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„SECURITY DILEMMAS IN ROMANIA'S STRATEGIC AREA OF INTEREST"

SUMMARY OF THE PHD THESIS

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- Cluj Napoca, 2015-

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SUMMARY

International developments that mark the beginning of the XXI century like the globalization of threats, the proliferation of state actors and non-state actors, as well as increased freedom with which they may act, new asymmetric conflicts, stronger competition policy on access to energy resources were dominated by conflict and instability. Globalization significantly influences the dynamics and complexity of current security environment.

Consequently, the systematic approach of security aims to investigate the representation and interrelatedness of interest categories at various territorial echelons - from defining certain territorial community spaces to the global systems.

Any work that addresses the issue of security involves, necessarily, an interdisciplinary approach, that's why in the realization of this study we combined international relations, political science, history, geography, sociology and other social sciences methods and techniques. Through this thesis we propose a systematically but not an exhaustive study, of the paradigm of post-Cold War security dilemma and how it manifests in the area of strategic interest for Romania. Obviously, this problem must be seen in a much wider perspective, the space regional if not global security perspective, considering how many interdependencies are changing the security system in an era of globalization. Choosing a topic as complex as the development paradigm of security dilemma[1] in the area of strategic interest for Romania, given that security issues are becoming increasingly interdependent, represents a challenge for any researcher of this kind of phenomena and processes giving the fact that the international environment is fastly changing.

Developments in the international environment have basically confirmed the main hypothesis from which we started: the security dilemma continues to be a central element of international relations.

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[1] John H. Herz described for the first time in 1951 the security dilemma in political realism and political idealism book and mentioned it as "a concept that attempts structural member to ensure its security needs go, regardless of intent, the increasing insecurity for others because each interpreting their actions as defensive measures of others as potentially threatening "Works on security dilemma belonging to American researchers Jervis (1976, 1978), Snyder (1984), Posen (1993), Glaser (1997) Collins (1997, 2000, 2004), Taliaferro (2000) and Christensen (1999, 2002) .However, since the fall of Soviet Russia, opinions began to change and political scientists such as Alexander Wendt (see the general work ,, Social Theory of International Politics, Cambridge University Press 1999) ceased to recognize the security dilemma as a central aspect of international relations.

In terms of methodology, the research is based on an interdisciplinary approach given that the development of this field of study, in the second half of the twentieth century, was based on research in history and international relations, political science, international economic policy, political philosophy, ethno cultural studies, social sciences, sociology, international relations, and strategic military studies, and other relevant fields of study. During the research, we used a methodology that allowed us to study the problem from particular to general using inductive and logical deductions. The importance of inductive deductive method for revealing the spatial characteristics of strategic interest on the one hand and the security dilemma is on the other hand is obvious, as long as, in his essence, the holistic security concept is based on the sum of multilevel realities. The descriptive analysis is also essential in our opinion. We will refer only on observations and descriptions of the context where there is a security dilemma or at the different approaches made by different actors. We will try to emphasize what are the manifestation causes of the security dilemma and we will try to determine the effects caused by the developments of the ex-Soviet relations.

We start from a few hypotheses supported by theoretical foundations of international relations widely accepted:

- the need to rethink the space as a vector for power expression

- construction space - power - strategic interest, is a group more or less coherent that goes beyond the geographical space and is a dependent variable of the historic contextuality of security

- security dilemma continues to manifest itself as a reference in the study of international relations and security studies;

- effective management of security issues by the international community is possible if there are timely and relevant information and if actions are coherent, coordinated, responsible and effectively managed by actors who assume this role

- crisis prevention and resolution / conflict is possible if key state and non-state actors have strategic interests in the area where these events occur.

The main objective is to demonstrate that the security dilemma still occupies a central place in international relations. Reality has demonstrated that this paradigm still occupies a central place in security studies from the perspective of hard power (we have demonstrated in this paper by analyzing the Russian Federation's reaction to the expansion of NATO and anti-missile shield) and soft power (dilemma migration dilemma demographic fight for resources).

