

**Non Military Risks to the International
Security in Central and Eastern Europe
after the Cold War**

**The Partnership for Future for a
Sustainable Security System**

NATO Research Fellowship

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1. Non Military Risks to the National Security

1.1. The International Framework

How stable is the world we live in? Should we regard it as less stable than the period before 1989 or more secure and stable than the future one?

What we can notice is that we no longer can refer to areas that are completely safe and without any risks at all for a longer, foreseeable period of time. Natural catastrophies, 'man-made' accidents, as well as all kinds of risks are nowadays accompanied by multiplying effects and present a tendency for globalisation.

In addition to this, both poverty islands in a sea of richness and richness islands in a sea of poverty will continue to be sources of tensions to the extent to which differences are increasing and there are no prospects for improvement. The welfare of the North, for instance, which is meant to ensure the present stability of the system, is in reality not that safe and far away from the instability due to the poverty existing in the South. Peace-keeping forces should, therefore, not be interposed between welfare area and poverty area. One should not forget that poverty has become today the main non-military threat to security in the world - it produces migration, criminality at local and international level, pollution, unemployment, corruption, terrorism, intolerance, xenophobia a.s.o.

If we compare two different maps of the world, one presenting the distribution of world population per country/region, and another one showing the distribution of world welfare per country/region, we can

better understand the existing tensions as actual and potential sources of conflict.

The relationship between development and stability, on the one hand, and between risk and security, on the other, deserves closer attention both at global and at regional level¹, (two maps, IFRI, 1998).

¹The 26th Annual Conference of the Club of Rome (CoR) on *The Fight Against Poverty and Underdevelopment; Tough Decisions* took place in Buenos Aires, 29 November - 2 December 1994.

1.2. From the Stability of the Insatisfaction to the Instability of the Satisfaction

It is commonly believed that up to 1989 - during the Cold War period - East and West were characterised by a certain **stability**, even if artificially maintained both in the former socialist countries and at international level.

After 1989, due to major changes that have taken place in the power relationship existing in the world, as well as to the dramatic changes in the East, **instability** has become a permanence, as a chance for a new start. After the above-mentioned stability period, followed by an obviously unstable period, we are now probably heading towards **stable instability**. Under these circumstances, the capacity to govern remains one of the key issues to be considered.²

In this context, we can notice an increasing number of national and international debates. Institutes of strategic studies and think-tanks have produced more analyses and offered versions of possible scenarios, while politicians as well as the main decision-making centres have had to operate daily under such circumstances of extreme uncertainty.³

One can approach the current situation in Central and Eastern Europe from a threefold perspective:⁴

² See Dror, Yehezkel, *The capacity to Govern. Report to the Club of Rome*, Galaxia Gutenberg, Barcelona, 1994

³ See Simon, Jeffrey (ed), *The Challenge of Change*, INSS, Washington, 1993; Cleveland, Harlan, *Nacimiento de un nuevo mundo*, El Pais Aguilar, Madrid, 1994; *** *Horizontes de Europa 2020. Los albores de un nuevo renacimiento*, Fundacion BBV Documenta, Bilbao 1994; von Weizsacker, Ernst Ulrich, *Erdpolitik*, WBV, Darmstadt, 1994; Al Gore, *Wege zum Gleichgewicht. Ein Marshallplan für die Erde*, Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt/Main, 1992; a.o.

⁴These points of view first appeared as: Muresan, Liviu, *Risk Management Issues in Central Europe in Risk Analysis and Management in a Global Economy*, Abstracts of the Annual Meeting of the Society for Risk Analysis (Europe), 21-25 May 1995, Forum Ludwigsburg, Stuttgart (p.7 ff).

1. The **satisfaction** that these countries were able to make a new start after 1989, with all the challenges characteristic of this period, euphemistically called 'period of transition'.

We could say that there are few regions in the world, if any, that have undergone such profound and numerous changes in such a short period of time. The changes at the end of the 80s made it possible for governments to modify priorities and to set new goals in compliance with the new international political environment.

2. The **insatisfaction** that these countries could not experience the same progress as Western Europe during the past five decades. All references are currently made to 1989 but one should not forget that the countries of Central Europe and some of Eastern Europe had belonged to the large family of democratic European states before World War II, and it is because of half-a-century of totalitarian communist system, that had been imposed upon them, that they are now competing with each other to show how rapidly they have rediscovered democratic skills.⁵ After half a century of constraints, Central and Eastern Europe started experiencing dramatic changes at all levels from the macro structure to the micro/individual level, i.e. ranging from the political system to the level of mind-sets.

Surprisingly enough, the Western world, who had contributed to these changes in Central and Eastern Europe, seemed even less prepared for the new realities than the countries experiencing them.

3. **Worries** that the 'window of opportunities' opened up in 1989 might be closed again in the next period of time - due to the conflict

⁵Muresan, Liviu, *Nevoia de a intelege banii* in *Cronica Politica* No.30, Bucuresti, 1995 (p.7).

of interests among the main powers - and that the 'iron curtain' might be replaced by a 'golden curtain'.

The opportunities opened up at the end of the Cold War have been used only partially. It is true that a number of conflicts were solved by the two major powers, but a number of other conflicts became stronger, and there are also new ones that emerged, such as those in former Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, the logic of conflict is still prevailing over the logic of peace, although conflict prevention involves less costs than later efforts made to solve conflicts already existing.

Moreover, the cost of humanitarian aid and of the migration of civil population becomes so high that it is more and more difficult, if not impossible, to cover by either the parties involved in the confrontation, the main powers supporting humanitarian aid, or the international organisations.⁶

So, if the costs involved are so high, is there beside the internal logic of the conflict also an external one that favours the continuation of the armed confrontation?

One should not overlook the competition in areas such as arms sales, reality testing of new weapons and military equipment. In one way or other, the list of interested parties includes the main Western powers, as well as Russia and China, some of the former communist countries, and last but not least, quite a number of developing countries. Although this is by far not the only explanation, the

⁶Renner, Michael, *Bugetele dezarmarii* in Brown, Lester (ed), *Probleme globale ale omenirii - Starea lumii 1995* (Romanian translation of *State of the World 1995 - A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress towards a Sustainable Society*), Editura Tehnica, Bucuresti, 1995 (p.184).

conflict in former Yugoslavia could be considered from this perspective, too.⁷

At the same time, the region where there are large scale armed confrontations is perceived as risky and unstable for investment, and as a result of this, investors stay away from it. The effect of this is the collapse of the planned development of the region, in other words the closing of *the window of opportunities* for an unpredictable period of time.

