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CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL IN MILITARY ACTIONS

General (ret.) Professor Teodor FRUNZETI, PhD*

Abstract: The end of the Cold War, the accelerated globalization and the rapid development of means of warfare have brought about a new physiognomy of military actions, which in addition to conventional and unconventional warfare, now include military actions other than war. In this context, the present article seeks to answer the question “Is the conventional/unconventional dichotomy real in terms of contemporary military actions or the elements of each dimension overlap successfully in achieving the ultimate goal?”

Keywords: military action, conventional warfare, unconventional warfare, irregular warfare, sub-conventional warfare, hybrid warfare

1. Preliminary considerations

The Cold War triggered a paradigm shift on the world order, not only in terms of mutation from bipolarity to multipolarity, but also in terms of multiplication and new facets of war. They were and are present on almost all continents, benefiting from factors such as ethnic and religious intolerance, political instability and economic or ideological changes that have been brought in new democracies. Besides the mentioned paradigm shift, the globalization has deepened and its effects have positive and negative connotations: growth and cultural openness of corporations and destabilizing countries, their vulnerability to international economic developments and alienation of traditional cultures. Arguably, one of the results of globalization was dividing the world into stable and some unstable democratic parties characterized mainly by poverty, unemployment,

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imbalance of power and extremism. Major threats arose to international security, especially national and international terrorism, unstable states, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic tensions, the struggle for resources, drug trafficking and organized crime, etc.

Thus, the moments that marked NATO post-Cold War intervention in the Balkans were the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001. While the first triggered the transformation of NATO, the second moment marked a strong change in the perception of security, introducing the first point on the agenda of the national and international security problem of transnational terrorism. The events that followed showed that military strategy is also influenced by globalization. The terrorist attacks in the U.S. have shown, on the one hand, that terrorists can develop a comprehensive strategy, exploiting communications technologies, financial networks and the free movement of people, and on the other hand, the military campaign in response to the terrorist threat was considered as “the first war of the twenty-first century”, as stated by the former U.S. President George W. Bush. So, we can say that globalization has caused significant changes in the production of methods of warfare. Moreover, ever since the first half of the nineteenth century, Carl von Clausewitz stated that every age has its own kind of war, constraints and perceptions and, therefore, for each era a specific theory of war should be developed. Consequently, the events of each era must be considered in light of its features.

In all these changes, Cicero’s famous speech Pro Milone (Milone Annio Pro Tito ad judicata oratio, 52 BC) “Inter arma enim silent leges” (In times of war, the law falls silent), remained as a constant, valid both for conventional and unconventional military operations.

2. Some conceptual observations

The analysis of the conventional and unconventional military action requires, first, making several conceptual delimitations, as international literature shows a wide variety of theoretical formulations, especially in regard to new types of conflicts. Thus, we bring into focus the concepts of

Romanian and American or Indian literature (India is one of the countries with a tradition of military strategy).

*Military action* is considered to be any action performed by military means decided by the government and the general conduct of which is ensured by the Chief of General Staff. It is a coherent ensemble of activities organized and carried out by the military and/or different military structures in peacetime, crisis and conflict, in order to achieve strategic operational and tactical objectives. A military action is both an armed conflict and operations other than war and can be organized both at strategic level (the level sets similar goals) and at operational and tactical ones (the operational level objectives are, respectively, tactical).

In terms of *conventional, classic war*, definitions are almost identical around the world: type of war where weapons of mass destruction are not used, only classical combat means, the fight is fought only by regular armed forces, differing thus from the wars with irregular armed forces (militias, guerrillas, partisans and so on). Also, the fight goes on between two or more states in an open confrontation, each party’s forces are clearly defined, and the overall aim is to weaken or destroy the enemy’s military strength and the ability to engage in conventional war. American literature states that, in order to force surrender, either party may resort to specific unconventional warfare tactics.

*Unconventional war*, also called special war in Romanian military literature is: the shape of waging political struggle with non-political and non-military means, putting into practice, in a planned and coordinated way, the political economic, psychological, propaganda, military measures against a state to destabilize its political power replacement and bringing it

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into a state of dependency and subordination. In American literature, the concept of unconventional warfare (unconventional warfare) includes activities taken to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, undermine or overthrow a government or occupying power by operations conducted through or with illegal auxiliary or guerrilla power, in a restricted area. The “Dictionary of military and associated terms” of the U.S. Department of Defense includes the concept of irregular warfare as a violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over a relevant population. The irregular warfare favors indirect and asymmetric approaches in that it can engage the full spectrum of military and other capabilities, in order to erode the power, influence and will of the opponent. For these situations, India introduces the generic term of sub-conventional warfare that includes all armed conflicts which are beyond the peaceful coexistence of states, but in the brink of war, including militancy insurgency, war proximity and terrorism employed as a means for insurrection movements or worn independently.

This type of unconventional, particularly irregular or asymmetric sub-conventional war differs from the conventional one in that the distinctions between “in front of the front line” and “behind the front line”, between strategic and tactical actions and between combatants and non-combatants are ambiguous.

In the American literature, the conventional/unconventional dichotomy starts even from the level of war principles: from the nine principles of conventional war (objective, offensive, mass, manoeuvre, unity of command, economy of force, security, surprise, simplicity) to twenty

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10 The Indian Army is the first in the world to adopt in 2007 the sub-conventional warfare doctrine that establishes the main lines and strategies to conduct counter-insurgency operations in urban and rural areas., apud http://www.india-defence.com/reports/2803, 2007.
political and strategic principles, on the one hand, and operational and tactical, on the other hand, the unconventional war\textsuperscript{12}. The 20 proposed new principles overlap the four levels specified in Figure no. 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Principles of unconventional warfare</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political and strategic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>Observing the laws, avoiding organized violence; considering the will of the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Knowing the nature of the conflict; knowing the enemy and its culture, beliefs and attitudes; knowing the terrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>Using propaganda either to mobilize the enemy and win its support or to discourage it and destroy its will to fight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobilization</td>
<td>Psychological operations aimed at winning the heart and mind of local population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>Focusing each military operation towards a clearly defined, decisive and tangible objective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perseverance</td>
<td>Assessing risks and adopting a realistic attitude towards success; pursuing the goals patiently and diligently; avoiding excessive ambition at the expense of security.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity of effort</td>
<td>Coordinating the civilian and military relations and integrating all the instruments of national power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security and delusion</td>
<td>We must never allow our enemy to gain an unexpected advantage. Determining the enemy to allot its resources against false units and locations while the real intentions and locations remain secret.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy of forces</td>
<td>Alloting a minimum combat power essential to secondary efforts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiative</td>
<td>Exploiting the opportunities to gain an advantage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpredictability</td>
<td>Avoiding the consistent activities which would allow the enemy to predict future actions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offensive</td>
<td>Profit from, retain and exploit the initiative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility</td>
<td>Refocusing the activities so that to meet the new situations and missions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adaptability | The ability to be effective in any environment and under any circumstances.
---|---
Mobility | Small and lightly equipped units in order to be capable to respond quickly.
Manoeuvre | Placing the enemy in a bad position by flexibly applying a manoeuvre.
Concentration and dispersion | Concentrating the forces at a certain moment and place against the enemy’s critical vulnerability in order to get the decisive results. Placing the forces so that to avoid predictability but keeping the ability to react to the enemy attacks.
 Surprise | Striking the enemy at an unexpected time and place.
 Simplicity | Preparing concise and clear plans and orders.
 Speed | Setting a highly operational tempo which should force the enemy in a proactive way.

**Figure no. 1: The 20 principles of unconventional warfare**

It is noted that these principles derive from those of guerrilla war and try to capture the complexity of unconventional warfare, which do not have a clear definition that meets military strategy expert consensus, and are not subject to consistent policies and doctrines, except for some cases. The difficulty of formulating both the definition and the necessary policy elements derives from the fact that every conflict has its own unconventional peculiarities that can be identified in cases, actors, environment and purpose, which reduces the usefulness of lessons learned.

In fact, globalization, as a phenomenon outside which no scientific approach can be done, does not simplify the analysis of the unconventional dimension of military action, as its impact on military strategy is complex and unpredictable. Currently, military strategy is based on cutting-edge technologies and one of its basic principles is to minimize the number of victims and improve the efficiency of military action. Thus, concepts such as smart defense, comprehensive approach, network warfare, effects-based approach, Fourth and Fifth generation warfare, long warfare, hybrid warfare, war among the population etc. are brought into question.

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13 *Idem*, p. 73.
3. Conventional/unconventional in warfare and military operations other than war

The debate on conventional/unconventional dichotomy in military action must take into account the main categories of such actions: on one hand, the war in its various forms (conventional warfare, nuclear war, guerrilla warfare, civil war, network warfare, terrorist war, war against terrorism, information warfare, hybrid warfare, war among the population and so on), and on the other, military actions other than war (post-conflict military operations, military stabilization operations, peace enforcement, peace keeping and peace support operations, psychological operations, humanitarian operations/actions, etc). Even if the phrase “military actions other than war” is becoming less used in recent years, being replaced by peace operations and other related concepts, we call it into question in order to highlight the aspects of conventional and unconventional military action.

Next, we will focus on these main two categories of military action and attempt to identify the elements of the above-mentioned dichotomy compared to the conventional definition of war and the principles of international humanitarian law.

The international humanitarian law is conventionally divided into three fundamental principles on the means and methods of warfare:

1. The parties in an armed conflict do not have unlimited rights in the choice of means and methods of warfare.
2. In using these tools and methods, there should always be a clear distinction between military objectives, on the one hand, and civilians and civilian objects, on the other hand, so that the attacks are not directed only against the first.
3. To limit as much as possible, the suffering of the combatants and the destructions\textsuperscript{14}.

Applying these principles requires prohibition means and methods of warfare which: cause superfluous damage (effects unnecessarily aggravating suffering of persons hors de combat such as the wounded, sick,

shipwrecked); they have effects that do not distinguish between military objectives, on one hand, and civilian population and civilian objects, on the other hand (blank weapons, chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons and thermonuclear), and large effects, serious and sustainable natural environment (bacteriological weapons, chemical weapons, nuclear weapons modification techniques environment)\textsuperscript{15}.

Thus, conventional war should follow these principles and rules, but the reality is more complex, the boundary between conventional and unconventional is very thin.

The physiognomy of military actions is constantly changing due to the coexistence of conventional and the unconventional size correlated with the evolution of humanity in all its aspects. If, until recently (the twentieth century), there have been many debates about conventional and nuclear war, recent decades have brought to the forefront many concepts such as the ones above.

\textit{Nuclear war} is considered to be illustrating “classical” unconventional military actions. It involves the use of nuclear weapons, which compared to the conventional is destructive both in scale and breadth of destruction. Such a war is considered to have existential risk for civilization, especially large scale use of nuclear weapons against a country (in addition to military targets are concerned and the economic and civil). Limited nuclear war is also mentioned, which refers to the use of nuclear weapons scale between two or more belligerents aimed mainly at military targets, as a prelude to an invasion of conventional forces or as a preventive measure against a potential attack.

\textit{Guerrilla warfare} is a form of irregular warfare that seeks to impose will on the opponent, causing him to drop his plans through wear forces, extremely violent military asymmetric and irregular actions. It involves small groups of combatants, including armed civilians using military tactics such as ambushes, sabotage and raids, and having great mobility to harass a more numerous and less traditional and mobile or strike a vulnerable target, having the ability to withdraw immediately. So, guerrilla warfare and tactics combine conventional weapons with unconventional ones.

\textit{Civil war} aims to impose the will of a party to another party, in terms of taking control of a country or region, a region's independence, changing

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibidem.}
CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL IN MILITARY ACTIONS

government policy and even the conquest of political power using military force. Civil war is a high intensity conflict because it often involves numerous regular armed forces, organized and supported, the number of victims is higher and resource consumption as well. Regarding the conventional / unconventional dichotomy, the civil war prevails in one way or another depending on the size of waging the fight: conventional front lines when there is a clear and regular army; unconventional when either one party or both have irregular characteristics and the front lines are not clear.

Network warfare (NW), a specific concept of the information age, is rooted in fundamental changes in contemporary Western society, especially in the economic and technological information such as: changes in center-based platform network (core network) type C4, the difference between independent vision (action) and specific complex dynamic system that adapts continuously and, not the least, the increased importance of strategic options for adaptation and survival even in these changing systems\(^{16}\). NW is a modern war, it uses C4I2SR systems organized in a core network, a network of sensors and network warfare platforms that use information technology weapons systems performance and outstanding technical capabilities. Much has been written about this type of war, the expectations are that NW changes the character and nature of war, causing conventional war to become obsolete\(^{17}\).

The terrorist war aims, through extreme and surprising violence, at creating a tense international and regional situation, characterized by terror, fear and confusion\(^{18}\). Last years’ events showed that the main political goal of such a war is striking the civilized world in order to erode or destroy it in the name of extremist ideals and the military actions cause losses among the civilian population and political, social and cultural institutions. The terrorist war, obviously, does not comply with the rules of international humanitarian law, mainly the strategies, techniques and unconventional means.


\(^{18}\) Petre DUȚU, Gheorghe VĂDUVA, op. cit., 2004, p. 15.
The war against terrorism is born out of a desire to eradicate the terrorist phenomenon as a result of terrorist attacks against the U.S. on 11 September 2001 and does not cover terrorist operations and campaigns waged by Russia and India. This war was called World War III, World War IV (assuming the Cold War was the third), long war, global war on terrorism, the war against al-Qaeda etc. The American response to the September 11 attacks was multidimensional and included both the conventional dimension of the war, as well as the unconventional: defense institutions and strategic objectives by military means, destroying networks and database infrastructure of terrorist organizations.

*Informational warfare* refers to the imposition of political will by creating an impenetrable active, offensive information system, able to ensure an ongoing information dominance and involves gathering tactical information, ensuring the validity of the information, use propaganda and disinformation to demoralize or manipulate the enemy and the public undermining the quality of information and preventing the adverse party from collecting this information. It seems that information warfare goes beyond the conventional and unconventional in that the troops, tanks, airplanes, submarines, missiles and other conventional weapons are replaced with binary digital code and go to battlefield digitization. The American literature also speaks of electronic warfare and cyber warfare.

*Hybrid warfare* is the most striking example for the impossibility of clearly separating the conventional size of the unconventional military action: combining conventional war with irregular and cyber warfare. Moreover, hybrid warfare is a combination of symmetric and asymmetric war, the forces leading conventional military operations against enemy forces and targets at the same time, trying to gain control of the indigenous population in the conflict zone by securing and stabilizing it (stabilization operations). Therefore, this type of war makes a connection with the military actions other than war, those peace operations above.

*Peace operations or military actions other than war* is the crisis response of agencies and nations with limited contingency operations,

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19 Ibidem.

involving all instruments of national power to reduce conflict missions, appeal for peace and environmental modeling so as to make possible reconciliation and rebuilding and facilitate the transition to a legitimate government\textsuperscript{21}. It is obvious that the challenges faced by military units in peace operations are different from conventional military operations.

The factors that differentiate conventional war military actions other than war include operational principles, lack of strategic direction, expanding the scope, limited intelligence, cultural and political diversity, multiple actors, media exposure, the lack or limited rule of law, constrictive rules of engagement, possibility of manifestation in austere environments, domination by small independent operations, the need for visible presence, progress in urban areas, the need to integrate psychological operations units and civilian business, the need for extended negotiations\textsuperscript{22}. The interventions in recent years have highlighted inefficiencies in certain aspects of these operations resulting from misapplication of operational principles or inadequate understanding of the characteristics of the environments in which past operations were performed and also of the reasons of the success of the innovative tactics used.