The effects of the security dilemma, crises and conflicts can be managed effectively, if there is political will at all levels of decision making (local, national, regional and global) and if

exists allocate human, material, financial and information necessary and sufficient to eliminate the causes that determine real causes.

In order to achieve this analysis, we started from the following question: Is the realist theory functional after the Cold War? Does security dilemma remains relevant in terms of international relations? Where is its manifestation? What are the lessons of international crisis management in the twentieth century? What is the relevance of Romania's area of strategic interest in regional security equation? Is there any correlation between EU / NATO and the Russian Federation and conflict management in the Romanian region of strategic interest? What are the prospects for security management of Romania's eastern vicinity? Finding answers to these questions was the basis of our *research objectives.*

By using this approach, we obtained a multidimensional perspective on at least three key issues that are addressed in this paper:

1. the interdependence of space - power - strategic interest in the security multidimensional effects (the military dimension of defense and geostrategic energy, socio-economic).
2. identifying forms of manifestation of the security dilemma in the context of globalization and the challenges posed by it;
3. The manifestation of the crisis-conflict between international and local-regional actors in a geopolitical space (hybrid feature of the conflict).

The introduction summarizes developments in the international security environment and it is a preamble where can be identified the "arguments" that were the basis for choosing this subject. Also in this first part is summarized the research structure, the methodology used to develop the work and the motivation for choosing the crisis in Ukraine as a subject for the case study.

Divided into three chapters, the thesis begins with a theoretical approach issue of space and power. The relevance of this chapter is that from the valence theory of space and power, in international relations has proved that classical realist theory maintains its viability. The approach is based on the intention to provide the basic theoretical concepts addressed in the paper. Thus, we stressed the importance of space as a manifestation of power in the area of international relations and peculiarities we reached the area of strategic interest for Romania.

The world, in our opinion, is only declarative idealistic but, in depth, beneath fine idealistic declarations, we found purely realistic mechanisms regarding the prosecution and the primacy of national interests and the law of the strong. The reaction of the European Union, an

impressive idealistic construction to recent developments in Greece, is in our opinion a strong argument in support of the above statements.

We do not intend to deny the merit of the idealistic vision and its implementation which is to establish the rules and principles of behaviour for states in the international arena, as it provides conditions and frameworks for negotiation and dialogue, contributing undoubtedly to the stability and balance of the international system.

The state, however, as a form of organization of power in a given space, is closely linked to the law which rests, therefore in our analysis we will refer to the territory of the State, as it is stipulated in international legal regulations. The case study approach with regard to regional security, ASEAN comes from the perspective that it might provide an opportunity for comparison between the European and Southeast Asian security.

Area of strategic interest, concept addressed in the final chapter and based on the concept of balance of threats versus balance of interests must be considered as a complex system, with multiple forces constantly moving and not as an ordinary surface, an equation with many unknown variables after time and context, or as Professor Theodore Frunzetti highlight "vector of human thinking in individual and collective evolving, scientific or shared and their interference." [2] Globalization and interdependence not cancel the neorealist logic, as stated institutional liberalism, but connects members in a global network of threat (reminiscent of the concept of risk society) and regional network of strategic interdependence (security complex).

The state can not only count on himself to ensure their safety, gathering capabilities (military). However, for neorealist those capabilities are readily available for strong states with a higher internal cohesion and developed external relations. The state still remains the main benchmark security system for human beings when assessing their existence and prospects. The complex mechanisms developed over time, the state is the guarantor of physical security and dignity of citizens, promoting welfare premises and ensuring individual freedom of expression and option for citizens and the promoter of its interests. Putting in front traits concrete, relative and universal space, we see that they cannot be reduced to one. Space is the place of manifestation of human power and time is sign of its powerlessness.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the main elements of Romania's area of strategic interest, which will provide a theoretical framework for addressing Chapter III.

