemy attacks, the devastating effects impressive new types of weapons, the carnage, the cruelty of clashes between clans



and, of course, many other situations limit.

*Crises istero-anxiety* are those producing less disruption generally tolerable, conscience. Crisis and anxiety is related paroxysmal psihotraumatizantă situation. In such cases, may appear intense psychosomatic reactions (diarrhea, lipotimii, dyspnea, etc.). Sometimes it is just that “emergency landing”, characterized by involuntary movements, theatrical expressions, tics, crying, screaming, etc. pantomime other phenomena. Are psychological compensation, to prevent “damage” and psychic stability.

*Anxiety psychosomatic seizures* Psychiatric side phenomena are dominated by somatic (chest constriction, glottis spasms, intestinal colic or liver). Anxiety and depression are present in such crises, but they can be controlled and improved, where they cause is unknown.

*Psychogenic psychotic reactions* occur mainly in the form of confusional states with anxiety and depression.

*Neurotic reactions* are often accompanied by autonomic responses. Symptomatology is mild, neurotic. Coleman and Broen show that both civilian life and in war, there is a traumatic neurosis that can take weeks, months and even years. In this context, it includes the following symptoms: anxiety from mild to intense acute crisis, often associated with feelings that remind initial psihotraumatizantă situation, muscle contractions, with tiredness, fatigue, insomnia, irritability and, especially, unable to bear the noise, decreased power of concentration and memory, which reproduce psihotrauma nocturnal nightmares, social withdrawal, avoidance of any situation it would be exciting, avoidance of interpersonal relationships, decreased sexual interest. After Modlin, it would be most characteristic syndrome in mental reactions to external stress. The author believes that between 10-25% of those who begin their work in the industry with such kinds of posttraumatic reactions. The percentage is somewhat lower among military professionals, as discipline, order, camaraderie, thorough preparation for the mission and, especially, strength of character and solidarity have compensatory mental functions.

*Psychogenic reaction to physical pain* may occur in situations when patients go through somatic difficult situations (eg asthma crises, injuries suffered while fighting in various accidents, etc.). Reactions are characterized by anxiety, panic, sometimes with acute character.

### Conclusion

All cases presented are affecting (sometimes very serious) human psyche. Are highly at risk, occurring after exit from normality, the appearance and intervention of factors which significantly affect or even destroy the individual's psychological balance, especially of vulnerable individuals, so poorly prepared for such experiences. Theaters of operations contain and maintain such situations, and



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## SECURITY AND DEFENCE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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personnel performing the tasks of fighting is vulnerable to operational stress, the stress of battle, especially when there is a physical and mentally strong to withstand the demands of theater. Of course, cases of soldiers who do not stand and go through psychological trauma are not many, but not missing. It is our duty, both, policy-makers, commanders, fighters, doctors, managers and psychologists to prepare soldiers to cope with psychological stress to mental decompensation not actually incurred, and when conditions appear to produce such of decompensation, to take together, their countermeasures, liquidation of consequences, and psychological compensation for the rapid restoration of physical and mental capacity.



# COHERENCE AND CONSISTENCY IN COMBATING TERRORISM

*Eugen UNGURIANU<sup>1</sup>*

## Abstract

*In this age of globalization, everything has planetary dimensions and implications. However, regarding the stability and crisis management, the most important are the areas in the first circle that is those from the direct border contact. This is one of the reasons the EU wants to have a security circle around it; that is why it has concluded or is about to conclude good neighbour agreements or strategic partnerships with all its neighbours within the European neighbourhood and partnership policy.*

*One of the objectives of these agreements and partnerships is the protection against terrorist attacks and, respectively, the war against terrorism. As for the war against terrorism, there are no priorities or borders. The EU countries together with the USA, NATO countries and other countries are part of the antiterrorist coalition. Although the most effective strategies to counteract terrorism haven't been established yet, the coalition's actions against this scourge are not without results. One of the European security strategy provisions is that the first line of defence will be far away from own borders. This concept is very similar to the defence doctrine prior to the Cold War.*

*Romania, apart from the area of interest representing the whole planet and the area bordering the EU and NATO (Romania being a bordering country to NATO and the EU), is very interested in the close neighbourhood and especially the conflict area in Transnistria, the border issues with Ukraine, the Black Sea area and the potential impact on the security environment in this area, the Caucasus and the Middle East terrorism.*

**Keywords:** *terrorism, contemporary, anti-American, anti-Western, antiterrorism, counterterrorism.*

## 1. The Cross-Border Impact of Terrorism

**W**ithout large-scale structures and infrastructures, as well as complex and ultramodern support bases, the terrorists have shown, however, that they

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are able to operate worldwide: in Central Asia, Southeast Asia, Japan, China, Russia, the Caucasus, the Balkans, Turkey, Iraq, Middle East, Africa, Western Europe, but since the attacks on September 11, 2001, less on territory of the United States.

Due to extremely rigorous measures taken by U.S. authorities, although still vulnerable to terrorism, *the U.S. territory has not been subjected, since 2001, to major terrorist attacks*. But the terrorists have not stopped to attacking the Americans and their allies and friends, wherever they managed to do so. Even if Al-Qaeda and many other organisations maintain that their favourite targets are Americans and everything connected to them, the reality is different.

The U.S. offensive against terrorism has paid off. *The terrorists can no longer succeed so easily to enter American territory. The series of major attacks, since 2001, was conducted on other meridians, but the „performance” of 2001 has never been equalled*. The American superpower was provoked, almost the same way it was provoked after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and, probably, will not stop until terrorism (a certain type of terrorism) has been destroyed or placed under control.

Contemporary terrorism, however, is predominantly anti-American and anti-Western and has several specific characteristics, the most important, we think, could be the following:

- generating and regenerating areas of networks, organisations and terrorist groups are tentacular, with flexible and dynamic branches everywhere, but mainly in western countries and in areas of strategic fault lines;
- the recruitment base of terrorists is particularly represented by the young population, educated and even resident in the West, including in Romania, who feel frustrated, alienated, discriminated against and dissatisfied and shares fundamentalist and extremist precepts, do not value life and accept martyrdom and the spirit of self-sacrifice in the name of dogmas, which, for some of their world, is indisputable;
- the contemporary terrorists' favourite targets are represented by public spaces, infrastructures, various institutions (Western or supporting the Westerners), usually, those vulnerable to such attacks or made to become vulnerable;
- increases punitive and vindictive character, on behalf of causes determined by frustrations and distorted perceptions, as well as dramatic reality.

Terrorism can not be put under the authority of principles, theories and unitary methods. It still remains a particular war, like a mosaic, characterised by stealthy actions, accurate, i.e., punctual and extremely violent, especially targeting the most vulnerable areas, and seeks humiliation, terror and continual surprise aggression of people and certain communities, as well as the destruction of some institutions that are perceived as satanic or impose rules and realities considered unacceptable for the space that generates terrorism.



### 2. Systemic *versus* Network Terrorism

The distinction between these two forms of terrorism – systemic terrorism and network terrorism – is necessary to the process of designing strategies for managing this phenomenon. Systemic terrorism, in its essence, political, ethnic, economic, informational or religious, is aimed, in general, at the response given by a system to the pressures coming from another system or, alternatively, a set of actions posing another system in a difficult situation and force it to either respond incorrectly or be made unable to fight back. It comes from incompatibilities and failures between systems and will only improve relative to the extent of the amelioration of the relationships between these systems. Basque terrorism, for example, has no prospect of attenuation or cessation, as long as the claims of Basque extremists concern the interests of Spain. In this case, solutions are hard to find. Solutions for this are hard to find, since it is difficult to suppose that Spain will ever accept the separation of the Basque territory.

Such terrorism has existed in Romania. It has manifested in various ways, particularly in the areas of Covasna and Harghita, against the ethnic Romanian population. In some stages, we saw its violent forms. Systemic terrorism, particularly in Europe, may fall significantly once the full integration of the continent has been achieved, though, on the contrary, we may witness a resurgence of this phenomenon.

Network terrorism is transnational. It is essentially a political terrorism, punitive and vindictive, even if it keeps a religious, ethnic or border resonance. Currently, its support is represented by the strategic fault line of Islam, but not necessarily in terms of its purely religious aspect.

Darius Sayegan, the Iranian philosopher, points out in *France culture* the influence of the Iranian revolution on contemporary terrorism<sup>2</sup>. He underlines that religion is no longer so important for the young people. A suggestive phrase illustrating this reality has been coined: *those who have banished religion*. They cannot express their beliefs publicly, however, because of the risk of capital punishment. Iran, says Sayegan, is a completely schizophrenic society. On the one hand, 75 % of the population up to 25 years of age, fascinated by America, Western symbols and modernity, express the need for change, for reform. On the other hand, there is a regime that cannot be reformed in any way. The only change, maintains the Iranian philosopher, may come from the outside. The Europeans and the Americans have forgotten about Iran for too long. “They did not realise the Islamic Revolution served as a model to current terrorist movements”<sup>3</sup>.

This allegation is a serious accusation brought to Iran. However, it is made by an Iranian philosopher who lives in the West. The Iranian revolution was one of the fundamental events of the late twentieth century. It changed the configuration

<sup>2</sup> Luc Chatel, *L'Iran, Al-Qaida et... Dostoïevski*, <http://www.iranfocus.com/french/modules/news/article.php?storyid=393>, accessed on 13.07.2010.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



of the world, especially in that it invented the forms and instruments of modern terrorism, making religion an ideology of war. Iran is a large country that has almost the same influence in the Muslim world as Russia used to have in the countries of Eastern Europe under socialism. Before the revolution, Iran has never had Islamic governments. *Turning religion into ideology* was the worst event that happened in the Muslim world. The Iranian Islamists took over the methodology and Marxist slogans, identifying themselves as anti-Western and anti-imperialist combatants. Revolutionary courts were established and a Leninist phrase was set into operation: Monarchy will be thrown in the trashcan of history. One of this revolution slogans read: "Neither the East nor the West: an Islamic republic." It was thought that this is a new spirituality politics, a third way, which could only be attractive to some Iranians.

Al Qaeda is not an Islamic phenomenon. The individuals in this network, says Darius Sayegan, appear more like characters from Dostoyevsky's *Demons* rather than the Ismaelian terrorists of the twelfth century, whose murderous actions had very precise objectives. Ismaelian terrorism was not blind. Al-Qaeda terrorists deny everything, destroy everything, including the Western, modern values.

The events in India are also serious. Throughout its history, this country has never known a Hindu fundamentalism. Hinduism has always been a large space integrating all sorts of beliefs. Today, Hindu fundamentalism is a response to Muslim fundamentalism, and this is very dangerous. However, we must point out that India is not and has never been a country that generates fundamentalism or terrorism. It is, however, one of the most ideal places for the manifestation of religious fundamentalism, precisely because it appears as a civilization still based on caste and rules unchanged for thousands of years, yet officially this reality is no longer recognised. Al-Qaeda does not seem to have an agenda based on a clear political strategy, but rather appears to be based on an opportunistic type of activism, hitting at any time it can in order to create terror and to demonstrate that all military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan have no effect<sup>4</sup>.

After September 11, 2001, the Al-Qaeda group have been assigned, or they themselves assumed responsibility for a series of bombings and terrorist attacks such as that in Madrid, in March 2004, the actions in Iraq, carried out by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, located in Falluja, the bombings in Bali (October 2002), in Casablanca, in May 2003, in Istanbul, in November 2003, those in Saudi Arabia, in May 2004, and so on. With regard to Al-Qaeda, some say we only know what we can see. In reality, we are dealing with a tentacular organisation, constituted long before 11 September 2001, which has an Internet messaging system, numerous staff and sufficient means.

If this is so, then why do they not act on a larger scale? The organisation may have weakened greatly from numerous blows suffered. Anyway, around them, a legend that far exceeds reality has been woven.

Olivier Roy divides the attacks assigned to the Al-Qaeda into two categories:

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<sup>4</sup> Olivier Roy, *Al-Qaida, label ou organisation?*, [www.monde-diplomatique.fr](http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr), accessed on 14.07.2010.



international and domestic. The international ones are committed by international groups acting everywhere in the world (New York, Washington, Madrid, etc., as well as those foiled in Los Angeles, Paris, Strasbourg), and the domestic ones are the responsibility of groups acting on their home territory, usually, against Western targets (Casablanca, Bali, Istanbul). According to Olivier Roy, the 'internationalists' are the old fighters in Afghanistan. Even some of those who are active in Iraq now come from these old Afghani fighters. Moreover, the Al-Qaeda itself is based on an association of former combatants in the wars conducted in Afghanistan. After the bombing of Afghanistan and the placing of U.S. and NATO forces, the hard core of the organisation could no longer be renewed. Many of these old fighters were killed or arrested. This nucleus is composed of militants from the Middle East, called to fight against the Soviets since 1980. They were supported, at that time, by the Americans. The most important part of the Al-Qaeda is composed of two types of fighters: Bin Laden's guard (some members have followed him for many years) and young people who come from everywhere, especially between 1997 and 2001, but also after 2001. Many of those who have followed Bin Laden in Yemen and the Sudan have been killed or arrested. Among them are: Sheikh Mohamed, Wadih el-Hage, Mohamed Odeh, Abu Hafs al-Masri (Mohammad Atef), Suleyman Abu Gayth, Abu Zubeyda, etc. They all shared the same life. Bin Laden's daughter married Mohammad Atef. From all of them, only Bin Laden and Ayman Al-Zawahiri were left.

The young guard appeared after 1992 and increased, especially after 1996, when the Taliban captured the power in Afghanistan. For the most part, those who composed the young guard have been trained in the West; some of them married and even were granted citizenship in the respective countries. There has been a return of these people to their spiritual roots, i.e., religious feelings, but to fundamentalist positions and political radicalisation. The four pilots are among these. Olivier Roy points out that very few of those who committed the attacks in the West come directly from Muslim countries (with the exception of those who participated in the bombings in Istanbul, in November 2003, who are from Turkey).

Most of them come from Western countries. They will never return to the Muslim countries whence they came and where their original families are. For example, none of the terrorists from the Armed Islamic Group (AIG) ever returned to Algeria. They are fighters for the *jihad*, especially for peripheral jihad (Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya), not the Middle. After exploits committed in these places, they returned to Europe. This is a very interesting finding. Hence, the Muslim countries do not generate terrorism, but a category of Muslims become militant in the West, who have benefited from the advantages of Western democracies and their system of instruction. It is a very curious way in which those who left home and trained in the West are trying to help their home places or original ideas. But this reality is not exactly new. In the past, in fact in all times, those who were educated in the West, either returned home becoming important people or remained in the West, but, one



way or another, they continued to serve their country. Bin Laden has been entrusted, perhaps by 1997, control of Arab training camps in Afghanistan, less those of Uzbek and Pakistani. In other words, any Arab terrorist who was not Uzbek or Pakistani was under bin Laden's control.

Some of the young people who would be trained in Afghanistan went to or came from the West to commit killing attempts, the others would remain in Afghanistan to fight together with the Taliban, against Masaud. Some of the latter were arrested in Afghanistan and taken to the camp at Guantanamo, but Western justice was faced with great difficulty in finding them any charges other than being part of the Taliban camp. The Al-Qaeda network has a certain flexibility based on close, friendly relationships between comrades in arms on the one hand and the community spirit animating all those who are members of this organisation on the other. The group effect is very important here. Since they are radicals, they radicalize this effect, too.

Almost everything that falls under the Al-Qaeda - staff, hard-core, basic cells, transnational networks, chain of command - is based on personal relationships, built and tested both in Afghanistan, as well as in other places where they work together. This spirit permeates the network and is part of the lifestyle of the Al-Qaeda terrorists. The only thing is their area of operation in Afghanistan has been destroyed and, currently moment, there is no another place where veterans can group and act together. Moreover, given the above, the police and numerous other forces that fight terrorism are able to detect and arrest all these 'internationalists.' Another area of operation is not easy to create. Wherever they may try to build it, it is going to be hit with precision. Thus, day by day, the Al Qaeda is worn down, hit and destroyed by a war of attrition (wearing down) that does not give terrorists any opportunity to regroup, rebuild, revitalise. It may be one of the few areas where the Americans use or accept the use of an indirect strategy.

This offensive of a particular type – of attrition (wearing down) – is fruitful. The terrorists are put under strict surveillance, looked for everywhere, especially by the special services of all the countries making up the antiterrorist coalition, but also by the specialists in the fight against terrorism from other countries, and hit without mercy. The Al-Qaeda cannot strengthen themselves under the circumstances, but, at the most, they can try to survive, acting only in 'emergency' or maintenance mode. For terrorism cannot be maintained unless it is active, unless it creates terror. It is highly likely that the reaction of the West so far, as well as that of Russia, China and other countries affected by terrorism, has caused, within terrorist networks and organisations, a change of paradigm and a search for simple and ingenious ways of committing spectacular acts, within the limits of the resources they still have.

To escape from this impasse, Al-Qaeda may resort to the following:

- enlarge their recruitment base;
- use alliances with other terrorist groups and networks;
- find support in local groups, organisations and networks;



- develop a policy and, accordingly, a medium and long term strategy in order to use all opportunities and all the predispositions of those who adhere to such;
- create efficient, or at least surprising, means of combat;
- try to develop or obtain weapons of mass destruction or some components thereof;
- search for locations in areas hitting them is not allowed, especially in countries with a strong internal terrorism or in areas of strategic fault lines, and also in areas where their presence can not be suspected, such as Romania;
- create a system of “itinerant locations”, using modern means of communication;
- resorting to attacks in cyberspace.

If they clearly and precisely define their political objectives (if they make up a policy), the Al Qaeda may use, in the near future, the following types of strategies associated with them:

- strategies for dissemination and dissimulation (strategies of stratagems);
- alliance strategies;
- banditry strategies.

