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INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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WHO NEEDS BOMBS?

THE ISLAMIC JIHAD: FROM THE DEFEAT OF TERROR AND THE HOLY WAR TO THE HOPE OF LIBERTY

Abstract:	<i>The Islamic fundamentalism, the conspiracy theory, the terrorist organizations Al-Qaeda, the Islamic State and Al-Shabaab, are leading topics for the 2020 Agenda also! Iran urges to reflections! Northern Africa is shaken by multiple attacks, Nigeria mourns its dead, Somalia lives in terror! The democracy in France has been attacked on several occasions! What is to be done? Without having the decision-making power in preventing and combating terrorism, our concerns are met through "The Islamic Jihad: From the Defeat of Terror and the Holy War to the Hope of Liberty", which is intended, beyond all controversy, a call to profound introspection!</i> <i>In the hope that we will not determine destructive behaviors, we reiterate information of interest, in the hope that those who have the duty of defending peace shall strive unremittingly for a better future, through consensus and viable actions! Peace does not stick with blood! Peace shall be kept with wisdom!</i>
Keywords:	Intelligence; Fight for resources; Multiple interests; Geopolitical reconfiguration; Introspections
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In the context of the need for legitimizing the military actions in the Middle East, terrorism certainly remained and will certainly remain an opportunity for discussions at the table of the Great

Powers, including the G20, whether we are talking about the United States of America, or we think about Russia, France, Germany, Spain or the People's Republic

of China!¹ If we look back, in the last few years, in the Middle East, more than 21,000 persons had fallen victim to the 1,500 attacks. In the African Sub-Saharan regions, over 3,445 people died in 187 attacks while in Asia, 302 attacks happened, resulting in 3,279 dead. We cannot but mention Europe and the United States of America, where over 700 people were killed in approximately 55 attacks²! Do we have an explanation for all these crimes? What causes the terrorist actions? The primary answer lies within each of us and yet the terrorist actions call for a complex analysis!

If the relationship with Europe is America's most important contract in the world, then what was the relationship of the USA with the Arab world, after the death of Osama bin Laden was confirmed?! Looking only towards Saudi Arabia, towards Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, Syria or Iran, we understand that the interests lead to multiple divergencies, which makes us approximate Winston Churchill's words: "We have no lasting friends, no lasting enemies, only lasting interests"³! This thing is all the more visible if we only recall the "historical" gesture, of full significance, given by the fact that the Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi kissed the Libyan President Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's hand. Berlusconi kissed Gaddafi's hand⁴! This

thing happened on the 29th of March, at Sirte, in Libya, on the occasion of the Arab League summit discussing the measures for supporting the Palestinian Authority and the arrangements to force the Jewish state to change its policy towards the construction of new dwellings in the Eastern neighborhoods of the capital-city Jerusalem.

Held under the slogan "The Arab citizen is waiting for action and the Arab public has got enough of words.", the Summit had Italy's Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi also as a guest, who was caught on cameras as he was kissing Gaddafi's hands! What was it that determined Italian multibillionaire Silvio Berlusconi to do such a gesture?! It is known that Gaddafi and Berlusconi had a very close personal relationship⁵. However, what is not as well-known is that Berlusconi keeps in touch with one of the investment undertakings of the Libyan state. In June 2009, a company registered in the Netherlands, controlled by the Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Company, took over 10% of the shares of "Quinta Communications", a film production and distribution company based in Paris. "Quinta Communications" was founded in the 90s, by Berlusconi, in partnership with Tarak Ben Ammar, the former Tunisian leader Habib Bourguiba's nephew⁶.

The Libyan investors own shares in strategic Italian companies. They would hold approximately 1% of the biggest Italian oil company, "Eni", but also 2% of

¹<https://www.mediafax.ro/externe/atentatele-din-europa-si-statele-unite-si-terorismul-in-orientul-mijlociu-africa-si-asia-o-istorie-comparata-15532110>, (11.19.2019)

²<https://europunkt.ro/2017/10/15/interviu-prof-univ-dr-nicolae-radu-in-fata-amenintarii-teroriste-cooperarea-internationala-este-mai-necesara-decat-oricand/>, (13.01.2020)

³<http://epochtimes-omania.com/news/citate-celebrelui-winston-churchill---274660/>, (14.10.2019)

⁴<https://adevarul.ro/international/europa/video-berlusconi-i-a-pupat-mana-gaddafi>

[1_50ad927e7c42d5a663978295/index.html/](1_50ad927e7c42d5a663978295/index.html/), (14.10.2019)

⁵<http://epochtimes-romania.com/news/gaddafi-ar-avea-miliarde-de-dolari-ascunsi-in-conturi-din-golf-dar-si-in-italia-si-m-britanie---102512/>, (14.10.2019)

⁶<https://lifeplusmd.wordpress.com/2015/04/Civilizatiile-se-ucid,-nu-sunt-ucise/>, (14.10.2019)

“Finmeccanica”, 2% of “Fiat”, and almost 15% of “Retelit” telecom society. Tripoli has also purchased 22% of the capital of “Olcese” textile products company⁷. However, one of the best-known investments is that in “Juventus” football team, out of whose shares, Tripoli holds 7.5%, while the most controversial one is that in “Unicredit”, the biggest bank in Italy. Isn’t that the same economic interests led Muamar Gaddafi to be received with great pomp in Paris, in 2007, and to receive the approval to install his tent in the park of “Marigny” Hotel, located near Élysée Palace, the residence of the French President, on the occasion of a visit to France, in 2007? The French administration’s response leaves no room for interpretations! The placing of the tent has to do with “the tradition of the desert” which Muamar Gaddafi, born – according to his own legend – in a Bedouin tent, “scrupulously abide by”, the French Presidency’s spokesman, David Martinon, pointed out.

However, the rush with which France bombed Libya, on the 19th of March 2011, without NATO’s approval, under the pretext of supporting the rebels who were fighting for the ousting of Colonel Gaddafi, caused suspicions related to Paris’ hidden interests. The interception of Sarkozy’s telephone conversations, during the investigation targeting the influence peddling in which he is involved, revealed the fact that the former leader at Élysée was extremely concerned about the investigation on the alleged funds received from Gaddafi, for his electoral campaign of 2007. Surprisingly or not, in 2012, the *Daily Mail* newspaper revealed that an

agent within the French secret services is suspected of having executed Gaddafi, on Sarkozy’s direct order, precisely so that he could not breathe a word about the 50 million given for the former French President’s electoral campaign⁸.

Under the NATO airstrikes and both the liberal and Islamist insurgents’ raids, Libya went from a Jamahiriya into a “young democracy”⁹. What was the need for this “democracy”? Were actually the Libyan people the one wishing the overthrow of its leader, Muamar Gaddafi? Could this be the identical scenario to that in Romania or in Iraq? Romania interfered with the plans of the globalizing “elites” of financial enslavement of the world, by intending even to establish an investment fund of the developing countries, a project whereby Ceaușescu was to be financially supported by some oil-producing Arab countries, but also by some Third World countries¹⁰. How many of us still want to know that Ceaușescu intended to build, with Arab support, a world bank in Bucharest for small loans granted to developing countries, Romania thus having the opportunity to become a center of economic power? The answer? Ceaușescu was executed in the Holy Christmas Day, on the 25th of December 1989! He had paid the foreign debts and had forbidden by law that Romania should ever borrow money! The reality is as one would expect to be! After 25 years, Romania is now again on

⁷<https://gandeste.org/general/operatiunea-furtuna-decisiva/52345/>, (14.10.2019)

⁸<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2210759/Gaddafi-killed-French-secret-serviceman-orders-Nicolas-Sarkozy-sources-claim.html>, (10.01.2020)

⁹<https://www.globalresearch.ca/libya-why-was-muammar-gaddafi-killed-may-we-never-forget/5590628/>, (16.10.2019)

¹⁰<https://www.zf.ro/business-international/o-noua-banca-mondiala-pentru-marile-economii-emergente-transpunerea-la-scara-mai-larga-a-visului-lui-ceausescu-12938486/>, (17.10.2019)

loan from the IMF, the billions of euro are being spent without the country making any progress¹¹. More than 25 years after the Revolution in Romania, the project is implemented by the BRICS Alliance (the acronym of the new world bank), formed of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, based in Shanghai.

Under the circumstances of interests' reconfiguring worldwide, what were the real reasons for which Colonel Muamar Gaddafi was executed, as well? According to the open sources¹²:

1. Gaddafi's Libya had no debt towards no one in the world.
2. The price of a gasoline gallon was 0.14 dollars.
3. The price of bread was 0.15 dollars.
4. Education and hospitalization were free of charge.
5. The newlyweds received a gift of 64,000 dollars, in order to purchase an apartment.
6. Every Libyan family had its own house.
7. The Libyan family received subsidies of 1,000 dollars annually, for each member.
8. The Libyan family received material support of 7,000 dollars, for every newborn child.
9. The dole was 730 dollars monthly.
10. Every Libyan, if admitted to any university in the world, received from the state 2,500 euros plus maintenance, plus an automobile.
11. A nurse's salary was of minimum 1,000 dollars.
12. The automobiles within the country were sold only for the factory price.
13. For opening one's own business, the citizen was offered a material assistance of

20,000 dollars, in one instalment, from the Libyan Jamahiriya.

14. There was no tax on buildings, for apartments and dwelling houses.
15. High taxes were forbidden by law.
16. The Libyan citizens received interest-free credits from the state.
17. Electricity was free of charge for the population.
18. In the whole country, a network of shops was developed for the families with many children, shops in which basic foodstuffs were sold for a symbolic price.
19. For selling foodstuffs whose expiration date had come up, the fines were sky-high.
20. For the falsification of medical products, the punishment is death sentence.
21. Alcohol sale and consumption were forbidden by law.
22. Brokering in real estate sale is forbidden by law.
23. After Gaddafi came to power, the big business was hounded out from Libya.
24. Only after Gaddafi seized power, the black people in the Southern Libya received civil rights.
25. In 40 years of "dictatorship", the population of the country increased threefold, and the infant mortality decreased ninefold.
26. The life expectancy increased from 51.5 to 74.5 years old.
27. Gaddafi took the decision to take Libya out of the world banking system, and another 12 Arab countries were ready to follow his example.

The Middle East is changing! And yet, according to *Open Source*, what's left of Libya? Now, Libya has got nothing left, besides "democracy"¹³. Under these circumstances, it should be borne in mind

¹¹<https://www.ampress.ro/> Romania are imprumuturi/, (17.10.2019)

¹²<https://www.justitiarul.ro/libia-a-fost-o-tara-infloritoare-sub-dictatorul-gaddafi-acum-este-o-ruina-democratica/>, (17.10.2019)

¹³<http://wordpress.com/libia/>, (11.11.2019); <https://vremuritulburi.com/tag/libia/>, last accessed on: (12.10.2019)

that power depends also on the interests of the powerful in the countries known for their oil resources:

- Saudi Arabia is one of the USA reliable allies in the Middle East and an important oil supplier; hence Washington is interested to the highest degree in preserving the *status-quo*¹⁴. Isolated manifestations occurred here as well, the wave of public discontent being however easily extinguished. With a 24,200 dollars GDP/capita (55th place), the country holds oil mineral resources (20% of the global resources), natural gas. King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al-Saud is also the Prime Minister, since August 1, 2005¹⁵;
- In Egypt, Hosni Mubarak, an old USA ally in the region, in power since 1981¹⁶, reached the critical point of his career as the head of the Egyptian state, ending up being held in confinement for years, into a hospital;
- Yemen, led since 1990 by Ali Abdallah Salih, is a fragile USA allied state in the region, being exposed to some chronic problems, such as corruption, the lack of vital resources (water) and the strong penetration of Al-Qaeda terrorist network in the country. An increase in the influence of Islamic radicalism is to be expected. With a 2,600 dollars GDP/capita (174th place), Yemen ranks 37th in the world in terms of mineral resources, oil, liquefied natural gas¹⁷;
- Jordan, led by King Abdallah II (since 1999), with a 5,300 dollars

GDP/capita (142nd place), is a key USA allied state in the region¹⁸;

- Syria, led by Bashar al-Assad (since 17th of July 2000), is one of the enemies of Israel and the USA in the region, having strong ties to Iran and to Hezbollah¹⁹; with a 4,800 dollars GDP/capita (152nd place), Syria ranks 33rd in the world in terms of oil and 47th in terms of natural gas²⁰;
- Iran, led by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad since 2005, is one of the beneficiaries of the protest movements in the Muslim world. These movements weaken, at least apparently, the influence in the region of the USA, the deadly enemy of a radicalized Iran. With a 11,200 dollars GDP/capita (100th place), Iran ranks fourth in the world for oil, and third for natural gas resources²¹.

Preserving a unipolar world, unequivocally dominated by the United States, represented, from the very beginning, one of the stated objectives of the neoconservatives underpinning the current Washington administration²². Right in his first “State of the Nation Address”, delivered on the 29th of January 2002, President Bush spoke of the “new American empire” of the 21st century²³. The question arises, what is the USA

¹⁴<https://www.geopolitic.ro/arabia-saudita-un-nou-rege-un-nou-inceput/>, (18.11.2019)

¹⁵<https://political.ro/arabia-saudita/>, (17.10.2019)

¹⁶<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2017/04/05/its-time-to-take-a-hard-look-at-the-u-s-relationship-with-egypt/>, (09.19.2019)

¹⁷<http://iss.ucdc.ro/revista-pdf/us6.pdf/> The power reconfiguration/, (17.10.2019)

¹⁸[https://cssas.unap.ro/ro/pdf_carti/conferinta_2015_vol1.pdf/geopolitica puterii/](https://cssas.unap.ro/ro/pdf_carti/conferinta_2015_vol1.pdf/geopolitica%20puterii/), (17.10.2019)

¹⁹http://www.bbc.co.uk/romanian/forum/story/2006/07/printable/060723_israel_hezbollah_conflict.shtml, (16.01.2020)

²⁰<http://www.contributors.ro/economie/energie-economie/razboiul-civil-din-siria-un-razboi-al-gazoductelor/>, (17.10.2019)

²¹<https://m.hotnews.ro/stire/8258812/Harta-revoltelor-populare/>, (17.10.2019)

²²<https://www.9am.ro/stiri-revista-presei/2007-03-03/sua-si-hegemonia-mondiala.html>, (10.10.2019)

²³ Newhouse, J., *Imperial America*, USA, 2004; see, also, Alexe, V., <https://www.9am.ro/stiri-revista-presei/2007-03-03/sua-si-hegemonia-mondiala.html>, (17.10.2019)

administration really after, by great force concentrations in the area of the Persian Gulf and in other regions of the world? Isn't that, under the garb of the war against international terrorism, USA seeks to transform the military supremacy it holds *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world into unilateral economic advantages?

Beyond all controversy, the world needs the United States of America in the fight against terrorism, as well. According to His Excellency, Mr Abdulrahman I. Al-Rassi, the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Bucharest, the terrorists do not threaten only Syria and Iraq. They extend across borders, threatening all the world.²⁴ If the authority of a state can be diluted, from one day to another, through the lack of response, the fight for resources leaves them frontally open for the third millennium also. Who needs bombs? Did Vladimir Putin consider only by accident that "the financing of the Islamic State comes from 40 states, including from several G20 states"²⁵?

Considering the course of the geopolitical events, the words are useless! The oil resources remain one of the main topics for the secret Chancelleries, while legitimating the actions for taking over these resources forces us to understand that the details make all the difference! Certainly, the intelligence analysis offers solutions, but not decisions! In whose interest is it that terrorism exists?! Who are the terrorists?? Terrorism, where to?

²⁴<https://timpolis.ro/trebuie-sa-invatom-sa-traim-cu-teroristii/>, (15.11.2019)

²⁵<https://europunkt.ro/2017/10/15/interviu-prof-univ-dr-nicolae-radu-in-fata-amenintarii-teroriste-cooperarea-internationala-este-mai-necesara-decat-oricand/>, (17.1.2019)

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MIGRATION FLOWS AND ECONOMIC DATA ANALYSIS

Abstract:	<i>The recent international economic and financial crisis has a number of ramifications that reflect, inter alia, adjustments in international migration flows. Immigration is amongst the most crucial and vibrant phenomena in the world, particularly in the European area, which is currently under severe migration pressure, on the one side, due to geopolitical reshuffling at international scale, and on the other, because the whole European framework appears to be a "land of opportunity" for population groups of countries that have lived through a long period of time. The short-term impact of recessions on foreign migration are characterized by a reduction in the flow of migrants into crisis-hit developed countries, a rise in the flow of migrants, and the introduction of government policies that attract unemployed immigrants to resettlement.</i> <i>Contemporary demographic movements, furthermore, consider taking on increasingly complicated dimensions, such as inland, circular and short or medium-sized transnational movements, which also render it extremely difficult to adhere to the classic typology of (permanent or prolonged) migration from one country (origin) to another (establishment). This study tries to include the available data as far as the economic consequences of migration in EU countries and especially Greece.</i>
Keywords:	Migration Flows; Data Economic Analysis; Discussion
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Introduction

Experiences of past financial crises (such as the Great Depression of the 1930s, the Oil Crisis of 1973/4, the Latin American crisis of 1998-2002) demonstrate that brief-term effects usually

involve, among others, modifications in international migration flows to and from countries involved by acute deflationary

economic circumstances²⁶. The globalization of the economy is also correlated to migration, in the context that migrants from poorly developed or underdeveloped countries, both countries of origin and hosting countries, are trying to seek access to international market and global capital.²⁷

In the second period of the economic crisis, from 2015 onwards, Greece endured unique migration flows from Asia and Africa, without eventually overcoming its "pending issues" on migration compliance over the last two and a half decades. There really is no argument that the spotlight is on the plethora of new immigrants or refugees, the increases in legal residence in the country of asylum seekers, as well as the implications of their massive entrance into the Greek labor force and the livelihood of indigenous people. While unique sociopolitical – and, in particular, kinetic – variables guarantee that xenophobic and racist attitudes and practices dominate both inland and inland islands, structured institutional interventions are rather disappointing.

By implementing naively idealistic conceptual principles, the UN continues to deny the ability of EU Member States to influence their external borders or even their internal territory. The media also misidentifies the migrant population as

refugees from Syria or Iraq. Nonetheless, according to Eurostat reports, it points out that only 21 per cent arrive from Syria, while the real number is actually less than 20 per cent. Another intriguing demographic component is that the overwhelming majority of incoming people-62%-are young men, while women represent only 16%. As a result, increasing population flows include several potentially refugee populations (Syrians, Iraqis, Libyans, Afghans), but also immigrant populations (other peripheral countries), i.e. individuals migrate to Europe not due to internal unrest or fear of persecution, but for economic or residential reasons²⁸.

Discussion

The destination of refugees and migrant movements is Europe as the cornerstone of the process. The countries of Europe, and in general those with a lengthened coastline or located in the Mediterranean area (Greece, Italy, Malta, Spain), are subjected to massive immigration and refugee flows from the region or inland.

Frontex data indicates that between 2007 and 2015, unauthorized migrants to the European Union had surpassed 3,000,000 people, of whom 58,4% or 1,800,000 reached Greece. For the four-year period 2015-2018 specifically, the number of foreign nationals arriving on European territory is almost 2,000,000²⁹.

According to the same publication, the overall number of entrants to third countries in Europe is forecasted to exceed

²⁶ Khalid Koser, *The impact of financial crises on international migration: Lessons learned*. Migration Research Series No. 37. Geneva: IOM; Castles, S. 2009. Migration and the global financial crisis: A virtual symposium. Update 1.A: An overview. [http://www.age-ofmigration.com/uk/financialcrisis/updates/1a.pdf., (15.10.2019)]

²⁷ Owen T., *Migrant Workers: Best Practices Regarding Integration and Citizenship*, Workshop of International Experts on Best Practices Related to Migrant Workers, Santiago, Chile, 19-20.06.2000

²⁸ Eurostat (ed.), *Asylum Quarterly Report*, 16/9/2015

FtsHzf; United Nations (Ed.), *Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response-*

Mediterranean, http://goo.gl/47BF1N.

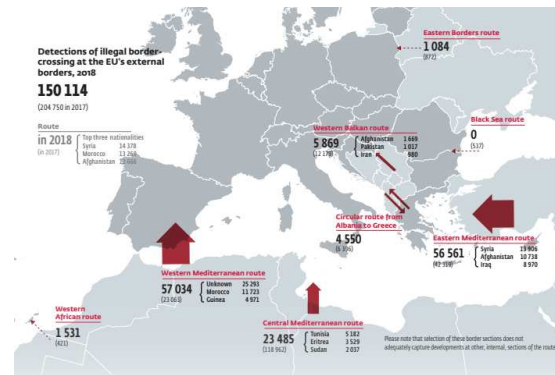
²⁹ Frontex annual risk analysis 2015

one million in 2015, while according to UNHCR data, the total number of entrants to Greece has exceeded 856,723 persons. More than 50 percent of the above people migrated in Lesbos, while the other major entryways were other islands, such as Chios, Samos, Kos, Leros, Agathonisi and Kastelorizo³⁰. Of all these individuals, by the end of 2018, a total of just over 52,000 had claimed asylum, of which 35,000 remained in mainland Greece and the remainder of the islands, whereas another 30,000 had been identified as refugees. According to the prevailing hypothetical situation in the demographic trends of social scientists, subsequent migration will not outperform 100,000 permanent residents in the coming years and is expected to have a commensurate and polished distribution across the country³¹.

For the third year in a row after the European migration crisis of 2015, the amount of detections of illegal immigration along the external borders of the EU has decreased substantially. In 2018, Member States confirmed 150 114 occurrences of illegal border crossings along the external borders of the EU, a reduction of 27 per cent particularly in comparison to 2017 (about 12 per cent of the 1.8 million detection methods at the height of the migration crisis).

The decline in 2018 was just about entirely due to increased detections on the Central Mediterranean path. The ongoing migrant pressures on the western Mediterranean region and the once again increased pressure on the eastern Mediterranean path alert – among other

things evidence of continuing migration pressure – against overemphasis on the fact that the total number of detections has been at its lowest possible level since 2013³².



Graph: Detections of illegal border-crossing at the EU's external borders³³

Checking at the Member States recording the most detection systems – as well as nationalities – reveals the continued correlation between the significant changes in irregular migration patterns movements in the Western Mediterranean and, to a smaller degree, in the Eastern Mediterranean. Among the general tendency of dropping detections, Greece and Spain are predictably paying the price for this trend. Portugal, which is not entirely relevant to conventional migration routes, is also the consequence of migrants coming from Latin America on air destinations. The Brazilians were by far the largest minority reported, with detections more than doubling especially in comparison to 2017³⁴.

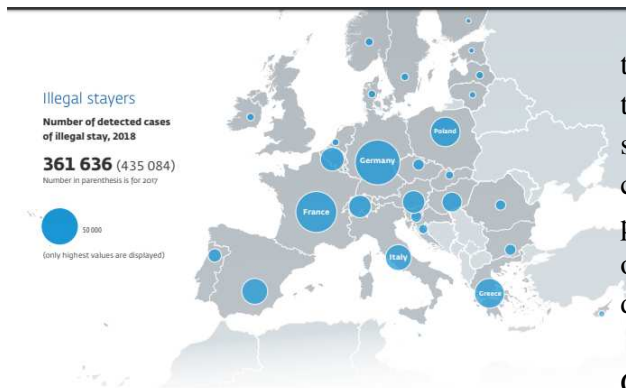
³⁰ Idem

³¹ Coleman, *Europe's Demographic Future: Determinants, Dimensions, and Challenges*, in "Population and Development Review, No. 32, The Political Economy of Global Population Change, 1950-2050", 2006, pp. 84-86

³² Frontex · Risk Analysis for 2019

³³ Idem

³⁴ Frontex · Risk Analysis for 2019



Graph: Illegal stayers³⁵

Emerging economic integration and globalization are of particular relevance in the context that migrants are among the basic components of globalization by promoting the creation of a fundamental, transnational labor market³⁶. The modifying geopolitical situation in the post-Cold War era, with the global economic collapse of communist states, modifying demographic changes and gender stereotypes, the predicted ageing population of the developed world's population and, at the same time, rapid population growth, as well as enhancing women's work, education and economic social position globally, are important elements impacting migration flows³⁷.

Analogously, Herm and Poulain point out that the primary fact still remains that while migration is more affected by short-term economic factors than other demographic events, there is no prompt update of data to analyze changes in migration flows in times of recession³⁸.

³⁵ Idem

³⁶ Philips Muus, *International migration and the European Union, Trends and Consequences*, in „European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research” No. 9, 2001, pp. 31-49

³⁷ OECD, *Migration Policies and EU Enlargement: The Case of Central and Eastern Europe*, in „International Migration”, 2001

³⁸ A. Herm; M. Poulain, *Economic crisis and international migration. What the EU data reveal?*,

Perhaps the most significant theoretical mid-level perspective is the theory of network or social capital that social networks and the capital of families, communities and the wider community perform a determining role in the decision of migrants to migrate to particular destinations³⁹.

Historically, it can be said that Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy have common migratory patterns. Even though—as discussed below—there are substantial differences between the four countries in terms of features and attracting factors—among other things—their economic growth has been one of the determinants of their shape as a migrant attraction⁴⁰.

A key feature of the Spanish immigration model is the large influx of immigrants - mainly since the mid-1990s - from former Spanish colonies to Latin America. In 2012 the number of foreign nationals was 5.4 million, half of whom are third-country nationals from Latin America (mainly from Ecuador and Colombia) but also from Africa (mainly from Morocco), with the rest coming from EU Member States (mainly from Romania)⁴¹.

In the context of the recent economic crisis, and mainly after 2010, there has

in „Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales”, No. 28(4), 2012, pp. 145-169

³⁹ T. Faist, *The volumes and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000

⁴⁰ J. Arango; C. Finotelli, *Past and future challenges of a Southern European migration regime: The Spanish case*, in “IDEA Working Papers”, No. 8, 2009

⁴¹ J. Arango; C. Bonifazi; C. Finotelli; J. Peixoto; C. Sabino; S. Strozza; A. Triandafyllidou, *The making of an immigration model: Inflows, impacts and policies in Southern Europe*, in “IDEA Working Papers”, No. 9, 2009; E. Gonzalez-Gago; M. Segales Kirzner, *Geographical labour mobility in the context of the crisis: Spain*. London: European Employment Observatory, National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 2013

been a decline in migratory inflows and an outflow of mainly Latin American nationals who either return to their countries of origin or head to more prosperous European countries but mainly to the Americas⁴².

Similar to Spain, Portugal, in the 1980s and early 1990s, migratory inflows were directly linked to the country's historical, linguistic, cultural and colonial links with immigrants who came mainly from Portuguese speaking countries and Brazil. However, in recent years, and mainly after the onset of the recent economic crisis, studies point to the increasing outflows of both Brazilians and citizens from Eastern European countries (mainly from Ukraine) who had entered the country and joined its workforce during the 1990s⁴³.

In 2012, foreigners were 4.39 million and accounted for 7.4% of the total Italian population. Most of them come from Romania, including third-country nationals, mainly from Albania and Morocco. Some studies have suggested that the recent economic crisis has not shown a dramatic change in migration movements in Italy, while others make an argument that, although no changes in the outflows of Italian nationals have been

identified, the crisis appears to have led to a slight increase in the outflows of third-country nationals and a decrease in inputs⁴⁴.

Specifically, there are significant variations in GDP per capita between 2008 and 2013, with Greece (-20) and Spain (-11) decreasing the most, and Italy (-7) declining marginally in Portugal (-2). Over the same period, public debt (as a percentage of GDP) of the countries under study increased, while in Greece from 109.4% in 2008 to 177.0% in 2013, recording the highest public debt in the Eurozone. In Spain, public debt is doubling (from 39.4% to 93.7%), Portugal from 71.7% in 2008 to 129.0% in 2013, while the slightest increase is in Italy (from 102.3% to 128.8%)⁴⁵.

The consequences of the economic recession are expressed, inter alia, in the significant increase in poverty and the comparatively high level of unemployment in the countries under observation and, in particular, in Greece and Spain⁴⁶.

⁴² J. Recaño; M. Roig; V. Miguel, *Spain: A new gravity centre for Latin American migration. Demographic Analysis of Latin American Immigrants in Spain*, in "Applied Demography Series", No. 5, , 2015, pp. 181-209

⁴³ J. Peixoto; C. Sabino, *Portugal: Immigration, the labour market and policy in Portugal: trends and prospects*, in "IDEA Working Papers", No. 6, 2013, Arango; C. Bonifazi; C. Finotelli; J. Peixoto; C. Sabino; S. Strozza; A. Triandafyllidou, *The making of an immigration model: Inflows, impacts and policies in Southern Europe*, in "IDEA Working Papers", No. 9, 2009; D. Justino, *Emigration from Portugal: Old wine in new bottles?*, Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2016

⁴⁴ OECD, *International migration outlook 2014*. Paris: OECD Publishing, 2016; F. Pastore; V. Claudia, *Italy*, in H. Duncan, J. Nieuwenhuysen; S. Neerup (eds), "International migration in uncertain times", pp. 109-128 MontrealKingston: McGill-Queen's University Press; G. Ciccarone, *Geographical labour mobility in the context of the crisis: Italy*. London, in "European Employment Observatory", National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 2013

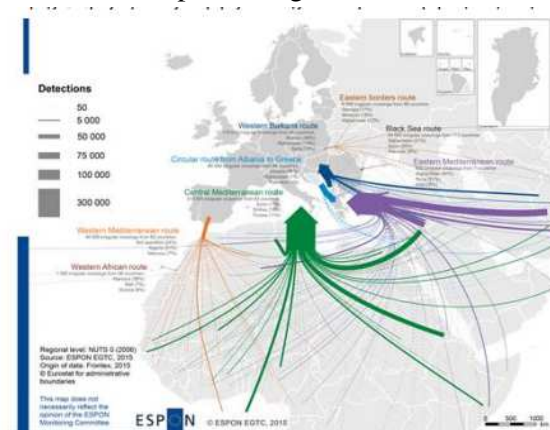
⁴⁵ R. Gutiérrez, *Welfare performance in Southern Europe: Employment crisis and poverty risk*, in "South European Society and Politics", 19(3), 2016, pp. 371-392

M. Matsaganis; Ch. Leventi, *The distributional impact of austerity and the recession in Southern Europe*, South European Society&Politics, 19(3), 2014, pp. 393-412

⁴⁶ OECD, *International migration outlook 2013*. Paris, OECD Publishing, 2013 D. Karantinos, *Geographical labour mobility in the context of the crisis: Greece*. London, in "European Employment Observatory", National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 2013

Disadvantageous employment conditions influence specific population groups to a greater extent-and in line with previous recessions-and may be main factors in determining of resettlement for both foreign and indigenous populations.

International experience of past economic downturns suggests that foreigners, and in particular third-country nationals, are among the primary victims, as they are primarily financially supported in sectors (e.g. construction, manufacturing, etc.) that are especially vulnerable in times of crisis and often occupy temporary and part-time jobs in low-skilled professions. Unfavorable working conditions can be important factors in repatriating foreigners from countries experiencing severe recidivism⁴⁷.



Graph: Main irregular border crossings depending on nationality⁴⁸

The fundamental predominant approach to ' securitisation of migration ' illustrates the perception that the stability

⁴⁷ D. Papademetriou; M. Sumption; A. Terrazas, *Migration and immigrants two years after the financial collapse: where do we stand?* Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute; OECD, *International migration and the economic crisis: Understanding the links and shaping policy responses*, Paris, OECD Publishing, 2009

⁴⁸ ESPON, *Territorial and urban aspects of migration and refugee*, 2015, inflow., <https://www.espon.eu/main/>, (18.10.2019)

of developed countries and their populations is a necessity, while disregarding the fact that refugees and refugee movements are the direct consequence of human protection of these communities in the least stable in economic means countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.⁴⁹ Therefore, phenomena such as trafficking in individuals, smuggling of human beings and the proliferation of irregular migration are the adverse effects of policies on immigration⁵⁰.

The implementation of a mandatory refugee resettlement system in all EU countries is only a temporary measure that can not be expanded, as it will continue to entice new migrant flows if the division by country is a legally binding fact⁵¹. Consequently, the reinforcement of the EU's humanitarian aid and civil protection system and the exceptional financial support for the states of entry of refugees and migrants are only medium-term approaches that resolve the effects and not the causes of the migration and economic crisis⁵².

Worth mentioning a surprising data mentioning that according to the Global Wealth Migration Review, Greece is

⁴⁹ D. Bigo, *Security and immigration: Towards a critique of the governmentality of unease*, in "Alternatives: Global, Local Political", Vol. 27, 2002, pp. 63-92

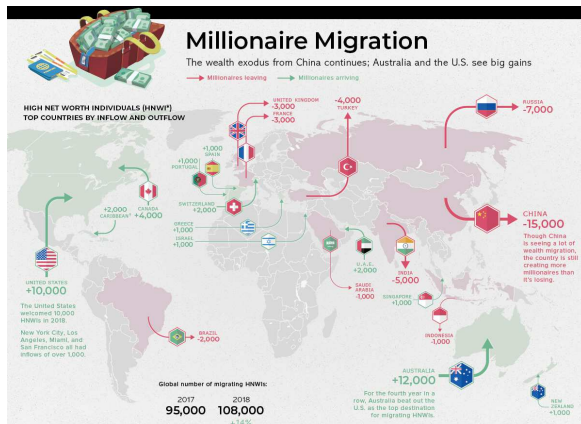
⁵⁰ A.G., Papadopoulos, *Migration and Security Threats*, in "Southeastern Europe, Southeast European and Black Sea Studies", Vol. 11, No 4, 2011, pp. 451-469

⁵¹ A. Muxel, *Young People and Politics*, in P. Perrineau & L. Rouban (eds.), *Politics in France and Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009

⁵² V. Smil, *The Next 50 Years: Unfolding Trends*, in "Population and Development Review" Vol.31, No. 4 (12/2005), pp. 605-643;

E. Kaufmann, *Shall the Religious Inherit the Earth?*, Profile Books, New York, 2012, pp. 181-182.

facing a modest inflow of wealth persons as shown in the below graph⁵³.



Graph : Millionaire Migration⁵⁴

Conclusions

The evaluation of the budgetary aspects of modern immigration to Greece addresses a major question of political interest for two reasons. First, the economic activity and implications of the involvement of hundreds of thousands of migrants on the budgetary indicators is one of the core areas to be taken into consideration when implementing their national policies on immigration. Second, even though there are substantial differences and exhilarating scientific and political controversies about the methods used, the assumptions in question are preferentially exploited by different interest groups and are clearly intended to influence government policies.

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⁵³ “AfrAsia Global Wealth Migration Review“, 2018

⁵⁴ Idem

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THE BLACK SEA REGION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE GEOPOLITIC INTERESTS OF THE MAJOR POWERS

Abstract:	<i>The Black Sea region over the centuries played an important geostrategic role in the relations between the great powers. Currently, at the confluence of two Versailles culture and religions, the Christian and Islamic and many nations, the Black Sea is a space of both convergence and collision of the interests of the riparian countries, but also of the various international actors.</i> <i>This article outlines the main interests of the great powers. Thus, the geostrategic, political-military and geo-economic interests of the US and NATO, the Russian Federation, and, incidentally, those of the EU are under investigation.</i>
Keywords:	Black Sea basin; Russia; US; EU; NATO; Geopolitical interest; Geostrategic interest; Geo-economic interest
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Introduction

Over the centuries, geographically, geo-economically and geostrategically, the importance of the Black Sea was mainly based on the role that the region played by major powers and empires (Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, Russian). It was simultaneously a connecting bridge and a border, a buffer zone and transit between West and East, between South and North. In addition, the Black Sea has been and continues to be a connecting point for trade for the energy-

rich regions⁵⁵. In this context, the geopolitical energy axis joining Caspian Sea, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea deserve attention. Oleoducts and pipelines are the connecting routes for these spaces. The Black Sea region of *Stricto Senso* includes the territorial sea and the coast of Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, the Russian Federation, Turkey,

⁵⁵ Elena Dana Frunzeti, *Politici şi interese energetice în spaţiul Mării Caspice*, http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/pdf_publicatii/is18.pdf, (12.11.2019)

Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova⁵⁶. There are three NATO member states and two EU Member States around the Black Sea. A number of political transformations have prompted advances to democratic regimes in other states in the region. The area of the Black Sea basin continues to be transformed⁵⁷.

The Black Sea region is the South Caucasus, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine and some of the EU Member States (and therefore the Union)⁵⁸.

The Black Sea Basin is the aquatic space with an area of 413 000 km², with a length of 1 150 km from the West to the East and 600 km from the North to the South⁵⁹. The Black Sea region also includes a diversity of cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious identities. The heterogeneity is also met in terms of the structure, size and economic orientation of the countries of the Black Sea region. Surrounded by Europe, the Caucasus region of Anatolia, the Black Sea basin is connected to the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea to the south through the Bosphorus Strait and the Marmara Sea⁶⁰. The Black Sea as a region has been disputed in the light of its dual bridge or frontier vocation. The size of the Black Sea

and the increase of the projection capabilities of the forces, plus the fact that it is a great internal power, with a unique way of exiting the planetary ocean and the one controlled by a single state, Turkey⁶¹.

Being at the confluence of two cultures and universal religions, the European Christian and Islamic, and many families of nations, the Black Sea is a space of both convergence and collision of the interests of the riparian countries and also of the various international actors. The geopolitical and security developments in the Black Sea region, the geographic position of the region, the risks and threats to stability in the area, political, economic and military aspects of cooperation are issues that further attract the interest of the international community, European and Euro-Atlantic organizations, generates a closer look at the area's problem. In the context of new realities, geopolitics and geostrategic, Euro-Atlantic, as a result of the enlargement of NATO and the European Union, gives the Black Sea basin the characteristics of a geostrategic space of importance⁶².

It is an intersection of strategic directions and routes that provide the connections between the West and the Orient, competition, cooperation between important international actors, from different economic and social collocations and antagonistic value systems. Since 2004, the Black Sea has been defined as the eastern limit of the EU and NATO, located in the vicinity of the CIS and the

⁵⁶ Teodor Frunzeti, *Securitate în regiunea Mării Negre*, in "Revista de Științe Militare", No. 2 (43) Anul XVI, 2016, pp.5-11, <http://aos.ro/wp-content/anale/R-S-M-Vol-16-Nr2Full.pdf>, (12.11.2019)

⁵⁷ S. Oğan, *The Black Sea: new arena for global competition*, <http://turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/sinan%20ogan.pdf> p.42, (12.11.2019)

⁵⁸ D. Triantaphyllou, *The 'security paradoxes' of the Black Sea region*, in "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies", Vol. 9, No. 3, September 2009, pp. 225-241

⁵⁹ G. C. Maior, S. Konopliov, *Cunoaștere strategică în zona extinsă a Mării Negre*, București, 2011. p. 251

⁶⁰ M. Țăranu, *Geopolitica. Concepte și teorii social-politice*. Iași, Institutul European, 2011

⁶¹ http://www.afsouth.nato.int/JFCN_Operations/ActiveEndeavour/Endeavour/Endeavour.htm http://www.nato.int/issues/active_endeavour/index.html, (11.12.2019)

⁶² Teodor Frunzeti, Vladimir Zodian, *Lumea 2009. Enciclopedie politică și militară (studii strategice și de securitate)*, Editura CTEA, București, 2009. p.1104

member states of the Collective Security Treaty Organization. The analyzed region also has a special economic value due to the presence of energy resources and terrestrial and marine raw materials, modern industrial capabilities, the number and degree of education of the population, the magnitude of regional and trans-regional trade etc.⁶³.

Also, the Black Sea Basin is a densely populated area with significant natural resources connected to the Mediterranean Sea through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and has direct links with important communication lines through the Danube, Volga, Don and Corridors on a land link from east to west Central Caucasus and Central Asia, and from north to south the Baltic region of South-Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean Sea. These routes have been used extensively for both military campaigns and trade since the establishment of the first Greek colonies along the shores. The only time the Black Sea represented a "frozen lake" and the communication channels were interrupted was during the 50 years of the Cold War when the border between the two blocks was practically the center of the region.

Black Sea in the context of the major powers interests

The geostrategic importance of the Black Sea Basin over the centuries has been based on the role played by the region, being both a bridge and a border, a buffer zone and a transit zone between Europe and Asia at the intersection of former powers and empires. In addition, the Black Sea was a junction point for

trade routes and regions rich in energy resources. The Black Sea has always been a strategic area for the deployment and mobilization of the armed forces, both from the perspective of defensive and expansionary policies.