The most significant differences between conventional military action and peace operations occur in the principles that govern them. Unlike the first, where the strategic goal is to defeat your opponent and achieve the national and alliance strategic objectives, peace operations aim either to solve the crisis situations without taking to war or to restore peace or impose terms defined by mandate with preservation of impartial operation or support the people in need as a result of wars, conflicts, crises and disasters. Objective, offensive, mass, manoeuvre, unity of command, economy of force, security, surprise and simplicity principles remain dominant conventional military actions, but, according to some specialists, as the characteristics of the international security environment has changed, some of these principles became prevalent in new types of military operations.


other than war: unity of effort, restriction, perseverance and legitimacy\textsuperscript{23}. The unity of effort refers to the need for coordination at both multinational forces and the cooperation with various governmental structures. The restriction principle is also very important for peace operations because, unlike conventional military actions, whose success is favored by the use of overwhelming force, in this case no restriction regarding the use of force may have adverse effects. Perseverance is a key principle in military actions other than war because of their long-term conduct, some analysts even considering that it takes twenty years to deliver social changes necessary to avoid conflict\textsuperscript{24}. Finally, legitimacy is understood as a necessary condition for the force presence and operations performed by it to be perceived as legitimate, with the authority to use appropriate means to achieve the goals set by the conventions recognized by the parties.

From the above, we can notice that the dichotomy between conventional and unconventional military actions is forced, at least in absolute theoretical terms, as now these two dimensions are coexisting in the same action, and their combination can ensure success. It is also obvious that when we refer to unconventional military actions, the meaning assigned to them is much broader than simply placing the antithesis of conventional warfare characteristics, the necessary and detailed appeal to the principles of international humanitarian law as a basic framework debate on military action. So, we can say that, except conventional war, none of the types of military action above is only conventional or unconventional exclusively, but all include features of both dimensions.

In conclusion, while many countries have invested heavily in recent years to modernize conventional forces, the possibility of starting a conventional war type conflict decreased significantly. However, these investments are used to support a growing number of large scale military actions, predominantly unconventional because, as we said earlier, contemporary conflicts can not be assigned exclusively to one or the other of the dimensions analyzed.

The nature of war has been gradually modified by factors that can be ascribed to globalization and, although the armed struggle remained the

\textsuperscript{23} Ibidem, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibidem, p. 7.
main form of practicing organized violence now, at least for national and international coalition forces, are designed to prevent unnecessary victims and destruction. The traditional principles of war have not changed but have acquired new meanings, new additions illustrating the physiognomy and the nature of contemporary conflicts: legitimacy, knowledge, psychology, mobilization, objective, perseverance, unity of effort, security and deception, economy forces, motion, unpredictability, offensive, flexibility, adaptability, mobility, manoeuvre, concentration and dispersion, surprise, simplicity and speed. In addition to these substantive changes, there were changes especially in the sphere of military technologies, no armed force being allowed to be static in terms of its nature and capabilities. All such modifications and changes are aimed at military actions conducted in a multidimensional fluid battle space, encompassing both conventional and unconventional elements.

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CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL IN MILITARY ACTIONS


CONDITIONS AND OPERATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EVOLUTIONS OF THE COMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION SYSTEMS IN THE NATO ADHESION PROCESS

Major General (ret) Professor Constantin MINCU, PhD

Abstract: In the article are briefly presented the main political, diplomatic and military events taking place in the pre-adhesion period. Furthermore, the author presents the operational and technical evolutions to develop some Communications and Information Systems (CIS) compatible and interoperable with ones of NATO and Member States. There are underlined efforts often done in a climate of hostility and careless of some political and military leaders.

Keywords: Romania; NATO; Adhesion; SIC Systems; C4I.

Introduction

More than ten years after our integration with full rights and obligations in NATO (ceremony of state flags ascension at the NATO Headquarters, Brussels, held on 2 April 2004, followed by an informal meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Member States) we think it is normal and beneficial to recall the actions and steps taken by the management of Romanian state in political, diplomatic and military in order to get closer to Western countries in general and NATO in particular.

The debut was made in July 1990 when the Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman addressed in writing to the NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner the invitation to visit Romania. There followed fourteen

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years of complex actions taken by both sides in an international dynamic, complex and often unpredictable geopolitical environment which finally resulted in success for Romania and other Central and Eastern European countries.

**It is justified** the assertion that NATO membership has had direct beneficial impact on Romania's security and we can say, on the whole of Europe. We appreciate this also in light of recent events in Ukraine, the authoritarian tendencies and aggressiveness of important international actors in the Euro-Asian area and beyond.

Retrospectively, the efforts to reform society in general and the Armed Forces in particular we can argument with solid proofs that the objectives of NATO Membership Action Plan has been a huge mobilization on political, diplomatic, military levels and in the entire Romanian society which contributed to Romania's integration into NATO. The adhesion negotiations in 2001-2002 were complex and difficult and marked a firm commitment (!) of our country, including the allocation in the coming years of 2.38% of GDP on defense (unfortunately now the Romanian authorities allocate 1.38% on paper and only 0.9% in reality). In this context we must show that the Alliance has called for a serious approach concerning the targets and resources in order to catch up with the technology and equipping of the armed forces. Unfortunately, after accession, the Romanian politicians have abandoned the important objectives in the restructuring and modernization of the armed forces, placing in ridiculous some crucial issues to national security and fair and honest fulfillment of obligations under the Treaty of Accession.

**Introducing briefly** the political-military developments, we will refer to actions and processes in the field of communication and information that have played a key role in our qualification from a military perspective. Those interested can check out the source, that about 60% of the objectives of MAP, phases I-V, were related to the interoperability and compatibility of Command, Control, Communications, Computers and Information (C4I). NATO officials and those of the Allied armed forces stressed, in unison, that before they could fight they need to communicate, to understand each other.
1. Chronology of major political, diplomatic and military events (July 1990 - April 2004)

Since the space offered by the magazine is limited we will try to synthesize and categorize these events and activities, all with the aim of running a complex process of retaining all respects conducted in the context of political forces synergy and almost unanimous approval of the public opinion:

- **July 1990:** Prime Minister of Romania sent an invitation to visit Romania to NATO Secretary General – Manfred Wörner;
- **October 1990 - February 1993:** visits and discussions taking place at the highest political level – President, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister of Defence, NATO officials;
- **April 1, 1990:** U.S. strategic program initiation - Romania „MIL-TO – MIL” (Important for openness to knowledge of Romanian troops);
- **January 26, 1994:** Romania became the first country in Central and Eastern Europe that joined the Partnership for Peace (following a complex set of actions that led to mutual knowledge);
- **September 14, 1994:** Romania transmits to NATO bodies the first NATO-Romania Individual Partnership Program;
- **There are taking place exercises and complex actions of partnerships with NATO and its member countries, essential for converging the visions in the military field:**
  - COOPERATIVE BRIDGE – 94 – Poland
  - COOPERATIVE DETERMINATION – 95, September, Sibiu, Romania;
  - There debuted C4I applications series – „COMBINED ENDEAVOR – 95”, May, in Germany. In this first application involving eight partner countries, including Romania and two NATO countries - the U.S. and Germany. This is the first application wherein participate eight partner states among whom is also Romania and two NATO member states – USA and Germany. It is the first application for interoperability testing of communication systems, a true laboratory of CIS systems development for future military action. The
Romanian military professionalism is certified with arguments. Since then until now (2014) COMBINED ENDEAVOR applications have taken place yearly, going from 10 countries in 1995 to 40 in 2014 (NATO members and partners).

- **October 1993 - June 1997** bilateral and multilateral contacts were held at NATO and in Romania, involving the Parliament, Presidency, Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence for the harmonization of political and military views;

- **July 8, 1997 - Summit takes place in Madrid - Romania does not catch the first wave of enlargement** mainly because of reasons of domestic political and functioning rule of law. From a military standpoint, Romania at that time was not among the three countries admitted also in terms of military quality it was equal with them.

- **July 11, 1997 - U.S. President - Bill Clinton -** is visiting Bucharest for consolation, due to our non-invitation to NATO, but owed to the fact we were already considered partners, appreciated in operations’ theaters;

- **1997-2002** - Political activity and the diplomatic initiatives with consistent and reliable military actions of Romania, confirm that the country acts as a reliable ally of NATO and the U.S.;

- **October 1999** - Romania submits to NATO the first „Annual National Training Program” cycle „MAP-I” for a systematic and constructive approach towards accession;

- **September 2000** - the „National Plan for Accession” cycle „MAP-II” is sent to NATO.

- **September 11, 2001** - terrorist actions take place in the U.S. with particularly serious important political and military consequences among which is included the more concrete openness for new allies and their integration into the Alliance as soon as possible;

- **September 28, 2001** – we continue with the determination to join efforts, resulting in the „MAP-III”;

- **September 2002** - Romania proves with arguments that it made substantial progress (noted by NATO) to qualify in military terms (including the C4I) and submits „MAP-IV”;
November 21, 2002 - Summit in Prague, Romania is invited to join NATO, along with other six European countries;

November 23, 2002 - U.S. President George W. Bush’s visit to Bucharest, to congratulate Romania and to reiterate the U.S. commitment to political, diplomatic and military support;

December 2002 - April 2004 - Romania steps up political, diplomatic and military efforts to achieve the targets committed by MAP NATO;

October 2003 - first Romanian troops are placed in military operations of NATO and contiguous coalition to U.S. states in Iraq and Afghanistan.

April 2, 2004 – the ceremony of state flag takes place on the occasion of the ASCENSION OF ROMANIA held in NATO Headquarters in Brussels.

2. Action in the field of military communications in NATO vision (1990-2004)

I present, from the perspective of an officer directly involved in the actions of radical modernization of communications and information systems of the Romanian Armed Forces (Chief of Staff of Transmission Command in-between 1991-1997 and Head of the Communications and Informatics between 1997-2002) some essential aspects to achieve the objectives of compatibility and interoperability with NATO systems.

I appreciate and prove with facts and documents in the archives of MoD, the actions in the branch went off in 1990, with important conceptual achievements until 1993. If actions had begun in 2001, as some authors stated that would have happened, we probably would have joined NATO (in military terms) somewhere in 2015.

Let us recall some events:

- March to July 1990 – in the Transmissions Command the first concept is developed in a specific vision of the new NATO member states „Transmission of the Romanian Armed Forces (STAR)”, with the two main components „Permanent Transmission Network (RTP)” and „Mobile Network for Troops” at all hierarchical levels.
- **July 1990 - March 1992** - STAR Design and Project are presented and analyzed by factors responsible in MoD - resulting in the pro and cons of these vision documents (some said „we’ll see”, „let’s wait”, „we cannot afford it”, „we are not Americans”, etc).

- **July 1993** - STAR concept is presented by Commander of Transmission Command – Maj. Gl. Anton Chițacu to the Supreme Council of National Defence, the body that approves the document;

- **July 1993 - December 1994** - approaches and actions are taken to start the implementation, first, of the Permanent Transmissions Network (RTP), the main component of STAR;

- **December 31, 1994** - after much debating, analysis and controversy, the Minister of National Defence approved the document with the result of the international tender for RTP / STAR;

- **January 1995 - April 1997** - orchestrating often with diabolical means of the attacks in different commercial and noncommercial areas against RTP / STAR program progress (you can write a book on this subject and maybe it will be written some day);

- **January 1995** - delegation of Transmissions Command is visiting the U.S. under the MIL-TO-MIL occasion when are visited transmissions, command and control objectives, including NORAD. They once again confirmed our solutions adopted in Romania;

- **April 1997** - SCCD (Supreme Council for Country’s Defence) approves the continuation of the development and implementation project of RTP / STAR, after two years of stagnation and sterile internal „wars”;

- **1997-2002** – It is accelerated the installation process of RTP / STAR communications centers, reaching 60% of them (2002);

- **May 1995** - participation of the Romanian Armed Forces to the first application for testing interoperability of communication, with the initiative and sponsorship of the U.S., „Combined Endeavour – 95”, Germany, alongside two NATO members and seven partner.

- **1995-2004** - the series „Combined Endeavour” applications continues with increasingly wider human and technical participation (actually applications continued yearly including in 2014 reaching over 40 participating countries);

- **1997-2004** - technical communications exercises occur in order to test and identify solutions to develop STAR, mainly RTP, radio and satellite
communications equipment and the ratio of interoperability with the systems of other institutions of the national defense;

- **1998-2002** – numerous visits are conducted to knowledge and assess the progress of the Romanian Armed Forces, conducted by American and NATO officials:
  - General NAUMAN – Chief of International Military Staff;
  - General Jim JAMERSON - USEUCOM Commandant (January 1998);
  - Gen. Wesley Clark - Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (July 1998);
  - General R. RAUNTRY - sent by the Pentagon for the final evaluation of the capabilities of communications and information systems of the Romanian Armed Forces (March 2002). Positive assessments were followed by encouragement and advice for the future;

- **1999 and 2000** - Head of Communications and Information Directorate in the General Staff presents the actual situation of the Communications and Information Systems (CIS) at NATO headquarters in Brussels on 1+1 format (NATO + Romania) and 19+1 (representatives of all NATO members + Romania). The Romanian representative at NATO sent, after the meeting, a positive feedback of the Alliance’s officials.
  - Positive developments occur in the operational standards, procedures, working documents etc.

**3. Operational and technical developments in-between 1990-2014**

- **RTP / STAR program develops** reaching 60% in 2002 and 90% of the project in 2012;
  - Digital radio communications with encrypted frequency hopping are acceleratedly introduced in the procurement (several hundred to 2014):
    - PANTHER family stations and radio auto-stations;
    - HARRIS family stations and radio auto-stations;
  - NATO manuals, standards and procedures were adopted and implemented;
The infrastructure output (since 1999) and operation of the MoD data communication network “INTRAMAN”;
- Operational requirements and technical architecture were developed and implemented by National Military Command Center (CNMC / NMCC);
- Progress has been made in coordinating actions and programs for achieving fixed and mobile C4ISR FORCE GOALS;
- Communication and information systems for voice and data encrypted with NATO structures were made;
- **After the Madrid Summit**, the structures from the General Staff and Communications Command reorganized the new NATO “Smart Defence” concept;
- Deployable communications module (DCM-E), a unit of NATO deployed in Romania, was built, operationalized and deployed in the theater (Afghanistan - 2010), with 100% Romanian personnel;
- The participation in NATO important applications, with a strong involvement of C4I systems **continued**:
  - COMBINED ENDEAVOUR
  - HERALD HERMES
  - DNNUBE GUARD
  - JACKAL STONE
  - CMX
  - ABLE STAFF
- **There were developed** strong capabilities of satellite communications by:
  - Commercial networks;
  - NATO and allied military satellites;
  - Satellite stations property of MoD;
- The complex communications staff training according to NATO standards and requirements is in an ongoing process.

