

PROMOTING SECURITY INTERESTS OF ROMANIA IN THE CURRENT GEOSTRATEGIC CONTEXT

Gabriel GABOR*, Doina MURESAN**, Laura UNGUREANU***,
Alexandru CRISTIAN***

*„Nicolae Balcescu” University, **”Dimitrie Cantemir” Christian University,
***College of National Defence, Bucharest, Romania

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Abstract: *At the beginning of the XXIst century, geopolitical and geostrategic situation has undergone deep and dramatic changes with some essential consequences on collective and national security of states, as well as on their ability to protect the national interests. The world has become more complex and interdependent, and the phenomenon of globalization is irreversible, which will cause radical changes in affirmation and consolidating power of new actors on the international stage.*

Keywords: *security, geostrategic, international relations, security strategy, national interests, NATO, Ukraine, military bloc*

1. INTRODUCTION

World needs a conceptual re-thinking in most social fields. We live in a dynamic and flexible period, in which we do not know what concept is more suitable to reality and which one we should choose. The main paradigm-anarchic international system – seems to have finished it's on the international political stage. Globalizations moves forward, with its beneficial effects for society, but it is consumed with internal disorder. Current geopolitics is questioned as well as geo-strategy. Some specialists proclaim a planetary geopolitics, others proclaim a regional geopolitics oriented to power.¹

This century opens a new window in international politics in which security and implicitly competition for getting a place in the hierarchy of world power are becoming increasingly stringent. Having a central position in determining the evolution of the world and deciding the new international order² is the objective of the great economic powers and their actions are focused on that.

1 Alexandru Cristian, Foreign Policy and Security Policy of the European Union and New Paradigms of International Environmental Security, thesis, National Defense University „Carol”, p.69

2 Petrescu Stan, *Mediul de Securitate Global și Euroatlantic*, Editura Militară, București, 2005, p.48

The concept of security has been an object of research for all philosophical schools right from the appearance of state as a distinct political entity within the international relations. At present, a rapid evolution of this concept is observed and its adjustment to the realities of the modern world is a certainty and a necessity.

The National Defense Strategy promotes the concept of enlarged security, based on constitutional democracy and mutual respect between citizens and state. The concept focuses on the interests that lead to providing national security in essential domains of Romanian society: defense, public order, intelligence, counter-intelligence and security, education, health, economy, energy and other strategic fields.³ The strategy refers to strategic consolidation of Romania throughout promoting continuity and predictability that derive from being a member state of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) but also of the European Union (EU).⁴

3 National Strategy for the defense of the country for the period 2015-2019, ”Ă strong Romania in Europe and the rest of the world”, the presidential administration, Bucharest, 2015, online <http://www.presidency.ro/static/Strategia%20Nationala%20de%20Aparare%20a%20Tarii.pdf>, p.5

4 Ibidem, p.6

The fundamental values on which the National defense Strategy is based on are dignity, civic cohesion and national identity, constitutional democracy and lawful state, territorial and national integrity of Romania.⁵

The National Defense Strategy is consolidated through promoting the national security objectives decided at internal and external level. In the current geo-strategic context, characterized by heterogeneity and heteroclite, objectives are combined in order to underline the strategic position of Romania in the region.

National security objectives at external level are decided upon by meeting the requirements and promoting the interests of Romania not only within the alliances and partnerships that we are part of but also within the regional security policy. They point to consolidate Romania's profile within the North-Atlantic Alliance and the European Union through conceptual and operational contributions, respect of the EU fundamental values and principles, consolidation of the strategic partnership with the United States of America, providing security in the Black Sea Region, strong cooperation with the neighboring states and those in the Eastern flank of the North-Atlantic Alliance, intensifying regional cooperation, including defense, supporting the European roadmap of the Republic of Moldova, promoting security, economic and political interests in regions of strategic relevance for our country.⁶

Given the circumstances of the modern world, in which security and prosperity are inseparable terms of the same equation, the progress, prosperity and national defense of Romania cannot be anything but the major result of a complex process of promoting and guaranteeing the national interests and values.

According to the Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language⁷ security refers to the reality "of being sheltered by any possible danger; the feeling of confidence and tranquility that the absence of danger gives it to someone".

As an extension, collective security can be imagined as "the condition of relationships between states, created by taking collective defense measures against aggressions through the mean of a treaty".