Its strategic position, between the hydrocarbs reserves in the Caspian Basin and Europe, places the Black Sea in a unique position. But while the opportunity to transfer Caspian oil and gas to European markets increases economic development and regional economic prosperity, competition for the control of pipelines, waterways and transport routes to ensure greater political and economic influence not only in the region, on a global scale, raises the risk of confrontation. At the same time, the proliferation of routes, while the potential for increasing bilateral cooperation to the detriment of the region can at the same time lead to redundancy due to too many capacities for not sufficient gas and oil⁶⁴.

In the context of the analysis of the Black Sea Basin, consideration should be given to analyzing the geopolitical and geostrategic interests of the actors present in the region. Thus, in the Black Sea region can be assessed under the following headings:

- 1) Global Powers: United States, European Union and Russia;
- 2) Regional Powers: Turkey, Ukraine, and Romania. These actors have difficulties in formulating policies independent of global actors, so they have to work in coordination with them;
- 3) International Organizations: NATO, EU, OSCE, GUAM, Black Sea

⁶³ Elena Dana Frunzeti, *Politici și interese energetice în spațiul Mării Caspice*, p.492, la http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/pdf_publicatii/is18.pdf, (14.11.2029)

⁶⁴ *A 2020 Vision for the Black Sea Region A Report by the Commission on the Black Sea*, http://aei.pitt.edu/74137/1/2020_Vision_for_the_Black_Sea.pdf, (13.10.2019)

Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC)⁶⁵.

Thus, by looking at the strategic interests of the Russian Federation, the US and including those of the EU in the Black Sea Basin, these can be examined from several perspectives

Geostrategic interest

After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, newly created states are in the orbit of different power centers. This also applies to Ukraine, Belarus, and the Caucasus states, including the Republic of Moldova, for which both the Russian Federation and the US and the EU are interested. In the early 2000s, geopolitical competition for control over the Black Sea Basin began between the West and Russia⁶⁶.

Analyzing the position of the Black Sea from a geopolitical and geostrategic perspective, we could determine the causes of the geopolitical, geostrategic and geo-economic competition triggering the interests of the Russian Federation and the USA, EU and NATO for this space. What are the US, NATO and EU interests towards Ukraine?⁶⁷. The main actors of the new strategic scenario that is portrayed in the Black Sea border, with the Caspian oil stake, are the United States of America, Russia and the European Union.

⁶⁵ Idem

⁶⁶ N. Raboteajev *Ucraina meĵdu Rossiei i Zapadom: opît gheopoliticeschih analiz În Mirovaia economica i Mejdunarodnîe Otnoşenia. (Работяжев, Н. Украина между Россией и Западом: опыт геополитического анализа, in "Мировая Экономика и Международные Отношения", № 9, 2008, p.75-83*

⁶⁷ Federalinîi zakon ot (Федеральный закон от)28.12.2010 № 390-ФЗ (ред. от 05.10.2015) (o bezopastnosti)"О безопасности", http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_108546/ (19.10.2019)

The United States of America is the benchmark on the "grand chessboard", primarily aimed at strengthening its position in the Black Sea area, its main pillar being geo-economic interest. The intention of removing the Russian monopoly over the Caspian energy exploitation and transport processes is also a strategic successor of the United States of America. In the context of the global anti-terror war, the United States is engaged in the modernization efforts of the Georgian and Azerbaijan armed forces, as well as in the process of monitoring and evaluating the Black Sea oil traffic, especially through the Turkish straits ⁶⁸. The significance of the Black Sea for the US is also important for the following reasons:

- Through the Black Sea, U.S.A. can control the "vulnerabilities" of Russia, the North Caucasus, and engage in different forms of provocation.
- Can increase the confidence and courage of Ukraine, Georgia, and the Republic of Moldova to manifest themselves as international law actors in the country, causing them to raise their voices against Russia.
- In addition to Iran, the Black Sea serves as a plateau to exert pressure on Middle East countries such as Iraq and Syria.
- The region is strategically important for the war on terror, which began in Afghanistan.
- The Black Sea region offers feasible opportunities for the isolation of Russia.
- NATO has included the region in the Partnership for Peace Program (PfP).
- The strategic position of the Black Sea could allow the mobilization of ships and

⁶⁸Teodor Frunzeti, *Securitate în regiunea Mării Negre.*, in "Revista de Ştiinţe Militare" ,Nr. 2 (43) Anul XVI, 2016, p.5-11, <http://aos.ro/wp-content/anale/R-S-M-Vol-16-Nr2Full.pdf>, (13.10.2019)

war bases in and around this region, which in practice could be used to conduct intelligence operations against Russia. The United States has also formulated a six-pronged strategy in the region:

- Frozen conflicts should be of higher priority: attention should be given to the conflicts in Transnistria - Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Russia's objectives are to create turmoil in these regions for its own interests and use conflicts to exert pressure on regional powers.
- Ukraine should focus on: The US considers that the coup in Ukraine is a positive development for the region⁶⁹.

Another factor regarding the United States and NATO has been to prevent new independent states from yielding to Russian influence or pressure. The US has reassessed its geostrategic interest in the area and added a military dimension to its strategy to strengthen NATO's role. This has led to a predictable response from Russia. The United States has sought to develop a more coherent and comprehensive strategy towards the Black Sea Region. This had three main points. First of all, US administrations have paid special attention to promoting democracy and the market economy. This approach has focused on greater political freedom, as a result of free and fair elections, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the transparency of market economies. Second, priority was given to the energy issue and the expansion of free trade. This includes an increase in the number of gas and oil pipelines; an increase in trade and

economic development due to improvements in transport and infrastructure communications; and the promotion of tourism, customs cooperation, environmental protection, etc.

Security is the third pillar of the US approach in the region. In this case, the main focus was on combating terrorism, organized crime and smuggling with weapons of mass destruction, a strengthened border security regime and a civil-military response. Of particular importance in this regard was the US support for the Black Sea Border Security Initiative and the Black Sea Civil Emergency Response Plan, funded by the US Department of Defense, which is designed to improve cross-border coordination. For improving the profile in the area, the US has developed close bilateral security ties with regional actors such as Georgia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania.

If we are to analyze the interest of the USA, NATO and the EU for the Black Sea Basin, then we can see that it serves as a tool for coercion and stopping Russia's expansionist interests and ambitions - Ukraine's independence from Russia and its inclusion in the sphere of influence of the US and NATO. As stated in 1997 Zb. Brzezinski, the purpose of the US lies in "not admitting the creation of an Eurasian empire that would be able to put an end to US geostrategic trends and goals." US goals in the Black Sea Basin focus on ensuring geopolitical pluralism in the post-Soviet space. Goals and interests in the Black Sea Basin are also NATO, although in principle they coincide with US interests. Firstly, it aims at extending the Alliance to the East. In the event of joining NATO, Ukraine, it will soon be the role of "keeping" the Russian Federation in its

⁶⁹ *Regional Cooperation in the Black Sea. Building an inclusive, innovative, and integrated region* https://www.bstadb.org/publications/Regional_Cooperation_in_the_Black_Sea.pdf, (13.10.2019)

expansionist tendencies and of participating, as necessary, in the formation of a new "health cordon", which would allow division, removal of Russia from the states of the European Union.

Speaking about the interests of NATO member states, according to F. Cune, there are five reasons for showing interest in this area:

1. Geographic and geostrategic location of the region;
2. The role of the Central Caucasus for Eurasian security;
3. Total unexploded gas reserves in the Caspian basin;
4. The presence of problems with the threat and spread of the weapons of mass destruction;
5. Not admitting the hegemony of a power in the area⁷⁰. In the context of the analysis of the interests of the great powers in the Black Sea Basin, attention is drawn to the interests expressed by the Russian Federation in the region. Thus, for the Russian Federation, the Black Sea area is a fundamental strategic objective, and in its relationship with the riparian states it imposes a status equal to that of the North Atlantic Alliance. Being one of the main actors, Russia's main concern in the "near neighborhood" is to maintain and consolidate its power and to restrict the presence of other powers, building on the premise that Ukraine and Georgia considers Russia as a threat, but the Russian Federation, considers to be surrounded and covered by the West, the reason for maintaining

influence in the area is to achieve the interest - to ensure national security.

As the USA exercised simultaneous military and political influence on the Black Sea through the expansion of NATO in the region, the Russian Federation considers it the intensity of the Russian fencing fear was evident during the August 2008 crisis. For this reason, Russia's interests in the Black Sea region could be defined as follows:

- given the growing influence of regional and global actors in the Black Sea region, the Russian Federation is trying to maintain its position as one of the main actors in the region;
- to prevent the emergence of problems or projects that are not under Russian control;
- preventing the emergence of anti-Russian military coalitions;
- preventing countries in the region from joining NATO; and 5) fighting and suppressing separatism, fundamentalism and terrorism⁷¹.

The Russian Federation has faced a crisis in the last decade as a result of the loss of the status of the second world superpower. Simultaneously with the developments in the Yugoslav crisis and the serious involvement of the US in the region, Moscow has abandoned the claims of political hegemony in Southeast Europe. Analysts believe that today's Russia focuses on the issues of corporate restructuring and strengthening the CIS while at the same time diversifying its partnerships with the US and the EU and its relations with the countries of the Far East. The Russia-US Partnership is perceived in Moscow as a global

⁷⁰ F. Cune, *NATO I Iujnii Kavkaz. Cavcazchii institute mira, democratii I razvitia. Tbilisi* (Куне, Ф. *НАТО и Южный Кавказ*. Кавказский институт мира, демократии и развития. Тбилиси), 2003, pp.13-14.

⁷¹ I. Chifu, *Gândire strategică*. Editura Institutul de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale. București 2003, p. 334

understanding, and the Russian-NATO Partnership (renewed in May 2002) addresses the issue of combating terrorism, cross-border crime and the proliferation of nuclear weapons⁷².

The Black Sea region is an extremely important area of Russia's foreign policy, due to its geopolitical importance and the specificity of Russia's interests during the difficult transition period. The concept of "Neighborhood" was developed to reflect the sudden replacement of the former Soviet republics by sovereign states, generating widespread concerns also in the Black Sea area.

There are a number of reasons for Russia's interests in this area. For Russia, the Black Sea has always been a gateway to the world oceans. The region is also a natural bastion for Russia and is marked by a number of potentially destabilizing factors such as the alarming situation in Transcaucasia and North Caucasus, a terrible crisis in the Balkans, the Kurdish issue and the perceived situation around Iran and Iraq. In addition, many Russian regions have maintained strong economic links with the Black Sea area. Russia faces a transformation of the geopolitical environment in the Black Sea region, clearly marked by an increasing number of international actors in the area⁷³.

The Kremlin considers Georgia and the Caucasus to be exactly what the White House thinks of Central America: its own

playground backyard⁷⁴. The Kremlin does not see the growing involvement of the United States in Central Asia and the Caucasus in the area of influence that Russia regards as its own.

On this aspect, essentially geopolitical, he attracted the attention and report of the "Strategic Studies Institute". The huge US investments in the two mentioned giant pipelines - pipelines deliberately diverting the very turbulent Russian territory from Central Asia-Caucasus, establishing US bases in the region and supporting pro-American governments in the area, lead to counter-Russian reactions⁷⁵.

South Caucasus is regarded by Russia as "close neighborhood". So, it is a Russian military zone for intervention, if necessary. What turns the conflict in the Caucasus into a major international crisis, with possible big "surprises" in the future. Moscow has already made known its ambitions to restore a "Russian orbit," composed of states belonging to the "close neighborhood", Ukraine, Belarus and the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. The Russian energy giants RAO and the UES - where most of the actions are held by the Government - have begun a major operation to restore this regional supremacy. RAO acquired most of the energy actions in Armenia and Georgia and announced plans to export energy to Turkey and Azerbaijan⁷⁶.

⁷² Eugen Bădălan, *Repere ale construcției arhitecturii de securitate în arealul Mării Negre*, http://cssas.unap.ro/ro/pdf_publicatii/is18.pdf, (13.10.2019)

⁷³ E. Büyükkınci, *Security issues and patterns of cooperation in the Black Sea region*, in "Security in the Black Sea Region Policy Report II", Commission of the Black Sea, p. 23

⁷⁴ *La mer Noire et les intérêts qu'elle suscite*, <https://l-express.ca/la-mer-noire-et-les-interets-quelle-suscite/>, (13.10.2019)

⁷⁵ Teodor Frunzeti, *Securitate în regiunea Mării Negre*, "Revista de Științe Militare", Nr. 2 (43), Anul XVI, 2016, p.5-11, <http://aos.ro/wp-content/anale/R-S-M-Vol-16-Nr2Full.pdf>, (13.10.2019)

⁷⁶ Idem

Moreover, the overlapping of the NATO-EU border on the Black Sea by the accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the Alliance is explicitly perceived by Russia as a direct threat to its security, for which it feels right to remodel "geostrategic practices specific to the Cold War and abandoned in 1992. The Russian Federation's military manifestations in fact mark the Kremlin's tendency to resume the force policy before the collapse of communism on the one hand and on the other hand a hard exercise image⁷⁷.

Political-military interest

The Black Sea Basin for the Russian Federation is also an interest from a political-military perspective. Thus, analyzing the political and military interests of the Russian Federation in Eastern Europe, they, depending on the geographical position of the states, have their degree of manifestation. Ukraine's independence has deprived Russia of its dominant position in the Black Sea, where Odessa was a vital gateway to trade with the Mediterranean and the world beyond. Ukraine's loss is a loss of geopolitical pivot because it has limited Russia's geostrategic options in the Black Sea basin. By keeping control of Ukraine, Russia could still try to be the leader of a Eurasian empire in which Moscow dominated non-Slavs in the south and south-east of the former USSR.

The loss of the Baltic Sea dominant position is repeated in the Black Sea not only because of Ukraine's independence but also because of the independence of the Caucasian states - Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Prior to 1991, the Black Sea

was the starting point for Russian naval power in the Mediterranean.

Following the Russian-Turkish wars, Russia gained access to the Black Sea in 1783. At the beginning of the twentieth century and during the Second World War, 1939-1945, the Black Sea fleet was one of the main military forces. Immediately after the collapse of the USSR, the maritime fleet became a patrimony of the CIS, and on April 5, by signing by the President of Ukraine the Decree on "The means of establishing the maritime forces of Ukraine", according to which "the Black Sea maritime fleet passes under the jurisdiction of Ukraine and its basis became the armed forces of Ukraine".

Russia's reaction was immediate. Already on April 7th the same year, the President of the Russian Federation issues the decree by which the Black Sea maritime fleet falls under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. Over the course of 7 years, there have been disputes to resolve this issue. Only on May 28, 1997, the signing of the Agreement on the Black Sea Fleet Splitting Parameters - "Status and conditions of the Russian Federation's fleet on the territory of Ukraine", "Mutual calculations for the division of the Black Sea Maritime Fleet on the Ukrainian territory".

All these agreements have been concluded for a period of 20 years, being automatically extended for a period of 5 years if one of the parties does not require their termination. These agreements allowed the signature of the Russian-Ukrainian Friendship and Cooperation Agreement on 31 May 1997, according to which the maritime fleet will not have nuclear weapons in its arsenal. The purpose of finding these forces in the

⁷⁷ G. Nicolaescu, *Geopolitica securității*, Editura Universitatea Națională de Apărare Carol I, București, 2010, p. 299

Black Sea aquatic territories is to ensure the safety and exploration of the sea.

Thus, until the 2014 events in Ukraine, with the annexation of Crimea to the Russian Federation, in the Black Sea waters there were 388 units. Basically, 70% of the Russian Black Sea Fleet's infrastructure is in the Crimean area. Also, the maritime fleet also had deployments in Sevastopol (Sevostopolskaia, Iujnaia, Karantinnaia, Kazacia), Feodosia and Nikolaev - for the repair of seagoing vessels. The Director of the Institute of CIS States mentioned that in August 1992, the Black Sea Maritime Fleet consisted of 894 vessels, the maritime aviation had 400 aircraft, the land forces had 28 anti-missile shields, 258 medium-sized tanks, 826 armored vehicles, 457 artillery systems. Aircraft fleet coverage was performed by the FAA (Anti-Air Force) forces. Under those conditions, the fleet was located on the Black Sea coast from the Danube Delta to Batumi.

Its foundations were located on a length of 1,750 kilometers, 200 kilometers from the seaside. Also in the defense system were the bases of Bulgaria, Syria, Egypt and other Mediterranean countries, which constituted a ratio of 2.5: 1 in favor of the USSR⁷⁸.

Already in 1997, the fleet's arsenal shrinks considerably (by 2014 there is only one submarine), the seaside division is reformed, and the foundations of the cities of Simferopol, Eupatoria, Perevalinoe and Megorya are lost. The 31 tanks (reduced by 8 times), 211 armored vehicles (reduced by 4 times), 54 weapons and mine

launchers (reduced by 6 times), and marine aviation has been fully liquidated⁷⁹. A part of the air force was transferred to the Novorossiysk region. All these reductions denote the considerable weakening of the Russian Federation's maritime and military power in the Black Sea.

In this context, it is also possible to mention the request of the Ukrainian side to submit to it all its naval and hydrographic objects, motivating the responsibility for the security of swimming in the aquatic territories belonging to Ukraine.

As a result of the submitted requirements, the procedure for the liquidation and withdrawal of Russian objects is taking place. Claims against Russia also had the Crimean Property Fund, according to which the Black Sea fleet of the Russian Federation illegally uses 96 objects from the Crimea. Another requirement from Ukraine concerns the revision of the cost of renting the bases on which Russian naval forces are deployed. Although there in the agreements is stipulated the amount of 97 million. US \$ annually⁸⁰, Kiev quite often raised this issue, showing a firm position.

An issue not less important in the Russian-Ukrainian relations is the delimitation of the maritime borders between the states of the Strait of Kerch and the Azov Sea. Until the collapse of the USSR, the Sea of Azov was largely internal, and, according to the principles of international law, the Kerch Strait was a way of internal waters with a "strait" status. The borders between the Crimean and the Krasnodar regions as part of a state were purely nominal. With the

⁷⁸ Ecsper: *Rasshirenie NATO na vostoc vozniclo iz za ošibchi Gorbaciova*. (Эксперт: *Расширение НАТО на восток возникло из-за ошибки Горбачева*), <http://www.regnum.ru/news/polit/1010280.html>, (13.10.2019)

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p.108

⁸⁰ Ibidem, p.108

disappearance of the Soviet Union on the international arena, this border becomes interstate, the Strait of Kerch and the island of Tuzla pass under the jurisdiction of Ukraine.

Under these circumstances, both the military and civilian ships to pass through the Sea of Azov to Rostov, Taganrog, Eisk, Temriuk, Caucasus Port, have to pay the fee for transiting and operating the straits (annually over 2000 ships). Ukraine, in this case, accounts for 70% of the Azov Sea water area, rich in various species of fish, multiplied by only Russia, with the exploration of the mineral resources on the coast and about 120 gas and oil. Negotiations have been taking place since 1992, but by 2014 the issue remains unresolved, leading to disputes and conflicts⁸¹.

The Russian Federation is also limited by NATO and Ukrainian joint military and naval maneuvers, including Turkey's growing role in the Black Sea region. The geostrategic interests of the Russian Federation in the Ukrainian area are quite visible lately, and the events in Kiev on Ukraine's integration policy in the European Union show us once more the tendency to maintain the former union republics in its sphere of influence. In this context, the fight for Crimea, a geostrategic point of the Russian Federation in the Black Sea basin, the involvement of the armed forces in the Donbas, and Lugansk area can be mentioned. Also, the Russians viewed the Orange Revolution of Ukraine in December 2004-January 2005 as an attempt by the US to attract Ukraine into

NATO and to prepare the scene for Russia to disintegrate⁸².

The political-military aspect of the Russian Federation's interests is also present in Armenia. Thus, in 1995 the Russian-Armenian agreement on the location of the Russian Military Base 102 in Armenia was signed. The location of this strategic object serves as a pretext for the Russian Federation to protect Armenia from possible intervention by Turkey and Azerbaijan. On August 20, 2010, Russia and Armenia signed a Protocol (No 15) to Yerevan to extend until 2044 the term of application of the 1995 Inter-State Agreement on the Russian military base no. 102 in Gyumri, a locality in northern Armenia.

The protocol was signed by Defense Ministers of the two countries, Seiran Oganian and Anatoli Serdiukov, in the presence of Presidents Dmitry Medvedev and Serje Sargsian. The Russian-Armenian agreement on the Gyumri Military Base originally provided that Russian military troops would be stationed in Armenia for 25 years (by 2020). Protocol No. 15, signed on August 20, provides for a term of 49 years, to be calculated from the entry into force of the Interstate Agreement. A new element brought by Protocol no. 15 is the possibility of automatically extending, after 2044, the term of the Russian-Armenian Agreement every five years, "if neither party expresses a contrary will"⁸³.

Military presence needs to be examined in a complex way with other aspects of foreign policy and state

⁸² George Friedman, *Următorii 100 de ani. Previziuni pentru secolul XXI*, Editura Litera, București, 2009, p. 69

⁸³ *Armata rusă rămâne în Armenia până în anul 2044*, <http://archiva.flux.md/articole/10207/>, (13.11.2019)

⁸¹ Ibidem, pp.109-111

economy. The Military Base in Gyumri includes motorized subdivisions, tanks and artillery. The force is 3,500 soldiers, including some of the officers transferred to Armenia as a result of the withdrawal of Russian military forces from Batumi and Ahalkalaki (Georgia) in 2007 and currently located in Ghiumri, Erbuni and Yerevan.

Thus, in the absence of a full Russian security system, the Gyumri Base is just one point, which serves Armenia's interests, but which, in the future, can be seen as a potential for strengthening Russia's influence in the region. Russia's pragmatism lies in prolonging its military presence and ensuring its presence in the event of a possible confrontation with the interests of the US, Turkey, and Iran. The Russian Federation also assumed the responsibility to protect the 345-km-long Armenian-Turkish border and the Armenian-Iranian border segment of 45 km⁸⁴. In the case of the withdrawal of the Russian Federation from the region, other powers would claim to impose their presence in Armenia. Thus, withdrawing from Armenia, the Russian Federation is aware that the degree of danger to Russia's security would increase considerably, and its economic interests in Azerbaijan would also be limited. Against the backdrop of the events in Ukraine, Armenia seems to be a stable partner of the Russian Federation⁸⁵.

During the Soviet period, the region inherited a potentially strong nuclear

power and structure. The Caucasus states, especially Georgia, have deposits such as uranium. The Institute of Physics and Technology in Sukhumi can be considered one of the dangerous objects of the USSR. Due to the conflict with Abkhazia it cannot be controlled. Also, the Medzamore nuclear power plant (Armenia) can lead to a similar catastrophe to Chernobyl's impact on Turkey's markets as well. NATO allies also worry that states such as Iran, Iraq and Pakistan may demand exploring this region in the region. Thus, the Caucasus has an important role to play in US, NATO and EU policy. Enforcing a monopoly of power in the region could deprive the US and the European states of income.

No less interest raises the issue of the fleet of Black Sea coastal states. On 2 April 2001, they established a naval cooperation body called the BLACKSEAFOR Black Sea Naval Joint Task Force (BLACKSEAFOR), aiming at mutual knowledge, confidence building and security in the Black Sea, the actions being focused on humanitarian issues, search-rescue, mines, pollution and so on. It can be used as a force in the Black Sea, but on request it can also intervene outside, in accordance with the agreement of the participating states.

There is a strong Russian military presence in the Crimea, which has led to certain disagreements between Russia and Ukraine on the status of the Black Sea Fleet and the strategic base of Sevastopol (June 1995 agreement on the Black Sea fleet allocates 81.7% of Russia and 18.7% of Ukraine). According to the military doctrine, the Russian Black Sea fleet will secure the defense of its own coasts, maintain capacity for the execution of the blockade, and be able to carry out an assault maritime long distance operation.

⁸⁴ *Voeno-tehnicescoe sotrudnicestvo mejdu Rossiei i Armeniei. Dosie. (Военно-техническое сотрудничество между Россией и Арменией. Досье)*, <http://tass.ru/info/803760>, (13.11.2019)

⁸⁵ Karavaev, A. *Rossiskaia baza v Armenii: pragmatizm ili dolgosrochnaia strateghia prisutstva.* (Караваев, А. *Российская база в Армении: прагматизм или долгосрочная стратегия присутствия?*), <http://ia-centr.ru/expert/8821/>, (13.11.2019)

Control zone of important frozen conflicts

In the geopolitical sense, the Black Sea position is the key to its importance for the entire South Caucasus, especially if the conflict between two countries in the region - Armenia and Azerbaijan is also taken into account. Because of its location among nations with systemic risk factors, as well as a very high degree of corruption, it has left the way for the development of this country.

Maintaining frozen conflicts is a geopolitical priority for the Russian Federation, as they are very important regional control levers, monitoring or involving armed forces in such conflicts is ensured by concluding bilateral agreements. Overall, Georgia can be considered a geopolitical "bridgehead" for the development of regional businesses and the promotion of economic interests in the area's local markets, the exploitation of mineral resources in the area, the use of labor, etc.⁸⁶. From a geostrategic point of view, on the one hand and the other on the Black Sea, the Balkans and especially the South Caucasus are characterized by numerous tensions and conflicts (Chechnya, South Ossetia, Transnistria, the Carabakh Mountain, Abkhazia etc.), for which international security organizations are working hard to solve⁸⁷.

Energy interest

The strategic importance of the Black Sea Basin lies also in the fact that

one of the two routes crossing the North Caucasus and reaching the Black Sea passes on its territory. The significance of Abkhazia is even greater, because it is on the Black Sea coast, and Sukhumi port is on its territory. On the other hand, Baku - Tbilisi - Ceyhan and Baku - Soupsa pipelines and the NABUCCO (Baku - Erzerum) gas pipeline have been designed in Georgia. Georgia also has several Black Sea ports (Suhumi, Poti, Soupsa, Koulevi and Batumi), which have become very active in oil exports to the EU. Russia does not control the supply routes, as is the case in Northern Caucasus routes (Baku - Novorossisk).

The importance of this area comes from the considerations of the geopolitical strategies of the great powers disputing the spheres of influence.

Construction of the Baku - Tbilisi - Ceyhan (BTC) pipeline, the Baku - Tbilisi - Erzerum pipeline and the Karas - Akhalkalai pipeline are part of a plan to capitalize Georgian geostrategic position between Europe and Asia. In geo-economic terms, Georgia is located on the shortest route connecting Europe to Asia, meaning that this territorial proximity has been transposed into other projects such as TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe Caucasus Asia) and INOGATE (Interstate Oil and Gas Transport to Europe) - projects in which Western economic functions and interests are visible in the economic development of the state.

The energy potential of the Caspian basin requires that these resources be transported through a branched pipeline system, some of which must cross Georgian territory. Currently, Georgia has two maritime terminals where Caspian oil is transported to other locations. One is located at Supsa, with a capacity of

⁸⁶M. Țăranu, *Geopolitica. Concepte și teorii social-politice*. Institutul European, Iași, 2011, pp.129-130

⁸⁷ *Black Sea bastion regional profile: the security situation and the region-building opportunities*. https://www.isis-bg.org/Research_Studies/Black_Sea_Basin_Regional_Profile/BlackSea1999_10-12.htm, (13.11.2019)

200,000 barrels per day, and the other in the Batumi port of the same capacity.

Georgia is an essential energy corridor towards the West and, along with other transit states, it has an obligation to guarantee the safety of oil and gas pipelines from the Azeri region of the Caspian Sea. Pipes are of great importance to the European Union because they reduce dependence on Russian supplies and do not cross Russian territory. The Baku - Tbilisi - Ceyhan oil pipeline has a total length of 1768 kilometers, of which 443 kilometers cross Azerbaijan, 249 - Georgia and 1076 kilometers cross Turkey. It crosses numerous mountains that reach up to 2830 meters and intersects 3000 roads, railways, useful lines and 1500 waterways with widths of up to 500 meters (such as the Ceyhan River in Turkey). The Oleo duct occupies an 8-meter corridor and is buried along its entire course at a depth of at least one meter.

In parallel with BTC, there is the Southern Caucasus gas pipeline that transports natural gas from Sanganchal Terminal to Erzerum, Turkey. It has a useful life projected for a period of 40 years and, since 2009, it has carried one million barrels (160 000 cubic meters) of oil per day. It has a capacity of 10 million barrels of oil, which will flow through the oil pipeline by 2 meters per second.

There are 8 pumping stations along the pipeline (2 in Azerbaijan, 2 in Georgia and 4 in Turkey). The project cost \$ 3.9 billion, 70% of the costs were financed by third parties - the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, operating credit agencies in

seven countries, and a syndicate of 15 commercial banks⁸⁸.

Brussels is primarily concerned with the formation of a stable economic and political area that focuses on common European values. The European Commission publishes in March 2003 the "Neighborhood of extended Europe. A New Framework for Relations with Neighboring Countries in the East and South", which outlined the basic principles of the future European Neighborhood Policy addressed to Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and the Republic of Moldova, as well as to the Caucasus states. This document outlines the EU's strategy for relations with neighboring countries. The aim of this strategy lies in "creating a prosperous neighborhood and neighborhood friendship - "friends ring", with which the EU has close ties with friendship, peace and cooperation.

The Communiqué and the Concept had a negative reaction from the Russian administration. For Moscow, this release signifies the EU's intention to strengthen its economic positions in Russia's sphere of influence in the CIS - the area of priority interests. At the same time, the EU's interest is also the issue of fuels exposed on European markets from Russia, which transit through Ukrainian territory. That is why the EU is not interested in triggering a conflict with Russia because of Ukraine, doesn't want to worsen the Russian-Ukrainian relations, following which it suffers the energy security system⁸⁹.

⁸⁸ ⁸⁸M. Țăranu, *Geopolitica. Concepte și teorii social-politice*. Institutul European, Iași, 2011, p.128

⁸⁹ Ecspert: *Rasşirenie NATO na vostoc vozniclo iz za oşibchi Gorbaciova*. Эксперт: *Расширение НАТО на восток возникло из-за ошибки Горбачева*, p. 75,

The South Caucasus region has an important role, which makes the EU interested in this region. The main thrust of the newly independent South Caucasus states after the collapse of the Soviet Union is the possibility, without the involvement of the Russian Federation, to explore energy resources and to build on the territory of these countries ways of transporting energy sources to the European area of the region South Caucasus and Central Asia.

The geopolitical role of the states in the region has grown as a result of Western states' interest in diminishing influence and dependence on the Russian Federation. In the last 13 years the Azerbaijan pipelines in Turkey - "Baku - Supsa" and "Baku - Tbilisi - Geyhan" - and the Azerbaijan pipeline in Turkey, Baku - Tbilisi - Ezrum⁹⁰. Georgia is a transit state for international markets, which runs counter to the interests of the Russian Federation, which intends to control the transit of exported fuel to Europe. Georgia also has a tourism potential but has not explored it fully.

Unlike the interest in former Eastern European states, especially in the preservation of the monopoly over energy resources, the Russian Federation's interest in the EU member states is a pragmatic one, focused on deliveries of petroleum products and natural gas to the area. The decisive factor in the relations between the Russian Federation and the East European countries remains to be the export of

natural gas and oil. The Russian Federation exports about 44 million tons of oil to the region, half of which comes from Poland. Starting with 2014, as a result of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, there is a more political turn in the relations between the Russian Federation and the Eastern European states (EU member states). The Russian-Ukrainian crisis also affects the trade relations between the Russian Federation and the Eastern European partners. Eastern Europe's trade deficit with the Russian Federation is down to \$ 32.5 billion (\$ 36.4 billion in 2013). If Russia's imports to Eastern European countries in 2008 were 2, 6 times higher than in 2014, then in 2014 it dropped 2.2 times.

Regarding energy resources, the states of the analyzed region depend strongly on energy supplies from Russia's oil and gas supplies, a particularly important vulnerability. Thus, with the support of Western Black Sea states, the West seeks to open up access to energy sources in the Caspian Sea and the near and Middle East, which would in the medium term reduce the dependence of Eastern Europe - the EU in general - on The Russian Federation.

The geo-economic and geopolitical location of the Central Caucasus states is not so important to NATO member states but serves as a point of reference for all other interests. The region is the border of the European Common Space, an economic center and a transport corridor. The Caucasus is the bridge between Europe and Asia, an important element in trade relations between the Orient, the US and NATO, and between North and South. It plays a strategic role in reviving the Silk Road, as it is a land-based way of transporting goods and raw materials from

<http://www.regnum.ru/news/polit/1010280.html>, (12.11.2019)

⁹⁰I. Paškov, *Deiatelnosti Evrosoiuza na Iujnom Kavkaze*, in "Mirovaia Ekonomika I Mejdunarodnie Otnoženia", Пашков, И. *Деятельность Евросоюза на Южном Кавказе*, in "Мировая Экономика и Международные Отношения", № 5, 2009. pp. 59-63

Central Asia to the Mediterranean Sea and Europe. Due to its economic potential and commercial cooperation, the region can become an important economic center.

The civilization of the Caucasus is not European, but cannot be considered as Asiatic either. It is a connecting link of European and Asian (Muslim) civilization. Thus, according to S. Hadington, this type of culture is growing considerably, especially after the events of September 11, 2001, as a bridge between Christianity and Islam. The existence of conflicts in the area is of interest to European security. Throughout history, the South Caucasus has been a buffer zone, or an area of influence of the great powers - Russia, Turkey and Iran - each of which has its own interests. The difference is that the status of the former empires turns into one of regional powers⁹¹.

That is why the primordial interest of the US and NATO in the area is to keep Russia at the periphery of these interests and not to admit the fortification of Russia's presence in the Caucasus. NATO members watch Turkey's growing role in the region. Thus, by estimating all these interests, it can be mentioned that cooperation with the NATO member states is only a matter of priority interests. The region is an "important periphery". It is a region where it is difficult to reach a consensus⁹².

Russia can be considered the main US and NATO competitor in this area. Its policy and actions in the region can be qualified as the main factor influencing NATO policy. Both NATO and the

Russian Federation, having common interests in the region, are two competitors. In order to increase the influence in the region, both actors use methods of exerting influence, but the methods are different.

The US intends to intensify its influence by the method of cooperation and economic principles, hoping to expand the commercial aspect and expand the security in the region. The Russian Federation, for its part, does not allow the independent development of the Caucasus states. Russia continues to invest enormous amounts in order not to lose control in the region.

Also, for the US, the Black Sea is an important passage in the transfer of energy resources from the Caucasian-Central Asia line to the Western markets. Not only are the foreign powers operating in the region influenced in shaping the energy policies of the countries of this line, but they can also dictate the energy policies of the whole region, the main export channel for oil and natural gas. In this context, the location of the Black Sea at the core of North-West, North-South energy corridors and the manifestation of the region as a considerable alternative to the Middle East reserves, an increasingly unstable area, urged both the US and the EU to establish good relations with the states of the region.

The Black Sea is a region considered by Iran as a channel for export of oil and natural gas. Therefore, the active involvement of the US in the region offers the opportunity to manipulate Iranian energy policies. At the same time, geographical proximity can turn Iran into an easy target for aircraft that could take off from bases or aircraft transported to the region.

⁹¹ F. Kune, *NATO I Iujnii Kavkaz. Kavkazchii institute mira, democratii I razvitiia. Tbilisi* (Куне, Ф. *НАТО и Южный Кавказ. Кавказский институт мира, демократии и развития. Тбилиси.*) 2003, p.15

⁹² Kune, F op.cit.

Another key state for the realization of oil and gas transport projects from the Caspian Sea to Europe, bypassing Russia, is Turkey. Ankara is interested in managing transit of oil and gas in the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Black Sea. Thus, since 1994, Ankara has become one of the promoters of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) project, as an alternative to the "Nordic Route" proposed by Moscow. Competition does not exclude, however, and cooperation within certain limits. Turkey is massively importing natural gas from the Russian Federation, although it is trying to diversify its sources of supply (the Nabucco gas pipeline, between Iran, the Balkans and Central Europe). The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan and Baku-Erzurum pipelines offer Turkey an alternative energy source and increase the strategic importance of the state⁹³.

Thus, more economical transport routes and energy routes (the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and the trans-Caspian gas pipeline) align the countries of the two groups⁹⁴.

Throughout this equation, Romania has an important strategic role in international economic circuits, both for Russian oil transit or the Baltic Sea basin to Western Europe (for example the Constanta-Belgrade-Trieste project) and quality an exporter of electricity and petroleum products. The uneven economic development of these states has negative effects in turning them into credible

economic partners for Western investment. Therefore, in order to strengthen regional cooperation and cooperation, Black Sea states have set up a number of organizations, such as the BSEC, or are members of others - CIS, GUUAM.

With the accession of Central and Eastern European countries to the EU, the EU has become the Black Sea Neighborhood. With the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, the EU has become an active power in the Black Sea region. Starting from the premise that the EU is bordering the Black Sea, the problems of this region are addressed through the "European Neighborhood Policy" framework.

The European Neighborhood Policy seeks to recognize sovereignty and independence, to resolve conflicts, to recognize human rights and democratic foundations and to implement economic reforms. Being located on energy routes, the Black Sea is becoming an important area for the EU. In addition, environmental factors have created a link between the Black Sea and the EU through the membership of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU. Thus, the EU has a coastline on the Black Sea, and responsibilities such as coastal protection, water scarcity and the fight against radioactive waste will come to the fore. In addition, the Black Sea oil tankers will have to comply with EU security standards.

The EU's relationship with the region is also necessary to control potential immigration from the fragile and relatively underdeveloped countries of this region in Europe⁹⁵. The intensification of the energy

⁹³T. Frunzeti, *Securitate în regiunea Mării Negre*, in "Revista de Științe Militare", Nr. 2 (43), Anul XVI, 2016, pp.5-11, <http://aos.ro/wp-content/anale/R-S-M-Vol-16-Nr2Full.pdf>, (12.10.2019)

⁹⁴*Black Sea bastion regional profile: the security situation and the region-building opportunities*.https://www.isis-bg.org/Research_Studies/Black_Sea_Basin_Regional_Profile/BlackSea1999_10-12.htm, (12.10.2019)

⁹⁵S. Oğan, *The Black Sea: new arena for global competition*, <http://turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/sinan%20og-an.pdf>, (12.10.2019)

dependence of most riparian states, together with the forced delay of the implementation of the Western countries' plans to exploit and transport energy resources, are the premises of a cumulative risk.

NATO's strategic goal in this part of the globe is determined by the need to strengthen security and stability in the region and to build a model of cooperation. After the admission of Bulgaria and Romania to NATO, the construction of the seat belt around the Balkan conflict zones will be completed, which has considerably increased its importance in this area as a major trade route between East and West, especially from the point of view of transport energy resources. As a result, the unified security region expanded and the Black Sea, which ceased to be isolated, "becoming" a continuation of the link between the Mediterranean, Caspian and the energy resources of the Caucasus, Kazakhstan and the Near East.

Conclusions

Thus, analyzing the Black Sea Basin region from a geopolitical, geostrategic and geo-economic perspective, it is worth mentioning that the region is the area in which the interests of major powers such as the USA and NATO, the Russian Federation, including the EU. Russia is interested in not accepting the presence of the US and NATO in the area which, according to Moscow, is the area of its exceptional interests. Foreign presence in the area, especially the location of the Western military contingent in Ukraine and Georgia, will weaken and ultimately neutralize Russian influence in these states. The interest of the USA, NATO and the EU lies in constraining and hindering Russia's interests and influence in the

region. The intention of the European Union to integrate into its sphere of influence the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine is determined first and foremost by the formation of a stable economic and political zone that would ensure the stability at the eastern borders.

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CONFLICTS PERSPECTIVE AND THE TENSIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Abstract:	<i>The tensions of the Middle East are now influencing and determining more than ever the dynamics of the international system in which the unpredictability of the actors involved and the geopolitical interests can blow the world to the brink of conflict or generate multinational crisis impacting on medium and on long term the security state.</i> <i>The tensions between US and Iran reach extreme culmination, the teasing methods were overcome with direct attacks and strange reactions specific to an asymmetrical and unconventional confrontation. Iran's nuclear program, US interests in the region, the instability of Iraq and the recrudescence of the terrorist phenomenon in the region transforms the area of the Middle East into the powder barrel of the contemporary world.</i> <i>Through a review of the general and particular context as well as a recapitulation of specific events in the evolution of things now, this following article attempts without concluding the identification by scenarios of at least two perspectives of the evolution of things in the region.</i>
Keywords:	Oriental Mijlociu; Balance of power; Strategy; War; Nuclear weapons; Middle East
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General and particular context

The "axis of resistance", led by Iran, gained after the Syrian civil war, unacceptable regional power from the perspective of the United States and its allies, Israel, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia. The western axis opposition describes Iran's Proxy groups as terrorist factions aimed at destroying Israel and removing

American hegemony from the Middle East to create a faithful region of Shiite representation in Tehran.