⁷See Thomas, Evan, *A Daring Rescue* in *Newsweek*, 19 June 1995 (p.8).

1.3. Risk Management in Central and Eastern Europe

One of the most striking phenomena characterising the end of this century is multiple, aggravated risk development, sometimes taking diffuse, unexpected forms.

Most of these risks are part of the challenge of change in Central Europe and are due to the transition process under way:

- the state's main institutional structures have been 'demolished' or are now in this process, which is simultaneous with that of setting up a new institutional framework in compliance with market economy and a democratic society;
- the necessary legal framework is also undergoing major changes and is not yet complete, so as to ensure risk limitation or avoidance;
- insufficient experience regarding the working of market economy makes it still difficult for economists and legal advisors to offer specific, professional support and, therefore, does not yet allow for
 - (a) proper predicting & identifying of emerging risks
 - (b) appropriate assessment of potential consequences of various lines of action;
- social-economic difficulties have brought about tensions at societal level, which represent a cost for the ruling parties in Central Europe;

- in the process of restructuring the entire economic system that had been 'inherited' from the socialist regime, Central European countries are still searching for the best path towards European integration;
- risks are not always related to the lack of democratic society;
- economic aspects can contribute to the 'export' of risk, on the one hand, or a higher degree of risk acceptability, i.e. of accepting to live with risk;
- since it is still too soon for most individuals to perceive the positive results of change, society is confronted with the phenomenon of loss of confidence in the beneficial character of change;
- the scarcity of financial means imposes limits to progress, since most Central European countries have to implement change with insufficient means;
- despite the specialists' risk-awareness, old technologies are too expensive to be entirely replaced overnight (e.g. in the energetic, chemical, transportation field, to name only some of them). The coexistence of old technologies with new aspirations, for the moment, has to keep a safe operational environment.

There are also other important risks affecting Central Europe, coming from outside the region, e.g. from the East, such as the permanent nuclear risk due to Tchernobil and other similar technological systems, risks due to various types of instability in the CIS, etc.; from the South and the South-East, for instance risks due to conflicts in former Yugoslavia, organised crime and international terrorism, including drug traffic; from the West,

risks due, for instance, to the export to Central Europe of technologies which are no longer up to safety standards, the export of toxic waste, economic criminality, encouraged by insufficient institutional and legal safeguards in this part of Europe⁸.

Risk management is expected to take into account a variety of risk initiators:

- political, economic-financial, social, technological, environmental, information/communicational risks,
- risks due to economic criminality, terrorism, weapon and drug traffic, illegal migration,
- risks in the domain of culture, religion, or regarding minority issues.

Risk management should, therefore, be based on a comprehensive type of analysis of non-military risks affecting national security. Under these circumstances belonging to Euro-atlantic security structures becomes a top-priority for these countries.⁹

- Besides the negative aspects involved, one should also take into account that:
- survival under the conditions of a totalitarian system, that lasted for about half a century in the countries of Central Europe, has contributed

⁸See Weidenfeld, Werner et al., *Osteuropa: Herausforderungen - Probleme - Strategien*, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gutersloh, 1992 (p.17 ff).

⁹For a more detailed discussion see McCarthy, James, *Strengthening Security in Central and Eastern Europe: New Opportunities for NATO in European Security toward the Year 2000*, INSS, Washington, 1993 (p.123 ff); Weidenfeld, Werner & Janning, Joseph (eds), *Global Responsibilities: Europe in Tomorrow's World*, Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers, Gutersloh, 1991 (p.12ff); Law, David, *The Problems of Widening NATO in Brassey's Defence Yearbook 1994*, London 1994 (p.135 ff).

to the development of a special skill both at individual and at societal level: the skill or/and art of 'coexisting' with risks;

- seven years' experience of transition in Central Europe indicates that risk could also be seen as a challenge, offering opportunities for a new beginning.

After dealing with various aspects of risk in Central Europe in the 1990s, we could consider a series of suggestions and management opportunities, such as:

- compiling an inventory of probable non-military and military risks, including possible combinations of risks in different fields, with varying degrees of gravity and urgency/priority in terms of solutions to be found - with reference to Central Europe;
- drawing up a list with possible solutions to the above mentioned risks in this area, taking into account the local / regional / global parameters, in view of applying adequate solutions at various moments / stages in the evolution of phenomena and at different levels;
- setting up a network for the monitoring of various risks in Central European countries (oil and gas pipelines, electric power network), with a view to gradually ensuring their Euro-atlantic integration. To this purpose, with the help of advanced technologies such as GIS and existing satellites, a complex monitoring system could be set up for instantaneous information and coordination of actions, as one component element of a possible global monitoring system for multiple risks, which could be implemented by the Euro-atlantic security structures;

- including risk analysis, estimation and management as a major topic area of the emerging ‘information avenues’ and communication networks;
- finding efficient means and ways of identifying and diagnosing possible risks in different domains; since there already exists a well established methodology for diagnosing technological and environmental risks, specialists should explore the possibility of methodology transfer to other fields;
- building interdisciplinary teams of experts and projects, with a view to introducing a new approach to risk at local, regional, global level, on the one hand, and encompassing a variety of specific aspects (technological, economic, financial, etc.), on the other;
- the experience of Germany’s re-unification showed that the economic-financial mechanism - however impressive - was not sufficient for a rapid and smooth overcoming of the major difficulties brought about by half a century of separation. In this respect, Romania and South Korea could co-operate in the field of research regarding the risks and opportunities involved in the process of integration/re-unification.

Challenges to Leadership

- the discrepancy between the integration existing inside the European union and the disintegration outside its “borders”;
- the discrepancy between the stability due to European integration on the basis of higher economic development levels and the instability tendencies both in East and West due to economic, social and cultural differences;

- the quite slow pace of adjustment of Euroatlantic institutions as opposed to the rapid change of international events;
- whereas an active attitude can bring about changes from relative instability to “absolutes” stability, a passive attitude brings about changes from relative stability to “absolute” instability;
- the lack of coherence between the clear, structured answer given to military threats as compared to the ambiguous answer given to non-military threats aimed at destabilising national and international security.

