# "BABEŞ-BOLYAI" UNIVERSITY CLUJ - NAPOCA FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY THE DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY STUDIES

# "THE ISSUE OF THE ROMANIAN INFORMATION COMMUNITY IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT"

**PhD Thesis Abstract** 

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#### Key words

Information comunity, informative community, informative structures, information services, intelligence, international relations, NATO, EU, security.

### **Doctoral Thesis Abstract**

The motivation in picking this theme was determined by the multitude of public debates and political declarations on the utility of founding a national intelligence community, frequently placed in such a vivid registre that it didn,t allow an efficient solution, led me to consider that a documented approach, which would be able to prove that such an institutional architecture imposes itself in the actual context, marked by the general phenomenon of globalisation, is wellcome. We also considered that the idea of sustaining the necesity that

such a national information community stands for making a more effctive and efficient intelligence activity that is needed in order to sustain political decisions. There are still a great number of things to be done, from a conceptual, linguistic, organizational point of view, to ensure an informative structure able to respond to this millenium, schallenges.

The evolution of nowadays security environment, marked by globalisation proves the necesity to grasp the security risks in a different registre, much more complex in the new international conditions.

**Historiography**. From a historiographical point of view a number of works have been published, that study individually the institutions implied in ensuring national security. The present paper aims at being the radiography of the intelligence activity in an complex institutional approach that would reflect the evolutions of the different components of the information community, the connections between them and could allow the underlining of several conclusions that may lay the foundations of debates with practical finality.

The first stages of the Romanian informative structures, as well as the belligerence period has been treated by some historians that brought to light a multitude of documents and data that underwent historical and documentary investigations based on scientific methods and resources. Authors such as Gheorghe Buzatu, Florin Constantiniu, Cristian Troncotă, Vasile Bobocescu, Lionede Ochea, Florin Pintilie, Iulian Chiriac, Larry Watts are outstanding from this point of view.

Their works lay the foundations for the first chapter of this thesis, allowing me to enunciate personal conclusions, some of that in opposition with those expressed by the distinguished Cristian Troncotă and Lionede Ochea on the tradition of the existence of a informations community in that epoch, s Romania.

Unfortunately, if the period before the establishment of the communist regime in Romania could be the subject of historiographical research, the communist period, in which Romanian authorities have "benefited" from the "consultancy" of Soviet advisers is deprived by the lack of access to classified documents from the archives of the Kremlin.

As such Chapter II is based on data and information from specialized historiography and the study of archival documents that I have had access to courtesy of historians Cristian Troncotă and Lionede Ochea. Works by authors such as Constantin Hlihor, Ioan Scurtu, Dennis Deletant, Amy Knight, Marius Oprea, Florin Pintilie, Valentin-Traian Poncea, Cristian Troncotă, Liviu Țîrău, Larry Watts, Mihai Pelin contributed to the knowledge and understanding of historical developments in informative and security structures of communist Romania, with the author's interpretation on the institutional architecture and functional relationships between them, and between them and the political elite.

During the Soviet period, Romanian historiography, and that from other former communist countries addressed the issue of councilors in a manner devoid of objectivity and scientific rigor, ideological and political considerations, but also lack of access to sources, fueling distortions of reality.

The main source is the Russian archives in which researchers have not had access for a long time. After the fall of communism and the collapse of the USSR things have changed to some extent, being provided, with certain limitations, the study of documents belonging to institutions such as the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of The Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union and the supreme organ of state power in the USSR Council of Ministers, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also, it has been allowed access to certain documents of the ministries of internal affairs and state security of the USSR, which facilitates the first research of the creation of the institution of Soviet advisers in Eastern European countries.

Unfortunately, reports and information written by military and political advisers, sent to Moscow, still remain inaccessible - particularly important sources - which essentially limits the possibilities of reconstructing the historical image of this activity and expose potential researchers eager to decipher the mechanisms of this institution, to risks related to the field of credibility.

I resorted to some memorial sources, noting, however, that some caution is required from these sources, requiring their taking over with some reservations. The authors whose works have been studied areNeagu Cosma, Ion Stănescu, Ion Mihai Pacepa, Gheorghe Rațiu, Aurel Rogojan, Victor-Atanasie Stănculescu, Ioan Talpeş, Filip Teoderescu, Ion Dohotaru, Marin Pancea.