The geopolitical tendencies in the region do not foresee in a short term a capitulation of conflicts, on the contrary, they signal even greater tensions. It is easy to understand how power vectors work under the given circumstances, both sides

have hegemonic claims in the region and are trying to destroy each other without regard to international law, UN position and observations or the recommendations of other global powers. The war between the US and Iran is asymmetrical so far, and neither side wants an escalation followed by conventional war. But paradoxically they cannot opt for peace either, which leads to a complicated situation and more than interesting forms of confrontation. The voices of the great powers echo the cessation of hostilities and the mediation of conflict through diplomacy. Unfortunately, this option does not exist for Iran and the US, the conflict between them has existed since 1979, both states refusing to trust each other.

The current situation is the result of the US withdrawal from the JCPOA agreement⁹⁶, signed to keep uranium enrichment nuclear plan under control. Although the other signatory states, Russia, China, France, the United Kingdom and Germany remained members of the agreement, they could not effectively contribute to supporting Iran's economy, which was continuously challenged by sanctions imposed by the United States.

This set of sanctions, called by Trump's representation as "maximum pressure campaign"⁹⁷, was meant to destabilize Iran's economy by stopping exports and imports to zero⁹⁸. Indeed, Iran has experienced serious economic problems following the sanctions,

increasing the price of fuel, which led to protests and opposition to the current government. Due to the long experience of sanctions carried out since the 80's, Iran has managed to alleviate the import/export dependency by increasing the productivity at national level, providing services and products replacing those from abroad. In other words, Iran seems to be resisting as a closed economy.

Thus, we see how, the sanctions did not work entirely in the case of Iran and were not sufficient for now to reach the renegotiations on the conditions of the nuclear program and US demands regarding human rights and proxy factions. Moreover, Iran has developed over time the defensive industrial branch so that it has its own missile defense system⁹⁹ as well as ballistic missiles that could attack Israel, Saudi Arabia, or even central Europe at any time.



Source:

<https://www.iiss.org/publications/strategic-dossiers/iran-dossier/iran-19-03-ch-1-tehrans-strategic-intent>

⁹⁹<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/iran-develops-air-defense-capability-for-possible-regional-role>, (28.12.2019)

⁹⁶<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-ending-united-states-participation-unacceptable-iran-deal/>, (28.12.2019)

⁹⁷<https://www.state.gov/advancing-the-maximum-pressure-campaign-by-restricting-irans-nuclear-activities/>, (28.12.2019)

⁹⁸ See all the sanctions lists released by US to Iran: <https://www.state.gov/iran-sanctions/>, (28.12.2019)

Iran's foreign opposition had to resort to other forms in order to arouse and eventually to kneel the Tehran government.

The beginning of 2020 has rocked the geopolitical world on a global scale by escalating the US-Iran conflict. As a result of the latest hostile actions in Iraq, by the US and Iran, we could witness the escalation of the conflict, which was dull so far, to even war. Iraq has the proper fighting ground, at least for now. Why Iraq? Because Iraq's Proxy factions are targeted in Iraq as certain groups of the "Popular Mobilization Forces", and the US military is still omnipresent in Iraq following the war against the Islamic State.

Another reason is the proximity of Israel and Saudi Arabia, US important allies, and the danger it faces because of the strengthening of the Shiite resistance axis. Why now? It is not easy to find the 100% true answer. In the context of the events leading up to the beginning of 2020, Iran was seen weakening its regional influence, being attacked from within by anti-government protests following the current economic crisis, and from outside by anti-Iranian protests in Iraq and Lebanon, protesters contesting Iran's influence inside their governments and chanting its removal. Also because of the strikes against United States and its allies forces in Middle East, which are supposed to lead by the "axis of resistance".

Highlights of tensions

Recent escalations of the US-Iran conflict began on December 27 following rocket attacks in northern Iraq at K-1 base in Kirkuk, near Iranian border¹⁰⁰. US

¹⁰⁰<https://www.defense.gov/explore/story/Article/2049385/esper-kataeb-hezbollah-will-likely-regret-further-provocative-behavior/>, (30.12.2019)

blamed pro-Iranian factions in Iraq for committing attack, after US citizen dies¹⁰¹, despite the fact that there are still non-state actors in Iraq who are active in the military and no one has claimed the attack.

Iraq's northern border with Iran is an important strategic point for Iran used to pass weapons, missiles and military aid to Lebanon, Syria and Iraqi Militias. The US military presence would hinder the proper functioning of the Shiite corridor created to feed the "axis of resistance".

If, indeed, Iran has been instrumenting the attack, it would have expected less violent responses, based on recent precedents^{102, 103}.

Supporting the idea mentioned above, we see from the reports of the US Department of Defense that in the last year has been an increase of attacks by Shiite Militia Groups against bases hosting the US and coalition forces, which have eventually increased significantly in the last two months¹⁰⁴.

The US did not immediately counteract by military and hostile measures against these protracted attacks. The death of an American citizen represented the moment when the US found the advantage to counterofficially the Iranian Proxy factions in Iraq.

An immediate response was needed to intimidate and weaken Shiite militias. The missile attack of the five Kaitaib

¹⁰¹<https://www.newsweek.com/rocket-attack-iraq-kills-us-citizen-1479430>, (30.12.2019)

¹⁰²<https://twitter.com/SecPompeo/status/1205578661526671360?s=20>, (30.12.2019)

¹⁰³<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/21/trump-fearing-casualties-aborts-iran-strike-at-last-minute/>, (30.12.2019)

¹⁰⁴<https://www.defense.gov/explore/story/Article/2050341/senior-dod-official-describes-rationale-for-attack-on-quds-force-commander/>, (03.01.2019)

Hezbollah units in Iraq and Syria^{105, 106}, was a reaction of President Trump to restore US hegemony in the Middle East. The official motivation came through a press conference held by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Secretary of Defense Mark Esper, where it was revealed that these offensive actions came in response to the countless attacks by pro-Iranian factions, Kataib Hezbollah, on Iraqi units, where the lives of Americans and Iraqi civilians have been endangered¹⁰⁷. Any imminent danger to US citizens and to interests of the United States must be countered by any means.

The targets of the US attack were Iraqi Shiite Militia groups, Kata'ib Hezbollah. This grouping is part of the 40 units of the Iraqi Shiite Militia, also known as the "Popular Mobilization Forces". Last year, these militias were incorporated into the Iraqi army under the expectation for a closer control of the members.

It is important to note that there is a high influence of the Quds Special Forces on the Shiite Militia in Iraq, which is a branch of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in Iran, considered a terrorist by the US president D. Trump¹⁰⁸.

This relationship has as an important landmark, the training by the Quds Special Forces of a large part of the

Shiite People's Movement Militia¹⁰⁹, to defeat the Islamic State. Iraqi militias were officially born in 2014, when Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, a senior Shiite cleric, decreed the *fatwa* law¹¹⁰, by which he urged Iraqi civilians to voluntarily fight the Islamic State, after the government's armed forces collapsed and ISIS militants headed for Baghdad. This mobilization by clerical call meant for Iran a unique opportunity to strengthen its influence within Iraq.

Special Forces Quds and MOIS fight hard to get Iraq closer and closer to over Iranian influence, following the US invasion. The leaked cables documents reveal the way Iranian intelligence works and affects Iraqi politics¹¹¹.

The unconventional war between the US and Iran continued with the Popular Mobilization Forces loyal supporters response attacking the US Embassy on 31 of December¹¹². Of course, the political representation in Tehran has not assumed any involvement, but through the presence of the supporters and members of the Popular Mobilization Forces at the siege of the embassy, makes Iran directly involved in the hostilities.

Due to the experience in Benghazi¹¹³, precautionary measures have been taken by the United States, the

¹⁰⁵<https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Releases/Release/Article/2047960/statement-from-assistant-to-the-secretary-of-defense-jonathan>, (30.12.2019)

¹⁰⁶<https://edition.cnn.com/2019/12/29/politics/us-strikes-iran-backed-militia-facilities-in-iraq-syria/index.html>, (30.12.2019)

¹⁰⁷<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iEsXWvVIU1w>, (26.12.2019)

¹⁰⁸<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-designation-islamic-revolutionary-guard-corps-foreign-terrorist-organization/>, (28.12.2019)

¹⁰⁹ <https://www.gppi.net/2017/08/16/quick-facts-about-local-and-sub-state-forces>, (26.12.2019)

¹¹⁰<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-politics/top-iraqi-shiite-cleric-says-paramilitaries-should-be-part-of-state-security-bodies-idUSKBN1E90Z0>, (28.12.2019)

¹¹¹<https://theintercept.com/2019/11/18/iran-iraq-spy-cables/>, (28.12.2019)

¹¹²https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/protesters-attack-us-embassy-in-baghdad-after-airstrikes/2019/12/31/f30772ba-2c33-11ea-bffe-020c88b3f120_story.html, (31.12.2019)

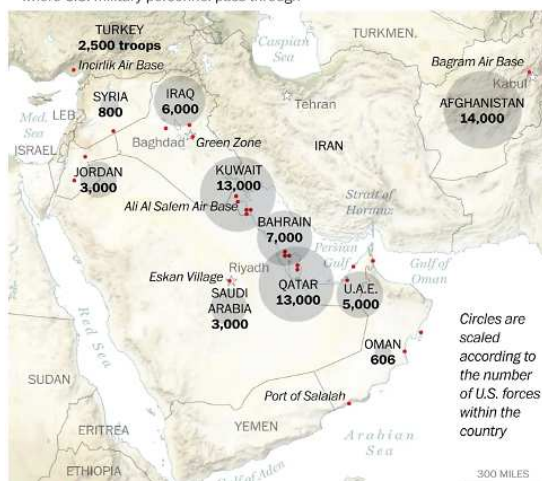
¹¹³<https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/18/us/politics/questions-and-answers-on-the-benghazi-attack.html>, (18.10.2019)

embassy fortress in Baghdad could not be easily breached.

Following the hostilities over the embassy attack, the US Department of Defense has sent out reinforcements that is located mainly in Kuwait¹¹⁴. It is expected to send more troops to stabilize tensions and to defend the interests of the US and its allies. Currently, there are over 6,000 US troops in Iraq and in the Middle East their number is in the thousands¹¹⁵.

The U.S. military footprint in the Middle East

• Bases, ports and other installations where U.S. troops are stationed or where U.S. military personnel pass through



Source: The Washington post¹¹⁶, the numbers are approximate, before of last deployment of troops

The height of these tensions was reached on January 2, as tensions between the United States and Iran escalated further, after an American airstrike killed Qassem Soleimani, commander of the Quds and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis was killed

along with him¹¹⁷, he was the deputy commander of the Iraqi militias (*Popular Mobilization Forces*).

Public opinion among top diplomats was divided by pros and cons. Inside US, the Republicans¹¹⁸ applauds Trump, and Democrats¹¹⁹ are contesting his action as uncalculated and could lead to serious repercussions, such as a possible war with Iran. One thing is clear; nobody inside the United States wants another war in the Middle East.

Iraq's Prime Minister, Adel Abdul Mahdi, which is a Shia Muslim, says after the death of Soleimani and al-Muhandis, Iraq has not given favorable opinion to the US military to conduct attacks against faction leaders in its territory¹²⁰, therefore, any military action implemented without the agreement of the Iraqi government is a violation of sovereignty. Abdul Mahdi also said, "What happened was a political assassination", and foreign US troops were in Iraq only to train their forces and help target the remaining members of the Islamic State "under the supervision and approval of the Iraqi government"¹²¹. Following the attack, at a non-binding level, the resolution was passed that all foreign troops in Iraq should leave the country immediately. The resolution passed due to the majority of Shia representation in parliament and the

¹¹⁷<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/01/iran-tensions-latest-updates-200103022407743.html>, (18.10.2019)

¹¹⁸<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/01/03/iran-us-war-powers-congress/>, (18.10.2019)

¹¹⁹<https://twitter.com/RepAdamSchiff/status/1212954668340563969?s=20>, (04.01.2020)

¹²⁰<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/01/iraq-braces-difficult-days-soleimani-killing-200103122412024.html>, (18.10.2019)

¹²¹https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/body-of-commander-slain-by-us-strike-arrives-in-iran-to-crowds-of-mourners/2020/01/05/4ca3281a-2f17-11ea-bffe-020c88b3f120_story.html, (18.10.2019)

¹¹⁴<https://www.defense.gov/explore/story/Article/2049385/esper-kataeb-hezbollah-will-likely-regret-further-provocative-behavior/>, (18.10.2019)

¹¹⁵https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/where-us-troops-are-in-the-middle-east-and-could-now-be-a-target-visualized/2020/01/04/1a6233ee-2f3c-11ea-9b60-817cc18cf173_story.html, (18.10.2019)

¹¹⁶Idem

lack of opposition. In fact, only the US and coalition troops are addressed to the exit resolution.

The pro-Iranian presence is there to stay because the majority ties are Iraqi Shia citizens and the power of them is huge. There are two massive blocs, Sunni supporting the western coalition and Shia supporting Iran, splitting Iraq politics into chaos and uncertainty.

Russia¹²²,¹²³, China¹²⁴, Turkey¹²⁵ as well as the political powers of Europe¹²⁶ have challenged Donald Trump's unilateral actions and fear repercussions. The only states that acclaim and support US action are Israel and allies in the Saudi Arabian Gulf and the UAE.

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo is very disappointed because the Europeans were not as cooperative as they would like to be. Pompeo said: "The British, the French, the Germans need to understand that what we did, what the Americans did, saved lives in Europe too"¹²⁷. That happened due to a lack of communication between the global actors regarding imminent threats and strategy engagement.

¹²² <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kenoapoza/2020/01/03/russia-says-iran-generals-killing-illegal/#70c4bbbeba63>, (18.10.2019)

¹²³ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/30/tehran-condemns-us-airstrikes-in-iraq-and-syria-as-act-of-terrorism>, (05.01.2020)

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¹²⁵ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-security-blast-turkey/turkey-says-killing-of-soleimani-to-fuel-instability-idUSKBN1Z21C6>, (18.10.2019)

¹²⁶ <https://www.businessinsider.com/us-allies-response-trump-iran-qasem-soleimani-attack-alone-world-2020-1>, (18.10.2019)

¹²⁷ https://amp.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jan/04/mike-pompeo-european-response-to-suleimani-killing?__twitter_impression=true, (18.10.2019)

Inside Iran and from their proxies, statements are much more violent, sparking even greater "anti-American" and "anti-Zionist" hatred. For Iran, and the Shia axis of resistance, Qassem Soleimani is a martyr who fought against the Islamic State, Daesh. Leaders like Ali Khamenei, Hassan Rouhani and Javad Zarif, as well as faction leaders threaten the leaders of US and its allies with harsh revenge.

Why Iran foreign policy is a threat?

The removal of General Qassem Soleimani is regarded as an act of war against Iran. Iran is pursuing an external policy of establishing relations with Shiites people living under Sunni administrations while also influencing the internal politics of these states.

After the US invasion of Iraq, and the removal of Saddam Hussein, the expansion policy projection became more and more widespread. This new reality had a significant role that encouraged Iran to pursue its goal of expanding its regional power, termed by "the revival of the Shiite sect" and "anchoring Shiite interests in national identities"¹²⁸.

Iran has increased its power and influence in the region by supporting the Alawite government in Syria¹²⁹, the Shiite community and militias in Iraq, supporting the Shiite opposition in Bahrain, the Shiite population in western Saudi Arabia and by

¹²⁸ Vali Nasr, *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam will Shape the Future*, W.W. Norton Company, 2006, New York & London, p. 234, <https://www.scribd.com/document/314855555/The-Shia-Revival>, (18.10.2019)

¹²⁹ Geneive Abdo, "The New Sectarianism: The Arab Uprisings and The Rebirth of the Shia's Sunni Divide", The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, Analysis Paper, No:29, April 2013, p. 4, <https://www.scribd.com/document/435448240/sunn-i-shia-abdo-pdf>, (18.10.2019)

mobilizing Zaydis (Houthis) in Yemen¹³⁰. Therefore, the Proxy wars and Iran's expansionist policy, from its perspective, are trying to maintain the balance of power against the Sunni bloc in the Persian Gulf region and against Israel.

Back in time, we see how Iran began its expansionist policy by creating the Hezbollah group in Lebanon. The establishment of Hezbollah by Iran and Syria in June 1982 cemented the alliance of the two countries. Hezbollah was created to be the essential terrorist organization serving the two states against Israel¹³¹.

Syria is very important in maintaining its connection with Hezbollah and Hamas, and Iran has learned how to defend its national interests by supporting the Alawite government.

With the support of Bashar al-Assad, Iran strengthened its influence in the area and at the same time ensured its passage through Syria and the domination of the Shiite crescent. This corridor built by Iran works because of conflicts already existing in the area and as a result of the gaps left vacant by the other powers.

It is not news that Iran is subordinating important military factions to the territory of these states, thus continuing, via the Shiite corridor or crescent, to transfer arms to its allies, threatening "regional security", especially of Israel.

From western opposition, the Iran-Iraqi-Syria-Hezbollah-Hamas coalition is called the "axis of resistance" or "axis of evil" against the "Zionist

government" of Israel and the "US invader".

The inclusion of Iran in the axis of evil by US President George W. Bush in 2002 meant a further strengthening of Iranian foreign relations. As a result, Iran has begun efforts to improve bilateral relations with neighboring states in order to reduce the side effects of isolationism caused by weak external relations caused by eternal economic sanctions since the revolution.

At present, the state of Israel is trying hard to counter the Shiite expansion and, with the help of the United States, to withstand the transit of missiles, weapons and ammunition that would be destined for them and the US military¹³². Saudi Arabia, EAU and their allies stand against Iran regime, due to religion and the proxy they are founding against each other.

After Soleimani death, immediate repercussions

The United States has handled unilateral attacks without the opinion of other politically and strategically important states. The United States once again wanted to show its hegemonic power not only in the Middle East, but also in the rest of the world. The president's geostrategic outlook against Iran does not appear to be supported by other major political actors in the future. Only Republicans inside the United States proudly look at actions in Iraq, and from outside, the Allied Gulf countries. The rest of the influential states see these actions as hostile with very serious repercussions in the region.

The reasons for the attack are looking suspiciously, without concrete

¹³⁰ Ali Parchami, *The Arab Spring: The View from Tehran*, in "Contemporary Politics", Vol. 18, No.1 (2012), p. 39

¹³¹ Marius Deeb, *Syria, Iran, and Hezbollah: The Unholy Alliance and Its War on Lebanon*, Hoover Press, 2013, p. 18

¹³² <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Kochavis-explosive-comments-on-Iraq-ANALYSIS-612134>, (06.10.2019)

evidence, only at the declaratory level by Mike Pompeo, Donald Trump and his administration¹³³. They claim that Soleimani would have launched immediate attacks on the Americans. In doing so, without any prove, President Trump's action appears to be illegal, violating Iraq's international law and state sovereignty.

At the same time, these actions bring more tensions between Shiite and Sunni people within Iraq. President Trump certainly did not expect such reactions the day after the attack, many voices claiming he acted recklessly, Soleimani's killing being an escalate action by the US.

Even that Trump later claims that he does not want to go to war with Iran, by his actions, he succeeded to bring more hate from the Iranian people and their regime. He meant only "to stop a possible conflict", and the death of the Soleimani terrorist was necessary. Within hours, Trump was responding to Iranian threats with messages targeting important cultural points inside Iran¹³⁴ and praising the performant military equipment US has¹³⁵. Apparently these were clear messages send to Tehran, not to try to retaliate and to intimidate the further decisions, or as we see, these messages were received as instigator movements.

The message from Tehran was very harsh; Iran's leaders were demanding justice for General Soleimani's death. Moreover, they promise a crushing vengeance for American domination in the Middle East. Not only in Iran are echoes of outrage over Soleimani's death. The completely Shiite world is crying for the

man who fought for the defeat of terrorism and the Islamic State. Surprising is that among a large part of Muslims, not just Shiites, Soleimani was a hero¹³⁶.

Apparently, the assassination of Soleimani helped Iran, uniting Iranian Shiites, who are mourning and calling for "Death to America"¹³⁷ in return of their loss. Following the resolution in Iraq and statements by leaders in Iran and Hezbollah¹³⁸, the axis of resistance or the Shiite crescent is more unified than ever.

By "Death to America", the Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei does not refer to the entire civilian population of the United States, only to political leaders, Donald Trump, Mike Pompeo, John Bolton, who governs by amplifying a hostile strategic policy against Iran¹³⁹.

The attack on US bases in Erbil and Ain al-Asad came as a revenge for the loss of Soleimani. This revenge itself has little significance for the world and US Officials, even than Iran is the first state attacking a US base since Pearl Harbor. The support of this idea comes from the fact that US was aware of the immediate attack of Iran. That means, the US forces were informed to be transferred under safe zone. The information could come directly from Iran through Iraqi government or through US intelligence¹⁴⁰. One thing was sure, were no human casualties. A wish

¹³³<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7DxwV8GCr>, (06.01.2020)

¹³⁴<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1213593975732527112?s=20>, (06.01.2020)

¹³⁵<https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1213689342272659456?s=20>, (06.01.2020)

¹³⁶<https://www.newyorker.com/news/q-and-a/the-meaning-of-qassem-suleimanis-death-in-the-middle-east>, (06.01.2020)

¹³⁷<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05P2-ubDAIc>, (05.01.2020)

¹³⁸<https://twitter.com/Iran/status/1213882507562631168?s=20>, (05.01.2020)

¹³⁹<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6AG1OqeI>, (17.01.2020)

¹⁴⁰<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-security-early-warning/hours-of-forewarning-saved-u-s-iraqi-lives-from-irans-missile-attack-idUSKBN1ZC218>, (17.01.2020)

that Iranian officials wanted to avoid knowing that more US casualties meant hostile acts back. However, the strike of US bases was merely a warning and a debt to pay, allowing Iran to satisfy the revenge call for Soleimani killing.

The impacting problem came afterwards the attack. IRGC – Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps – was in high alert waiting for US retaliation. They intercepted a civil plane as a unidentified aircraft and shut it down. All 176 people were killed; the Iran officials take the responsibility of the strike just three days before. Iran officials declared this action as a human mistake. The admitting mistake brought students protestors against the government again.

The officials' positions was to apologetics and to blame US for bringing instability to the region¹⁴¹. This was not enough and Iran was losing credibility again over the international public. The supreme Leader of Iran, Ayatollah Sayyed Ali Khamenei, respond to western allegation regarding the followed protests, asking, “Who are the people of Iran. The hundreds protesters who ripped off the posters of the general or the millions who attend to his funeral?”¹⁴². Khamenei himself see that his power is weakening, so he must come forward and support the people of Iran. He was leading the Friday praying in order to deliver his thoughts and position due to the previous tensions¹⁴³.

Coming back to protests, we see how protest are happening all over the world, and the people tend to have similar demands, like a better living and stability.

¹⁴¹<https://twitter.com/JZarif/status/1215847283381755914?s=20>, (11.01.2020)

¹⁴²https://twitter.com/khamenei_ir/status/1218138142856896517?s=20, (17.01.2020)

¹⁴³<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I8jMbxYxczc>, (17.01.2020)

For Iran Cause, the latest November 2019 protest were presented as terrifying by western media and human rights organizations, at least 300 people were killed and 7000 detained¹⁴⁴. Iran constitution, under article 27 gives freedom for gatherings and protest unless arms are carried and Islamic principles are not undermined¹⁴⁵.

Iran take the fifth and the final step on reducing commitments to JCPOA agreement¹⁴⁶. That means the JCPOA terms are no longer followed by Iran nuclear developments. Hassan Rouhani is not excluding the option of leaving Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Europeans have to deal with this problem of Iran nuclear program and the US sanctions who led to this situation.

The remaining countries of JCPOA, UK, France, and Germany have “officially triggered the dispute mechanism”¹⁴⁷ in the Iran nuclear deal”hoping for a saving resolution against the sanctions impose from US.

What Trump has achieved through the assassination of Soleimani is only a short-term victory that will not stop Iran or the Iranian influence in the region. The reasons why Iran will not interrupt its ascension in the region consisted of the immediate appointment of a new general in place of the Soleimani. Thus, the assassination of Soleimani, for the

¹⁴⁴<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/12/iran-thousands-arbitrarily-detained-and-at-risk-of-torture-in-chilling-post-protest-crackdown/>, (17.01.2020)

¹⁴⁵<https://fisiran.org/en/resources/legaldoc/constitutionislamic>, (17.01.2020)

¹⁴⁶<https://theiranproject.com/blog/2020/01/06/iran-takes-final-jcpoa-step-removing-last-limit-on-nuclear-program/>, (20.01.2020)

¹⁴⁷<https://www.businessinsider.com/iran-nuclear-deal-uk-france-germany-trigger-dispute-mechanism-2020-1>, (20.01.2019)

moment, does not mean stopping the Shiite expansion, only inciting the masses.

Possible scenarios:

1. War in Middle East

A war in the Middle East is not a scenario wished by any Western power, nor are the states in the Middle East still living with the consequences of the Arab Spring. The Middle East is already kneeling by the aftermath of the civil wars, the Muslim Arab world being horrified and full of hostility, fear and insecurity. The Middle East wanted a change, which unfortunately did not happen through the overthrow of regimes or at least did not lead everywhere to a change for the better so far.

A war between Iran and the US would not temper the problems in the East and we can bring important wars in the past by the United States. The invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq did not leave behind the change that they were acclaiming and "consolidating" the Americans over time, but on the contrary, after them, there was more instability.

The Muslim world cannot follow the ethnocentric path, human rights cannot be fully respected due to Islamic doctrine, democracy is not an accepted form of government, the Western and Islamic world have too many cultural, religious and social differences to embrace a common front. An invasion is unlikely in Iran and there are many factors attesting to this conclusion. Iran is much bigger, stronger and more proud than any other state with which is compared. We must not compare them with the Arab people, through the veins of Iranians Persian blood flows, and the glory of the Persian empire cannot be challenged. In support of Iran's desire to expand, we have two factors:

religion, which brings everyone close to it, and the historical nostalgia of the Persian Empire through which the Iranians held the entire Middle East.

For the US, a war would mean Trump's presidential end. We see how American citizens go out in the street shouting anti-war slogans.

A war in the Gulf would not have Western supporters; we see how Russia's foreign policy manages to maintain relations with states that are mutually hostile. Russia is the state that maintains good relations with Iran and the US. The EU, China and the other great powers, even the Gulf countries, allies of the United States, do not want tension in golf because the world economy could be severely affected. Oil supply through the Hormuz Strait would be difficult or even stopped.

The geography of Iran does not allow for a slight invasion, and Iran has systems in place to make it difficult to enter its territory. Turkey, Afghanistan or Pakistan are unlikely to wage war against the Muslim brothers. Gulf States, enemies of Iran, would be safe targets for Tehran, as they did not want a Dubai or Abu Dhabi in flames, which calls into question any support for a war in golf.

An eventual nuclear war is again unlikely. From what we know so far, Iran does not have nuclear weapons, and the US would not risk using nuclear weapons again. It is not impossible for Iran to receive nuclear weapons, wars have not always been anticipated.

2. Teasing actions and asymmetric war

We are already witnessing this scenario, being the most plausible and predictable scenario since the US exit of

the JCPOA agreement. This is the US-led move to change the regime in Iran.

Iran cannot easily forget and bury General Soleimani's death and they will not. The current conflict will last and change the perception of the Middle East. Iran and their allied states will do their best to create a negative image of the United States in the region.

On the other hand, in the United States, as long as Trump is in the position of president, there will be no diplomatic action to remedy the already existing conflict. In Trump's view, Iran is a "malign" state that must adhere to Western demands, especially the US, to abandon the nuclear program, to give up the power of the Proxy factions, and to respect human rights.

It is hard to believe that a theocratic, Islamic state governed by Sharia laws could soon align with the demands of the West.

In addition, we can observe the double standard accepted by the USA. It is not news that Saudi Arabia, allied to the US, is allowed to exercise public beheadings or annihilate its citizens in the territory of other states, the most well-known example being the Khashoggi case. The case of Palestine is another relevant example in the eyes of those who criticize US policy in the Middle East.

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HUMAN SECURITY

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THE HUMAN PARADIGM IN COMMUNICATION: SECURITY ISSUES

Abstract:	<i>The major objective of the article is to demonstrate the necessity of the human paradigm in communication and its contribution to the security of the human species.</i> <i>Communication is one of the most important contemporary issues after the global human problem or the global anthropological crisis. Both of these relate to the security, survival and sustainable development of man, society and the terrestrial nature.</i> <i>Work, communication and consciousness, appearing simultaneously, transformed the “monkey” into a social being - man. Communication in all its forms and types confesses about the degree of development of man and of human society.</i> <i>At the present stage of the evolution of the society, the communication and, in particular, the communication management in the armed forces and between the armies of the states of the world are of particular importance. Communication, military communications management, including the stratcom, under current conditions can contribute to ensuring world peace and security throughout one's life, if they are based on a universal human paradigm. The latter can be characterized the implementation of humanism in all spheres of human activity.</i>
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Introduction

Communication, like work and conscience, culture and societal life, is characteristic of man from the very

beginning of anthropogenesis, from the emergence of humankind. We can say that work, communication, conscience, culture and society have appeared and

consolidated at the same time, being in an interaction, coexistence and mutual coordination. Without even one of these components, man is no longer human in the true sense of the word. We consider the generic man and not the human individual taken apart. The latter could replace work with sport or inactivity, society – temporarily – with robinsonade (loneliness), consciousness with lack of consciousness (madness, illness) even though they are not absolute. However, these states directly and indirectly imply the existence of society, culture, work and communication.

The elements listed – work, communication, society, which also implies culture, consciousness, as a result of their interactions, are all very important, as they are human attributes. But in this article, we are interested in communication. Its interaction with the universal paradigm of the human, their role in human activities in society, nature and knowledge, in the establishment of world peace and in the liquidation of mass and family violence, in the elimination of xenophobia and of enmity between people. Are these possible? Subsequent meditations will show.

Materials and methods

Philosophical-scientific and historical literature, media reports, objective and subjective social reality, natural and technological disasters – all served as investigative material.

The following served us as methods: the analysis, the generalization, the extrapolation, the philosophical foresight, the unity of the logic and the history, the ascent from abstract to concrete.

Results and discussions

Human communication – the highest form of communication.

Communication is not only a feature of man. Animals also communicate. Some of them (dolphins, monkeys, birds, insects, etc.) even have very complex and sophisticated communication systems. However, none of these communication systems, even of dolphins, which is based on ultrasound additionally, cannot be compared to that of man, which is significantly superior to them. It is based on words, notions, conscious or rational sentences. But the animals' ones are based on different instincts expressed by sounds or signs that do not portray the true reality. For example, certain horns of the crows express danger, the presence of animals, the desire for intimacy, etc., but they are not materialized (what kind of danger, what food, what intimacy and with whom) as in human communication through articulated, written, mimicked speech, through music, dance, art in general, etc. Non-verbal human communication, however, is ultimately interpreted through notional or conceptual language, which cannot occur in animals and birds. The communication is also present in insects. For example, bees communicate through dance or something similar to dance. Termites also have their "language", a rather complicated system of communication.

Human communication can and in most cases is appropriate to reality. But it can also be misleading in various interests or to mislead someone, so – consciously deceptive. People, from politeness, including from noble interests, do not speak to, do not communicate to others what they know about them. All this, however, does not speak at all about

hypocrisy, although it is present in certain cases and circumstances, but it speaks about delicacies or interests that do not admit sincerity and honesty. And in these aspects, human communication is different from that of non-human beings from nature.

People have done and do to each other many bad things through communication. For this reason, human communication must be based, penetrated by the universal human paradigm or the Anthropological Principle. The human paradigm and anthropological principle are often used by me as synonyms. Both express the humanism (traditional, ecological and ethnic) that is required implemented in all spheres of human activity. Hence the universal paradigm of the human. All paradigms of science and human practice, sooner or later, have been and are being replaced by others. This principle seems more constant and more permanent. Both the principle and the paradigm are about humanism and humanity, which does not have to be temporary, changed with something else. Using them as synonyms, in some previous publications I have used the term Paradigm of the human, and in others the Anthropological or Human Principle, considering them both necessary and permanent in all human activities, including in communication. So, it does not matter that we use the term human paradigm, or anthropological or human principle, it is important that it is about the implementation of humanism in all human relations and activities.

The necessity of the universal human paradigm in military communication.

According to some studies of strategic communication, says George

David, "Communication between the components of the Ministry of National Defense is at best sporadic and, in some situations, non-existent. There seems to be an uninstitutionalized link between the Minister, Secretary of State and the Chief of the General Staff. Below this level, the communication channels close very quickly"¹⁴⁸. These are also valid for the National Army of the Republic of Moldova of today. The defense ministers in our country change a few times a year, each (usually) comes with its "opinions" (caprices). Communication and communication management in the army must function permanently and adequately to the reality. However, communication, especially when it comes to the military sphere, has to be analyzed properly to exclude certain unpleasant or even very dangerous, possibly tragic surprises.

The management of the Russian communication, regarding the annexation of Crimea, was very knowledgeable on the one hand, but on the other hand it showed Russia's cowardice towards Ukraine, which until now were considered sisters with a common Slavic ancestry.

Misleading world public opinion, Russia under the pretext of effective guarding of the participants in the Olympic Games in Sochi, has displaced military of thousands near Crimea. If the West had stepped up to defend Crimea, Russia was ready to use the nuclear weapon only to not retrocede the Crimea to the Ukraine. More than that. The Russian Federation demanded a much larger territory. In the 18th century, the Novorossia province was created in the Russian empire. The boundaries of this province over the years

¹⁴⁸David G., *Managementul comunicării în Armata României*. Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare „Carol I”, București 2005, p.11.

have been constantly changed. Thus, from a historical perspective, the Kharkov regions as well as the northern districts of the Luhansk region can be considered as territories that were part of the "Novorossia" project, on the one hand. On the other hand, the historical "novorossia" was assigned to the regions of Crimea and Taganrog¹⁴⁹. A new impetus for this political project was given by Russian President V. Putin, who at the press conference on April 17, 2014 stated that Kharkov, Donetsk, Luhank, Herson, Nicolaev and Odessa are areas that constitute "novorossia", areas which historically did not belong to Ukraine. From President Putin's assertions, "novorossia" was included in the composition of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks as a result of the 1917 revolution. Eastern Ukraine: Odessa, Herson, Nicolaev, Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozhe, Kharkov, Donetsk and Luhansk. In fact, as a result of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, only the Luhansk and Donetsk republics were created¹⁵⁰.

Putin, in his time, wanted the Republic of Belarus, which was to become part of Russia, to be divided into 7 provinces, which made Lucașenco, the president of Belarus, give back the Rosia Union. Belarusians didn't do it. Now the ghost of this union appears again, and the Belarussians protest vehemently and massively in Minsk and other cities of the republic. Little does he seem to have a psychic complex with the formation of provinces and republics.

¹⁴⁹S. Plop, S. Cebotari, *Securitatea Republicii Moldova în contextul unui eventual scenariu „Novorossia”*, in "Mediul strategic de securitate: Provocări și tendințe", Chișinău 2019, p.18

¹⁵⁰Ibidem, p. 19

Dilemma of the ways of development of the Republic of Moldova in the current complex.

The failure of the Russian policy of dismantling the Ukrainian state was due to the effective communication of the West through countermeasures taken in response to the actions of the Russian Federation in Ukraine. The main one, however, was the refusal of the population from the mentioned regions of Ukraine, to support Russia's aggressive policy and to join the 2 existing "republics".

"Although it is considered a failure, it is not excluded that this project will be reactivated by the Russian Federation"¹⁵¹. Thus, Moldova, like Romania, Ukraine, is worried about its threatened state security from the East. Could the Republic of Moldova effectively resist the possible Russian aggression? Yes, it could, but only in two cases: either it joins NATO and the EU, which is impossible today, or it unites with Romania from which it was violently snatched by the Russians in 1940 and 1944 and who keep us on we Moldovan Romanians hostage today through Transnistria. "Romania, - affirms the general (2) Vasile Roman, has the mission to convince the Republic of Moldova of the need to travel a common route for accession to the European Union, either by the possible opportunity of opening the union, or by achieving the unification of the two states". "Also, he writes, Romania must convince all the actors involved in the project of the economic and security importance of the Republic of Moldova and the fact that the virtual relocation of the security border of both NATO and the EU on the Dniester river would be a great

¹⁵¹Idem

strategic advantage”¹⁵². What would be the economic importance of Moldova? Vasile Roman writes that in a synthetic approach we find that the importance of the Republic of Moldova is given by the fact that it is a country located in the south-east of Europe with a soil suitable for agriculture in a proportion of 53%, it has an exit to the Danube river on 700 meters (can be used for access to the sea), it has the Dniester river and a hydrographic network of 16000 km¹⁵³.

The accession to NATO and the EU, as well as the re-unification of Moldova with Romania, depends not only on the external factors but also on the internal ones. However, the consolidation of the Moldovan political class on these issues is completely lacking. Without this, however, joining the EU and NATO, as well as re-uniting with Romania, are impossible. Submitting to the analysis the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, as well as the impact of the Russian project "Novorossia", a project which, although exhausted, its reactivation is not excluded, it is worth mentioning, says Sergiu Plop and Svetlana Cebotari that all these factors have a direct impact on the security of R. Moldova. In the context of the events in Ukraine, as well as the presence of internal threats (Transnistria, Gagauzia etc. N.n.) towards the state security, the consolidation of the political class from Chisinau, of the civil society becomes an imperative of the time¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵²V. Roman, *Republica Moldova și proiectul Intermarium*, in "Mediul strategic de securitate: Provocări și tendințe", Chișinău 2019, p.92

¹⁵³ Idem

¹⁵⁴S. Plop, S. Cebotari S., *Securitatea Republicii Moldova în contextul unui eventual scenariu „Novorossia”*, in "Mediul strategic de securitate: Provocări și tendințe", Chișinău 2019, p.32

Strengthening the political class and civil society, as well as strengthening national security, increasing the economy and material well-being, raising the standard of living of the Moldovan population, must be based on the universal paradigm of the human, on the human intercultural, internal and external, of state and interstate and international communication, ultimately. "The relations between the states, - says IonicăCârciu, - are carried out according to their interests, the national interest being predominant. The way they generate, amplify or mitigate different conflict situations determines what is called the political and international security situation”¹⁵⁵. Thus, the relations between Moldova and its neighbors Ukraine and Romania bring their contribution to the political and international security situation. If they are good, they positively influence the international situation, if they are bad - the influence is harmful and not beneficial.

But how are the relations of Moldova with Ukraine and Romania in reality? Relations with Ukraine could be much better than they are today, both states - Ukraine and Moldova have common vital interests: stopping Russian aggression and leaving the Russian Federation's area of influence. Ukraine, during the Transnistrian conflict, did not support Moldova, hoping that this area will sooner or later become part of it. Thus, Ukraine was looking after its national interest back then.

Ukraine's actions regarding the building on the Dniester River of six electrical stations, as well as the

¹⁵⁵I. Cîrciu, *Dinamism și incertitudine în geopolitica actuală*, in "Mediul strategic de securitate: Provocări și tendințe", Chișinău 2019, p.36.

prohibition of education in Romanian language for the population in the south and north of the former Bessarabia, territories dictatorially included in the composition of Ukraine, do not positively influence Moldova for a common alliance against the Russian Federation. Ukraine, in this situation, should further moderate its aforementioned tendencies to have an additional ally against Russian tendencies of annexation of foreign territories.

In essence, the relations of the Republic of Moldova with Romania are nothing better, even considering the disinterested material support and assistance granted to Moldova. The division of the political class and of the civil society, and of population correspondingly, supported by the Kremlin, makes it impossible at the moment to find the ways and methods of reintegration of the Republic of Moldova into the composition of Romania. Bringing them together would not only strengthen the Romanian state, but as we have shown, considerably the EU and NATO.