All these are asymmetric strategies that are closely related to the vulnerability of the society and civilization that terrorists hate and want to attack and destroy or control it. It is possible, however, the Al-Qaeda will disappear (as reality), remaining as a symbol. In this case, terrorism will either undergo resurgence by super-activation of local networks and organisations, or fall significantly for a long time.

It is also possible that new forms may come up, new networks and terrorist organisations of a completely different kind, such as, for example, genetic, biological and cyber terrorism. Meanwhile, neo-fundamentalists (who are not followers of the jihad), such as the *tablighi jamaat* (Islamic propagation society, present in the Saudi Arabia, Morocco and the Indian Ocean countries) or even Hizb ut-Tahrir will probably move to individual actions. The dynamics of organisations, networks and terrorist groups is very large and very strange. The attacks in Tashkent, in July 2004, might be the responsibility not only of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, who fought alongside the Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan against the Americans, but also of dissidents in Hizb ut-Tahrir.

The Al-Qaeda veterans (those who remained alive) may create, in their turn, networks and organisations to revive the spirit of the Al-Qaeda and set out their own modes of action that will require new investigations on behalf of the Western society and will involve new conflict situations. What happens now in Iraq is, on the one hand, a strong blow received by terrorists and, on the other, an exercise for their future campaigns. However, the theatre of operations in Iraq does not and cannot appeal to terrorists. Terrorism is not so strong as to be able to bring about and sustain a long-term *guerrilla war*. The international community is increasingly controlling more spaces where terrorist organisations and networks could be revived



and, therefore, it will be hard for the terrorists to continue and sustain this war. This is the moment when the world unites against terrorism and, perhaps, terrorism will not have too many chances left, in its current form, but it will not disappear too easily. Many years from now, it will be one of the most dangerous threats to the security of the ordinary citizen and democratic institutions.

### 3. Fault-Line Terrorism and the Fight against It

The phenomenon of fault-line terrorism<sup>5</sup> fault is defined by a huge margin of secondary effects that, in the social and international dynamics, have more and more the true value of a moral and social circumvolution. In this marginal area, vital centres and strategies for the destruction of value systems are created, either for demonstrating the existence of destructive forces that can not be annihilated or equalled, or for replacing these systems of values with their opposite. However, their opposite is neither clear, nor unitary and nor flexible. It looks like a mosaic of ideologies, politics, religious passions, grudges and pathologies and expresses itself through actions pushed to the final limit.

In general, these actions do not come only from the camp of the dissatisfied, of the opponents to democracy and capitalism, liberty and technological and informational civilization, the psychopaths and socially degraded, but also from an intolerant and exclusivist ideology, inflexibility, idolatry, the absurd and cult of violence. The phenomenon of terrorism is a system of causes and determinism that come from the dramatic realities of this world, its troubles, its uncovered faults, from the consequences of unfinished wars, from exacerbated humiliation that cannot be forgotten, and from all sorts of other interests.

Terrorism appears as an extremely complex phenomenon, consisting of spectacular manifestation of violence, in order to draw attention, to frighten, to try and induce a certain type of behaviour, sometimes simply to bully, through a wide variety of actions brought to the limit, in which man is both weapon and victim, executioner and condemned. Terrorist threats and risks have no limitations. The main “weapon” of terrorism is not only man himself, the desperate or manipulated man, i.e., brought to a state of despair or revenge, but also the “demiurge” man, the punitive man, the executioner, who sees himself intended and destined to fulfil an ultimate mission, to sacrifice himself or anybody else in order to carry out a task that comes from an area considered as sacred, a world that dominates him and is meant to destroy the real one as quickly and violently possible and, obviously, replace it<sup>6</sup>. And this is possible especially in areas where, for centuries, there have been limits hard to exceed, accepted or imposed limitations and faults.

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<sup>5</sup> Phd Gheorghe Văduva, *contemporary Terrorism - risk factor to security and national defense, under NATO Romania's membership status*, University of National Defense „Carol I”, Bucharest, 2005, pp 30- 32

<sup>6</sup> Security Center for Strategic Studies, *Terrorism. Geopolitical and geo-strategic dimension. The terrorist War , The war against terrorism*, AISM Publishing, Delhi, 2004, p. 18.



The main characteristics of fault line terrorism<sup>7</sup> are not essentially different from those of traditional terrorism of all time, but are more acute and more pressing. They result from the effect of fault and manifest themselves through strategies and tactics from the sphere of ingenious asymmetry, violent, ruthless, vindictive, surprising and cold. By extension, fault line terrorism may affect the Dniester and the Black Sea region, as well as Romania. Counteracting fault line terrorism can only be achieved by abolishing faults, but such a process is lengthy and involves the renunciation of force policies, of influence, threat, and also of the revanchist spirit or the so-called 'historical mission' to correct errors and punish the guilty.

Fighting fault line terrorism can not be achieved only by means of destroying terrorist networks and organisations, as this would mean only an action on some of the effects, but not on the effects regenerating the causes and not on the very causes.

The fight against this type of terrorism – which has a global dimension and strategic effects – must begin with its re-identification and knowledge on faults, and this exceeds the powers of the institutions of force and even those of policy makers. More multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary scientific research is necessary, along with the commitment of significant resources and especially time.

### 4. Operations against Terrorism

Armies together with other forces involved in the war on terror conduct operations against terrorism. These operations are of a special type and only slightly resemble the offensive or defensive operations in traditional war or even special operations.<sup>8</sup> The special operations against terrorism have to be designed in such a way as to respond promptly to the requirements of the new type of confrontation. They may have strategic or operational level and can be deployed by the allied military structures, coalitions or groups of national. In addition, they can be military operations, civil-military operations, international, regional or national. They may precede a classic war; some may run concurrently with military operations in theatres or in post conflict situations. As they are actions against terrorism, such operations can take place any time. However, they are distinct moments in the war against terrorism and are characterized by the following:

- variable scope;
- high or adequate intensity, usually adapted to conditions;
- cooperation between army branches;
- antiterrorist, counterterrorist, anti-criminal, against organised crime, mafia

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<sup>7</sup> Fault-line terrorism is generated, on one hand, by the fault-line areas, definite (actual) breaks among interests and cultures (caused or induced), its effects manifesting on all continents and in all areas. On the other hand, it is the terrorism specific to these areas, arising from them and having effects beyond them as well, in the civilised world.

<sup>8</sup> Gheorghe Văduva, *Methods of preparation and conducting operations by Romania army to carry out missions under the action of terrorist elements*, University of National Defense „Carol I” Publishing, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 28 45.



and trafficking networks;

- military or military-civilian;
- very large territorial area;
- diversity of action.

The forces taking part into operations against terrorism are, or could be, the following:

- intelligence structures;
- the army;
- the gendarmerie;
- the police;
- special protection and security military structures;
- other structures of force (brigades and anti-terrorist squads, protection, security and order structures, etc.);
- private companies and NGOs, etc.

These structures may receive different missions, according to predetermined plans and concrete situations. However, the strategies to combat terrorism must be flexible and easily adaptable to specific situations.

The most difficult tasks assigned intelligence structures. They must always keep the phenomenon of terrorism under surveillance and provide sufficient data for policy makers and the military to enable them to take the correct decisions. The armies are not forces designed for war against terrorism. Their mission is completely different. However, one cannot choose but employ them in this type of war. Yet, besides special forces and information sensors, they have structures able to work in symmetry with networks and terrorist groups. It remains to be seen whether, in the future, they will create such special structures on their own, fully engaging in combating terrorism, or they will act according to their specificity.

Armies can take part in special operations against terrorism as the main forces (who organize and lead such operations) or as striking forces, for the destruction of structures and centres of gravity of terrorist networks.

This double aspect involves:

a) As the main force organizing, leading and conducting such operations, armies can carry out, according to the objectives and goals set out by policymakers, the following tasks:

- detection, by information sensor grid and special forces, bases, of training centres and bases for organisations and terrorist networks;
- hitting, by military means, particularly by air force and special forces, of vital centres, training bases, warehouses and terrorist infrastructure in fault zones and wherever they find them<sup>9</sup>, as they are discovered and identified step by step, and obtain permission from the country or countries in which these operate, mostly in

<sup>9</sup> Failure to give this accord is construed as that specific country shelters and supports terrorist networks and they may be deemed inimical and be attacked by military means (Afghanistan, Iraq), as the current terrorist war and the counter-terrorist war are in progress.



cooperation with the armed forces of those countries;

- opening war (armed combat) against countries and political regimes that practise, shelter, sponsor and support terrorist activities;
- participation in operations to search and destroy of terrorist networks and bases in fault zones;
- conducting special operations against terrorism.

As striking forces, for the destruction of centres of gravity of terrorist networks and structures:

- striking the centre of gravity of terrorist organisations and networks;
- participation with special forces in operations to search and destroy terrorist groups and networks.

This second mission can be summarised as follows:

- search and destroy, by Rangers, Scouts, Marines, research facilities and air strikes, sea-air or ground-air, etc., of terrorist groups' and networks' bases and hideouts in the mountains, lagoons, islands, at sea, on rivers and inland rivers, etc.;
- logistical and technical and intelligence support of other structures specialized in combating terrorism. Of course, armies can perform other missions in the war against terrorism, some direct, such as attacks against bases and networks of terrorist groups, other indirect, of the kind taking place in Afghanistan at this time.

### 5. Romania's Role in Combating Terrorism

The main *dangers and even threats* to Romania fall into the overall dangers and threats to NATO and the European Union. Their specificity for Romania lies in the practical ways of designing and conducting terrorist activities and attacks or supporting networks or organisations and terrorist groups. In this respect, the most likely activities and actions could be the following:

- a) in support of terrorist actions:
  - creation of sources and networks for sponsoring terrorism;
  - establishment of bases or infrastructure elements (storage, hideouts, conspiratorial places, etc.);
  - setting up of limited training centres (specific) for some terrorists or teams (groups), especially for use of chemical and biological means;
  - creation of network nodes, transit systems or starting points in preparation of terrorist actions in the area or in some Western countries;
  - preparation of places for the regrouping of terrorists following attacks in the area;
  - creation of centres or places for the recruitment of terrorists from among Arabs and Muslims studying or on other assignments in Romania, but also among Romanians;
  - use of Romanian trained personnel for these purposes and, for one reason or



another, made redundant;

- gathering of intelligence for terrorist networks and organisations.

b) against public figures from outside Romanian territory:

- attacks against public figures, especially British and American, on Romanian soil;

- attacks on foreign embassies;

- attacks on American tourists, British, Hebrew, Russian and other groups of tourists visiting Romania or in transit through Romanian territory;

- attacks on foreign economic objectives built on Romanian territory.

c) against Romanians:

Owing to our good relations with the Arab world, on a short and medium term, we may have to deal with particular attacks against the Romanians. These attacks are still possible due to the participation of Romania in the coalition against terror, the strategic partnership with the Americans and the good ties with countries considered hostile by fundamentalists.

Among the terrorist actions against Romanians, the most likely could be the following:

- attacks against Romanian troops in Iraq and Afghanistan;

- attacks on Romanian objectives (economic, cultural, diplomatic, etc.) abroad;

- attacks on Romanian communities who work abroad;

- attacks on economic targets, political, or cultural on national territory;

- bombings or attacks by other means on some public places, etc.

As it is directly engaged in combating terrorism, Romania should consider, perhaps, an increase in terrorist activities and actions, or activities in support of terrorism that may have a direct or indirect effect.

The counter-terrorism strategy adopted by NATO and the European Union implies that Romania has special responsibilities. They cover both the defence of the country, and the protection of NATO's and the EU interests in Romania, and our country's effective action within the anti-terrorism coalition. Our country can take part in actions to combat terrorism in all the strategic, tactical and operational sections and by all appropriate means.






The fight against economic and social crime, elimination of corruption, reduction of crime, creation of a safe business environment, well protected (by law, as well as through specific action), destruction of smuggling networks and border security are only some of the measures absolutely necessary to disable an environment favourable to terrorism. On 15 April 2004, the Supreme Defence Council approved the *National Terrorist Alert System*, proposed by the Romanian Intelligence Service as the appropriate means to prevent, deter, and combat actions meant to prepare and conduct possible attacks on Romanian territory<sup>10</sup>. It includes, in ascending order, five degrees of alert (1 – green; 2 – blue; 3 – yellow; 4 – orange; 5 – red) and refers to the

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.sri.ro/>, *National terrorist alert system*.



dangers of terrorist attacks, according to the information available.

THE NATIONAL TERRORIST ALERT SYSTEM	
	CRITICAL (red) – Available intelligence and recent events indicate an imminent risk of attack.
	HIGH (orange) – Available intelligence and recent events indicate a significant risk of attack and estimates that an attack is probably expected.
	MODERATE (yellow) – Available intelligence and recent events indicate a general risk of attack and estimates that an attack is possible.
	CAUTIOUS (blue) – Available intelligence and recent events indicate a low risk of attack.
	LOW (green) - Available intelligence and recent events indicate an attack is unlikely.

Source: R.I.S. – National Authority on Terrorism

In order to combat terrorism, the RIS – i.e. the National Authority on terrorism – implemented the *Department for Preventing and Combating Terrorism*, responsible for planning, organising and executing in a unified conception, the prevention, detection, neutralisation and annihilation of terrorist actions in Romania. The strategy of this department is designed to supplement and reorient tactical directions, required by the effective protection of national territory from the new manifestations of the phenomenon of terrorism by promoting, on the one hand, under its assumed powers, a nationally integrated conception and, on the other hand, along the lines of external cooperation, in order to combat all forms of terrorism, especially the Islamic-fundamentalist terrorism, the religious and separatist ones, bio-terrorism, aiming at the prevention of terrorist acts on our territory, the establishment of logistics bases and branches of international extremist terrorist organisations. Also, our country's engagement in terms of discouraging states that support or sponsor terrorism involves constant efforts of valuing prevention in fighting terrorism, as well as the effective resizing of specific activity in the field, in the line of countering the sources feeding and maintaining the terrorist phenomenon.<sup>11</sup>

Romania participates directly in the crisis management actions, as well as those to combat terrorism, with military, gendarmerie and police forces in active theatres of operations and, also, with services and specialized structures.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*



### 6. The Role and Place of the Military Institution in Combating Terrorism

Even if the main function of the military institution is not fighting terrorism, under the present circumstances, virtually all the armies in the world are directly involved in the management and combat of this phenomenon. As stated in the communiqué of the Summit in Istanbul, the fight against terrorism will continue to be multiform and global and will run through political, diplomatic, economic, and, if necessary, military means.<sup>12</sup>

“The defence against terrorism includes a series of operations by the military forces of NATO, based on the decision of the North Atlantic Council, in order to prevent and disrupt terrorist attacks or threats conducted against the population from outside the territory, infrastructure and forces of any member state, in order to defend and protect themselves against these, including the taking of measures against terrorists and those who shelter them.”<sup>13</sup>

Hence, the horizon of action and the missions incumbent upon the armed forces in combating terrorism are very clear.

Through its structures and functions, the Romanian Army respond quickly to these requirements, being present in the theatres of operations and preparing specifically to meet a wide variety of missions against terrorism. These requirements are found in the doctrines of all categories of armed forces and in a special doctrine on fighting terrorism.

### 7. Another Way to Combat Terrorism

Since 11 September 2001, the world is different. The world understood that it can never and anywhere be invulnerable. All the offensive weapons, from ballistic missiles to strategic bomber air force and the long-disputed missile shields, all the strategic arms, all the efforts to reach a strategic balance, safety and strategic security, have failed. Anyone can attack anyone. With a knife, a gun, an explosive charge, an IED (improvised explosive device), a bit or an idea. Everybody felt empty inside and out, anxiety has grown, distrust has proliferated, security has crumbled, the reinforced glass bowl is shattered. But the world has come out relatively quickly of this fear and accepted this reality.

The subsequent attacks in Madrid, in Beslan, in London, from Istanbul to Moscow and other places have never had the diabolical “brilliance” of 11 September 2001. And any others will not be able to have it. The attacks on 11 September 2001 will be unique in human history. In the first year of the third millennium, they have recalled a primitive, ancestral fear. They brought back to life the idea of *Homo homini*

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<sup>12</sup> Communiqué du Sommet d'Istanbul, released by head of states and governments participating in the North Atlantic Treaty Council, Istanbul, 28 June 2004, <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-096f.htm>, accessed on 14.07.2010.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



*lupus*, which had become a kind of form without content, given that Protagoras' motto turned into reality, man is really the measure of all things, as well as the most precious value of the human environment.

We thought that, after 11 September 11 2001, trust has disappeared and the rest of us, the non-terrorists, normal people, will see every individual carrying briefcase a possible suicide terrorist. Just like we would see, at end of December 1989, a possible terrorist - will suddenly pull out a gun and shoot passers-by - in every single person in the street walking with his hand in his pockets. We had this cautious and controlled fear, although we knew for a fact that such a thing had not happened that way, but in a more subtle one...

People came quickly out from their anxiety, without having left doubt aside. At least in our country, but also in other European capitals, people's first care is neither terrorism, nor the defence against it or fighting it. There are other issues that pose challenges, immediate risks and threats, which make their lives complicated. To mention only some of them, there is the depression, redundancies, the uncertainty of tomorrow, the excessive bureaucracy, the illegal migration, the resurgence of extremism and separatism, the battle for markets and resources ... And the list goes on. Of course, ultimately, these are all forms of terrorism, too. But they are not exploding mines and car bombs, although they create stress, uncertainty, and fatigue.