The second chapter "Conflict *trends in the post cold war"*, is devoted to underline the characteristics of the current international environment, trends and shifts in security in the current international context, focusing on globalization and changing physiognomy threat sources of conflict. The relevance of this chapter is that, deciphering the correct trends of the

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[2] Teodor Frunzetti, *Geostrategie*, Ed. CTEA, Bucureşti, 2009, p.14.

international security environment, we can achieve a global or regional matrix in which states must show their full capabilities and their national interests, in line with the will of the people and the international treaties.

The international environment is a complex adaptive system, in which small changes in initial conditions and subsequent interventions of any size can lead to disproportionately effects , or, as Nassim Nicholas Taleb called them:"black swans", they have three major attributes: rarity, extreme impact, and retrospective predictability[3]. Responding to strategic shocks, the ability to use the resources available to manage a new strategic environment is crucial for maintaining or stabilizing the security environment.

Some of the trends described in this chapter refers to the context of likely future action in an interdependent global environment, with significant human and technological changes in the field. They also give us context about the nature of future conflicts and wars, context necessary to understand because it is becoming more and more ambiguous, more vulnerable and, especially, populated with new actors who do not existed in the past.

In the section "*Typology and physiognomy of new conflicts*" I started from the assertion that war as objective reality, which is part of people's lives, and especially human communities must be know and understood as a reality of human existence. If in the past (in modern times) armed forces were aimed at depriving the military potential of the enemy (as the center of gravity) and the conquest of territory to control population and resources, today we find that its purpose has changed, heading for mind conquest population to gain control of territory and resources. Today, non-state (criminal and terrorist) seeks to build bases in countries under economic collapse, with the aim of influencing population, with the same culture and religion which tend to change the state regime.

Technological development urges the political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious culture to combine with one another. Connecting points are ready, and the trend of unifying the different areas is very clear. All these things are outdating the idea of limiting the war to the military and war victims using the number as a measure of war intensity. [4]

Hybrid war incorporates a range of different ways of war including conventional capabilities, tactics, techniques and procedures irregular, terrorist acts including confused and coercive violence or criminal activities. [5]

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[3] Nassim Nicholas TALEB, *Lebăda neagră. Impactul foarte puţin probabilului*. Bucureşti: Editura Curtea Veche, 2010, p. 16.
[4] James N. Mattis & Frank Hoffman, *op.cit.*, p. 2.
[5] James N. Mattis & Frank Hoffman, *Future Warfare: The Rise of Hybrid Wars*, U.S. Naval Institute, Proceedings Magazine, November 2005,p2

Dealing with hybrid war beyond the physical aspects of the conflict, the media war where manipulation and discrediting of the opponent may constitute priorities, and where integrating information operations programs communication strategy are as important as weapons systems on the battlefield. The border war between regular and "*new wars*" is more diffuse, non-state groups have access to those weapons that were once the exclusive preserve of the states. The amplification of techniques, methods and unconventional strategies may lead to a real security dilemma, meaning growth trends manifestation of power, especially military states. Hybrid threats are the result of an arrangement of actions and methods conventional and / or unconventional use of one or more opponents, which may include the use of military force.

On first examination, carrying hybrid war against the state include, but is not necessarily limited to: political and diplomatic pressures; demonstrations of force, especially by conventional armed forces massing on the border aggressor state, which allows the option of carrying out military incursions; employment of special operations forces, regular forces, militias and private security companies; the use of strategic communication (STRATCOM), and psychological actions and those of INFOOPS.

In the last chapter, I emphasized the imperative needs of this strategic review, particularly in European Security Strategy because the national security of Romania cannot be regarded otherwise than under the European security system.

Solana strategy is now outdated and the Internal Security Strategy does not provide the necessary framework for EU to act as an international actor. The new policy document should include increased commitment, solid and responsible European states that cultivate fruitful relations with all relevant actors of the international system, system in which European Union has to have an important place.