The reunification of the Republic of Moldova with Romania would be in full agreement with the universal paradigm of the human, so humanism would triumph in its new variant in ecosophy - traditional humanism, ecological and ethnic one. Hence the enormous importance of mass-media communication in general to illuminate the minds of many who are lost and frightened by the negative Russian and pro-Russian propaganda, carried and disseminated by the media hostile of reunification.

Propaganda, says SorinBecciu, is the action of spreading ideas that present and support a theory, a conception, a political party, etc., in order to convince

and win followers¹⁵⁶. This is the positive meaning of propaganda, as a synonym for publicity or advertising. In the perception of English speakers, propaganda is closely related to the lie, the deception, the manipulation, terms with a profound evil load, says SorinBecciu. In the view of the Latin countries, propaganda means "publicity". In the Romanian space, due to the influence of the communist totalitarian regime, the meaning of the term "propaganda" is approaching the Anglo-Saxon tradition¹⁵⁷. As things would not be in reality, the universal paradigm of the human is necessary both in the field of advertising and propaganda. The humanity is necessary in any sphere and field of human activity, including propaganda, or to better put it, counter-propaganda.

To combat black propaganda, says SorinBecciu, counter-propaganda actions are organized. Counter-propaganda involves actions designed to combat enemy propaganda. It is closely linked to propaganda, because similar methods are used. However, counter-propaganda has a defensive purpose and can be based, as opposed to propaganda (which allows lies), only on the truth.

Counter-propaganda feeds thematically, says S. Becciu, from the ideology of the state and promotes spiritual and aesthetic values, general human ideas and advanced democratic practices specific to the given state. It also promotes a healthy way of life based on an ancestral culture and multisecular traditions, to combat pseudoculture and non-values promoted subtly. A second goal is to unmask enemy propaganda, spreading

¹⁵⁶S, Becciu, *Efectul propagandei asupra statelor în proces de modernizare.*, in "Revista Militară", no.1, Chişinău, 2018, p.62

¹⁵⁷Ibidem, p. 63

misinformation, myths and rumors. The strategic task of the counter-propaganda activities would be to eliminate the channels for promoting the hostile ideas; the formation to the citizens of a moral, aesthetic and cognitive immunity to the harmful ideas of the spirit and the health; formation of strong beliefs in the citizens, based on modern science, the history of the nation and the Church, the holy books of civilizations and the ancestral culture, the knowledge of the universal culture and aesthetics. The strategic task also involves counteracting all forms of diversions and informational misinformation coming from inside and outside by operationally revealing their goals, methods of promotion, by conducting counteracting activities¹⁵⁸.

The Baltic States and Ukraine have succeeded in stopping the black, evil propaganda of Russia; Moldova has not succeeded. In our country, even the president, I. Dodon, deals with propaganda and misinformation, while not being stopped doing it, not even talking about the punishment appropriate for his actions of great treason of the state. In Moldova it is always unlike in civilized and truly democratic countries. The population of the Moldovan state is ultimately to blame. However, this cannot continue to infinity. Sooner or later, the purifying "explosion" will also occur. Nothing is eternal; everything is transient, even good and evil. The triumph of the human paradigm is inevitable here, too, in Moldova.

Namely, propaganda in its harmful sense in the Republic of Moldova emphasizes geopolitics, dividing and contrasting the population in this way. Geopolitics, in the broadest sense, - says

IonicăCîrciu, - the science that studies the geographical influences on the relations between powers, in the context of international politics - has known, over time, different degrees of attention in the theoretical approaches of the specialists, in the attitudes of independent political analysts as well as in the actions of state or non-state actors.

It is considered that the maximum point of the return of geopolitics in the sphere of public interest was reached in the period 1989-1990 when the balance of power established at the global level was unbalanced by the manifestation of global turbulences¹⁵⁹.

Geopolitical theoreticians, IonicăCîrciu further states, - have tried to demonstrate the importance of geography in the development of national policies, referring to natural borders, access to important trade routes and to having control over territories of strategic importance for the Russian Federation or, it can be used as an effective platform against the Balkan world and even the whole of Europe, in the event of a military conflict between Russia and the Western world. Hence the interest of the Russians to use Transdnistria and, if possible, the entire Moldovan republic, in its expansionist interests. Basically, the entire Russian-speaking population of the republic, including Transnistria and Gagauzia, plus a certain part of the indigenous population that does not respect their national identity, is on the Russian vector of political tendencies.

Even with our Republic supporting and tending towards the EU, NATO and

¹⁵⁸Ibidem, p.66

¹⁵⁹I. Cîrciu, *Dinamism și incertitudine în geopolitica actuală*, in "Mediul strategic de securitate: Provocări și tendințe", Chișinău 2019, p.35.

Romania, it can be said with regret, that only a part of its population becomes a geopolitical and strategic interest for the West as well. From here and the deviations of the Moldovan politics either on one side, or on the other, so on the Russian one, or on the Westerner one. Even this state of affairs or situation is convenient for Russia.

The triumph of the universal human paradigm in this field of geopolitics would bring Moldova to its rightful place - in the European Union and in the composition of Romania. Let us hope that the triumph of the mentioned paradigm is not far off. "In the conditions when, as a result of the advanced technologies, the geographical distances have decreased, the geographical factor, however, continues to be an important factor in the political, economic, military or any other decision making"¹⁶⁰.

Intercultural, interethnic, interstate, interregional communication leads to globalization. How this will be depends decisively on the morality of people, ethnicities, states and humanity as a whole. Only of these will be based on the golden rule of morality (European Christian conception) or the law of reciprocity (Confucian conception) i.e. based on "Do not do to another what you do not want to be done to you" or "Do to another what you wish to be done to you". They form the core of the Universal Paradigm of Human or the Anthropological Principle.

The whole world is in a critical moment today, says IonicăCîrciu, due to the fact that the relations between states change substantially - the conflicts are resolved mainly by force, especially the military one, and not by dialogue, and the claims made by a number of countries in

terms of their "exclusivity" encourage a new arms race, including in the outer space. The main world actors and partner states, says IonicăCîrciu, will always act to occupy a leading position in the hierarchy, but will not accept the global hegemony of someone else, and for this reason expressing, at least on a declarative level, for equity in the international order, in which the solutions for ensuring peace and security are jointly adopted, through extended political dialogue. In the absence of concrete solutions for the development of international political dialogue, Russia has already focused on unilaterally raising the potential of national defense and security¹⁶¹. It defies all previous restrictions on the pursuit of armaments, shocking international public opinion by responding appropriately.

Today's Russia cannot reconcile with the new realities, that it is no longer one of the two economic superpowers in the world, that it is no longer at the head of a military bloc equal to NATO. The latter has broadened considerably, at times even closer to the borders of the Russian Federation. The latter tends to remain a superpower in the military field, even if not in the economic one. It does everything possible to be perceived in this way and is capable of many actions incompatible with pacifist and collaborative tendencies. Putin's Russia has today become a death threat to the world, for peace first and foremost. It is not against globalization, only that it should be recognized at its head.

The tendency of people towards rudimentary globalization was still

¹⁶⁰Ibidem, p.37

¹⁶¹I. Cîrciu, *Dinamism și incertitudine în geopolitica actuală*, in "Mediul strategic de securitate: Provocări și tendințe", Chișinău 2019, p.43.

manifest in antiquity and throughout the historical period until the second half of the 20th century. This is manifested through the conquest of territories, ethnicities, states. The Great Empires, starting with Alexander the Great, the Roman Empire, Cinghiz-Khan, Ottoman, Austrian, Tsarist, British, French, colonial in general, etc. they tended to globalize the world not through dialogue, science, economics but through violent and anti-human conquests.

The Soviet empire, based on Marxist ideology, which theoretically proclaimed the equality of rights of all people, ethnicities and states, like the Roman Empire, which at a certain stage began to rely on Christian ideology, which also theoretically proclaimed the equality of all before the divinity, could have become the first model of human globalization, not based on violence and conquests. But it wasn't to be. The failure of Christian ideology was due, I believe, to anti-human methods of attracting people and people to this faith.

The Soviet empire, especially during the Gorbachev period, could have turned into one of the first models of globalization, if a new Union Contract with a true democratic and true equality of the Union Republics was made. Russia could not go for it and the USSR collapsed. The Russians were incapable of overcoming their national ambitions and in building the CIS, also remaining "leaders", "rulers", therefore "at the forefront".

Basically, they do not recognize or are incapable of performing peer-to-peer communication. Thus, the possible first world-wide globalization of contemporary globalization has failed. We have the impression that Russia is incapable of

becoming a democratic state in the true sense of the word.

The second contemporary model of restricted globalization, we believe, is presented by the European Union, which today has many problems. They also derive from the tendency to impose certain things, of wills restricted to all members, being practically suitable only for Germany and France. Brussels is assuming certain things without consulting its partners properly. Perhaps such decisions have led to Brexit, or have served as a pretext for it.

The EU, so far, remains an experiment and a micro-model of globalization, taking into account even its failures, errors. Will this model survive? Time will tell. We believe that it will survive and serve as a model for general globalization, only if it corrects its mistakes and the leading countries will defeat their own ambitions. The universal human paradigm is required in the practice and activities of the EU, of all its members, in globalization and globalism. All this cannot take place outside of communication which is also based on the universal paradigm of the human.

The mentioned paradigm is required in all types and genres of communication, including in the so-called organizational communication. "Today, says VasileChioca, any organization must, voluntarily or by necessity, listen to its interlocutors and respond to the expectations of an increasingly diverse and demanding audience. Shareholders, suppliers, consumers, opinion leaders, journalists and public authorities have asserted their right to know and understand. They communicate and want to build a communication policy as

efficient as possible”¹⁶². The effectiveness of communication will also depend on the degree of appropriateness, use and dissemination of the requirements of humanism, hence the universal paradigm of the human.

Organizational communication, says Vasile Ghioca, appears increasingly as a complex process in which the meaning of the messages is not given a priori, but a construction with a deep cultural character that is elaborated collectively according to the situations, in the time and place. The human paradigm is needed especially when it comes to conflict-tension situations concerning the organization. "The managers of the organization, says the mentioned author, must propose ways to provoke and even perpetuate conflicts, but also ways to ameliorate and resolve them.

By researching the sources of conflicts and the relationship between communication and conflict, conflict resolution strategies are formulated. At the same time, it is argued that the negotiation occupies the central place in the management of relations within the organization, as well as of the relations between the organization and its external environment”¹⁶³.

Globalization includes practically all the states of the world in its “law”. They could be compared and likened to organizations. Conflict-tension situations in them and between them could be solved according to the model set out above and based on the human paradigm. This path in the future could reach the upper stage of globalization, which would coincide with the building of the Global Union of

Nations, similar to the future European Union, so a harmonized or at least optimized EU. This is where the European Union will be able to serve as a micro model for a macromodel - the Global Union of Nations, which will be qualitatively different from the UN today.

Based on the universal paradigm of the human, the GUN will be able to exclude from its practice and from humanity the violence and wars. Otherwise, insecurity will persist until all forms of terrestrial life and, first of all, the human species disappear.

The universal paradigm of the human is necessary in the activity of communication of the entire mass-media system, including the educational programs of entertainment of those related to films and the television theater¹⁶⁴. "Currently, says Alexandru Lupașcu-Bohanțov, following the unprecedented proliferation of audiovisual products of entertainment, the literary page of quality is increasingly hardening its way to the small screen ... and yet, in the age when television and new media literally bumped the cultural space, the theater, as an elite art, must modernize its communication strategies with the public, including through the use of audiovisual channels”¹⁶⁵.

Strategies for communicating with the public will not be successful if they lack the component of the humanity, therefore the universal paradigm of the human. The entire journalistic output, including the print media, is in dire need of the humanity and human paradigm. Especially under the current conditions.

¹⁶²V. Ghioca, *Mijloacele comunicării organizaționale*, in "Convergențe spirituale Iași-Chișinău", no.14-15, Iași 2019, pp.104-115

¹⁶³Ibidem, pp. 104-105.

¹⁶⁴A. Lupașcu-Bohanțov, *Privire retrospectivă asupra teatrului de televiziune*, in "Convergențe spirituale Iași-Chișinău", No.14-15, Iași 2019, pp.14-22

¹⁶⁵Ibidem, p. 22

"The involvement of new information technologies in the print media activity", says Georgeta Stepanov, despite the fact that it conditioned some conceptual and functional changes, had a positive impact on its evolution, as it created new conditions for manifestation in the contemporary media context, and through this has provided this element of the media system with stability and competitiveness on the contemporary international market"¹⁶⁶.

The new technologies and their implementation in the activity of the media in general, of course, is a beneficial thing, but even more beneficial will be when it is truly implemented and the human factor or the universal human paradigm will work. This also implies "independence, impartiality, fairness and equidistance, which are probably the most important values of a truly independent press. To reflect the events in the press from the perspective of these basic norms of journalistic ethics is a professional obligation of every journalist"¹⁶⁷.

Communication concerning the media, based on the universal paradigm of the human, not only contributes to the education of the masses, to the resolution of the conflictual states between people, organizations and states, but also to the strengthening of the national identity, to the consolidation of the national unity"¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁶G. Stepanov, *Impactul pozitiv al tehnologiilor informaționale moderne asupra producerii jurnalistice. Cazul presei tipărite*, in *Convergențe spirituale Iași-Chișinău*, No.14-15, Iași 2019, p.87

¹⁶⁷B. Parfentiev, *Presa din Republica Moldova – în continuare parțial liberă*, in "Convergențe spirituale Iași-Chișinău", No.14-15, Iași 2019, p.132

¹⁶⁸Guzun M. *Contribuția mass-mediei la consolidarea unității naționale. Convergențe spirituale Iași-Chișinău*, No.14-15, Iași 2019, pp.162-166

In the confirmation, I use a double quote. Journalist Mihail Guzun states that "in an interesting essay - " Language and identity: National, Ethnic, Religious "- its author, John Joseph, reflecting on the beginnings of nationalism, reproduces the biblical subject concerning Making the world (Genesis). It is assumed, as Joseph notes that in the absence of a common name, that is, of national identity, people must necessarily spread. Identity creation aims to serve the interests of consolidating people, who belong to a nation and who are dependent on each other and on their places of birth. It is a perfectly valid thought also for those who are now in the process of identifying ... their national identity, strengthening their national unity"¹⁶⁹.

Conclusions

Communication, like work, consciousness, culture and societal life, is characteristic of man, it is an attribute of it, even from the beginnings of anthropogenesis, therefore of man, distinguishing qualitatively from that of animals.

The human paradigm, the universal human paradigm, the human principle or the anthropological principle are used by us as synonyms, meaning the implementation of humanism in all spheres of human activity.

The necessity of the universal paradigm of the human in the communication and management of the military communication has today a vital importance in ensuring the security, survival and sustainable development of the man, the society and the terrestrial nature.

¹⁶⁹Ibidem, p. 166.

Efficient communication, based on the universal human paradigm, of the Republic of Moldova with the EU, NATO, Romania, as well as the strengthening of the Moldovan political class, also through communication, is the way to solve the problem of further development of the population of the former Bessarabia or of R. Moldova.

The communication related to the media, based on the mentioned paradigm, contributes to educating the masses, to solving the conflicting states, to strengthening their identity and to consolidating the national unity.

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FUTURE POLITICS, HUMAN SSECURITY AND THE FUTURE OF THE HUMAN BEING

Abstract:	<i>Conscience lives in time and its most obvious trait is the capacity for constant self modification and adaptation to new circumstances, a limitless responsiveness to new and urgent conditions of relevance. Could computers ever be conscious?</i> <i>This has been a thorny question with a long and tangled history. Some argue that only biological entities can be conscious while others claim that it is the functions the computer carries out that are relevant, not what it is made of.</i>
Keywords:	Conscience; Politics; Security; Human Being; Human Enhancement; Morality; Dignity; Power
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When we think about the future we generally think about a world in which people who are identical to us in every important way enjoy better technology: laser guns, intelligent robots, and spaceships that travel at the speed of light. Yet the revolutionary potential of future technologies is to change Homo sapiens itself, including our bodies and our minds, and not merely our vehicles and weapons. The most amazing thing about the future won't be the spaceship, but the beings flying them¹⁷⁰. This is the vision shared by those who consider that humankind should be upgraded and is directly connected to one human ideal -the one of immortality. History has demonstrated that along centuries rich

people especially, but in positive circumstances, others, who were in search of comfort and well-being, have tried to do their best to live as long as possible and as well as possible.

The search for immortality became the personal quest of King Gilgamesh of Uruk who decided that he would somehow find a way to defeat death...Yet Gilgamesh failed in his quest. He returned home empty-handed, as mortal as ever, but with one new piece of wisdom. When the gods created man, Gilgamesh had learned, they set death as man's inevitable destiny, and man must learn to live with it¹⁷¹.

But those who consider progress to be inevitable and a priority of our time do not share the conclusion of Gilgamesh.

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.ynharari.co./topic/future/>,
(12.11.2019)

¹⁷¹ Idem

For men of science, death is not an inevitable destiny, but merely a technical problem. People die not because the gods decreed it, but due to various technical failures...And every technical problem has a technical solution. If the heart flutters, it can be stimulated by a pacemaker or replaced by a new heart. If cancer rampages, it can be killed with drugs or radiation. If bacteria proliferate, they can be subdued with antibiotics. True, at present we cannot solve all technical problems. But we are working on them.

Our best minds are not wasting their time trying to give meaning to death. Instead, they are busy investigating the physiological, hormonal, and genetic systems responsible for disease and old age. They are developing new medicines, revolutionary treatments and artificial organs that will lengthen our lives and might one day vanquish the Grim Reaper himself¹⁷².

This is the voice of the dominant ideology of the present moment- the New Marxist one, promoting the material values and vision, and supporting the system all over the world while presenting it as being the most advanced and, at the same time, the most humane one. Yuval Noah Harari is not the only prominent voice of this ideology.

Jacques Attali is another one, the one who speaks about transhumans as vanguard players and about technical advances which will foster a growing awareness in a growing number of people that the world is a village that abundance is conceivable, that it is possible for everyone to live longer and much better.¹⁷³ He

insists to make us all believe that each of these transhumans will be altruistic, a citizen of the planet...his neighbor's equal in rights and obligations, hospitable and respectful of the world. Together, transhumans will give birth to planetary institutions and change the course of industrial enterprises.

For the benefit of each individual, they will develop **essential goods** (the most important being a good time), and for the general benefit a **common good**(whose chief dimension will be a **collective intelligence**)¹⁷⁴. Attali continues, insisting that those who advance the cause of men who will realise that happiness depends on that of others and that the human species can only survive united and pacific...will become... transhumans, altruistic, conscious of the history of the future¹⁷⁵.

There are other voices, honest and more reasonable, who are trying to define and clarify the term of *transhumanism*. Professor Nicu Gavriluță, from Iași, includes transhumanism in the same group with political correctness and the technologies of the future, interpreting them as the new secular religions. Professor Gavriluță considers that transhumanism represents the secular cult of Homo Deus, a possible dystopia as it is developed on a basis which lacks the sacred element. He insists that the spiritual perspective of the observer is important, as he/she is structuring reality.

The common element of the three secular religions is, among others, a certain type of spiritual reductionism. The three of them reduce the spiritual data to philosophical questions of ethics.

¹⁷²<https://www.ynharari.co./topic/future/>, (12.11.2019)

¹⁷³ Jacques Attali, *A Brief History of the Future*, Arcade Publishing, New York, 2011, p.257

¹⁷⁴ Ibidem, p.259

¹⁷⁵ Ibidem, p.260

Mythological and religious components are de-sacred, simplified or even ignored¹⁷⁶.

Other authors, using a different style, ask direct questions about transhumanism. Laurent Alexandre and Jean-Michel Besnier, in their book on transhumanism, ask twelve questions which can clarify the problem if answered honestly:

1. Should the human species be improved?
2. Should mankind change its way of reproduction?
3. Can technology really fix everything?
4. Will we all become cyborgs?
5. Could we make love to a robot?
6. Do we really want to live a thousand years?
7. Is transhumanism a form of eugenics?
8. Will artificial intelligence destroy the human being?
9. What are the economic risks?
10. Are laws necessary?
11. Should we expect A Brave New World?
12. How far can we push research?¹⁷⁷

What we know at this moment is that **transhumanism** or **posthumanism** is defined as a **futurist ideology** and also a movement, a **philosophical movement**, advocating for **the enhancing of human intellect and physiology**.

Jamie Susskind, a more balanced author than Harari or Attali, discusses the big problems and asks the big questions of

future politics. One fundamental concept of humankind is **power**. The question is: how do the strong dominate the weak? The honest answer follows: by exerting power. And he goes on, defining power as the bedrock of political order and the godfather of political concepts.

Any serious effort to understand the future of politics must involve an investigation of what power is, what forms it will take, and who *will wield it*.¹⁷⁸ Susskind suggests that **in the future power** will take **three forms: force, scrutiny and perception-control**. He adds that digital technology will increasingly be the main source of all three. This means that those who control the technologies of force, scrutiny, and perception-control will be powerful¹⁷⁹.

Advances in genetic engineering, medicine, robotics, nano-technology, and AI are set to alter our biology in ways that the theorists of the past could scarcely have imagined. The ability to edit our DNA, to join together with machines (using implants, prosthetics, and interfaces) and adopt their unhuman power as our own, to manufacture fresh new organs and tissues, to personalize medical treatment for the genetic makeup of each patient-such faculties could forever change what it means to be human. Human enhancement is no longer the stuff of fiction.¹⁸⁰ Following this vision, we should mention that some authors consider that our descendants will improve their minds, mood, and memory. They'll be able to diminish the effects of pain and the need for sleep. They'll sharpen their senses,

¹⁷⁶ Nicu Gavriluță, *Noile Religii Seculare, Corectitudinea politică, tehnologiile viitorului și transumanismul*, Polirom, Iași, București, 2018, p. 204

¹⁷⁷ Laurent Alexandre, Jean-Michel Besnier, *Pot face roboții dragoste? 12 întrebări despre transumanism*, Humanitas, București, 2019, p.5

¹⁷⁸ Jamie Susskind, *Future Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018, p.89

¹⁷⁹ Idem

¹⁸⁰ Jamie Susskind, *Future Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018, p. 362

giving them superhuman vision and hearing. They'll access entirely new worlds of emotions, sensation and desire. They'll have the capacity to dictate the characteristics of their unborn children. They'll slow or reverse the ageing process, postponing death itself¹⁸¹.

But with such impressive changes in the body and the mind of the human species, the consequences will be felt in all the other fields of activity, at all levels, including politics in general and human rights in particular. Important ethical questions generated by these programmes of human enhancement will appear, if they are not already in the process of discussion:

- Should such an enhancement be permitted?
- On what terms should it be permitted?
- Should it be considered a right?
- Should self-enhancement be seen as a duty to unborn generations and the gene pool itself?¹⁸²

It seems that one immediate aspect of the political risk of the human enhancement could be its accessibility. Some authors compare the access to this possible future enhancement with the one to the health care system, as there are too many who cannot benefit from the present health care system unless they have money. Will such a dream-like programme of enhancement be available only for the rich people?¹⁸³

Normally, we consider that **politics** refers to the collective life of human beings... then any change in what it means to be a human being is likely to have profound political consequences. A

world in which a class of new godlings emerges to live alongside the old Homo sapiens is one in which the term politics itself ceases to have a clear or fixed meaning. We are still living in a society in which the individuals are all recognizably human. In the world to come, this assumption may no longer be safe. **The difference between classes could look more like the difference between species**¹⁸⁴. Considering such a perspective, we could ask ourselves questions as following:

- What would be the meaning of politics in such a world?
- Would we still seek to live together in the same way?

Even if we still cannot answer such questions, we can say for sure that we are not ready -intellectually, philosophically or morally- for the world we are creating...

Yuval Noah Harari, in his already famous book *Sapiens A Brief History of Humankind*, suggests that we should take seriously... the idea that the next stage of history will include not only technological and organisational, but also fundamental transformations in human consciousness and identity¹⁸⁵. But, as he himself states most people prefer not to think about it.¹⁸⁶ Yet there are so many questions to answer at this point:

- What is it forbidden to do?
- Is it acceptable to carry out genetic experiments on living human beings?
- On aborted fetuses?
- On stem cells?
- Is it ethical to clone sheep?
- And chimpanzees?

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 363

¹⁸² Idem

¹⁸³ Jamie Susskind, *Future Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2018, p. 363

¹⁸⁴ Idem

¹⁸⁵ Yuval Noah Harari, *Sapiens A Brief History of Humankind*, Vintage Books, London, 2014, p. 463

¹⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 464

-And what about humans?

All of these are important questions, but it is naive to imagine that we might simply... stop the scientific projects that are upgrading Homo Sapiens into a different kind of being. For these projects are inextricably meshed together with The Gilgamesh Project¹⁸⁷ or The Human Brain Project and so on. Harari goes on revealing a fragment of the big truth by saying that we should ask scientists why they study the genome, or try to connect a brain to a computer or try to create a mind inside a computer. Nine out of ten times you'll get the same standard answer: We are doing it to cure diseases and save human lives...this is the standard justification given, because nobody can argue with it. This is why the Gilgamesh Project is the flagship of science. It serves to justify everything science does.

Harari invites all of us to have a moment of self awareness and admit that humans seem to be more irresponsible than ever, that we consider ourselves self-made gods with only the laws of physics to keep us company... accountable to no one,¹⁸⁸ the masters of the entire planet but terrorising the surrounding ecosystem, and seeking little more than our own comfort and amusement, yet never finding satisfaction.

With a realistic to negative conclusion that can make all of us be totally ashamed, this contemporary historian insists that unfortunately, the Sapiens regime on earth has so far produced little that we can be proud of. We have mastered our surroundings, increased food production, built cities, established empires and created fat-flung trade networks. But did we decrease the amount

of suffering in the world? Time and again, massive increases in human power did not necessarily improve the well-being of individual Sapiens, and usually caused immense misery to other animals...Is there anything more dangerous than dissatisfied and irresponsible gods who don't know what they want?¹⁸⁹

And yet, another conclusion of Harari, confirming the approach of Professor Nicu Gavriluță when talking about the new secular religions, conclusion-vision, directed towards the future of mankind, which, from Harari's point of view, seems to look more science fiction than ever, maybe even horror fiction. The new religions...will emerge from research laboratories...where hi-tech gurus are brewing for us brave new religions that have little to do with God, and everything to do with technology. They promise all the old prizes-happiness, peace, prosperity and even eternal life-but here on earth with the help of technology, rather than after death with the help of celestial beings.¹⁹⁰

In order to conclude, we insist that the concept of **human security**, one of the fundamental concepts of our everyday life, should remain flexible enough to develop as our understanding of the roots of worldwide insecurity deepens as does our capacity to address them¹⁹¹. And we go on, adding that human **security analysis** has called attention to the importance of recognizing the interconnections between a host of factors that in combination produce

¹⁸⁷ Idem

¹⁸⁸ Ibidem, pp.465-466

¹⁸⁹ Yuval Noah Harari, *Sapiens A Brief History of Humankind*, Vintage Books, London, 2014, p. 466

¹⁹⁰ Yuval Noah Harari, *Homo Deus A Brief History of Tomorrow*, Vintage, London, 2017, p.409

¹⁹¹ ShahrbanouTadjbakhsh, Anuradha M. Chenoy, *Human Security Concepts and implications*, Routledge, London, 2009, p.71

insecurity providing an effective means for preventing the degradation of people's well-being and dignity, as human security ...signifies shared political and moral values¹⁹². Our theoretical basis considers that debates regarding international security must include considerations of power and politics, that is, questions concerning who gets to set the agenda or decide how particular issues are understood as threats and to whom, and also that debates about international security inevitably refer to justice, morality and social responsibility¹⁹³.

Any understanding of the political and ethical nature of debates about **international security** requires understanding that such debates often have background in the different conceptual and theoretical assumptions that different actors have, about both the content and nature of security and of what it constitutes the appropriate concern of **international politics**¹⁹⁴.

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¹⁹² Idem

¹⁹³ Christopher S. Browning, *International Security*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013, p.3

¹⁹⁴ Ibidem, p.4

DERADICALIZATION FOR DUMMIES. THE SCOURGE OF HAZARD

Abstract:	<i>Radicalization nowadays represents an extremely complex topic. Farhad Khosrokhavar, a sociologist at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris) came up with a complex definition: „ the process by which an individual or a group adopts a violent form of action, that is directly linked to an extremist ideology with a political, social, or religious content, which contests the established political, social, or cultural order „ (Radicalisation, 2014, p. 7). In most cases, we come across the term „ radicalization „ in a context related to immigration, terrorism, counter-terrorism, political and/or religious violence, the Islam vs. the West paradigm, key notions in understanding the big issues in the contemporary world.</i> <i>Thus, we witness a heightened preoccupation with radicalization on a European political level, correlated with an entire chain of events on the international scene. Out of this arises the necessity of programs and concrete measures for deradicalization, implying those actions meant to "reverse the radicalization process" the term being mostly used in relation with Islamist terrorism.</i>
Keywords:	Radicalization; Deradicalization; Terrorism; France; Islamism
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People are willing to kill or be killed over a cartoon, a flag, a piece of clothing, a song. We have some explaining to do, concludes Robert Sapolsky, professor of biology and neurology at Stanford, in a closing chapter of his monumental work¹⁹⁵, entitled *Behave*.

¹⁹⁵ Over 800 pages, according to the Romanian edition: Robert M. Sapolsky, *Biologia ființelor umane în ipostazele lor cele mai bune și cele mai rele*, Ed. Publica, 2018, p. 631 (English edition:

I confess that I did not intend to write, these days, about the phenomenon of radicalization and, implicitly, about what one terms "deradicalization practices". It is sufficient to turn on the news, be they online or on TV, to witness how, all around us, fanaticism and intolerance proliferate.

Behave: The Biology of Humans at Our Best and Worst, 2017)

Paradoxically, even though we live in a brave new world, designed by technology¹⁹⁶, the situation evolves according to a much older paradigm: everyone has declared war on everyone else¹⁹⁷ and the only thing that matters is the level of aggression with which one manifests oneself, and by means of which one sustains one's beliefs and ideas.

We did not become civilized, in accordance with the expectations. However, I digress. Two recent events prompted me to reconsider my stance on the aforementioned aspects. In fact, more than events, they were two trivial verbal exchanges about life. The first one occurred while I was in Bucharest, when I heard, for the first time, the term "jihadăală" (English: a jihad-like deluge). "Watch out! The jihad-deluge is coming!", in the sense of "flash flood", "torrent", "violent rain". A term characteristic of suburbia jargon, but without alluding to Muslims or Arabs. The second source of inspiration was, I confess, self-incriminatory. I was on the phone with somebody, talking about a friend who preferred the couch and the TV to going out, and I found myself saying: "If he continues this way, he'll get radicalized..." I was thinking, of course, not along the lines of him embracing some cult or ideology or planning a terrorist attack (here one must ponder on the necessity of amply studying this phenomenon, outside the public flow of prejudice), but rather simply considering that this isolation weakens the

spirit and might result in various anxieties, or in extremist, unexpected behaviours.

Listening to and watching only news of a certain type, the individual comes to project his inner universe between artificially imposed parameters. Of course, at that moment, I was exaggerating, invoking with a relative easiness, the metamorphosis of a person's reality who spends time locked up in his own home, limiting his information sources to tv shows and to the opinions – most often vehemently articulated – of the figures onscreen, or adhering to the specific stubbornness of social media channels, which intensely exploit our fears and frustrations. Both of the above incidents triggered some deep reflections within my mind.

The usage, even if sporadic, of these terms, drifting away from their initial sense, points, to a large extent, to the notoriousness of these phenomena. Radicalization nowadays represents an extremely complex topic.

In a book published in November 2014, just a few weeks before the Charlie Hebdo attack¹⁹⁸, French-Iranian professor and sociologist Farhad Khosrokhavar¹⁹⁹ came up with a complex definition: "the process by which an individual or a group adopts a violent²⁰⁰ form of action, that is directly linked to an extremist ideology

¹⁹⁶ Technology seems to invite one to share all of one's secrets, all intimate thoughts, and this openness makes persons vulnerable, being an advantage for certain tendencies and circumstances of manipulation.

¹⁹⁷ *Bellum omnium contra omnes* (the war of everybody against everybody), in Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 1651

¹⁹⁸ The attack on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo happened in Paris, on 7 January 2015, in the aftermath of which 12 persons were killed (10 journalists and 2 policemen), and another 11 injured

¹⁹⁹ Director of Studies at EHESS in Paris and responsible for a centre for the study of extreme violence, L'Observatoire des radicalisations, a part of Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, <http://www.fmsh.fr/fr/recherche/28035>, (15.11.2019)

²⁰⁰ Radicalization can be both violent and non-violent, even if we will henceforth refer only to the first category. Furthermore, we have chosen to focus mostly on the case of France.

with a political, social, or religious content, which contests the established political, social, or cultural order”²⁰¹. But it seems to also be a fashionable and widely used term, with an entire neology being developed in the Western space, in the unfortunate context of the terrorist attacks committed in Europe (especially those in France). We are flooded with concepts and classifications, and simultaneously inhibited by their improper usage. In most cases, we come across the term “radicalization” in a context related to (im)migration, terrorism, counter-terrorism, political and religious violence, “the clash of civilizations”, see the Islam versus the West trend of thought²⁰², key notions in understanding the challenges and the fundamental problems of the contemporary world.

Launched on the 9th of September 2011, almost symbolically, in Brussels, the European network focused on increasing public awareness about the dangers of radicalization (Radicalisation Awareness Network/RAN) and formed under the supervision of the European Commission (The Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs/DG Home), has set out to gather experts from various institutions and organizations, both public and private, and thereby to create a platform of access to proper ways of debating the various forms of violent extremism.

The work groups have the role of supporting the states with elaborating

strategies related to national security and terrorism, both in as far as prevention and control are concerned. Thus, we witness a heightened preoccupation with radicalization on a European political level, correlated with an entire chain of events on the international scene (global wars on terror/ on terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, the civil war in Syria, the refugee crisis, to mention only those that have received most media attention). Out of this arises the necessity of programs and concrete measures for deradicalization, implying those actions meant to “reverse the radicalization process”, the term being mostly used in relation with Islamist terrorism (or jihadist, supported by Islamist movements)²⁰³.

Researchers from the domain of international relations, sociology, psychology, security studies, intelligence, or even biology or neurosciences, claim the right to define and tackle this topic. Radicalization has taken on, along with the evolution of events, multiple sets of meanings: an ethical and social term (essentially, the renouncing of the values of harmonious cohabitation, interdependence and mutual respect), but also a definably mystical and religious one (accentuated naivete, which also springs out of insufficient knowledge). Radicalization is opposed to tolerance, to a prescribed mode of behaviour, to civic and moral responsibilities, universal principles

²⁰¹ Farhad Khosrokhavar, *Radicalisation*, Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris, 2014, p. 8 (English edition: *Radicalization. Why Some People Choose the Path of Violence*, The New Press, 2016).

²⁰² People today jump too easily to embrace the idea that everything has to do with the chasm between Islam / Islamic world and the West, which is too simplistic to be an explanation

²⁰³ It is worth mentioning that the authorities’ focusing on the islamist element determined a neglect of far-right domestic terrorism, like for example in Germany, see Katrin Bennhold, „A Political Murder and Far-Right Terrorism: Germany’s New Hateful Reality”, *The New York Times*, July 7, 2019, online source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/07/world/europe/germany-murder-far-right-neo-nazi-luebecke.html>, (15.11.2019)

in their entirety, and to the foundations of an open society. "Traditional law enforcement techniques are insufficient to deal with the evolving trends in radicalization", a European Commission communication from the year 2014 underlines²⁰⁴. Radicalization evinces the traits of an unstable, disturbed personality²⁰⁵; consequently, it disrupts the mechanisms which normalize human relationships, or the relations between individual, family and community, between various communities situated or not in the same geographical region, or simply between an individual/ a group and the state.

Thinking about radicalization as a phenomenon that occurs in a specific context (social, political, economic, locally, regionally or globally) we face the need for inter- and transdisciplinary reading and conjugated action. In its most recent report regarding terrorism in Europe, Europol identifies various ideologies²⁰⁶, which underlie terrorist and extremist actions. Among these, one can mention jihadist ideologies, those inspired by nationalist and separatist movements, as well as anarchist ones, be they left-or right-

winged. Admittedly, in recent years jihadist terrorism has gained a wider momentum.

A study initiated by a member of the European Parliament²⁰⁷, cited by the French newspaper *Le Parisien*, reveals a tragic statistic: 1868 fatalities, as a result of terrorism, in the time-span from 2000-2018 (out of which 1703 are victims of jihadist terrorism, 91,1% of the total number of victims)²⁰⁸. Almost two decades of violence and mass terrorist attacks. Contrary to the general perception, the scope of organized terrorism is not strictly killing, or producing economic damage, but seeding hatred, fear and division in society, between communities.

Thereby a proper medium for the spread of fundamentalism and extremism is created, with aggressive reactionary propaganda proliferating and the register of debate being transferred to the problem of radicalization, of the heightened receptivity for indoctrination.

If radicalization is the one that basically determines terrorism and violent extremism, how then could such actions which are destructive to contemporary humanity be prevented? Could it be through constant effort to educate, to develop critical thinking, to awaken consciousness, in accord with general human values and universal behavioural guidelines? Radicalization suggests the

²⁰⁴ *Preventing Radicalisation to Terrorism and Violent Extremism: Strengthening the EU's Response*, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Brussels, 15/01/2014 (COM(2013) 941 final).

²⁰⁵ Mark Hecker, "137 nuances de terrorisme. Les djihadistes de France face à la justice", *Focus stratégique*, No 79, Ifri, April 2018, <https://www.ifri.org/fr/publications/etudes-de-lifri/focus-strategique/137-nuances-de-terrorisme-djihadistes-de-france-face>, (15.11.2019)

²⁰⁶ *European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2019 (TE-SAT)*, European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation, <https://www.europol.europa.eu/activities-services/main-reports/terrorism-situation-and-trend-report-2019-te-sat>, (15.11.2019)

²⁰⁷ „Un 'livre noir' fait le bilan de deux décennies de terrorisme en Europe", Éric Pelletier, in *Le Parisien*, 4/03/2019, online source: <http://www.leparisien.fr/faits-divers/un-livre-noir-fait-bilan-de-deux-decennies-de-terrorisme-en-europe-04-03-2019-8024640.php>, (15.11.2019)

²⁰⁸ See *Le Livre blanc et noir du terrorisme en Europe 2000-2018*. Initiative de Maite Pagazaurtundúa, ALDE/AFVT, online source: <http://www.bruxelles2.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/livreblancnoirterrorismefr.pdf>, (15.11.2019)

return to the unforgiving dark ages of religious wars, a remote era in our historical chronology (mention should be made that this periodization bears the European watermark), but which somehow has made its way back to the present.

A rematch of the archaic spirit, radicalization recalls a tenebrous past characterized by violence and social injustice, by the disregard for human existence, and by irrational, immoral and insensitive manifestations, while deradicalization appears as a modern tenet, which implies elaborate deconstruction techniques of the mental, alternative educational and social service methods, as well as considerable human and financial resources. Considering that radicalization is defined as a process through which the actions of a group become increasingly intransigent and tough politically and socially (according to the famous *Larousse*), what could deradicalization mean? Convictions are the sense of a human being's existence... if one takes them away, what is left? How can one remove fixed ideas from somebody's head? How does one remove the individual from what has become the major significance of his life?

Deradicalization in a strict sense means extracting certain convictions from a way of being, removing the seeds of radicalization, erasing those certainties and beliefs which have engrained the individual's mind, as a result of a process of initiation and learning. And what does one replace all of these with, to rebuild the sense of existence? Another, novel sense... this is where the role of the psychologist, sociologist, anthropologist, or the humanist par excellence comes in, and less of the expert in armed conflict, of the combatant. A titanic amount of work,

an experimental construction site, without any guarantee of success.

There is an immense need for educators, shapers, as much as for security specialists and operators: avoiding the phenomenon is highly difficult, and the mission of reducing the damage and the impact of these dramatic events is collective.