Certainly, there are places on the planet where it seems that life has no value. For hundreds of years, Shiites and Sunnis continue to fight each other, Palestinians commit suicide just in front of Tsahal's attacks or disproportionate reaction, without obtaining anything other than death or a life in poverty, insecurity, misery and terror. Palestinian terrorism affects not only Israelis but also Palestinians themselves. Those who suffer most from Palestinian terror acts, which they consider acts of heroism, of extreme commitment to an ideal worth dying for, are the very Palestinians. Palestinians do not recognize the Israeli state. However, this state exists, it is recognised worldwide, has nuclear weapons and the latest generation weaponry systems and they believe that it was not simply created by the Europeans after World War II but it was revived in the Promised Land... Moreover, the state of Israel is supported by the United States and the European Union; it has definitely won all the wars with the Arab countries around it and is unlikely to lose in the future. Then why do not the Palestinians and Hezbollah formations admit that reality?

It is hard to say! The absurd philosophy of the world! The impossibility of reconciliation between opposite sides! The great mined fields of collective memory! The fantasies of history! The projections and bizarre representations of good and evil! An existence within an oxymoron. A conflict between Life and Idea. Sometimes, the Idea beats Life. Especially when it is not merely an Idea, but a creed, a dogma, an imperative. Some people still live in categorical imperatives. Not in Kant's *Sollen*, but in a *must* generated by the impossible return to the roots, the non-acceptance of becoming, of transformation. World's war against the world. The battle between



a *modus vivendi* and another *modus vivendi*, between a *modus cognoscendi* and another *modus cognoscendi*. The tiny mental *apeiron* generating psychic chaos, decompression and anxiety. Fury. And the creation of a new kind of lucidity. A negative lucidity, under the horizontal axis, but symmetrical with the lucidity we know. A lucidity of opposites, negation, destruction...

Perhaps, before continuing bitterness crunch in this fault effect, we should go back to some ubiquitous truths and accept them as they are:

- any system evolving towards a higher state, humanity is prone to conflict, since conflict generates movement, development, transformation;
- terrorism is part of the human nature, as man is the only terrorist being on this planet and there is no chance that he leaves this state and accept linearity, non-convulsion, harmony and peace;
- terrorism is an endogenous phenomenon, it belongs to the world, human society, it is a product, a condition of the latter, which waxes and wanes depending on many factors (economic, political, social, psychological, etc.), which, unfortunately, mankind is not ready to take into account and those in charge with the management of its status and operate only with large numbers are even less inclined to do so;
- human society generates terrorism as easily as it generates harmony, wealth, love and hatred;
- terrorism is a venomous bite given by fantastic snakes lurking in the shadow or just fanatics who grow among us just like weed or deadly nightshade;
- terrorism for some is heroism for others, etc.

One way or another, everybody practises terrorism. And again, terrorism, regardless of its form (individual, network, group, state, cross-border, interstate, disproportionably asymmetrical, etc.), produces victims and chain effects.

Most terrorists - at least among the left - are educated people with a linear mind and a very strong character, inflexible and tenacious. Inflexibility, as predisposition, as well as reality, as a fact, leads easily to fanaticism. This is because terrorists are people clinging to the ideal, on the horizon. Immediate reality is not important to them, only its denial in the name of an ideal reality and a real ideality, both of them construed on inflexible axioms, on dogmas. The dogmatic knowledge Blaga was talking about suits them only in part. They are not generators, demiurges, but mere instruments, weapons. They have no ideals, but ideal. They cannot see space and do not perceive time, duration, but moment. The moment that breaks, destroys, creator of conditions for an ideal reality. The terrorists are not only extremist and fanatics. They are living weapons of extremism and fanaticism. A terrorist *modus vivendi* has almost no relation to a normal *modus vivendi*. The terrorists are kamikaze fighters. They fight for their own ideas. Their lives do not matter. All that matters is the effect of sacrifice. Wearing an explosive suicide vest and detonate it on a bus seems demented, derailed, madness. For them, it is their only duty. Most of those who do it do not perceive victims as people whose life is unjustly taken. They will only



perceive the idea of effect. Shattering. Fury. Chaos. Destruction.

They are not the only ones thinking like that. Many other people, some in very important positions, not give a damn about the man in the street. They are just numbers. Today, very few people still have the patience to go beyond what is seen. Therefore, the fanatical terrorist psychology is not too far from that of the fanatical civil servant, the fanatic clerk who does not see the person he is serving as fellow human being, but a possible tax evader, a criminal or, worse, a nobody.

School, family, people of value have been fighting for hundreds of years with such fanaticism, create works or art, school systems, create value. Unfortunately, terrorists are immune to the ontology of normality. They have a different ontology, because they have other horizons. Wheat and chaff are mixed together and, if we want, we are able to separate the grains. Things are different with terrorists. One cannot distinguish them; they are no different from ordinary people. They only have different ideals. And those... one can not identify. But these ideals are not genetic. They do not come from their genes and are not inherited from generation to generation.

Terrorists become terrorists because society creates the conditions, assumptions and factors leading to the rise of terrorism. The uncertainty of tomorrow, ruthless battle between the interests, huge divide between the rich and the poor, the chaotic evolution in certain environments, the battle for markets and resources, the increasing pressures to exerted just about everywhere, the exclusions and labelling and, especially, the power struggle create conditions for the proliferation of terrorism in all its forms and formulas.

The fight of the world against this phenomenon that the world itself has created bears a strong resemblance to the world's great powers effort to make missile defence systems in order to protect themselves from the ballistic missiles they themselves have created.



# THE INSECURITY EFFECTS OF THE VULCAN EYJALJÖLL ERUPTION'S FROM ISLAND

*Gheorghe VĂDUVA PhD*

## Abstract

*Iceland is an isle located in the North Atlantic Ocean on the Mid-Atlantic Ridge. In addition to this, this part of the mid-ocean ridge is located atop a mantle plume causing Iceland to be subaerial. Iceland marks the boundary between both the Eurasian Plate and the North American Plate since it has been created by rifting, and accretion through volcanism, along the Mid-Atlantic Ridge—where the two plates meet. It is one of the most active regions from the world from the seismic point of view. It has over 200 volcano and 600 hot water sources. This reality has extremely complicated and complex implications. It encompasses both a threat and a component of a special *modus vivendi*, with its dangers, risks and advantages. Of course, Iceland takes advantages from this situation and uses the geophysical energy from this crevice. This geophysical energy produces electricity, hot water and helps an adequate heating system. In other words, this situation helps Iceland to realize, with low costs, its energetic security. The recent eruption of the Eyjafjöll (or Eyjafalla) volcano – located nearby the Eyjafjallajökull glacier – changed radically the situation and worries the volcanists.<sup>1</sup>*

Tags: Iceland, vulcan, volcanism, Eyjafjallajökull glacier, eruption

## After 189 years

This volcano is located on the southern part of island, 160 kilometers South-East from city Reykjavik. He is a strato-volcano meaning that he is composing from tiers of ash, lava and rocks coming from previous eruptions. The current eruption started on Saturday night, March 20<sup>th</sup> 2010. The volcano, before the eruption, was covered by an ice cap (Eyjafjallajökull glacier), like the rest of the Iceland territory. This mountain has 1,666 meters high. Last eruption took over in 1821 and last more than a year.

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<sup>1</sup> L'éruption du volcan islandais Eyjafjöll suscite l'inquiétude, <http://www.notre-planete.info/actualites/actu2318eruptionvolcanEyjafjollIslande.php>



The eruption came up not on the top of volcano but on a lateral crater called Fimmvorduhals, located at 1,100 meters high, through a cleft 800 meters long. The eruption's level was over 200 meters, the magma having a temperature higher than 1000 grade Celsius.

This new eruption generated at least 4 major dangers to which are associated the correspondent risks:

- an intensive volcanic cloud, composed from volcanic ash;
- toxic gas emissions, even lethal, especially for animals;
- floods produced by the melting of the ice cap of volcano;
- the generation of icebergs as the results of the explosion which fragmentized the ice cap and the floating ice along the coast.

The very quick melting of the ice cap from the volcanic mountain generates lahars<sup>2</sup> which will have the most dramatic results. The lahars produced by the 1985 eruption of Nevado Del Ruiz volcano from Anzi Cordelier Mountains caused the death of 25,000 people.

In the night of March 22<sup>nd</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup>, after the eruption of Eyjafjöll volcano from Iceland, the impact between magma which came out from crevice and the ice cap which covers the volcanic mountain ended with an explosion. This explosion also generated a spout of water, vapors, ash and magma particle of 7 kilometers high. The analysis showed that the magma has basaltic origin and comes from depths. This magma was blending with siliceous subsidence from previous eruption. The big ice parts came off due to the explosion ended in ocean, affecting the navigation security, especially the Iceland fishermen.

Indubitable, the new lava deposits will create a new mountain. National Land Survey of Iceland waits already the population's suggestions regarding the name which this new mountain should be named.

Yet there is no decisive answer regarding the economic, ecologic and security effects which the eruption of this volcano has and will have. It can be appreciated that, if the volcano's activity will stop, will not be registered significant economic losses semnificative, except those caused by the perturbation of air transports, starting with April 15<sup>th</sup> and, obviously, those local. Generally, the volcanic eruptions have no timely significant effects on the economic growth, national and security. Still, these effects must not be neglected because they belong to that category of the events which can not be precisely foreseen. Furthermore, in certain conditions, they can be amplified or generate chains of incontrollable effects.

Most cut up by the volcanic eruption, beside the land surface nearby the volcano, are the air transportations. This was the case of current eruption. The air transportation represents 15-20% from the international trade total from Europe, but he can be replaced, at least partially, with other forms of transportations.

<sup>2</sup> LAHÁR s.n. (Geol.) Mud flow which appears on the case of volcanic eruption accompanied by abundant rains. [< fr. lahar < Indonesian word]. Source: DEX on line.



The volcanic ash can affect health because it is composed from rock, minerals and glass particles and is not soluble in water. It can affect the pipes; can aggravate the heart and lung diseases. The volcanic ash can have effects over the plants, air, can grab the engines, and can affect all kinds of networks so.

The desert surface Skeidara between the glacier and ocean is covered by a black mud and other components of the flood which overflowed to ocean, but in ocean arrived only a part of this huge ground of lava, rock and minerals dislocated by eruption and explosion.

After the explosion and the breaking of the ice cap which surrounds the volcanic mountain, within the coastal area, in ocean, are floating icebergs, some of them with over 10 meters high. The volcano, although it seems that diminished significantly its intensity, has its decoys and surprises. That's why, the *Iceland civil Security* recommended to Government – formed by 13 ministries -, to rent at least 2 aircrafts to travel to the scene. It was considered necessary to act in this way in order to prevent a situation, at least unpleasant, in the case of a new eruption or in the case of unaware exaggeration of its activity, as it happened few days before when the Finance ministry travel to the volcano's bottom to estimate the damages produced by the unexpected seismic event<sup>3</sup>.

It assessed that there were overflowed in ocean a hundred million tones mud and volcanic rocks at the rate of 20,000 – 30,000 cube meters/second. The national road which connects Reykjavik with the eastern provinces was destroyed during scores kilometers. The hot mud waves which flounced over the road and bridges had over 5 meters high. The damages were estimated to be between 189 and 500 millions Francs, what means very much for a nation which has only 265,000 habitants and a GDP of 9 billions Francs.

The eruption affects in a significant way the transports and, especially, the fish commercial transports from the fishermen villages towards capital. Iceland is not entire inhabited. The population lives along a narrow coastal band, covered by ice, which represents only 4% from the country's surface. The Reykjavik authorities appreciated that the eruption retrogressive the country with 3 decades which is very much.

The last calamity of such amplitude was the eruption of a volcano in 1973, when were totally destroyed the Island Washman's settlements, in the Southern part of Iceland. All 5,000 habitants of the island were evacuated in a single night. But these habitants, descendants of Vikings, returned to the island to rebuild their city which was entire covered by lava.

It is expected that the eruption to have effects also to the marine ecosystem because the huge wave of mud and lava which brutal settled down on the ocean's

3 *Feu sous la glace, gros dégâts sur l'Islande* La crue du glacier Vatnajökull charrie des millions de tonnes de glace, détruisant ponts et routes, <http://www.liberation.fr/monde/0109197815-feu-sous-la-glace-gros-de-gats-sur-l-islandela-crue-du-glacier-vatnajokull-charrie-des-millions-de-tonnes-de-glace-detruisant-ponts-et-routes>, open on 01.05.2010



bottom will affect the submarine fauna. This will affect the fishing; especially the lobster's fishing, for a while.

Before the eruption, the volcano sent in atmosphere, on huge highs, enormous quantities of vapors and ash. The clouds of vapors and ash scud by the wind which blows from East, affected, on first stage, the North Atlantic, Great Britain and, after, the Scandinavian space. It followed the North of Europe, Denmark, Belgium and Netherlands, which closed partial or total their air space. Initially were stopped around 5,000 from 28,000 flights registered in 24 hours on European continent. Still, Iceland was not affected in the same measure, the cloud going first up (vertically) and then to South-East direction. It was produced sort of butterfly effect, determined, mainly, by the direction of air flows and the effects generated by the eruption.

Taking into consideration all the facts, the volcanic ash affects the jet-propulsion engine of the aircrafts. That's why, were taken immediately very severe measures. The measure taken by Eurocontrol seems, still, excessive. But there were some precedents. In 1982, a 747 Boeing of British Airways Company passed, without knowing, through a volcanic cloud over Sumatra. All 4 engines stopped almost instantly. The pilots succeeded to restart one of them at 300 meters altitude, after a 7 kilometers drop, and another 2 engines from which one stopped. The windscreens were covered by ash, so the pilots were forced to land only with 2 engines, following only the aircraft instruments, with no enough visibility on the glide path<sup>4</sup>.

Another 747 Boeing of KLM Agency, with 245 passengers on board, passing through an ash cloud over the Mont Redoubt volcano from Alaska, suffer same incident: all engines stopped nearby Anchorage city. After they drop few thousands meters, the pilots succeeded to restart the engines and bring the aircraft safety to the ground. But the damages suffered by the plane cost 85 millions Francs.

A similar publication concerning the air security of the Sevenair Company showed that, between 1973 and 2000, were affected and damaged by volcanic ash clouds over 100 aircrafts and the costs raised up to 360 millions Francs.

The TAROM loses were, after some assessments, in amount of 1.1 millions Euro per day, and the Bucharest airports loses were in amount of 200,000 Euro per day. ROMATSA lost daily 350,000 Euro.<sup>5</sup> It seemed that the volcano eased its activity (diminished with 80%), but it does not result that will be no other eruptions.

However, the Eurocontrol decided, on April 26<sup>th</sup>, to restart the flights with the condition to not be affected the airlines security.

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<sup>4</sup> *Un volcan provoque un grounding général*, <http://www.tdg.ch/actu/monde/pfmmmmmm-2010-04-15>.

<sup>5</sup> *Great losses for Tarom due to the air gridlock*, [http://www.romania-actualitati.ro/pierderi\\_mari\\_pentru\\_tarom\\_din\\_cauza\\_blocajului\\_aerian-13006](http://www.romania-actualitati.ro/pierderi_mari_pentru_tarom_din_cauza_blocajului_aerian-13006)

**Volcano's effects**

NC	VOLCANO	LOCATION	DATA	EFFECTS
1	Mountain Redoubt	Alaska	March 2009	Waves of smoke and ash at 15 meters altitude. There were affected some cities from Alaska. <a href="http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/apres-20-ans-de-silence-le-mont-redoubt-remet-ca_art1529.html">http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/apres-20-ans-de-silence-le-mont-redoubt-remet-ca_art1529.html</a>
2	Islands Tonga Submarine volcano	Polynesia	September 2009	Impressive water and smoke columns, earthquakes <a href="http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/l-039-impressionnante-eruption-d-039-un-volcan-sous-marin-en-polynesie_art1530.html">http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/l-039-impressionnante-eruption-d-039-un-volcan-sous-marin-en-polynesie_art1530.html</a>
3	Mountain Asama, strato-volcano	Japan	March 2009	Is very active. Last eruption: august 2008. Without victims. Important quantity of smoke and ash with poisonous effects especially for Karuizawa city. <a href="http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/le-mont-asama-se-reveille-une-nouvelle-fois_art1531.html">http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/le-mont-asama-se-reveille-une-nouvelle-fois_art1531.html</a>
4	Piton de la Fournaise	Island Reunion	2008 September 21 <sup>st</sup>	One of the most active volcano from the world. Made no victims but it was impressive. <a href="http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/le-piton-de-la-fournaise-a-encore-frappe_art1532.html">http://www.maxisciences.com/volcan/le-piton-de-la-fournaise-a-encore-frappe_art1532.html</a>



5	Vesuvius	Italy	Study 2009	The volcanists consider that it is possible that the Vesuvius to erupt again, on the same intensity from year 79, when it was destroyed the Pompey city. It is also possible that the new eruption to be of effusive type, which means lower damages.
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The volcanic eruptions, together with the earthquakes, are effects of the geophysical activity of the planet. They do not affect the nature because she balance herself within hers becoming and transformation processes, but affect the people's living way. The effects are both benefic and destructive. The benefic effects consists, mainly, in energy discharges, bringing of certain elements from the Earth's depth to surface, thrum's adjustment and updating or activation of some geological structures and geomagnetic activity. They have, also, positive effects in re-emplacement of the resources, ledges and even in smoothing the access to them.

The main destructive effects of volcanic eruptions and earthquakes cover a large sphere and regards, mainly, the people's living way. Among these, the most important are the followings:

- diminution of the energy level of the planet and acceleration of the end of its life cycle;
- destroy or serious damages of the infrastructure, especially the critic one;
- massive lava, rocks and minerals dislocation and the change of ecologic balance in area;
- massive landslide, disruption and destruction on large surfaces;
- effects on clime;
- effects on planet position, including on axis, rotation, revolution movement;
- effects on vegetation and biotic environment;
- producing big material damages on very large surface;
- economic and financial effects on short and medium term and also on long term;
- effects over the people's life and activity.