**Conclusions, lessons learned and assessments**

a) Conclusions:

  - **Communications of the Romanian Armed Forces** have overcome fast often in a climate of hostility from
Romanian (military and civilian) officials a technological
gap of 30-40 years;
❖ Hundreds of military in the communications branch were
trained in a modern vision;
❖ NATO operational requirements, procedures and
standards were properly integrated;
❖ It was given a true measure to CIS capabilities in
theaters, in national, NATO multinational exercises;
❖ There remain outstanding development and
implementation plans of C4ISR systems for fighter units
(lack of resources and interest from those responsible).

b) Some lessons:
❖ corrections were made during the development of
projects in the field (based on “lessons learned”);
❖ The actions carried out in the operations theaters
contributed to beneficial changes in the planning,
organization and implementation of appropriate CIS
support systems for command and control;
❖ New manuals instructions, procedures and standards were
edited;
❖ Human interoperability with soldiers from other NATO
countries was developed.

c) Some relevant considerations on Communications and
Informatics field of the Romanian Armed Forces
❖ General NAUMAN – Chief of the International
Military Staff:
   - “Romanian Armed Forces should focus on staff
     training, including knowledge of English and the
     Communication”;
❖ General Jim JAMERSON - USEUCOM
Commandant (January 1997):
   - „Romanian Armed Forces has made progress in
     the field of C4I. I appreciate that and wish you to
     meet the ongoing programs as soon as possible as a
     condition for integration into NATO“;
General James L. JONES – Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), August 2003, in Bucharest:
- „The reform and transformations in the Romanian Armed Forces allowed the development of capacities in NBC, logistics and communications that will be useful to the North Atlantic Alliance and will allow Romania to have flexible forces that can be deployed in operations theaters”;

General Wesley CLARK – former Commandant of SACEUR:
- „Secret secure communications offer the opportunity to provide the necessary command and control links during a crisis. Understanding this, the Romanian Armed Forces build the backbone of strategic communications system that will allow command and control of troops and weapons systems in real time”.

Finally, I can say with full coverage of facts and documents that during 24 years, in the Romanian Armed Forces there were radical changes in communication and information systems, especially in the strategic segment and tactical radio communications. There remain serious questions in tactical C4ISR systems for combat forces of the three categories of military forces.
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ADAPTING THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS TO THE TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Lieutenant-General (ret) professor Cristea DUMITRU PhD

Abstract: This essay proposes an analysis of the impact between the fast evolution technology and the military education, as well as part of acting directions for the future. The Romanian military education system is a state education, integrated as a subsystem in the national education system. The essential coordinates of this particular education system are given by the evolution of several factors: the national education system, the military institution, the Romanian society as a whole, and the international environment.

Nowadays we are witnessing the expansion process of the distributed education forms (e-Learning) in different developed states, and the high attention paid within NATO to the modern education methods based on Internet or computer networks capabilities (Web, e-mail, online lessons).

One of these paper work goals is to assess the present situation of the Romanian military education system from the point of view of the IT equipment quality and quantity, and of the communication infrastructure. The next important phase stands in the implementation of the Distributed Remote Education, component of the Information System for Military Education Assistance.

Keywords: Romanian military education system; Remote Distributed Education; e-Learning; modern education methods

1. The military education within the information process of the Romanian society

The Need to Promote Modern Educational Methods in the Military

1 Member of the Academy of Romanian Scientists, Military Sciences Section and former Chief of Romanian J.6.
The military education is a state education, integrated as a subsystem in the national education, its essential coordinates being determined by the evolution of the national education, evolution of the military, of the society and the international environment.

Reshaping the military education is part of the national educational reform and of the military transformation.

In order to have a modern education several measures are needed to orientate the educational-instructive processes on coordinates imposed both by the social order and by the research results in the field of education policy.

The military education diversity and complexity, its needs of integration, the budgetary allocations, and the disposal of the education institutions on the national territory impose a progressive and coherent information technology insertion.

Nowadays we are witnessing the extension process of the distributed education (e-Learning) in the developed states and the growing attention given in NATO to this modern form of education based on Internet (Web, e-mail, e-news).

The great potential of this system of education is mainly provided by the elimination of the time, place and study pace restraints. The e-Learning systems could be utilized by compact groups or independently as a complementary component of other training systems designed for individuals separated by long distances. One of the major advantages of this system is that the education could be accomplished at home or at the working place, anytime and everywhere is possible.

The changes in the social and economical life drive to human trends reorientation, transformation of the social priorities, revision of the attitudes and ideals. The developments of the new information technologies and of the means of communications create new requirements and issues for the conventional system of education.

These technologies extend the education beyond the limits of the traditional classrooms and campus up to homes, museums, libraries and working places.

During the last decade many transformations took place with a special effect over the military education and training. Meanwhile the technology evolved in such a manner that determined a significant change of the theatre
of operations with a direct force over the military education and training requirements.

The technological transformations continue to generate new possibilities for the diversity, complexity and dynamics of the armed forces structure, and for the associated knowledge.

Exploiting these possibilities at their true potential has implications for the military education and training infrastructure and organization and needs a rethinking of the entire training process.

This transformation and rethinking process cannot be done over night but during a gradual evolution where the analysis and experimentation will alternate and will intersect with large scale implementations. Major changes in communications and computers infrastructure lead to revolutionary changes in the technology of education systems. The convergence towards the new technologies was built during many years of research and experimentation, over many stages of evolution.

**Remote Education, e-Learning, Distributed Remote Education**

Education is defined as being the knowledge, skills and practices acquirement by integrating the training and education into a complex system.

The remote education is based on diverse learning technologies. These could be divided in two categories:

- Synchronous
- Asynchronous

The remote education programs mainly use the *synchronous* learning technologies which are valuable in ensuring the remote training and education, where the students are physically separated from the instructors.

These technologies require that the students are gathered together to certain hours in previously defined places even if they are separated from the instructor. The experts name this type of synchronous technology as “remote education”.

In the Romanian education the education institutions use the Remote Open Education (ROE). The Academy of Economical Studies started to use a classical ROE in 1999, and from the IT implementation point of view has defined the following goals:

- The development and maintenance of Internet site at the level of coordinating director;
• Virtual courses;
• Electronic newsletter;
• A virtual library;
• Electronic admittance.

The distributed remote education is based on asynchronous learning technologies which ensure the training and counseling without any meeting time and place for the students. These learning technologies depend on the computers technology for both teaching and learning processes.

Combining the traditional teaching that relies on computer and multimedia interactive technologies with the new intelligent simulation capabilities based on Web, we can talk about the “distributed remote education” technology.

The education methods previously described could be characterized as follows:

(a) Remote education
• Spatial separation without the physical presence of the teacher;
• Education based on courses;
• The courses make possible the learning process without the physical presence of the teacher;
• Doing homework could be seen as well as learning without the presence of the teacher;
• It is typical asynchronous and individual;
• From time to time, some courses will occasion contacts between the student and the teacher, by social and didactical reasons.

(b) E-Learning
• Students and teachers are separated;
• The education could be synchronous and collaborative;
• It is using the synchronous and asynchronous communication facilities based on Web (e-mail, forums, group and individual working spaces, audio and video conferences);
• Resources sharing;
• Virtual studying communities;
• Education through a computer network connection.

(c) Distributed remote education
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- It is the education where the primary interaction is done with the Web technology support;
- An advanced and subject oriented technology is used for greater freedom and control of the student, due to network and interface intelligence [1].

The distributed remote education is an evolution of the remote education relying on the collaboration of the reusable objects standard versions, of the networks and of the education management systems.

The distributed remote education could combine the traditional education methods with new, simple, coherent study programs. It could be developed in virtual classrooms with minimum investments and low costs of application.

The application of the new learning technologies allows overpassing the barriers imposed by a strict program, the obligation of a “school day” being eliminated. When the student has the necessary time and motivation for learning, any time, space or location restriction disappears. Students have a greater control over the place and the moment for acquiring the information. They have greater responsibility for their own study and they are more receptive to the quality of information.

2. The actual stage of the technical support. Documents to regulate the information technology implementation in the military education

The Actual Situation of the Communications and IT Support

The IT implementation in the Romanian society involves changes both at the military institution level and military education. In the military education institutions created, in the last years, conditions to develop IT activities through the following:

- IT laboratories;
- Computer networks;
- Hiring IT experts;
- Connection to INTERMAN/INTRAMAN computer networks.

The main elements which make possible the implementation of a modern education method in the military are:

- The National Military Communications Network (RMNC), being in an advanced stage of modernization, development and functioning;
• Local computer networks/sub-networks from education institutions;
• Military and civilian IT experts;
• The SIIMAN program (The Integrated Information System of the Ministry of Defense);
• The Agency for Military Information Systems and Services – the specialized structure of the Ministry of defense, authorized for activities of assistance, projection and implementation in the IT field.

The military education institutions are provided today with IT laboratories for specialty courses, IT laboratories for foreign languages study, computerized publishing houses and multimedia laboratories for the most types of education structures.

The Ministry of Defense internal computer network – INTRAMAN – represents the physical and logical foundation of the Integrated Information System of the Ministry of Defense (SIIMAN) and it is an assembly of communications, computers, databases, software and IT services which ensures the Ministry of Defense’s users with the information exchange and with the resources sharing in electronic format.

SIIMAN holds as a main element the communications infrastructure (INTRAMAN and INTERMAN), that is supported by RMNC network which is re-projected according to the needs of data and images transmissions, with faster protocols which ensure a more reliable and precise transmission. SIIMAN relies as well on its optical fiber communications own support made of a backbone developed for the Ministry of Defense HQ, central directorates, General Staff HQ and armed forces’ services HQs.

The Distributed Remote Education - Component of the Information System for Military Education Assistance (SIMIL)

The implementation of the Information System for Military Education Assistance (SIMIL) in the Romanian Armed Forces is carried out within the SIIMAN program. This system defines all the IT subsystems and services which assist the education and training activities types: high school, military school, application school, service academy, and training and education centers of the Ministry of Defense.

SIIMAN provides IT products and services for all the components of the Ministry of Defense (General Staff, departments, directorates etc.), so
that the users are able to work collaborative, to access information and resources from any location, to interconnect with any other user in the network in data, voice or image communication keeping the security imposed by each system.

SIMIL provides with information systems (laboratories, remote education etc.) the educational processes of instruction and improvement within the military education institutions (colleges, university education and post-university education) and of the centers of excellence.

3. Distributed remote education programs in the Romanian Armed Forces

The Land Forces Academy has developed a program based on three software applications using a server matrix (main memory).

The program of the Naval Forces Academy is based on a software application, "Learning Management System" (LMS), using a server matrix (main memory) of some authorized software applications.

The program of the Military Technical Academy uses available resources, namely equipments and software applications bought under a Romanian – Netherlands common project.

The program of the National Defense University has as a main purpose the development and the distribution of digital content according to its own university curricula, especially in the fields of national security, crisis management, communication and public relations, humanitarian law, CIMIC, NATO – crisis response operations and so on.

A Department for Distributed Remote Education was established at the National Defense University, in accordance with the provisions of the Governmental Decision 1011/2001 regarding the organization and functioning of the remote education and of the education with low frequency in the university education.

The National Defense University is partner with the NATO Defense College in Rome for spreading the "Introduction to NATO", "European Security Defense Policy" and "United Nation Institute for Training and Research" (UNITAR) courses.

4. The implementation strategy of the distributed remote education in the Romanian Armed Forces
Implementing such a system is a complex activity. Thus that implementation is performed according to a clear and realistic vision, step by step, starting from the present situation, based on the existing resources and following the final goal.

Making an integrated system designed for the remote courses dissemination respects the existing national legislative framework and the NATO official documents in the field. As we mentioned before, at national level there is the Governmental Decision 1011/2001 regarding the organization and functioning of the remote education and of the education with low frequency in the high education institutions. According to this normative document, standards were issued regarding the remote education by the National Commission of Academic Accreditation and Evaluation.

The Governmental Decision 1011/2001 and the respective standards impose to the education institutions to create specialized structures, called departments, which are responsible to ensure the education plans for remote courses. Outside these provisions no courses could be organized with the recognition of the Ministry of Education, Research and Youth and study diplomas cannot be issued.

Taking into account that reason, we consider that a two level approach is realistic when an e-Learning system is to be created:

1. **Education Level.** It will comprise all the military education institutions which function according to the national laws regarding the education and that has to distribute digital content for courses included in education plans and programs. Within these, specialized structures should be established (National Defense University already created such a structure) that are to enter in the academic accreditation and evaluation process. These specialized structures will provide courses according to the professional evolution requirements of the military personnel established together with the Human Resources Management Directorate. This type of courses should be open and accessible on Internet, controlled by different security measures regarding the access, by the remote education departments of each education institution.

2. **Training Level.** It will be oriented toward issuing and distribution of digital content for short term courses designed for improving training of different military personnel categories oriented to certain tasks and missions. The content of these courses, according to the level of
classification, could be exclusively disseminated on INTRAMAN network and/or on the Internet.

First step in projecting a pilot program for distributed remote education stands in writing down a list of objectives that should mainly comprise the following:

- The demonstration that by applying this program the requirements regarding the military students training should be satisfied;
- Comparing analysis of the learning programs to be installed according to the needs in the field;
- Locations for the control, development and supervision of the training programs;
- Directions for using the program;
- Databases where the human resources and their skills could be evaluate;
- A balance to establish the costs, profit and the ways to recover the investments [2].

In order to get notable effects, the projects of the pilot programs for distributed remote education should firstly identify the training forms, the requirements imposed by the field of study and the learning method, establishing in the meantime the costs, the working time and the level of correct use of the technology by the students. If during the program other needs or requirements are identified, these will be included later on in the program.

The General Staff’ responsible structures ask for the task list established by the military education institution and discuss about this with the program directors. The resulted information return to the director of the pilot program who together with the military education institution draw up a selection test for the students to benefit from the Advanced Distributed Learning (ADL) program.

The education content of the ADL pilot program provides a collaboration prototype with the course programmers, designers and teachers. The development is oriented to create informative and interactive study objects that should be a challenge for the student and could be reused by the teachers considering the course organization on study objects agreed by the students. In order to accomplish this purpose, a standard protocol to establish a course of action is concluded.
The assessment of the ADL program is done according to a cyclical model in order to have a good costs planning. For example, if the pilot program has satisfactory results during five months, it should be repeated since a single functioning cycle would not be enough to consider it as a success or a failure.

Successful application of the pilot program is the responsibility of all involved factors, from the program and education plans projection, establishment of the courses on different domains, to the training of the teachers and experts. The military structure has to establish the didactical norm, the training requirements, the agencies to provide the personnel and the courses to attend.

Most of the courses could be taught online. The most suitable domains for online courses are those with a standardized content and methodology (i.e. information technology, technical courses etc.). This is the case with the courses organized by the Communications and IT Directorate – basic, intermediate and advanced IT courses that could be attended at: the Military Technical Academy, the Training Center for Communication and IT, the Agency for Military Information Systems and Services, the Land Forces Academy, the Naval Forces Academy, and at the National Defense University. The courses portfolio could be established by every structure that subordinates training centers [3].

The most important existent e-Learning center in Romanian Armed Forces is that belonging to the National Defense University offering specialized services for all educational structures in the military education system.

A substantial part of the courses specific to the technical education could be adapted to this training form (operating systems utilization/administration, databases and computer networks, projects management software etc.).


Communications and IT Directorate, “The ADL Conception and the Implementation of this Education Form in the Military”, 2006.
INAUGURAL SPEECH OF PRESIDENT OF UKRAINE – A PEACEFUL DECLARATION OF WAR?