The safety of the future can come only from education – the precise fraction of the budget so often neglected by the political factor, whenever we are facing complicated crisis situations (of psychological, structural, or global nature).”In the charged post-tragedy atmosphere, we tighten security...” Because that is the (only) thing we do. Unfortunately, the victims can no longer benefit from these new dispositions, with immediate effect. Let us then focus on the causes, and not only on the consequences. In the European Parliament resolution of 11 February 2015, adopted under the emotional shock of the Charlie Hebdo attack, the term “radicalization” is used no less than... 19 times! Comparatively, the term “education“, in its adjective form “educational“ appears only once. Basically, all of the approximately seven pages of the text abound in propositions regarding measures to be taken for combating terrorism and violent extremism, inviting Member States “to invest in schemes which address the root causes of radicalisation, including educational programmes, promoting integration, social inclusion, dialogue, participation, equality, tolerance and understanding among different cultures

and religions, and rehabilitation programmes²⁰⁹.

How beautiful it all sounds! Tolerance, understanding, equality! Then we concretely resort to military street patrols and increased border controls, on airports, at public concerts. Inevitably, exaggerations and abuse occur²¹⁰, prompted by the desire to secure the present, neglecting precisely those essential aspects related to late and inadequate investments in education and formation, with long term results.

The issue about tackling counter-terrorist measures generally is that they appear after the actual attack, being modelled on the operational model and the data of the phenomenon that occurred. After which the cycle is taken up again. In other words, it is a situational treadmill. The string of errors leans towards infinity, and humanity passively awaits the next drill. Here is where, doubtlessly, the combination scheme of intelligence comes in, with its predictive-preventive role²¹¹. An attack which has occurred and about which we all talk, may hide other successfully prevented ones, but which remain unknown to the general public, based on classified information²¹².

²⁰⁹ *European Parliament Resolution of 11 February 2015 on anti-terrorism measures* (2015/2530 (RSP)), point 6

²¹⁰ With a racist tendency, like a police announcement in Spain which recommends heightened vigilance around „persons of Arab origin”, shortly after the Charlie Hebdo attack, *France 24 – Les Observateurs*, 28/01/2015, <https://observers.france24.com/fr/20150128-espagne-police-recommandations-circulaire-individus-origine-arabe-securite>, (5.10.2019)

²¹¹ „La meilleure anticipation possible” (the best possible anticipation), in Bernard Squarcini, Étienne Pellet, *Renseignement français: nouveaux enjeux*, Éditions Ellipses, Paris, 2013, p. 17

²¹² „Il y a toujours des succès dont on ne peut pas parler...” (there are always successes about which we cannot speak), *ibidem*, p. 104

But why does radicalization that leads to terrorism spark our interest more than, for example, the criminal negligence of traffic participants, of drivers who behave increasingly careless on the road and cause serious accidents? Or the radicalization of various movements in our societies, such as conspiracy theories which result in the battle against vaccination?

The number of victims, in a global graphic, is much higher, in the case of not observing traffic rules or adopting extremist existential habits. Why are we concerned more with the violence resulting from isolated terrorist attacks than with the everyday domestic one directed at our life partners? The numbers are shattering! Probably for the same reason why an air traffic accident, which occurs much less frequently, causes infinitely more fear and heated debate in society than the thousands of traffic accidents, which happen much closer to us, with a much higher likelihood of affecting us.

Our mind is caught up in increasingly complex social schemes, subscribed to the same type of news (spectacular, sensational, profitable) and gaining the same interpretative code (the information comprised in articles is not subjected to personal filters, while critical spirit and objective perspectives become increasingly rare).

We act mechanically, unleashing a terrible storm and frightening scenarios. One lives with the impression that everyone is thinking of the same thing. Collective delusion? The internet not only transmits our messages, but also amplifies our anxieties. „These massacres have become the centre of the world, because

nobody can think of anything else „²¹³, the sociologist Gérald Bronner recalls, with reference to those tragic moments, when he found out about the Charlie Hebdo terror attack. From this point of view, the moment is decisive and historical, influencing numerous subsequent political decisions on a local, European and international level.

Furthermore, another important aspect worth mentioning is: citizens, in their entirety, have become conscious of the fact that some mystical beliefs and religious ideas, which were being propagated around them and in their midst, could have led to such abominable acts and, consequently, have to be stopped.

Thus, in September 2016, with a significant media attention, the first deradicalization centre in France was inaugurated (called *Centre de prévention, d'insertion et de citoyenneté de Pontourny*), in Beaumont-en-Véron, close to Chinon, three hours away from Paris. It should be observed that the centre did not use, in its official title, the term “deradicalization”, but the symbolic one “citizenship“, a place for rediscovering of civic behaviour and regaining the values of the Republic. “The only thing missing was the expression ‘sustainable development’, to dress this beautiful project in the clothes of emptiness”²¹⁴, Gérald Bronner ironically remarks. It is worth mentioning that his presence there, prompted by the French

government, offered him the opportunity to write a book where rationalism and reason are in an obvious dispute with conspiracy theories, with the abundance of fake news on social media, and the collective madness which triggers opinions and stances defended in a thoroughly aggressive manner.

It was however a first settlement, out of a series of 14. The promising initiative triggered right from the start numerous debates and controversies. It functioned for ten months, it housed only nine voluntary patients and the costs were of approximately... two million euro! It closed quicker than it had opened, by the decision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs from the 28th of July 2017, much to the joy of the locals, frightened and disturbed by the vicinity with these Islamists arrived for ideological rehab.

A useless endeavour, the press wrote, fuelled also by political sensitivities. But it is common knowledge that every failure bears a valuable lesson. Obviously, the radicalization of individuals is much less costly than their deradicalization. And another important aspect: we are talking about a pilot-project where persons offered voluntarily to participate, accepting “therapy” freely. And why would they not? The location was welcoming, with a large park surrounding the XVIIIth century mansion, individual rooms, sports and recreation facilities, an office to guard the privacy of the referents – psychological counselling being central, a chapel for prayer, etc. In spite of this, the radicalized youngsters were not too eager to participate in the experiment. “It was an initial appreciation error”, the department’s prefect declared. There is a large target group, but the persons on the point of radicalization are not only difficult to

²¹³ Gérald Bronner, *Déchéance de rationalité. Les tribulations d'un homme de progrès dans un monde devenu fou*, Éditions Grasset & Fasquelle, 2019, p. 14. Between 2013 and 2016, DGSI blocked 15 terrorist projects in France, signals Patrick Calvar, former general director of French internal security agency, as part of a Parliament hearing, 10 May 2016 (*Compte-rendu No 47*, Commission de la défense nationale et des forces armées, Assemblée Nationale, session ordinaire de 2015-2016)

²¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 33

identify, but also difficult to convince to participate in such a project²¹⁵.

A topic which at that time stirred heated debate in France, revolved around one of the former patients of the Pontourny centre, a „fiché S „²¹⁶, who had been placed under police/DGSI observance²¹⁷, as being a threat to national security, and who had evinced prior interest to travel to Syria, in order to join the Islamic State. He had failed twice to take the trip, and the momentary solution, maybe in order to escape the rigors of the law, had been his voluntary enrolment in the French government's deradicalization programme.

He remained in the centre for four months, debating the efficiency of the system and declaring: “things made no sense, the educators did not know what to make us do, they were taking us to visit castles, to walk in the zoo...”²¹⁸. The

education he received in the centre was lost on him. Without a proper methodology of handling and evaluating activities, without a laborious strategy as a backup, deradicalization turns into a fiasco. And... a luxury fiasco at that! In June 2018, the 26-year old extremist was sentenced by the correctional court of Paris, to eight years of prison.

He had been friends with one of the Bataclan kamikaze attackers²¹⁹, together with whom he had tried to escape to Syria the first time. On the other hand, Gérald Bronner states, there were also persons who did not seem to fit into this centre. It was the case of a pregnant girl suffering from autism, for whom admittance into radicalization “rehab” was useless²²⁰. Or another case, where the person was rather a victim of a love affair gone wrong²²¹. Each one had their own life story, their own way of seeing the world, their own reasons for being there, and consequently had to be treated individually.

The major criterion for selection proved somewhat irrelevant. The principle of volunteering²²² requires the combination of consciousness and will, of feeling and reason. In other words, these youngsters had chosen the path of deradicalization freely, as a result of a thinking process?

²¹⁵ *France Bleu Touraine*, 28/07/2017 and also 29/12/2017, online source: <https://www.francebleu.fr/infos/societe/retro-2017-fermeture-du-centre-de-deradicalisation-de-beaumont-en-veron-1513333667>, (10.10.2019)

²¹⁶ In France, an „S card” is an individual file from the File of Wanted People (FPR, Police Nationale). It is not, therefore, a proof of guilt, but a part of what one calls a classic operation of surveillance. The letter S is derived from the syntagm „sûreté de l'État” (state security). There is also a second instrument authorities can resort to, the File for signs of preventing terrorist radicalization (FSPRT), which contains the names of the most dangerous radicalized individuals. At present, according to the press, over 20.000 persons are included in this centralized database, the role of which is to identify / detect possible threats to security on the French territory. See also „Terrorisme: qu'est-ce que la fiche „S””, Samuel Laurent, in *Le Monde*, 31/08/2015, online source: https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2015/08/31/terrorisme-peut-on-sanctionner-les-personnes-faisant-l-objet-d-une-fiche-s_4741574_4355770.html, (10.10.2019)

²¹⁷ The General Directorate for Internal Security (French: *Direction générale de la sécurité intérieure*, DGSI).

²¹⁸ *Le Point* (AFP), 11/06/2018, online source: <https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/dans-l-itineraire->

radical-de-mustafa-s-trois-echecs-et-l-ombre-d-un-kamikaze-11-06-2018-2226209_23.php, (7.10.2019)

²¹⁹ Parisian concert hall targeted by the terrorist attacks of 13 November 2015, claimed by the Islamic State

²²⁰ “Ils n'étaient pas fous, mais fanatiques” (these youngsters were not mad, but fanatic), interview with G. Bronner in *La Nouvelle République*, 2/05/2019, online source: <https://www.lanouvellerepublique.fr/tours/a-pontourny-ils-n-etaient-pas-fous-mais-fanatiques>, (9.11.2019)

²²¹ G. Bronner, *op.cit.*, pp. 206-210.

²²² *Ibidem*, pp. 69-73

Had the awareness campaign been fruitful? Did they suffer and were requesting society's help? Difficult to imagine or to answer, even though the concept behind the centre, considered a third option, intermediary in nature, was preferable instead of the traditional incarceration method, which could bring about the opposed result²²³ or to living freely in society, where the individual had been radicalized in the beginning²²⁴.

What, then, would be a good recipe for long-term institutionalized deradicalization? The compulsory commitment to closed centres? Constraints placed on daily schedule? Forced treatment citizen re-education? (a term that frightens, in its historical understanding). What would be the proper duration for such „therapy”? What would be the criteria of selection for the „candidates”? How does one evaluate the degree of radicalization, according to which one later measures the results of the process? What would be the costs and who would cover them? One last essential question; I believe that what we can affirm, beyond the shadow of a doubt, in light of past events, is that radicalization costs much less than deradicalization.

We could add that it is also a speedier process. How can one fight a product which implies minimal costs and is at everyone's disposal, especially through the internet? An easy to access phenomenon on a global level? Which has sprung from a dynamics typical of our age, as a result of the acceleration of human interaction and so-called cultural integration? I would like to add that at the

end of January 2015, so immediately after the Charlie Hebdo attack, the French government launched an informational website educating citizens about the dangers of jihadism²²⁵. The pedagogical online platform is part of a larger national device meant to prevent radicalization and to stop terrorist organizations propaganda.

Radicalization is the result of an evolutonal, multifaceted process. It is not just a conflict between the individual and society, but rather an issue of the individual's relationship with society and a warning signal regarding social dysfunctions, the values of diversity and the forms of intercultural dialogue being only apparently assimilated²²⁶. We are talking about specific paths of radicalization, of generally valid and favourable circumstances, as well as of a mixture of emotions associated with a different way of perceiving the world, a complicated scheme of social factors and personal vectors.

The observation according to which "it is almost impossible to detect a person who will choose the path of radicalization, until they do not truly do it"²²⁷ showcases the true complexity of the topic at hand. A true game of hazard. And time is crucial in this equation. The interval at our disposal between the beginning of the individual's indoctrination (the phase of fascination), progressive fanaticism (the radicalization phase) and the moment when the individual feels the need to pass on to

²²³ We plan to talk over the issue of radicalization and deradicalization programmes in prisons in a future article.

²²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 210-211

²²⁵ The website is www.stop-djihadisme.gouv.fr, (9.11.2019)

²²⁶ Bernard Squarcini, Étienne Pellot, *op.cit.*, p. 151

²²⁷ Alina Ieremie and Brândușa Gal, *Radicalizarea. Renașterea intoleranței, in "Intelligence Magazine", S.R.I., 4 March 2019, <https://intelligence.sri.ro/radicalizarea-renasterea-intolerantei/>, (9.11.2019)*

violent acts (the engagement phase)²²⁸, when he erupts, trying to demonstrate his convictions, to impose his cause, his superstitions, his worldview, at all costs, turning into a real danger for society, is painfully short.

While I am writing these lines, an individual attacks and kills, with a white weapon, haphazardly, multiple persons who were patiently waiting in a bus station in Villeurbanne, in the suburbs of metropolitan Lyon. Wrong place, wrong time, one might say. One person dead and eight injured. The offender is caught alive, but until the present moment his motif is unknown. Possibly of Afghan origin, asylum seeker, bearded, with an empty, purposeless glance, according to witnesses' accounts²²⁹, the assassin's profile has not been elaborated yet. A psychopath? A „lonely wolf”? The attack was not claimed. A new set of heated debates between (the extreme) left and right; tragedies which were instrumentalized by both politics and media. In fact, as a former chief of the French internal security service²³⁰ mentions, no special training is required to shoot passers-by or children on city streets. One does not necessarily need a strategy or an admittance request into the jihadist International.

The challenge investigators have to face, resides in uncovering the person's motivation: the act of a psychologically unbalanced person, or a premeditated action, with a radical connotation? „These undetectable profiles are our biggest fear, they can surface at any moment”, declares a specialized officer²³¹. And the virtual world of computers, of cyberspace, favourites and amplifies the process that produces a „lone wolf”: no more training camps and practical exercises are required²³², a few videos and online tutorials will do! It is extremely alarming that over 90% of jihadist recruiting is done through the internet and social media networks,

Professor Cristian Barna argues²³³. A type of propaganda which enjoys a large audience. Brainwashing continues to produce new identities, between conspiracy theory and the devil's symbols. And if a brief love story is thrown into the mix, the battle is half won, novelist Émilie Frèche concludes²³⁴.

Let us commit to mind that „the main consumers of online content are young people, and from here spring the high chances of intoxication”²³⁵. „A market of illusions” which many are tempted to explore, especially in an

²²⁸ S. Garcet, *Adolescence et positions radicales: exaltation identitaire ou vulnérabilité*, Université de Liège – Département de criminologie, http://www.aidealajeunesse.cfwb.be/index.php?eID=tx_nawsecured1&u=0&g=0&hash=55e8750c55e824281dbb26448f437f6e1a6548fa&file=fileadmin/sites/ajss/upload/ajss_super_editor/DGAJ/Documents/Radicalisation/Garcet_-_Adolescence_et_positions_radicales.pdf, (9.11.2019)

²²⁹ According to a Breaking news in *Le Monde*, 31 August 2019, online source: https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2019/08/31/agression-a-villeurbanne-un-mort-et-au-moins-six-blesses_5504983_3224.html, (9.11.2019)

²³⁰ Bernard Squarcini, Étienne Pellot, *op.cit.*, p. 163

²³¹ *Le Monde*, 31 August, article cited previously

²³² Bernard Squarcini, Étienne Pellot, *op.cit.*, pp. 162-163.

²³³ Interview with Prof. Cristian Barna, by Vladimir Adrian Costea, in *EuroPunkt*, 31/03/2017, online source: <https://europunkt.ro/2017/03/31/interviu-cu-prof-univ-dr-cristian-barna-mediul-on-line-este-un-canal-de-recrutare-folosit-de-jihadisti-pest-90-din-recrutari-realizandu-se-in-acest-fel/>, (19.11.2019)

²³⁴ Short interview with Émilie Frèche on the concept of radicalization, 9 April 2018, online source: https://actu.fr/pays-de-la-loire/sille-le-guillaume_72334/la-radicalisation-lavage-cerveau-entre-theorie-complot-signe-diable_16228257.html, (19.11.2019)

²³⁵ Ibidem.

economic and social vulnerability context (let us consider the case of Mauritania²³⁶, a country marked by insecurity and terrorism, where more than 50% of the population is under 18, being vulnerable to the influence of extremists). Over 9 million teenagers have abandoned education, in the Middle East and North Africa, a UNICEF report shows²³⁷. One of three young people... What will their chances for the future be? What path will they take? Once Evil settles in the human mind, it is very difficult to remove it.

When radical opinions tend to encourage violence, to legitimize themselves through numerous extremist behavioural patterns and hateful manifestations, and are based on a set of beliefs exclusively and firmly, things become problematic²³⁸. These concerns justify the recent founding of a prevention centre for radicalization leading to violence by the city administration of Montréal, with the support of the Québec government and other community and institutional partners.

The centre is a pioneer endeavour, for the region of Canada and North America, employing a multisectoral approach and comprising in its structure specialists in criminology, political

sciences, the humanities, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, sociocultural education. In spite of this, the following aspect has to be mentioned: nowadays violence is a much more reduced phenomenon than in the past. Let us consider, for example, the phenomenon of terrorism: the attackers „kill very few people, but manage to frighten billions and to destabilize huge political structures”²³⁹. The emotional impact of an explosion nowadays can be much more intense than the material damage it produces.

One of Harari's lessons faces us with this precise paradox, comparing terrorism to „a small coin, that causes a lot of noise in a large empty jar”²⁴⁰. Its devastating effects are however a certainty: an armed attack of small dimensions, but which brings about panic and death, can lead to the fall of a government, to chaos and instability, or to the collapse of the entire social order.

The modern state has created a series of rules and institutions which are meant to „keep political violence away from the public sphere”²⁴¹, from its citizens. Its rational legitimacy springs also from the recognition of these effective competences, from the promise to prevent and not to tolerate violence at all²⁴², within its borders. The good news, Robert Sapolsky claims, is that „fewer and fewer people are acting violently, while societies are trying to isolate them”²⁴³. He also tries to share the bad news with us: „the area of action of the few violent ones is

²³⁶ „Étude sur le rôle potentiel des Technologies de l'Information et de la Communication (TIC) dans la prévention de la radicalisation des adolescent(e)s et des jeunes”, United Nations Population Fund – UNFPA Mauritania, 2016, online source: <https://mauritania.unfpa.org/fr/submission/unfpa-mauritanie-recrute-un-bureau-d%E2%80%99%C3%A9tude-pour-r%C3%A9aliser-une-%C3%A9tude-sur-le-r%C3%B4le-potentiel>, (19.11.2019)

²³⁷ UN News, 30 August 2019, online source: <https://news.un.org/fr/story/2019/08/1050662>, (19.11.2019)

²³⁸ Le Centre de prévention de la radicalisation menant à la violence, Québec-Canada, website: <https://info-radical.org/fr/>, (19.11.2019)

²³⁹ Yuval Noah Harari, *21 de lecții pentru secolul XXI*, 163 (English edition: *21 Lessons for the 21st Century*, 2018). Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2018, p. 23

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 169

²⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 168

²⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 169

²⁴³ Robert Sapolsky, *op.cit.*, p. 70

increasingly bigger”²⁴⁴, a consequence of the speed at which information travels, of the increase of virtual social connections, of the impact a piece of news can have, thousands of kilometres away, with the aid of the internet, and last but not least, of the improvement in infrastructure and means of transportation, due to technological advancement.

Deradicalization has to begin at the very roots of the follower’s belief system, to contribute to the conflict of values between the individual baggage (central values) and the group doctrine (collective values)²⁴⁵, to seeding doubt, and last but not least to developing critical thinking in the individual²⁴⁶. Which are the elements that made him believe blindly in “that certain something”?

Deconstruction is a long term endeavour, because it implies both demolition and rebuilding, with questionable chances of success. It is not enough to transmit to a radicalized or about to be radicalized individual (how do we guess which is which?) that what he is doing or thinking is wrong, to denounce his behaviour, mistakes, incoherence, and at the same time to show him „the true path”. It is precisely this type of universal dichotomic vision, highlighting the differences between the ideological universe of the individual/group members/organization and the rest of the world (me/us versus them), that aids radical engagements²⁴⁷ and fuels the continuous

fight between the good (most often, the West) and the evil (its opponents), between believers and unbelievers, with reference to religiously motivated terrorism²⁴⁸.

I recall a line commonly attributed to Robert Benchley: „There are two types of people in the world: those who divide the world into two types of people and those who do not”. But it is not religiousness per se which leads to supporting terrorism, as much as frequent participation in religious service and interaction with other followers, who proclaim „a common identity, devotion, love and hate, [...] stimulating hostility towards other group”²⁴⁹.

Moreover, the projection of another world, designed by heroic sacrifices, is extremely captivating²⁵⁰. Individuals hope that the future will bring them comfort and will avenge the present, considered according to many people’s vision, a fertile ground for injustices and hardship, for human weaknesses. The revolutionary dream that animates them will offer them countless joys, a rematch with everyone, a well-deserved reward (like the 72 virgins, promised in exchange for absolute loyalty and proven courage). The quote commonly attributed to Osama bin Laden, possibly the most notorious terrorist of all times, is illustrative: „We

²⁴⁴ Ibidem

²⁴⁵ Romy Sauvayre, „Le changement de ‘croyances invraisemblables’: essai de modélisation”, in Pévet P., Sauvayre R. et Tiberghien G. (dir), *Les sciences cognitives. Dépasser les frontières disciplinaires*, Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 2011, pp. 97-107.

²⁴⁶ G. Bronner, *op.cit.*, p. 46

²⁴⁷ Xavier Crettiez, Sèze Romain, *Saisir les mécanismes de la radicalisation violente: pour une*

analyse processuelle et biographique des engagements violents, Rapport de recherche pour la Mission de recherche Droit et Justice, 2017, online source (in HAL): <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01592825/document>, (18.11.2019)

²⁴⁸ Andreea-Cristina Mihai, „Terorismul religios, o ‘nouă violență arhaică’? „, in *Studii de securitate*, 12/05/2009, pp. 60-72, online source: <http://perspective.politice.ro/sites/default/files/2009-12-05.pdf>, (18.11.2019)

²⁴⁹ Robert Sapolsky, *op.cit.*, pp. 708-709.

²⁵⁰ G. Bronner, *op.cit.*, pp. 59-63

love death. The United States love(s) life. This is the difference between us”²⁵¹.

In the end, I will return to the deradicalization centre in France, because the example of its ephemeral existence is characteristic for the degree of inefficiency and superficiality we have reached in the treatment of social phenomena. Nowadays’ ultra-bureaucratic management inspires horrors and errors, in the context that migration, terrorism, Islamic radicalism and generally any type of fanaticism, requires a common, personalized and long-term action on the part of states, administrations and civil society organizations, a real understanding of the complexity of demographical processes and geopolitical mutations of the present.

Professor Bronner, the observations and research of who have motivated the present study, has tried to decode the sense of this first endeavour on part of the French authorities of reclaiming young people on the threshold of radicalization by committing them to the Pontourny centre.

Actually, considering the unusual criteria of admission, based on voluntary confinement, the very profile of the project is difficult to determine. What could we call these youngsters? Clients, beneficiaries, patients, interns? Were they considered dangerous or not, keeping in mind the open nature of the location (not restricting freedom of movement)? Were they pseudo-inmates? Having developed a high criminal potential, what would keeping them under surveillance require? Or should they simply be considered volunteers in a public structure, conditions

there being, in addition, very tempting? And what has actually happened there over the duration of one year? Are we talking about a series of specialized therapy sessions, individual and group ones? Was it a personalized educational programme?

A national plan for civic re-education? An institutionalized effort of normalizing representations, behaviours and beliefs? A process of ideological (cognitive) change and reclaiming youngsters from the realm of deviance and criminality? Gérald Bronner underlines: ”The brain mobilizes impressive resources in order not to renounce its system of representation [...] The empire of beliefs is like an almost unconquerable citadel, impossible to subdue over a short period of time”²⁵². And Professor Romy Sauvayre, in an ample paper on the sociology of beliefs²⁵³, concludes: more than six years, from the onset of the first doubts, and a series of factors, are required for the individual to abandon his convictions, to renounce those ”unlikely” ideas, to distance himself from the sectary movement that he had previously embraced.

In a short video by the American TV channel CBS²⁵⁴ posted on the YouTube platform, we are shown interesting images from a terrorist rehabilitation centre in Saudi Arabia. We are talking about former combatants in Al-Qaeda and ISIS, returned from the conflict zones in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria or Libya and integrated in what is considered to be

²⁵¹ See also „‘We Love Death as You Love Life’, by Raffaello Pantucci. Homegrown terrorism in the UK still looms large”, in *Financial Times*, 26/04/2015, online source: <https://www.ft.com/content/8c4de55a-e46b-11e4-9039-00144feab7de>, (18.11.2019)

²⁵² G. Bronner, *op.cit.*, p. 40

²⁵³ Romy Sauvayre, *Croire à l'incroyable. Anciens et nouveaux adeptes*, Paris, PUF, 2012

²⁵⁴ „Terrorist rehab: Rare look inside Saudi deradicalization program”, CBS This Morning, YouTube, 19/11/2014, online source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JupSK4odKWQ>, (18.11.2019)

“the best financed and the most stable deradicalization program in history”²⁵⁵. The complex of facilities shown in the footage resembles on first sight a five star hotel: pools, gyms, instructors, vast spaces and comfortable rooms which would spark the jealousy of any demanding tourist. In spite of this, notwithstanding the success rate (measured in the percentage of relapse)²⁵⁶, the programme, unfolding on various levels, was incapable of reclaiming some of the most dangerous jihadist militants.

Moreover, using this experiment as a model for other states has its limitations, connected to specific local cultural factors²⁵⁷ (credibility and authority of spiritual and religious leaders involved²⁵⁸ are crucial, an objective difficult to fulfil in the secular West), but also to high costs, which other countries facing the same problems could not

afford²⁵⁹. In order to counter extremist superstitions, mentalities and practices one needs to study them first, to decipher them, to understand their mechanisms of functioning. One needs to be a good listener, before attempting to be a good policeman. And the system needs to allow for a long-term strategy, not a few isolated tactics placed in a triumphal or electoral light or characterized by logic of circumstance. One also needs to address the question: is there sufficient will and political coordination? Because the results of any educational program, of any plan of action for a country, are visible only over the course of years, and the probability that there will be a shift of political power in the meantime is high. “Deradicalizing a spirit would mean removing belief from a brain”, Gérald Bronner states. „And even if such a thing were ethically justifiable – a source of never-ending debate – how could one go about achieving this? In truth, many have attempted to do this, but nobody has succeeded yet”²⁶⁰, the French sociologist observes. In practice, matters are always more complicated than they seem ...

„Finally, you don't have to choose between being scientific and being compassionate”. This is how Robert Sapolsky concludes his thoughts, condensing his entire work – made up of the results of many years of practical research - into one single sentence: „It is complicated”²⁶¹. We have the duty to keep trying.

²⁵⁵ Christopher Boucek, *Saudi Arabia's 'Soft' Counterterrorism Strategy: Prevention, Rehabilitation, and Aftercare*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Carnegie Papers, Middle East Program, No 97 / Sept. 2008, p. 3, online source: https://carnegieendowment.org/files/cp97_boucek_saudi_final.pdf, (18.11.2019)

²⁵⁶ Kamel al Khatti, article retrieved from the European Eye on Radicalisation platform, 10 June 2019, online source: <https://eeradicalization.com/fr/pourquoi-le-programme-de-deradicalisation-darabie-saoudite-est-un-succes/>, (18.11.2019)

²⁵⁷ „Though it is a Saudi response to a Saudi problem, [...] deradicalization efforts are still being refined”, in Marisa L. Porges, *The Saudi Deradicalization Experiment*, Council on Foreign Relations, January 22, 2010, online source: <https://www.cfr.org/expert-brief/saudi-deradicalization-experiment>, (18.11.2019)

²⁵⁸ „Central to the success of the dialogue process has been the ability of the Saudi state to muster its considerable religious authority to confer legitimacy on the process [...] This factor cannot be understated: Detainees do not sit down with religious figures who lack credibility in the eyes of fundamentalists and their admirers”

²⁵⁹ Andreas Casptack, *Deradicalization Programs in Saudi Arabia: A Case Study*, Middle East Institute, June 10, 2015, online source: https://www.mei.edu/publications/deradicalization-programs-saudi-arabia-case-study#_ftn3, (18.11.2019)

²⁶⁰ G. Bronner, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

²⁶¹ Robert Sapolsky, *op.cit.*, pp. 760-761.

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TRANSFORMATIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY AND PUBLIC LAW IN THE NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN SPACE AFTER 1989

Abstract:	<i>The aim of this study is to arouse a debate involving specialists in the field of public law - theorists, practitioners, researchers - and is intended to be a forum for analysis of new research directions on the transformations of public law in the national and European space after the year 1989 and their influences on state sovereignty, as well as the administrative codification in our homeland, where this need for proceduralisation from several directions is felt: public administration, administrative litigation judges and administrative law practitioners.</i> <i>Especially now when we are offered, perhaps not by chance, the opportunity to discuss some conceptual and legal issues of social expression, at least for the last two decades in the attention of those interested in the administrative phenomenon. My daughter wants to have the opportunity to build a secure future in Romania; to study, to get involved in his country and to establish a family. And I think that we citizens, we have to take control of what is happening in our Romania. I want a safe Romania where the administrative law - material and procedural - is part of everyday life. The protection of citizens must be the first priority.</i> <i>The administration must be strengthened and the judicial system improved. We are one of the last states of the European Union that does not have a code of administrative procedure under the conditions of an accentuated Europeanization of administrative law. And regarding the Administrative Code, at the date of the appearance of this study, the Constitutional Court of Romania has already ruled, but it is still to decide, once again, on the unconstitutionality of our administrative Code, adopted by emergency ordinance!</i>
Keywords:	Sovereignty; Public law; administration; Legal order of the European Union; Development paradigm
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Argumentum

The year 1989 - named on the official website of the European Parliament as the Year of Miracles - brought the

liberation of the nations of Eastern Europe under the communist regime. The release revealed a picture painted in dark colors of reality, which highlighted the contrast

between the two parts of the continent. From the beginning, the states released in 1989 have taken a single path, namely that of real democratization, of effective governance, in which citizens become partners and beneficiaries of the political-administrative institutions.

This path, which the citizens of Central and Eastern Europe wanted to go from the beginning, led to the accession to the European Union - all the states that regained their freedom in 1989 being today members of the European political and administrative space. But this path meant-from the very beginning-the complete transformation of the constitutional, legal, administrative, economic, social and moral framework, which led to the adoption of adequate public policies and new constitutions, new laws of public administration and in property, business environment, etc. All these public policies and new normative acts created another reality, closer to the models of articulated societies in the west of the continent. However, citizens feel the need for a deeper transformation of the states and communities in which they live, which forces the political and administrative decision makers to a higher quality conduct, in relation to the highest European standards. In any country, science is obliged to understand the realities in which people act, to find the best models for society and solutions to problems that everyday life cannot solve. To achieve these goals, researchers and academics, along with practitioners, must constantly meet; have a deep, open dialogue, following which to formulate new ideas and proposals for improving the political, administrative, economic, social and social framework. Moral of their

countries, starting from a clear and complete analysis of reality²⁶².

Romania needs a change in the present paradigm of development to face the challenges of the 21st century. We are living in a period marked by the process of globalization, of increasing inequalities and aggravation of the problems of humanity. National administrative law can be one of the solutions and addresses these challenges, proposing interstate administrative cooperation based on the principles of respecting national sovereignty and identity within a prosperous and invigorated European Union.

The national sovereignty represents, in the Romanian context, the desire to achieve a balance, a synthesis between the aspirations of the free-born citizen, the society on which it depends and by which it is defined and the context that allows the self-realization. This balance starts from the human being, the central actor who seeks an individual balance and favorable conditions to be achieved. The favorable conditions are influenced by the society that has to support and motivate it and the environment in which it is found and can find its balance.

The role of the state in the context of globalization and implicitly of Europeanization is to help achieve this balance, not only for the current citizens, but also for future generations. This is why my daughter wants to have the opportunity to build a secure future in Romania; to study, to get involved in his country and to establish a family. And for this, I think that we citizens, we have to take control over

²⁶²<https://evenimente.juridice.ro/2019/09/transformari-ale-administratiei-si-dreptului-public-in-spatiu-national-si-european-dupa-anul-1989>, (19.11.2019)

what is happening in our Romania. I want a safe Romania where the administrative law - material and procedural - is part of everyday life.

The protection of citizens must be the first priority. The administration must be strengthened and the judicial system improved. We are one of the last states of the European Union that does not have a code of administrative procedure under the conditions of an accentuated Europeanization of administrative law. But let's not forget that in the US the administrative procedure code was elaborated by teachers and then submitted to the Government for approval. Even the myth of e-government if it was overthrown cannot save the administration and implicitly the administrative law from the real collapse. "E-gov has failed" or in a more common approach, but which actually summarizes the same sentence, "e-government - talk". This myth is simply false; examples of the success of electronic governance will be found in other countries. The reality is that few understand it and feel its presence.

There are few doubts that researchers in this field have regarding the future of e-government and the utility of everyday technologies. And there is something else, "when it is implemented, it will be left with availability". This is not only false, but also nonsense.

We must understand that those responsible for launching and maintaining this myth are those who "keep away" from information technology, those who still prefer the traditional means of governance; in other words, digital illiterates, next to functional illiterates, graduates with diplomas, who pushed until the refusal of the Romanian public administration.

And for this reason, the aim of this study is to arouse a debate that will involve specialists in the field of public law and of the Romanian and international administrative sciences - theorists, practitioners, researchers -, and is intended to be a forum for analysis of the new directions of research regarding the adoption of the Code of administrative procedure in our homeland where this need for proceduralization from several directions is felt acute: public administration, administrative litigation judges and administrative law practitioners. Especially now in 2019 proclaimed as the Omagial Year of the Romanian Village, a faithful guardian of the church tradition and the national culture, which was over time the space in which the spiritual, cultural and moral values of the nation were developed and thus as he appreciated, in his reception speech at the Romanian Academy, of June 5, 1937, entitled "Praise of the Romanian Village", the poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga: "To live in the village means to live in the cosmic turmoil and in the consciousness of a destiny emanating from eternity.

The pride of the village of being in the center of the world and of a destiny has kept us and saved us as a people over the centuries of misfortune. The village was not tempted and attracted to the history of others over our heads. He has kept his virginity untouched in the autonomy of his poverty and mythology for times when he can become the sure foundation of an authentic Romanian history".²⁶³ Similarly,

²⁶³ Lucian Blaga, *Elogiul satului românesc*, publicat în "Academia Română. Discursuri de recepție", LXXI, Editura Imprimeria Națională, depozitul general, Cartea Românească, București, 1937, pp. 3-16

in his reception speech at the Romanian Academy on May 29, 1940, entitled "Praise of the Romanian peasant", the inter-war writer Liviu Rebreanu spoke about "the pure gold from the soul of the Romanian peasant, which is in fact his deep spirituality, the light of faith and hard work., of dedication and sacrifice as self-giving and spiritual dedication over time and beyond"²⁶⁴.

We are one to 101 years after the Great Union's 1918 anniversary, a major anniversary moment that gives us, perhaps not by chance, the opportunity to discuss some conceptual and legal issues of social expression, at least for the last two decades in the attention of those interested in the administrative femininity.

The Great Union opened new perspectives and transformations and from a legal point of view the first problem was that of legislative unification throughout the state. Viewed strictly in terms of the role it plays in a society, the legislation is meant to arrange relationships between individuals, on the one hand, but also between individuals and state institutions, whatever they may be, on the other. But these relationships, which may naturally be in a normal, stable society, may be modified, may be affected when, in a society, a determined transitional period settles, in turn, from a decisive historical moment, such as was, for example, the Union from December 1, 1918, after the achievement of the Romanian national unitary state. Being a transitional period in which different concepts and laws of human and interinstitutional political

systems meet, the legislation of a country must necessarily seek solutions to normalize these relations in order to put public life on a normal footing.

One of the solutions, with a positive effect, is the elaboration of laws and norms of their application that regulate the norms of coexistence on all levels (economic, social, cultural, moral, etc.), for at least two reasons.

The first reason is that, by their nature the laws sometimes set a pre-existing state of affairs, thus generalizing a norm established for public use, regardless of borders; other times, however, they fix states of things arising from the need to harmonize at national level various actions that tend to hinder each other in their evolution

The second reason would be that the successive laws are the ones that explain their mechanisms of application at the institutional level and clarify the issues of detail. This is why, after the Union from December 1, 1918, in Romania one can speak of a transitional period that extends, according to an opinion, until 1925, a period in which the legislative unification aimed, first of all, at the creation of a state of normality, meant to consolidate the newly formed new state. This meant, as a rule, maintaining those laws that were obviously needed, for example, for administrative unification and the elimination of those with double use or, more plastic said, of those who "go head to head".

Essential to the success of the legislative unification was the elaboration of "short and clear laws, meant to be applied", because, otherwise, a stubborn law can create the impression that it was specifically designed so "to be more easily annihilated by the way of interpretation".

²⁶⁴ Liviu Rebreanu, *Laudă țaranului român*, publicat în "Academia Română. Discursuri de recepție", LXXVII, București, Editura Imprimeria Națională, depozitul general, Cartea Românească, București, 1940, pp. 3-14

However, a custom of the legal procedure provides that the application of laws is made "in spirit and not only in their form". Where and how were the laws applied, according to the universally valid precepts, recognized by the jurisprudence, as a first step in the normalization of the institutional relations that the kingdom of Romania needed after December 1, 1918? First of all it was the public administration but also the justice²⁶⁵.

Some theorists have divided the administration, from the point of view of the aim pursued, into three major groups.

The first group that includes "administrations having a commercial or industrial character and whose purpose is to serve the public". These can be the Railways, Post office, Telephone, Telegraph, Communal services, etc., which are created and maintained directly or indirectly from the citizens' money. That is why these administrations should be organized exclusively for the purpose of facilitating everything they need to bring.

The second group is the one of the administrations "whose purpose is the application of laws", such as "tax collection, customs, justice services, etc."²⁶⁶.

The third group is "a mixed group comprising administrations that are law enforcement bodies. And at the same time, who should serve the public. This is where all the services from ministries and local government bodies come in".

All these groups of administrations can apply a general rule regarding their

purpose of serving the public and to facilitate relations between citizens or between them and the state. In this case, this general rule was due to the need to change the mentality of the civil servant in the sense that he had to be aware that he is at the disposal of the citizen, the taxpayer who pays for taxes, taxes, etc., and not vice versa.

This is all the more so in the transition period through which the new nation state created after the Great Union was passing, when at least three types of public servant mentalities met, namely: that of the official from the Old Kingdom, that of the official from the Austro system. - Hungarian and that of the one who came from the former Tsarist Empire. Therefore, in addition to issues related to changing the mindset of the civil servant, an important role, until its dissolution on April 4, 1920, was held by the Governing Council, elected by the Grand National Assembly from December 1, 1918, from Alba Iulia as provisional government, managed economic, political, social, cultural, religious, etc. with responsibility and professionalism.

Returning to the contemporaneity, in another transitional period that seems not to end, we express the hope, together with all the people of good faith in this country, that a consensus will be created such as that of a century that would allow the creation of a reflection group on the announced issues, from a multidisciplinary perspective, of the law and of the science of the law, which would simplify and remedy the Romanian law of all the abuses committed on it during the nearly thirty years since the coup in December 1989, in order not to you also remember the ominous mischief of the right of

²⁶⁵ Viorel Vânătoru, *Unificarea legislativă și administrația locală în Județul Hunedoara după marea Unire*, <http://www.anuarulsargetia.ro/unificarea-legislativa-si-administratia-locala-in-judetul-hunedoara-dupa-marea-unire>, (20.11.2019)

²⁶⁶ Idem

communist descent placed in the service of power, totally enslaved to it.

In this regard, the recent and massive recoding of the Romanian law carried out by the entry into force of the new legislative codes (civil-01.10.2011, civil procedure-15.02.2013, criminal and criminal procedure-29.01.2014), have brought a series of changes in the Romanian legal environment that are not sheltered by critical formulations.