Considering the concern with the setting-up of a new international order, specialists could also explore the possibility of transferring experience from the military field to non-military areas; e.g. the use of task forces in the domain of finance, ecology etc., so as to keep under control risks, and to limit the effects that would otherwise lead to major risks.

Is the new society perceiving risk now and how?

Any attempt at stabilising the instability of complex socio-technical-economic systems should take into account a mix including risk, security and communication management. This can be achieved through appropriate cooperation between:

- civilian and military decision factors
- governmental and non-governmental organisations
- local and central administration

through joint projects, temporary flexible structures (e.g. inter-institutional teams), joint training programmes, exchange of information and experience on a regular basis, design of medium- and long-term security strategies based on a global approach. Decision factors in the political, economic,

military domains, to name only a few, will have to base their action and decisions on a thorough and complex analysis of multiple risks, simultaneously existing in different domains.

Central and Eastern Europe can thus be regarded as an emerging market for risk management.

ROMANIA - A Case in Point

Each country in Central Europe has its own historical and geographic characteristics, as well as its own experience in the field of risk management, since each country in this region was confronted with numerous types of risks in the course of time. Romania could be seen as an example in this case, with its two thousand years of experience gathered by living with risk: as an island of Latinity, and as the only orthodox country within the 'Latin family', with Christianity introduced 'bottom-up' as early as the 2nd century.

Romania is full or associate member of the major European or Euro-atlantic bodies and organisations, and since February 1, 1995, it has become associate member of the European Union, NATO and WEU, also full member of the Council of Europe, Central European Initiative and Black Sea Economic Co-operation. Thus, for united Europe it represents the East, while for the new southern republics of CIS it stands for the West, being the 'gate' towards the old continent.

As it is already known, in July 1997, NATO decided to nominate the countries which had expressed the wish to adhere to the Euro-atlantic security structure. Romania was the first country to adhere to the Partnership for Peace, thus showing, if still necessary, the profound feeling of belonging to the European institutions and values. In the remaining

period, till midyear, a joint effort is necessary that would be materialized in a complex plan for sustaining our country's nomination. In this respect, we can not disregard the advanced stage of co-operation in the Mediterranean region which guarantees the premises of a natural integration process of Romania in the Euro-atlantic structures.

Romania's part in this Mediterranean dialogue confirms the understanding of the active implication in those European projects which can help the country's more rapid integration. Romania's signing of this Mediterranean Chart has a special significance for the individualized dialogue Romania-NATO and contributes to the improvement and confirmation of Romania's image as an actively democratic country.

Transition to a market economy and the state of law is associated with a series of risks in this part of Europe, such as increased corruption, criminality, a worsening of demographic and social aspects. The inefficiency of governmental bodies could also contribute to the increase of these risks. Some of the negative phenomena present in the Western world can have an undesirable impact on the fragile structures of the new democracies in this part of Europe.¹⁰

The main risks - primarily non-military ones - to Romania's national security are specific to the region where this country is situated, and are characteristic of the period of transition under way, as well as of the current issues that are humanity's main concern.

Romania is also exposed to a multitude of natural calamities: earthquakes, floods, prolonged drought, storms and sea storms, etc.

In addition, there is an entire range of catastrophies that can come over the country: chemical accidents at the place of production or during

transportation, explosions, technological accidents, nuclear accidents, floods hidrotechnical accidents, etc. Besides these calamities and catastrophies that Romania may be faced with, there are also other major events happening in neighbouring countries that can affect Romania, to name only one example we can think of Tchernobil.

Due to the experience gathered in the course of time, when confronted with unfortunate events of this type, Romania has developed a certain tradition in the area of risk analysis and management. We could mention, for instance, activities carried out in specific domains, e.g. the production of electric energy, environmental protection, civil protection, as well as research, carried out within specialised institutes or at universities, especially at the Polytechnic University in Bucharest.¹¹In the mid-eighties, Professor Adrian Gheorghe and Dr. Liviu Muresan tried to carry out an experiment at county-level, i.e. in the Brasov County, situated in the centre of Romania, meant to analyse risks and to develop risk management at local level. The experiment could not be finalised due to the ideological limitations of the socialist system.

After 1989 several workshops and conferences on risk-related issues took place in Romania, organised by the Romanian Foundation for Democracy, the National Defence College Foundation a.s.o. Courses on risk and security have been organised by the Black Sea University, while more specialised, applied courses (as part of complex training programmes) were organised by NGOs in the field of environmental protection. Starting with 1995 at the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest a new course

¹⁰See also *The unfinished transition in the East*, in *Le Monde*, Paris, 29.06.1996.

¹¹Special mention deserves the activity aimed at promoting risk analysis and management, carried out over more than two decades at the Polytechnic University in Bucharest, mainly by Prof. Adrian Gheorghe, Ph.D., as the first expert coming from a country with communist regime to become board-member of the US journal "Risk Analysis" and since 1980 a member of the Society for Risk Analysis, author of several studies based on research work carried out at important international institutions.

on *Global Issues, Risk and Security* was included in the curriculum of the students in International Economic Relations, with the support of The Romanian Association for the Club of Rome and EURISC. In this context, mention should be made of the support that activities of this type in Romania have received over the past few years from the EU - PHARE Programme for Democracy, NATO Research Fellowships, Regional Environmental Centre for Central Europe, the SOROS Foundation, the Hans Seidel Foundation, the Atlantic Council of the United States, the British Know-How-Fund, as well as through specific projects of UN-Institutions.

Seminars on risk issues were included in the curriculum of the National Defense College in Bucharest, the first institution of this type in Central Europe, offering post-graduate training in the area of national security to civilian and military personalities.

Romania is in the top through the quality of its participation in the Partnership for Peace Program. For example, since 1994 Romanian Civil Defence authorities together with the NATO High Commission for Civil Emergency Planning have organised meetings yearly, on issues regarding civil defence in democratic society, including simulations to exemplify computer based decision taking in case of nuclear and chemical accident risks.

The Romanian-American military cooperation program MIL-to-MIL together with the Pentagon Planning Department for Emergency Situations have opened up opportunities for exchange of experience on risk management issues in the field of civil defence.

In this context, the NGOs could play an increasing role - either by themselves or in association with national and international institutions, in order to promote a security culture at both individual and societal level.