That is possible the starting point for the expressions used mainly in the field of interest: "national security", "collective security", "international security", "and global security". However, there still has to realize the operational and conceptual dimension of the term at collective, national, regional and global level, etc.

Security must be considered as the capacity of a geopolitical actor to protect the fundamental national values maintaining the possibility to effectively engage in the international context by preserving its own interests.

Within the concerns of specialists in the security domain, it is observed the reality that a precise definition of the concept is not unanimously accepted. In a natural evolution, semantic determinations regarding the security concept are continuously changing.

The concept has known particular interpretations, determined by the national interest of the state that promotes it, and so the fact that the reality regarding the operational and conceptual elements of the national security is dictated by the active components, derived from national interest is taken into consideration.

The modern security concept consists of five cumulative factors that have ample determinations and multiple interdependent effects. We mention here the political component of security, the military, economic, societal and ecologic ones.⁸

In this environment, Romania is an integral part of the European Union and of the Euro-Atlantic community, two large alliances that bring major influences in the analyzed area. Jacques Delors,⁹ former president of the European Commission, underlined the necessity to build a European structure dealing with security, but compatible with NATO.

In this conflicting, dynamic and complex world, in full process of globalization, meeting the essential condition of progress and prosperity, doubled by the right knowledge, understanding, adapting and evaluation of events both internally and internationally are essential factors in the development of the capacity to anticipate and for pro-active action by each state.

5 Ibidem, p. 7

6 Ibidem, p. 10

7 The Romanian Explanatory Dictionary (OFX), 1975 Edition

8 See: Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, <http://www.eas.europa.eu/csdp/>

9 DELORS, J. , *European integration and Security Survival*, vol.33 nr.2, martie-aprilie 1991, p.99-109

2. PROMOTING THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ROMANIA IN THE CURRENT GEO-STRATEGIC CONTEXT

In the strategic and political post-modern world, knowing how to promote own interests means to smartly know how to re-vitalize them or at least how to not let yourself trapped by the old illusion of their absolute character, how to negotiate top positions in an institutional plan relevant even for the global equilibrium of power¹⁰.

The current international context is marked by profound mutations of global security architectures, which determines new responsibilities and generates complex challenges. New actors have shown up and affirmed on the international arena, which has induced the strong growth of interdependency between states. Still, experts consider that "...national state continues to be the most important player of the contemporary world".¹¹

Providing security and defense to the states can be considered accomplished when national interests do not have to be sacrificed for another state, group of states or international organizations, and in case its security components are at risk, it can maintain them even by using military force.

Sources for national security options are internal situation, international situation, and the common interests of citizens and the potential of society to support them determine.¹²

The new millennium has brought to the attention of people, especially the political decision makers, new risk, dangers and threats to the security of nations and implicitly to the international security generated by internal vulnerabilities of states and by those of the current security system. Unprecedented technological development and significant differences between rich states and poor ones bring with them different crisis and unexpected reactions within the security area.

So, we talk about economic-financial crisis, which has affected the majority of states; economic instability generated by the level of external debts, problems associated with globalization; terrorism – that tends to become an international flagellum; production, transportation, trade and consuming drugs; internal and international corruption and organized crime; degradation of the natural environment through irrational exploitation of resources, all equally representing risks to national security.

The fact that our national geo-politic and geo-strategic position plays a very important role within the Europe's security is no longer at all a novelty, and this is due to both the vicinity with great powers and regional powers and the Black Sea access.

A new understanding of threats such as terrorism, cold conflicts, massive migration and trends of geo-political realignment more and more visible has generated a high interest for NATO and the EU for the Black Sea region with the perspective of the enlargement of the stability area as a pre-condition for prosperity.

The Black Sea represents an important transit line for energy resources and for passengers and cargo, too. The EU has unequivocally become an important actor in coordinating evolutions and transformations within the Black Sea region.

The geostrategic position and opportunities offered make the Black Sea region more and more interesting for the European and trans-Atlantic organizations, and at the same time determine the neighboring states and the other states to address the problems within this area more carefully.

Its geographic position, current risks and threats as well as the advantages in terms of military, economic and political cooperation make this area become more and more attractive, but at the same time to require a more careful approach of the problems in the Black Sea region.