Anna-Maria IORGA*

Abstract: This paper answers the question if the inaugural speech of president of Ukraine is a peaceful declaration of war.

Keywords: inaugural speech; president; Ukraine; peaceful declaration; war

General remarks

"He who comes with a sword will be defeated by a sword", said Mr. Petro Poroshenko, the new Ukrainian president, during his inaugural speech. His tough words, so well packed in a speech that addresses to all stakeholders in Eastern European settlement, mainly promises the Ukrainians that they will have peace in very few days. But which are the main arguments that make Petro Poroshenko claim that he aims for settlement? Ukraine’s situation has not improved (on the contrary!) since the day the former president Viktor Ianukovici stated that, given the economic constraints he could not, and would not sign the Association Agreement with the EU, back in November 2013.

What exactly then draws the new Kyiv leader to maintain an imaginary sword on the table, claiming that he aims for peace? What backs him up when saying that he will be “seeking peace and the achievement of Ukraine’s unity” – two rather colliding assertions? The answer might be hidden in one of his first media covered decisions, in his new quality as Ukrainian president, that

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was to create “humanitarian corridors”\(^2\) that would allow for civilians in the South-Eastern part of Ukraine to flee from the area so that, journalists estimated, his security forces could come and clear the region from the rebel troops that pretend to have taken over the control of it. There is a lot of “maneuver space” in Mr. Poroshenko’s speech, a space that may be provided, surprisingly enough, exactly from his being left only very few options. But from also realizing that, for Russia as well, there are very few options left. And that it is time for Ukraine to start playing best strategy in defence: attack!

In line with the above, a certain note needs to be pointed out: although the situation in the South-Eastern Ukraine seems to get worst, real signs of improvement appear, as the Russian President Vladimir Putin got an invitation from the European Comission’s head Jose Manuel Barroso to attend the EU-Ukraine negotiations on a new trade deal\(^3\). And a new venue for peace settlement, given also the war fatigue and the current apparent inability to act of president Putin, seems to be created as this Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement was the sparkle that actually started the confrontation, which altered, in the most dramatic way, not just Ukraine or Russia, but the whole region, while retaining all the chances of becoming global. “Dear friends, my pen is already in my hands. I am ready now”\(^4\), said Petro Poroshenko in his inaugural speech, underlining his willingness to sign, on behalf of Ukraine, the documents that enhance cooperation with the EU.

Present study aims to debate upon the possible impact of the inaugural speech of Mr. Poroshenko on regional politics and on his ability of making the best out of current situation. It is our belief that this speech actually marks the beginning of a new era for Ukraine and, hopefully, for the region, just at about time when all seemed lost for the country. Several items will be mainly emphasized, these being: the present status of Ukraine within the wider context of the Black Sea Area, the role of the stakeholders gathered into Mr. Poroshenko’s speech in bringing peace, the main gains out of a fast settlement and which are the most probable ways of getting there. Needless


to say that, given the huge amount of information that was associated with recent events in the area and the interconnections that were built around it, the study does not, by any means, claim that it covers all aspects of present situation. It will, for the sake of the argumentation, only bring to surface those elements that are considered to be worthy.

**Ukraine crisis and its impact on the region**

The anti-presidential and government protests following the above mentioned decision of cancelling the relations with the EU in favor of those with Russian Federation, made former president Viktor Ianukovici leave the country and occasionally hold press conferences to address ongoing challenges. Several times media reports stated that he is dead (last ones coming from the beginning of March 2014), but irrespective of these, his figure and his party’s prominence in Ukraine lose credibility by day.

Following Ianukovici’s flee, a number of steps followed of what seemed to be a well written Russian scenario: Crimea, a region that was mainly populated by Russians and already benefited of autonomy inside the Ukraine Republic, declared independence and later on was annexed to the Russian Federation in a well organized ceremony that hinted at Vladimir Putin’s aim of becoming the ruler of the territories once belonging to Russian empires. This image that Putin was creating for himself was supported by vast military exercises, that moved impressive numbers of troops and techniques from northern part of the territory, close to the Baltic states (!), to the southern part, near the mainly Russian populated territories of Ukraine (coincidence or not, former president Viktor Ianukovici came from the Donetsk area, where, following a poor and unfortunate childhood, was able to become the leader of the transport infrastructure before getting the premier position⁵).

The surveys in Russian Federation were showing the increase of popularity of the Kremlin leader that seemed more and more worried about the Russian population abroad, hinting that he would go anywhere in order to protect them. The Russian President’s charisma and world built image of a true mediator were gained in time and his drafting and oratory abilities

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paved his way to gaining momentum. In his favor, he had already published his opinions in acknowledged publications⁶, lent money to a number of European nations during crisis and developed strong, profitable businesses with most of the world’s economies. Russia had become a “special” partner for NATO, a member of G8, a real competitor in Africa… All of the above made Vladimir Putin extremely credible when saying that there are “no Russian troops” in Crimea and later on in South Eastern Ukraine, or that he would support Ukrainian choice, no matter what this might be, or that his nation will continue to show empathy for Ukrainian people in negotiating gas prices or in dealing with their national debt⁷.

But, of course, none of the above assertions proved to be true, no matter if some international actors gave President Putin the benefit of a doubt and waited for his actions. Because, it wasn’t for the Russian leader to say that: “There are big countries and small countries, rich and poor, those with long democratic traditions and those still finding their way to democracy. Their policies differ, too. We are all different, but when we ask for the Lord’s blessings, we must not forget that God created us equal.”⁸

It was this “benefit of a doubt” provided to Vladimir Putin that made the international community delay its immediate answer. Nevertheless, it came. Large scale military drills, high level visits, joint declarations followed in what seemed the escalations of a conventional type conflict that was mainly taken in media coverage. But, of course, that had and still has its real victims in the real world: a UN report in May shows that, since the beginning of the confrontation, 10,000 Ukrainians have been displaced by fighting within Ukraine and several hundred have died. Journalists have fought their own battle on this in gaining the public opinion’s “hearts and minds”: the data regarding the military and economic relevance of the, as it turned out, two sides of the globe, was provided. The aim to reach for the other states that might make a difference (China, Japan) started and therefore signing

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a contract with them had the ability to make an impact. The real effects of the economic and political sanctions that, according to Russian media, would hurt more the Western states than the Russian economy were also a stake.

But it did not take that long to see the benefits of economic and political isolation – Russia was eliminated from G8, its voice was terminated within NATO, and attendance to its ceremonies by his former Western allies was drastically reduced. All of these made a difference, no matter if Russian media constantly tried to twist things over: they would make the Russian ruble their reference coin, they would start the Eurasian Union, and they would sign some dozens of economic and political agreements with China. Once, prime-minister Dmitri Medvedev even mentioned the possibility of turning the Crimean Peninsula, now considered Russian territory, into a “tax free hub” (in reality, Crimean Peninsula has no physical connectivity to the Russian territory).

Of course, all of the Russian “show off” revealed a well developed nation (economic, military, political), with significant connections and influence, but most of the above mentioned tactics actually require years to become a reality (the Chinese – Russian gas deal, the Eurasian Union or even the physical connectivity between Russian territory and Crimean Peninsula).

During all this time, the Ukrainian interim authorities have chosen the wisest thing: wait and prepare for the presidential elections scheduled on the 25th May, 2014, try to “isolate” the Russian actions on their territory and at their border, promote, by all means possible and at all forums of cooperation the true dimension of what is going on in order to gain support from all their partners (political, economic, social, etc). And, of course, the support came. Not right from the beginning, but in the end it became solid, consistent, involving not just European Allies, but also US, Canada, Japan.

9 The Agreement was signed at the end of May 2014 and would enter into force in January 2015. Interesting enough, Armenia, that was also “convinced” not to strengthen relations with the EU by initiating the Association Agreement, was left out. “A decision on Armenia's membership will have to be made by July 2014, Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazabayev said”. – RT news: “Russia, Belarus Kazakhstan, sign 'epoch' Eurasian Economic Union – 29 May, 2014, http://rt.com/business/162200-russia-belarus-kazakhstan-union/”
10 Among which, the most relevant was the $400 billion gas deal signed at the end of May for a period of 30 years – NY Times: “China and Russia Reach 30 Year Gas Deal” – 21 May, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/22/world/asia/china-russia-gas-deal.html
Interesting to note is the “spillover effect” of Ukrainian evolutions: benefiting, no doubt, of Russian support, the secessionist movements in Moldovan Republic re-emerged, challenging Kishinev’s aspirations of signing the Association Agreement with the EU at the end of June, 2014. On the 2nd February, Gagauzia Autonomy within Moldova has held a similar referendum to that in Crimea, claiming that it would follow the same pattern. Even more, the Transnistrian authorities said that they would reorganize a referendum (the previous one took place in 2006) and officially sent a request to Moscow for annexation to the Russian Federation. The initial answer was that Kremlin received no such request, followed by the explanation that Russian authorities need to ponder it and, later on, by an official visit, against all odds, by vice-premier Dmitri Rogozin. All these aiming at the reality that Moscow is not interested at all in getting the two territories, but that their real utility reside in threatening with such an action the Moldovan authority.

For the Caucasus region, the situation is not simpler. Georgia holds, on its territories, two protracted conflicts, one in Abkhazia and the other one in South Ossetia, the two regions having already declared independence back in 2008 and having got the Russian Federation’s recognition. Another protracted conflict in the region, the Nagorno-Karabakh one, involves the two other states, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The three hot spots, also known as “frozen conflicts”, reside on reminiscent from the Cold War era and constitute, along with other elements (such as regional competitiveness or other player’s say in the area – such as Turkey) a means of maintaining the Russian influence in the region.

All of these “regional files” have reopened and international formats of negotiations on them have been challenged following Russian military actions in Ukraine.

Inaugural speech of the new Ukrainian president

Following the 25th May, 2014 Presidential elections, the newly elected leader of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko is taking over his new responsibilities by trying to get the confidence of all his people. He realizes that, in order to be credible, he has to be strong and his strength is provided not just by him gaining the elections or manifesting an anticipated independence from Russian Federation, but also from reaching to those that live in the South Eastern

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regions, mainly populated by Russian speaking people. However, “despite the recent show of strength from pro-Soviet protesters in Ukraine’s East, the Kremlin’s recent aggressions in Ukraine have actually united the country in its opposition to Putin and his worldview”\(^\text{13}\). So, Petro Poroshenko knows that he can count on many Ukrainians, only that his speech should be tailored in accordance with and encompass their actual needs.

“Chocolate mogul, government minister, opposition leader – Ukraine's new leader, Petro Poroshenko, has worked in a number of capacities, and has at one point or another been associated with a various political movements, including that of his deposed predecessor, Viktor Yanukovych. But the role he assumed on Saturday, when he took the oath of office for the presidency, is the most serious so far: rescuer of Ukraine”, states BBC\(^\text{14}\).

His speech encompasses all: the imperative of Ukraine’s unity, the need for an “elite” army, the willingness to sign the Agreement with the EU, and, most of all, the urge for peace settlement. By all means. Otherwise, all is at stake. There is a sort of an ultimatum in Mr Poroshenko’s speech, a message that says that now it is time to assume all costs for maintaining “Ukrainian integrity and sovereignty”. “Russia occupied Crimea, which was, is and will be Ukrainian,” was one of his top applause lines. “This is what I told [Russian] President [Vladimir] Putin yesterday in Normandy.”\(^\text{15}\) This is what the Ukrainian leader mentioned, without saying a word about what he discussed with the American leader, Barack Obama, prior to his meeting with the Russian counter-part.

Starting his work “by proposing a peace plan”, Petro Poroshenko is keeping, as earlier mentioned, all his cards on the table. And the peace plan he is proposing encompasses three steps: first the laying down of the arms (including the guarantee, for those that were not involved in the killings that they would get out free), second the insurance of controlled corridors for Russian mercenaries that would return home and third, the starting of “peaceful negotiations”. Maybe as a response to this, several Russian tanks


(of course with the Russians pretending they are not theirs) crossed the Ukraine border and marched on its territory\textsuperscript{16}. Only a day later, the Ukrainian sword replied: “a violent protest outside Russian Embassy in Ukraine, which saw windows smashed, the Russian flag torn down and cars overturned”\textsuperscript{17}.

Another action promised by President Poroshenko in his inaugural speech refers to using all his diplomatic experience to ensure the “signing of an international treaty that would replace the Budapest memorandum. Such a treaty should provide reliable guarantees of peace and security, up to military support in case of a threat to [Ukraine’s] territorial integrity.”

And, in a special address to Russian speaking Ukrainian population, Petro Poroshenko said that he will be guided by the art 10 of the Constitution that “defines Ukrainian as the only state language and guarantees the unhindered development of Russian and all other languages”.

Also worth being remembered is that new Ukrainian president is able to identify and separate from his adversaries, his assumed responsibilities allowing him to promote a blunt, clear message. He clearly condemns the “ousted Ukrainian president’s clan which betrayed Donbass and robbed it even worse than the rest of the country. Now he is funding terrorists. He bears full responsibility for the political and social situation which the region ended up in.”

\textit{Conclusions}

At the dawn of the XXIst century, mass media seems to be drawn into the art of spectacle, of futile, of social networking and of lack of concreteness. With the exception of rather few, specific, mainly belonging to a “classic” era of journalism, all current media products are addressed to a public that has no time for research or reflection. The mass media consumers need and look for already “digested information” that is reduced to several items carefully chosen to create an impact on their mind. Therefore, the makers of the media products search for the easiest way to emit the message in its simplest form but packed into the most appealing


encasement, so that the recipient would be tempted to accept it. The classical scheme of communication, applied to current world’s necessities.

Considering the above, the current study takes note that there are various sources of information, that address a huge audience and that are finding their ways to make each of the consumers feel that the message was personally designed for him. This is the “finesse” taught by all communicators. Cause all the media producers understand and know that that the surrounding reality can be altered so that it reflects their own interests.

The Russian military actions that came as a response to Ukraine’s rightful choice of leaning towards the West in hope of providing a sustainable development to the country (not one that is rapidly changed according to Moscow’s mood) and all the developments that followed are a proof that conventional threats (a state and its army) are still very much alive. The already fragile security environment in the Wider Black Sea Area was drastically hit by Moscow’s belief that it can inoculate fear by its military means and also by propaganda. Ukraine’s decision of banning Russian TV channels (otherwise criticized by OSCE) was quickly adopted in Latvia and Lithuania, countries that also realized the same menace.

Nevertheless, the Western community was right in saying that the Cold War was over, as its techniques and deterrent means cannot lead to the same results. Now people are more awake, despite their poor economic conditions and are able to make a difference. Even state authorities tend to have (and in some cases succeed) a louder voice in reaching what they think is in their state’s best interest. The effort paid by Vladimir Putin to maintain weak satellites, vulnerable and fragile, unable to make a choice on their own and fully depending on Russian commercial benevolence has not entirely reached its purpose. One such example is the Moldovan Republic, where the Communist Party is facing dissolution and the signing of the Association Agreement is due in very few days.

It is exactly this message that President Poroshenko is bringing. That he is willing to wait for the Russians to choose their “type of weapon” but, even if he would opt for a peace negotiation, he is ready to assume, at all costs (maybe including his own future as a President), the same “weapon” and fight back. His aim is the unity and sovereignty of Ukraine. And he might just have a good shot at it, creating yet another shift in the Wider Black Sea Area paradigm: that Russian Federation is not unbeatable.
INaugural Speech of President of Ukraine –
A Peaceful Declaration of War?