After 1989, in terms of realizing a radiography of developments and changes in Romanian intelligence services, but also in making an approach on security studies in connection with the field of intelligence stand out authors such as Alexandru-Radu Timofte, Ionel Marin, George-Cristian Maior, Mireille Rădoi etc. which have taken into account the developments of systems that they have been or still are a part of.

The study on the national security setup and development in the democratic regime in this thesis was conducted in direct connection with research directions in international relations and security.

In order to substantiate and produce an analysis of interpretation I appealed to works by renowned authors such as Barry Buzan, Jaap de Wilde, Ole Waever, Mary Kaldor, JeanBaptiste Duroselle, Andre Kaspi, Edward Kolodziej, Vasile Puşcaş, George-Cristian Maior, Andrei Miroiu, Radu Sebastian Ungureanu or that of young and emerging authors such as Mireille Rădoi, Simona Frolu or Ioana Leucea.

Regarding the National Intelligence Community in Romania the number of papers and articles that address this concept is relatively small and the analysis is not done appealing to international relations theory.

Ionel Marin, in "The Intelligence Community - the solution to security issues", published in 2004, makes an exposé on the state of security, new threats and the forms of their manifestations, the role of intelligence in their management and the need for unitary coordination of the informative-operative work in order to improve it. Finally, it concludes on the need for communicating information for the purposes of coordinating component structures.

Ochea Lionede's work "Comunitatea de informații a României. Tradiție și modernitate" / "The intelligence community of Romania. Tradition and Modernity" results in a summary of Romanian intelligence structures from their inception to the creation of CNI in 2005 advocates on the need to operating an intelligence community, arguing that Romania has a long tradition in this respect. We recognize the necessity of CNI, however we do not support advocacy regarding the existence of a Romanian tradition in this respect.

Bringing into question the creation of NIC during the 90s and early 2000s caused the resumption of politicians or certain characters familiar with the activities of secret services and media that were subject to controversy in their age.

The initiatives or proposed solutions sparked debates, criticism or controversy, all of them, however, creating more questions than answers.

The voices that stood out were that of Parliament members such as Ovidiu Cameliu Petrescu, Romeo Marius Raicu, George Cristian Maior and that of generals generalilor Ioan Talpeş, Mihaiu Mărgărit and Francisc Tobă.

Alos, CNI constituted one of the subjects to be theoretically approached during the scientific conferences organized by the National Information Academy - "Michael the Brave,, or The National Defense University Charles The First, or inside such as Revista Română de Studii de Intelligence, and also in university courses that approach security and intelligence studies. Authors such as Mireille Rădoi, Mihalache Veronica, Tănase Tiberiu, Nicolae Elena Maria, Ionel Goian, Mihăiță Niculescu Ciocan, Ion Duvac are to be taken into account from this perspective.

The relevance the work lies in the fact that it could represent a useful study for the institutional reform. Reasons for the establishment of an intelligence community could be

understood in the light of changes taking place in the international political and strategic environement. The socio-political context of the current domestic and international situation, characterized by rapid changes, continuous challenges, the diversification of forms of threats to national security, Romanian membership to NATO and the European Union, requires efficient cooperation between the specialized agencies of information, both internally and internationally.

The consecration, worldwide, of the concept of information community was determined by the need to ensure national security, as part of the security of the international system, but also by the need to ensure coordination, consistency of and action in order to achieve efficient use of available resources by national intelligence structures.

The establishment of the intelligence community in Romania and its effective functioning is an imperative both for external and internal reasons.

The paper aims to demonstrate that the establishment of the NIC is an objective necessity determined by the evolution of the international security environment, with internal reverberations, and the emergence of new threats to global security and, consequently, to the national security of Romania. It supports the need for a NIC, the needs for reforming information institutions involved in national security, but provided that these efforts should be supported by an appropriate legislative framework. As such, the process should be continued and adapted to developments in the international environment.