Chapter three is devoted to presenting the security dilemma as part of International Relations, a dynamic construction that is done in time, the strong fundamentals of the systems and processes in society, which gives a permanent character. Expression of realist theory, "the security dilemma" tries to explain the conflict as a historical constant feature of international politics that is unlikely to disappear as long as the international system is anarchic.

The origins of the security dilemma are distrust and fear. The causes of the security dilemmas and the effects can bind and be as commonly called causal chains complex, where successively cause and effect can change their role, the effect became concerned in relation with an after-effect with respect to a previous question.

If we take a look at the fight for power as a potential source of security dilemma, the new inference that the security dilemma will take is the form of both hard and soft power. We have

therefore to deal with the political-military aspects of security dilemma and in the other hand we can speak of the so-called soft dilemma, derived from societal security problems.

Economic security should, in our opinion, be understood as a key factor security that ensures dynamic balances resources and other components of the system. The limited and uneven distribution of resources - be it energy resources, raw materials and food and water, seriously affecting the natural balance of the world by environmental degradation, acute imbalances between rich countries and poor countries on north-south axis of the planet set in the previous chapter, are vulnerabilities with a potentially explosive that if they are insufficiently assessed they can manifests in two ways: internally, the consequences can mark marked instability and externally, their export cannot be stopped, but in the best, only managed.

The combination of tension and social movements caused by economic inequalities, on the one hand, and the anguish caused by the destruction of the classical hierarchy of values, on the other hand, can give rise to an increasing sense of insecurity, social disorder, which finally can lead to the security dilemma. Broadening the spectrum of unconventional risks, transnational, diversifying the types of crises and conflicts generates multiple challenges which require multidirectional reactions based on mobility, opportunity, diversity, coherence and complementarity. All of these can cause a security dilemma, which in the current climate can be unpredictable.

Resources asymmetrical demographic developments, migration, disease, extreme poverty, degradation of education or lack of it altogether may be other sources of the security dilemma. The power potential derives from several sources including population, economy, geography or national will. Here can arise the so called "dry state"[6], dilemma in which civilian actors rather talk with counterparts in other countries than with domestic entities. The concept of Diaspora, once applied only to Jews becomes very widespread, if we look at things from a narrow perspective we can see the ethnicity and religion cross-border groups, a factor that often lowers security of the state in terms of economic security and from a social security perspective. Broadly migration, diseases, extreme poverty, degradation of education or lack of it altogether, creates dilemmas in all areas of security.

Since ancient times the interaction with the "other" led not only to cooperation, but also to conflict. There were few cases where unidirectional migration was thought to threaten sovereign rights.

Therefore, the state shall adopt measures to protect and which, in turn, threatens other states. Thus, efforts to increase the security lead to reduction. The effects of labour migration, issues related to the issuance of laws relating to the integration of immigrants and irregular

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[6] Mary Klador, Securitatea umană, Editura CA Publishing, Cluj Napoca,2010, p.187

migration phenomenon will be more complicated. Developed nations will try hard to retain well-trained workforce but will allow untrained elements to migrate. However, a strong security to migration would involve a higher degree of discrimination and exclusion, which could further lead to a security dilemma. Depletion of the poor nations, while still maintaining high growth rates will cause large migratory flows, generating new sources of tension and conflict, a serious danger to stability and peace globally. Unfortunately many immigrants will not have the necessary skills to be part of the middle class of the country they have emigrated to. So many immigrants will become a minority in the new country of adoption and will be compete with the native population for a number of increasingly low unskilled jobs.

As the economic system becomes more integrated, interdependent and globalized, the more will increase its vulnerability to disruptions in the chain intended to ensure vital resources. This reasoning leads to the conclusion that the economic strength of a nation is inevitably a latent threat for opponents of it, and within that logic, we may consider that it is not advisable to contribute to economic opponents / opponent - but rather to establish a trade. Therefore, economic security is an essential factor of national security, which ensures dynamic balance resources and other components of national security. As a condition of the national economy, security is the source and foundation of eradicating poverty, hunger, social and economic inequalities between individuals and between different regions of a country.