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POLITICAL AND MILITARY ALLIANCES

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Abstract: Considering international affairs and the role they play in ensuring national security, the paper here is a practical argument upon the role and mainly the importance exerted by the political military alliances. NATO stands as a chosen model, the most representative and vivid alliance; its role is being developed in the present day political context.

Keywords: alliance; national interest; military security; national identity.

The theme of the security of states is associated with the theories of reason of state. This concept has emerged as a normative principle superior to other individual or group interests in society and has become a regulator principle of international behavior for any state. In a democracy, the structure of private interests may occur under the conditions of defining a public interest. David Clinton, in “The National Interest: Normative Foundations”, article published in „The Review of Politics”, vol. 48, no. 4, University of Notre Dame, 1986, emphasized that public interest becomes public good. Defining interest contributes to the fulfillment by the State of its obligations to protect and promote social good. Externally, this function of the state includes the ability to protect society from external threats and to engage in mutual cooperation with other countries.

In foreign affairs and security politics the discussion is mainly about national interest. National interest makes the state develop and maintain an optimum capacity to protect society and to promote its own public good. Security is also a public good, and it is the essential one. National interest relates to the regulator principle of the foreign and security policy, which considers the common good of society, the ultimate goal of diplomatic,

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economic and military actions. In this sense, foreign and security policy promotes the interests of each state (peace or war, the national good, economic, national prosperity etc.). We can distinguish: vital interests, major interests, primary interests, fundamental interests, ordinary interests etc. National security becomes a state's ability to maintain and promote national identity and functional integrity.

In recent decades, the state of security – insecurity (according to Barry Buzan) is determined based on the analysis of vulnerabilities and threats. Vulnerability is an external characteristic of security, while risk is an internal one. Vulnerability is associated with geographic location, size of territory, population, while risk is the active part ("an activated" vulnerability) and perceived as such. Vulnerability is determined strategically, risk is identified from a political point of view. The national security policy can be directed inward, in order to reduce vulnerabilities, and outward, in order to reduce risks and avoid threats. In essence, vulnerability is an indicator that determines the security needs of a state; risk is a manifested vulnerability and threat is a risk produced.

**Military Security**

Military threats shall be placed on the central position in national security. Military intervention endangers all the components of the state: the physical basis (territory) can be occupied (partially or totally) or affected as an ecosystem, the institutional structure can be dismembered, and the idea of the state may be seriously undermined. The exclusive use of violence of the state is recognized as the only legitimate form of employment of force in solving internal and external security matters. Threats, presented as foreign military prerogatives, emphasize the relevance of the use of force in international relations. When the threat is external in nature, military security concerns the state’s military capacity to cope with aggression. Defining and building military capacity should be made according to vulnerabilities.

**Political Security. Undermining Authority**

Political security concerns the organizational establishment of social order. Threats are directed towards state sovereignty. It comes to threats nonmilitary in nature, because all the vulnerabilities, risks and threats are defined politically. Economic, environmental, human security etc. is added.

In the Cold War era, security was defined as a delicate balance of the military arsenals of the two sides. Even today the natural state of the
international system is not the state of security but instead that of insecurity. In the realist/neorealist view international relations are first and foremost about **power and security**. The focus is on states, the power they have and, given the implications of anarchy, insecurity. Obtaining security must be accepted, according to the realist school horizon, rather as the management of insecurity than that of elimination thereof. An optimum control over insecurity ensures a relative stability of the international system, stability specific to the balance of power.

With respect to political-military alliances, the determining factor in alliance formation is the distribution of power in the international system. States decide to bandwagon. Three types of behavior of states in the international system are noted: **balancing**, **bandwagoning** and **détente**. Bandwagoning is justified when: states may bandwagon with threatening states or coalitions hoping to be able to avoid an attack against them, (defensive bandwagoning); states may bandwagon with the dominant part in a war in order to participate in sharing the benefits of victory (offensive bandwagoning). Balancing appears in the case of minor powers, small states, their union in view of countering a strong, threatening state in order to discourage it, while détente represents the development of peaceful relations in order to reduce tensions. Analyses based on power balancing, interest balancing or threats balancing theories are used (see the contributions of K. Waltz, S. Walt, R. Schweller). The most important factor in making alliance decisions is represented by the compatibility of political objectives or interests and not the imbalance of power or the threat.

Alliances represent one of the most important means of acquiring security by a state, taking into account the anarchic characteristic of the international system. The military ones, in particular, are the result of formal agreements between two or more states, usually of treaties.

This is an important point in defining alliances because it is the one that explicitly states the conditions under which assistance is granted, which is the weight of military support granted by each allied, the territory covered by the alliance, the threat against which the alliance is constituted and other details of this type. These details make a fundamental difference between alliances and collective security organizations, difference that concentrates on two levels: on the one side, **collective security organizations**, despite their formal character, do not specify in their articles of association the
obligation of intervention of the other participants within it, if one of the parties is attacked; unlike them, **alliances entail the obligation of Allies intervention for the party attacked**, since by signing the Treaty establishing the alliance, states promise their specific mutual military assistance; moreover, alliances specify even the exact timeframe of allies intervention, the actual forces to be deployed, the areas to be protected etc.

NATO is a classic example of an alliance. It specifies clearly the foundation of military cooperation between the parties (the defense against common threat), the weight of each participant in the alliance, the territory to be defended, the circumstances under which the obligation of intervention is triggered (article 5) etc.

The specialized literature differentiates between an actual alliance and security / collective defense organizations\(^1\). The difference is that the treaty of alliance implies a common enemy, clearly identified (in many cases clearly specifying against whom the agreement applies, the conditions that require intervention, mandatory participation, time required, the amount of force that must be mobilized by each ally, the allied territory to be defended) whereas collective security refers to potential adversaries unspecified and involves group solidarity against all military threats from some third party.

Another defining feature for the alliance is its purpose, which is a **fundamentally military one or to maximize security**. This is what clearly distinguishes military alliances from any other forms of associations between states based on economic, cultural, religious or other types of criteria. In this sense, NATO is fundamentally different from organizations of a profound economic nature such as the EU or NAFTA. In terms of membership, alliances are formed only between states, excluding transnational political and economic entities, international organizations, NGOs, revolutionary groups, guerrillas or others. Especially this element of the definition eliminates the possibility of alliance between national governments and sub-national or transnational groups or entities that may activate at some point in the international system.

**Alliances have as main purpose the concentration of military forces of the Allies against a common enemy from outside the alliance.**

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POLITICAL AND MILITARY ALLIANCES

It reduces the likelihood of a conflict between the allies, which is one of the benefits rather than the goals of the alliance. From this perspective, the alliance is a tool at the hands of states, as rational actors in the international system, to increase their capacities or to block the opponent's intention to increase its capacities. Against this element one may object that, alliances are not always necessarily directed against a state, they can also be directed against phenomena in international relations.

This is the case of the Holy Alliance of the eighteenth century, which was more an alliance with an ideological perspective on how stability in Europe should have been preserved, aiming to prevent the raising of any revolutionary state with continental hegemony claims. Just like it was the Anglo-French Entente formed in 1904, which was the most durable alliance in history being based on a set of shared values. The coalition triggered by the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington is one against an international phenomenon – terrorism – that threatens the security of the entire international system, not just that of a particular state.

Another element of the definition of alliance is reciprocity, without being a required element, because not all alliances are based on it, but most have it in as central element being considered a means of increasing the benefits of the alliance. This principle of reciprocity gives greater consistency and coherence to an alliance, relying on a fundamental conditioning of the benefits of the alliance concerned. Along with the formal character of the alliance, reciprocity gives a legal and moral obligation to respect the commitment made through the alliance. A sixth element of an alliance is its political character, expressed at least on a secondary level. Typically, in an alliance there is some expectation among allies beyond the actual scope of the agreement: they expect that alliance partners support them politically in their diplomatic efforts even in the absence of a specific requirement stipulated by the Treaty in this respect.

As a final element of the definition we refer to the interests that the alliance is built, maintained and consolidated on. Interests make an alliance be viable or useless, to be to a greater or lesser extent beneficial, they can even cause or prevent the establishment of an alliance. Alliances tend to be formed between states with common interests. However, when faced with an identification of the allied interests or when the interests of the allied parties are diverging to great extent, the alliance becomes useless. In
an alliance there are always common interests that were there before the alliance, common interests of the Allies resulting from the alliance itself, interests that are built over time, as the alliance is maintained and strengthened. Generally speaking, allies interests are only partially, but significantly shared. Alliances are concluded under international treaties.

**Balancing.** Historical evidence reveals four elements related to the formation of alliances. The first one: external threats are the most common cause of international alliances. Second, balancing is more common than bandwagoning. Third, states not only balance power, they also balance threats. Although superpowers choose their alliance partners, primarily to balance each other, regional powers are generally indifferent to the balance of power. Instead, states form alliances, often in response to threats coming from other regional actors. Offensive capacities and intentions increase the likelihood that others join forces in opposition, although the precise impact of these factors is difficult to measure.

Alliances formed to balance the threat can take many different forms. In a typical form, states try to resist threats, adding to its strength that of the other State. Thus, superpowers have sought allies to oppose mutual threat (by purchasing military bases or other useful military supplies) or to stop the rival from expanding its influence. On the other hand, regional states have sought external help, most commonly from a superpower, but sometimes also from some local actors when they were engaged in an intense rivalry or in an active military conflict.²

The history of the alliances supports the assertion according to which these states act primarily to balance against each other. All the commitments of the powers considered, except for two of them were formed primarily to counter the opposing power.³ The remaining cases fall in total agreement with the general aim of weakening the regional position of the other powers.

**Bandwagoning is a behavior that may underlie the formation of alliances.** Although the states almost always choose their allies to balance the threat, this behavior is not a universal one. In certain situations, the

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² The most obvious examples are the protector-protected relationships that enabled Arabs and Israelis to support their rivalry, the help offered to belligerent parties in the civil war in Yemen and the Arab coalition that fought the October War of 1973.

generally low tendency of states to join forces with the dominant power may increase to some extent.

States bandwagon when there is no prospect of useful allies, because they will face the threat by themselves if they choose to resist. The lack of efficient allies is evident in most cases of bandwagoning.

From here emerges the fact that states prefer balancing bandwagoning, even when faced with significant threats. The rare cases of bandwagoning are the result of a series of circumstances and because bandwagoning is especially the response of weak states, it's unlikely to significantly alter the global balance of power.

Besides economic and military capacities, threats of subversive actions or other forms of political pressure can be as strong a determinant for a coalition. Although the distribution of capabilities is extremely important for superpowers, it plays a very small role in alliance choices by regional actors. Despite the fact that geographical proximity is very important, the evidence does not show a linear relationship between distance and threat level. The lack of linearity is due to the fact that many rivalries in the Middle East were coordinated through political channels (propaganda and subversion), where military power (and thus geography) played a minor role.

The states' tendency to prefer balancing is explained by the fact that balancing against a strong state may be the most prudent response if assumptions related to intentions are inaccurate. Joining a defensive alliance to oppose a potential threat can be a protection if the state in question is actually an aggressive one. Such an alliance will be unnecessary if the state in question turns out to be a peaceful one. Instead, bandwagoning can fail catastrophically if one chooses to ally with a strong state, and later discovers that its intentions are actually hostile. Therefore, balancing will be considered a more secure option when intentions can not be definitely determined.

*The Implications of National (State) Security on Global Security.* The durability of global security, one of the pressing imperatives of the present, has a solid support in the security of states. Beginning with major powers that are concerned with strengthening strategic stability and ending with small states, apparently even more eager to preserve national security, they are all vitally interested in strengthening a climate of peace and global confidence. In their extensive efforts to develop cooperation on the non-
proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their launching devices, to tighten up regulations in the field of the fight against international terrorism and other cross-border threats, states have a strong and ongoing commitment.

Through an active, dynamic national security policy, state security manages a complex involvement in international security. In recent years, defense policies of the national territory, states’ preventive diplomacy policies, are combined with offensive policies to promote their own interests that support global stability in different regions of the world.

In Europe, for example, the EU achieved the European Security and Defense Policy, the objectives of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, maintain stability in the Balkans and the Caucasian-Caspian area of the Black Sea, fight against terrorism, and NATO member states participate in the collective defense effort and in the construction of the EU military dimension, as well as in fulfilling the commitments of partnership and cooperation with the other countries of the world, to build trust and cooperation at regional and continental levels.

States are directly involved in restructuring the global security system, economic cooperation and adapting rules and principles of international law to developments caused by the globalization process, in the work of the UN, OSCE, EU, WTO. At OSCE level states contribute to improving political, economic and environmental security, promote multi-ethnicity, manage crisis areas, actively address security issues through cooperation, remove tensions and conflicts, maintain regional and international real stability, make efforts for the democratization of other geopolitical spaces, promote effective cooperation at multilateral level.

From the analysis of state, national security implications on global security an interrogation like this can not be missing: What is its role in strengthening the global security system, the development at a national level of a consistent, lean and versatile tool as well as achieving and optimizing interoperability with its allies and partners? Undoubtedly an organizational structure able to generate immediate, decisive results, at operational and strategic level, especially externally, in theaters of action outside of the ordinary areas of responsibility, is a tool with an important role in strengthening global security. Or, in this respect, national transformation efforts, aligned with those of NATO, for example, make the military of a Member State an institution of great leaness, mobility and flexibility,
capable of leading operations across the entire spectrum of conflict, rapidly
deployable and capable of engaging in network operations, technologically
superior, fully supported logistically by means of an integrated logistics system.

With such versatile military capabilities suitable for deployment and
capabilities support in the theater, but also for the degree of use of that
availability, the military can perform complex missions for maintaining the
territorial security and stability of the State concerned, but also for
strengthening Alliance capabilities to support global interests, in terms of
the diversity and maximum severity of current century threats.

National security implications on the global one can however cover
other areas of activity as well. If enhancing and developing the cultural,
scientific and human potential is an essential component and source of
national security, then they have a significant impact on global security. It is
eloquent how states, faced with the hasty offensive of cultural globalization,
retain, along with territorial integrity, cultural unity through programs aimed
at the local and regional assertion of distinct cultural identities.

The increasing decay of rights in the post-Cold War period, of the
concept of national security in the face of collective security did not
eliminate, as unfounded, the valences of the former in the context of fast
growth and diversification of cross-border risks and threats. The fight
against insecurity, corruption, tax fraud and smuggling, organized crime and
terrorism forced a vigorous and timely government offensive together with
the civil society, NGOs, public institutions, on the directions mentioned by
the national security strategy, having a strong impact in terms of
strengthening the State concerned as a pillar of security in subregional,
regional and, implicitly, global security.

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ETHICS OF MILITARY AFFAIRS
(PART I)

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Abstract: Nowadays we are dealing with a new type of legal and economic construction – in which ethics occupies a special place – international and European legal instruments, together with the principles embodied in them (democracy and the rule of law, the principle of separation of powers, equality of states regarding the treaties) are all forming a block of businesses functionality, in general, and of military affairs in particular.

Keywords: military affairs; ethics, morals; good faith; international law; international humanitarian law.

Introduction

If years ago it was inconceivable to talk about military affairs and especially about their ethics, whereas it was, for some authors, a phrase reserved for the powerful States only, today it is increasingly clear that we are dealing with a new type of economic and legal construction, in which ethics occupies a special place, or international and European legal instruments together with the principles sanctioned by them (of democracy and the rule of law, the principle of the separation of powers, equality of States regarding the treaties) form all together the functionality of the businesses, in general, and of military affairs in particular.