Given the national and international context which requires a concern to develop specific tools for implementing security policy, and identifying the factors that determine the increased emphasis on national security the research started with these questions: Have they really reformed the intelligence services? Are we compatible with similar Euro-Atlantic structures? Do we need a national community information and in what form? Do we have a theoretical model of the institutional architecture of the intelligence community? These questions constituted **reshearch hypotheses** to which I tried to respond by defining and establishing the interactions between the concepts that these hypotheses work with. To this end, research was conducted on several **operational levels**: *the international/European political system level in which Romania places itself/is ranked, the domestic national security policy level and the national institutional transformations level caused by domestic and international political developments.* 

These levels were analyzed by making use of multi-level correlations to meet the **research objectives** formulated. In the purpose of this analysis, we aimed to find answers to the following research questions: How do we operate with the concept of informative

community, and, especially, what significance do we attach to the concept? Why do we need a national informative community? What else should be done to have a viable informative community? Can we rely on tradition or other models require to be found? Have the intelligence services been reformed enough to meet democratic standards and to become compatible among partner services?

Methodologically, we initially developed a perspective of the historical evolution of Romanian intelligence structures, then we approached the neoliberal institutionalist and constructivist paradigm in the analysis of the security concept and hence the intelligence community concept.

Moreover, the intelligence community is the conceptthat the thesis submits to be addressed as an element in the perspective of which is treated the development the intelligence services.

We have chosen the neoliberal approach of the new institutionalism because it prioritizes the state as the main actor in international relations, along with international institutions<sup>1</sup> on the international policy scene, and also because the neo-liberal theory has international cooperation as its fundamental theme.<sup>2</sup>

The constructivist perspective, one of the most innovative and frequently invoked theoretical current in the understanding of international relations, gaining popularity in academic circles, especially in the Euro Atlantic area and especially after the Cold War, is attractive because it assigns great importance to research directions of security studies in international relations. Its representatives suggest rethinking the concept by changing the reference subject (the individual, humanity, ecosystem) and emphasizing the role of the processes of constructing its own identity and allocation of the other actors identity in determining the national interest and shaping the states foreign policy. Constructivists increased concern for the study of ethnic identities and their impact on international relations, political interests, economic, security, globally, all with different implications on the conduct of international actors make security studies attractive in the constructivist paradigm<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The category includes organizations institutions, bureaucratic agencies, treaties and informal agreements and practices that states accept as binding.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> View, in detail, Andrei Miroiu, Radu – Sebastian Ungureanu (coordinators), *Manual de Relații Internaționale,* author Lucian – Dumitru Dîrdală, *Neoliberalismul,* p. 139-154, Polirom, Iași, "Collegium. Relații internaționale" series, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> View, in detail, Andrei Miroiu, Radu – Sebastian Ungureanu (coordiators), *Manual de Relații Internaționale,* author Olivia Toderean, *Constructivismul în Relațiile Internaționale,* p. 155-163, Polirom, Iași, "Collegium. Relații internaționale" series, 2006.

The analysis in terms of the two theories is justified therefore by the need of placing on the stage of international relations along with states, international institutions and, on the other hand, by the need to expand the security concept to other areas due to the deepening of globalization.

This study is carried out in terms of supporting the construction of a national intelligence infrastructure able to respond to a large scale of security needs.

The more so I support the need for a national intelligence community able to respond to such an approach which brings to the foreground new types of security threats.

The structure of the thesis contains 4 chapters that capture, in terms of development, the institutional framework in which security and intelligence Romanian structures functioned in different periods, the attempts for the establishment, after 1989, of a community information connected to the operational needs and requirements derived from the position of NATO and EU membership, but also determined by the emergence of new forms of manifestation of national security threats.

**The First chapter** makes an overview of the evolution of the first Romanian intelligence structures, military and civilian. The beginnings are documented during the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, respectively in 1859, for the the military one, and 1861, inside the e Ministry of The Interior for the civil one.

Various structures with intelligence tasks, including embassies, began coagulating an institutional information ensemble, each of them acting independently, without a centralized and unified capitalization of information. This contributed, according to some authors, such as Cristian Troncotă or Lionede Ochea, to the surprise of Romania, at the outbreak of WWI.

Social and political developments after the First World War caused changes in the internal life of the country. The international situation has undergone, also, reposition of a political, economic, diplomatic and social manner, which gave a particular course to the development of institutions with intelligence gathering role. Romania has experienced an evolution which required institutional development in this field, standing out the importance of The Army Secret Service, who later became, the Special Intelligence Service and The General Safety (Service) of The State.

It should be noted that these two structures were not the only ones empowered with intelligence, various institutions making their informative contribution on specific areas of responsibility.

From the perspective of the approached topic, this time constitutes the time of formation of the nucleus of an institutional information framework, developed on modern grounds, appropriate to the historical moment.