Taking me only after the presentation of the reasons for these draft codes, which says that they were inspired by about seven codes, [the new penal codes], and the civil one from a federal area beyond the ocean, they seem rather collages. Failures that even the Constitutional Court of Romania slaughtered, not to mention the harsh and justified criticism of the specialists.

Obviously the new codes and the respective procedures, just a few years after their entry into force, have already received their baptism regarding their interpretation and application in practice.

In this time, the Constitutional Court has established, by its decisions, that many of the articles included in these codes, especially the criminal ones, are unconstitutional, which requires them to be in line with those decided by the constitutional court.

On the other hand, the deficiencies resulting from their application imply a broader revision through the operation and other modifications and completions of the codes closer to the requirements and values of the company. Moreover, of equal importance is the amendment and completion of the laws of justice, which should aim to strengthen the position and place that justice, as a public service, and the body of magistrates must occupy

within the rule of law. It is well known that real democracy cannot exist outside the rule of law which, in turn, could not be conceived without its basic pillar - justice. I believe that the EU will only be able to secure its future if it is made up of Member States with well-functioning and consolidated institutions and development levels as close as possible, with a high respect for human rights. That's why I think it's better to have criticism than to criticize that you have no criticism.

There are a limited number of countries in the world that have an administrative code and perhaps not by chance are dictatorship countries that certainly have stability in substantive legislation because no one dares to contradict them.

Otherwise there are no administrative codes as it is very difficult to keep the substantial part of the administrative law unchanged. As for my opinion on the simultaneous adoption of the two codes, but I fear that it will have the same fate to that Corpus Iuris, who, in the early 1990s, wanted a European mini-code, a right against the nature of the national law of to the sovereign states, since the universe of laws is infinitely larger than that of the Law.

Law is the way in which the decision maker disposes of the rules that are imposed on people.²⁶⁷ It is the heir of Jesus, who designated the formulas by which justice is expressed²⁶⁸; but, based on the idea of direction (directum), he adds the ideas of justice to that of the line of conduct, already present in the Latin rule (ruler) or norm (echer). Ruler, chessboard,

²⁶⁷ Cătălin Vrabie, *Elemente de e-guvernare*, Editura ProUniversitaria, București, 2016

²⁶⁸ Alain Supiot, *Homo Juridicus*, Editura Rosetti Educațional, București, 2011

lines and right angles: with Law, justice becomes a problem of geometric representation rather than case law; it derives rather from a measurement than from a conciliation, although it is always ultimately, according to the famous formulation of Digest, to attribute to each one what is right (*sum cuique tribuere*).

This is why the word Right, in its objective sense of normative architecture, does not have an exact equivalent in common law countries. Here, we translate Law through Law, but the primary source of Law, in the UK or in the United States, is to be found in the judicial precedent, and not in the codes, rather in the cases cut by the judge than in the ways indicated by the state. And especially, like the idea of law in the continental space (law, law, Gesetz), the idea of law also includes the rules over which people have no control: the Law of Moses or the Law of Islam, the laws of Kepler or Newton, those of thermodynamics or universal gravity. Lex, whose primary sense was religious, exposes yet another imperative, a power that is imposed on people.

But it can also be understood as a physical or metaphysical power rather than a human power. While the idea of law is peculiar to legal thinking, allowing the jurist to close in his own system of norms, the one of law is also the problem of religion and science, thus allowing us to perceive the different normative registers that structure western thinking. For this way of thinking in the terms of the law does not come by itself and has nothing universal in it. Perception allows us to see with other eyes what we call the dynamics of the West.

But, I couldn't help but notice your attention with a few reflections. I think we live in a complicated time, not to say

difficult²⁶⁹. I recently read a book by the Peruvian writer Varga Llosa, which was titled *The World of the show*, a very interesting and surprising book; because in this book, the great Peruvian writer spoke of the crisis of the West. But that's probably been talked about 50 years ago, probably. I remember the fact that Paul Negulescu, a well-known professor of administrative law, wrote a book, *The Destiny of Humanity*, and spoke about this crisis, about the conflict between the generations, so nothing new under the sun. But I want to say that Varga Llosa was talking about light education, about light literature, about light cinema, about light architecture - that is to say that everything is mockery.

An extraordinary writer who fascinated me; and his life and Varga Llosa's work was interesting. He lived in the United States, France for a while, then in Spain and ran for presidential elections in the early 1990s. The counter-candidate of his reign was Fujimori. Varga Llosa was a modest man, but he had no political support. Even though he was a great writer, a great personality, because he was already a Nobel Prize winner for Literature and he lost, appreciated in his country probably was not. He wrote a book afterwards - *El pez en el agua*. It's just about his life and his competition with Fujimori. And Fujimori was a farmer, he was an unknown illustrator. But he took his tractor and crossed this country, which is about five times as much as Romania, campaigning from village to village. And he became president.

The story is more complicated, after which he was convicted of fraud. I

²⁶⁹ P. P. Negulescu, *Destinul omenirii* (vol.1,2,4) Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă „Regele Carol II”, București, 1938

made this brief foray into the recent history of a prominent personality of universal literature in order to reveal in this way the world of today, a world in which I no longer find myself, a world too civilized for me, in which the law, especially the one administrative law must be revitalized, and the norms of the Renewal Code of administrative procedure of the European Union can offer a remedy to the Romanian administrative law.

Some theoretical aspects regarding the correlation between the norms of the Renewed Administrative Procedure Code of the European Union with Romanian Administrative Law

To address the current situation, we must understand the ambivalence of this secularization, this disassembly of laws, such as the statues of the Renaissance, departs from the cathedrals to populate markets and gardens.

The history of art, precisely, is able to explain. She follows a parallel course with the history of Law or Sciences.

The mathematization of space in painting by the discovery of the laws of perspective preceded it even by the one operated in the sciences by Kepler's laws. The ancient Orient, Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages had more or less rejected the prospect "because it seemed to introduce an individual and accidental factor into an otherwise extra-subjective or over-subjective world"²⁷⁰. This was particularly authentic in religious art; the image of the Future could not be subjected to an individual point of view that it was intended to overcome.

According to the laws of perspective, on the contrary, the image is

rigorously organized around the vision of a unique subject. From where the ambivalence of their invention, contemplated by Panofsky: "We are all entitled to conceive the history of the perspective as a triumph of the meaning of reality, constitutive of distance and objectivity, as a triumph of this desire for power that animates man and deny any distance, as a systematization and stabilization of the outer world as an extension of the sphere of the Ego."²⁷¹

What Panofsky says here about the invention of the laws of perspective might deceptively correspond to the invention of human laws and the laws of science freed from any metaphysical reference. On the one hand, these laws operate "a systematization and stabilization of the outside world".

They submit to the dominance of objectivity the relationships between people and the relationships of people with nature. Conceived as a general and abstract norm, human law is imposed on everyone alike, including the State of Law that is its living source, while the law of science submits our relationship with the world of the causality principle, and excludes miraculous or divine intervention.

The force of these laws is even greater as we conceive them as elements of a logical body that links them to each other. But, on the other hand, these laws operate an "expansion of the sphere of the Ego" because the center of the logical body is found in Reason, ie in the human brain (the vision of the painter corresponds to the Cartesian cogito of science theory, or will sovereign state legislator). If the medieval man occupies only a place subordinated to

²⁷⁰ A. Supiot, *op. cit.* p.103.

²⁷¹ Auguste Comte *Catéchisme positiviste*, Gallimard, Paris, 1852

the divine, the modern man will be able to imagine himself as the intellectual center of the world. By the rule of law, he himself will lay the order of human society; and by discovering the laws of science, he will find the means by which to master nature.

These two aspects were, moreover, closely related to the era of the Lights, in which the idea of laying the Law on human nature, using the method of physical and mathematical science, was cultivated. We need to examine more closely where each of these two dimensions has led each other if we want to establish the place of laws in contemporary thinking.

To the extent that it has triumphed in the sense of reality, the law has progressively appeared inaccessible to human reason and has left room for other notions (paradigms, models, ideal ideas, structures, transactions, domains, systems, conventions, etc.) avatars. In the nineteenth century, however, in the order of natural sciences, scholars gathered in international congresses to decide what scientific law was in certain controversial points. Today, the notion of law (eg Newton's laws) is only allowed within restricted limits of validity. Physicists admitted, with Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, that there is an element not covered by the laws of the infinite little, something that is not subject to the principle of causality, as we understand it through the idea of law. From the perspective of human sciences, Freud's unconscious discovery led in a similar way to recognizing in Man a dark part that functions as a language, but which evades logical determination. Finally, in the institutional order, the rule of law and the law resist and still rest, but we cannot say that they are entitled to stand.

As a prey to new forms of feudalism, the state seems to have

abandoned to discover, by means of stable, general laws and abstracts, a world whose complexity escapes: the law becomes a rule of limited validity or even fades in the face of transactions and conventions. By obeying the principle of reality, the law has kept its own promises in the vision of St. Paul or Luther: to persuade the Man of his helplessness and to teach him to lose self-confidence. As in Kafka's parable, he will spend his life waiting for the Law gates to open, counting the lions that leap from the guard's beard.²⁷² Will he break this gate, decipher a law behind which you will find another thousand, a thousand times more difficult to distinguish?

Dürer's Melencollean I had already expressed, at the dawn of modern times, this feeling of reasonlessness in perceiving the complexity of the world, and the nostalgia of the now-gone era in which thought could be based on the divine law.

But apart from its religious root, the law also freed the "desire for power that dwells in man and deny any difference." As the place of the divine law became vacant, Man could not miss the chance to occupy himself and maintain the very founding discourse of any law. Such a discourse was not likely to flourish but to obtain legitimacy comparable to that of the natural sciences, thus translating the methods of these sciences into the study of man and society. Auguste Comte is the one who has expressed this idea with greater clarity.

The disappearance of a supernatural source, which alone could evade the law of human interpretation, leaves no room in its

²⁷² This was the only story Kafka accepted to publish during his lifetime from the whole text of *The Trial*. The story can be found in the ninth chapter of the editions published after Kafka's death, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. I, Gallimard, „Bibliothèque de la Pléiade", pp. 453-455

view only to the laws revealed by the study of nature.²⁷³ From where the foundation of a new science, called sociology, and the discovery of the "laws of the three states", which provide the key to the historical development of human societies, and enable the emergence of a society without the Law. Auguste Comte hoped that it would be possible, in portions of Saint-Simon's formula (to whom he had been a disciple), to replace the administration of things with the rule of men.

This certainty that the scientific and technical norm was called to replace completely human law is found in the Marxist critique of law. Faced with the injustices of their time, Saint-Simon, Comte and Marx dreamed of a liberation of humanity which, after descending deity, found in the laws of Science the means of breaking off from the power of states.

The tripartite of laws (divine, natural and human), the Philosophy of Lights has substituted the duality of natural and human laws, united under the aegis of Reason. Wanting to reduce this duality, emerging social sciences have understood to establish the legislative sovereignty of Science, and to discredit the theology of which they have taken their place in the universities and the Law in a single movement.

On a scientific plan, this project was doomed to failure, for it was subject to the search for the laws of implants to know the limits of its understanding.

As social sciences accumulated an unprecedented amount of knowledge, the complexity of what they discovered revealed the vanity of affirmation of the alarming laws that ultimately determined

the destiny of people (the laws of history, economy, society, etc.).²⁷⁴

Instead, ideologically and politically, this project has been a great success, because it opens the desire for power that dwells in every man unlimited horizons. In other words, he opened the gates of madness. The totalitarian systems that marked the twentieth century allow us to see exactly where the delusional point of the scientific control project of the society is.

They are not in their likenesses, which are enough, with religions. Surely, among those who trust in the instruments of the divine law and those who trust in the instruments of the law of history (according to which only the most advanced class survives) or Nature (according to which only the most able ones survive), there is more than one similarity; and the numerical comparisons of the massacres committed in the name of one or other of these laws are not such as to mark the difference between them.

For this difference is elsewhere. The divine law (in the religions of the Book), like the law of the Republic today, always addresses Man as a subject; it confers identity and at the same time affirms its freedom and responsibility (especially the freedom to violate the Law and thus to impose sanctions). The laws of science, on the contrary, represent Man as an object; they explain it by reporting what it is or what it does to objective determinations that obviously do not engage its responsibility.

The law of science does not know the distinction between innocent and guilty; she knows only clues of causes and

²⁷³ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Editeur Harcourt Bance, 1951

²⁷⁴ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Editura Pacifica, București, 1993, p. 338

effects. In this direction, since the sixteenth century, the Spanish theologian Suarez wrote that we can speak of law only by metaphor, "it is about things that do not escape it".

To claim the laws of society on the laws of Science suppose no longer consider people as subjects, beings endowed with reason, but as objects, like particles in a magnetic field or as animals on a farm, as "things that lack reason". Hitler could say about himself: "I am only a magnet that constantly moves through the German nation to extract the steel"²⁷⁵. The analogy with the laws of physics deserves to stop it: Hitler does not claim to act in the name of a distinct law, but claims to be its direct incarnation, the active object. "In a world, he continues, in which the planets and the astrologers follow the circular trajectories, in which the satellites revolve around the planets, in which the power reigns everywhere and is the sole master of weakness, which it constrains to serve under or otherwise"²⁷⁶.

The language of the Third Reich was the crucible of concepts such as "human material, "which reduces the world of people to that of objects. The elimination of the right subject in the name of Science is the delusional point in which anthracite totalitarian thinking"²⁷⁷.

If the denial of the law guarantees the identity and rights of individuals is thus the hallmark of totalitarianism, it is because he wants to be the instrument of a stronger law, of a scientific and superhuman law that disregards the state and the positive law. Communism and Nazism have conceived the state as a mere

puppet at the service of the Party, an apparent government serving to conceal the real places of power. "The state, wrote Hitler, is not a substance, but a form"²⁷⁸.

They also emptied the positive law, keeping only its name. "We model the lives of our peoples, and our legislation complies with the verdicts of genetics," says the Hitlerite Youth Handbook²⁷⁹. Hitler repeatedly repeated that "the state does not command us, but we command the state" and that "the state is only a means of achieving a goal; the purpose is to preserve the race"²⁸⁰.

The extermination policy carried out by the Nazis was not just about killing millions of women, men and children in the name of racing. It also consisted of different legal layers that made it subject to law: to withdraw the full civilian capacity, to cancel their professional status (and not just the profession), then to the patrimony (and not only the property), then to nationality in the stateless), then the name (making them some figures), that is to deny them the quality of human being before taking their life.

And the executioners do not act in the name of a law of the Race, they represent this law, and any distance between it and them is totally denied; were invited to consider themselves as some mechanisms driven by higher forces and to break free from any sense of responsibility or guilt.

The political reference to it claimed scientific laws (the "biological" law of the survival of the most apt race, or the "historical" law of the dominance of the "motor" class of history) implies annihilation of the anthropological

²⁷⁵ H. Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 185

²⁷⁶ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Editura Pacifica, București, 1993, p. 393

²⁷⁷ H. Arendt, *op. cit.*, p. 76

²⁷⁸ Ibidem, p. 286

²⁷⁹ A. Supiot, *op. cit.*, p. 108

²⁸⁰ Idem

function of positive laws. The latter actually have the role, as Hannah Arendt wrote, "to raise barriers and to organize ways of communication between people whose communities are constantly threatened by the newborn people. With every new advent in the world, a new beginning is born in the world; it is a new world that is becoming virtual.

Stability of laws responds to the perpetual motion of all human affairs, a movement that can never stop as long as people are born and die. The law embraces each new beginning with limits and, at the same time, ensures freedom of movement, the possibility that it brings what it is all new and unpredictable. The barriers to positive laws are for the political existence of man what memory is for his historical existence: they guarantee the preexistence of a common world, the reality of a certain continuity that transcends the life of each generation, absorbs all new beginnings and nourishes them".

Talking about the anthropological function of laws allows us to emerge from endless debates on Justice, highlighting the need to guarantee every new generation a "already there," which Arendt calls here "the preexistence of a common world transcending the life of each individual generations".

This need is specific to the human being as a symbolic animal, which, unlike other animals, perceives and organizes the world through the language filter. This does not mean that Western law or constructions are the only means of ensuring this anthropological function. This was the Western manner, but there are others, among the first ones being the Chinese one, which is based on ties, not laws, rites, and not rules.

To quote Hannah Arendt for a long time is a way of reminding that for her the killing of the Jews committed by the Nazis was "the fundamental experience of our age and its fundamental disaster" that starting from this foundation we must try to build "new knowledge of man" and that this history does not offer "any argument susceptible to serve a political purpose, whatever it is". It does not seem that these lessons have actually been learned.

On the one hand, the anthropological function of positive laws is negative, including in legal classifications.

On the other hand, we do not agree to appeal to ethics (the product is found in multiple versions: bioethics, ethics of business, etc.), submitting to us without knowing the advice given by Hitler to German lawyers in 1933: "The totalitarian state must ignore any difference between law and ethics"²⁸¹.

A "mirror effect" reigns, thus leading the undoubtedly denouncers of totalitarianism to be governed today in the manner they denounced. For thinking that the Nazis are only men like us means already thinking like them; wanting to burn books of fire amateurs means to brighten their ranks; to write an official Truth in criminal law means not to believe in the force of historical truth. In a word, "totalitarian inheritance is fueling our social practices from now on."

That is why justice must be the cornerstone of a democratic state. If we have a good justice, we will have a good economy and be a prosperous country. I am convinced that there are very many middle-class people in the legal world;

²⁸¹ Jens Peter, Herwig Schneider, C.H Hofmann, Jacques Ziller, Dacian C. Dragos, *Codul renewal de procedură administrativă a Uniunii Europene*, Editura Universul Juridic, București, 2016

even from the younger generation. But if we can do something, we can only do it with perseverance, with little ambition and a lot of work. Einstein's speech, I am convinced that only 10% is inspiration; the rest is sweating. And I add something. I recently read a book written by two American journalists. It is titled, *Why Nations Fail*²⁸². We all know the answer: success or failure is due to the way the country is managed; the way in which governance is achieved. But, attention, we cannot have a better government than we are.

That, ultimately, the governors, the MPs, are our representatives. Those whom we have chosen or whom the authorities have appointed the competent institutions that we have chosen. The life of the fortress is in a complex dynamics, and for its good functioning it needs well-informed citizens interested in the well-being of the society in which they live. So the crucial legislative issue, today, is the quality of the normative act and let us, perhaps, give up this legislative industry. And the laws should be very stable. That is why I have proposed to speak in the next section about the influence of the ReNEU Code of Administrative Procedure of the European Union, elaborated at the initiative of the European Union Administrative Research Network (ReNEUAL), which aims to ensure the transposition of the constitutional values of the European Union the administrative procedure concerning the administrative implementation of Union legislation and policy with a high chance of becoming

soon the EU Administrative Procedure Law²⁸³.

From this perspective, its influence on national law systems will be remarkable, at least in mixed procedures, involving the implementation of European law. For Romania, which unfortunately does not yet have a law of administrative procedure, the Code can be a model of good administrative practices and principles of administrative law relevant to public administration and administrative courts, given that the draft Code summarizes these practices and principles at European level. †

Even for this reason, the scientific research of Romanian administrative law is crushed between the annoyance of the Romanian proponent's impotence and the hammer of the European Union's exigency.

The scientific research of the Romanian administrative law crushed between the annihilation of the Romanian proponent's inability and the requirements of the European Union

I think it should be noted from the beginning that although the modern Romanian law system begins with the adoption of codes during Cuza's time, however, the roots of Romanian legal life are older and we are not only referring to the customary law, the old Romanian law, we are actually considering a continuity of Byzantine Roman Law. We must not forget that, in fact, the Justinian Code is a Roman Law Code; and we must not forget that afterwards this code was applied in the Byzantine Empire. In one way or another, with more or less interventions determined

²⁸² James A. Robinson; Daron Acemoglu, *De ce eşuează naţiunile. Originile puterii, ale prosperităţii şi ale sărăciei*, Editura Polis, Bucureşti, 2016

²⁸³ Verginia Vedinaş, *Codul administrativ – Legea anului 2018*, in „Universul Juridic” No. 7, iulie 2018, pp. 9-17

by the adoption of the Christian religion as a religion of the Byzantine Empire.

But in Romania, at least in Moldavia and Wallachia, this takeover of laws, of Byzantine tradition regulates, in fact, a continuity of Roman law on this territory, in a specific form. And I would not ignore these roots that the modern Romanian legal system has, we must not limit ourselves to the codes adopted by Cuza, there are also older roots that show the continuity of Roman law on the territory of the Romanian countries. It is true that today, almost 30 years after the fall of communism, we relaunch the interwar and antitebellar tradition of Romanian law, a tradition which means, among other things, the preservation of constants, but on the other hand it also means taking over all the new elements have developed in the Roman-German system and even in the Common Law system.

Finally, we report today not just to a system of law or another; we are referring to EU law and, to put it right, the polar star of our legal system is European Union law²⁸⁴.

Starting from these premises, we find that "the problem of coding administrative law has been concerned with servants of this branch of law for a long time, the draft of an Administrative Code has "haunted "many minds concerned with the fate of the administration. After 1990, he became one of the issues that have stirred the political world, the governors, who have assumed it as a political project consistently included in government programs.

As a rule, she was relatively abandoned after the elections, others being the priorities for those who regularly take over the reins of the government. We say "relatively", because in almost three decades, serious steps have been taken to create collectives for the elaboration of draft Administrative Codes. "Personally, with reputed and recognized specialists in the field, from all schools who were part of the team that had the chance to finalize the project, which, with some modifications brought by the MPs, inherent to the legislative process. As it is known, the Code was not promulgated by the President of Romania, moreover, the Constitutional Court of Romania was notified of the unconstitutionality of the Law on the Administrative Code of Romania.

Awaiting the motivation of the decision of our "constitutional lawmaker" who declared the non-fortuitous law in the integrity, we will confront some aspects of the current legislation in the field of administration in terms of the requirements of a good functioning of the administration, as we have a busy legislation, which co-exists with several regulations, hence the risk of inconsistencies or uncovered areas. It should be unified, using unitary terminology for the same legal realities, by supplementing, correlating and clarifying issues related principally to the occupation of public functions, to the incompatibility regime, and to the legal regime of public and private property of the state in the administrative- so that we have a clearer, predictable and predictable regulation and take into account the decisions of the Constitutional Court and the European directives that must be transposed into national law as the last quarter of a century

²⁸⁴<https://www.universuljuridic.ro/daca-pe-marginea-vechiului-cod-civil-adoptat-de-cuza-s-a-discutat-peste-100-de-ani>, (19.11.2019)

in which the Romanian public administration was properly organized for a state democratic, has witnessed an increasing mass of normative acts in force in the field of public administration.

At present, the inflation of the normative acts issued and the frequent changes in the regulations that were necessary in the process of their implementation generated parallelisms, overlaps and, implicitly, in practice, implementation difficulties.

As solutions to solving these problems, we have: simplifying and restricting legislation, achieving a unitary legal framework in a certain area, and clarifying a specific topic; simplifying the beneficiaries' access to the legislation in force, improving its application. Concerning codification initiatives, the options under consideration go from the elaboration of single sector laws (Portugal), to field law collections (codesx - France) and sectoral coding (France, Germany), but none of these states there is no Single Administrative Code that integrates in a unitary and systematized manner the legislation in several areas of public administration.

The problems of the Romanian legislative framework, including in the field of public administration, are known by the state authorities, which, through several strategic and programmatic documents, state the need for rationalization and systematization of regulations, including coding tools. This need is also highlighted in the context of the European Union, which places particular emphasis on "good governance" and "smart regulation".

The intention of the Romanian Governments to codify the legal framework in the field of public

administration, through an Administrative Code and a Code of Administrative Procedure, was established in 2001 as part of the governance programs and legislative programs. Therefore, on the basis of the analysis documents elaborated during the process of substantiating the draft Administrative Code, other analyzes carried out on the system of public administration (field analyzes, functional analyzes, analyzes regarding the application of normative acts, etc.) and following the meetings of consultation with the representatives of the central and local public administration revealed a series of malfunctions of the legislation applicable to the public administration, set out in the Document containing the main conclusions of the studies comprising the guidelines of the overall design of the draft Administrative Code and which, in essence, malfunctions of legislative technique and regulatory malfunctions. Dysfunctions of legislative technique were considered: the lack of uniform definitions of the main concepts in the public administration; redundant and parallel legal provisions; the existence of contradictory legal rules; the legal vacuum and the difficulties in applying the legal provisions in force generated by unclear and unrelated legal norms.

Finally, all have been clarified and correlated, and now, at the time of editing this study, we have an unconstitutional Administrative Code! Will these embarrassments strengthen the consciousness of the values of constitutional democracy!? I hope that, beyond some objections that, for one reason or another, are made in a very vocal way; beyond the attacks that exist in the media, the Romanian legal system will remain founded on the values of

constitutional democracy. And that means that everything that we have gained in these years since the fall of communism should not be lost.

Obviously, there are things that need to be improved, there are some imperfections, there are many ballasts, and there is still a lot of leech. But we do not have to throw the baby with the dirty water from the cops. The Romanian legal system has a good, good part, which is first of all based on European values, the values of constitutional democracy - this part must be preserved, which is really necessary to be removed, but to take care, as I said, not to we throw away the dirty water from the cop and the baby. The child must be kept. And that in fact means the system of values specific to constitutional democracy²⁸⁵. What are the implications and expected results of administrative codification? In a brief enumeration that cannot be considered exhaustive, we will try to present them in the concluding sentences below.

Conclusions

As we have seen on other similar occasions, through this scientific approach, this study seeks to reaffirm its position of reflection on the law, the laboratory of legal thinking open to different schools and legal traditions, to promote not only national diversity, and not by a validation court on theoretical legal ideas and constructions, in the conditions of pluralism, controversy, dialogue and debate, creativity and legal prospect, in a more and more unpredictable global world where contemporary law reveals that the legal world is multiple, heterogeneous,

complex, interactive and fluid. Especially in the area of public administration, which is, through its specificity, a complex field. Its scope of activity ranges from the administration of some communities to the administration and governance of the country. And when we refer to the country, we have in mind both "the problems inside", to express ourselves in the Romanian archaic speech, the chronicles and the first laws, and the ones from the outside. And the latter influence not only us, the destiny of a state and a people, but also the countries with which we enter into various relationships, in regional or international structures.²⁸⁶

The complexity and magnitude of the administrative phenomenon raises an appetite for lawmaking, trying to keep up with the multitude of forms in which it materializes and acts. Although regulation is trying to solve the problems, simplifying the paths, in reality, the consequence is, as a rule, the opposite.

And instead of reducing bureaucracy, reducing procedures, simplifying paths, more complicated. We have constantly drawn attention to the fact that not only is it regulated, it is "overregulated", but it also regulates badly. In addition to the agglomeration of legal normality, we are also confronted with the rhythm, with an instability with which it is hard to keep up, along with the concern to find legal solutions not general but rather punctual, the Constitutional Court, called to order in this "despair" of the phenomenon of legal normality, constantly draws attention to the fact that public authorities have to exercise their competence within the constitutional limits, not arbitrarily.

²⁸⁵ Ioan Petru Culianu, *Religie și putere*, Editura Nemira, București, 1996, p. 115

²⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 206.

Referring to the law, she has stated that "accepting the idea that Parliament can exercise its discretionary powers of law at any time and under any circumstances, by adopting laws in areas exclusively belonging to infra-legal, administrative, would amount to a departure from the constitutional prerogatives of this authority enshrined in Art. 61 par. (1) of the Constitution and transforming it into executive public authority. „Mutatis mutandis, nor the Government, as a delegated legislator, cannot substitute for the Parliament, which is the only legislative body, turning into legislation"²⁸⁷.

In this context, the modern paradigm of mechanical order is overcome. The study of the law is made from a variety of perspectives, pointing to uncertainty and injustice. If we cannot capture the absolute perspective of God's Eye, we can set up various legitimate perspectives, depending on the position of the legal-legislator, the judge, the lawyer, the doctrinaire, etc., emphasizing the importance of the solution of transdisciplinary. Legal pluralism, a behavior guided by several legal orders, becomes a new paradigm of law. In this context, reflection on the law takes place under the sign of philosophical pluralism. Postmodernism, recognizing its contributions, does not grasp and cannot grasp the philosophical space if at least we are considering a cardinal term promoted-deconstruction.

Undoubtedly, in contemporary times, we can emphasize the coexistence of schools and currents such as: the philosophy of natural law, positivism, utilitarianism, the historical school of law,

the objectivity of values, the rationalism of Marxism, and the analytic of language. We express our view that a conceptual or global concept of administrative law in the contemporary world can be understood, in a Hegelian manner, as an open concept, always enriched in different weights and degrees, by the various philosophical approaches in particularly complex relationships, interactions, mutual reincarnations, interferences, contradictions and mutual ignorance, disputes, dialectical passes, etc.

The ever-increasing vision is to connect the scientific approach to all the diversity of its currents to the general network of knowledge, each demonstrating its potential for solving contemporary problems alongside other entities of knowledge. We cannot omit the fact that the scientific research has revealed, in the way, the anecdotal way of Law, among cultures and civilizations, as a prime actor of society, under the sign of pluralism and multiculturalism, but also with the hope of setting up a global legal rationality, to contribute to solving the problems of contemporary society in accordance with the values of humanity. Of course, I could only present a few notations on such a vast and controversial issue, in a multiplicity of meanings and hypostases, about legitimacy and criticism, validity and controversy, vulnerability and coherence, interrogations and anxieties, cognitive resources and relative and limited actions, but capable of contributing to the prospect of administrative law, solving national problems, and cultivating desirable social trends.

At the same time, it would be desirable for these debates of topical issues, which are in the attention of the lawyers and the society as a whole, to

²⁸⁷ Emilia Șercan, *Fabrica de doctorate sau cum se surpă fundamentele unei nații*, Editura Humanitas, București, 2017, p. 29

pursue coherently the transmission of a message of unity and solidarity to the Romanian jurists, as well as a plea with arguments theoretical and practical in order to support and strengthen the rule of law based on independent, impartial, strong and professional justice, to be carried out in strict compliance with the law, human rights and fundamental freedoms both within the public administration. Romania today needs more than ever a clear, concise, predictable legislation that will facilitate the fastest integration of our country into the EU, in order to truly become a member state to have a say, and to promote the rule of law as a state of development, respect for human rights and social security, which implies higher levels of social cohesion, well-being and economic growth, as well as a lower level of inequality.

Any slippage from constants, fundamental principles of law, politics, and economy etc. in favor of small groups temporarily and briefly in power, would be a danger to any democratic construction, let alone a fragile one such as Romania.

Otherwise, a new road to another form of servitude, much more sophisticated and more sophisticated this time - to paraphrase the title of the book *The Road to Servitude*, published in 1944, by Friedrich Hayek, Nobel Prize-winner in Economics in 1974 - it could threaten our national being. Personally, I would not want to live in a society where in the name of the better of the people the meaning of moral and political terms of common use such as freedom, law, law, equality, etc. - as Hayek mentioned earlier - be changed to the contrary by some alleged opportunities planners who would like to even plan our personal freedom.

That is why it is time for lawyers to be more united than ever and to send a strong message to the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary. In conceiving this study, we started from the premise of the importance of the public administration and civil servant for the enhancement of the quality of the act of justice. Also, given the solutions and measures that have proved their effectiveness in previous years, I did not propose an exhaustive analysis of the administration system, but only those looking at an improvement or even a reconfiguration. Summarizing and systematizing all of the above-mentioned ideas, our proposals for the future of the administration and of the profession of civil servant and why not for the future of our Romanian justice would set up, in an aleatory order and which does not all pretend, the following aspects relevant for our approach to scientific research.

Let's get out of festivity and resignation! We no longer allow, as an administration, to go further without breaking the past. I remind you that Romania did not have a lustration, so that after the fall of the communist regime in administration they continued to activate securitized civil servants in the same way in all legal professions and not only. It is time to break the ghosts of the communist-security past, which is why if civil servants were recruited informants and collaborators, or if they have acted as covered officers of a secret service acting with security methods, this must be the latter, revealed. It is never too late for the truth, and it is important for the Romanian public administration to make light in the dark administrative system.

That is why, in addition to the mechanisms regulated by substantive and

procedural legislation to ensure a unitary administrative practice, we have included in this study some proposals that will be able to upset the world of Romanian law by the scope and considerations that will be further analyzed.

Firstly, the role of higher education in the knowledge society is recognized at both EU and Member State level. This level of education is expected to make an important contribution to achieving the objectives of the Lisbon Treaty in terms of growth, prosperity and social cohesion. In order to meet these expectations, higher education, including the legal one, has to address some major challenges: to reach a qualitative level to go through the international comparison test, to improve leadership and accountability, increase its funding, and - and diversify funding sources.

These major goals imply changes in higher education, which must be topped on the political agenda and national strategies of Romania. It is noteworthy that over the past few decades the higher education system in our homeland has undergone a major transformation, influenced by national and international changes such as the rapid increase in student numbers, a slight decrease in public funding correlated with insufficient private funding, increasing importance research and innovation in the world economy centered on knowledge and wider competition between higher education institutions.

The need to respond to these profound changes and to improve the quality of higher education has led to a review of institutional governance structures. Although public authorities have retained their central role in regulating and coordinating higher education, in recent years there has been a

gradual shift from state control in detail to external counseling from various stakeholders. That is why the institutions distinguish between the governance of higher education and management.

In higher education, governance focuses on rules and mechanisms through which the various stakeholders influence decision-making, control, and responsible persons. In the context of higher education, the term governance refers to "official or unofficial exercise of authority, taking into account the laws, policies and rules that establish the rights and obligations of the various active participants, including the rules by which they interact".

In other words, governance includes the framework where an institution pursues its aims, objectives and policies in a coherent and coordinated manner to answer the questions: Who leads and what are the sources of legitimacy in making decisions by the various active participants? Management, on the other hand, refers to the implementation of a set of objectives pursued by a higher education institution based on established rules. He answers the question as to how the rules apply and his concerns are the efficiency, the good functioning and the quality of the services provided by the internal and external partners. Despite the distinction made between governance (which focuses on setting long-term policies and objectives, as well as strategies to achieve these goals) and management (action-oriented), the various connections between governance and management will not be overlooked view.

In the continuation of this argumentative context, I propose, no less or less, the abolition of all faculties of public and private law in Romania, some of them true outbreaks of intellectual

prostitution or as cute and provocative but realistic, I think, called them distinguished Mrs. Prof. univ. Dr. Verginia Vedinaş, in the pages of the "Palace of Justice", "procedural orgies," a cycle of articles that would represent a sort of alarm signal on events happening in our public life, state authorities and institutions that deviate gravely and dangerous from the letter and spirit of the fundamental law, from the general principles of a state aspiring to become law, as it is, moreover, proclaimed by the Constitution.

Instead, a single University of Law directly subordinated to the Romanian Academy or the Superior Council of Magistracy (hereinafter SCM), which can ensure the essential interinstitutional cooperation for making the administrative system more efficient and ensuring a high level of independence and transparency. An area that involves the joint effort of all the powers of the state, within the limits of the powers conferred on them by the Constitution. The idea of a Unique and State Law faculty that enlivens me at the beginning of the 16th century and the prefiguration of a unifying center, which is nowhere, is not a generous utopia. Today, willingly accepting that an interdisciplinary systematization, based on a unique general methodology, without producing forms of doctrinal imperialism, is almost impossible. But tomorrow is not known!

However, one cannot give up the idea that the contributions of the various systems of relevance serve to something unitary. But once again (we deduce from experience), it cannot be a unitary "sense", for it is good that the meanings remain multiple and communicate with one another, constituting themselves. In fact, no scientific discipline can give up the

verification of its results in practical life, without reducing itself to the continuous erosion of its own memory.

Reuniting the exigencies and experiences, we conclude that the most suitable tops for this confluence and use is the Romanian law and the public institutions that make it operational. The fundamental issue is related to the nature and the character of a unique faculty of law since the principle of state neutrality in the field of law and justice, the expression of modern transformations in its institutional order, has proved ambiguous since its inception. On the one hand, this principle shows that in the sphere of modern political organization, the law is essential, being important for the role of justice and its institutions, including the legal professions, the organization of consensus and the constitutional order. The control exercised by the institutional bodies for this purpose on society serves to respect the fundamental human rights and freedoms.

On the other hand, the very term "neutrality" barely succeeds in masking the fact that the state proceeds from time to time according to concrete configurations of power and is a form that assumes different contents, depending on the problems and goals it proposes to pursue them. Without being seriously destroyed, one cannot build seriously; it also seems to teach us individual psychology and the history of civilizations.²⁸⁸ It is a situation in which State intervention, which, through the SCM, establishes the architectural structure of justice, must be urgent.

In the institutional architecture of Romania, the SCM has the fundamental role, enshrined in art. 133 par. 1 of the

²⁸⁸ Emilia Şercan, *op. cit.*, p. 29

Constitution, the guarantor of the independence of justice. As such, and in line with its statutory duties, the SCM is responsible for the normal organization and functioning of the judiciary as a public service. The Council has the duty to be actively involved in matters concerning the judicial authority in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of the normative acts governing the Romanian justice and in direct co-operation with the other powers of the rule of law.

As a guarantor of the independence of the judiciary and the representative of the judiciary, the SCM can express concern about our approach in the adoption by the Romanian State of the legislative proposal on the establishment of a Law University of Romania under the high patronage of the Romanian Academy. From this perspective, legal higher education becomes state - as happens, for example, in Germany - because the state is implementing the administration. I think no one wants a private administration where everybody has his justice, and the general interest no longer cares for anyone. Moreover, those who carry out the act of justice, as we say in the argumentation from the beginning of the study, are invested with state authority.

Even if it seems contradictory to what was said above, as if it were a communist glimpse - I was not a member of the defunct communist party and I abhor communism - the proposal takes into account that society is increasingly perceiving that the non-observance of the law, the act of justice is committed by persons with legal responsibilities. And maybe everything starts from the importance of the person with the attributions of selection and management of human resources in the faculties of law.

Our framework law on education designates an administrative person (I do not mean those working under the dome of administrative law here) that creates bureaucracy, superstructures, appetite for leadership as it means money, high salaries. Law no. 1/2011 generated a professional egoism alien to the professional scientific accomplishments and human qualities of others, and the negative consequences of regress in regulating such an important area were not delayed: notorious cases of veritable individuals who have entered higher education who have obtained under suspicious paths the title of doctor, then the quality of university teachers, promoted quickly to the highest positions.

This has led to the phenomenon of "Doctorate Factory" or "Dissemination of the Fundamentals of a Nation".²⁸⁹ Clearly, in Romania, from only 1,500 titles of Doctors in Science awarded for almost 100 years, between 1900 and 1990, in 90 years 1,500 titles, there were 67,000 titles of Doctors in Science in 30 from 1990 to 2017, most, over 30,000, in the last 6 years. Where did they all start from? The answer also comes from recent history: I remember that in Romania there were the university centers in Bucharest, Cluj, Iași, Timișoara, followed by other centers, such as Craiova, Brașov with forestry and road vehicles, Sibiu with administrative law, Galatiul with ships and food chemistry, Constanta only the Marine Institute, Târgu Mureș with Medicine, Petrosani mines and Petrol and Gaze from Ploiești. The whole national economy was served by these centers, 12 were. Now there are 37 university centers! We have faculties at Slobozia and Caracal.

²⁸⁹ Ibidem.

There are nearly 50 state universities, plus 7 military higher education institutions, as well as over 50 private universities. Then we must never brighten the quality of education in Romania! That you stand and ask yourself what academic teachers able to export knowledge to students are in small towns, where the teaching staff is made up of gathered armor, from overnight university professors. And education, all this bad scheme is from within. Professors have altered the system, no one came from outside, from the real economy, restructured them; teach them how to teach at school. They alone had complete freedom. Only the university autonomy was very poorly understood.

Another misfortune: it plagues all over the world. But intellectual chain fraud was invented in Romania during the transition years. In the ad-hoc academies, the intellectual false, in which doctors overwhelming overnight become coordinating teachers of plagiarized doctorates, pulses at a rate that is hard to follow. Get on a tape with tens of thousands. Of these protected criminals, prime ministers, ministers, generals, commissioners, prosecutors, politicians, mayors, university professors, etc. are elected in Romania. "The Elite of the Country"-this unbelievable performance grinds the nation's foundations. There are things in the world that you cannot joke about. With the borders of a country, for example, he's out of war. Even with the boundaries of the spirit cannot joke. Because then it mixes stupidity with intelligence, honor with theft, merit with rogue. We get to be driven by tricks, thieves, and impostors.