Ethics issues in current military affairs must be regarded in a much wider context than that of the relationship between profit maximization and

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the general interest. It's about the great transformations in international politics: the focus of the great powers on the Asian area which tends to become – if it has not already become – the most interesting place for the global power game in this century, replacing Europe, the North Atlantic systemic centrality. It must be said that we live in a period of systemic uncertainty, because of the far-reaching changes taking place in the hierarchy of the system: not only did Brazil overtook Great Britain’s place and went on the sixth place in the overall rankings, but China took the second place, overtaking Japan and vertiginously approaching the first place. This latest reversal was seen immediately, and the voice of China has become increasingly strong. We live in a period of systemic changes, but also of geopolitical transformations. Amid such uncertainties there are seeking similarities or approximations of what happened before World War II, in order to make any reasonable predictions.

It may be a flawed approach, because each conflict, whether it be the first or the Second World War, has its own causes and sparks that triggered things. We will not find similarities. With regard to public debt, however, we give only one example: Japan's public debt is absolutely impressive, almost three times its gross domestic product, while the average public debt in EU States, as a whole, is 120 percent. It would result that EU is not in crisis, which is not true, comparisons cannot be made in this way. What is possible, however, amid uncertainties and the economic crisis is that a war between the great powers is not outside the scope of possible, especially from the perspective of globalization.

The current opinion is that wars are a conduct of human primary instincts, manifested at the level of large communities, tribes, nations, peoples, groups. It is really so, that is why mankind early invented the rules of their conduct so that the violence to be somewhat limited. In this way was developed an ethic of war. We believe that we not too much in wrong if we claim that businesses too need, just like wars, to have their own ethics, whereas this world is not one in which to sleep at ease, it is a near-continuous confrontation. No less true is that military affairs are related to global affairs and the ethics of the latter are a major influence to the military. However, it is noted that the ethics of war entails other things and, moreover, international humanitarian law, which is not only the guide, as well as the shield of protection of mankind against conduct of conflicts: it is
fully true, that branch of international law is heavily influenced by principles of ethics and equity. We would not insist in this material relating to the nomological determinations of the rules of humanitarian law in the conduct of the war but, we will try as much as possible, to discern the influence of ethics on military affairs.

If we talk about war, there have crystallized, over time, the rules regarding what is allowed and what is not allowed in the war. The flowering epoch of the chivalry was the moment when military ethic was at its highest expression. Which does not mean automatically that everything we inherited as a rule was adhered to literally. But at least it was an issue and exaggerations, bloody outbursts had a barrier that were about not just by human pity but also by an opinion shared widely. Those who fought in wars have learned to consider that it is forbidden to kill an enemy who surrenders or who is unable to defend himself, he cannot hit or kill in the back but only straight, standing face to face, that he can't attack unarmed men, women, and children. It was also found that it is only natural that a prisoner should be treated according to his rank; not exactly disinterested, the rank was a higher level of the amount to be requested as ransom. For a while, armies have fought not to kill the enemy but to take as many prisoners as possible. Not to mention that the prey motivation was unsuspected incentives for combatants. The ethics with which Christianity had come greatly polished these military manners. Unlike war ethics, business ethics is "younger".

We are trying thus, to formulate a plea on the need and importance to assume an ethical behaviour within the military affairs, analysing current society, specific trends and characteristics of the business environment, together with the rights and obligations incumbent on it. The main unit of analysis, as part of such research, is the revolution in military affairs, and the broader addressed topic is related to its action and moral responsibility, and implementing ethical practices to increase the competitive level. As a result, throughout the approach our attention was directed mainly to the analysis of specific components of ethics in military affairs, and by the methods of analysis used, the term of competitiveness is subordinated to that of business ethics.

The fundamental objective of this research initiative is to highlight ethical issues concerning the modalities of carrying out a revolution in military affairs, namely, the formulation of ethical guidelines, which
constitute a tool for the development of an ethical climate and to obtain competitive advantages in military affairs. Such directions of analysis and research were the following:

- determining the conceptual framework of ethics in business and competitiveness;
- analysis of the evolution of ethics in military affairs from antiquity to the present and highlighting national particularities;
- addressing ethical theories specific to the business environment of our country;
- specific particularities of the ethics, business and competitiveness relationship through the introduction of three distinct models;
- presentation of ways of developing an ethical climate within companies through corporate governance and the code of ethical conduct;
- formulate conclusions and proposals.

These directions are subject to analysis to the following specific objectives:

- the presentation of a conceptual framework, which enables us to get familiar with the specific ethical issues and expressing our own opinions to the meaning of the terms moral, morality, ethics;
- identification of the most important ethical theories and analysis of their impact on the business environment;
- identification of the way in which certain values promoted in military affairs, lead to the achievement of specific results, the distinction being made between the ideological platform of deontological ethics as compared to ethical egoism;
- presentation of the most important methods/strategies through which educational environment can support the adoption of an ethical behavior within the military affairs, starting from the premise that only those trained can act in knowledge of the facts;
- the establishment of the role of government regulations in order to support ethical practices;
- developing models to underscore its dimensions and characteristics of the relationship ethics-military-business competitiveness;
- study of the correlations between the implementation of ethical practices and achievement of competitive advantages.
To scroll through these directions and to achieve those objectives, we used different research methods, but of a real use was inter and transdisciplinary approach.

**The influence of science and globalization on military affairs**

The given existence of humanity has been set up to provide fruits for all people. The earth was adorned for humanity, just as the sky is like a dome, and the Sun is a torch which illuminates the world. The whole creation, apart from humanity, performs its duties in a way that makes sense, and all surrounding areas of action of humanity embody tranquillity, peace and joy. The stillness overlaps the ceaseless movement, in spite of countless objects in space, between them we cannot notice any confusion or disarray. Although humanity has been offered emotions, mind and consciousness, people are likely to cause harm even in this universal peace and harmony. Because humanity suffers from the consequences of its ruinous impact more than it does any other species, all men should join this harmony through their free will, to discover the reasons that underlie this peace and serenity and behave as such.

With the Renaissance\(^1\), mankind has made tremendous innovations in science and technology. Today, especially, information, technology and transportation have advanced at a very high speed. This is an era of speed. For some, the time between the "happiness-comfort" and "thought-action" decreases with distance compression. They achieve their targets easily or are unexpectedly prevented to do that. Maybe in the future we will be faced with a world where the events will take place too quickly. We will not understand the advantages and disadvantages of such a world, and yet these are the topics of science fiction films and books, or maybe even the working tools of those who have already achieved the revolution in military affairs.

It's not a novelty when we say that the revolution in military affairs has become a key concept in American strategic-military thinking since the 1990s. In fact, the "antecedents" are found in the Soviet tactic revolution, trying to define the mutations produced in their concept of defence, in their military organization, as well as in their doctrines by the advent of nuclear weapons and missiles.

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The Soviets emphasized the technological development, technical components of the battle, and less the possibility of adapting the doctrine of use of weapons to state of the art technological innovations.  

The American concept of the revolution in military affairs has emerged in a strategic context outlined by a double revolution – the information and globalization, by the necessity to adapt the US military strategy to the new security environment. In fact, so that we may speak of a revolution, we should have a substantive change in doctrine and organization. Therefore, we cannot say that we have a revolution in military affairs if it is not preceded by a social transformation, because although the name captures the concept of "military", is not a phenomenon restricted to the military elite, but has as foundation the whole society in which it develops. Specifically, the term "revolution" also applies to changes in technology, the discoveries actually changing the world and the war as well. In this regard, Toffler said that a military revolution occurs only when a new civilization arises in order to defy the existing one. Thus, he speaks of "sub-revolutions" – that is, we do nothing but add other elements to create other combinations of old elements within an existing scenario.

The revolution in military affairs has experienced many cycles and many stages, which have depended on major scientific discoveries and their implementation in the military field, the emergence of modern combat capabilities that gave rise to substantial mutations in conceiving and waging warfare. A revolution in military affairs is conditioned by a deep institutional change, which, basically, means professionalization of forces and of their modularity, the integration of the new information technologies in existing weapons systems. Context in which the armed services are forced to change at all levels, simultaneously, from technology and culture up to organization, strategy, tactics, training, doctrine, and logistics.

According to some great thinkers of the Romanian military science, a revolution in military affairs can be defined as "an impact of certain

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3 Revolution in Military Affairs – RMA.
revolutionary technologies and of appropriate doctrine to give value to the optimal parameters of these technologies on the battlefield and face the war as a whole, when these new scientific findings are used in the war."

The revolution brought about by computer, fostered by increased globalization of communication and favoured by the reduction in geometric proportion of distance between the discovery phase (through research) and the application, made an impressive leap in this area. Following that reasoning, it is expected that the revolution in military affairs to bring substantial mutations in the forces strategy, the means and, evidently, in the operational strategy. 6

In conclusion, the phrase "the revolution in military affairs" aims to reconcile military doctrine with technical-scientific revolution, but, equally, any new scientific discovery with applications in the military has the absolute need to develop, to establish its characteristics. For this reason, in the following paragraphs, we will look at a few of them. 7

By definition, there are significant differences between evolution and a revolutionary change. In the context of security, these differences can be described by various parameters. Thus, evolution is a logical progression of a system or the existing organizational framework, while the revolution implies a definitive break from the precedent.

The performance enhancing that signals revolutions at the tactical level rarely justifies revolution at the operational or strategic level. A truly revolutionary strategic development changes the perception of the relationship means-finalities and, most importantly, dictates a reformulation of combat doctrine – coded precepts governing military operations. 8 As a result, revolutions are not only gaps or technological (or organizational) occurrences smarter than regular revolutionary innovations; these revolutions are deeper in both the sources and implications. They involve the fundamental discontinuities, breaks with dramatic extension of the status quo, it's important to recognize that a revolution is not simply an extension of existing conditions – for example, its appearance as a result of the

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6 L. Stăncilă, E. Vasile, op. cit., pp. 159  
creation of new technological capabilities. Without recognition and exploitation, both requiring positive action, there can be no revolution. Creating a revolution is therefore more than just pushing the boundaries of military technology; it is an active process, requiring effective adaptation at the individual level and for the successful exploitation of new technologies.

The implications of the new revolutionary technologies do not know the first time a broad recognition, trying to adapt innovative technologies in ways determined by action, in order to make these innovations to prove the effectiveness of the measures taken. The introduction of new technologies in old systems can take time for completion, and organizations can create new inefficiencies, even if some current activities become more efficient or effective. It may take even more time to carry out the work itself – in both its operational and organizational dimensions – which should be restructured or transformed in order to achieve the full potential of the new technology.

Truly revolutionary developments do not always enhance the existing capacity to fulfill the mission, but are best suited to perform new functions or unidentified requirements. However, although new features are implemented through accepted valuation methods, it is possible that innovative developments might not appear, offering significant operational improvements. So, in the environment modified by revolutionary innovation, old measures of efficiency may no longer be appropriate, being necessary for the identification of new modes of operation and may no longer be relevant to the changed goals. Through ground-breaking innovations in the military field, the existing fundamental paradigm of combat is guaranteed. Thus, if a revolution in military affairs involves a fundamental shift, in which the speed of execution is just as important, then it should be followed by changing the size of the measurement, from questions like "how many we killed", to "how quickly".

The notion of periodic and fundamental change in the war is not something new, systematic studies of the impact of technology on warfare are relatively recent. Certainly, characteristic for this issue is the work of Martin van Creveld, *Technology and War: from 2000 BC to present*, in which the military history is divided into four eras: "Instruments Age", "Machine Age", "Systems Age" and "Automation Age".9 These boundaries

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do not suggest that during those periods there have been no significant changes in war-fighting, rather, intended to provide a conceptual framework for the exploration of the phenomenon. Detailing the aspects that characterize each era is within reach of everyone and that is why I will underline their traits.

In the "Instruments Age", which lasted until about 1500 AD, most of the technology was driven, in particular, on the strength of muscles of humans and animals. The general trend in the "Machine Age" has been a gradual rise in professional skills, which led to an increasing demand for the use of military potential in a more organized manner, even institutionalized. The art of war in the "Machine Age" was perfected by Napoleon's France, which exploited for the first time the vast resources of newly industrialized nations to equip an army. This revolution coincided with three other significant changes: a political revolution, which led to increasing republican nation-State; a socio-economic revolt, deriving from the agricultural Revolution; and economic changes brought about by the spread of the industrial revolution in France. The concept of "nation in arms" – levée en masse – allowed the military operations at great distances and marked the beginning of a trend towards the replacement of the force disposition in combat with the concentration of fire. In "Systems Age" the focus has shifted towards integrating the technologies in a complex network, with individual elements of technology becoming more integrated with other elements, the first being the railway, telegraph and then later with other technologies, increasingly more complex. This era culminated in the Second World War with the innovative application of machinery, aviation and communications technology for military use – Blitzkrieg – which allowed the German army the reintroduction of strategic and operational mobility, manoeuvre and initiative that were obviously absent on the Western front during World War I. The importance of the systems recorded a further jump after 1945.

According to van Creveld, the unifying theme of this era is not nuclear technology, as would be expected, but rather automation - "Automation Age". The true story of the era following the Second World War is that "the result of the cardinal inventions and the accelerated pace of technological innovation has been a great increase in the volume of information needed to lead any military unit, taking decisions, executing any mission, carrying out

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10 Ibidem.
any operation, campaign or war". Increasing the amount of information intended for this purpose has become overwhelming and only automation and computerization of the process of collection and distribution of information has allowed military commands to keep up with the enormous amount of data. In each of these cases, revolutionary changes in war-fighting requires the introduction or the maturation of new technologies, their integration into new military systems, the adoption of the corresponding concepts of warfare and, finally, to adapt organizational structures. But, a conclusion was imposing: technology alone, it is not sufficient to produce a revolution in military affairs; how to adapt and structure the organizations, military operational systems and concepts to new technology is much more important and without a minimum set of ethic and moral principles, in which to rediscover the man and his dignity, may be only a simple exercise of image, or a fruitless short-term success.

Concerning morality and ethics

The core elements of social life are made up of four elements: *religion, law, power* and *moral values.*

A person or a society cannot survive too long or can't make a good of others without *religion.* Essentially, religion is a phenomenon determined independently of us, and that is part of our lives. Therefore, it is a very important element that meets the material and spiritual needs, and shapes the personal and family lives.

Even though we were perfect, uncontrolled elements would be given a different form of our lives. For example, the time and place of our birth and death are determined. We have no say in choosing our parents, families and place of birth, race, language, childhood and physical characteristics. Our body works without our will, because we cannot control hunger, thirst or sleep. We cannot determine our essential needs and how they grow. The contribution that we have in such daily functions such as eating and drinking is just working to get it. In spite of the wishes that we have, we are surrounded by binding conditions.

Religion also has an important role in the determination of the *law,* the laws governing our lives. Law is not for itself, so it is precious as long as it serves individuals and society. In order to have a healthy society, the laws should not contradict the nature and laws of creation, but should also take
into account the nation's religion, history, sociology, anthropology, and the natural laws of physics and chemistry; the right is not a science, but rather one that encompasses everything. If it were not so, then laws would not be in accordance with the essential elements of nature and would have been more detrimental than beneficial. In the definition of the law it is crucial to know the humanity well, consider basic human nature, to understand their needs, to look for ways to meet them and to analyse the interpersonal relations and dynamics between society and its members.