**The Second chapter** provides a summary analysis on how the "tools" that have contributed to the institutionalization of the communist regime in Romania arose, thus breaking a tradition of Romanian intelligence and security services, that have reached a professional level, equivalent to that of the Western services<sup>4</sup>.

The establishment of communism determined also the transformation of informative services into repressive authorities, with the leading role to support / maintain the regime installed 'in a democratic manner"<sup>5</sup>.

The Securitate was an institution created by the communist regime which, at least in the first two decades of its existence, has acted in a manner that, quite rightly, questions the manifestation of national sovereignty and independence<sup>6</sup>.

The period after the establishment of Nicolae Ceausescu in power resulted in some changes, including from the perspective intelligence services. As such, new guidelines were drawn in the doman of the state security, there were conducted purges of the state administration and a "nationalization" of it.

The political context of the '60s and '70s but also Ceausescu's policy placed Romania on new coordinates internally, but mostly outside. This indicative was passed on to the informative Romanian structures by default, and became policy instruments used in support of Nicolae Ceauşeascu.

**The Third Chapter** presents the context and conditions in which after the events of 1989, it occurred the creation / restructuring of special services, and, for some of them, even the actual birth. And all this on the background of a society in full effervescence and amid a profound negative perception of the public opinion on The Securitate, whose image as a repressive, omnipresent and omnipotent instrument has not been forgotten long after the time of 1990.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> S.S.I. holds the 7th place in the hierarchy of the intelligence services of the world, in an unofficial classification drawn up in 1939. The assessment is based on cooperation and exchange of information with similar institutions in the West. View, in detail, The SRI Archive, fund "D", file no 8343, vol.9, page 65. In the work *Serviciul Special de Informații al României pe Frontul de Vest 1940-1944*, Tipart, București, 2004, p. 489, Lionede Ochea claims that România followed after England, Germany, Japan, USSR, The United States and Italy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> View, in detail, Amy Knight, *KGB după KGB. Scurtă istorie a eternei securități de stat*, Elit, București, 1999; Cristian Troncotă, *Torționarii*, Elion, București, 2006; etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The issue was raised by Professor Cristian Troncotă, the question, even rhetorical, having as foundation the implantation of Soviet agents in almost every state organism, including the Security, also in the entourage of senior officials in the state. View, in detail, Cristian Troncotă, *Torționarii*, Elion, București, 2006.

These perceptions have influenced political decisions that led to the emergence of new institutions. Legislation at that time adapted to the conditions of the age, stated a new framework for their operation, trying to meet the needs of the country's leading factors of power, and also popular expectations.

Basically, the conditions in Romania were similar to those present in other former communist countries, with some domestic arrangements determined by the particular shades of the autochtonous regime.

The accusations of continuity of the structures, staff and especially of mentalities obedient to the former regime were directed mainly towards SRI - The main national intelligence service - the other components being somehow "exempted" from such assessment.

Deprived by nature of its tasks, by the opportunity to provide the public opinion with the transparency that might have convinced it about the intentions of change, the new services had to "face" the ghosts of the past.

If the beginning has been difficult, and sometimes even their utility has been questioned, their functioning knew mutations from the perspective of the successive reorganizations that followed.

Processes caused by the transition to a democratic Romanian society and a market economy, and also by developments in the regional plan, imposed searches in the guaranteeing of a level of security that will help consolidate democracy while placing Romania in the global political and economic mechanism.

Transition and, consequently, the extensive process of reform, generated effects at economic social and institutional level, often in a less favorable registry, which led to the appearance of new type of threats, different from the conventional ones.

The achievement by Romania of the membership of NATO and the EU - appreciated by policy makers and also by the vast majority of the people, as the only option to ensure the independence and sovereignty and the access to a socio-economic development similar to that of the Western countries have imposed assuming responsibilities and assignments that led to mutations in addressing the problems of national security.

International developments, including those in the South East European region, likely to alter the strategic equilibriums area, led to the emergence of new risks and threats - some with asymetric manifestations in the field of security, but also to opportunities to promote the strategic interests of Romania in this area. The legal framework in which the special services started to operate, inspired by experiences of the Western omologues, was one of the essential parts of a process which led to institutional reform.

In its application, all those responsible had to find the right answers to a series of acute questions:

Which are the missions of an intelligence service in a democratic society?

