

#### Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu

Department of International Relations, Political Science and Security Studies



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## INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

**Cristian NIȚĂ** Mihai Viteazul" National Intelligence Academy of Bucharest,

#### RUSSIAN HYBRID WARFARE IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. THE ROMANIAN CASE

Title:	RUSSIAN HYBRID WARFARE IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. THE ROMANIAN CASE
Abstract:	The appeal to the Russian historical, imperial or Soviet legacy, as a significant residual factor, plays and has played an important role in the emergence of the Russian political-military elites' strategic culture, either during Soviet times or in the post-communist period. Within this context, the historical analysis would allow us to identify the potential directions, means and methods (military, political, economic, cultural) employed by the Russian Federation in its goal to multiply and expand its presence in Eastern and Central Europe. The Economic weakness, the social discrepancies, and the accelerated demographic decline of the current Russian state are masked by an appeal to the historical legacy and to the need to recover the political legacy of the past through promoting the concepts of Slavophilism and, especially, Eurasianism. Russian military and non-military reactions to the potential European accession of ex-Soviet states, seen as part of its sphere of influence, as well as its strategy to re-conquer the Eastern and Central European area are already creating deep effects on the European security system, as well as on the political, economic, cultural and social foundations of the European Union, being the greatest security challenge to Western democracy.
Keywords:	Historical analysis; strategy to re-conquer the Eastern and Central European area; the European security system; U.S.S.R.; Bessarabia
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#### CHINA AND SOFT POWER TODAY

Title:	CHINA AND SOFT POWER TODAY
Abstract:	Leadership can be natural or educated or both, natural and educated for success, and it is extremely relevant nowadays at all possible levels, especially at international level as it is affecting present world development based on power politics-including the power of knowledge (knowledge is power-as we all know)spread all over the world. Playing the game of soft power, China is using the Confucius institutes in order to spread Chinese culture, civilization and language and stimulate as many people as possible to get acquainted with its values and, at the same time, open their minds towards China and even sympathize with its message from the economic as well as cultural points of view. Diplomacy can be extremely useful in international relations today. China's increasing soft power can be explained and understood by looking at its economic growth and by regarding its economic engagement with many countries worldwide. China's increasing role as a global superpower seems rather appealing today.
Keywords:	Leadership; knowledge; soft power; Confucius Institutes; diplomacy
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#### BENCHMARKS OF THE REALISTIC SECURITY POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: FROM THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE TO THE WAR IN SYRIA

Title:	BENCHMARKS OF THE REALISTIC SECURITY POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: FROM THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE TO THE WAR IN SYRIA
Abstract:	If the end of the Cold War put somehow the thinkers of the realistic school in difficulty because of the inconsistency of the arguments explaining the occurrence of this event with global geopolitical implications, September 11, 2001 brought the realist school back to the forefront of the debates regarding the clarification of the phenomena and processes in the international sphere. At the height of the unipolar era the Russian-

Keywords:	<ul> <li>Georgian War of 2008 represented the time of Russia's resurgence in the international arena, the realpolitik promoted by the Kremlin leadership identifying itself with the strategy of the neo-imperial Russian State at the beginning of the third millennium. This article aims to highlight certain aspects of the realistic policy of the Russian Federation in the field of the application of security strategies in relation to Middle East States, from the collapse of the Soviet Empire to the war in Syria.</li> <li>Political realism; the Middle East; power politics; balance of power; the war in Syria; multipolar system; the Arab world.</li> </ul>
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#### CHINESE "BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE" - THE BIRTH OF A NEW HEGEMONY?

Title:	CHINESE "BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE" - THE BIRTH OF A NEW HEGEMONY?
Abstract:	On the 28 <sup>th</sup> of March 2015, the Chinese government published "VISION AND ACTIONS ON JOINTLY BUILDING SILK ROAD ECONOMIC BELT AND 21ST-CENTURY MARITIME SILK ROAD", China's African - Eurasian hegemonic strategic transformation document. Though Beijing leaders have rejected aspirations of hegemony over the African - Eurasian continental mass, Chinese actions initiated in the Indo- Pacific area contradict official statements. Which are the main strategic directions of the "New Silk Road"? Is the Chinese "African - Eurasian bridge" only a pan-supra-continental economic program or is there also a military component? Are we, in fact, witnessing the birth of a new hegemony?
Keywords:	"Belt and Road Initiative", "New Silk Road", Xi Jinping, South China
	Sea, Indian Ocean, Sub-Saharan Africa, African-Eurasian Hegemony.
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## NATIONAL SECURITY