In the "Smart defense" dilemma subchapter, I pointed out that this concept, in addition to benefits in economic, military and security can create premises for a security dilemma from the perspective of national security. First, specialization as a requirement defensive intelligent involves changes in the national military structures which imply a risk that states act under the principle of sovereignty and show reluctance to such a measure, contributing to a limitation of strategic options. It also can produce negative effects on the freedom action of a member in a given situation caused by lack of capabilities.

Also setting criteria underpinning the composition of specialized forces is another difficulty because they require a high degree of cohesion to assume that all required capabilities will be available regardless of the nations that compose them and this considering that Allies tend to develop the capabilities that mach the threats and vulnerabilities at which they are exposed.

Not least the national defense industries issues may be another reference factor in view of preserving national sovereignty trends

The equation global security in general and the European security in particular can not be complete without taking into account a state actor which often creates conflicting relations with European security organizations, NATO in particular. Russia is closest to the definition of a

revisionist states, because Moscow's attitude in the last twenty years is characterized by efforts to restore and confirm the status of Russia as a global power, efforts which have resulted incompatible with those of the leaders in Washington.

Furthermore, from the analysis of official documents, it is clear that there are two major coordinates that Russia's foreign policy is based. One of coordinates consists of the role it seeks to play in the world, while the second focuses on relations with the closest neighborhood, Russia's aspiration being to maintains quality regional player undeniable and to confirm as a global player, a global power. Current international context marked by the transition from the unipolar configuration, to a multipolar one, where cooperation, multilateral approach in international bodies and / or regional authorities play central roles, is considered favorable. In this context, relations with close proximity plays a key role and that is why Russia is trying to maintain its influence over them, as can be seen, in particular, the tests of NATO and the EU to integrate state entities in this area in its own institutional dynamics.

At the same time, Russia has seen EU and NATO initiatives to expand eastwards as a direct threat, the invasion of its sphere of influence, which led to exploitation of his exporter status of oil for political purposes, and the nature policy to the states that were part of the Soviet bloc.

The war in Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (2014) may be a good examples in this regard, but also we can also remeber that Moscows support for separatist republics like Transnistria, South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The missile shield ghaders under one umbrella extremely diverse technologies, all with a common characteristic: they are the most advanced technology at the moment.

Reaction to US missile shield is still one of the most eloquent arguments that, despite the declared intentions to revive the relations between the US and Russia, the two did not exceed perceptions and attitudes largely inherited from the Cold War. This shows that Russia-NATO strategic partnership in fact was only a marriage of convenience. After placing US missile shield in Europe, we can talk about a security dilemma because the US has added the possibility to defend their lead. Russia's aggressive rhetoric and declaration of April 2013 regarding Russia's ability to penetrate US missile shield are eloquent. Solving the dilemma depends on the future of how this issue is addressed and what ways are found to increase trust between the two countries.

The case study on the crisis in Ukraine in the context of international crisis management, provides a necessary contribution to the understanding and knowledge of how crises / conflict in XXI century takes on unique features that cover the entire spectrum of social action: economic, identity, religious, social, military may consist in particular in mass refugee movements, terrorism and organized cross-border crime, subversion of a different nature. By taking over the

control of the Crimean, Russian Federation strengthened its design capabilities force in the Black Sea by positioning antinaval missiles, air defense systems and naval aviation capabilities in the recent attached peninsula. Since the beginning of events or, more precisely, long before the installation of directives, concepts and plans, the Russian Federation has taken a highly sophisticated, complex and complicated perspective on how to use the force to achieve strategic objectives proposed under an extremely high level of ambition.

Russian Federation has acted and continues to work towards a rapid transition from a conventional approach of how to solve a conflict that was characterized by predictability, centered on a certain relation of forces to a hybrid model, not so predictable, which allows and contributes to synchronized conventional and unconventional military capabilities,and other instruments and elements of state power.