- Who are the new information users and which are their needs?
- What are the most appropriate ways in order to make sure that the The Service works exclusively for national interests?
- Who are the representatives of national interests and to whom The Service owes allegiance?
- Which is the relationship with the circles of power and how can be avoided the pitfalls of attracting The Service in political games?
- What are the best ways to free up professional conduct of past mentalities? Which are the best fit ways to ensure compliance with the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens?
- What are the limits of employing legal skills?
- How can the state security be defended, without bringing prejudice to the rights and freedoms of citizens?
- In which way should The Service recruit or train its staff in the new conditions of activity?<sup>7</sup>

Also, synthetically, I addressed the reform of special services in post-communist Central Europe.

The Fourth Chapter concludes the exposures on the development of Romanian intelligence institutional framework, in terms of establishing the finality of fundamenting the CNI, after much debate and controversy in the political, media, civil society spaces, which does not have to finish the process of settlement and regulation of the intelligence activity.

I wanted to demonstrate that, although similar to the conduct of the countries with tradition in the field of intelligence community, in Romania, in a democratic exercise, creating the NIC is not sufficient, if it is not followed by legal regulations, conceptual clarifications and the adjustment of control and funding mechanisms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Alexandru-Radu Timofte (coordinator), Major General Vasile Iancu, Brigade General Marin Ioniță, *Reforma* Serviciului Român de Informații – argumente și fapte, București, 2003, p. 30.

The creation of NIC is an objective necessity determined by the evolution of the international security environment, with reverberations at domestic level, and by the emergence of new threats to global security and, consequently, on the national security of Romania.

These realities, as well as Romania's membership in Euro-Atlantic structures require internal cooperation with partner institutions and those with which there are common security interests, which recommends unitary coordination in order to ensure a consistent evaluation and information, the improvement of collaboration and exchange of information and a fair allocation of budgetary resources.

The chapter supports the need for NIC, the needs for reforming the institutions involved in national security, but provided that these efforts should be supported by an appropriate legislative framework. As such, the process should be continued and adapted to developments in the international environment.

In this same chapter we also presented the organization of the U.S. and the UK intelligence community because Romanian authorities of this field used them as models for constructing an effective institutional structure for national intelligence activities.

#### **Concluding remarks**

The theoretical analysis that we performed starts from the fact that the approach wishes to be a radiography of the intelligence activity in a complex institutional structure which reveals the developments in informative structures and the connections between them.

Romania, throughout history, had different constructions of national intelligence structures, differing from one period to another, but it can not be argued the idea of a tradition in the operation of a unitary integrated and coordinated information assembly, except for certain periods, with specific particularities for the times in question.

The study of the activity of intelligence services, regardless of the reference period, requires the reporting on the political, social, economic, military and diplomatic characteristics of the times involved.

"The European context" intends to present the evolution of developments of the informative services related to the dynamics of the international environment, particularly the European one, in which Romania had to manifest itself and the principles that make the basics of the European security agenda.

The establishment of the first Romanian intelligence structures, respectively that of an

institutional assembly are closely linked to the development of the international environment. First of all we have to take into account the mutations produced by World War I and the signing of the peace treaty. After their completion, international security, in particular the European one began to weaken from various causes, and ultimately Europe has lost world hegemony.

States, especially small and medium ones struggled on political and diplomatic level, and also on an informative plan, to establish norms of international conduct abble to allow peaceful development.

In Romania, internally, is has been remarked an intensive political and civic activity, but also a new challenge generated by the duplication of its territory and population, while externally there stood out the rich diplomatic activity.

The interwar period, and later the belligerence one, is determined from the point of view of informative activities, by the development of several structures responsible for gathering information, each one subject to major changes dictated by the developments and needs of the times, but also by the views of leaders who have succeeded at their command.

Despite failures and malfunctions caused primarily by disagreements and rivalries between chiefs of "Romanian intelligence services", in that period there were multiple ways of cooperation, resulting in beneficial effects for the intelligence work as a whole. Although there were no institutionalized cooperation mechanisms and legal provisions governing the exchange of information between various state institutions in these areas, some personalities at the head of the intelligence services were aware of the necessity and importance of this process to improve efficiency and effectiveness, eliminate duplication and avoid dissipation of the informative resources that were available.

The conclusion to be drawn about the existence of a national coagulated information system, is that during that period there were seeds of such a system, that asured the compliance of conditions tha needed to be met to meet in this instances, placing Romania among the countries with a modern institutional architecture and concerns for settlement on legal and scientific principles of the national information system.