Generally, during the volcanic seism and eruptions, the affected areas are evacuated, the transports suffers significant changes and even loses, the physical configuration of places are chancing, the tectonic pattern is chancing, at least in the contact areas, the configurations and, simultaneously with these, can be change also the resources map s.o.

The man can not, for the time being, to stop or to control these phenomena, but there opinions according which some of the geophysical activities of Earth or some of climatic activities (meteorological) can be stimulate. Of course, the man tries for long time to use the cosmic and geophysical energy for its benefit, but the performances from the last centuries are quite modest. At the present day there are sophisticated means and technologies which can stimulate the starting of some destructively natural phenomena (but not only) and from where comes the numerously theories concerning the possibility and realization of the geophysical war.

The volcanic ash clouds, rests of rocks and minerals which came from the volcano *Eyjafjöll* eruption emphasize not only the vulnerabilities of air transportations, of airlines, but also the vulnerabilities of the European security and defense system. The European security and defense policy and les the European security strategy not foresees evidentially security solutions in the case of such events. And even if the military aircrafts are les vulnerable than the airlines to the volcanic cloud, does not result that the eruption of a volcano (which, in moraine conditions, could be provoked or, in any case, activated) will not seriously affect the security and air defense system. This event reveal, in our opinion, both, the necessity of technical solution for the protection of aircrafts and vulnerable systems and the request for adequate politics and strategies which, probable, will be retrieve in the new strategic concept of NATO.

Some of the risks and major consequences of the volcanic eruption over the man and environment can be found opening the address: <http://volcanisme.explosif.free.fr/risques>

### Earthquakes effects

The earthquakes remain phenomena which, for the time being, can not be predicted or anticipated, unless few seconds. The mathematic models elaborated in time allow, still, an estimation of the probability of producing such phenomena. Some of recent earthquakes are presented.

#### *The Sichuan (China) earthquake*

On May 12<sup>th</sup> 2008, in province Sichuan from China, was produced an



earthquake of 7.9 grade on Richter scale, at 19 km depth. We are talking about the lapse of Longmenshan thurm or of an associated one. More precise, we are talking about the convergence of Indian tectonic thurm in the Euro-Asian pattern, which is around 50 millimeters annually. It took place over 50 replies among which 6 in the first 48 hours after seism. The earthquake was felt in Şanghai and Beijing, that mean at over 1,500 kilometers far away. The effects were catastrophic. Due to the first assessments, the authorities announced 71,000 dead and lost people, 220,000 wounded and over 5 millions persons without shelter, especially in the epicenter area where were crowded over 10 millions people. ([http://www.notre-planete.info/actualites/actu\\_1657.php](http://www.notre-planete.info/actualites/actu_1657.php))

### *The earthquake from Abruzzes region (Italy)*

The earthquake was in Abruzzes region, 100 km North-East from Rome, on April 6<sup>th</sup> 2009, at 01:32 hours GMT. It has 6.3 grade magnitudes on Richter scale and it happened at 2 km depth. There were 287 dead people, 500 wounded and over 17,000 evacuated persons. There damaged 10,000 – 15,000 houses, some completely destroyed, just in the historic center of Aquila city. [http://www.notre-planete.info/actualites/actu\\_1946\\_fort\\_seisme\\_Italie.php](http://www.notre-planete.info/actualites/actu_1946_fort_seisme_Italie.php)

### *The seism from Samoa Island (Polynesia)*

The seism with 8 grades on Richter scale from Samoa happened at 06:48 hours (local hour), Tuesday, September 29<sup>th</sup> 2009, at 195 km from Apia, the capital of Samoa Islands, at 18 km depth under ocean, nearby the Tonga depression. This is located between 2 tectonic patterns: the Pacific pattern on East and the Tonga micro-pattern at West (part of the Australian pattern). This earthquake generated a Tsunami with waves of 3-9 meters high, which hit Samoa. There were registered over 200 victims, tens disappeared and a lot of damages, plus the effects on the environment. [http://www.notre-planete.info/actualites/actu\\_2112.php](http://www.notre-planete.info/actualites/actu_2112.php)

### *The seism from Sumatra Island*

On September 30<sup>th</sup> 2009, at 06:48 hours (local hour), was registered an earthquake of de 7.6 grades magnitude on Richter scale (7.9 estimated by the American Geologic Institute USGS). There were 75 dead people.

### *The seism from Haiti*

The earthquake from Haiti took place on January 12<sup>th</sup> 2010, with an intensity of 7 grades on Richter scale, at 13 km depth and produced the death of 222,000 persons.

### *The seism from Chile*

On February 27<sup>th</sup> 2010 took place an earthquake of 8.8 grades on Richter scale



## STRATEGIC EVENT

in Chile, at 35 km depth, which affected about 2 millions persons, being 795 dead people and 1.5 millions houses destroyed. The epicenter was at 325 km away from capital Santiago, the biggest city from the country. The losses were estimated at 30 billions USD. Chile is located in one of the most active seismic areas in the world. Chile is a country well prepared for such situations.

### *The earthquake from Qinghai (China)*

On April 14<sup>th</sup> 2010, at local hours 07:49, at Qinghai, in the Tibetan autonomous province Yushu, in China, was an earthquake with 7.1 grades on Richter scale, at 33 km depth, which left numerous victims and material damages.

### **The earthquakes - statistics on:**

<http://mylogs.info/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/CutremurRomaniaVrancea.jpg>

NC	LOCATION	DATA	MAGNITUDE	DEPTH	VICTIMS
1	Sichuan (China)	May 2008	7.9 grades Richter	19 km	90.000 dead
2	Chile	February 2010	8.8 grades Richter	35 km	795 dead
3	Qingai (China)	April 14 <sup>th</sup> 2010	7.1 grades Richter	33 km	2.2.30 dead
4	Abrruzzes (Italy)	April 2009	6.3 grades Richter	2 km	287 dead
5	Samoa (Polynesia)	September 2009	8 grades Richter	18 km	200 dead
6	Sumatra	September 2009	7.6 grades Richter		
7	Haiti	January 2010	7 grades Richter	13 km	222,000 dead

In Romania, in Vrancea area, the earthquakes are at great depth, that means at over 100 kilometers depth. They don't affect a large surface (they can be feel almost in all country and also abroad, in the next proximity), but the damages produced are big only in the case of great intensity, similar to those from 1977 (7.4 grades on Richter scale). Of course, it is not out of the question that such an earthquake to happen again. Nobody can know precisely when will be, but only with 30 seconds before the ripple will diffuse. There are a quite large number of seismic focuses, other



than the one from Vrancea, which can be activated after a certain number of years and which can produce surface-earthquakes. These have a more reduced area where they can be felt, but, on small surface, even with lower intensities on Richter scale, are very dangerous.

Some data concerning the natural calamities can be found on:

[http://www.notre-planete.info/geographie/risques\\_naturels/catastrophes\\_naturelles.php](http://www.notre-planete.info/geographie/risques_naturels/catastrophes_naturelles.php)

The planet remains still active. The current situation concerning the environment and the natural risks which can affect our planet can also be found on: <http://maps.google.fr/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&hl=fr&t=p&msa=0&msid=101812391896865797944.000441139e4505e84827d&ll=64.94216,-18.764648&spn=4.470988,14.0625&z=6&source=embed>



# AFGHANISTAN - A new Pivot Geostrategy?

*Gheorghe VADUVA PhD*

## Abstract

*Afghanistan seems a country from the world. Moreover, it appears, apparently as an oasis of early Middle Ages remained unchanged in the midst of world civilization river. Ordinance there is considered for many of our contemporaries as an asymmetrical conflict, in any case, a paradox that democratic logic that escapes the twenty-first century man is normal. A country station on foot thorn in all civilizations which have passed through here or have come up here, a country of conflict which became, historically, a priority for the British, the Soviets, for Al Qaeda to Americans and, behold, now and for NATO. Why so much attention is given? Depends on the fate of the world somehow this country? It's nail it Pepelea the fate of the world? Answer to these questions must be sought in philosophy and physiognomy of the area, but the reasons for his interest in the world.*

Keywords: Afghanistan, tribes, pastuch, Taliban, Afghan immigrants, copper, iron, lithium

Afghanistan is an ancient country. Its territory was populated by 1200 BC, first by Indo-European tribes, then the Persians, Greeks, Kusan, parts, etc. It's hard to say why these populations have found here in this space today seems austere, rigid and inhospitable. But if we consider the position of this country's territory, considered as a kind of strategic corridor between Central Asia and India, where many of the unknowns of this space are explained. Afghan Area today has been and remains a sort of obligatory point of passage between the subcontinent and disruptive foyer<sup>1</sup> (large area of northern Caspian Sea and Manchuria), which gives him yet ancient, geopolitical and geostrategic importance very special.

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<sup>1</sup> Gérard Chaliand, ANTHOLOGIE MONDIALE DE LA STRATÉGIE, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1990



Arabs come here in e.n. 652 and thus, over 1800 years of history had to be trash (at least so one might think, even civilizations not simply disappear), whereas the new conquerors imposed a new culture and a new religion. They performed in the middle of the eighteenth century, under Ahmad Chess (1747-1772), an independent Afghan state. It expands slowly, conquering Kashmir, Punjab, Belucistanul and some parts of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Strategic importance of this area is now relevant. In their policy impoundments or at least control a vast territory that later, after World War I, he will appoint Harlford F. Mackinder heartland (pivot EAPC), United Kingdom Afghanistan turns in 1880, after two wars, the British protectorate. One of the purposes of this geostrategic effort was to make Afghanistan a strategic security zone British India, more specifically, to establish a buffer zone between the Czarist Empire and the Indian subcontinent, the British prevailed. Romania and, fragmented into three principalities, has long been a buffer zone between the three great empires of the time (Czarist, Habsburg and Ottoman). World War changed the fate of many buffer zones. On some of them shut down, the other has strengthened, it has transformed or redistributed illusions ... We believe that if the balance of power gives way relationship of equality, power decompression ... Rather, they are rebuilt, depending on time and times...

On February 28, 1919, Afghanistan has declared independence. English intervention followed that Afghans have rejected it, and the Treaty of Rawalpindi, is recognized on August 19, 1919, the independence of Afghanistan. Buffer zone became independent. Began a new era for this country, but power can not accept such a condition, just due to its very special.

Price for 40 years (1933-1973), Afghanistan was ruled by King Mohammad Zahir Chess. But the battle for Afghanistan continues. Eurasian Heartland, part, rimlandul created and used off-shore countries, on the other side. What will be Afghanistan camp?

Afghanistan has resisted attempts to have joined the military blocs, but failed to become the Switzerland of Asia, as had been thought, because, as I said, first, its geopolitical value for Asian countries and sea power.

What could not be resolved by war, tried other ways. On July 17, 1973, Muhammad Zahir Chess is removed from power. Afghanistan becomes a republic. This is becoming somewhat forced, since the lifestyle of the population and the concrete realities of the country were hardly



compatible with such a form of government. Therefore, the first president of Afghanistan, Muhammad Daud established from the outset, an authoritarian regime. But heartland's offensive continues. In April 1978, a coup takes place. Power passes into the hands of the Republican Democratic Council, the communist, and Prime Minister Nur Muhammad Tarak becomes general, the leader of this council. By the end, it signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation with the USSR: For complete victory to President Hafiz Ullah Amin was assassinated and Babrak Karmal took his place, becoming a model socialist party leader and sole state. Afghans but could not accept something, and have intensified anti-government movements. Known model, the fraternal aid requested by the rulers of Kabul, is called the Soviet intervention in support of government forces. Begin a long and bloody war. Partial course of Heartland's successful communist countries could not be accepted off-shore and in particular the United States. U.S. State intensifies and enhances political and humanitarian support for the forces of resistance. Although it is believed that Afghanistan was for centuries part, a forgotten country, petrified in the Middle Ages, it is unlikely that the interests of great powers and, after the Second World War, particularly Russia and the United States not been involved in a real battle for Afghanistan, with unpredictable effects.

In fact, Afghanistan was turned into a battlefield Eastern, Asian, between the two military blocs, namely, between Russia, which monopolized and redefined, from its perspective, 's heartland and the United States, which had begun to implement impoundments strategy work as a theory developed by Nicolas Spykman. In fact, in Afghanistan, the war Russia and USA, each pursuing much the same geopolitical and geostrategic goal, some aimed at expansion to the Indian subcontinent and then in warm oceans worldwide, others intending to stop and even choke on them Russians, especially that in the meantime, the device and a powerful ideological argument, red danger.

On November 13, 1985, the UN demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Soviets have complied. But not immediately, but when they wanted, or just over three years, in 1988, following a deal brokered by the UN in Geneva, signed by the guarantor powers, USA and USSR. Under this agreement, had created a neutral Afghan state, and the 4-5 millions Afghan returnees. The repatriation process is not over even today. Yes, in fact, after further escalation of hostilities, more and more Afghans have fled the country.



Without sacrificing the original plans – in fact, to their eternal plan – Russia and the U.S. have solved somehow in 1988<sup>2</sup> the dispute between them concerning the issue of Afghanistan and left him to destroy it in its own juice, as it unleashed a complicated fratricidal war. In those 10 years, is confronted, government troops backed by Soviet troops, the one hand, and resistance forces supported by U.S., Pakistani and targeting Sunni Arab world, on the other side. He killed 1.5 million Afghans and 15,000 Soviet troops, while, as stated above, 4 to 5 million Afghans fleeing the country.

Fratricidal conflict escalation had proportions. Therefore, January 1, 1992, there is an agreement between USA and USSR for arms livery no longer parties to the conflict.

Three months later, on April 16, 1988, Mohammad Najibullah is removed from power by a group of generals who teach capital of Islamic resistance forces.

It was April 25, 1992. Mujahedin offensive had ended. This can be considered an American victory, and as a result of damming and implosion strategy success of Eastern European communism and the Soviet Union.

By the end of Afghanistan is proclaimed Islamic republic and the UN are anxious to aid security.

But nothing is permanent in Afghanistan. All these are only interim. Battle for Afghanistan is ongoing and will continue for a long time.

In 1994, there are fundamentalist Taliban militias. They are composed of students among Afghan refugees in Pakistan Islamists. The word “Taliban” means “student of theology.” These militia Taliban, with U.S. logistical support, started from February 1995, an offensive to overthrow the regime led by President B. Rabbani. By the end, took control of much of the territory and occupied the capital in September 1995 and made him the president.

Two years later, on October 26, 1997, they proclaimed the state “Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan”, recognized by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and UAE.

I Visit is a danger that Afghanistan turn into an entity subject to significant than simple buffer zone between Central Asia and the subcontinent, as all plans

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<sup>2</sup> Soviet troops ended February 15, 1989, and remains one regime in Kabul before the mujahedin resistance and was forced to accept multi-party system



interested powers, neighbors and even the Arab world. The Taliban were able to impose, in a very short time, the law (their law, obviously) in Afghanistan, their basic objective being to achieve the perfect Islamic state, dominated by Islamic law “Sharia”. However, in the state, the word “perfection” remains one utopian ... dreamed of Communists to him...

Afghanistan out of function between the heartland and strategic *rimland* step has become attractive for other interests. Organizations and terrorist networks have found a refuge not only here but also a place where they can be considered pant, to prepare, to reorganize and even to constitute outstanding logistic bases. Some members of terrorist organizations and networks have fought alongside the mujahedin and the Taliban, aimed at striking the western world, defend and maintain parts that they consider fundamental to becoming the world. This was when, under certain conditions, the West had supported their struggle. Nobody takes into account the length of connections. They are always and ever driven by interests and, obviously, to some extent, the media that make them possible.

One of these people is supporters of terrorist organizations and networks was Osama bin Laden, a former ally of the Americans in previous years. But Americans did not hesitate in 1998 to attack the foundations of former ally convicted of financing terrorism, especially after terrorists attacked significant American targets (embassies, ships and even World Trade Center before the tragedy of September 2001). The events of September 11, 2001 put an end to this ambiguity, however. That's something to be accepted by any country in the world. Everyone - including the Arab and Islamic countries, most of them - was, then, with the United States. Therefore, the coalition against terrorism was quickly formed, both in emotion events, and under pressure of extremely hazardous warnings, which is more intuited or suspected, than the formula. The world is not like before. It has created enormous and extremely powerful arsenals that can destroy in a few hours. When the nuclear sword hanging over your new Damocles, which in general terms of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, could be freed even by such organizations, since strategic surprise by this huge, unique in the world, no have to know where they are really opportunities, skills and resources to terrorists...

Attack on terror began with this goal somehow escaped the control of powers and allowed to “optimize” in its own juice ... Suddenly, the U.S. administration since then and realized that in this place so tormented and cursed , left unattended, could be a central strategic nest global terrorism.



The area is very friendly. Battle between India and Afghanistan to Kashmir, equipping these two countries with nuclear weapons, the emergence of China, the dissolution of the USSR, but resurgence of Central Asia and the entire foyer disruptive of old, Taliban to be an Islamic state so perfectly is conditions that allow it. After all, Islam, understood as the expression of major political interest using as support Islamic fundamentalism, or a return to fundamentals, to pure Islam, could be (and is!) As may be interested to create and use tools powerful and subtle impact of the interests of Western civilization.

In these conditions and these motivational bases that seem unbeatable at October 1, 2001, started the US-led international coalition offensive against terrorist networks in Afghanistan in Operation Enduring Freedom, in fact, against the Kabul regime, which allowed the formation of nuclei, and deposits terrorist training bases in that country. In less than three months to December 20, 2001, the U.S. has installed a new government in Kabul. But here, not that the war in Afghanistan ended, the country was quiet and strategic fault in this very troubled region, has been transformed into strategic connection. Perhaps such a process, if it ever occurs, will take a long time since there have accumulated too many tensions and, apparently, too many interests, including and especially economic.