The global developments within the international politics are fought back by Russia's attempts to create a system of client states that have created a perpetual vulnerability

10 George Cristian Maior, the new ally - *Reconsideration defense policy of Romania at the beginning of the 21st century*, Bucharest, Editura RAO, 2012, p.76

11 See Bogdan Stefanachi, *As state and globalization challenges-decentralization decentralization government and knowledge*, online <http://www.sferapoliticii.ro/sfera/151/art05-stefanachi.html>

12 Col. prof.univ.dr. Mihai Neag – *Values and national interests in the context of the current security environment*, <http://www.rft.forter.ro/>

and instability in the area¹³.

Recent events in Ukraine prove one more time the major transformations brought by the reality in the concept development of security and to strengthen the necessity of its adaptation and development. Solving each of the latent or current conflicts within the ex-Muslim states from the ex-Soviet Republic raises specific problems. Even though, we notice more regional tendencies that facilitate the will to solve the conflicts and the triumph of democracy. The regional streams in and from the Black Sea region indicate the new availability of local societies and leaders to control violent means. This will is obvious in Armenia's efforts to establish relations with NATO.

Ukraine, from geo-strategic and geo-politic point of view, represents the most important territory between Europe and Russia. Although highly economically dependent on Russia, Ukraine has considerable military and economic resources, which gives it a certain particularity of its international relations. It benefits from a special cooperation relation with NATO and as a result, it has a privileged position in the regional security architecture, cooperation and partnership Agreement has been concluded and it is preoccupied with the development of relations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (BERD).

In the current economic and political-military context in the Black Sea region, the geographic position of the Snakes' Island gives it a distinct strategic value.

All this trends are a proof for what the North-Atlantic Alliance, the European Union and the United States have offered to the governments decided to get rid of the arrangements in place within the post-Soviet area. However, for a gain in the security domain, a price must be paid. The price consists of the democratic reforms connected with the interests of the European Union, of NATO and Washington regarding the enlargement of the trans-Atlantic and western security community. Both NATO and EU have the instruments that they can use to enforce the specific standards for the organizations to the governments concerned as a condition for joining. These reforms create also the premises

for their consolidation on both geographic and institutional level, which will make them irreversible.

To conclude with, promoting the security interests of Romania takes into consideration both the national interests and the allied partners' interests all these based on global evolutions in the area. Promoting the security interests of Romania in this dynamic environment, influenced by multiple interests is provided by joining collective security systems, connecting the internal security with the external one and by regional and international security agreements.

Taking into consideration that globalization is the main factor that influences significantly the security environment and the new threats have the same global feature we can talk about a globalized security in which Romania strongly promotes its interests.

3. MEANS AND INSTRUMENTS TO PROMOTE SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE GEOSTRATEGIC CONTEXT

Means of promoting security interest can be shaped and they have a high degree of adaptability to changes in the international security environment. Currently we witness the enlargement of spectrum of risks and threats to national security, especially those of nonconventional and asymmetric nature that can generate major crisis and armed conflicts, and that requires strong reactions based on mobility, flexibility, diversity, coherence and complementary in using the instruments to defend own interests. Romania has at its eastern border areas of instability that amplify and diversify the asymmetric risks and threats, and this fact can influence the national values and interests and can affect the national security. From this perspective, the risks and threats to national and regional security make NATO and EU members, as well as maritime neighboring countries to cooperate on many aspects in order to promote and defend the security interests, the democratic principles and the common values in the area.

With regard to this aspect, Romania is developing its strategic profile as a security and stability provider, participating in accomplishing the missions decided within NATO and the EU, as well as in the actions

13 Andrei Vocilă - *Perspective of national security to restrict the Black Sea geopolitical and geostrategic context of global security*, <http://andreibocila.wordpress.com>

to accomplish the cooperation and partnership international agreements within the Black Sea region.

Pro-active engagement of Romania in the stabilization and democratization process of the eastern area of the maritime space is a major objective for the rational use of national power instruments in order to promote and defend the security interests. In this context, the complex and dynamic maritime space facilitate the connection between the western area of Europe as a security provider and resource consumer in the eastern area, marked by insecurity, but with significant essential resources.