Although they are outnumbered by those in Western countries, Central European NGOs, including Romanian NGOs, are more and more active to the benefit of the civil society. Their objective is to inform, motivate and determine the citizens' participation in risk management.

Risk management, developed in the beginning in relation to insurance activities, will expand to encompass multiple risks at global level. A new type of management for global risks could be correlated with efforts towards the setting-up of a new international order as well as towards ensuring a better future for the world.

2. The Partnership for Future

2.1. The Non-Military Security on the Eve of the 21th Century

This chapter is in the process of translation into English after the article “The Marketing of Security”, by Liviu Muresan, published in “Lumea” Magazine, no.1/1996, pp. 15-16.

2.2. New problems, new solutions

2.2.1. Cash and carry security

The debates at national level in the main western countries, as well as at international level, indicate the growing difficulty in convincing the respective populations to further support the idea of the enlargement towards the East of NATO and the European Union. The opinion polls show rather low percentages of popularity for the support offered to the enlargement, enough to chill the political class in power in the western countries, as well as the bureaucrats in Brussels.

There are frequent discussions about the financial difficulties which could question the European Union and NATO expansion eastwards. The costs of European integration would no longer be so easily absorbed by the western countries in the future. The social dimension of the present political moment requires a plus of concentration on the part of the political factors in designing a new agenda for the future years, an agenda which should help in striking a balance between the international and national commitments.

The general growth of the instability during the next period and its expansion over bigger and bigger areas highlight the need of carrying out more in-depth studies on the management of instability, as well as on other research topics.

During the next period new solutions must be found for funding the European and Euro-Atlantic integration. In this context, we could also speak about the need of a new attitude on the part of the candidate

countries to admission into NATO and the EU. Moving from a “free lunch security” (security received for free) to a “cash and carry security” (a security you pay for in order to benefit from it), might be one of the solutions. In fact, it also has to do with a change in mentality, from the obsolete one - of having something, a little, but free - to a new, modern one - of having access by paying the adequate price. What is for free cannot be appreciated accordingly, whereas what is bought with a lot of money is treasured and appreciated differently.

The “cash and carry” solution allows the buyers to rapidly obtain a product they want, as soon as they pay the price of it.

It is difficult to find an answer in the near future to the desire of Euro-Atlantic integration of the states in Eastern and Central Europe. Depending on the degree of readiness for joining the Alliance, each case is analyzed separately.

The introduction of a formula for ensuring the security of these states, step by step, might represent such a solution. Of course, the financial difficulties with which they have to cope make impossible the purchasing of modern military equipment which should be up the standards of the desires expressed. The need of such purchases can be explained as a contribution to the process of their Euro-Atlantic integration and to enhancing their degree of security.

In these conditions, a solution can be found to allow for purchasing some military equipment in spite of the financial difficulties. Thus, one has to identify that specific military equipment which, at the lowest price, ensures the highest degree of security, responds to the greatest extent to the need for security. By analyzing its performance, its capacity to replace a number as big as possible of obsolete equipment, its simple maintenance and low

costs, we can identify the equipment than can be purchased first. It will also have to meet the inter-operational qualities required by NATO on the part of the armies of the candidate states.

(there will be a figure)

At a given moment, the applicant will be able to provide a sum of money which will allow them to purchase a certain type of military equipment. This will be chosen depending on its capacity to display a multiplying effect, namely to solve, directly or indirectly, as many defense matters as possible at the same time.

This equipment should represent a twofold optimum between its purchasing price and the degree to which it can ensure the security.

Firstly, its technical performance should represent a real means of transferring the benefits of its use to other categories of military equipment in the respective field or in related ones. It will thus ensure an higher degree of security in comparison with the equipment that will be replaced.

Secondly, the origin of the supplier is important in the case of purchasing military equipment.. Purchasing this equipment from well-known companies in countries which are leading members of the North Atlantic Alliance allows, in its turn, for a certain security transfer. This is ensured not only by the “transfer” of military equipment proper to the new owner, but also by the amount of information, training, maintenance, etc., which accompanies the transfer proper. Thus, the country which exports such equipment also exports some security, while the country that imports it also imports the respective security.

It is important that the country which purchases the equipment should immediately and entirely benefit from its advantages, if it has made the effort to pay the necessary sum of money.

The theoretic development of the "cash and carry security" formula can contribute to solve certain political, financial and security problems related to the expansion of the North-Atlantic Alliance eastwards.

2.2.2. The leasing of military equipment

The need of purchasing military equipment by the countries that want to obtain full membership in the North Atlantic Alliance is censured/conditioned by the lack of adequate financial resources.

Under these conditions new funding systems must be introduced, taking into account the urgency of introducing new military equipment and the suppliers' wish to offer them such equipment, which until not long ago was inaccessible due to the embargo imposed to the member states of the Warsaw Pact, as well as to the non-existent or low financial resources of the purchasing countries.

Such a system could be the leasing, which, if applied to the military equipment, could bring a new dynamism to the process of Euro-Atlantic integration.

Leasing is a modality of renting goods to enterprises that do not dispose of sufficient funds or cannot afford loans, nor traditional banking credits.

These goods are bought by financial societies from manufacturers and let them for a certain period, with clearly stipulated payment and usage conditions in a contract that constitutes the legal support of the action. A letting has in view goods that maintain integrally all their initial characteristics and allow their usage without including depreciation

phenomenon. Generally, leasing is about equipment that, even if they are not utilized, undergo a certain obsolescence or they lose their preservation value, even if rationally used. Leasing rent will include quotas from the very value of the rented goods, reflecting the decrease of their utility degree. The “tenant” who is the user of the respective goods can become owner after a certain period of time, without retroactive effects, that is without the necessity to refund the initial value of the rented goods.

The formula of leasing the military equipment brings together the political, financial and security matters.

The importance of this formula for the countries in Eastern and Central Europe that benefit from the military equipment leasing system, as well as for the supplying member states of the North-Atlantic Alliance results from its multiple advantages:

it meets the need of new military equipment of the candidate countries aiming at Euro-Atlantic integration;

- it promotes the export of equipment from the supplying NATO member states;
- it strengthens the political, financial and security co-operation among the NATO members and the candidate countries;
- it offers new solutions for the security problems of the European continent.