NATO and, in general, Western European states have reacted a little more difficult, even if some of them have joined since the October 1, 2001, the coalition. NATO intervened in 2004, triggering international mission support and security and to that end being the International Assistance and Security Force (ISAF International Security Assistance Force).

## **2. Beyond appearances**

Afghanistan seemed and seems and now a country without resources. A country is doomed if the bridge, major geopolitical space of interest, even vital in view of the battle between continental and maritime powers for resources, power and influence. Shaken and then left her head somewhat, this country than that wanted by the Taliban wish to become a pure Islamic state, has sheltered the terrorist networks and organizations, at least in the view part of the coalition countries formed against terrorism. As predicted some politicians could, of course, assumes that great powers and, generally, the international community in May can still believe now, as then, recently, the two world wars and between the last world war and Cold War, that whoever mastered this area will be able to control, at least in the geopolitical world.



These allegations are far too general and therefore they fit anyway, regardless of actual developments. Hence, of course, and some questions: Is the great powers and, generally, the international community represented by UN, OSCE, NATO, EU, and many regional communities, such as the Shanghai organization, etc., Acting even in these highly coordinated general and about, or just their shadow? Beyond these geopolitical configuration requirements of the optimization, which is the American interest for this area? But the EU? But the Russian? But the Chinese? But most of India and all of Asia South and South East?

Interests of these key players, but of regional powers, are complex and varied, but in terms of securing the area, they coincide in many respects. Afghanistan is an area that could pass through pipelines and pipelines to carry oil and gas from Central Asia to ports on the Indian Ocean, and from there to large consumers. And all on here could pass pipeline to transport energy resources from the strategic energy corridor to China and to India. The main condition is that the country is stabilized and controlled, and enable investors to act here without risk. The moment the situation is far from it. Moreover, Afghanistan produces around 90 percent of raw materials for drugs sold to the Western market. Poppy and cannabis crops occupying a large part of the country's cultivated area, especially along river valleys and depressions. Much of the population is nomadic, and those who grow plants that are used in drug industry does not do on their own, but under the strict control of cartels, clan and well-developed networks. War failed to disorganize them, but instead made them to grow further.

It was thought at one time - and yet still believe now - that in the absence of employment, of resources and an economy based on modern technologies and development, the poppy and cannabis is one of the few opportunities Living tortured people in this country. Even tried to find solutions because of the raw material to prepare and anything other than drugs, for example, drugs. Cultivation of opium and cannabis creates huge advantages for clans and drug networks, not to people. True, but that each of these clan leaders in networks of drug dealers and people with work related. In conditions of war, a largely nomadic population, backward, which, for centuries, living tragedy after tragedy, is unlikely to be implemented, at least in the short term, coherent economic policies and social policies to stabilize the population.

Although it appears uniform, the population is diverse, busy, terrorized. Around 50% of residents speak Dari Afghanistan, including Afghan and



Persian language, 35% speak Pashtun, 11% Turkish, Uzbeks and Turkmens especially living here, 4% of the population includes languages spoken by over 30 groups ethnic. Most Afghans (99%) are Muslims (Sunni 84% Shiite and 15%). Islam is here more than anywhere else, more than a religion. It is a *modus vivendi*. Should be a way of life based on cooperation, faith, peace and wisdom. There is only partly so. Muslims here and live here not only as teaching the Koran. Each of them must make a declaration (Shahada), that "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet." It is a declaration of faith and not a formal. It marks the entire life of the Muslims from this region. It must be five times daily prayer (Salat) towards the city Mecca. Five times daily from minarets worship, heard the call to prayer. Afghans pray in the mosque, the mosque or whatever is in that moment. Operating carpet - at work, on the street, etc. field. - And start praying. But before that, most times, perform a ritual washing, whereas the prayer must be clean. Prayer involves a series of movements and behavior in which Muslims believe deeply.

Faith requires social solidarity. Muslims, especially the wealthy should donate a percentage of their income to the poor and other charitable causes. There, in their faith, a concept, zakat, which means giving gifts, especially on holidays and during periods of fasting. During Ramadan, Muslims, as is well known, fast (sawm - fasting in the month of Ramadan) from sunrise to sunset. This post is not easy, but they believe in him. Therefore, those who are not Muslims and are in Afghanistan need to know how to behave with these people, in general, and during Ramadan in particular. And yet something very important to understand this way of life. Every Muslim month of Ramadan, just waiting to go home tonight and, after a day of fasting, to eat with his family. Family, the Muslim is very important.

The fifth is the duty of a Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj) at least once in life. These tasks are part of the Muslim way of life and he is first and often only one who takes care of delivering them.

Muslims, at least those in Afghanistan, an animal considered unclean dog. If a dog somehow happens to meet a Muslim, he should wash immediately. Any work or Muslim community is reached by a dog must be washed. It is perhaps one reason that dogs rarely see in Afghanistan. I, as I sat there, I saw none.

Afghan society is strongly hierarchical: priority are the elderly - Afghans respect their elders, and wise considering - then the rich, educated people, generally men. Their habits are interesting as possible and therefore,



there are those who must comply. They consider clean right hand and left dirty. A gesture with his left hand or to use in society, to show the finger can be considered bullying, and discontinuation of Afghanistan during prayer or when speaking with another Afghan. Offense is considered and that urge to watch an Afghan woman and you extend your hand (unless you stretch when it first hand), etc..

Reputation and honor are for Afghan supreme values, and attitudes and behaviors where appropriate. An Afghan is obliged to maintain and protect their honor, to avoid embarrassment or to avenge, if it does, to save appearances.

Afghanistan has a population of 31,056,697 people of different ethnicities (38% Pashtun, Tajik 25%, 19% Hazar, Uzbek 6%, 6% aimaq, Turkmen 4% and 2% other ethnicities). Around 44% of the population is under 14 years, 53% are between 14 and 64 years and only 3% of the population exceeds the age of 64 years. Afghans are not Arabs. But there are Muslims. The average age is 17.6 years and average life expectancy 43 years. Only 36% of the population knows the book is 80% rural, 40% not working and 53% live below the poverty line. These data show how serious the effects of wars and conflicts in this country over the population.

All because of frequent wars and interventions, one of the most complex issues of Afghanistan is the management of migration. It is in returning to five million Afghans who have emigrated since 2002. This has increased the population by 20%. One in three people is among the returnees. All these people need housing, food, water, jobs. High Commissioner for Refugees (HRC) uses three methods to assess the situation and develop appropriate strategies for rehabilitation:

- An annual survey on the ground;
- Participatory evaluation by age, gender and diversity;
- Monitoring and protection of human rights.

In a complex and uncertain situations, these goals are difficult. In areas with more ethnic groups remains a high risk of conflict. The current offensive against the Taliban and coalition forces and ISAF creates more problems. First, the Taliban tries to maintain control of areas east and southeast and to create here a Pashtun nation that would represent a nucleus for further action to take back their power in Afghanistan and on the other hand, government in Kabul, but not having enough audience on the ground, trying to consolidate their position and power to stabilize the country.



Taliban were given the option to renounce war and to reintegrate into society. Taliban rehabilitation has been allocated from the beginning, a first step, a fund of 140 million dollars. It is not known yet what will happen in the future, but there are some parts that enable the development of possible forecasts. For now, continue the offensive against the Taliban while carrying a very difficult battle to win the population, which was always between unfulfilled promises and threats all very direct. Taliban promise and threaten, promise mission forces and trying to build. But U.S. and NATO are committed - and certainly well motivated - to address the problem of Afghanistan, it became even a priority for the Alliance.

Afghanistan is a country with many peculiarities. Pride and dignity of people come in contrast to practice one of the most despicable activities worldwide, that produce raw materials for drugs and sophisticated enough to house laboratories where they are prepared. Afghanistan is but a man of honor.

It seems that there is no turning back. No members of the coalition nor Afghan. Americans and Europeans engaged in this war, should take him to the end. Probably that new findings of the strategic fields in Afghanistan is a greater incentive to continue operations and strengthening the Afghan national army.

### **3. Facts and projects**

By October 2011, the Afghan army should have actually 300,000. Afghan President said that it requires about five years for the army to be equipped and to operate effectively, is to be able to take the initiative and thus control the country conflicts.

To support the process of returning to Afghanistan to normal life, the IMF and World Bank agreed to cancel debt of \$ 1,600,000,000 of the country, while the international community has promised a 50% increase in aid, provided that government from Kabul to fight corruption and drug trafficking.

But Afghanistan is not what it seems. Recently, Americans have said that there, Afghanistan, unexploited mineral deposits worth one billion dollars (Karzai stated that they had even three billion!), Including iron, copper, cobalt, gold and industrial metals as critical, for example, lithium. Afghanistan could become, write Times, a kind of "Saudi Arabia" of lithium. This metal is known as a raw material needed to manufacture batteries for portable computers and cellular phones<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2010/06/14/discovers-t-minerals-afghanistan/>



U.S. Geological Survey report published in The New York Times show that from 2006, aviation research has revealed substantial mineral resources in the country, using, first, the data collected by experts Soviet miners during the Soviet occupation in the 1980s.

Followed a more sophisticated study. Last year, a Pentagon working group, which created programs to develop business in Iraq<sup>4</sup>, arrived in Afghanistan and analyzed in detail the findings and expert geologists American miners.

They are confirmed. So far, the most important deposits are the iron and copper. It appears, however, and there are rich deposits of niobium, a soft metal used in steel production superconducting and gold and precious metals deposits in the Pashtun regions of southern Afghanistan.

Of course, speculating these new findings, two interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan and could be put into enormous wealth that exists in these countries. Reality is more complex and it always reveals coordinated valences and we can have a very special importance in geopolitical reconfiguration of this area and based on them, the whole world.

Afghanistan is, indeed, a critical area for any kind of policy and strategy that would use the international community, the powers, neighbors or interested. Yet, in our opinion, applicable solutions are few and come from a perspective devoid of strategic flexibility. Effects of Soviet experience, the West and recent experience, the unexpected attack of a coalition led by the United States on a country that for hundreds of years, the war seems to be a way to exist, are too close and too powerful to allow another dialectic. But such other dialectic is necessary. Therefore, the prospect of stabilizing the country by force and force alone, without a serious involvement in sustainable economic development, the protection of the public in solving serious social problems, more of the conditions are not respected place values on behalf of human rights which have no value here, is uncertain and, if not implement economic and social policies and appropriate strategies are unlikely to succeed, at least long term. World can meet here, by transforming a secular fault in an area of strategic junction, or, conversely, can refractura, hopelessly, for hundreds of years.

Romania participates since autumn 2001, the missions in Afghanistan, as U.S. strategic partner, but also as a member of NATO, with 1-2 infantry

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<sup>4</sup> According to the statement the prime minister of Iraq, Iraq's oil reserves are 350 billion barrels. What is 100 billion more than the oil reserves of Saudi Arabia, which until now were considered the biggest in the world. (<http://www.infonews.ro/article106585.html>).



battalions with combat and technical specialists, thus contributing not only to the conduct of actual combat mission (patrol accompanying security objectives, assistance, supervision, etc.), but the actual training of Afghan army, because it is considered that stabilization of this region is very importance in the management of crises and conflicts, in peacekeeping and in control conflict world.

Romanian troops conduct missions in Iraq, concluded last year, and those in Afghanistan, ongoing, is one exception. Romanian soldiers are highly trained and highly appreciated by the Allies, the comrades of other military and local population.

### **As a conclusion**

Natural questions: What battle NATO? But Americans? What they are looking forces in Afghanistan, now that the space required for passage in the era of high performance aviation and ballistic missiles, there is practically an important witness as the geostrategic point of view? Answers are not so complicated, but subtle and sensitive.

Afghanistan is looming as one of important geopolitical and geostrategic pivots major link between Central Asia as China, India, South Asia, Middle East, can provide space for construction of pipelines to carry Central Asian energy resources, the Russia and the Middle East even to ports on the Indian Ocean to India and to China, while stabilized, can significantly contribute to stabilize the most unstable regions on earth - the Middle East and Central Asia - ensuring control disruptive former foyer, which performing a one has failed so far, even the Soviet Union during the period when he was included in its perimeter, the largest area of the foyer.

Huge mineral resources available (but perhaps others who were not yet discovered) can provide the conditions necessary for countries to develop quietly or, conversely, to be always under pressure, as happens today with some Middle Eastern countries possessing resources, especially energy.

Inclined to think that serves the interests of all countries and the international community that Afghanistan should be stabilized (ie, helped to stabilize) and because of available resources and its strategic position special to be included in modernization programs very beneficial. But this cannot be easily achieved as long as the dialogue between the Islamic world (over one billion people) and the rest of the world fails to enter collaborations and connections customized and differentiated, but beneficial, and continues to be tense often exclusive and always generator of conflict.



# CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE SECURITY

*Eugen SITEANU PhD*

## Abstract

*This paper presents several aspects of critical infrastructure security through advanced concepts and theories of feasibility, viability and security.*

*Critical infrastructure management is very important for the security and feasibility of the critical infrastructure and has a direct impact on the population's safety. The EU organizations make important efforts to establish the efficient processes of the critical infrastructure management and to define the processes efficient in crisis, natural hazards and technological problems.*

*The concept of critical infrastructure security will ensure the theoretical base of designing the feasibility, viability and security of the critical infrastructure and establishing the principles to assess the security and vulnerability of the critical infrastructure and also the development of effective procedures preventing the malfunction of the critical infrastructure and protecting them against different potential threats.*

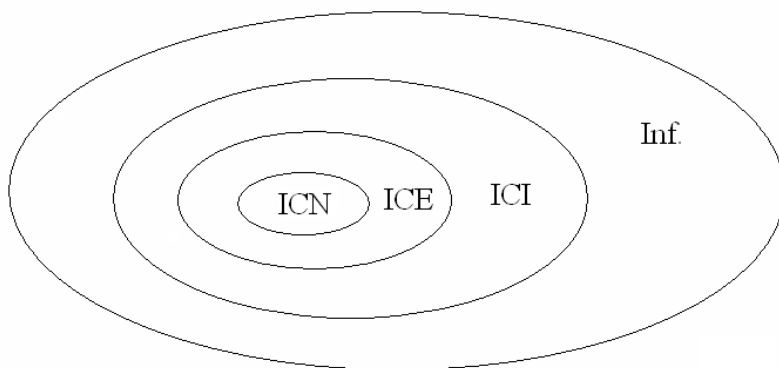
Tags: critical, infrastructure, maintenance, installations

The critical infrastructure (IC) is made of several elements, systems and installations or their components essential for the maintenance of vital social functions, health, safety, security, social or economic welfare; their destruction would have a significant impact because of the inability to maintain the respective functions. There are several categories of IC: national critical infrastructures (ICN), European critical infrastructure (ICE) and the international critical infrastructure (ICI) (Fig. 1). IC encompasses several sectors: energy, transportation, nuclear, water, food, health, finances, chemical industry, space, research installations, information and communication technologies in accordance with COM (2006) 787.

As the infrastructures have become domains of maximum priority of the people's way of living, in 2008 the CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE workgroup was established within AOSR which studies the methods and procedures necessary for



any IC manipulation to be short, rare, manageable, geographically isolated and little affecting member states, their citizens and the EU.



### Legend

Inf. – Infrastructures;  
ICN – National critical infrastructures;  
ICE – European critical infrastructure;  
ICI – International critical infrastructure;

Fig. 1. Types of infrastructures

Analyzing the critical infrastructure in different countries, we believe that these meet certain demands under specific conditions or can represent active means to achieve several established objectives.

During the process of achieving the objective, there is a gap between the demands imposed and the practical results, bigger as the establishment of objectives takes longer than obtaining the results. This gap is a consequence of the cognoscibility, technology and time and determines unpredictable and dangerous critical infrastructures when disturbing factors occur and cause unwanted energy emanations affecting the security of the exploitation and maintenance personnel and also of other persons in the danger area.

Therefore, a special approach of the critical infrastructure is necessary based not only on the feasibility and viability techniques but also on methods in accordance with the integronic character of the security concept.

The IC security is a social and functional problem resulting from the damages due to the lack of IC security and the implications of removing, distorting and dissimulating information about it. The IC security is essential for society and for



the state's institutions, because the purpose of IC is not obtaining a structure in itself, but that of having a high degree of operational ability to achieve the pre-established economic and social effects.

The operational ability of IC represents its property to achieve its objective in certain specific conditions<sup>1</sup>. Therefore, IC cannot be separated from its environment and cannot be assessed outside its destination, but only in close connection with its functional parameters and feasibility and viability characteristics because these represent a security problem.

Thus, IC must meet four main demands:

- Management continuity in order to ensure the rationality of actions;
- Conducting the actions confidentially in order to prevent terrorist or destabilizing actions;
- Informational unity in order to keep the unitary and homogenous character of the conduct and execution informational links and fluxes;
- Behavioral and adjustment functional flexibility in order to prevent functional discontinuities and ensure their dynamics, self-adjustment, adaptability, viability, IC systemic logic and the structure necessary to achieve missions in security.

These demands impose the use of some IIC and high feasibility systems operating under specific circumstances, the existence of human, informational, organizational and functional reserves for the physical and parametrical reconfiguration of special mechanisms, techniques and measures in order to face dangerous actions (explosions, disintegrations, energy emanations, jams or dysfunctions etc), which for the IC determines a behavior tolerant to disturbances depending on a certain assumed risk (R) and the cost (C).

Some authors believe<sup>2</sup> that the critical infrastructure feasibility (F) is the IC ability to achieve its functions correctly at a certain moment if it is used in the conditions it has been created for and is properly maintained and repaired.