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#### BOSNIA'S SECURITY SECTOR – 20 YEARS AFTER DAYTON ACCORD

Title:	BOSNIA'S SECURITY SECTOR –20 YEARS AFTER DAYTON ACCORD <sup>1</sup>
Abstract:	"Dayton" Bosnia and Hercegovina, 20 years after the civil war finished and signing of Peace Accord, is still a deeply ethnically, politically and religiously divided country that was used in its history as a ground for experimental redesign and competition of geopolitical interests between the Great Powers once again. This paper explores the impact of those geopolitical influences upon Bosnia's security sector's reformist transformation and its result. Critical observation of reforms results in the security sector as one of the most important parts of broader "experimental redesign" of the whole political system in Bosnia (that was led to unification and political centralization) didn't show any improvement of security in this country, on the contrary. But the analysis of this process is leading research into the insight of some new tendencies in international relations and prognosticates their influence on the security system and the whole of Bosnia and Hercegovina's future.
Keywords:	Accord, security, reforms of security sector, Multi-polar world
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper was created within the projects, Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia, number 179014

#### PREFIGURED RESULTS OF THE ROMANIAN ARMED FORCES TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

Title:	PREFIGURED RESULTS OF THE ROMANIAN ARMED FORCES
	TRANSFORMATION PROCESS
Abstract:	Contemporary society gives us the image of fluid systems, surprisingly changing sometimes, which restructure, in order to survive, redefine their own interests, and reconsider their relationships and principles. Military transformation, as a concept, is a dynamic process of development and implementation of new policies, strategies, doctrines, concepts, organizational structures and technologies. The Romanian Armed Forces transformation, first - an intrinsic necessity, but also a NATO requirement, is a continuous process of remodeling the military capabilities needed both to promote and protect the national interests from risks and threats of all types and to accomplish the commitments in terms of collective defense and security.
Keywords:	Military transformation, capabilities, doctrinary system, defence
	planning, integrated approach.
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#### STATE IDENTITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY – IDENTITY THEFT OR A CASE FOR RE-ESTABLISHING THEORETICAL CORDIALITY?

Title:	STATE IDENTITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY – IDENTITY THEFT OR A CASE FOR RE-ESTABLISHING THEORETICAL CORDIALITY?
Abstract:	The increase of similarity between the individual characteristics recognized and asserted for an actor is utilized under the character claim of identity. In International Relations, this has been the communication dependent of the Constructivist research program. The foundation of the theoretical content of identity has mostly been developed, in Constructivist thought, by the linkage to state-identity. In these attempts, the evidence of national identities has been lapsing or totally made an absentee of. Can the national level test experimental discovery for the clear outline of the concept of state-identity in International Relations? Our answer, given and refracted throughout this article, is a positive one. While in the first section of this article, we try to fork out why all connections to identity have been referring to state-identity, in the second section of the paper, we will try to urge reasons of new disquisitions on national identities and their weigh of deliberation for new concept- extractions for state-identity, departing from the theoretical framework of Alexander Wendt.
Keywords:	State-Identity, National Discourse, National Identity, Constructivism, International Affairs, International Environment
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#### A NEW THREAT EMANATED FROM ISLAMIC CALIPHATE/ DAISH TO GEORGIA: MYTH OR REALITY?

#### A NEW THREAT EMANATED FROM ISLAMIC CALIPHATE/ DAISH TO GEORGIA: MYTH OR REALITY?

Abstract:	The paper covers and explains how the "Islamic Caliphate"/DAISH has been posing a threat not only to international community at a global level but also to Georgia at local level. Georgia lays on the most prominent geopolitical crossroad, linking West (EU+USA) and East (China+CIS states) and with its location Georgia has played double gamble with its nation's future geopolitical destiny. The location attracts positive as well as negative factors in defining Georgia's security provisions and in some cases it could cause the so-called "security dilemma" for Georgia's geopolitics. Hence, Georgia's security is facing with a new phenomenon, the so-called "asymmetrical threat" that could be really dangerous to national interests.
Keywords:	Islamic caliphate; security; threats; national interests
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#### TRANSNISTRIA IN THE NEW REGIONAL CONTEXT: COOPERATION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AND UKRAINE IN STRENGTHENING THE BORDER