As long as we cannot talk about stability in Ukraine and given the fact that in the neighboring country almost all democratic mechanisms have been suspended, we can easily conclude that the measures taken to defend the security interests of Romania must be tailored to the new context.

The new National Defense Strategy, at sub-regional and regional level, reveals that the environment in which Romania defends and protects its values, principles and interests is in a new reconfiguration phase, the current security dynamic can affect both directly and indirectly the security state of Romania and its citizens.¹⁴

Romania supports a strong regional cooperation, the eastern and southern flanks of euro-Atlantic area.

A neighboring state where the democratic institutions are altered can become unable to stop the threats in the Border States. Least but not last, energy independence of Romania could suffer if the transit of hydrocarbons on the territory of neighboring states was negatively affected.

The regional energy architecture can suffer mutations determined by possible syncope in benefiting from energy projects competing with those supported by the European Union and Romania.¹⁵

As a result the means of defending the security interests have to be adapted constantly to the changes of geopolitical context. On the

14 National Strategy for the defense of the country for the period 2015-2019, *A strong Romania in Europe and the rest of the world*, the presidential administration, Bucharest, 2015, online <http://www.presidency.ro/static/Strategia%20Nationala%20de%20Aparare%20a%20Tarii.pdf>, p. 13

15 Ibidem

other hand, the geopolitical situation can give Romania important strategic opportunities.

They are empowered by being a NATO member, the integration in the security, justice, cultural, political and economic space of the European Union, the strategic partnership with the USA, the high degree of interoperability of the Romanian defense and security institutions with similar structures of NATO and EU member states. In this respect, in the content of the institutional documents develops the concept of instrument of power¹⁶ of a military, informational, economic and diplomatic nature that uses the mechanisms and procedures specific for promoting and defending the security interests. The instruments of national power are normally used together in order to reach the required response capability in specific situations that include disputes, crisis and conflicts generated by potential risks and threats. It is true that the operational process of the instruments of power used to promote national security interests has to be run and developed constantly, in order to increase the multiple role of Romania as a connecting bridge between civilizations and cultures, trampoline for European liaisons and those between Europe and neighboring regions as well as to develop the strategic profile in its role as a security and stability provider.

CONCLUSIONS

The new euro-Atlantic and European identity that Romania has to build can become a vector of prestige, essential requirement for national security.

Romania, also currently not in very favorable situation, must look for an identity to be recognized at European level and must make its voice heard in the current European context.

To make assure the credibility and the strategic consolidation of Romania, the National Defense Strategy underlines the main directions of action.¹⁷

16 Duțu Petre, Cristina BOGZEANU - *National interests and the use of national power for the promotion and defense: the case of Romania*, University of National Defense "Carol I", 2010, p.20

17 National Strategy for the defense of the country for the period 2015-2019, *A strong Romania in Europe and the rest of the world*, the presidential administration,

These directions are: consolidation of strategy's credibility by continuity and predictability at internal and external level that are achieved through the consolidation of security, public order and defense capabilities, creation a legal framework adapted for a common coordination of activities specific to national defense and national security at the level of the National Defense Supreme Council, intense inter-institutional cooperation to identify and accomplish the strategic objectives of national security, building up preventing mechanisms and also focusing on vulnerabilities, threats and risks prevention as well as allocating resources through rigorous, multiannual, continuous, integrated planning process, capable to meet the national requirements and those of the North-Atlantic Alliance and the European Union.

Romania assumes its role as an equal partner in the great European construction and its voice is heard in the EU forum through its Euro-parliamentarians at Brussels that represent and promote the national interests. In this way, Romania proves its interests in playing an active and constructive role at both European and regional level, in being a connecting bridge between civilizations, different cultural and economic interests for the benefit of stability and prosperity of the whole Europe.

In his role as a state in a geopolitical area of strategic importance, Romania's objectives have to concentrate on gaining a predominant role in the implementation process of stability and security and cooperation policies of the European Union and NATO in this part of central and southeast Europe.

Having said that, Romania's action, in terms of overall interoperability with the two organizations, is focused on solidarity, economic growth, promoting democracy, etc while the globalization marks its boundaries not only as a characteristic of competitiveness based on the growth of internal market, on economic performance, common currency stability but also as a result of technological level, social cohesion and internal stability, all under the spectrum of political influence and military power of the states that are part of these integrated systems for globalization.

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