That's exactly what happened to us. By abolishing intellectual borders, we have

come across invaded and occupied from the inside of our society. Victims are our students to whom impostors cannot pass on more knowledge than they have. The academic environment is degrading by superficiality and subjectivity. It is necessary for the human and professional model of the integrative university interested in selflessly professional competence, the morality of the members of the same professions.

To ensure the seriousness of legal studies, the new and true reform of education in Romania must start from Romanians, not from foreigners, even if they were called "Bologna". The originality and the severity of the requirements that all those who want to devote to the professorship must deal with are also the criterion of having the title of doctor.

Regarding the meeting of this condition, careful and demanding, we draw attention to the need for rigorous verification of the provenance of diplomas, as the practice of recent years has shown us de facto states on which we will no longer insist, examples being eloquent in this respect. If, in the first years after the December 1989 coup, we consider that cumulating of functions is beneficial to higher education, seeing boundless greed, as well as the defiant efforts of some teachers to accumulate as many functions and to be in at the same time, ministers, deputies, senators, referees, university professors in Bucharest and other university centers in almost all the county residences, who became sinks for the parties and the families they were part of, I totally reviewed my opinion: I am convinced that it is impossibility, even incompatibility of the professor with any

other quality than the constitutional one, that of the parliamentarian.

Therefore, "If bad is the current state of things, if we are determined to change it, we would not make a useful work by limiting ourselves to details reforms, the entire building is sinning through the foundation, so to restore it from the foundation."²⁹⁰ At the same time, Nicolae Titulescu found it necessary that the formula of the law must "lose more and more the appearances of a theorem", and the separation of legal issues "blows a stream of humanity that wants the letter of the text to succumb to the needs of society." "Renovation and true guidance of juridical sciences will not be given for the common good, except on the day when all will be penetrated by people moving under the sanctions of laws, and sacrificing an excess of logic means to say that man is made for the law, and not the law for man what is an absurdity"²⁹¹.

The appropriation of the method of humanitarian interpretation of laws was not, in Titulescu's view, merely a first step in the legal education process or, as he said, "an indisputable minimum" that law students must know. The next step in this process is to deepen the legal sciences that enable specialists to understand the undeniable truth that "law evolves in parallel with social needs". Achieving legal education according to the domestic social needs requires the modification of the whole program of the faculties of law.

The most useful and urgent changes that need to be made to the current program are the reorganization of the content of the taught subject itself, and a first-line amendment is that the history of

Romanian law and the study of ethics appear to be the main subjects to complete the legal culture of the students. I support this not only from patriotic and scientific considerations, as the same Nicolae Titulescu stated: "Nothing more useful the dangerous illusion of the fixity of the law, in order to have the true meaning of many obscure provisions, to find the characteristic of the national genius, to follow the successive stages through which our legal institutions have passed to become what we are today."²⁹²

Another defect in the organization of legal higher education is full freedom - we dare to call it colloquialism, freedom - which reigns in faculties of law: anyone who can take the exam at any time, not to mention attendance at courses.

This absolute freedom is synonymous with the lack of organization; it is largely the case of the teacher's weakness and the mistrust of the profane in the seriousness of the legal studies. Removal of these faulty procedures becomes imminent and must be achieved by: admission to admission only of the best-prepared candidates, limitation of the number of students, compulsory attendance of courses, as much as possible examination of the attendance, compulsory presentation of exams, non-admission to exams of students less than 10 courses were missed.

One of the greatest drawbacks of university education is the indifference of the student's work. To force the student to work and we can only do it through severe rules. Up to the examination, especially right, he did not have the chance to talk to the professor. By eliminating this indifference, the process of learning will

²⁹⁰ Ion M. Oprea, *Nicolae Titulescu*, Editura Științifică, București, 1966, p. 21

²⁹¹ Ibidem, p. 24

²⁹² Idem

gain extra effectiveness, mirrored in the more thorough preparation of students, and the teachers' knowledge of this training under its many aspects, knowledge capable of largely suppressing the role of hazard in verifying the knowledge assimilated by students. We still have something to add here. The discrepancy between the rich and the poor is also felt among students. No one can dispute that even among students without material means there are real values. But not allowing them access to the study of law would be to remove from the quality of our noble robe an important part.

Returning to ensuring the seriousness of legal studies, we call for the genuine reform of national education and higher education to establish effective measures for the selection of the teaching staff and at the same time to regulate its duties seriously. As the main criterion, which is the basis for the recruitment of the teachers required for higher education, we anticipate the high level of professional training doubled by a certain inclination towards the scientific and didactic activity.

The recruitment of teachers with a higher level of professional training with a distinct spiritual and moral profile decided to dedicate themselves to the training and education of the student is the pledge of the elaboration and teaching of the courses with a high scientific and didactic status. In this way, they can seriously prepare future generations to develop competent legal research as well.

We are convinced that the implementation of the true legal higher education reform has become an imperative necessity and in so many discussions about the educational ideal, the curriculum, university autonomy, student-centered education, skills training, and so on, we forgot to ask an essential question:

why do we send the children to school or college? Why do we, teachers, go to school or college? What is the purpose of education?

Lately we are increasingly obsessed with the labor market! As jobs are becoming more and more poorly paid and hard to find as a result of moving production bases in third world countries and automating the production process, Romanian education is struggling to create adaptable individuals to the labor market! The more foolish we are, the harder our teachers are to justify our existence and activity by producing future integral into the labor market. This major shift in direction towards which education is about to start has very serious consequences. The teacher becomes an intellectual critic, engaged in civic projects, a teacher willing to spend time debating with the students on main themes, a docile clerk, a more educated nurse with two mentions. To bring money to the university and to integrate into the labor market. Yes, no matter how comical it sounds, more recently as university professors, not only do we not have to claim to pay for our university, but we have to bring new money home to the university. Let's not forget the horrible case of the two highly regarded college students at Columbia University, Carol Vance and Kim Hopper, who were kicked out, despite their critical and socially engaged voice, or maybe because of that, did not bring enough grants to the university! That is not enough to bring important visibility and research. We have to make money - we're rated according to the money brought in!²⁹³

²⁹³ Maria Cernat, *Despre universități și obsesia pieței muncii*, <http://www.criticatac.ro/285>, (18.11.2019)

The student becomes a consumer of educational services, a product of the university, but also a client of the university. In this dual quality of product and consumer he has the sole purpose of acquiring skills that make him eligible on the labor market. The story of thinking and critical reflection is empty in this context. What is it, sir, to think critically? To be so, a Gica-counter? Well, there is no way we can quantify in our wonderful quantitative system of academic performance - see the beautiful documentary by Adam Curtis on this quantitative assessment - and we do not really need reflexive people on the labor market. We need Gica - cut and dig! Time for debate and disappears!

Discussions and roundtables without BDI or ISI indexed writing does not matter! If it does not matter and does not help us to promote or win grants, we will not organize them. It is counterproductive and inefficient to waste time with student circles or debates as long as they are not quantified.

The few teachers, who are still more serious about students, do so in their time and resources. In current academic education, what matters is, as I have said, to gather points in the self-assessment sheet, and these points are not earned from working with students, but from grants, BDIs, ISIs, and more also. The evaluation of the quality of the teaching will, of course, be made by the number of people integrated into the labor market.

We all know how volatile this market is. We also know that a college is not a flower shop closing it or opening it overnight. Specialists are formed in years and years. And yet, in the performance indicators of study programs, we have the number of integrations in the labor market. What is the dedication and devotion that I

show to students with the whims of the market? That faculty should not be an ivory tower isolated from the rest of society accepts everyone. But accepting this dictatorship in the labor market is just as dangerous.

That's what the university painting looks like after we force it to bring inaccurate and adaptable individuals to the labor market.²⁹⁴ I say this because I traveled through Romania for legal and tourist events and I have often met with very young people, students or students. And the talks are not just about justice, justice and justice, but also about the future.

Young people see with me and something else, a dialogue with someone from whom they may have different answers than what they usually hear. From them, they receive a series of questions, some related to the scope of personal or professional choices, such as the question: "what do you advise me to prepare for a career in Romania or for a career abroad?" it's hard to meet an 18-year-old for the first time and give a good advice.

It seems to me that today's youth ask this question more often than we, the generation that did high school before 1989. Do these young people do not give more hope to Romanian society? Or, if we were still talking about the right, does the Romanian legal cultural space not meet their expectations? So, in Romania or abroad? I answer this question as follows: It is good to prepare yourself professionally with the thought that the day will come when you will have to face another 100 candidates in an honest contest. And you want to be so good that you can compete in the right competition.

²⁹⁴ Idem

No matter what your job will be, from be toner to mathematician, doctor to translator, judge to taxi driver, the time of the competition will come. And there will be confrontations in good, purely professional terms, where the job or grant or contract will return to the best. I know that it is better for you to live in Romania in your homeland, but no matter where you are, it is better for you if you prepare for now with the certainty that the moment of the competition will come. Even if you are only 18 or 20 years old now, it works by knowing that you can make a real difference for you from today. And that has nothing to do with where you live, but just how you prepare for your future work.

I also want to make a very real confession to you: we have gone a long way, over half a century of activity. I've come to a certain destination, I think. That is, we have gone through a stage like in the Civil Process. Sure, I have gone through the stage of the trial and I think it is also in the means of appeal; and now the final judgment will take place.

The decision was pronounced. Now they are going through the forced execution phase, a difficult phase for the debtor and having a less happy ending. You know, I do not want to think about Dante Alighieri - *La vine is a coreo of muerte*. But this, sooner or later, is happening. I really like a Mexican song that says, "It's important not to get to the destination, but to know how to get there. I did everything I could to get to the destination, to go through all the procedural steps if you want. Of course, my professional destiny was connected with the Law and the Army. If you ask me why, it is relatively simple: because both areas are of great rigor; because we, the lawyers, have our relativity; many things

are relative and the procedure is the most rigorous way of success. And I've learned in this area to be rigorous myself. And thanks to this, some colleagues have appreciated me; others wondered why the teacher was so rigorous. Does she watch, follow us, and force us to go to classes? Well, it's democracy; we no longer have to do seminars, we no longer have to do courses.

There is, unfortunately, such a way of thinking. And then surely these colleagues probably loved me less. But I do not think I had a problem and I do not think I have a problem from this point of view. I think they had a problem. If today I have a dissatisfaction - and it exists - it is that we have had a certain perception, a certain vision of the constitutional mechanisms.

To find today, however, that things do not work even in those parameters that we were considering. Certainly the Constitution was amended in 2003, it is likely that a constitutional reform will once again be achieved. I still think that in the current constitutional formula this will be almost impossible to achieve in the perspective of the coming years, in a relatively close perspective. There were some issues that I have seen in a theoretical manner. For example, the separation of powers in the state. It is said in doctrine that it is a dogma, that it is overcome. We in the 1991 constitution have not spoken of the separation of powers in the state.

This is a theoretical problem. Very nice, the amended Constitution speaks at the moment. But I speak theoretically. Because we have inspired ourselves from the French Constitution, which in Article 3 para. 1 says power belongs to the people. And another article that says the people do

not share power with anyone. Therefore, power is unique, it is unique. There are authorities. The Constitution of France does not speak of *pouvoir*; nor the Constitution of Romania; spoke to the authorities - the judicial authority, separate from the parliament, by the Romanian government. Finally, it is not necessary to insist.

There are many things I think we should reflect in the future. These are real things. This is how things happen with our education: it is ridiculous. Do you know that in 1992 a Romanian writer and poet, Paul Dimitriu, expressed himself in a work in the following way - which is very surprising, in 1992 is that education is in the derisory stage of a vocational education; university education. Well, since then it has evolved a lot. But, unfortunately, not positively. There is much to talk about. Before finishing, I would ask you to allow me to point out to the public administration: a good administration is expensive for a country like ours. But it gives it more brilliance, more grandeur, more importance, more prestige, and correct administration of society. It gives more order, more culture and more dignity to human life than any other action of material civilization.

We could have no railway, no motorway, no palace, but if we had a model administrative organization, nobody would dare to say: in the full crisis of values, in the full struggle and division of the societies we live in, the rupture of people on arbitrary criteria, age, sex, place of birth, studies, crafts, religions, or even crafts, it is good to remember who we are actually. Are we the ones who have hearts of stone and heavy words on our tongue or are we united and when it hurts one of us all jump?

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THE ACTIVITY OF THE ROMANIAN SECURITATE ON SPECIAL CURRENCY CONTRIBUTION

Abstract:	<i>The article highlights the activity of the commercial companies of the Securitate and the way in which the process of stealing the economic gains of the Romanian national economy started and also was ended. After December 22, 1989 and the formal termination of the Securitate, the huge amounts of money in the accounts of the Securitate remained in the accounts of the Securitate-officers who were credit directors and coordinated the account numbers, passwords and access codes. There was no Communist Party control of these amounts and they were only partially reported to the political leadership of the country.</i> <i>These amounts have disappeared entirely. They far exceeded the amount of Romania's external debt and were accumulated in the period when the people were afflicted by the economic crisis, artificially induced by those who were preparing to trigger the popular uprising behind which the state coup meant to remove Ceaușescu from power was covered. Removing Ceaușescu from power was meant to regain the political and military control over Romania by the USSR and the take-over by the Western economies of the Romanian place on the world market and the sources of raw materials in Romania.</i>
Keywords:	Betrayal of the Securitate in December 1989; Financial Operations of the Securitate; Commercial Companies of the Securitate; Food and consumer goods crisis in Romania; Nicolae Ceaușescu; Undercover agents of the Securitate
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Motto:
„Anything can be done!”
Efraim Halevy
(ex al Mossad director)

In the matter of the activity carried out by the Securitate of the Socialist Romania on special currency equity, I believe that it is necessary to

mention some aspects that were unyieldingly avoided by the recent Romanian history, given the sensitive nature of the matter.

Assigning tasks on carrying out trading activities should not lie with the information gatherer, but an economic activity of ministries and governments. Nevertheless, during the second half of the

XXth century, intelligence agencies undertook a series of tasks in the area of economic activities. As corruption reached a larger part of the contemporary world, secret services became preoccupied with accessing society's incomes, no longer interested in ensuring state security, the most important component of a society's activity, in exchange for a paycheck, even if these were significantly higher than those of other social categories. For the referenced period, the role of ideology continuously decreased for the activity of secret services. Ideological passions of the first half of the XXth century were replaced with the financial interest. Money became the main purpose in the systems' activity, and, by default, of the secret service workers. The new incentive was much stronger than the old one, born from ideological ambition. An experienced Soviet spy said: "Forget ideology. Get the money!" He was suggesting that instead of exploring the subtle philosophies of communism, it's more important to see: "Who stands to benefit"?²⁹⁵

Romania's Securitate understood that and fell in line with the strategies of other international secret services, mainly the Soviet ones, with whom it had strong collaborations²⁹⁶, the first institutions that started the globalisation process, and it wasn't hard to convince RCP CC's political decision makers that it would benefit the country if its officers were involved in commercial activities, to the

later obvious purpose of accessing the country's money reserve. The Securitate had the means to influence the administrative decision in any direction.

Once the officers of the Securitate changed from state security protectors and information gatherers to traders and money manufacturers, including by means of approved smuggling, and trafficking the labour of an entire country, the temptations of richness increasingly affected the entire range of employees, from managers to mere workers in the system.

Romania's new "traders" became concerned with obtained as much profit as possible for themselves and "fatten" the accounts they were administering, rather than in an efficient sell of production. Commissions awarded by beneficiaries of Romanian products made it so that lower prices were accepted, sometimes with no profit, or, in some cases, the price didn't even cover manufacturing costs. Nowadays, it is a known fact that the entire exterior trade was taken over by the Securitate, through CFI (Centre for Foreign Intelligence of the Securitate), "Dunarea" CFT (the Concern for Foreign Trade) and other trading companies, some of which we'll mention below.

The activity of the Romanian Securitate on special currency equity started in the early 50's, when the Securitate was given the task to also acquire hard currency and gold from the West. And so, Operation "The Inheritance" was initiated, and for a while it functioned with no special organization, more or less occasionally. The first group specialized in this activity was created in 1958. In 1960 the LC Sector was created for this activity, within the DFI (Direction of Foreign Intelligence of the Securitate). This sector cashed in the money resulting from

²⁹⁵ John Loftus, Mark Aarons, *Războiul secret împotriva evreilor*, Editura Elit, Iași, 1998, p. 109

²⁹⁶ This collaboration was illegal after 1964, when Romania's collective lead, which became independent, forbade army, intelligence and police officers to collaborate with the Soviet intelligence. Larry L. Watts, *Ferește-mă doamne de prieteni... Războiul clandestin al Blocului Sovietic cu România*, Editura RAO, București, 2011

repatriation, foreign successions, pensions and indemnities.

In 1955, when he was transferred to DFI's Internal Securitate, General Pacepa wrote that Operation "The Inheritance" became something of a fine art. He said that DFI officers, under consular cover, would contact older emigrants and lured or blackmailed them into leaving their fortunes to their families at home, or to churches, schools or other Romanian institutions. The DFI created grandchildren and great-grandchildren for the emigrants who had no other relatives in Romania. Creating grandchildren and great-grandchildren became a daily routine for LC Sector officers.²⁹⁷

Come 1966 LC Sector's activity scope widened, now comprising of identifying and repatriation tasks of assets belonging to the national cultural heritage. In regulating this activity several laws were issued, stipulating that it was the Ministry of Interior's duty to store all the gold obtained and 80% of the income to the Romanian State Bank and 20% of the income must be deposited into a special account of the Ministry of Interior, also open with the Romanian State Bank, in order to be used for the operative needs of the Securitate. Later on, in 1975, the Sector for Currency Operations (CO) was created, alongside the LC Sector, under the coordination of general Gheorghe Marcu, and the officers with direct responsibilities in this field were colonels Teodor Cârlan, Florin Sandu and Teodor Gudină.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Ion Mihai Pacepa, *Cartea neagră a Securității*, vol. III, *L-am trădat pe Ceaușescu*, Biblioteca Ziua, Editura Omega SRL, București, 1999, p. 50, apud Florian Banu, *De la SSI la SIE. O istorie a spionajului românesc în timpul regimului comunist (1948-1989)*, Editura Corint, București, 2016, p. 598

²⁹⁸ Florian Banu, *op. cit.*, pp. 503-504

This activity of the SCE (Special Currency Equity) became more important as Romania's development dictatorship needed increasing amounts of currency.

After the creation of the CO Sector, general Pacepa, deputy director of DFI, empowered colonel Vasile Angelescu (a future general) to lead the activity of the LC Sector. To that end, Vasile Angelescu was sent to Vienna, as a fully entitled officer of the Romanian Economic Agency, serviced by DFI, later on GDFI (General Directorate of Foreign Intelligence of the Securitate). Operation "The Inheritance" consisted of contacting Romanian citizens living in the West, with no heirs, and urging them to leave their fortune to the state of Romania. The operation was a success, by 1978 the account opened to this end having gathered an amount of 400 million dollars.²⁹⁹ The dollar had a great power at that time. Subsequently, these amounts would be insignificant in comparison to what would be gathered after 1982, when the Securitate took control of all Romania's foreign trade.

In some cases of succession, where there were no heirs, the DFI would fabricate false heirs thus obtaining the money that would have belonged to the state, whose citizens were the heir-less deceased.

An important moment in the activity of the Securitate of obtaining currency equity was the year 1978, when the ministry of interior, Teodor Coman, ordered that the currency to be obtained by the Securitate to be doubled. Given the conditions of the period, there were no legal means for doubling currency income. This made the Securitate resort to a

²⁹⁹ Cornel Nemetzi, *Ultimul curier ilegal. Memoriile unui spion român*, Editura Marist, Baia Mare, 2013, pp. 352-353

genuine plunder of Romanian economic companies. As successions and other such activities were not enough to gather the amounts requested by my minister Teodor Coman, who most probably had his orders, it came to the situation of widening the operational range for obtaining large currency equities. And so, the Securitate would buy cheap weapons, ammunition and military techniques from Romanian companies, and re-sold them at a higher price abroad. It did the same with exporting certain banned products, which it sold despite legal interdictions. At the same time, the Securitate would re-sell foreign alcohol and cigarettes bought at a preferential price, given the most favored nation Clause, thus gaining from significant price differences. The Securitate would also buy and resell stock market goods: cereals, oil, sugar, non-ferrous metals, reselling them at a higher price abroad.³⁰⁰ Romania's economy was in decline, as it was in the situation of having to sell for small prices, and the Securitate would gather huge amounts, selling at higher prices. In this manner, it came to the situation that in 1989, the accounts of the Securitate had around 30 billion dollars, which, on today's dollar market is about 200 billions.³⁰¹ And so, colonel, we're right to say that the socialist economy of Romania, a country with over 12,5 million workers, was a very profitable yet highly illicit one, so that all the added value of the economy ended up in the dirty hands of the thieves of the foreign Securitate, managed by Aristotel Stamatoiu, probably the greatest thief in the Romanian history.

³⁰⁰ Florian Banu, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

³⁰¹ Corvin Lupu, Ioan Bâlbă, *Trădarea României Socialiste în viziunea unui ofițer de Securitate*, Editura Techno Media, Sibiu, 2019, p. 207

Other activities of the SCE were with regards to obtaining confidential commissions from suppliers or foreign beneficiaries of foreign trade. Money was also obtained from confidential commercial discounts for certain import contracts, handled by Romanian foreign trade companies, hence intelligence officers, either directly with the foreign companies, either with their representatives in Romania. The Securitate would gain money from confidential transit taxes of banned products and light weaponry transported across Romania.³⁰² There was also money in broker operations carried out by CFI officers of confidential trade companies, between foreign buyers and sellers and from speculative operations of stock exchange values and products. CFI officers would also carry out over-billing and issuing fictive invoices. Other operations consisted of selling confiscated gold, precious metals and stones. The same institution was responsible for retrieving the currency illegally owned by Romanian citizens. For example, in just one year, CFI's profit was of 400,000 dollars, from an activity of selling five million dollars worth of feathers(!).³⁰³ It is quite clear that these activities of the Securitate are completely different from the mission for which it was created and the reason for which the institution was legally operating.

Following the investigations I tried to carry out throughout a three decade documentation, I personally, don't believe general Iulian Vlad had any knowledge of the huge amounts existing in the account of the over 330 credit director officers. I have no intention of remitting general Vlad's accountability, but I believe that both the

³⁰² Gheorghe Ionescu Olbojan, *Fantomele lui Pacepa*, Editura Corida, București, 1993, p. 248

³⁰³ Florian Banu, *op. cit.*, pp. 522-533

DSS director and ministre Tudor Postelnicu ordered that general Vlad be kept outside of this activity. It wouldn't be the first time Postelnicu orders that Vlad be kept from certain information. During the last years of the communist regime, Postelnicu ordered the directors of the Securitate that high profile counter-intelligence information be kept away from general Postelnicu and reported to the Ministry's Cabinet, to major Mihai Uță, one of Postelnicu's two cabinet chiefs, a former profile officer. For that matter, this activity of special currency equity was kept in complete secret.

In the 80's UM 0107 was under the command of officer Stelian Octavian Andronic (professional name Nicolae Arnăutu). In 2008, he published the book *36 years of Romanian secret service. Out of respect for the truth. Memoires*, and in 2010 he published *The secret of the Rose. 25 years under the consular cloak*. The author mentions the foreign trade activity of the Securitate, avoiding essential and cruel truths, and simply presented the elements of national interest, namely the contribution the Securitate had in obtaining the necessary funds for paying-off in full Romania's external debt, without presenting the whole SCE activity and without mentioning the illicit aspects of the national economy. The author makes no mention of the relations between the Securitate and mafia-like organisations, relations where nobody bothered with abiding by the law. On the contrary, Andronic insists on legal provisions forbidding any kind of illegal operations. While he is silent about the illegal operations and the plunder carried out by the Securitate on national economy, we want to illustrate a report colonel "Arnăutu" filed to his colleagues,

informing on the possible illegal activities within his unit to the purpose of gaining money. „Arnăutu” makes a special reference to cigarettes and light weapons smuggling, in alliance with partners from Switzerland, Italy and FRG. With regards to the SCE activity, I would also like to mention, without going into anymore details, that there had also been conflicts between the Internal Securitate and DFI bodies. In order to prevent actions of their opponent secret services abroad, all cashing-in activities were to be carried out only in the headquarters of Romania's representations, namely embassies, consulates, economic sections, TAROM, NAVROM, ONT agencies. It was strictly forbidden to cash-in money in hotels, restaurants, airports, gas-stations, stations headquarters of foreign companies or any other public places.³⁰⁴

Ceaușescu thought he could improve the foreign trade activity by involving the Securitate in this area, despite the fact that he didn't actually trust the Securitate. *Decree no. 164/1979* and *Decree no. 276/1979* led to the creation of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. But Ceaușescu wasn't pleased with the activity of the this ministry's officers, either. Ceausescu's decision to hand over Romania's foreign trade to the Securitate was accelerated by at least one proposal³⁰⁵ and several information on suspicious relevant department officials, given that most of the foreign officials of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation were corrupted Jewish businessmen. General Nicolae

³⁰⁴ Florian Banu, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-524

³⁰⁵ We haven't found out, yet, who made this proposal, but it is most probably that it came from within the Securitate

Pleșiță, former CFI director, claimed the initiative to hand over foreign trade to the Securitate came from Ceaușescu, following reports on the corruption of civilian officials in the foreign trade and that Ceaușescu wanted a bribe-free foreign trade.³⁰⁶

The Securitate had long before planned the training of economists with solid trade and economic background. To this end, ever since the late 60s' it began recruiting and hiring brilliant graduates of the Academy of Economic Studies as officers.³⁰⁷ The Securitate was constantly preoccupied with head-hunting valuable university students, who could speak two-three foreign languages and infiltrating them in the foreign trade system, the banking system, research institutes, various special units. In time, these young people grew up, had important jobs within the units they had been infiltrated in, and ensured a superior level of information. These officers have always been monitored by counter-intelligence. The economic activity of these undercover officers was the foundation of our country's technological successes of the socialist era.

In view of the full involvement of the Securitate in foreign trade, on October 15, 1982, Ceaușescu signed *Decree C.S. 382* creating the "Dunarea" Foreign Trade Enterprise, a company belonging to the Securitate, organized as a military unit with the indicative 0107, a structure of the U.M. 0544-Foreign Intelligence Center.

His first director and the one who organized it was General Aristotel Stamatoiu, who later became the head of the CFI, Deputy General Iulian Vlad and Minister of State Secretary in the Ministry of Interior on problems of foreign intelligence. According to the initials of his name, but also by his reputation, Aristotel Stamatoiu was nicknamed the "the ACE"(AS- n.trad). "Dunarea" CFT monitored the entire Romanian foreign trade, the legality and the morality of all the contracts concluded by the Romanian ministries or directions of economic enterprises. The company was exclusively staffed with undercover officers. In this activity of foreign trade, there were no civilians. During the first stage of the CFI taking over the entire foreign trade activity, there were protests from the former civil officials, central offices and companies regarding the interference of the Securitate in their ministerial activities. Later, gen. Aristotel Stamatoiu requested and obtained that all general directors and managers of Romanian foreign trade enterprises be from the Securitate, so undercover officers.

CFI officers, including those from "Dunarea" were collecting economic and financial intelligence regarding the markets, prices, competition, the solvency of some beneficiaries of Romanian products, the fairness of the representatives of the Romanian companies and of the Romanian embassies. They checked the contact persons of foreign beneficiaries, the ratio between the real production price and the export price, quantities, delivery times, collected technical and technological data necessary for the Romanian economy, manipulated auctions of Romanian products by bringing to auctions CFI agents to raise the price with their bids. In order to achieve its

³⁰⁶ Viorel Patrichi, *Ochii și urechile poporului. Convorbiri cu generalul Nicolae Pleșiță. Dialoguri consemnate de Viorel Patrichi în perioada aprilie 1999-ianuarie 2001*, Editura Lumea, București, 2001, p. 235

³⁰⁷ See also Neagu Cosma, Ion Stănescu, *De la iscoadă la agentul modern în spionajul și contraspionajul românesc*, Editura Paco, București, 2001, pp. 287-288

objectives, the U.M. 0107 had the support of an internal unit of the Securitate, namely U.M. 0650 (Independent Service for Foreign Trade).

Initially, it seemed that the company was set up solely because of the need for control and prevention of corruption acts, of preventing the infiltration of foreign information on confidential data from foreign trade activities, etc. Subsequently, it became obvious that the plan was to adopt a system that other secret services in the world practiced, that of creating economic activities to enrich themselves, under the cover of needing additional financing of operative-informative activities.

What followed was that several accounts were opened, towards which currency was being directed, and the Securitate became a currency consumer. As some former intelligence officers, involved in special currency operations, say, from a certain point of view, it can be deemed that with these measures, a significant part of the informative apparatus of the Securitate switched from its main activity, namely gathering intelligence on defending national security to that of carrying out economic actions, thus taking over tasks that should have belonged to the government. At the same time, another twisted effect of this activity was that some intelligence officers and foreign trade workers were tacitly allowed to violate certain legal provisions on foreign trade activity. Some Navrom captains carried out illegal rides, and the amounts resulted from that trade were handed over to intelligence officers for SCE or for „Dunărea” CFT, without any controls. In other words, instead of gathering intelligence for their country, these intelligence officers, would carry out

sanctioned smuggling actions, making it hard, and sometimes quite impossible, to check the legality of the state's income.³⁰⁸

General Iulian Vlad himself criticized certain aspects in the activity of the units for special currency equity, referring to those that collected currency on behalf of reimbursing tuitions and health care for Jewish and German citizens who wanted to emigrate to Israel, Germany and the US. In the spring of 1990, Iulian Vlad stated: „There was a lot of damage to the security work, the institution's fame and even to this country's good name, by the so-called activity of currency equity, carried out mainly by the UM 0544 and UM 0195 foreign units, as well as UM 0650 of the internal Securitate. Apart from the fact that these amounts most often represented just a small part of the selling price of the goods, and the state would have cashed them in anyway in conditions of fair negotiations, intelligence officers had to develop various compromising relationships with foreigners, and control of their activity and if the currency was not safe. The damage also consisted of the fact that those units had at large been hijacked from the missions they were created for, and that were of use to the country.

Despite all my efforts to remove this task from the responsibility of the Securitate, or at least to reduce it considerably, it was all in vain. Furthermore, [Tudor] Postelnicu made it a primary attribution, and the whole

³⁰⁸ See also Col. (r) Ioan Bălbă, *Adevărul despre Securitate*, Editura Eurograph, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, pp. 395-396. The author's opinion is that these perverse effects of the Securitates activities got out because in command was not an intelligence specialist but Tudor Postelnicu, a member of the Communist Party. He detoured the Romanian intelligence service from its original an legal purpose

apparatus had to contribute to carrying it out.

This is how „Dunărea” CFT came to be created, considered to be one of the most important creations of the former Department manager, who managed it also as ministry of Interior. Aside from the fact that everybody knew it was a unit of the Securitate, moreover of the Centre for Foreign Intelligence, what was truly inconceivable was that it selected export merchandise for the national economy, as well as the fact that the apparatus of the Securitate and even the entire Ministry of Interior was, in one way or another, working for „Dunărea”, including acts of influence and pressuring of both manufacturing companies and coordinating ministries.

It’s worth mentioning that the workers of this so-called foreign trade company, being intelligence officers, were paid as such, unlike workers in similar companies, who were paid following a different algorithm, based on their performance. And so „Dunărea” CFT became the hero of socialist work and negative perception and atmosphere began spreading around the Securitate.³⁰⁹

This organization of Romania’s foreign trade, growing it and spreading it throughout the world, seemed to set things right. The reality was that the Securitate had grabbed the honey jar and was not content to just have a taste of it, but in the end it took it home and refused sharing it

³⁰⁹ Cited from general Iulian Vlad’s statement „Declarația generalului-colonel Iulian Vlad, redactată în timpul detenției, despre instituția Securității statului în ultimii ani ai regimului comunist din România”. Corvin Lupu, Cristian Troncotă, *Prăbușirea mitului Securității. Adevăruri ascunse despre generalul Iulian Vlad și istoria Securității regimului comunist din România*, Editura Elion, București, 2018, p. 318.

with the country. And this episode represents the great betrayal if the Securitate. Unfortunately, this was also the “model” its children inherited, namely the current intelligence services..

„Dunărea” CFT was competing with other 20 foreign trade civil companies, and benefiting from more influence and the advantage of information, it took over their import-export activities. It was the case of ICE Tehno import-export, ILEXIM and ICECOOP, swallowed by „Dunărea” CFT.³¹⁰

During Ceaușescu’s rule, undercover officers of the Securitate represented 65%³¹¹ During the socialist regime, undercover officers would only be promoted to colonels. After 1990, Ion Iliescu made a series of undercover officers generals, among which Teodor Meleșcanu, Ion Țiriac, or George Constantin Păunescu.³¹²

Following a world known pattern, undercover officers working in foreign trade were doubled by officers of the UM 0195, in foreign counterintelligence, who were monitoring their activity. After 1990, some of those who had worked as ministers in the Romanian government³¹³,

³¹⁰ Florian Banu, *op. cit.*, p. 521

³¹¹ The number was confirmed by the colonel Constantin Aioanei, former intelligence officer of the autonomous control base CI 0632. Regarding the known numbers of the not covered Securitate staff, the number of the fully covered agents, as well as the real number of the total Securitate agents can be determined.

³¹² Liviu Vălenaș, *Fabrica de spioni*, Editura Vestala, București, 2010, p. 161. The author himself was an employee of these foreign trade companies. He emigrated in the West during the socialist state regime

³¹³ Among others, ministers became the DIE/CIE agents Teodor Meleșcanu, Daniel Dăianu, Mișu Negrițoiu, Eugen Dijmărescu, Mircea Coșea etc. The ex-Finance minister and afterwards ambassador Eugen Dijmărescu, was deconspired by

or who held important positions in governmental agencies, used their intelligence monitoring files, created by the UM 0195 as an argument for having been followed by the Securitate, declaring themselves “victims” of the very institution whose officers they used to be.³¹⁴

Apart from „Dunărea” CFT, the Securitate created and controlled many other foreign trade companies. Some of them continued their activity even after the events of 1989, most of them being taken over, through privatization, by former undercover officers who worked in those companies. We’ll mention just a few.

All foreign trade companies were controlled by the Securitate, and some were operating directly under it, with no subordination or control from the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. Such companies were „Dunărea” CFT, TERRA, or „Carpați” CFT. „Dunărea” CFT monitored the entire Romanian network of foreign trade. The undercover intelligence officer Viorel Cataramă managed „Argus” company, a company of the Securitate, and after 1990 he created his own company, „Elvila”, with the same scope of business as the former company of the Securitate, which should have belonged to the state. But, in order for it to belong to the state, it was necessary that all its income appear in the state’s treasury, not in secret accounts controlled by intelligence officers (during the last days of the Ceausescu era).

the former director of the Securitate and minister of Internal Affairs, Ion Stănescu (Szilágyi) and by the general Neagu Cozma, former director of the Securitate counterintelligence department. They also deconspired Mugur Isărescu, the governor of the Romanian National Bank. Neagu Cosma, Ion Stănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 288

³¹⁴ Liviu Vălenaș, *op. cit.*, p. 164

TERRA company deals with intelligence and counterintelligence, especially in international weapon trade and selling Romanian weapons abroad.

After 22nd december 1989, when there was an interest that „Dunărea” CFT disappeared without a trace of its secret accounts, there were still some ongoing operations, some of them being taken over by „Crescent” company. Until the 22nd December the financial results of „Dunărea” CFT’s activity were hidden from the Communist Party and Ceausescu, and after that date, they were hidden from the new leaders of the country. a

„Crescent” company was created by the CFI on 1980 in Piraeus/ Greece, in order to carry out activities of Special Currency Equity. The first director of the company was a Greek Lebanese named Nadia Fouad Sanbar. She vested her husband Michael Fouad Sanbar with a power of attorney and she filed a request in Bucharest to open a subsidiary in Romania, that was to be managed by colonel Dan Voiculescu, who at the time was employed with „VITROCIM” CFT. And so, on the 1st March 1982 CRESCENT COMMERCIAL & MARITIME LTD started its activity, with Dan Voiculescu as general manager. In just a few months, CRESCENT would have a turn-over of one hundred million dollars, while the Greek parent-company had had no activities, since the opening of the Romanian subsidiary. Furthermore, Michael Fouad Sanbar is wanted by US authorities for connections with Yasser Arafat’s Palestinians organizations, something that makes the CFT to terminate the Piraeus company and start a new one under the name CRESCENT, in Cyprus, the Greek area on the name of a British citizen, possible/probable CFI undercover

officer, named John Edgington. The Bucharest subsidiary that continued to be managed by the undercover officer Dan Voiculescu, increased its annual turnover to 200 million dollars and opened subsidiaries in the US, Great Britain, Austria and Malta. In 1988 CRESCENT was selling 40\$ of the Romanian cement production designed for export, through „Dunărea” CFT 40% , and in 1989, 26% of this.³¹⁵ An important share of the exported cement was used by „Carpați” CFT.

„Carpați” CFT trust was a construction services company. It was under the control of the Securitate, but in the service of the RCP's CC, as the government controlled the large amounts of money collected from its constructions, mainly in Western Europe and rich Arabian countries. Another foreign trade company controlled by the Securitate was ARPIMEX, dealing with export of leather and leather goods.³¹⁶ Of these amounts, the Securitate would only get the legal percentage established by the decree of the State Council.

For one of the foreign trade companies, where there was a cvasi-total informative coverage, it was given the coded order for “Operation nr.1”, which meant embezzling funds collected by the companies in proxy accounts, that would store the money and collect interest. Embezzling funds of Romanian

companies/of the Securitate into proxy accounts was carried out by credit directors, who knew the numbers, passwords and access codes for the accounts and were all CFI officers. For example, ARPIMEX, produced „Colorado” boots, that very successful in the USA, selling 8 dollars/piece. Of that amount, 7 dollars went into the company's public account, and a dollar in a proxy account.³¹⁷

There was another scenarios when such accounts were open, namely when Romania's external debt was being paid and when banks accumulated debts to companies supplying certain goods. Various BANCOREX creditors would block different accounts on behalf of these debts. In order to avoid seizing those amounts, it would be invoked the necessity for opening the provisional accounts in the name of some natural persons. There are officers who admitted to having been ordered to open such provisional accounts. One of them is Stelian Octavian Andronic, who opened such an account to a bank in Switzerland. In December 1989, especially after the arrest/semi arrest/harboursing of the heads of the Securitate, credit director changed the accounts and redirected the amounts going in towards accounts only they knew.

Blocking the country's money in the bank accounts of „Dunărea” CFT or provisional accounts administered by credit directors deprived the country of money and made the government and the ministries impose austerity measures that generate public revolt. Among others, there were the measures for canceling additional

³¹⁵ Liviu Vălenaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-181. The author presents the conclusions of his journalistic investigation regarding the financial operations of changing the accounts and embezzlement of funds of the CRESCENT company by Dan Voiculescu, which appropriated himself with large amounts of money. This journalist and former employee of the Romanian foreign trade also refers to the sales of the four ships belonging to CRESCENT and the appropriation of the money by col. Dan Voiculescu.

³¹⁶ Liviu Vălenaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-163.

³¹⁷ Liviu Vălenaș, *op. cit.*, p. 170

money rights for workers in the heavy industry, extractive, oil and toxic sector.³¹⁸

There are official documents where even general Iulian Vlad would admit to the fact that the activity of currency equity of the Securitate was neither legal, nor moral. He said: "There was a lot of damage to the security work, the institution's fame and even to this country's good name, by the so-called activity of currency equity, carried out mainly by the UM 0544 and UM 0195 foreign units, as well as UM 0650 of the internal Securitate...intelligence officers had to develop various compromising relationships with foreigners, and control of their activity and of the currency was not safe."³¹⁹

Parallel to blocking the country's money by the Securitate, the austerity measures were also determined by the intentional and dishonest creation of a crisis in food, energy and goods supplies, an artificial crisis, that consisted in blocking huge quantities of food and fuel, with the explicit purpose of rising revolt in the Romanian population.³²⁰ The purpose and the consequences of popular discontent was to start a revolt against the country's leader. And behind this popular revolt, supported by many foreign secret services,

are mainly the Soviet ones, who have deployed thousands of fighters disguised as tourists to stage a coup d'état and bring Romania under Moscow's control once again. Western states that took part in the aggression against Romania wanted to take over the country's internal and external markets and throughout the years they managed to destroy and take over the entire economy of the country. u

There were cases when the CFI would carry out money laundry operations, of funds collected through business men in close connection to the Securitate, or who were undercover officers. For example, issue 15/2009 of the "Notebooks of the National Institute for the Memory of the Romanian Exile (INMER)" journal, financed by the Romanian Government, it is stated that Ion Țiriac used to do money laundry activities for the Securitate in FRG.