The essence of this military equipment leasing formula is that the property of the equipment is further held by the supplier, which implicitly means that the management of their own goods will expand over the geographic area covered by the beneficiary. Thus, with the arrival of the military equipment in the Central and Eastern European countries, an expansion of

the security area is also achieved, connected to the protection of the equipment and implicitly of its beneficiary.

Security umbrella (there will be two figures)

2.2.3 Another type of conversion of the defense industry

The conversion process of the defense industry is an extremely complex and painful one, not only within the market economy system, but the more so in the economies in transition.

Generally, the destination of production undergoes a change, moving from a special purposes production to a production with a lower manufacturing degree or even to the consumer goods production, etc.

This represents not only using the existing equipment below its technical capacity, but also the inadequate use of the employees, below their qualifications.

Moreover, when passing, for instance, to the production of consumer goods, there is the problem of penetrating on an extremely competitive market, which offers minimum chances to the newcomers.

The conversion of the defense industry should be tackled having in mind the latest changes in the security field.

In the 90s, the new international reality has brought about a reduction of the military risks and an increase of the non-military risks (major technical accidents, including nuclear ones, pollution, natural hazards, illegal traffic of nuclear material, organized crime, illegal migration, the fall of big systems, etc.)

(there will be two figures)

Given this situation, through the conversion of the defense industry from the special production meant for the military risks we can now pass to the production of equipment aiming at countering the non - military risks.

For example, in the units which used to produce tanks, robots can be designed and manufactured with the purpose of acting inside the nuclear power stations where there have been damages, or in other high risk areas, with difficult access.

Other units can manufacture equipment against the pollution produced as a result of technological, transport, storage or work accidents, etc.

For the clockwise monitoring of illegal migration, the border areas could be monitored by specially designed raiders, etc.

The existing market for such civil applications for the former defense industry is expanding, given the increase in number and diversification of the non-military risks of national and international security.

The problems are firstly financial ones, since there has to be a shift from the classical budget funding of the defense industry to other funding solutions in the new conditions.

2.3. Politics - Economy - Security

2.3.1. Energy and Security

This chapter is in the process of translation into English after the article “Energy and Security”, by Liviu Muresan, published in “Lumea” Magazine, no.12/1997, pag. 11.

2.3.2. Financing the Infrastructure

This chapter is in the process of translation into English after the article “The Infrastructure of the First Wave”, by Liviu Muresan, published in “Lumea” Magazine, no.6/1997, pag. 23.

2.4. A NEW GEOPOLITICAL AXIS, CASPIAN SEA - BLACK SEA - MEDITERRANEAN SEA

A series of initiatives were launched in the Black Sea area in the 1990's. At the same time, the Mediterranean Sea has more and more attracted the attention of European, Euro-Atlantic and other regional initiatives of the European Union.

After the break-up of the Soviet Union, the course of events and the developments in the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus area have emphasised its potential for a fast-paced evolution due to its enormous resources but also its potential for conflict due to circumstances reflecting opposed interests.

The battle for access to the last significant oil and gas sources will be of growing importance in the policies of nations at the beginning of the next century. The oil and gas (even drinkable water) pipeline itineraries will determine the national security policies of supplier, supplied and transit states as well.

In this context, one should take into account a gradual shift of strategic interests from the Gulf area to the Caspian area, and afterwards probably to the Siberian area.

The prospect of a reduction, in the following years, of oil and gas production in the Gulf area, as well as the prospect of regress to be experienced by local political structures enforce the approach of new significant resource areas. Hence, the Caspian area will gradually

concentrate increasing interest not only from the Eurasian area but also from Russia, the US and Western countries in general.

The prosperity of industrial states (highly developed nations) requires their permanent access to oil and gas reserves, all at reduced prices and controllable political and military costs.

The oil reserves in the areas of the Caspian Sea, mainly Azerbaidjan, Kazahstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have been estimated at around 25 billion barrels. They are also the foundation of development prospects of countries in these areas.

Appreciated as several times greater than the reserves in Alaska or the Northern Sea, these resources will attract the interest of developed countries at the end of this century and the beginning of the 21st. Moreover, these areas are bound to prepare the great negotiations or conflicts related to Siberian resources, which could be considered as the last resource 'freezer' storage area at the beginning of the 2000's.

Recent studies have also taken into account a formula by which the United States would purchase Siberia (similar to the purchase of Alaska) for amounts that could go up to around 200 billion USD per year payable over a period of 20 years.

In this remote context, the Caspian Sea area is already enjoying increasing attention in international politics, and will continue to do so in the years to come.

The political developments in Moscow, will greatly influence the co-operation or conflict/confrontation options in this area.

A reasonable use of resources and a balanced distribution of revenues by a democratic Russia together with the countries producing and exporting oil

and gas will create an opportunity to revitalise the area after the disintegration of the USSR.

Ensuring a secure transit of these resources to large loading ports or through pipelines crossing different regions will become a national security objective for the countries involved but also an objective for international security.

A possible conflicting attitude of the political formula in Moscow could lead to an increasing tension between Russia and a few significant countries in the region, to mention only the Ukraine, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan.

The conflicts in Chechnya, Armenia, Azerbaidjan or Georgia are related to the interests of gaining control over the existing or future exploitation and transport itineraries for resources in the Caspian Sea area.

In this context, a new geopolitical axis could take into account several aspects as potential future developments:

1. In exceptional circumstances, regions and moments, such as those we are referring to, offers consisting of **strategic packages** are expected: harbour with good storage, maintenance, access and communication facilities; international airport for passenger transport and cargo with all the possible facilities; refineries. In addition to these, it will probably be necessary to have unloading, storage and transport facilities for liquified natural gas, as a possible alternative to the pipelines coming from the former USSR region.
2. The process of **consolidating the states** in the Caspian area, introducing democracy and market economy, preferably in a muslim

societal framework, as opposed to the fundamentalist one, discouraging individual and group terrorism.