The feasibility (fig. 2) has two components: safety in functioning (S) and maintenance (M) which depend on the technological and constructive characteristics and on the functional reserve elements and also on the technical and organizational measures to re-establish the system's functioning.

FEASIBILITY	
Safety in functioning (S)	M a i n t e n a n c e (M)

Fig. 2. Components of the critical infrastructure feasibility (F)

<> SITEANU Eugen, BEDROS Naianu, ILIE Gheorghe, *The feasibility of technical products*, AISTEDA Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p.123.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, p.125.



This dependence can be expressed symbolically as follows:  $F=S+M$  (1)

At the same time, the feasibility of the critical infrastructure represents the effect of an entire complex of factors whose influence can be found both within its systems and also their interdependence. However, the feasibility can impose structural changes of (sub)systems or the change of functioning conditions for others and that is why it should be approached given all the aspects, connections, causes, factors, effects and behavior of the (sub)systems and also the interaction between them.

Given the (1) relation and the characteristics of the feasibility systemic approach, we can write:

$$F = \sum_{i=1}^k p_i \cdot F_i + F', \quad (2)$$

where  $F$  = feasibility of critical infrastructure (IC);

$k$  = number of component systems (IIC);

$F_i$  = system feasibility (IIC) $_i$ ;

$P_i$  = functional share of the system (IIC) $_i$ ;

$F'$  = component duet o IC systemic organization.

Consequently, the feasibility can be considered a quality characteristic of a system, IIC or even IC in its ensemble, determined by the influence of all systems (subsystems) and the IC synergy (systemically organized) which leads us to several conclusions:

- the feasibility level of each system (IIC) influences the IC feasibility level with a weight equal to its functional weight;
- a defect of a system (IIC) produces a defect of IC; locally, the effects of defects can differ but at IC level they produce either an interruption or a functional error expressed by the relation:

$$eIC_j = \sum_{i=1}^k p_i \cdot e_i, \quad (3)$$

where  $eIC_j$  – functional error  $j$  of IC;  $e_i$  – functional error of the system  $i$  producing  $eIC_j$ ;  $p_i$  – functional weight of the system (IIC) $_i$ .

Due to its technological and organizational dependencies, we can conclude that an IC feasibility level is determined by the achieving costs ( $C_r$ ) and the exploiting costs ( $C_e$ ). Therefore, we can adopt a strategy of improving the dynamics of the IC feasibility costs depending on the total costs ( $C_r+C_e$ ):



$$\text{Min}[X(F)] = \text{Cr}(F_o) + \text{Ce}(F_o), \quad (4)$$

where  $X(F)$  is the level of IC feasibility value;  $F_o$  is the optimum feasibility.

For IC, we have to condition the value of the feasibility of each system (IIC) on an own cost and the value of IC feasibility both on the system costs (IIC) and also on an additional own cost, which can be expressed like:

$$X(F) = a_0 x_0 + a_1 x_1 + a_2 x_2 + \dots + a_i x_i + \dots + a_k x_k, \quad (5)$$

where  $x_i$ ,  $i=0, 1, \dots, k$ , represents the costs specific to critical infrastructure ( $i=0$ ) and to the component systems:  $i=1, \dots, k$ , and  $a_i$  are the functional weights.

The result is:

$$X(F_o) = \min(a_0 x_0 + a_1 x_1 + \dots + a_k x_k), \quad (6)$$

which doesn't involve the minimum of each  $x_i$ .

Between the IC quality and feasibility there is an organic link determined by the fact that the first represents the ensemble of characteristics ensuring the functioning of IC in accordance with its destination and the second one is the IC ability to keep its quality throughout its use, that is the IC feasibility is the IC quality expanded in time (quality depending on time). Consequently, by the similarity with the quality variation depending on the achievement and exploitation costs, for IC the feasibility costs can be represented as in Fig. 3.

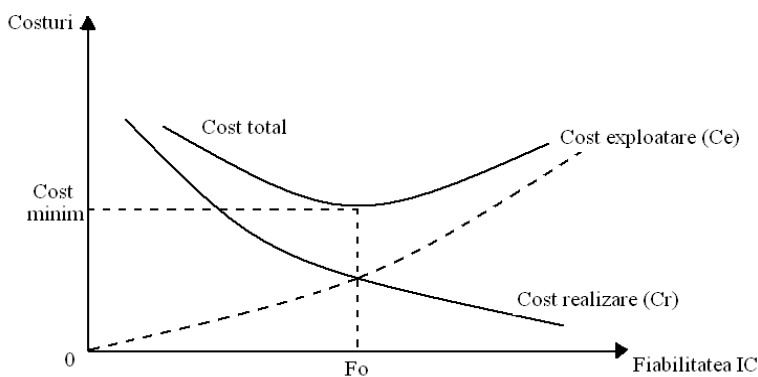


Figura 3. Dinamica fiabilității IC

Fig. 3. Dynamics of the critical infrastructure feasibility

The result is that the feasibility optimum value ( $F_o$ ) is determined by the



minimum costs which implies higher costs both for IIC with a feasibility less than the optimum feasibility (Fo) and also for those with a feasibility bigger than this.

The IC viability, including of IIC, represents its ability to preserve its characteristics when its inputs and internal or external disturbances produce changes in designed conditions. The changes can be exceptions (errors or functioning interruptions). The IC viability is own to that IC which can adapt either through re-adaptation (reconfiguration) or through functioning reserve. (Fig. 4).

IC VIABILITY		
Preservation (reshaping) (Cv)	Functional readaptation (Ra)	Safety in functioning (S)

Fig.4. Components of IC viability

Therefore, the viability V can be expressed through the relation:

$$V = Ra + M' + S \quad (7)$$

$$V = \sum_{i=1}^k q_i \cdot V_i + V'$$

where: k represents the number of ICC systems;  $q_i$  is the weight of the i system;  $V_i$  – viability of i system;  $V'$  is a component following the IC systemic organization.

The IC viability is a manifestation of the IC quality; like feasibility, it depends on the costs.

Similar to the definition of feasibility, the IC security is its ability to preserve its functional characteristics given the destructive factors or those dangerous for the environment or for the people in the risk area.

IC SECURITY		
Preservation (reshaping) (Cv)	Functional re- adaptation (Ra)	Safety in functioning (S)

Fig.5. Components of IC security



Security (Sc) can be expressed as follows:

$$Sc = Cv + Ra + S, \quad (8)$$

according to the components in fig. 5 or:

$$\mathcal{S} = \sum_{i=1}^{k-n} m_i \cdot S_i + S_c', \quad n \leq k, \quad (9)$$

where: (k-n) is the number of the systems (IIC) contributing to the IC security;  $S_i$  is the security of the systems (IIC) $_i$ ;  $m_i$  is the weight of the  $i$  system;  $S_c'$  is the component due to the IC system characteristics.

Some systems don't participate in the actual achievement of the IC security and that is why, if there are  $n$  systems like these, the result is that the security of each system among the (k-n) ones participating at the IC security, influences the IC security with a certain weight and that a breach/exception or error of a system could determine a breach for IC causing a functional error. That is why we must deal with IC security as being dependent on breaches and functional errors.

Similarly to the feasibility and viability, IC security depends on costs with an established optimum value ( $S_o$ ), but the criterion is more complex this time and represents a correlation, a rapport between costs and risks.

Based on Bayes' theory on the calculation of the security parameters by unfolding the probabilistic tree of events contrariwise and simplifying the problem<sup>3</sup>, we can reduce the qualitative analysis of the IC security by solving the win function ( $E_{Sc}$ ) as follows:

$$E_{Sc} = \max[0, (A - C(p) - p \cdot w)],$$

where:  $A$  is the value of economic optimum;  $p$  is the fatality probability to produce a breach (exception or error) destabilizing IC;  $C(p)$  is the cost of the security;  $w$  are the losses suffered by IC following the destabilization.

Starting with this relation and making some transformations<sup>4</sup> we come to:

$$\frac{d(CS_o)}{dS_o} = W,$$

where:  $S_o$  is the optimum value of IC security;  $CS_o$  is the cost of the security optimum system.

<sup>3</sup> SITEANU Eugen, BEDROS Naianu, ILIE Gheorghe, *The feasibility of technical products*, AISTEDA Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p.132.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

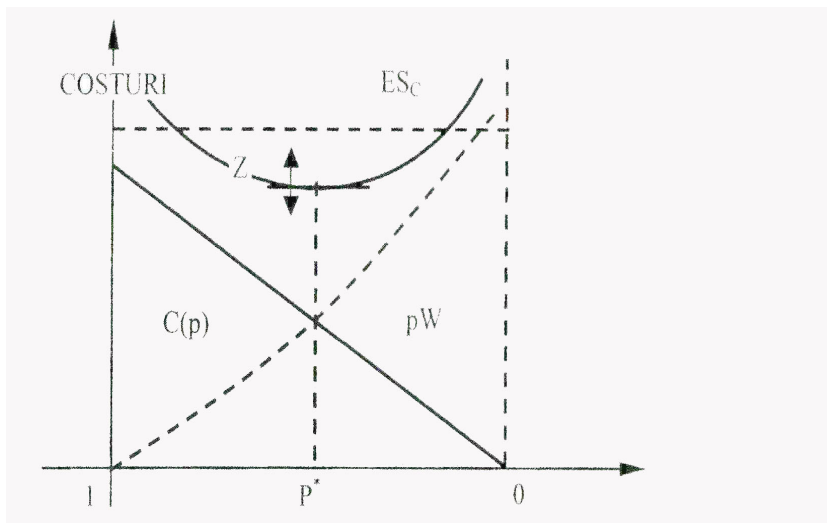


Fig. 6. Dynamics of the critical infrastructure function ( $E_{sc}$ )

The function of the critical infrastructure ( $E_{sc}$ ) can be graphically represented (fig.6). This graph shows that  $z$  function depends on  $A$  and  $p$ , that is on the risk assumed through designing ( $R$ ):

$$z = A - [C(p) + p \cdot w].$$

After simplifications, we get the risk:  $R = 1 - A$

Therefore, the games of the correlations between costs and risks can be emphasized through the dynamics of IC security (fig.7).

Due to the perishment of specific measures and mechanisms, the critical infrastructures are subject to technological and moral wear and also cognitive pressures from terrorists. The “frozen” security mechanisms are compromised and breaking them is just a matter of study, time and money for enemies or terrorists.

Analyzing the three concepts (feasibility, viability and security), we can see the security characteristic of integrating the feasibility and viability. This intergronic character of security is based on the following aspects<sup>□</sup>:

associating the security concept of the critical infrastructure (IC) to that of quality;

IC integrating characteristic regarding the operation, the energy-informational rapport and the educational ability;

for IC, the prioritization of objectives starts with operating in security and continues with the resilience (operational ability as a result of viability) or IC availability (as a result of safety in operating and maintenance);



generalizing error as an effect of failures, exceptions and breaches;  
operating in safety implies and imposes IC special feasibility and viability;  
the existence in IC of an interdependence (operating – energy-informational rapport – educational ability);

the inexistence of practical methods of dealing separately with the security complex aspects;

practical results obtained by dealing security with the methods and techniques specific to feasibility;

generalizing the different techniques to achieve security: prevention, rejection or transparency;

emerge and rapid development of tolerance to errors, apparently transparent to causes due to shifting the analysis and decision from IC input to IC output;

developing techniques to design and achieve computers.

By associating the security-quality concepts and the cybernetic pattern of the security optimum, we ensure the unitary and universal character of IC security based on its priority as a quality parameter. Thus, the entire approach shifts from the area of the output manifestations of the critical infrastructure due to errors but without diminishing the efficiency of the causal dependency study.

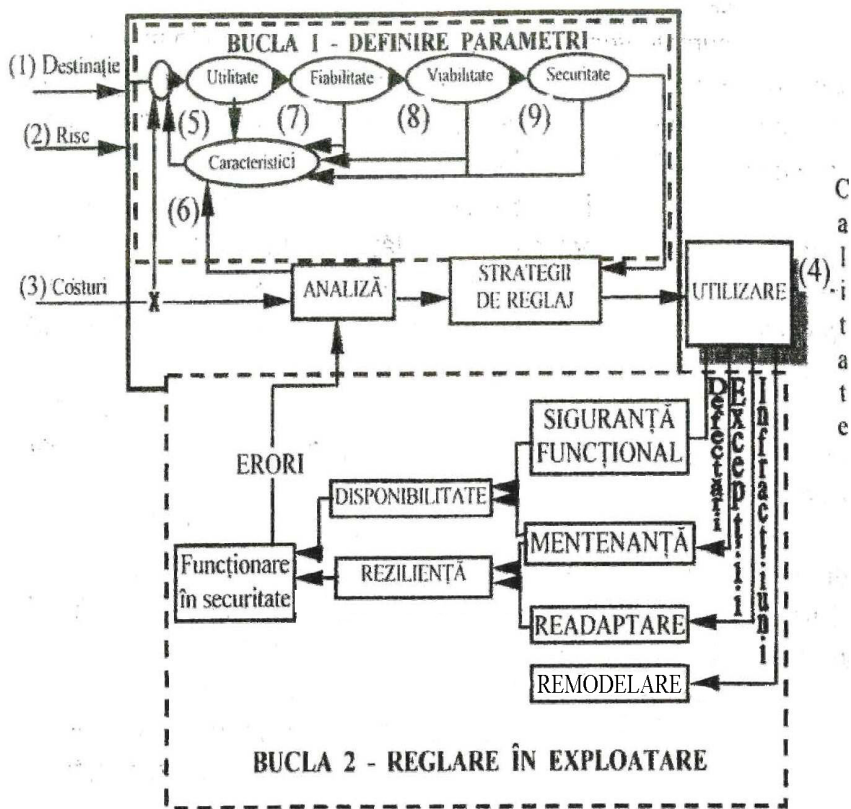
Based on the quality-security association, we could determine the cybernetic pattern of IC security optimum, depending on its structure and the flux of defects-exceptions transformations and breaches and errors. The pattern imposes cycles of adjustments and elements with a high degree of efficiency (fig. 8).

The inputs in the security optimality system are: destination, level of assumed risk and costs and the output is quality (level of errors).

In the structure of the critical infrastructure pattern, there are two cycles: internal – determining the adjustment values applying to execution (use) and external – after the application results are known – values the optimization process starts with.



## POINT OF VIEWS



In the figure above we can notice the following adjustment loops:

- main: defining the characteristics (parameters) with three other loops (for feasibility, viability and security);
- secondary: adjustment in exploitation
- complementary: for the adjustment strategy;
- operational: for the error analysis

The advantages of such an approach are the following:

- the connection (feasibility – viability – security) is emphasized;
- the adjustment routes and possibilities are established;
- we can control the rapport between the level of risk and IC security, dealing with errors, establishing the adjustment strategy and the activity cost, between the technological and organizational elements;
- offers the possibility to enter the essence of the security concept and demonstrates the viability of applying the error tolerance strategy.

The pattern above is general, its application domain goes beyond information protection. Starting with the additivity relations (1), (7) and (8) and considering



the fact that the three concepts (feasibility, viability and security) behave optimally depending on risks and costs, based on the association of IC security concept, we can conclude that the integration achieved by security goes beyond the current stage of knowing the security activity and information protection.

Integrating the feasibility and viability in security can be expressed by the specific dependency of the systems (IIC) and of IC superior organization concepts on a genetic base because all three concepts depend on one another both existentially and evolutively. The genetic base is the error and the theory, methodology and practice of feasibility have generalization tendencies or generate common elements in definition and development (trust, critical regimes, causality structures, cybernetic and analytical methods of feasibility, viability and security, maintenance and resilience strategies, predicting and assessing the systemic behavior etc).

The tolerant character towards errors and the adjustments prove a similar organization and a certain type of informational and energy contribution.

However, the three concepts keep their main independence forming inside IC (especially in the technical and economical ones) a real qualitative-feasible range, viable and in security. The integration of these qualitative levels represents a superiorization process; several feasibility characteristics provide viability to IC and several viability characteristics provide security to it.

However, the problem is not exhaustive; there are a lot of examples when the link between feasibility and security is direct (mainly for information systems).

The informatization of processes, the artificial intelligence and its manifestations of expert or neural types offer superior valences and levels of integration – strictly dedicated to some systems (IC) thus the effects of particular behavior. Consequently, the level of integrating the feasibility and viability in security is of additive type but it's possible that future research of the security concept – recently detached from its minimum dimension of feasibility effect – establishes stronger interior connecting forces, with benefic effects on the adaptive behavior.

As integrating force is tolerance to errors as a manifestation of quality, a necessary approach, especial in the case of IC with real-time effect.

Therefore, an IC cannot be considered as CERTAIN unless it is FEASIBLE and VIABLE at the same time due to the fact that it consists of technical and information elements and is of mixed type (man-machine).

In conclusion, we consider that dealing IC separately (technically or organizationally) is no longer possible. At the same time, it's necessary to make periodical efforts to reshape IC and the problem of reserves must be expanded from the reserve of means, materials and human resources to informational reserve consisting of management strategies and variables depending on the time, situation, costs and assumed risks to organizational variables adapted to specific situations (gains and losses) and resources and also variables to achieve IC for better operating in security.



# TERRORISM, RESTRICTION, SECURITY. CONDITIONS AND EFFECTS

*Raluca ANDRONACHE*

## **Abstract**

*Fighting terrorism remains one of the major concerns at international and European levels. The new trends of this phenomenon have raised new challenges for the authorities who have to deal now with apparently inoffensive actions which, under certain circumstances, can be part of a very dangerous process of violent radicalization, sometimes finalized with a terrorist act. Measures taken in order to preempt such situations also have the unfortunate effect of human rights violation, especially the one regarding the privacy. Nowadays, the necessity of a balance between security and the protection of human rights is often stressed, especially by the European officials who are trying to find the proper way to do that.*

Key words: security, rights, citizens, order, international, terrorism, limit

## **1. The critic of premises**

European Security Strategy indicates terrorism as a strategic threat which intends to undermine the openness and tolerance of European society and underlines how important is to find the right measures to handle the new security, permanently changing, with the final purpose of an efficient international cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

The same document presents as main modalities to consolidate the international order – the good governance, the support of political and social reforms, fighting corruption and abuse, the supremacy of the law and the protection of human rights.