Title:	TRANSNISTRIA IN THE NEW REGIONAL CONTEXT: COOPERATION BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AND UKRAINE IN STRENGTHENING THE BORDER
Abstract:	The aim of this paper is to analyse the current situation on the border of the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, in the current regional problematic security context. At the moment, neither the Republic of Moldova nor Ukraine has full control over its territory. Eastern Ukraine undergoes continuous armed confrontations, while the implementation of the Minsk agreements remains uncertain. As regards the Republic of Moldova, political instability and economic crisis continue to threaten its security and corruption is also a major obstacle for the administration in Kiev and

	Chisinau.
	However, a new regional context emerges after the signature of the
	Association Agreements of both countries with the EU in July 2014. The
	Republic of Moldova and Ukraine are bind to cooperate to strengthen their
	borders, in order to benefit from the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade
	Area with the EU.
	In addition, new agreements signed by the two countries in November 2015
	established joint border controls at Pervomaisc and Kuchurhan points
	and, also, cross-border data exchange at the common frontier points. The
	Republic of Moldova and Ukraine implemented several years ago a joint
	control at the Northern border point Mamaliga – Criva, but it is for the
	first time when this will happen just a few kilometres away from Tiraspol,
	the so-called capital of the breakaway region of Transnistria.
	The agreements signature to strengthen their common border follows the
	2015 restrictions imposed by Ukraine on the passage of goods at
	Moldovan – Ukrainian border, limiting, also, the free movements of
	Russian troops to the breakaway region of Transnistria. Moreover, Kiev
	denounced in 2015 several agreements signed with Russia on military
	cooperation, including the 1995 agreement regarding the transit of its
	territory and the supply of Russian troops stationed in Transnistria.
	On the other side, Tiraspol faces a deep economic crisis, aggravated by the
	political rivalries, emerged after the "parliamentary elections" held in
	November 2015. The region is also planning "presidential elections" in
	December 2016. As of January 2016, the European Union extended the
	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area to the whole territory of the
	Republic of Moldova, including the Transnistrian region.
	In this context, border cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and
	Ukraine will have crucial influence on the relations of the two states with
	the separatist administration from Tiraspol. Amid political instability in
	Chisinau and also Kiev and taking into consideration the developments in
	Eastern Ukraine, prospects for solving the "frozen conflict" in the
	separatist region of Transnistria remain, however, uncertain this year.
Keywords:	Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Border, Transnistria, Deep and
	Comprehensive Free Trade Area, The European Union
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#### A DOCUMENT OF SECURITATE ABOUT THE IAȘI (JASSY) ANTI-JEWS POGROM (26-29 JUNE 1941)

Title:	A DOCUMENT OF SECURITATE ABOUT THE IAŞI (JASSY)
	ANTI-JEWS POGROM (26-29 JUNE 1941)
Abstract:	The author brings in attention a declaration given after the Second World War by Traian Borcescu, one of the most important heads of the Romanian Secret Service (S.S.I.) about the circumstances of the murder of thousands of Jews in Iași, on 26-29-th of June 1941. Traian Borcescu is an important memorialist in this case because he was one of those chiefs of the Secret Service who knew and encouraged the complot against the Chief of State, Ion Antonescu. So he is not one of those memorialists who tried to exculpate marshal Antonescu. The document shows a memorialist who tried to tell the truth, after many years after the Second World War, after many years of detension, in a perioad of his life in which he had nothing to win or to lose telling the truth. Explaining the whole context of the event, Traian Borcescu brings important arguments that the murder of the Jews in Iași was planned by the German SS officers and brings their
Keywords:	<i>"arguments" to do these crimes.</i> Anti-semitism; crimes against Jews; Ion Antonescu; Securitate
ixy worus.	documents; Traian Borcescu
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#### PROSPECTS FOR RESUMING 5+2 TALKS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION

Title:	PROSPECTS FOR RESUMING 5+2 TALKS IN THE CONTEXT
	OF THE CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION
Abstract:	In the process of Transnistrian conflict settlement there is a plethora of factors at the local and international level influencing the negotiations. The current constellation of the conflict settlement is based on both negative and positive prerequisites. On one side, economic crisis motivates both Tiraspol and Moscow to follow a pragmatic line in the negotiations. Germany's chairmanship in the OSCE brings in a useful diplomatic tool for resuming 5+2 talks. On the other side, US's securitization of sovereignty of East European countries and stationing of anti-missile defense system in Romania lead to re-militarization of regional politics. Besides, conflict settlement has not yet been prioritized in Tiraspol and Chisinau in front of internal political struggles.
Keywords:	Transnistria, Russia, European Union, securitization, geopolitics, economic crisis, sectoral dialogue
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#### SPECIFIC STRUCTURES AND ACTIVITIES REGARDING MEDIA OPERATION IN ROMANIA

Title:	SPECIFIC STRUCTURES AND ACTIVITIES REGARDING
	MEDIA OPERATION IN ROMANIA
Abstract:	For the military in general and the Romanian Army in particular, building

Keywords:	a favorable image through outreach activities and public relations are not sufficient, requiring specific elements of media operation. Introducing media operation in operational planning process constitutes a necessary condition for increasing the success of a military mission, but at the same time for the image of the military organization in peacetime Media operation, Romanian army, military mission
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## HUMAN SECURITY

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## THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

Title:	THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR AND EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY
Abstract:	The 150 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the American Civil War just passed. Although
	European armies did not participate in the conflict, the future of European
	democracy depended on the outcome. The American war that lasted from
	1861 to 1865 tested whether republicanism (or democracy) would survive
	in the United States. The most prominent difference between the two
	warring sides in that conflict was that slavery was widespread on one side,
	and was abolished or limited on the other side. However, another major
	difference between them was political. The widespread practice of slavery
	had transformed government in the southern states with the result that a
	few ruled over the many. But in the northern states where slavery was
	abolished, republican government prospered. Thus, the American Civil
	War was an inter-regime war between republicanism against oligarchy.
	This war was important in the international context because in that era,
	democracy faced many challenges in Europe and aristocracy was strong.

	The establishment of the rebel Confederacy in America presented European aristocrats with a natural ally. The republican victory over oligarchy in the American war meant that the strength of the American nation could later aid the advance of democracy in Europe and the world.
Keywords:	American Civil War; European Democracy; Slavery; Republicanism;
	Modern Political Development
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### CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM

Title:	CONTEMPORARY TERRORISM
Abstract:	This work is focused on notional definition of modern terrorism and on scientific problems related to the trajectory of generally acceptable definition of terrorism. In this work, in addition to the notional definitions of terrorism, the author presents his own definition of terrorism. The author paid special attention to the motives of the executors of modern terrorism, presenting his postulate that each type of terrorism is politically motivated. In the article also, in addition to the analysis of the notion and definition of terrorism, there are presented the notions and definitions of terror and guerrilla. Also, definitions of terrorism by famous theorists are critically analyzed, in particular academic and administrative definitions, or fiat definitions. In the conclusion of the work, the author emphasized great challenges that current international security system has been facing, namely the problems of preservation of integral security of citizens and protection of the citizens from arising controlled political violence – terrorism
Keywords:	Terrorism; terrorist activities; antiterrorism; terror; guerrilla; international community
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#### THE STATE OF THE GLOBAL ORDER

Title:	THE STATE OF THE GLOBAL ORDER
Abstract:	The new type of international order established after the end of the Cold War has several distinctive characteristics that differentiate it from the previous one. In addition, these new characteristics are defining a new order in terms of a very dynamic globalization process. Globalization can not be controlled and directed, concerning its shape and the global order that is emerging. We are subject to globalization rather than its subject and it is often thought of as an extreme form of interdependence. This is seen largely as a change in the international environment in which states are evolving. The result of these evolutions demonstrates that the states are now much weaker as global actors than in the previous period, sub-state, trans-national and supra-national actors continuing to challenge them. But if globalization is seen as transforming the very nature of states, it suggests that states are still the focus of discussions for the new order: they are now different but they are not obsolite.
Keywords:	Competition; conflict; turbulent peace; terrorism; energy security; globalization; regionalization; global order.
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