The formal/apparent termination of the Securitate in December 1989 also aimed at de organizing bookkeeping services and the institution's documents, which enabled the foreign trade CFI apparatus to take out financial deposits and collect the amount owned by the beneficiaries of exported Romanian products, throughout the entire year of 1990. There were some situations of late payment, when good delivered in December 1989 were paid 1-2-3 years later. Because of this, many figures of the Securitate, especially the CFI, we're glad and supported the termination of the Securitate. But this was just its transformation into Romania's current intelligence, inheriting the Securitate's personnel, its buildings, but not its money, namely the money collected from the hard work of the Romanian people, throughout many years.

³¹⁸ Alex Mihai Stoenescu, *Interviuri după revoluție*, Editura Orizonturi, București, 2016, p. 127

³¹⁹ Also see the document „Declarația generalului-colonel Iulian Vlad, redactată în timpul detenției, despre instituția Securității statului în ultimii 12 ani ai regimului comunist din România pe care a condus-o nemijlocit”. Corvin Lupu, Cristian Troncotă, *Prăbușirea mitului Securității. Adevăruri ascunse despre generalul Iulian Vlad și istoria Securității regimului comunist din România*, Editura Elion, București, 2018, p. 317

³²⁰ The issues regarding the food, consumer goods and energy crisis induced by the traitors in the Communist Party and in the Securitate can be studied in the book: Corvin Lupu, *Trădarea Securității în decembrie 1989*, Editura Elion, București, 2015, pp. 86-91

It is very difficult to assess the financial contribution the Securitate had for the state budget. After Ceaușescu's murder, when efforts to erase the traces of the Securitate's activity were intense, on the 30th December 1989, the management of „Dunărea” CFT filed a report towards MFTIEC, showing that between 1982-1989, the company had paid roughly 5,000 million dollars to the state budget.

All legal payments made by „Dunărea” CFT were carried out through Bancorex. This is but a sixth of the amounts stolen by the Securitate from Romania's economy and owned by credit directors in accounts in the early 1990...³²¹

This was the greatest heist in Romania's history.

Abbreviations

- A.C.N.S.A.S. = Arhiva Consiliului Național de Studiere a Arhivelor Securității/Archive of the National Council for Studying the Archives of the Securitate
- A.V.S. = Aport valutar special/ Special currency equity
- C.C. al P.C.R. = Comitetul Central al Partidului Comunist Român / Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party
- C.I.E. = Centrul de Informații Externe al Securității/ Centre for Foreign Information of the Securitate
- C.S. = Consiliul de Stat/ State Council
- D.I.E. = Direcția de Informații Externe a Securității/ Directorate of Foreign Intelligence of the Securitate
- D.G.I.E. = Direcția Generală de Informații Externe a Securității/ General Directorate for Foreign Intelligence of the Securitate

- I.C.E. = Întreprinderea de Comerț Exterior/ Company for Foreign Trade
- I.N.M.E.R. = Institutul Național pentru Memoria Exilului Românesc / National Institute for the Memory of Romanian Exile
- M.A.I. = Ministerul Afacerilor Interne/ Ministry of Interior
- M.C.E.C.E.I. = Ministerul Comerțului Exterior și Cooperării Economice Internaționale/ Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation
- O.V. = Operațiuni Valutare/ Currency Operations
- O.V.S. = Operațiuni Valutare Speciale/ Special Currency Operations
- U.M. = Unitate militară/ Military Unit

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BANKING ACTIVITIES AND BANK INTEREST – THREATS TO ECONOMIC SECURITY

Abstract:	<i>Since the creation of the first colonial empires, especially the spanish one, Europe faced a mssive gold and silver import. The most part of this import was used to buy weapons and finance war. In this business the Rothschild and Baring families got envolved and managed to gain important capitals which they later used to borrow money with interest or to finance usualy both parts in wars. In this war they gained immense wealth and more important, a major influence upon the Western world, which in fact increasese in timpe up to the moment these lines are written. These economical-political phenomena aremajor threats to the economic security.</i>
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Society is steadily headed for the wrong direction. The main factors contributing to this situation are, mainly the ruling elite and, to a lesser extent, hazard. The latter resulted mainly from society secularization, moving away from a set of essential ethic and moral values that offer the decision-makers of our society the possibility to remove the elements violating these fundamental values and to ensure a balanced development of the society. What also accelerated these phenomena was creation of a manipulative educational system and removal of parents, and especially mothers,

as the main educators for children, and consequently for society.³²²

As an insight on the role of scientific research in our field, we wonder what part could analysts, political science researchers, security studies and international relations specialist play if human relations- and consequently the relations between authorities created by people- were to be governed by peace and harmony, if people had already discovered the way to a balanced society. People, and consequently their actions, are governed by both good and evil. And so, the serious

³²² Alex Jones' interview with Aaron Russo, from 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N3NA17CCboA>, (20.11.2019).

allegations aforementioned are not without regard to humanity's inventions and discoveries as well as all the good things that have happened and still happen to this day. Bearing down on the theme of this article- one of these inventions is money, the very subject of this article.

Despite the fact that from a cultural standpoint, many of the true values are identified and acknowledged by society, and, in theory, some are, to some extent, promoted, in reality there is a huge gap between what is being said and what is being done. To this respect, in a previous paper I emphasized the unfortunate effects of tardily publishing conclusions of scientific discoveries in the field of security, political sciences and international relations. This is in reference to the fact that certain „whistleblowers” are acknowledged as valued analysis only after the negative issue they report is long gone and the unfortunate effects took place, making them impossible, or nearly impossible to remove. These people are not promoted until it is too late; they are often framed with acts of immorality, corruption or other such negative deeds, in an attempt to destroy their credibility³²³. From an economic and financial standpoint, such a researcher was Antony C. Sutton³²⁴, who

³²³ There was a failed attempt to blame the president of the Romanian Academy, prof. univ. dr. Ioan Aurel POP, a researcher with a very high ethical and moral status, for plagiarism. Also follow the attempt of blaming Antony C. Sutton for plagiarisms, on https://www.stiripesurse.ro/acuza--ii-ru--inoase-la-academia-romana---presedintele-ioan-aurel-pop-s-ar-fi-plagiat-de-unul-singur--presa_1323877.html, (20.11.2019) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7oGid-IT5IM&list=PLRvGyzWy1siNo36pmkGP_AuCSJsTs_xJC, (20.11.2019)

³²⁴ A.C. Sutton talks in a large interview about his research work and presents the conclusion that some well known and wealthy men from Wall Street financed the Bolshevik Revolution, as well

appears to have been silenced due to the fact that his work was a nuisance to the great international financial Wall Street market and the US higher administration.

The negative evolution of our era to which we refer to, also includes our society's economic life. Money is no longer a means, but a purpose of economic activities. This is affecting the personal and professional development of a considerable number of individuals and, in some situations, it can even lead to a decay of the social act of governing, utility input, scientific research, medical services etc. These are all serious threats to human social security, with critical long-term consequences.

One example is that of big corporations. There's a lot of trumpeting on corporate social responsibility, but in the capitalist system it is but formally observed, with the purpose of promoting a good image. Essentially, the activity of big economic agents has deeply destructive effects on both the environment and society. The evidence is there for anyone to see, and despite the redundancy, we will nevertheless list them: a world where more and more guns are produced, where an increasing number of starving and homeless people, with increasing land clearings³²⁵, where there's increasing spillage, where drinking water resources are more and more polluted, where the rich get richer and the poor only get poorer, it's

as the nazis in Germany. A.C. Sutton proves how big corporations on Wall Street financed both sides in WW II, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zTDvLmEBESY>, (20.11.2019)

³²⁵ One of the big lies is the bio-fuel. Large deforestation is made in order to plant palm trees for palm oil. This means that important parts of rainforest are destroyed, rainforest that creates oxygen and consumes carbon dioxide.

a world that cannot go in the right/correct/appropriate direction.

Now, in the world economic system scheme of things, the companies responsible for such severe actions, designed exclusively for profit, are topped by the great international finance, the big international bankers and their banks who financed or have financed important business men and their holdings, or even states, governments or wars. In completing the idea, it is worth pointing out, or repeating, that when it comes to wars, both, more or all conflicting sides are financed. In the end, regardless of the winner or winners of that war, those having financed it built good relations with them, that lead to meaningful commercial relationships, useful in post conflict restoration, tapping the resources of defeated or occupied territories etc.³²⁶ In fact, in the current stage of our research, we consider these big international bankers to be the most influential people worldwide, and so, they are responsible for many of the negative phenomena we described in this article and even others.³²⁷

One aspect that we discovered and studied in the past and is worth mentioning in this paper is that when it comes to historic research, there is a significant gap between the history of politics and the history of economy, especially starting from the late Middle Ages. A powerful example to this respect is the economic aspect of emperor Napoleon's defeat at

Waterloo. Capitalizing on a lot of skill and quick access to information, Rothschild baron of London, speculated the stock exchange and won, as he previously had the information of Napoleon's defeat. Some said that he spread the rumor of his victory, other, that he actually just sold his shares and by doing so he led other to believe that Napoleon had won. Others followed him and many brokers sold shares, their price dropped/rose and so Nathan Rothschild was able to buy a lot for very little and he enhanced his fortune significantly. The official Rothschild website archive does not deny the fact that Nathan Rothschild made a lot of money from speculating Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, but the amount is significantly minimised, the only mention being that it is impossible to calculate how much the oligarch won from that job³²⁸. However, these issues are not included in the classic historiography on Napoleon's era³²⁹. Other elements are considered to be of importance. Many historians, mainly authors, prioritized political and military actions, rather than economic aspects. We emphasize, however, the importance of these economic phenomena as the headstone of our world. We also want to make these negative phenomena known, to the purpose of removing them.

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https://www.rothschildarchive.org/contact/faqs/nathan_mayer_rothschild_and_waterloo la 20 noiembrie 2019 (20.11.2019),
<https://napoleonbonapartepodcast.com/2006/11/09/the-rothschild-family-and-the-napoleonic-wars/>, (20.11.2019),
<https://www.mindcontagion.org/banking/hb1815.html>, (20.11.2019)

³²⁹ Veit Valentin, *Reader's Digest Illustrierte Weltgeschichte*, Band 2, Editura DAS BESTE GmbH, Stuttgart, Zürich, Viena, pp. 945-947 and Nicolae Ciachir, *Istoria universală modernă*, Editura Oscar Print, București, 1998

³²⁶ Anthony C. Sutton, *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler*

³²⁷ We take into consideration the fact that many of the oil corporations belong to some very important international bankers on Wall Street: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rKtKEifR7Kc>, (21.11.2019),
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1KmGfIRRTuI&t=300s>, (21.11.2019).

Coming back to historiography, we point out that it needs to be reformed and that research and historical writing must contain the principle of analysing the economic impact of political phenomena, who stands to benefit from this intake of political phenomena, identify the money path within the political phenomena in order to establish who determined or who hijacked them or what were the consequences. For example, by observing these principles, a group of German researchers managed to identify the fact that 9/11 was not about terrorist attacks on New York and the Pentagon, but rather complex foreign-flag operations. Research indicates that most probably organizers were from within the neo conservative group governing at the time. These researchers name George W. Bush, Paul Wolfowitz, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld but also point out that, at the time these results were published, there wasn't enough evidence for them to be prosecuted.³³⁰ A direct link of this example with this article on banks, bank activities and interests, is the fact that the attempt to destroy a wing of the Pentagon actually destroyed a part of the Pentagon's archive, containing documents on those who defrauded 2,300 billion dollars of US money.

Illustrating the above situation and how the events of December 1989 in Bucharest were and continue to be presented: the media *mainstream*, as well as historiography presented more on the popular rising. They neglected the fact that foreign forces got involved in those events. They COMPLETELY disregarded the involvement of certain Security leaders

(*Securitate - n.trad*) in the ousting of Romanian president, Nicolae Ceaușescu, from power. Well, his ousting was followed by the plundering of Romania's money, part of Romania's national economy and making Romania a state that borrows from international financing institutions at a very high interest³³¹.

In our days, the banking system/ the banks have a very important role in society. Much of the private economic activity, as well as governments, political systems and others, depends on them. A nation's well being often depends on them. PROFIT is at the core of a banking activity. This is why banks exist. Interest-alongside various commissions- is a means to get profit. Currency is no longer a means to carry out economic activities, but the asset itself. Hence, from a means to operate economic exchange, money became the object of its transaction and its own purpose. In the event it's being abused, this represents a serious threat to economic security. Once this is affected, this becomes a significant threat to social security.

In this article we aim at offering some examples to his respect at the same time referencing historic events, pertaining to how the practice of loan-sharks and banking activities have affected the economic activities of those who paid interest for the borrowed amounts.

An overview of banking activities:

Massive gold and silver capitalization was very important in

³³⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zhnNy5EsebA>, (21.11.2019)

³³¹ Corvin Lupu, *Trădarea Securității în decembrie 1989*, Editura Elion, București, 2015, Corvin Lupu, Cristian Troncotă, *Prăbușirea mitului Securității*, Editura Elion, București, 2018, Corvin Lupu, Ioan Bălbă, *Trădarea României socialiste în viziunea unui ofițer de securitate*, Editura TechnoMedia, Sibiu, 2019

enabling bank-like activities. Having significant reserves of these precious metals was the only way to issue enough money to be able to carry out large scale loans. The Swedish author of Estonian descent, Jüri Lina³³² points out that the massive capitalization that based the huge fortune of the two loan-shark- banker families, Baring și Rothschild, was helped by the input of gold (185 tons) and silver (16,000 tons), brought from Latin America by the Spanish in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.³³³ Nicolae Ciachir offers numbers that enable the reader to consider that J. Lina's information isn't complete, that the gold and silver input was even greater, but it fails to make the connection with weaponry investments.³³⁴ These capitals were used for buying weapons from England and Flanders. In fact, this connection is missing from general classical history. Despite the fact that meanwhile, the input of wealth imported from the colonies is often acknowledged, the economic development and wellbeing of the metropolis in the former colonial empires is not mentioned in the classic history of the Middle Ages or the Modern Era as being of significant input in creating and consolidating the large capitals that were the basis of large banks, whose owners currently have a major, and in our opinion, a negative influence, worldwide³³⁵.

³³² <https://jyrlina.com/>, (20.112019)

³³³ Jüri Lina, *Arhitecții înșelăciunii*, Editura Lux Sublima, București, 2014, p. 115

³³⁴ Nicolae Ciachir, *Istoria universală modernă*, vol. I, Editura Oscar Print, București, 1998, pp. 102-116. La pag. 106 și 107 two tables are shown, with the gold and silver production in the Spanish viceroyalties in Latin America and in Brasil

³³⁵ Veit Valentin, *Readers's Digest Illustrierte Weltgeschichte*, Band 1, Editura DAS BESTE GmbH, Stuttgart, Zürich, Viena, pp. 454-457,

Jüri Lina is also the one to point out that the so-called French revolution was followed by a spread in using banknotes, meaning paper money. Gold merchants practiced economic fraud, secretly borrowing part of their gold covered by and keeping the interest gained from this illegal loan. At the same time, they issued more banknotes than the gold reserve they owned, taking up interest on them. Basically, more money was borrowed than the gold reserve owned by the creditor. It even came to borrowing up to 10 times more money than the reserve of gold. Jüri Lina points out that this abuse of trust became ordinary for all the areas of the francmasons' world. And so, on an existing *set up*, bankers manage to obtain interests of up to 80% a year³³⁶ for their gold reserve. (If the interest is of 8% and they're issuing more than 10 times more currency than the reserve, then the gold ensuring the reserve is up to 10x8%, namely up to 80%). Basically, 90% of this interest is accomplished solely based on the convention that these bankers are the ones issuing banknotes (namely currency) and actually printing it. And so, these bankers manage to induce negative economic and social phenomena, out of thin air: social and economic polarization, borrowers dependency on a purely formal system that has no actual contribution to bringing an added-value to society. Meanwhile, the dependency these bankers created for society towards their activity and themselves, enabled them to gain an impressive economic and political influence, that constitutes a threat to

Nicolae Ciachir, *Istoria universală modernă*, vol. 2, Editura Oscar Print, București, 1998

³³⁶ Jüri Lina, *Arhitecții înșelăciunii*, Editura Lux Sublima, București, 2014, pp. 115-116

political and economic security, at least with regards to the Euro-atlantic world.

With respect to the above, the same author, Jüri Lina, shows that things happened the same way with the Bank of England. In 1669, William of Orania, prince of Nassau, became king of England in a coup d'état, that did not involve the people, called the Glorious Revolution. England's financial situation was a difficult one. To overcome this situation, Wilhelm the IIIrd of Orania requested the support of some powerful bankers. He borrowed 1,25 million pounds. Of that money, he actually received only 750,000 pounds. The name of the loaner was secret. Those offering the money were allowed to start the Bank of England. With this bank, it was allowed to offer 10 pound currency loans for each pound hedged in gold. These bankers were allowed to fund the national debt and ensure payment to the bank for annual quota and for interest by taxing the people. In 1694 the Bank of England gained total control over the pound, having the right to issue this currency, namely to print banknotes. The English nation was now in serious debt. The author offers data regarding this debt: in 1698 it grew from 1,15 million pounds to 16 million. In 1815, after the napoleonic wars, the debt amounted to 885 million pounds, in 1945 it was of 22,5 billion pounds and in 1960 the debt amounted to 28 billions and in 1995 it had reached 300 billion pounds, meaning roughly 45% of the gross domestic product. There had been attempts at finding out who governs the Bank of England, but they all failed, and only one name came out - Rothschild³³⁷. The situation leads to the impoverishment

of a significant part of the British society, it significantly contributed to the social and economic polarization and lead to a divided evolution of the English society: on the one hand, the English elite fought and still fight over the British national interests, for example Nigel Farage and his group of politicians who promoted the idea of the Brexit, and on the other hand, the big London bankers who managed, from the XVIIth century, and still do to this day, get most of the benefits obtained through the British and the British colonies inhabitants' efforts.

Some examples of successful use of no-interest currency:

1. The American Revolution and the Independence War in the North American Colonies:

As I mentioned the American colonists, here is what author Jüri Lina says about the Independence War of the North American british Colonies: Benjamin Franklin had a speech in the British Parliament illustrating that the wellbeing of the North American British colonies was due to the fact that colonists issued their own currency "colonial banknotes", whose purchasing power was controlled by the colonists, without paying interest. The author indicated that once they were made aware of this situation, British mason bankers pulled the strings so that the Parliament would forbid the colonies the use of their own financial system and to impose the use of gold and silver money covered by interest. This lead to a decrease in the amount of money from the British colonies, borrowing money from the Bank of England and then, a growth of poverty. In Jüri Lina's opinion, these evolutions represent the underlying causes for the North-American war of

³³⁷ Jüri Lina, *Arhitecții înșelăciunii*, Editura Lux Sublima, București, 2014, pp. 116-117

independence. However, this cause is not mentioned by classic history.³³⁸ The author points out that the provision in Article I, Section VIII of the 1787 American Constitution: “ The Congress shall have power [...] to issue currency, regulate its value”, the representatives of the newly created state tried to protect themselves from the bankers of the old continent³³⁹

And so, according to Benjamin Franklin, the currency of the colonies is of an essential contribution to the people’s wellbeing. The fact that there was no currency controlled by the British bankers made the latter step in and ensure they also gain some profit from the North American British colonies - a fact that apparently accelerated the process of creating the independent American nation. On the other hand, once British bankers gained control over the money, there was increasing poverty in the population of the North American British colonies.

In the end, the US ended up in the same situation: by creating the private Federal Reserve System the American nation has no control over its own currency, as this is a private institution in which the American state only has a theoretic control. We’ll develop this issue in a future study.

2. USA Congress Currency during the Civil War (1861-1865)

In the desire to keep the examples of this article to events taking place in the USA, here’s a reference to the currency situation during the American Civil War.

³³⁸ Veit Valentin, *Reader’s Digest Illustrierte Weltgeschichte*, Band 2, Editura DAS BESTE GmbH, Stuttgart, Zürich, Viena, pp. 826-829. Vezi și Nicolae Ciachir, *Istoria universală modernă*, vol. 1, Editura Oscar Print, București, 1998, pp. 54-68.

³³⁹ Jüri Lina, *Arhitecții înșelăciunii*, Editura Lux Sublima, București, 2014, pp. 118-119

having to finance uS’s war effort against the Southern confederates, Salmon Portland Chase, USA Secretary of Treasury (namely the US ministry of finances) (as well as his Southern confederate counterpart) was aware of the three traditional ways for financing wars: loan, currency issuing and raising taxes. During the Civil War, the two sides used all the three methods in different ratios. For the first part of the war, US authorities had difficulties in getting the necessary amounts of money for covering the war effort. Subsequently, with the involvement of a certain Jay Cooke in selling state bonds, this method proved to be of great success and by the end of the war, roughly 2/3 of the 3,4 billion dollars spent, came this way. What’s interesting is the issuing of 150 million dollars, printed on green paper (and so they were called „greenbacks”), with no reserve in gold, but considered to be US bonds, executed at the proposal of the secretary of the treasury, Chase. After some long debate, in 1862, 150 million dollars were issued and by the end of the war roughly 450 million dollars were issued. The increase in taxes did not generate much income, the amounts being insignificant in comparison the those mentioned above³⁴⁰ We must also mention that the 450 million dollar issued outside the gold reserve did not bear interest, either.

When re-elected in 1864, president Abraham Lincoln promised that as soon as the war was over he will fight the banks. With regards to the US - and president Lincoln’s- financial politics, Lord Goschen, representative of the financial world, said in the “London

³⁴⁰ <https://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/financing-the-civil-war.html>, (21.11.2019)

Times” that if the government’s view became permanent, then it could get the necessary currency, pay its debts and honor the loans without becoming indebted. It would have enough money for trade and it would be wealthier than ever. “If we don’t overthrow this government, it will overthrow us.” A done deal! The American Civil War ended on the 9th April 1865 and on the 14th April, president Abraham Lincoln was murdered. Apparently, there is a direct link between the murder and baron Rothschild.³⁴¹ After Lincoln’s murder, US’s debt to the banks increased and the money supply decreased, creating social and economic problems. However, various presidents and statesmen fought against banks’ influence, until 1913, when, with the help of high state US francmasons, bankers managed to get their point across, by creating the Federal Reserve System.

3. Guernsey Island

Jüri points out that in 1810, the francmasons brought poverty to Europe, to the purpose of catalyzing revolutionary movements. One of the places affected by poverty was a British island of the English Channel - Guernsey. With a very low purchasing power, the production on the island stopped and workers went into unemployment. Taxes to England could no longer be paid, loans could not be reimbursed, nor interests paid. Bankruptcy was imminent. In 1815 they wanted to build a new meat market, that would help restore the economic situation. They only had 1,000 of the necessary 5,000 pounds. It was then proposed to use an old privilege, namely to issue their own money. And so,

they printed the necessary money³⁴², the building was finished and the market started its activity. Business started to flourish. To be fair, the two main banks of the island had already started circulating the money. By 1822 the market had already paid off the expenses. The 4,000 1 pound banknotes were destroyed. The project was a success and was followed by others. In comparison, the fruit market in Candleriggs – Glasgow was built in 1817 with 60,000 pounds, money borrowed with interest. It was only in 1956 that the debt was finally reimbursed for the Glasgow market, namely after 139 years. Between 1910 and 1956 only the interest was 267,886 pounds³⁴³.

Contemporary analysis of the Guernsey island evolutions make no mention of the successful project from the beginning of the XIXth century, despite the fact that the one referenced here considers planning the future of the small British island. We make this statement considering that in general, the search for solutions for future successes also implies finding examples of past good practices in the considered area³⁴⁴.

³⁴¹ Jüri Lina, *Arhitecții înșelăciunii*, Editura Lux Sublima, București, 2014, pp. 120-121

³⁴² The “theislandwiki” website shows in an article that the printing of the 4,000 pounds was a fraud of the officials in Guernsey
https://www.theislandwiki.org/index.php/The_Guernsey_Experiment, (21.11.2019)

³⁴³ Jüri Lina, *Arhitecții înșelăciunii*, Editura Lux Sublima, București, 2014, pp. 124-125. The author cites a book that we could not get, Olive Grubiak, Jan Grubiak, *The Guernsey Experiment*, Hawthorne, California, 1960

³⁴⁴ Oxford Economics, *Towards An Economic Development Strategy for Guernsey: Review of Guernsey’s Economic Profile and Assessment of Future Opportunities*, February 2012 pe
<https://www.gov.gg/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=28431&p=0>, (20.11.2019)

Conclusions:

From building the large capitals that were the foundation for creating the big banks, like those of the Baring and Rothschild families, for example, banking activities often had a negative effect on society, at macro level. The deepening of conventions on money enabled the creation of a system that allowed issuing up to 10 times more currency than the gold reserve. And so, based solely on this convention, big banks managed to gather up to 10 times more money supply than what it was due through owning the gold guaranteeing currency issuing. Then, through manipulation, arrangements with various decisions makers, big bankers managed to loan money to governments and thus putting them in debt for a long time, cashing in consistent interest. Big international bankers managed to gather significant capital, that currently ensures them a major international influence, that helped them setup an international system that ensures a continuous and large input of capitals, not just through their private banks, but also through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. On the other hand, they managed to rule over and control national and so-called national banks, directly or through their lieutenants. It's already over 100 years since they managed to replace the US Treasury's role with a private system, that of the Federal Reserve System, through which they manage to gather the wealth of the entire world using the dollar, to their banks, using the same dedicated system of a gold reserve for only 10% of the money supply, issuing dollars without a gold reserve, increasing the purchasing power of those controlled by these bankers, but they also induce inflation of the dollar, thus affecting

all those who own dollars or use the dollars in transactions.

On the other hand, the literature is filled with relevant examples proving that for political decision makers there is always the possibility of eluding loans from big banks/large international bankers. In this case, the debt created for objectives of public interest can be reimbursed easier and the fiscal pressure on the society is significantly lower. We can, thus, conclude that nowadays, political decision makers who chose to be in debt with international banks, international financing organisms who take up relatively high interests, are all working together with these bankers who want to place capitals on various markets and then, by taking up interests and inducing inflation, to systematically "extract the welfare" in the long-run.

In more recent years, we have come to realize that the political leaders trying to detach themselves from the international system of screditing states and governments, by cutting agreements with the IMF, are a nuisance to the representatives of that system and, consequently, are presented in a negative way and are often removed. For example, Romania ruled by Nicolae Ceaușescu, Hungary ruled by Viktor Orban, Poland ruled by Alexander Duka, Iraq ruled by Saddam Hussein ș.a.

Not wanting to be exhaustive, something that at times might seem as incoherence, this article aims at being one of those papers that signal the problem at hand, especially given that for the most part, this issue is not present in the classic literature of this area.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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TREASON HAD NESTED A LONG TIME AGO IN D.S.S., BY CONSTANTIN AIOANEI AND CRISTIAN TRONCOTĂ

Abstract:	<i>Trying to recover the memory of former intelligence agents, professor Troncotă had some long and interesting discussions with Constantin Aioanei. The conclusions are sad for Romania and for the Romanian people, as the research on the field of the treason of the Securitate is more and more confirmed by some honest retired intelligence officers.</i> <i>The book tries to get to the bottom of the treason, to find out the reasons and motivation of the Romanian officers who chose to do so.</i>
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The authors of this book are two people with an intimate knowledge of the history of the *Securitate* in state socialism regime in Romania during Nicolae Ceaușescu's leadership.

RIS Colonel (ret.) Constantin Aioanei was operations officer within the Fourth Direction of Military Counterintelligence, "B" Service, 10th Bureau, a structure insuring counterintelligence of the Ministry of the Interior (Military Unit 0632, Bucharest), a unit established in 1967. Minister Tudor Postelnicu set up the Military Counterintelligence Independent Service, where Col. (ret.) Constantin Aioanei also worked. The unit also had supervisory tasks on the *Securitate*, including on the leadership of the Department, which gave these officers a complex insight on the institution and on

its leaders' activity. The events of December 1989 caught him in the position of the deputy head of the *Securitate* in Sibiu county. After 1990, Col. Constantin Aioanei worked at the Archival Service of the Romanian Intelligence Service.

RIS General (ret.) Prof. Cristian Troncotă, PhD, is a historian, a University of Bucharest graduate, PhD in Military Sciences and Intelligence at the National University of Defence "Carol I" in Bucharest, officer within the *Securitate* and RIS Archives (1984-1994), then professor and dean of the Faculty of Information of the National Intelligence Academy (1994-2009). Since 2004, he became associate professor at Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, and, since 2012, he became full member of this university, the one developing, for the first time in Romania,

the field of *Security studies* and bachelor and Masters' programmes in this field.

In the intelligence work, the compartmentalization and the secrecy of the activities mean that the officers know few things of the whole of the Service's work. However, in the archives, having on hand the results of the majority of the operations, officers acquire a very broad vision on the activity of the Service.

Professor Troncotă is one of those who advocated for recovering the memory of the honest former *Securitate* officers, with the aim of supplementing the history of the *Securitate* with as many data and information as possible.

Going through the book, the most important conclusions one can draw are the following:

- 1) The "revolution" of December 1989 was triggered at the will of some foreign states acting in Romania. In this sense, GRU General (ret.) Cinghiz Abdullaev is also cited, who, in December 1989, was carrying out military missions in Romania, and who stated that: "Moscow and Washington desired Ceaușescu's removal and pressured in this sense. Of course, there was also a foreign intervention".
- 2) The *Securitate* betrayed Nicolae Ceaușescu, but also the country as a whole and its people. This treason did not come forward only in December 1989, when the *Securitate* shook hands with the foreign secret services which attacked Romania, but well in advance. In this respect, the following fragment, written by Colonel (ret.) Constantin Aioanei, is significant: "The treason had nestled a long time ago, as early as 1967-1968, and it deepened after 1973. In 1989, this act was just perfected." It is also stated that "... the *Securitate* has

provided an unhoped-for support to the putschists and the Army, whom it directly supported, and did this consciously, at the cost of its own existence."

Regarding the treason of the *Securitate*, the authors make concrete reference, mentioning the surname, the first name, and the acts of a number of 60 officers who defected and made themselves available to the foreign secret services. It is also shown, with documentary evidence, the fact that the head of the *Securitate*, General Iulian Vlad, also admitted that, within the *Securitate*, there were traitors, without mentioning himself, he who was the most important traitor, the *de facto* effecter of the *coup d'état* from within the seat of power, from within the headquarters of the CC of the RCP, respectively, from whence Ceaușescu was forcedly evacuated, then arrested by the *Securitate*, and handed over to the Army to be assassinated. This operation from within the headquarters of the CC of the RCP was falsely presented as being a "runaway" of the leader and a surrendering of power. I have explained at length, in other books, this topic (CorvinLupu, *România în decembrie 1989, De la revolta populară la lovitura de stat [Romania in December 1989: From the Popular Revolt to Coup d'état]*, preface by Gheorghe Buzatu, Tehno Media, Sibiu, 2010;

CorvinLupu, *Trădarea Securității în decembrie 1989. Secrete ale intervenției străine împotriva României [The treason of the Securitate in December 1989: Secrets of the Foreign Intervention against Romania]*, Elion, Bucharest, 2015; CorvinLupu, Cristian Troncotă, *Prăbușirea mitului Securității. Adevăruri ascunse despre generalul Iulian Vlad și Securitatea*

regimului comunist din România [The Collapse of the Myth of the Securitate: Hidden Truths on General Iulian Vlad and on the Securitate of the Communist Regime in Romania], Elion, Bucharest, 2018).

Besides these documented 60 traitors from *Securitate*, the authors also refer to the traitors at the top of the *Securitate*, in December 1989, who did not get a file by the counterintelligence officers, although there were proofs of their betrayal, obtained by illegal means (stakeout, operational technique, secret search, the interception of communications). The list of these ones comprises: Gen. Iulian Vlad (Secretary of State, the head of the DSS), Gen. Mihai Caraman (head of the espionage *rezidentura* in Paris, later EIC counterintelligence op, head of EIS), Gen. Nicolae Doicaru (the head of EIC, Secretary of State, later Ministry of Tourism), Gen. Aristotel Stamatoiu (Secretary of State, head of “Dunărea” FTE, the head of the EIC, deputy head of the DSS), Gen. Ștefan Alexie (Secretary of State, deputy head of the DSS), Gen. Nicolae Pleșiță (Secretary of State, head of EIC), Gen. Emil Macri (the head of the Second Direction of the DSS), Gen. Sergiu Nicolau (head of SIS and head of EID), Gen. Marin Neagoe (the head of the Fifth Direction of the DSS), Gen. Nicolae Stan, Colonel Gheorghe Rațiu (the head of the First Direction of the DSS).

The authors show that General Iulian Vlad betrayed not only Ceaușescu, but also the *Securitate* officers and the institution of the *Securitate* as a whole, respectively, disarming it and working against it. In this respect, Col. (ret.) Constantin Aioanei reveals the contents of a telephone conversation of the last days of December 1989, between General Iulian Vlad and Lieutenant Colonel Aurel Dragomir, the

Commander of the Military Garrison in Sibiu, a discussion Colonel (ret.) Constantin Aioanei witnessed. During the phone call, General Iulian Vlad thanked Aurel Dragomir, because he destroyed the headquarters of the *Securitate* in Sibiu and killed several staff members.

The authors show that, by treachery, “the *Securitate* was the main institution in the country which created insecurity for Ceaușescu’s regime”.

3) The authors show that the *Securitate* officers participated in the economical-financial looting of Romania. In this sense, *inter alia*, the authors conclude that: “[The *Securitate*] has put in place the synthetic diamond factory, that, starting with 1974, had annually brought 270 million dollars. And last but not least, due to Ceaușescu’s naivety, it learned how to get blood out of a stone (the goods of the socialist economy which were in stock, sold for prices negotiated and known only to the *Securitate* officers involved), but, eventually, by guile and a total lack of control on the part of the Party in the field of finance, it appropriated fabulous amounts of money, according to some estimate, running into billions of dollars. Rolled through all sorts of bank accounts, these sums have eventually prompted the loans authorizing officers to act on their own in order to start a new life in a competitive milieu...”

Florian Banu, *Mihai Caraman: un spion român în Războiul Rece* [Mihai Caraman: A Romanian Spy in the Cold War], Corint, Bucharest, 2019. ISBN 978-606-7936124, 606 pp., with footnotes, no bibliography and no name index.

The monography dedicated to the activity of Romanian spy Mihai Caraman, written by NCSSA researcher Florian

Banu, well-known historian of the Romanian secret services, presents the personality and activity in Paris of Romanian spy Mihai Caraman, who was the head of the Romanian espionage station in France, in the period 1958-1968. The work is an ample one, very well-documented through the NCSSA Archive, or a part of it.

It is known that, in December 1989 and in the following period, the archives of the former *Securitate* have been partially destroyed, partially smuggled, partially taken over by the Ministry of National Defence, and partially still sealed by the RIS and especially by the EIS. Probably this is the reason why some aspects of Mihai Caraman's activity, in his capacity as agent of the French secret services (*See*, also, Constantin Aioanei, Cristian Troncotă, *Trădarea se cuibărise demult în D.S.S. [Treason had nestled a long time ago in DSS]*, Elion, Bucharest, 2019, pp. 255-256) and as KGB agent (*See*, also, Larry L. Watts, *Ferește-mă doamne de prieteni... Războiul clandestin al Blocului Sovietic cu România [With Friends Like These... The Soviet Bloc's Clandestine War Against Romania]*, RAO International Publishing Company, Bucharest, 2011, pp. 48, 337, 502-510, 584-590 and 622), were not revealed.

Marian V. Ureche, *Serviciul de Informații al Justiției dezvăluit din interior [The Justice Information Service, revealed from within]*, 2 volumes, Mara, Bucharest, 2019. ISBN 978-606-8826-31-8, with footnotes, no bibliography and no name index.

The author of the book was a well-known *Securitate* and RIS officer, who moved up in his career as far as the position of head of the First Direction of the *Securitate* (turned, after the creation of

the RIS, into the Direction for the Defence of the Constitution) and head of the Independent Information, Protection and Anticorruption Service of the Ministry of Justice ("SIPA"). The book presents the activity seen through the eyes of the head of the institution, and presents encomiastically its activity. The author voices complaints towards the critics of the institution and towards the NCSSA activity, which revealed some of the abuses of the former *Securitate* and exposed the secret police this institution had practiced, by exposing a small fraction of the perpetrators. The book refers to the high-level corruption, giving examples from the politicians' ranks only, the officers of the secret services being spared. The author considers that the corruption phenomenon in Romania serves the interests of Russia and of Hungary, presented as being the historical enemies of Romania.

The author refers to the operations of the Service and to the way in which Romania has been informationally penetrated by agents of some foreign secret services. These aspects constitute pages of history of the Romanian security services. Aspects of very recent history are also presented, including ones regarding the criminality and the crime gangs which have gripped Romania.

The author does not refer to the controversial issues in the activity of SIPA, such as, for example, the activity of radiation poisoning of some "inconvenient" persons for the secret services (Corvin Lupu, *România sub presiunea războiului rece și a dorinței de integrare euro-atlantică [Romania under the Pressure of the Cold War and of the Will to Euro-Atlantic Integration]*, vol. II, Alma Mater, Sibiu, 2000, pp. 595-596), or the workings of the Commission of the

Parliament of Romania for the investigation of SIPA, which concluded that the Service tracked members of the judiciary in order to intimidate and to blackmail them (*see* Remus Florescu, *Declarațiile istoricului Marius Oprea la Comisia SIPA: „SIPA a fost folosită pentru urmărirea magistraților și intimidarea lor”* [Historian Marius Oprea's statements at the SIPA Commission: “SIPA was used to track and to intimidate magistrates”], in *adev.ro/pbigs* of 28th of February 2018).

Corvin Lupu, Ioan Bâlbă, *Trădarea României Socialiste în viziunea unui ofițer de Securitate* [The Treachery of Socialist Romania, in the Eyes of a Securitate Officer], Techno Media, Sibiu, 2019. ISBN 978-606-616-343-9, with footnotes, bibliography and name index.

The authors, prof. Corvin Lupu, PhD, and col. (ret.) Ioan Bâlbă, present important aspects in the economic life of socialist Romania, with an emphasis on the way in which the economic development of Romania was sabotaged by high-ranking Party officials and by the leadership of the *Securitate*. Col. (ret.) Ioan Bâlbă held important positions of responsibility in the field of the economic security of Romania, being in charge of the counterintelligence protection of the Chemical Plant in Făgăraș and of all the economic units in Constanța County (the Nuclear Power Plant in Cernavodă, the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the “Petromidia” Refinery in Năvodari, the Shipyards in Constanța and Mangalia, the irrigation system in Dobruja, etc.).

The book analyzes the causes which undermined the economy of Romania, through wrong decisions, through false reporting, through the disinformation of the country's leaders, through the terrible

waste which has been done, etc. The book also presents aspects always hidden on the activity of the *Securitate* in the field of currency intake, in particular after 1982, when, by Decree of the Council of State, the entire activity of Romania's external trade was placed in the *Securitate*'s charge, basically getting out of the Party's hands. That is how it came that huge sums of money, running into billions of dollars, were kept and rolled through different bank accounts and hidden from the Government and from the leader, Ceaușescu. In the meantime, in Romania, the population faced the lack of consumer food and energy products in the market, and the state had difficulty in paying the interests and in reimbursing the financial debt of the country. It is a book revealing many of the hidden truths in the history of the *Securitate*.

Abbreviations

C.C. al P.C.R.=the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party

E.I.C.= the External Information Center of the DSS

N.C.S.S.A.=the National Council for the Study of the *Securitate* Archives

D.S.S.=the Department of State Security

G.R.U.= the Main Military Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff of the USSR Army

F.T.E.= Foreign Trade Enterprise

M.N.D.= the Ministry of National Defence

E.I.S.= the External Information Service

S.I.P.A.=Independent Information, Protection and Anticorruption Service of the Ministry of Justice

R.I.S.=the Romanian Intelligence Service

M.U.= Military Unit