Conditioning the steps taken in the security field, including the ones made to fight terrorism and extremism, by the protection of human rights, has invariably represented a characteristic of the European approach, which slightly differed from the American extended one, especially regarding *the war against terror, war against terrorism*.



After 9/11 terrorist attacks new security rules have been taken under the powerful impact of the incident. At that time, just one thing was clear in the US – the prevention and the fighting against terrorism had to be undertaken at all costs and the national security exception was to be invoked as many times as necessary. Unfortunately, these measures impact on the human rights was neglected in the efforts to achieve the main goal - fighting back hard on an attack without precedent.

Analyzing this matter, the Commissioner for Human Rights from the Council of Europe concluded that, in the fight against terrorism freedom had been affected and some decisions taken by different governments regarding the improvement of the security had undermined the principles of human rights, by using fallacious arguments. According to the Commissioner, now is the time to revise the steps taken towards collecting, analyzing, storing and using personal data, since protecting it has become crucial for the safeguarding of the fundamental democratic values.

In the fight against terrorism and organized crime we have to reaffirm the human rights principles. The restriction of the rights and freedom of the citizens, excessive at times, motivated by the fight against terrorism is not a solution neither for the terrorist threat nor for the security of the person, property or institutions. On the contrary, these limitations lead only to the fulfilment of the objectives envisaged by the terrorist organisations and networks. After all, terrorists desire but to create a state of terror, that would affect the individuals, the population and the institutions and by this means, to determine governments to react positively to their demands.

States have to justify in a relevant manner any limitation or violation of the right of privacy, since the citizens are at risk to be monitored and suspected to represent a terrorist or extremist threat on the basis of some inefficient and relative profiles generated by computers. Such an approach might produce an actual security risk, through the discrimination and isolation of certain groups, which would inevitably position them opposite to the society, thus assuming all the incumbent consequences.

The Commissioner's opinion is endorsed by other experts in the field, among which the UN Speaker on human rights issues, who brought to attention of the Human Rights Council from Geneva the significance of creating an adequate international frame that would contribute to the supervision of the opportunity, proportionality and method of applying those security measures that might do damage to the right to privacy.

Also, he encouraged the Human Rights Committee – an independent organism charged with controlling the observance of the International Convention of the Civil and Political Rights – to draw up a declaration regarding the adequate purposes of restricting this right.

Observing the human rights in the succeeding of the actions needed in order to prevent and fight terrorism is not a facile desideratum. Especially at present, when one of the current ways this phenomenon manifests – the radicalization on the basis of a terrorist organization's ideology, of radical messages founded on religious



concepts or through common cause making with persons positioned inauspicious circumstances ( for example, the situation in the Palestinian territories, Afghanistan and Irak) – has led to the emergence of a new profile of the terrorist, as well as, to the extension of the range of activities that might be classified in the risk category.

During the past years, the number of radicalized citizens from the Occident has risen alarmingly, especially when it comes to those belonging to the second or third generation of immigrants. The activities comprised in the process of radicalization are in a large number and differ from one case to another: the subject may take part to religious sermons sending a radical message they can identify themselves with and afterwards, they may join a group that has the same opinions; modern technology allows the dissemination of radical ideas through the Internet, with a celerity and efficiency difficult to estimate etc.. Generally, young immigrants who belong to a different culture from that of the host country encounter social adjustment and integration difficulties, unable to neither find themselves in the concepts promoted by their own community, nor to fully embrace the ideas and principles of the Western society. These and the youngsters who come to study in the West are the most vulnerable targets. Affiliating to a group, siding with one idea that offers them a purpose, a motivation, the feeling of belonging, apparently set their existence in order and is regarded by them as an escape, as the only way to follow in order to gain some importance and an identity.

### **2. The morality of radicalization**

The new USA National Security Strategy signals a reorientation of the American policy regarding counter-terrorism, determined by the very necessity to adapt to the new manifestation forms of the phenomenon. It stresses that the fight against terrorism, as a tactic, is not a priority to the American administration, just as the Islamic religion, as well as any other religion is not considered a threat to be counter-attacked. The Obama administration rejects the idea of *war against terror*, co-ordinating principle of the G.W. Bush's foreign policy, maintaining the right to combat the Al Qaida organization and its affiliates. The major novelty in the field of terrorism is represented by the inclusion of the fight against radicalization, as a national priority in the domain of terrorism, which has led to the amplification of inland terrorism type – *homegrown terrorism*. The term *Islamic* is eluded, even though all the recent incidents are based on the fact that American citizens or residents have undergone a process of radicalization initiated by extremist elements of Islamic origin or on the basis of the ideologies belonging to some Islamic organizations and even on the solidarity with Muslims involved in conflicts with the Occident:

- the 1<sup>st</sup> of May incident, when the American of Pakistanis, Faisal Shahzad, tried to blow up Times Square from New York;
- the blowing up attempt on the Amsterdam – Detroit flight (25<sup>th</sup> December



2009) by the Nigerian, Farouk Umar Abdulmutallab, radicalized during his studies in Great Britain;

- the Fort Hood military base attack, launched by the base psychiatrist of Muslim origin, Hasan Nidal, who expressed his solidarity with the Muslims in the conflict areas where American soldiers were present.

All these cases have one trait in common: the moral involvement of an imam, with American citizenship, of Yemenite origin, Anwar al-Awlaki. His name was mentioned for the first time during the 11september attacks investigation, several clues indicating that al-Awlaki was the ideologist committed to maintain alive the ideas spread in the process of radicalization for three of the attackers, during their stay in the USA, before the attacks. His actual involvement in those events was never proved, but specialists in the field have begun to argue upon the impact of a spiritual leader with radical views and the danger of the whole radicalization concept, within an occidental society. The reappearance of his name in some of the most recent terrorism cases in the USA represents a clear confirmation of the high risk of this phenomenon and an obvious proof of the possibility of such a process culminating in a terrorist act.

All the imam did was to preach and disseminate, through the Internet, messages which helped interpret religious precepts according to his radical views, which presented violence as a religious duty. Al-Awlaki's most impressive preach – „Constants on the Path to Jihad” –, which is based on the 2005 Yousef Ayyiri's book, the founder of Al Qaida from Saudi Arabia, can be considered the founding book of radicalization, where he explains the Al Qaida ideology in an Occidental style, colloquial English, easily understood by the subjects intended to be included in a process of extremist indoctrination.

The lack of a rigorous inventory of the facts presumed by a radicalization process, the absence of a clear identification of the types of indoctrination which generate terrorist risks and also the fact that there is no universal mechanism providing an objective selection of the activities to be included in the terrorist risk category are the factors that make monitoring, preventing and fighting radicalization so difficult to do.

The main problem is the profound relativity of the radicalization activities. Being involved in such process can have completely different effects depending on factors related to the person to be radicalized, the way is done and the person who does it. For example: participating at debates or preaching with radical accents about the situation in Gaza or Afghanistan, where the lecturer emphasizes the wrong way the West is involved in these areas and how important is to show solidarity for the Muslims humiliated there can represent the début of a profound change in some people who start to feel the need of materializing their support for that causes even through a terrorist act, and at the same time for another person all the things heard can represent nothing more than politics talk.



Being in the impossibility of proving the potential danger generates the difficulty of incriminating these acts and stopping the process in time.

### **3. The boomerang effect of monitoring radicalization**

Many people consider the measures taken in order to prevent and fight radicalization as possible limitations or violations of human rights. These measures imply monitoring persons and activities about whom and which there are no certain data regarding a potential risk. In order to monitor the persons suspected, the whole community is under surveillance because there is a wide spectrum of activities to be watch due to a presumed link with radical manifestation.

The EU Council had proposed the creation of a European data base of the persons representing a potential radical threat. It suppose to contain data about any political activist – left or right – about islamists, nationalists and the anti globalization militants. The European parliamentary has reacted promptly, signaling the violation of the right to privacy trough such an instrument, which is to be operated without the proper delimitation of either the actions or the persons subjected by it. Personal data are insufficient protected also because there are no rules regarding how the member states can use the data collected with this instrument or how long they can store them.

The European parliamentary position was more vehement taking into consideration the negative vote that the Parliament gave this February to the data sharing agreement with the US. The agreement that will give US access to the European citizens financial data in cases suspected of links with terrorism financing, was rejected by the European Parliament because there was not enough guarantees that the personal data will be fully protected. At present time, the European Commission has reached a new form of agreement, after months of negotiation with US, which will be voted again by the Parliament.

The right of privacy and how it is protected represents the subject of another debate in Europe, the one regarding the body scanners from the airports. The European Commission made a statement in June this year about the problems created by the utilization of this kind of equipments in some member states in fields like health, human rights and costs.

The project is now experimental for the EU countries, which have the right to verify its utility for a period of 18 months. After that, the European Commission will have a full report (2011, April) stating the EU decision regarding the utilization of body scanners that will be mandatory for the member states. Mean while the countries which decided to utilize them (UK and Netherlands) need to handle the first incidents caused by these equipments.

European parliamentary requested rigorous evaluation of the efficiency of these body scanners as supplementary security measure in the fight against terrorism. Plus, if the use of them turns out to be helpful, their utilization needs to be done in



a manner that will guarantee the human rights protection. The European officials expressed their opposition regarding the storage of data and images taking.

These kinds of debates have brought to light another one about the form taken by the war against terrorism. Some voices say that we have reached a place where the confrontation with terrorists have become strange - they manage to escape all our security measures and we keep creating new ones, restricting our rights, losing our values and giving up our principles.

But it seems that we are forgetting an important aspect – one of the ways that terrorists succeed is by spreading a fear and panic sentiment among people. The next step is that the frightened population will create enough pressure on the governments for these to become more receptive of the terrorist demands. Nobody is arguing the necessity of preventing terrorist acts by monitoring people and activities that might lead to it, but where do we stop?

#### **4. Have the terrorist reached their goal already?**

Persons who are not declared guilty by a court are monitored, the right of privacy is often violated or limited – for example the controls in airports are more drastic and humiliating for the passengers who are looked with suspicious eyes for no reasons, asked to take out their shoes, belts, to empty their pockets and to be ransacked. Some people are set aside on ethnic or religious criteria, and the religious symbols are being profaned in a desperate attempt to protest about a reality that is not right for anyone.

Analyzing all these facts we have to agree, no matter how unpleasant might be, that the terrorist may assume a partial victory. They didn't manage to determine any major political decision, but they have succeeded in affecting our values and keeping a permanent level of terror also through the measures meant to fight their acts.

At this moment there is no unanimous accepted definition of terrorism even efforts in this direction have been made by years. The radicalization on an ideology is even more difficult to define, so all we can pretend for the time being is to have enough tools to identify the facts presumed by this process and their level of risk. This will enable us to take the right measures for security without generating any limitation or violation of human rights.

#### **Conclusion**

The international and European community feel more deeply the need of an objective reevaluation of the steps made in the field of fighting terrorism. From now on, the right measures have to be taken for obtaining the maximum effect on security level, without violating any human right, which will be limited on singular and strict situations.



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## POINT OF VIEWS

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Admitting the high risk potential of the asymmetric threats - terrorism, organized crime and the mass destruction weapons proliferation – and the European implication in fighting these threats, within the international efforts, do not have to influence the permanent affirmation of the European principles and human rights.



# The Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies (CDSSS)

**T**he Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies (CDSSS), a structure of the Romanian National Defence University „Carol I”, was founded in November, 1st, 2000, as a scientific research institution of Ministry of National Defence, subordinated to the General Staff and coordinated by High Military Studies Academy.

Since September 2003, by the order of Minister of the National Defence, following the decision of the Supreme Council of Country’s Defence, the CDSSS has been included into the National Defence University.

The Centre for Defence and Security Strategic Studies publishes scientific studies, periodicals and books. The CDSSS organizes local and international colloquia, seminars, an annual presentations session and several workshops, analysis meetings with military and civilian specialists.

Address: <http://cssas.unap.ro>

## Objectives

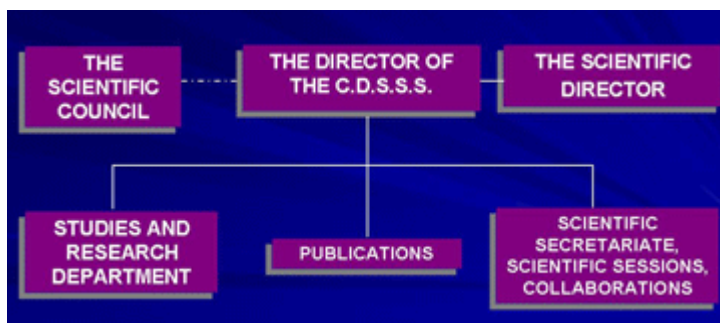
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1. To provide expertise for Romanian political- military institutions;
2. To support the place and the role of the defence’s military component;
3. To provide a theoretical basis for the place and function of the military component within main strategic planning documents;
4. To investigate the changes in the evolution of the security and defence environment influencing Romania’s interests;
5. To study the phenomena inside the Romanian society influencing the military field;
6. To develop the cooperation with military and civil research institutions, other governmental and non-governmental structures;



7. To be part of the common efforts of the Romanian society to implement the security values through international cooperation.

### Organizational Chart



CDSSS' scientific research activities are built on **four programs**:

1. *Concepts and Theories*: The research directions are materialized in varied and complex studies: contemporary terrorism; conflicts' ethnical and religious components; Network Centric Warfare; military power in the 21st Century, etc. Also, regarding the Romanian Armed Forces, this program has in view the elaboration of a strategic vision on long term - 2025.
2. *Euro Atlantic Integration and EU Joining*: This program analyses both NATO and EU transformation processes and their concrete influence on peace and security. The studies are answers to questions such as: What are the main characteristics of the 3rd Millennium political-military crises? How is developed the partnership dynamics in the new security environment? What can we tell about the regional security development in the Black Sea Basin? Which are the East Europe's prospects, especially Romania's ones, in the framework of globalization?
3. *Zones of Strategic Interest*: The main purpose of this program is to make projections and evaluation of the security environment: the development of the regional security in the Black Sea Basin; ways to manage and fight against asymmetrical risks and threats to the Black Sea region; Romanian and European interests in ensuring the free navigation on Danube and the ecologic balance in Danube's Delta, etc.



4. *Romanian Armed Forces and Society*: The research directions are the identification and the analysis of the reciprocal effects between the Armed Forces and Romanian society during the ongoing transformation process.
- [Contemporary Challenges To The European Security](#) [Romanian, 2010]
  - [The Role Of The State Actors In Shaping The International Security Environment](#) [Romanian, 2010]
  - [Globalization versus Political Separatism](#) [Romanian, 2010]
  - [The Evolution Of The Security Environment, Risks, Threats And Actional Elements Within The Aero-Spatial Dimension](#) [Romanian, 2009]
  - [The Influence Of Economic Factor On Security](#) [Romanian, 2009]
  - [The Army's Administrative Management During Crisis And War](#) [Romanian, 2009]
  - [Consequences Management](#) [Romanian, 2009]
  - [Europe: Borders, Citizenship, Security](#) [Romanian, 2009]
  - [The Role Of Religion In The Future Europe's Construct](#) [Romanian, 2009]
  - [Capabilities Facilitated By The Network](#) [Romanian, 2009]
  - [The Private Military Companies And The Human Security](#) [Romanian, 2008]
  - [The Symmetry, Dissimmetry And Asymmetry Within The Nowadays Military Conflicts](#) [Romanian, 2008]
  - [War And Knowledge](#) [Romanian, 2008]
  - [The Energy Security](#) [Romanian, 2008]
  - [EU's Role on providing the global security](#) [Romanian, 2008]
  - [The Influence Of Ethnic And Religious Factors On The Dynamics Of Security Environment](#) [Romanian, 2008]
  - [Defining Phenomena And Processes For The National Army's Evolution](#) [Romanian, 2008]



- [Stability Operations And Human Security](#) [Romanian, 2008]
- [The Role Of International Organizations In Crisis Management From Black Sea Region](#) [Romanian, 2008]
- [Military aspects Of Approaching The Effects Based Operation](#) [Romanian, 2008]
- [Migration And Security](#) [Romanian, 2008]
- [Leadership And Management In The Military](#) [Romanian, 2008]
- [Operational Requirements In The Network Centric Warfare](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The „Energy Weapon” In The International Relations Context Of The 21st Century Beginning](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Security Of The Interest Space: Actors, Instruments And Trends](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Management Of Differences On Achieving Security In The Black Sea Area](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Optimization Of The Romania’s Armed Forces Structures Employed In Military Actions Outside The National Territory](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [National And Collective On Romania’s Defence](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Assymetric Warfare And The New Physiognomy Of The Armed Conflicts](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Military Leader In Romania](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [European Security And Defence Policy - The Framework For Expressing and Developing National Security Interests](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [Perspectives In The Evolution Of Security Organizations](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Ethnic-Religious Dimension Of Security](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Year 2006: Strategic Evaluation](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [The Relations Between Army And Society In The Context Of Romania’s](#)



[Integration Within NATO And Accession In EU](#) [Romanian, 2007]