The power is a significant aspect of social life, because laws cannot be enforced, and internal and external security cannot be established without it. Power is not, and should not be an end in itself. It is precious as long as it's useful to law, judgment and righteousness.

Humanity still faces a problem that will always endure. What can be done when individuality shadows all values, racism wins universal principles and resolving international disputes are decided by the power? You cannot speak of reason and justice when issues are addressed only through sheer power. Power is a potential force that could help in solving some problems if used sensibly, but if it is driven by emotion, it becomes a malign tool. What made Alexander the Great feel dizzy, what destroyed the genius of Napoleon and turned Hitler into a monster, was the madness to replace justice with power. It seems that the problems of today will continue, including in military affairs, until the mighty will decide to adhere to the justice, and people will judge in righteousness as they take over their daily worries, accompanied by the values of ethics and morals.

Religion and moral values which are its basis have been accepted universally throughout history and do not depend on time and place. The impact of moral values of an individual depends on his religious beliefs and how they are implemented. In addition, they play an important role in educating people, implementing the law and getting the desired effects. The possible argument according to which religion and moral values have no place in the development of societies, is a wrong one, for people in many developed countries are very committed to their religion.

Despite more than 200 years of corruption of religious values around the world, people are returning once again to the religion. In many developed countries, leaders are religious, even though people might ignore the religious values. Although these countries are secular, there has never
been any attempt to use religion for personal or social life or to control them. In addition, religion has a say in the internal and external policies. For example, we can see the influence of religion upon criminal codes.

Even Western historians claim that Christianity is the most important element in shaping the modern social structure of the West. According to them, Christianity has always played an important role in establishing the laws, religious celebrations, public prayers and many aspects of social and political life.

Moral and ethical terms, in ordinary parlance, are often used as synonymous, although in reality things are different. Morals\(^{11}\) are a real phenomenon, concerning daily behaviour, while ethics is a science that aims to investigate this phenomenon. You can define it as a set of rules to regulate behaviour, based on the values of good/bad, moral/immoral, honesty and fairness, sincerity, responsibility, widespread within a unit, characterized by a high degree of internalization and imposed both by his own conscience and pressure attitudes of others. The morality consists of values, norms and exemplary models that seek to regulate interpersonal relations, thus representing a considerable part of our lives. It appears to us as an ideal in the sense of this normative term. An ideal which all of us must tend to. We cannot be only successful, only climb the social and professional ladder, but also that of moral values. And if an individual seeks to ascend the social and professional hierarchy in defiance of moral his destiny will not be fulfilled.

Unlike morals, ethics is the theory or science that investigates this phenomenon, the theory of morality.\(^{12}\) Thus, we find that morality embraces human behaviour rules, while ethics aims to examine these rules. Ethics attempts to answer the question "How should the individual act in relation to himself and with others?"\(^{13}\) Ethics means a coherent, systematic conception of life moral rules, also said, what is the right thing and what is not. The word comes from the Greek, which means manners, habits, character.\(^ {14}\)

The main mission of ethics is prescribing rules for the conduct of both individual and social organization of the moral life. In this view, ethics can

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11. *Morality* term derives from latin *mores*, which has the same meaning as habits, traditions, customs.
14. *Ethics* term derives from greek *ethos* meaning habits, traditions, customs.
be defined, broadly, as the discipline dealing with what is valuable in life, what it pays to want and what rules should govern human behaviour.\textsuperscript{15}

What does the word "ethics" mean? Enough people are tempted to associate ethics and feelings, thinking perhaps a sort of sympathetic vibration toward our neighbour. But ethics is not necessarily bound by certain affective states. They are changeable, whimsical and not fully amenable to reason, so very often feelings are just those that urge us to stray from our ethical rules. Ethics is a necessary relationship with religion, most religions hold high ethical standards. But if ethics were never more than a right of religion then it would be valid only for religious people. Or, the ethics are addressed equally to atheists and saints, so there can be no way confused with religion or fully subordinate to it.

However, to behave ethically is not the same as to abide by the law – an idea that we support with different arguments. Not infrequently the law incorporates certain moral beliefs that are shared by many nationals of a state. But the law, as well as the feelings, can turn away from what is ethical.

Finally, being ethical is not to be confused with fully complying with accepted behaviour patterns in society. In many cases, most people really growing just behavioural patterns as ethical aspect, but not always. Sometimes these social patterns of behaviour may be in conflict with ethical principles. It may happen that a whole society is morally corrupt; there have been and there are unfortunate examples in this regard. On the other hand, if you behave ethically it would be the same with social models to imitate, then, to know what is right in terms of ethics, the individual should learn what is considered acceptable in the society. In addition, the lack of a fully social consensus makes it impossible to identify ethics with what is deemed acceptable in a given society.

Leaving aside the opinions of American business people about the meaning and semantic peculiarities of English term \textit{ethics}\textsuperscript{16}, we need to ask what is meant by the word "ethics" in Romanian, to make certain clarifying distinctions. In Romanian, the word \textit{ethics} has at least three different meanings. First, ethics refers to the so-called \textit{manners}, customs and traditional habits specific to different cultures. Such traditional customs are in the economic field as well. In the West, prices in shops are not usually


\textsuperscript{16} Idem, pp. 7.
negotiable; in the East, the bargaining between the seller and the buyer is almost mandatory. The Western world puts high value on punctuality; while in Latin America or in Africa, it is considered that a man is more important and more worthy of esteem if he affords to be late. In the West, commissions, more or less "under the table", to officials who are seeking a contract or tax breaks or trade are considered profoundly immoral; the same thing cannot be said about the developing countries, where bribing civil servants constitute a common practice, often in plain sight.

To avoid possible confusion of terminology, we refer as ethos to this whole traditional customs which, as I will show below, are interested in cultural anthropology rather than ethics.

Secondly, the term ethics means the totality of values and norms that define, in a given society, the man of character and demeanour fair rules, dignified and worthy of respect, whose violation is condemnable and worthy of scorn. In this instance, the ethics of promoting certain values, such as honesty, justice, courage, honesty, unselfishness, magnanimity, etc., trying to make respected rules like: "thou shall not lie!", "thou shall not steal!", "help your neighbour!", etc.\(^{17}\)

The problem is therefore more about morality and good faith of the people. As a result, the global trend, in the European Union and in Romania, is to promote the emergence of codes of conduct developed by the service providers (as a guarantee of compliance by them) in order to regulate such situations at the boundary between morality and law.\(^{18}\)

**Semantic issues concerning ethics in business**

Business ethics is a scholar field and a quite recent topic of public debate.\(^{19}\) As all the novelties from the 20\(^{th}\) century, business ethics is also an American invention. For some, the transatlantic origin of the new discipline is a guarantee of quality, reliability and performance; for others, on the contrary, whatever comes across the ocean should be something terribly shallow, rudimentary and – necessarily – "imperialist". Very inspiring or hateful, ethics in business quickly took momentum in the North American

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\(^{17}\) Ibidem.


area, from where it was spread throughout the "civilized" world, more precisely in those countries where you can talk in depth about market economy and the rule of law. With the British in the lead, the Europeans were "contaminated" as well by the growing interest for business ethics in the years after 1980. In Romania, this interest is already present. Many of the economic universities have such discipline in their curricula.

What is business ethics? At first glance, it is easy to understand that "business ethics" is an area that seeks to clarify the moral problems that arise routinely in the activity of economic agents in a capitalist society. According to an opinion, business ethics is defined as the "ethical perspective, either the default behaviour, whether explicitly stated, of a company or an individual to do business". The behaviour and statements can, of course, contradict, so about a corporation can be said that, although it sometimes displays a credo of ethics put, allegedly, in the service of the community, the terrible damage caused to the environment shows its true belief. De George, R.T. ranks business ethics at half the level of a simple description of what an economic agent declares and actually makes, in relation to certain ethical considerations.

Lewis has a different opinion, defining business ethics as "the set of principles or arguments which should govern the conduct of business, at individual or collective level". If we agree that there are many things that business people should not make, business ethics in this second meaning relates to what people should do in business. After Lewis, business ethics defines its issues at the level of rules of moral behaviour that indicates economic agents what should and what should not do in their specific work.

According to Roger Crisp, business ethics is a field of philosophical investigations, having its own problems and topics of discussion, experts, publications, research centres and, of course, a variety of currents or schools of thought. In this regard, Crisp suggests that "business ethics" refers to philosophical endeavours of human beings to have recourse to the principles

21 Idem, pp. 5.
which constitute the business ethics, usually in the idea that they should become ethics of business of real business people”. In a more comprehensible language, Crisp wants to say that business ethics aims to evaluate and support with rational arguments the values and moral rules that should govern the economic game, with the hope that his explanations may contribute to the improvement of moral practice in business.

The mere reading of the definitions above may explain why so many business people are sceptical regarding the relevance of ethics in business compared with their current problems and practical dilemmas faced in their work. Far from making the nude facts to appear in a clearer light, and be easier to understand, the philosophers seem to speak about another world, promptly getting lost in shady speculations that have nothing in common with the pressing concerns of those in charge of the business. Here, in this regard, what Laura Nash24 says: "Business ethics is the study of how the personal moral standards apply to the activities and goals of commercial enterprise. It is not a separate moral standard, but the study of how business context puts the moral person, which acts as an agent of this system, its own specific problems”.

A shorter definition is proposed by Andrew Crane and Dirk Matten25: "Business ethics is the study of situations, activities and business decisions as it raises issues about what is morally right and wrong”. Note that "business ethics" is a compound expression whose meaning cannot be intelligible only to the extent that the unsuspecting reader knows what the words "ethical" and "business" mean. With this condition, it is understandable that, in line with medical ethics, legal ethics or bioethics, business ethics is an applied theory of ethics, in which the ethical concepts and methods, as a general theory, are used in addressing specific moral issues in a certain field, like medicine, judiciary or military affairs.26

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26 D. Crăciun, op. cit., pp. 6.
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DIMENSIONS AND INDICATORS OF INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY

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Abstract: This paper presents the dimensions and indicators of institutional analysis of the military, the confidence in the military institution, the sociological approaches of the military profession, the military professionalism and Current aspects of vocational guidance in Romanian military organization.

Keywords: dimensions; indicators; institution; analysis; military.

The operationalization of the military institution concept led to identifying the following dimensions and indicators for analysis, grouped into three categories, as follows:

1. At the social level:
   a. confidence in the military establishment;
   b. social prestige of the military profession;
   c. values identified in the population on military ethos/legitimacy of these professional values of the military;
   d. attractiveness of the military profession among young people;
   e. the influence of social change on the military organization.

2. At the organizational level:
   a. professional autonomy
   b. mechanisms of decision making/compliance with military rules and regulations
   c. human resources recruitment, selection and training processes

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d. perceptions and attitudes of military personnel to various developments of organizational change

3. At the individual level
   a. commitment to the profession (professional development or abandonment);
   b. satisfaction with employment and occupation / attractiveness of the military profession;
   c. motivation for performance;
   d. expectations and professional achievements;
   e. the pride of being part of the military;
   f. the trust of the military personnel in:
      i. leaders / commanders;
      ii. Subordinates;
      iii. weapons and military equipment;
      iv. political and military leadership of the Army;
   g. inter-individual relations.

Confidence in the military institution

Why measure confidence in institutions? What does it mean to trust in institutions? Trust in institutions, in other people, in general, political and public figures have made the subject of numerous studies and research nationally and internationally.

Among the many definitions of trust we mention here only one: to say that we trust someone (individual or institution) means that one expects that person or institution to act in my benefit, although it would have enough incentive to not do it. In the context of democratization and strengthening of civil society, the study of trust in institutions is particularly important, as it can reveal the extent to which these institutions (especially the new ones such as the Parliament, political parties, free elections, etc.), took root in post-totalitarian societies. According to analysts, trust in institutions is part of the "social capital" along with generalized trust (in the ones around us) and associative networks in which individuals are involved. The binder called "trust" makes people become more involved in the public sphere; electoral analyses, confidence in a particular political party or candidate are often marked predictors of voting intentions.
Since 1973 the European Union monitors the evolution of public opinion in the Member States through the **Eurobarometer - Eurobarometer survey**.

This longitudinal research is carried out annually on a sample consisting of approximately 1,000 respondents in each European country. Questionnaires are applied face-to-face, and the results are representative of the study population. The public opinion in Romania shows a decreasing trend in the level of confidence in the army as the results obtained to the question *I want to ask you how much do you trust certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me whether you "tend to trust" or "tend not to trust?"* The recorded level for this indicator is in free fall, as shown in the following chart.

![Chart showing the level of confidence in the Romanian army](chart.png)

*Fig. nr. 3. The level of confidence in the Romanian army*

On the topic of **institutional trust** the following two hypotheses have resulted.

Hypothesis 1: The higher the level of confidence of military personnel in military-political elite, the greater the degree of involvement and acceptance of institutional change.

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Hypothesis 2: As the relationships between members of the military (horizontal relationships) are perceived positively, the greater the degree of involvement and acceptance of institutional change.

**Sociological approaches of the military profession. Military Professionalism**

The increased usage in the public discourse on the military organization of words such as "profession", "professional" and "professionalism" requires detailed analysis of the social meanings of these terms and detachment to clarify them conceptually. A brief overview of the history of these terms and defining notes of the two interpretations of classical sociological alternative and contrasting of professionalism – professionalism as a system of values and professionalism as an ideology – can provide theoretical benchmarks on the military profession, currently in a complex transformation process.

**Professionalism as a system of values**

The most famous attempt to clarify the special characteristics of professionalism and its values was Parsons\(^2\), who showed how the capitalist economy, rational-legal social order (in the Weberian sense) and modern professions are interrelated and mutually balanced in maintaining social order and stability of a fragile normative demand. He demonstrated how both the authority professions hold and bureaucratic organizations are based on the same principles (e.g.: functional specificity, restricting the scope of power, applying universal standards, impersonal).

Unlike Parsons, Hughes\(^3\) considers that the professions not only afford to tell the rest of society what is right and what is wrong, but they also determine their understanding of the issues that are in their area of expertise. Professionalism implies the importance of trust in economic relations in modern societies with an advanced division of labour. In other words, lay people should trust professional workers (electricians and plumbers, as doctors and lawyers), and professionals, in turn, need to acquire expert knowledge. Professionalism requires professionals to deserve this trust, to maintain the confidentiality and use their knowledge responsibly and

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without exploiting it for malicious purposes. In exchange for their professionalism in dealing with customers, professionals are rewarded with authority, special recompenses and high status.

Hughes’ work is the starting point for micro ethnographic studies on professional socialization at work, developing and maintaining professional identities. This professional identity is associated with the meaning of experience, specialization agreements and joint referral on common ways to look at problems and at the possible solutions for those problems. This common identity is produced and reproduced through occupational and professional socialization through a common and shared educational background, training and experience of members of associations and professional societies where participants develop and maintain a common culture of work. In the 70's and 80's, the concept of professionalism as a system of values was rejected and replaced by a critical approach, embodied in a general scepticism about the professions that were seen instead as elite influential workers.