The historical turning point of August 23, 1944, marked the beginning of redefining Romanian institutional informative structures, given that the alliances in which Romania took part have shifted.

The consequences of the second World War, by the appearance of spheres of influence in Europe, which placed Romania in the area of Soviet domination, led to redefining institutional Romanian intelligence and security services, making them copies of Soviet models and tools of implementation and maintaining the communist regime in Romania.

One of the main concerns of the regime in office in December 30, 1947, consisted in the establishment of structures of intelligence and counterintelligence designed to strengthen the young People's Republic and the security of the communist regime in Romania, a completely new institution, becoming predominantly a repressive political police unit.

In the domain of mentalities and practices in the field of security work, some things underwent a series of changes after 1964, so that in the summer of 1967, illegalities and abuses of the The Securitate will be unmasked publicly for the first time and regarded as "deviations from the party line." However, The Securitate did not look like a informative structure enshrined in democratic regimes.

The subordination of informative activities to the Communist Party burdened on what it had to be the specific activity, because structures were involved mainly in the protection policy that regarded the person of Nicolae Ceausescu and targeting persons or activities that could, in any way, undermine this policy.

On the other hand, the existence of frictions between the different internal structures of The Securitate, between them and Ministry of the Interior, and the Army, shows the true face of the whole institutional assembly with responsibilities for defense and security, including informative ones, which seriously questiones the existence of a informative community in the sense that is presently defined, even under the conditions in which the coordination of specific activities was set under the direct control of the supreme commander.

As such, during communism it did not work a community of informations, within the meaning of the term to which we refer, but since informative structures were initially fully subordinate to Soviet interests, we can speak of a unitary coordination of Romanian informative structures by "The big brother from the east".

In the period that followed the departure of Soviet advisers, although there have been significant changes in the informative tasks, at least in those of some of the structures involved, it did not exist a information community abble to work according to the principles of this concept, rather this period was marked by the animosity between the various components of the national security system.

The disappearance of the bipolar world structure and European geopolitical configuration change along with the change of political regime in Romania, in 1989, led to restructuring of the intelligence services in line with the new context created.

After 1989, Romania, like other countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe has undergone extensive and profound changes that have meant restructuring the substance of informaive or security institutions. All this in a complex international context marked by the transition from totalitarianism to democracy in many European countries, the implosion of communism and the collapse of the USSR, the disappearance of the bipolar world, the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon, NATO and EU enlargement, disappearance and/or the emergence of states and the emergence of conflict areas and outbreaks of war.

After the dissolution of The Securitate in the early years of the 90's when it began to crystallize the new configuration of institutions with information and security attribution, legislative, political and social conditions only allowed the approach in terms of their functional regulation in a prudential register, given the memory marked by the performance of the communist Securitate, especially during the '40s and '50s.

Several institutions have arisen, largely by following the former DSS, which, lacking a unique command and coordination, frequently aroused unproductive rivalries and competitions.

Their appearance was made amid concerns for the creation of special services who tried to break away from the Securitate, and in some respects, by the interests to take control over some business segments in the new democracy. That is why there have been established several institutions with the role of collecting information, with different subordination, replacing the structure controlled by the Communist Party.

The biggest handicap faced by the security and intelligence services of the new regime was the total lack of experience in the intelligence activity in a state governed by the rule of law.

It has been done a clear distinction between internal and external information services, creating the two independent institutions with distinct laws of organization and operation, to which there have been added the departments of the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice and the specialized security services SPP and STS.

It was also noticeable the imposition of military intelligence and their specialization in correlation with specific missions, with their own goals.

Intelligence services have been subjected to successive processes of restructuring, reforming, later to become compatible with those of the Euro-Atlantic structures. This process was done for each individual institutional entity, on the basis and customized to the specifics of each, without thinking a whole approach to information architecture.

Globalisation and the dynamics of international environment gave another dimension to the concept of security, therefore the intelligence services missions began to receive new content. Romania's accession to NATO and the EU has forced the state to redefine the national security system, the changes in this environment giving new meanings to risks and threats.

On the other hand, membership to the European Community and the institutional agenda requires connection to complex security responsibilities and requires contribution to regional and international security.

Compatibility and interoperability with Euro-Atlantic structures is confirmed by the accession to certain international structures, or through partnerships with the strongest and best recognized structures in the Intelligence community, and from that perspective things are individualized.