- [Perspectives In The National Armies' Evolution](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [Expeditionary Military Operations](#) [Romanian, 2007]
- [Optimizing Romania's Army Participation To Collective Defence Activities](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [The Energetic Resources And The Security Environment At The Beginning Of The 21st Century](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [Critical Infrastructures. Dangers, Threats On Them. Protection Systems](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [Actualities And Perspectives On ESDP](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [The Globalisation of Insecurity. Factors and Ways for Counteracting It](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [Perspectives In The Armed Fight](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [Host-Nation Support](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [The Civil Society - a Major Non-State Actor](#) [Romanian, 2006]
- [Reforming Romania's Security System](#) (1989-2004) [Romanian, 2005]
- [The Military and Post-Communist Societies in Transition](#) [Romanian, 2005]
- [The Relations Between Army And Society During The Processes Of European And Euro-Atlantic Integration](#) [Romanian, 2005]
- [The Impact Of The Romania's Army Structures Regeneration Employed in Military Actions Outside Romania On The Romanian Society](#) [Romanian, 2005]
- [The Ethnic-Religious Component Of Conflicts](#) [Romanian, 2005]
- [The Relations Between The Romanian Army And The Civil Society](#) [Romanian, 2005]
- [Missions Undertaken By The Romanian Army Within NATO And Their Implications For The Educational System From NDU „Carol I”](#)



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*[Romanian, 2005]*

- [Using High Light Infantry Units As Expeditionary Forces For Imposing Stability In Areas Controlled By Terrorist Groups](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Methods And Possibilities To Enhance Cooperation In The Black Sea Area](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Collective Defence And National Defence In The Context Of Romania's Integration Within NATO And Accession In EU](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [The Romania's Army Missions Determinations As Part Of NATO And EU](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [The Romania's Army Professionalization Impact On Its Relations With The Romanian Society](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Romania's Army And Guaranteeing The Constitutional Democracy](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Security's Nonmilitary Dimensions](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [The Globalisation's Implications On The National Security](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Collective Defence - A Requirement For Maintaining The National State's Integrity](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [The Military Power In The 21st Century. Ways for Achieving And Acting As A Military Power In The Democratic Society](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Ways Of Preparing And Carrying Out Operations By The Romanian Army For Accomplishing Specific Missions Against Terrorism](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [The Political-Military Crisis At The Beginning Of The New Millennium](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Optimizing The Regeneration Of The Romanian Army Structures Employed In Abroad Military Actions](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [The Use Of Air Force At The Beginning Of The 21st Century. Realities, Tendencies, Implications](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Relocating The US Military Bases In Eastern Europe - Romania](#)



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*[Romanian, 2005]*

- [Network Centric Warfare In The New Military Conflicts Physiognomy](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Cultural Differences Between Romanian Army And Society](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [The Impact Of Joining NATO On The Romanian Army Human Resources Management](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Optimizing And Adjusting The High Precision And Long Range Weaponry Systems For Asymmetrical Military Actions](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Contemporary Terrorism - Risk Factor On Romanian National Security And Defence As A NATO Member](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [European Strategy On Integration](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [New Dimensions And Configurations Of The Regional Security Environment \(the Black Sea And Balkans Area\)](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Centers Of Gravity's Recognizing Methods And Procedures During Armed Conflicts](#) *[Romanian, 2005]*
- [Romania And The Stabilization Process](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [Romania's Security Threats And Risks. Actuality And Prospect](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [Possible European Institutional Architecture](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [Military - Non-military In The National Security. Army's Quandary](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [New Elements In The Study Of National And International Security](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [Partnership Dynamic](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [Collective Defence And National Defence](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [NATO And EU. Determinations And Finalities](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*
- [Geopolitics. Energy Resources Dependencies](#) *[Romanian, 2004]*



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- [Armed Fighting Trends](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Social, Psycho-social And Legal Determinations Of The Romanian Army's Missions](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Dynamic Of The Romanian Army's Missions](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Goal's Dynamic In Military Operations](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Instability Sources](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [NATO Between Certainties And Expectations](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Rapid Reaction In Military Operations](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Technology And Intelligence In The Military Conflict](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Crisis And Instability In Europe](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Military Operations Physiognomy](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Force Projection. Determinations](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [Network Centric Warfare And The Future Of Military Strategy](#) [Romanian, 2004]
  - [National Security Threats](#) [Romanian, 2004]

## Strategic Impact

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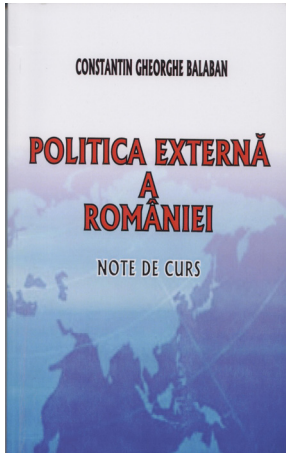
**Strategic Impact** magazine publishes the most important conclusions and ideas having an impact in the field on the following structure: ► *The Political-military Present*; ► *Geopolitics and Geostrategies on the Future's Trajectory*; ► *Strategic Event*; ► *Security and Military Strategy*; ► *The Informational Society. Peace and War*; ► *Analyses. Synthesis. Assessments*; ► *Terrorism. The War Against Terrorism*; ► *Opinions*; ► *Reviews*. **Strategic Impact** magazine is acknowledged as a „B+” type scientific publication by the National University Research Council.

More details about the **Strategic Impact** magazine can be found at the following address: [impactstrategic.unap.ro](http://impactstrategic.unap.ro).



## ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

**A**t University Publishing House appeared a new valuable, pragmatic and useful book of Professor Constantin Gheorghe BALABAN Ph D. The



book presents itself under a synthetic form, very well structured, of scholar notations. The entire architecture of such important domain is placed, with carefulness and apprehension, on page such as to realize a rich, interesting, accessible and very useful paper for students, MBA and Ph D participants, and also for those who are concerned by the knowledge and understanding of the scientific and precious reliance of the Romanian Foreign Policy. The purposes of this notation are generous and very precise. The author, a well-known specialist in this field, has it in mind to create - through the selection and presentation of an ideas set feedback from a very carefully content – identification and evaluation systems and mechanism, within the education process, of a coherent and correct

foreign policy support under the new condition of a flexible and dynamic regional, European and international environment and whereat the variable are more numerous than the invariabilities and consonances. In such environment, the foreign policy must be adaptable, flexible, build on coherent and intelligent principles and rules which are supposed to assure the improvement of the intellectual and diplomatic capital which our country dispose of. The author grants attention to the specific concepts and theories, to the definition and limitation of those, and also to the normative backgrounds. The normative characteristic and flexibly - even they seems to be opposite concepts – must conjoint harmonious and must assure conditions for a high quality foreign policy.

The volume is structured on 11 issues, each topic having 2 or more sections. These 11 issues are the following: 1. Romanian Foreign Policy. Conceptual limitation and normative backgrounds; 2. Romanian Foreign Policy on an open and pragmatic diplomacy range; Priorities and goals; 3. The admission of Romania at NATO – main guarantee of the Romanian security; 4. Romanian admission at EU – main goal of the Romanian Foreign Policy; 5. The security dimension of the Romanian Foreign Policy; 6. Achievements and priorities of the Romanian Foreign Policy; 7. The Eastern neighboring. Romanian relations with Moldavia, Ukraine, Belarus; 8.



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## BOOK REVIEW

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The Eastern neighboring. Romanian relations with the South Caucasus countries (Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan); 9. Romanian relations with Russian Federation; 10. Romanian foreign policy goals in Black Sea region and the relations with West Balkans countries; 11. Promoting the strategic partnership with USA.

The volume is synthetic but comprehensive and includes almost all domains of the Romanian Foreign Policy and, mostly, those which are related with the proximity neighboring, the new context created by the Romania's condition as NATO and EU country, the new relations build and consolidated after 1990, but also by the very rich traditions of the Romanian Foreign Policy from all times. From this point of view the notation is forming into a true educational construction, creating logic supports and profound arguments to learn through discover of the constant coordinates of a clever diplomacy, benefic for the country.

Taking into consideration the way are structured and developed the topics, through bibliographic references and through the material's organization, the issues offers to the readers – mainly to the students and MBA participants, but not only – a pragmatic learning instrument, an inventory of the most important events, synthesis and, in the same time, aiming points in scientific analysis and in knowledge of the processes and phenomena related with Romanian Foreign Policy.

The author bears in mind all components, determinations and dimensions of the Romanian foreign policy bringing for that the necessary arguments and, also, the up-to-date documentation.

All 18 annexes replenish the paper's content and forms into a very useful and accessible documentary paper. (GV)



## CONFIGURATIVE INTERESTS IN THE EXTENDED BLACK SEA REGION (EBSR)



„Promoting Romania’s national interests in the maritime and fluvial space in the extended Black Sea region”<sup>1</sup> (*Promovarea intereselor naționale ale României în spațiul maritim și fluvial din Zona Extinsă a Mării Negre*), written by commander dr. Cornel Marinescu, teacher with *Carol I National Defence University* (Universitatea Națională de Apărare „Carol I”), is a highly actual analytical and constructive paper on the Black Sea region. The paper was awarded the prize „Viceamiral Ioan Bălănescu” (*Viceadmiral Ioan Balanescu*) by the Clubul Amiralilor (*Admirals Club*) in the section Naval Military Theory and Art. It is valuable prize given the strict exigencies exerted by the club of Romanian Naval strategists. The

paper has a strategic and analytical value. The author pays a very close attention to the premises of a new potential Eurasian geopolitical reconfiguration from the perspective of Black Sea internationalization and to the emergence of an extended region – at least from a Romanian point of view. This region has been in a shading cone for an extended period of time, even following the Cold War, as geopolitical reconfigurations targeted mainly other areas with a higher or more extended strategic conflict potential, such as the Pacific, Middle East, Near East, Central Asia and even the Atlantic regions. All these regions and others are dynamic areas where the interests of major continental actors collide and are also the support for future relationships and for power, connexion, confrontation and partnership reports. There is the danger of failing to see the real trees from the forest, which is failing to identify the regions with an extremely important strategic potential.

At a first sight, the Black Sea region might seem devoid of any strategic importance as compared with the aforementioned regions. In reality, this region is a type of bonding agent in a possible (and much needed) Eurasian geopolitical reconstruction.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cornel Marinescu, *Promoting Romania’s national interests in the maritime and fluvial space in the extended Black Sea region*, Carol I National Defence University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009



The respective area represents an obligatory corridor for both legal and illegal immigration from the overpopulated Asian East to the equally overpopulated European West, a phenomenon of utmost importance for cross-border criminal networks and also for European, Asian and international security institutions. This region is also characterized by the existence of all types of conflicts in the world, from those solved through war to those in progress of solving, from frozen ones to conflicts in progress. The effect of the once existing strategic fault is still in full expansion process. But this region is also an area of strategic connexion between the strategic energetic corridor and one of the world's greatest consumers, the European Union.

The strategic relevance of this region derives from its huge potential. Only a few have ventured to refer to the potential of the region, as such a potential is neither very obvious, nor does it result from prospecting or from the existence of huge demonstrated resources. There is no doubt about the existence of such resources. Nevertheless, they remain to be found, and locating them incurs great costs that nobody is willing to assume so far. The potential of the region resides in continuing and finishing still ongoing projects. Some perceive this potential as a Turkish-Russian-Ukrainian geopolitical architecture, to which the European Union can contribute if and only if it considers the two Eurasian states. Others see the potential of the Black Sea region as an exclusively European construction.

By Extended Black Sea Region (EBSR), the author refers to the region between the Balkans and the Caspian Sea. But, in the author's opinion, this assignation is conditioned by the political-economic interests of states in the region and, obviously, of the great actors (European Union, USA, Russia, China, Japan) rather than by geographic delimitations. Furthermore, the author considers that an analysis of the region "is impossible to ignore the economic, political and strategic role of players such as Republic of Moldavia, Armenia, Azerbaijan or the importance of the Eurasian energetic corridor that unites the large Western consumers to the rich energetic resources of the Caspian Sea and Central Asia".

The paper is the result of years of extensive research and pertinent analyses, as the author has been long preoccupied by fluvial and maritime space, and also by the manner in which these spaces are used by Romania and, obviously, by bordering or interested countries. Romania's interests are not seen and analysed in isolation, but in conjunction with the interests in the region of the European Union, Turkey, Russia, the United States and even China and Japan. The author advances a construction based on interdependences and also on a thorough understanding of the geopolitical realities and effects. And even if, due to its incoherent and unrealistic regional policy, Romania is no longer to the fullest of the power granted to it by its economic and social resources, by the size of its territory and its historical bonds, our country can and must contribute effectively to this highly important geopolitical construction. Solving the issues between Romania and Ukraine on delimitating the continental



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## BOOK REVIEW

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plateau and setting the exclusive economic area in an international court of law is solid proof that our country has a remarkable potential of creative intelligence, based on high quality economic, social, political and diplomatic elements. It is through this potential that Romania can significantly contribute to meeting our national objectives and also to supporting European Union's objectives in the region, as part of the Black Sea Synergy and the European Vicinity Policy.

The book is very consistent and well written. It is one of the first papers to approach Romania's national interests in the fluvial and maritime space in an integrated, coherent and substantial manner. (G.V.)



# ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY: Basic Texts military sociology

Military Publishing House, 2010

Editor: Marian Zulean



In 2010 Bookfest book fair was launched by the Military Publishing House, the book “Armed Forces and Socieatea”, a basic text reader with a comprehensive overview of military sociology and well documented by Professor Marian Zulean. As editor warns, the book is useful, on the one hand, “teachers and students in the course of military sociology, military and society, civil-military relations, security studies, international relations, crisis management or general sociology researchers these areas “but also the general public. In the same news editor argues that the military should be understood by policy makers and civil servants, public debate on pension reform and transformation of military security system and its legislation stating that neither politicians

nor the military do not understand the profound phenomena, such as decline of mass armies, the army as an institution / occupation or postmodern military. These are arguments that make the book publishing event!

The book is urgently required because civilian universities, and Christian University “Dimitrie Cantemir” University of Sibiu and Bucharest University, have developed programs for master degree in security studies, military sociology courses needing such a reader, you can place manual of military sociology. We believe that universities and military academies will find useful information such a manual.

The book is organized into three parts. The first part provides the theoretical basis of classical military sociology, the second sentence of this major studies and sociology of military organization and Part Three describes current issues and trends for contemporary phenomena such as civil-military relations, civilian democratic control of intelligence or transforming the military sphere. Translated articles written by leaders of the fundamental literature of military sociology, and Harold Laswell,



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## BOOK REVIEW

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Samuel P. Huntington, Morris Janowitz, David and Mady Segal, Charles Moskau, Bernard Boen, Constantine Danopoulos Thomas Bruneau, Henning Sorensen, of the younger Swiss sociologist Tibor Szvircsev-Tresch or famous economist Milton Fredman, which justified the introduction of voluntary service in the U.S..

A few words about the editor of this book. Professor Marian Zulean has military experience and security adviser to the central public administration, and a long career in the study of civil-military relations, military sociology and security policies. By virtue of these recommendations are designed premises of a publishing event that will truly enrich sociological and scientific culture of safety culture in Romania.

Therefore, selecting text, edition and introduction of care manage to synthesize a long history of seven decades of military sociology and bring in world literature and reference works indedite for understanding the contemporary world. A call to read and analyze this manual!

*Anamaria TARCAN*, masternad, Master of security and defense studies, UCDC



## **AGENDA ISS-DC**

**T**he Institute for Security Studies from the Christian University “Dimitrie Cantemir” (ISS-DC) is working since January 1<sup>st</sup> 2010.

The ISS-DC drafts studies for the security field, analysis and periodical evaluations of the security environments within the areas of interest for Romania, especially for the South – East of Europe and for the Extended Area of Black Sea. The ISS-DC publishes the quarterly magazine “Strategic Universe”, printed copy, DVD-ROM and on-line. This year are planned the following activities:

No.	ACTIVITY'S NAME	DATA (TIME OF DEVELOPMENT)
1.	Ending the planned studies for 2010 and the strategic evaluation	December 2010
2	Workshop	October 2010
3	Ending and elaboration of number 3 and 4 of the magazine “Strategic Universe”	September 2010 December 2010
4	The ISS Conference on “Effects of NATO and EU enlargement policies and strategies for the Extended Area of Black Sea” issue	October 2010
5	ISS Annual Seminar on issue “The security constituent of the society's modernization”	November 11 <sup>th</sup> 2010



THE CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY „DIMITRIE CANTEMIR”  
INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES



*Towards collaborators and readers*

*The “Strategic Universe” magazine – Romanian academic quarterly magazine of the Institute for Security Studies “Dimitrie Cantemir” – wishes to be a publication of all interested by the security fields. Its pages are honored to host studies, articles, essays and other products of scientific research elaborated by the Institute for Security Studies “Dimitrie Cantemir”, by teachers, masters and students of Christian University “Dimitrie Cantemir”, by personalities of the academic and university environment, by personalities of the political, scientific and cultural world from the country and from abroad. We wish to participate active to the scientific debate in the field, to contribute to the knowledge universe, environment and life quality enlargement, to the assurance – within this way – of the necessary conditions for progress, prosperity and durable development.*

*The magazine appears in printed and electronic support (DVD-ROM) and also on line, so that its pages arrives fast to a larger audience, both wise and interested, offering the results of the Institute’s research activity, information and analyses on most acute issues of the national, regional, international and global security field.*

*The Editorial Board waits with interest you to express both within the magazine’s pages and direct dialog with the Institute, Editorial Board and on forum. The magazine can be found on: <http://iss.ucdc.ro>.*

*Those who wish to publish articles in magazine can bring the text direct to the Editorial Board, can send through mail or email. The text must be written diacritic, in Word, in Romanian language and in English or French language, with an abstract of 8-10 lines, with bibliographical references on page’s bottom.*

*You can find us on the address:*

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