**Professionalism as ideology**

Critical attacks related to occupations generally regarded as powerful monopolies, privileged, self-centred, evidenced in Weberian literature resulted in a general scepticism regarding the whole idea of professionalism as a normative value. During this period, a concept that became predominant was the "professional project". The concept included a historical account of the processes and stages through which a distinct professional group is seeking domination in the service market, status and ascendance on the social scale. Professionally, the successful outcome of the project consisted of a "control of legitimate expertise and officially recognized competence" and a "monopoly of credibility with the public."*4

In the 90's researchers began to appreciate again the meaning of professionalism and its positive contributions to social systems. This indicates the return of professionalism. Apart from protecting their own market positions by controlling licenses to practice, a distinct form of occupational control decentralized civil society. Also the public’s interest and personal professional interest is not necessarily at opposite limits with

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the advancement of the public interest. Professionalism can thus lead to the creation and representation of distinct professional values and moral obligations that restrict excessive competition and encourage cooperation.

Therefore, in general, some recent analyses of Anglo-American professions have reinterpreted the concept of professionalism as a system of values involved in the socialization of new members of the professional group, the preservation of social order and predictability. This current interpretation has resulted in a more balanced and careful recognition of the power and interests of certain professional groups in an effort to preserve and promote the professionalism as a normative system.

Professions are deeply involved in the reproduction of legitimate power by using expert authority. Accepting the authority of professional experts works hand in hand with strengthening the authority of the states. Accepting the authority of governments and professionals was interrelated and was part of the state-citizen relationship normalization. The principles of organization of professions can be interpreted as modelling the normalization process: preparing professionals involves developing a balance between self-interest and community, which is supported by interaction with the occupational community. Such a model can explain the charm of professionalism.

Possible reflections on the profession and the military

Samuel Huntington⁵, one of the most cited researchers of the military profession, identifies three fundamental elements for any profession: expertise, responsibility and body spirit. Where the military profession is concerned, the specific expertise is given by the knowledge the military hold in the "management of violence", while their responsibility is the military security of the society. The body spirit is explained by the feeling of belonging to a social group with a unique responsibility. Huntington does not consider all military members as professionals, but only those officers involved in the "management of violence".

Charles Moskos⁶, from the perspective of two models for the analysis of the profession (occupational model and institutional model), identifies

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work-related influences in the military profession, in which members of the profession are not attracted to the "vocation" ("calling"), but are rather concerned with obtaining material benefits (extrinsic motivation).

Framing analysis of the military profession in the context of the conceptual framework presented assumes that military sociology finds answers to a new series of questions. To what extent can we consider the military as a profession or just a certain occupation in the labour market? Under what version is mainly used the concept of professionalism within the public discourse regarding the armed forces as a system of norms and values of professional or occupational ideology, knowing that both approaches to professionalism, the normative and ideological, facilitate organizational change? Who intervenes mainly in the production of new organizational changes, "internal forces" or the "external" ones? In other words, changing the organizational field occurs through institutional forces, the professional elite in a self-regulating system or the military profession is dominated by outside forces? In the absence of the military code of conduct, can we really speak of a military occupation?

Regarding the related organizations symbolic approach, Robert K. Merton concludes: "In certain professions and certain types of organizations may arise a process of sanctification ... By creating sentimental affinities by emotional dependency status and symbols of bureaucratic and involving affective spheres of competence and authority, prerogatives develop involving moral legitimacy attitudes enshrined as values in themselves, they are no longer considered just practical means of solving a few administrative tasks."\(^7\)

In this sense of symbolic interpretation of the military, one can claim that "any state army is a national symbol, as the flag, national anthem and all symbols without the feeling of belonging to a nation would be in vain, leading to the absence of national identity and thus removing the idea of nation".\(^8\)

In the absence of systematic answers to the questions above, we cannot ignore, however, that the military profession is changing. Transforming the military profession produced under the spectre of "professionalism" brings multiple benefits for both the armed forces and the society.


\(^8\) Anton, Michael, Army and Society, Romanian Military Thinking Magazine, no.3/2006, the General Staff, Bucharest, 2006, p. 162.
Current aspects of vocational guidance in Romanian military organization

Under the imperative of military professionalization and increase of the effectiveness, the future lies in the competence framework, efficient adaptation to the specific requirements of the profession. However, the military is not only a "finished product" taken out of specific educational institutions, a product that condenses and explains the aims of education, but also a "product" whose value is added to the quality of its initial focus on skills and manifested during vocational orientation.

Starting from this consideration, the Ministry of Defence has acted consistently in the direction of expanding the selection of candidates and the election of motivated military professionals through field offices for information and recruitment, selection and orientation provided by regional centres; by educational psychologists in military units or within education and training institutions. The vocational guidance and training was conducted in the form of public information campaigns (in 2009 such campaigns were held in 4671 primary schools and 1,244 high schools). The military have participated in educational fairs and public campaigns which involved conferences to popularize the military profession amongst the target audience, marketing studies have been carried out in order to identify the target audience etc.

An effective national system of vocational guidance for young people to the military career with the objective of attracting a large number of potential candidates motivated, with the right skills and honourable conduct cannot be achieved only through this, but by including vocational guidance activities and involving the representatives of civil educational environment, teachers and school psychologists, an aim which we target in this project.

In conclusion, the efficiency will generate decisions so as to create conditions for individuals to be able to maximize the benefits of their actions.

The political processes not infrequently give rise to institutions that are good for some and bad for others, these effects being considered to be due primarily to asymmetries in the power of individual decision and less to rules and principles that they decide (otherwise legitimate if we refer to majority rule, representativeness etc.), though no doubt the role of the decision is not one to be neglected.

There is a gap between what the different models institutions offer as effective and efficient organizational forms and what institutions need in order to be satisfied by these models results.
The conditions of the possibility of harmonizing the two institutional requirements – effectiveness and efficiency – depend on a proper analysis that should guide the individual on how to decide and accept collective decisions and the consequences that follow. We have to assume though, that the logic used in these decision making processes is unique and multi-faceted.

The purpose of my research is to demonstrate that what democracy suggests in terms of mechanisms is not feasible, but to show what the military can reasonably hope for in the given conditions: lack of resources, continue need and considered largely epistemic uncertainty (human dignity, good individual personal happiness, social justice, etc.) which in all fairness require much consideration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


RULE OF LAW, SECURITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN ROMANIA

Mirela PUŞCAŞU

Abstract: Threats, risks and perils we are facing today are complex and atypical. The importance of limited natural resources is put under debate more than anytime before by great world actors through new security concepts.

One major future problem of any community is the problem of resources, mainly of energy resources. Energy represents an essential logistic support of the modern society and that is why ensuring energy resources stands as a key element in keeping the state of security.

Increasing the community energy security actually means increased energy security for Romania, while our country’s energy security may ensure greater energy security at the European level.

Keywords: security; security policy; energy resources; economic crisis; economic power.

Introduction

Having witnessed a lengthy economic crisis, the current security environment, characterized by asymmetric as well as conventional threats, emphasizes the importance of the realistic and timely identification of the type of threat, of anticipating vulnerabilities and the pragmatic and efficient means of solving them.

The threats, risks and perils we are facing today are complex and atypical as they are the outcome of human action as well as the way in which the society intervenes in solving the problems which are of the society itself.

The importance of limited natural resources is put under debate more than anytime before by great world actors through new security concepts.

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Actually, natural resources have always been the trigger of latest major confrontations, without decreasing the power of the one who owns or exploits them.

In order to understand the complexity and the relational character of security, the latter needs to be viewed today through the way in which the society is able to ensure and protect the degree of welfare and prosperity. Thus, security studies emphasize the fact that we can differentiate at least five fields of security in the contemporary society (political, economic, military, environmental and societal)\(^1\). Still, one of these fields may be of greater importance and incidence over the society at a certain moment, though this is not always correctly mirrored (military security seems to be less important than the economic one).

One major future problem of any community is the problem of resources, mainly of energy resources.

As far as this aspect is concerned, the energy security of Romania, as a NATO and EU member as well as being an important decision-making factor in the Black Sea region, depends on economic cooperation and a solid strategic and energy partnership between the EU and Russia. We also need to keep in mind the possibility of maximizing the geo-strategic advantages, taking into account the energy potential and, last but not least, the possibility of becoming a key transit corridor between Eastern producers and Western consumers.

**Security in the contemporary society**

The concept of security is a relative and not an absolute one, taking into account the numerous existing definitions of the term. Projecting it nationally, internationally and at the level of the individual entails certain gradualism of approaching. The more and more visible interdependence of political, military, economic, technologic, social and geographic factors extends the concept of security.

Being understood as state, security must not be taken for the potential or the actions undertaken for ensuring it, nor for the security policy of the state. Actually, this is a process parameter and not a state parameter, taking into account the attempts of getting absolute security of an actor of the

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international system can lead to the contrary effect. The countermeasures of other actors can lead to insecurity, to the final decreasing of the security level of the initiator.

Security can be viewed as an ongoing and dynamic process in point of the policy it supports. The process comprises strategies, resources and efforts in the social sphere, through which the interests of existing social macro-groups. That is why security many times appears as a necessity in supporting the functioning of the social organization in function of the action of disturbing factors that generate insecurity.

Specialists in the field mention that the security policy presupposes “a strategic framework and an action plan through which current and future threats are tackled” 2.

**Energy security in the contemporary society**

An analysis of security sectors based on its object (society, state, economy, energy, environment, social, religious, ethnic group, individual, culture etc.), and of its levels in point of space (global, national, regional, local) can lead to designing diagrams that would mostly answer some of the existing questions, but they would also clear confusions which might appear in dealing with some security issues.

A security policy can determine at a certain moment, on basis of various perceptions of the security risk produced, a set of criteria and objective factors, but mostly subjective factors. And this may happen as the priority stands the security of a certain social domain which presupposes threats in the national or regional space and ignoring a different domain.

Having this under discussion, we can talk about various levels or spheres of security. Understanding threats or choosing the solutions that might be considered when setting up security policies could become unclear, provided semantic expansion of terms (economic, energy, ecologic, regional security etc.) did not take this aspect under consideration. There are two possibilities when choosing the target and the type of threat that needs fought against.

Focusing mainly on the economic security policy does not entail eliminating the preoccupation over national security. Priorities are set by the

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players on the international stage in function of the type of threats as well as of the degree of risk that might be undertaken.

**National security and energy resources**

The evolution of the human society, as well as its economic development has been permanently and decisively influenced by energy resources. Actually, gas and oil keep being a solid reason for cooperation, but also for disputes on the international stage in point of control, access, owning, supplying and employing them. States’ priorities, foreign policy, security and economy are more and more consistently set by this aspect.

Ensuring the energy security requires at present even more than in the past, correlations of political and military aspects of security as a whole. Moreover, the latter are taking a greater stand as a separate aspect of global, regional and national security.

The welfare and individual security interests cannot be met without ensuring the economic security, not to mention the energy security. For this reason, vulnerabilities, risks, threats and perils on the part of the individual need be overcome in order to achieve energy stability.

The European Union, a serious energy consumer, has a vulnerable position on the global market. The authorities in Brussels are dealing with this issue, having in mind the dependence on the energy resources of the Russian Federation, as well as the great risk of economic development.

Irrespective of the official position in Brussels, Romania owns a wide, although limited in point of quantity, range of primary energy resources (natural gas, oil, coal, uranium ore), but also a relatively low potential of renewable resources which can be employed. In the past, Romania made use of important non-renewable energy resources, while today hydrocarbon deposits have become limited as new important deposits have not been discovered and domestic production has declined.

Current natural gas deposits are approximately 49.29 billion m³, while oil reserves are over 60 mil. tons³. Should we consider reducing these deposits, the role of local coal should increase in the energy balance of the country.

The uranium ore is necessary in producing nuclear fuel for the Cernavoda nuclear electric units and that is why the former is of paramount

³ http://www.eia.doe.gov/countries/country-data.cfm accesat în data de 07.05.2014
importance for the national economy. Moreover, special emphasis is laid on the future development of the nuclear energy program.

Renewable energy resources in Romania which are themselves scarce in point of economic evolution and consumption needs, are more and more often brought under discussion. Romania’s technical hydraulic potential is about 36,000 GWh/year. According to the Minister of the Environment, “Romania has promised that the electricity coming from green resources would represent by 2020, 38% of the national consumption. Taking into account the potential that our country has in this respect, the targets are feasible for Romania”\(^4\).

The solar energy is another type of renewable energy, whose potential is about 1,100 kWh/m\(^2\)/year. According to experts in the field, the solar potential, employed at maximum, could generate 50% of the domestic water or 15% of the household heat\(^5\). This alternative resource has been only experimentally and poorly employed in households.

Employing the whole biomass potential through entirely using logging residues, sawdust and other wood refuse, agricultural waste coming from grain, corn stalks, vegetal vine waste, as well as urban domestic waste and residues could cover 89% of the heat necessary in households and for preparing food in rural areas\(^6\).

Having these in mind, the main objectives of developing the energy sector in Romania are the following:

**Supply security** (respecting national options in the energy field and maintaining national sovereignty in point of primary energy resources);

**Durability** (promoting producing renewable resources primary energy which should ensure by 2020 energy consumption of 38 % out of renewable resources);

**Competitiveness** (entails among other things pursuing development and perfecting mechanisms of competing markets through electricity, natural gas and energy services; active participation in building up a

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\(^5\) Solar energy is slightly used only as an experiment, playing a minor role in Romania’s energy production.

\(^6\) Adelina Vlad, Cum sa faci bani din producția de energie regenerabilă, in Curierul Național on 31.07. 2009.
regional energy market and a unique European market; increasing the interconnecting capacity by 2020).

**Conclusions**

Peace and prosperity cannot be achieved without ensuring security of all domains, including the economic security. Reaching a certain level of economic security depends on the state capacity of employing resources domestically, but also getting or maintaining access to foreign economic resources.

Energy security, as a vital aspect of economic security, is tightly linked to any endeavor of any actor involved in the owning, exploiting, producing, shipping, distributing and consuming energy chain, with the aim of influencing or controlling the others. That is why any economy dependent on foreign energy resources, irrespective of its degree of development, constantly faces the energy risk. The energy security of an actor presupposes the energy security of other actors the latter interacts in this respect.

Solving the issues of national energy resources should, in the long run, represent a priority which should be less politically conditioned, while, economically, should be accepted and managed equally and reciprocally with potential partners.

Energy represents an essential logistic support of the modern society and that is why ensuring energy resources is a key element in keeping the security state. As far as NATO and EU are concerned and taking into account huge energy resources and the possibilities of employing them, this aspect generates an unprecedented interest in the Black Sea enlarged region. The region itself is a guarantee of energy security in Europe for the years to come.

With its geographic position in the region, Romania can be a key geostrategic actor. This situation could be viewed as a huge opportunity mostly because its geographic position could help our country actively take part in developing masterly oil and natural gas pan-European projects.

National energy resources deposits are constantly decreasing, while Russia acts as the main energy supplier of energy shortage in Romania. And this should be the mere starting point for any discussion on ensuring Romania’s energy security.

The state goes on being the owner of relatively important energy resources. Still, Romania cannot meet its own resources for domestic
consumption, given the economic crisis, the globalization, but also the increasing competitiveness on regional and international markets.

Increasing the community energy security means better security energy for Romania as well as the energy security of our country might entail better European security energy. Such security can mainly be obtained within European energy interdependencies, but in an advantageous partnership between the European Union and Russia. Thus, it becomes very clear the major role energy resources play in ensuring the national security.

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