3. Encouraging the development of the **Russian interest especially in the economic field**, and less in the political and military field, in order to ensure the existence of a stable, long-term source of oil and gas, to satisfy domestic needs, as well as for export purposes as a major source of hard currency.
4. **Balancing the interests in the region**: those of the new independent republics, the traditional interests of Russia, Turkey, Iran, as well as the American and Western interests, in general.
5. **Multiplying the co-operation potential of the Black Sea area**, by developing even more the links with the Caspian Sea - a continental, closed sea -, and by benefiting more from the proximity of the Mediterranean Sea, that could be regarded as a priority objective of the European Union.
6. **Force projection of the European and Euro-atlantic security institutions** (EU, NATO, WEU, OSCE), the development of military co-operation in the framework of the Partnership for Peace Program, as well as the expansion of the above mentioned institutions towards East.
7. **Reducing the level of tensions related to environmental issues** in the Bosphorus area, by finding also other transit routes such as Turkey, Bulgaria - Greece, Romania - Italy, a.o.
8. **Multiplying the co-operation, association and integration opportunities** in the building up of the European political, military, economic architecture.

9. If the Rhein/Main/Danube/Black Sea geopolitical axis is a European one with strong German input, **the new geopolitical axis - Caspian Sea / Black Sea / Mediterranean Sea** - could become an **international** one with **potential American interest** in it.
10. The connection of this area with the countries in Central Asia and China through the **Silk Road** has an important potential of co-operation.
11. The organisation of a **conference for security and co-operation in the Mediterranean area**, including the establishment of new financial institutions in the region, such as “**The 3-Seas-Bank**”, to promote the suggested developments.

Romania - a case in point:

From a geopolitical perspective, Romania is situated at the cross-roads between the Rhein/Main/Danube/Black Sea axis and the Caspian Sea / Black Sea / Mediterranean Sea axis and the Silk Road

Emphasizing the role of Romania in this cross-road of South and East Europe president Constantinescu mentioned that: “Given its specific situation, nowadays Romania needs first several solid projects for interregional and regional co-operation. They could support our access to the continental integration we all wish, but, even more, they have a huge value in themselves because they are an opportunity to make best use of the potential offered by the geographic zone whose part we are.”

Conclusions

The suggested, new geopolitical axis is thus situated at the cross-roads between the European geopolitical ‘plate’ and the Asian and African ones.

The analysis has mainly taken into account the political, economic, military, cultural or religious 'faults' that have appeared at a certain moment between these.

The 'seisms' that have lately been noticed highlight the strong strategical interests of the main powers and also of the important states in the region.

The new geopolitical axis - Caspian Sea / Black Sea / Mediterranean Sea - could start to show its potential for the force projection of U.S. in the area, having Romania as strategic partner, also as multiplier of the dialogue and co-operation in different fields for less risk, more security in this region on the eve of the new millenium.

Constantza is by far the largest and busiest harbour on the Black Sea. Once the current expansion and upgrading programme is completed it will be the second largest in Europe, next to Rotterdam, with 260 operating berths and a cargo handling capacity of 237 million tons a year. In its present condition, the port can take in vessels of up to 165,000tdw. It is equipped with modern loading-unloading technology (20,000 tons in 24 hours), on-pier road and rail links and extensive stoorage and warehousing facilities, including grain and cement silos. Special two-way terminals are fully operational for crude (24 million tons a year), complete with tank farm (1,7 million cubic meters), bulk minerals and coal, Ro-Ro vessels for a traffic of 30,000 articulated lorries per year, ferry currently serviced by two ferry-boats operated by the Romanian Rail Authority with a capacity of 108 wagons per voyage, container terminal allowing the handling of 70,000 20/40 feet TEU per year. An additional container terminal is under construction with a total handling capacity of 80,000 TEU a year. Following the expected commissioning of a ferry terminal in the Georgian port of Poti, the duration and the costs of transport from the Caucasus to

Central Europe via Constantza could be reduced by as much as 40 per cent.

The harbour of Constantza is also the Eastern outlet of the transcontinental waterway, the European Transport Corridor No. 7, leading through the Black Sea-Danube Canal upstream to the Main-Rhine connection all the way to Rotterdam.

In the next few years, Romania will be crossed by three main European combined road rail transport corridors: No. 4 (Berlin-Prague-Bratislava-Budapest-Bucharest-Constantza), the already mentioned waterway No. 7 and No. 9 land bridge from Finland to the Aegean with the principal branches to Constantza and Istanbul.

The existence of several international class airports, notably those of Bucharest, Constantza and Timisoara, make Romania a natural hub for air traffic between Europe and the Caspian region.

The Romanian oil and gas pipeline network is reasonably well developed. Additional links are planned due south-east to Siberia and due west to Hungary.

Several technologically sound shipyards have a proven ability to build ships up to 150,000 tdw and to perform repair, overhauling and outfitting work on practically any type of sea-going and river vessels. The same goes for rolling stock production and repair activities.

The free zones of Constantza South, Sulina, Galatzi, Braila and Giurgiu provide facilities on very attractive terms for bonded warehousing and processing activities related to the expected spectacular increase in the transiyt of goods through Romania.

Production capability and know-how. Romania has a long standing tradition in the petroleum industry going back more than 140 years. The first refinery was built in Romania in 1875, two years before the first one in Texas. Although the old known deposits have been largely depleted, Romania is still one of the significant oil gas producers in Europe.

Recent exploration work, on a concessionary basis, by leading multinational companies has shown promising results both off-shore and in several inland blocks.

Refining industry is well develop[ed], with a total capacity of about 36 million tons a year. The major refineries are linked by pipeline to the Constantza harbour. Romania also has a strong manufacturing base in the oil-field and related equipment and in the downstream industries: petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, fertilizers, synthetic fibers and yarn, rubber, etc. Specialist Romanian companies have proved their ability to perform in large-scale exploration projects overseas as well as in marketing and consultancy activities.

The inflows of hydrocarbons from the Caspian region will naturally enhance Romania's role as an energy provider for the surrounding area, thus helping to relieve the potential political embarrassment of one-source dependency.

Other areas with a significant export-oriented development potential in that context are: agriculture and food products, industrial and urban design, building materials and contracting jobs.

(there will be included five maps)

2.5. *The Cold Civil War*

This chapter is in the process of translation into English after the article “The Cold Civil War”, by Liviu Muresan, published in “Lumea” Magazine, no.12/1996, pag. 23.