The transformations and dynamics of security environment after September 2001 have reshaped the international order panel, and the evolution of the global society is in direct correlation with it.

As such, there have been changes to the issue, bringing into attention new actors on the stage of international relations, whose influence is growing, which induces the need for repositioning institutions responsible of informative tasks, necessity that derives from the predominant manifestation of new types of threats, asymmetric, which gives other complexity to the process of intervention in terms of intelligence.

Facing new challenges threatening the values of modern society, the process of restructuring the intelligence services must aim to create structures capable of addressing threats with international character.

At the same time, based on the the reason to serve national interests, they will be subordinated to national state aspirations.

In Europe, after the disappearance of the communist system society manifests itself under the impact of liberal economic principles based on competition, which puts its mark on intelligence activities.

Characteristics of general geopolitical and security environment determines the conditions for the creation and strengthening of coordination mechanisms of security and intelligence services able to respond to new challenges, which translates into the need to set the national intelligence communities and international cooperation between them.

The responsibilities of Romania are also manifested in the field of Intelligence, which involve the adjustment of intelligence services to the dynamics of the national intelligence community and international environment, and the compatibility with similar structures belonging to actors with whom our country has partnerships.

The legislative framework is still far behind the political realities of the international

security environment, which requires the adoption of a legislative package djusted to current realities.

It is also needed the clarification of the theoretical framework and definition of concepts in order to operationalize rethinking the intelligence activity, to adapt, reform and transform information institutions, according to the dynamics of security environment.

All these things must be done in a logical sequenceintended to achieve the necessary framework for sustainable and coherent policies.

The establishment of the National Intelligence Community (NIC), as it was realized, and in terms that decision makers have realized it, is just a step, mandatory but not sufficient. First of all, it has been one on a legal background partially obsolete.

It takes a single NIC derived from the need to coordinate the work of the intelligence services, based on the principles of integration, collaboration and innovation, capable of cooperating to eliminate the barriers between servicesbut also by the need to support decision makers in terms of uniform coverage and evaluation of information.

The need to integrate the intelligence activity with the political, diplomatic, military, economic, technological ones, is another argument in support of CNI, just as the need to connect to international trends in the field.

It is necessary to define the structure and the mission of each informative element of The NIC adjusted to the political, economic, social, diplomatic, military needs, so that the duties and powers are clearly defined and detailed by law.

It is necessary to define the working principles and the relationships between the component structures and relationships with political and legislative power. It also needs clarification of / establishment, the monitoring arrangements over the activity of CNI and its components, respectively a coherent civilian control, including by the executive.

The solutions adopted by different states belonging to the security system of which Romania is part of may constitute patterns, provided that the decision be adapted to national realitiescorrelated with the environment in which our country belongs.

Romanian authorities seek to emulate the British and American models by embedding the experience that they have acquired, although different national political systems prevent the takeover of one of the two institutional intelligence buildings.

In comparison to other European countries, Poland, Hungary, Czech, Slovakia (East Germany had a special historical route), former members of the communist bloc, there can be noticed essential differences.

The main difference is that the whole informative asembly of these countries is under

government control. Poland and Hungary have placed in the composition of the government, one minister which is the coordinator of special services.

The differences lie in the powers conferred to the Intelligence Community of the States concerned, which lies between sharing information and establishing intelligence policy.

Instead, the common element is the parliamentary control over the activity of intelligence structures. An exception is the UK, which has no standing bodies that deal with the supervision of secret services.

The political system in Romania, respectively the semi-presidential republic, converts fierce polemics in dispute so that it can be said that all doctrinal controversies or political issues disputes related to legislating the Romanian national security, including the National Intelligence Community, have had an effect in the delay of institutional and legal reform of this system. Those were due to challenges regarding control over information from intelligence, thus preventing identification of appropriate legal solutions.

The problem of regulation that are to be imposed to the national security field should be maintained and modernized in close correlation with the deeper meaning and significance of constitutional texts that give the size and content of national security, in the sense of creating a conceptual framework and appropriate institutional ties with the international environment, which is in constant and pronounced dynamics.

In conclusion, we can state that formally there have been achieved important steps towards the establishment of a National Information Community, but in terms of functionality and efficiency, this building is in the stage of the exercise, partly due to the historical perspective that shows expression of animosity between the component structures.