Hybrid war by merging capabilities, conventional and irregular lethal and non lethal elements of organized crime is mainly aimed at achieving a decisive advantage over opponents. Understanding the environment in which it carries out, hybrid conflict requires a multifactorial approach that includes both classic analysis of the factors of the situation and societal factors such as culture, religion, situation and satisfaction of the population, as well as highlighting the need to apply the results of knowledge, interagency, capitalizing the intelligence and not least education and training of multidisciplinary should be priorities in addressing these types of conflicts.

From the lessons identified and lessons learned so far, as well as tracking scenarios after which the events unfolded, it was clear that in relation to NATO, the Russian Federation has an advantage in terms of cycle planning and decision making, and the ability to deploy forces quickly.

It is clear that Romania is now caught in the middle between the interests of Russia and Western interests: the transatlantic relationship is vital for Romania and the transatlantic relationship does not exist without the EU. In this context, Romania must remain a pillar of stability in the area, a reliable partner for NATO and the EU. "Beyond the stakes short-term crisis in Ukraine is the tip of an iceberg of developments deeper and far-reaching, namely who will manage, direct,the East"[7].. The annexation of Crimea is a tragedy, the war in eastern Ukraine - a drama, but destabilization, decadence economy and, therefore, the Russian power could cause an earthquake in the world order. The Russian economy, which is in sharp decline, and other economies depend "

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[7] Dan Dungaciu, Miza crizei din Ucraina este statutul SUA în regiune. Germania şi Rusia, pregătite să „administreze" estul Europei, http://adevarul.ro/international/europa/exclusiv-dan-dungaciu-miza-crizei-ucraina-statutul-sua-regiune-germania-rusia-pregatite-administreze-estul-europei-1_53cbeb180d133766a898d2f6/index.html , accesat la 12 decembrie 2014

The paper ends with the conclusions and recommendations through a brief overview of objectives, mechanism of analysis is a complex one, which can be used successfully in analyzing the crisis, as it provides valuable elements for their understanding and therefore their way of settlement.

Security is a dynamic concept involving issues ranging from the cultural to the economic, social and military. The evolution of society, new humanity risks exceed the military. Interconnection areas and their components lead to a multidimensional approach and simultaneous problems regarding human evolution globally. In a globalized world, national and regional problems are increasingly global; it impacts the entire international community. In this perspective, we can say that security is a complex and controversial notion, loaded with feelings and deeply rooted values.

As we saw above, there are many security dilemmas, and therefore as diverse and custom must be the forms and techniques of action to counter them. It turned out that their employment patterns quirks or not is often welcomed. It does not follow that such forms, procedures and processes to be chaotic (state of chaos is the paradise of conflicts and terrorism), but the requirement that they be intelligent, clever and, above all, effective.

If hard issues of security dilemma rooted in the classical theory realistic balance of power, where the states tend to maximize their position of power, the realities of the post-communist world highlight the dilemma we generated economic competition, especially the fight resources and cultural-civilization dilemmas.

Interconnected areas and their components lead to a multidimensional approach and simultaneous development issues related to global security. In a globalized world, national and regional problems are increasingly global, and the impacts are at an international level.

Crises and conflicts are manifested, and certainly will be in the years to come in many regions of the globe. Importantly, in our opinion, is identifying how best to tackle crises and conflicts. The issues and dynamics at national level may be different from those at local or regional level. In the approach of conflict it is essential to establish links between levels of interdependence of crisis and conflict dynamics. Given that all these different levels impact on one another.

Theoretically, security dilemmas can be avoided by improving the behaviour of actors, using instruments of cooperation and preventive diplomacy. Basically, they are events that accompany the evolution of human society and therefore cannot be avoided completely, as long as we accept that the international system is anarchic in which actors, regardless of the historical stage protects its main national interests, and here the Greece example can be relevant.