2.6. Risk - Security - Communication

EURISC

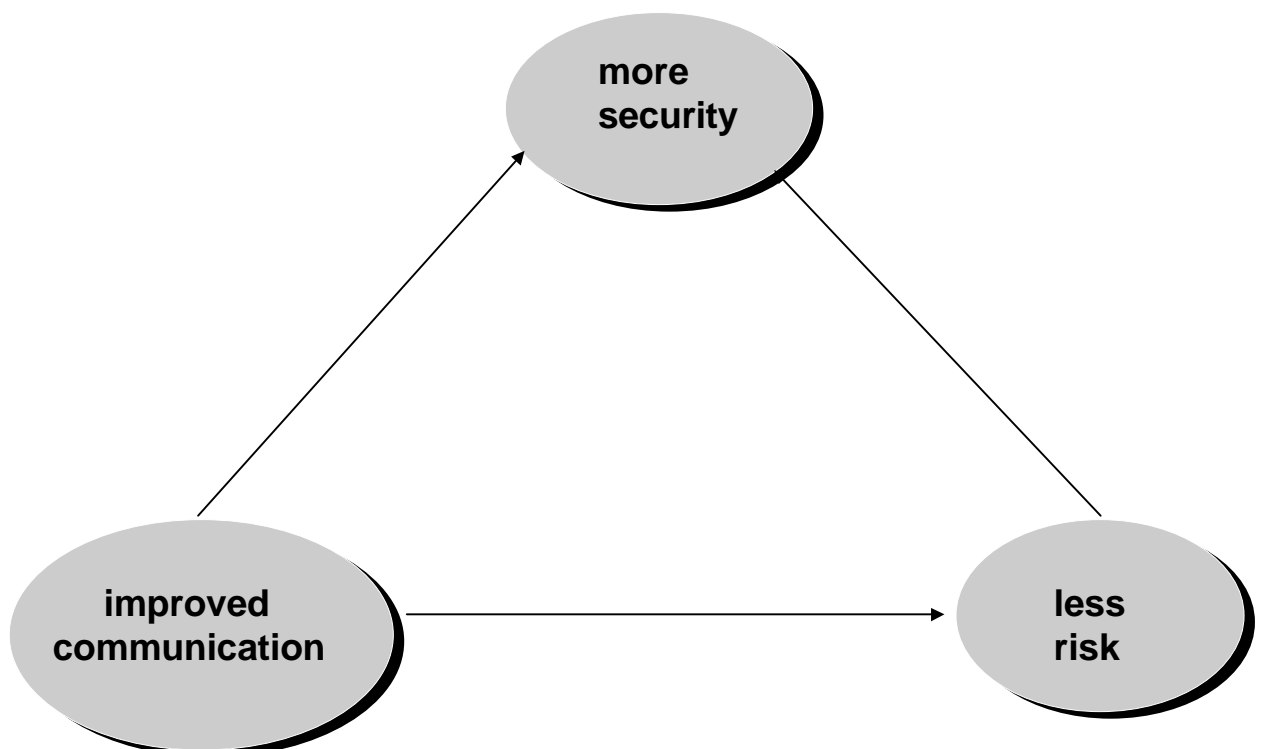
**European Institute for
Risk, Security and Communication Management**

WHO WE ARE

- an NGO, a not-for-profit foundation
- a 'think-tank' professionals (different backgrounds but shared values)

MAIN GOAL:

⇒ to promote a new approach to security



OBJECTIVES

- to promote:
 - ⇒ the risk, security and communication concepts
 - ⇒ an integrated methodological approach
- to analyse a wide range of situations at individual, societal & global level
- to disseminate relevant information
- to promote
 - ⇒ the participation of the civil society in the monitoring of security structures
 - ⇒ the civilian - military dialogue
- to facilitate Romania's integration in Euro-atlantic structures

MAIN AREAS OF ACTIVITY:

⇒ education: training courses/seminars/workshops

⇒ research

⇒ evaluation of challenges to national & Euro-atlantic security

KEY CONCEPTS

SECURITY

'Layers' / Levels of security:
nation/state

the planet



the



the citizen

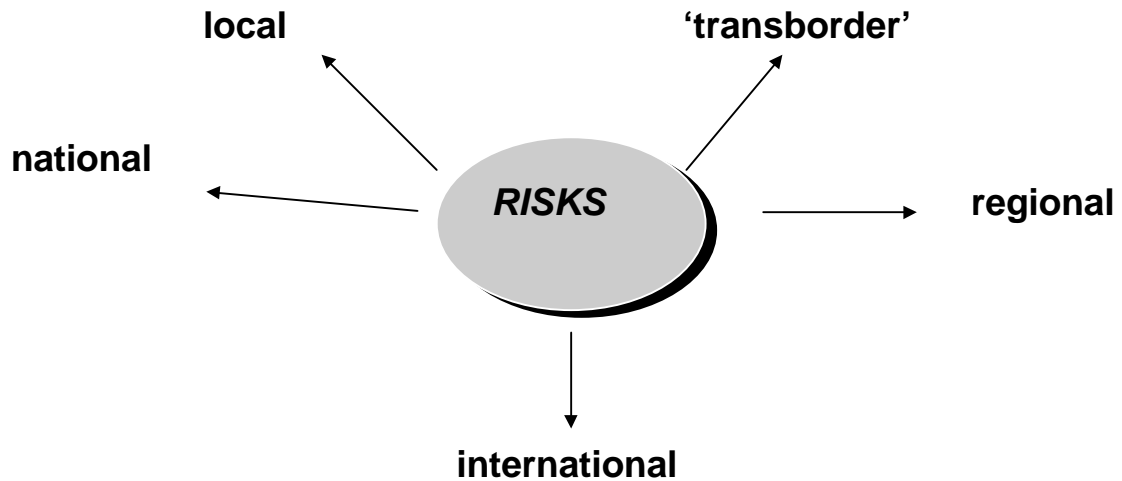
Key aspects:

complexity (multidimensional character)

interdependence of 'security layers'

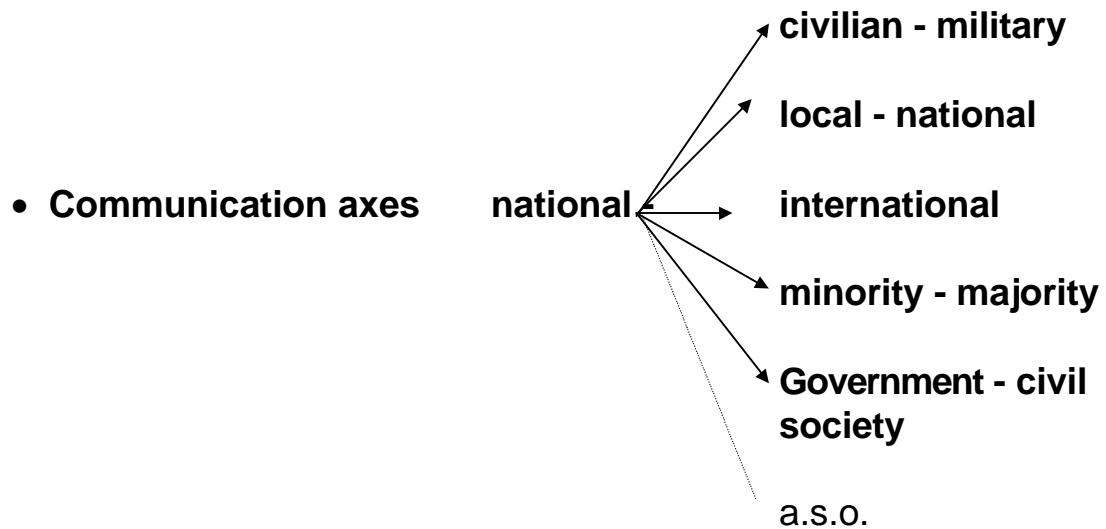
the need for sustainability

RISK



COMMUNICATION

Key concepts:



- **Participation**

- **Information producer versus consumer**

- **The multicultural & multinational dimensions of communication**
- **Awareness raising**

2.7. Security Culture

- **Security culture** is not yet regarded as a necessity by the authorities, esp. at the level of civil society.
- In a restricted sense, it was initially used in relation to the activities directed towards environmental protection.
- When referring to 'security', the citizen's perception is different from that of the authorities, so that we can refer to two different perspectives:
 - (a) the authorities' perspective
 - (b) the citizen's perspective

The authorities have experience and the capacity to respond within the institutional framework in the following order:
international security → national security → local security → individual security

The citizens' experience allows them to respond in the reverse order: individual security → local security → national security → international security.

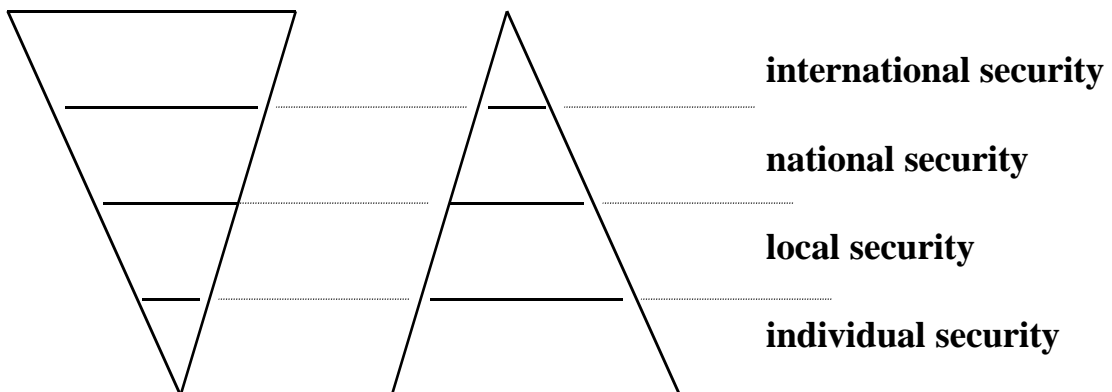
- **First aid** is primarily directed towards intervention in case of accidents and less towards prevention of accidents
- The concept of **culture of peace** is linked with the experience of a period dominated by risks, especially military ones, while the concept of **culture of security** is related to the new types of non-military risks that appeared over the last years.
- The development of the security culture is determined by several factors, including the national priorities in relation to civil protection:
 - ◇ increased costs due to natural disasters, major accidents and other events, taking into account their:
 - scale
 - frequency
 - simultaneity
 - new forms

- ◇ the need for raising the level of commitment of:
 - the institutions
 - the communities
 - the citizen
- ◇ improving communication on risk-issues between
 - institutions
 - institutions and the mass media
 - institutions and citizens
- ◇ civil protection - an *army* in the future?
- ◇ co-operation between civil protection and the citizen: a possible opportunity for coping with the challenges of the 21st century.

**The authorities' vs the citizen's perspectives on
*security***

**The authorities'
perspective**

**The citizen's
perspective**



2.8. The Sustainable Security System

Within the “Partnership for Future” (P4F) the security problems of the Central European countries can be approached and solved from a new perspective in order to achieve a “sustainable security systems” (3S). Thus, the new formula is based on the partners’ mutual confidence under the conditions of an appropriate sharing of responsibilities of the main powers acting in Europe - US, Germany, and Russia.

The P4F intends to be a flexible formula with a “security structure with a variable geometry” eventually providing the security of the countries in Central Europe, inside and not outside the organizational framework, in a step-by-step approach.

The P4F stipulates that within a joint participation of the US, EU/Germany and Russia, a “northern hemisphere security ring” be achieved.

NATO and a democratic Russia share responsibilities within the P4F project. Russia will thus be able to set its new security priorities shifting from mainly West and North to mainly South, Far East and to its domestic issues.

Russia’s domestic problems will need a special attention with security depending on their settlements through means specific to the state of law. Only a controlled access can ensure the credibility of the system. Each step made by Russia towards a democratic society has to be rewarded by strengthening the relations with “the partners for future”.

The setting up of this “Northern hemisphere security ring” should take into account the lessons of history “the iron curtain” between West and East during the cold war should not be shifted to a new position between North and South. “The Northern security ring” should maintain certain “security gates” open for the South. Dialogues for stability measures should be promoted through these gates. Northern Africa, Near East, Far East, Mexico, a.o.

In times of great instability in the South, the “Northern security ring” countries should take measures such as shutting “the security gates” for a while. Euroatlantic security is linked with the evolution in the Mediterranean zone, the Near and Middle East and Russia. Russia’s future is also connected with the potential development in the former USSR, its Southern republics, as well as the evaluations in China or in Korean Peninsula.

The US, despite the NAFTA, have to face the pressure at its Southern borders daily.

The P4F proposes to combine political - military -, economic social and informational - cultural measures in order to make the 3S viable. The Partnership for Future project proposes to shape a sustainable security system as a possible answer to the new world challenges.