BLACK SEA SECURITY ENVIRONMENT AND ITS INFLUENCE OVER THE
ROMANIAN NAVAL FORCES PROJECTION

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ABSTRACT

From the ancient time Black Sea area was a transit zone for the economic, political and strategic interests. To support this statement, there are the caravans and the antique sea lines of communications which created “the silk road,” as a linkage between the eastern and western civilizations and the numerous movements of the greatest strategists of the time with their troops from south to north and vice versa.

The geopolitical and security developments in the Black Sea area, its geographical location, the existing risks and threats, as well as the advantages offered by the political, economic and military co-operation have focused, more and more, the interest of the European and Trans-Atlantic organizations, generating a more careful approach of the issues related to this area.

Romania’s foreign policy, has established among its priorities those concerning the Black Sea area, which are considered to be “a very important issue, of national interest.”

The Black Sea Region has the greatest density of separatist conflicts, disputes or regional tensions.

These situations bring major concerns for the regional stability and security of the Wider Black Sea Region. The conflicts in Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as other disputes, are posing serious threats to regional security. Sometimes, the risk of violent confrontations floats like a toxic cloud. The good news is that the differences between countries are counterbalanced by the common opportunities and challenges facing the Black Sea area. Romania has a keen interest in actively strengthening the stability and security in the Wider Black Sea Region, and promoting the values of democracy, rule of law and human rights.

When we analyze the geopolitical features of the Black Sea area, we must first begin with the recognition of the key obstacles and dilemmas the region faces, on the attempts the countries make to line up their efforts into the systemic and dynamic process, to build the regional security and, as a follow up, the global security. Also, an essential factor to understand the current phenomena is generated by the impact of the transition after the post-communist era over the littoral states, during their adjustment to the new Euro-Atlantic security environment. The last but not the least, the geo-economic analysis of the local regional powers (Russian Federation and Turkey), especially from the point of view of the energy competition and the transit corridors of these resources, connecting the Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea, Caspian Sea and Central Asia, are essential to define the geopolitical perspectives over the short and middle term period.

In this new geo-strategic environment, the influence of the historical evolution is a factor that should be taken into consideration on the configuration of the relationships between this region with NATO and EU and, to prove its increased importance. Thus, centuries ago, the Greeks, Romans, Ottomans, and Russian seamen used the Black Sea for their economic and military purposes. In the past, the large empires extended their control over the Black Sea region due to its richness (grains, minerals, wood, and fish), and because it is geo-strategically important. For this reason, the Black Sea was considered for many times as a buffer zone between civilizations. In the last years, the Black Sea area has turned, at global level, into a transit zone between Central Asia, Middle East and Central and Western Europe.

I have to underline that South-Eastern Europe, including the extended Black Sea area, is the only European area where there are yet “frozen conflicts”, which are still under international debate. Compulsory manner, to reassess Romania’s national security strategy, with major changes over the role, place and the missions of the Armed Forces in general and, of the Naval Forces in particular. This new status means, besides the national security and stability guaranty, responsibilities to generate European and regional stability and security.

We can anticipate that, subsequent to the European Union integration, Romania will bring its national contribution to the European security, which will increase the tasks and responsibilities assumed as a NATO member state.

The state counselor, General Constantin DEGERATU, has made an assessment over the Black Sea importance, at the annual Black Sea Naval Commanders Committee Meeting, held in Mamaia on May 17th, 2005: “in our opinion, Black Sea is recognized as an important geo-political area, which
also covers the countries placed around it and in its
closeness. It claims a real Euro-Atlantic strategy with
the purpose to ensure the democratic stability, security
and prosperity, on one hand and, to properly promote
the dynamism of democratic changes process, on the
other hand. In order to support such strategy, we have to
start from the region’s realities, as well as from the ways
this area is integrated onto the global processes.”

From this point of view, as well as from the latest
statements of the Romanian president, there are at least
three specific elements for the Black Sea area.

First of all, all states within the area are united
among the same fundamental values and interests, which
govern the current development of the international
relationships: democracy, human rights, free market
economy and fight against terrorism.

From the EU point of view, the littoral countries express
more firmly their will for integration; to this respect,
there are countries which have signed the adhesion
treaty, some will start the negotiations for integration
and others develop a very active and dynamic co-
operation with EU.

Black Sea area is placed as a central point between
two major strategic axes, which have complementary
components: the axis of the energy producer and the
energy consumer, on one hand and, the axis of the
security producer and the security consumer, on the
other hand.

Nowadays, there are profound changes of the
international environment, which consist of the progress
over democracy, to seek and define the security options,
as well as a further development regarding the character
and nature of regional and global security risks and
threats. In this context, Romanian concerns over the
international relationships and co-operation are oriented
towards an active contribution to the peace, stability and
security policy.

The importance of the region, located between two
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areas with a very high conflict potential (the Balkans and
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by the following factors:
- this is the space where three geopolitical and geo-
economical zones interfere; they are considered to
be on top of the areas with very high level risks,
concerning the security and stability (Southern
Europe, Eastern Europe and Middle East);
- this is the exit gate to the Planetary Ocean for
Romania, Ukraine, Russian Federation, Georgia and
Bulgaria;
- it is crossed by many transportation routes of crude
oil and hydrocarbon products, from the Caspian Sea
to the Western countries and includes, in the same
time, the path of the future energetic highway
TRACECA;
- it is a part of the southern border of the Russian
Federation and, in the same time, NATO’s edge to the
south-east;
- includes at least one segment for the drugs
trafficking channel, from Central Asia and Middle
East to Western countries, for weapons smuggling
from the former Soviet Union countries and, even
for immigrants trafficking from Central Asia to the
West;
- there are numerous marine resources, a large net of
ports and port facilities; Black Sea seaside can offer
numerous opportunities for trade and tourism co-
operation;
- stands for a very good environment for the military
co-operation in the framework of PfP program and
even for the development of the special partnership
between Russia and NATO.

The increased importance of the Black Sea region in the
geopolitical context, at the beginning of this new
millennium, is given by the necessity to establish the
strategic raw materials flow, by the economic and
military co-operation and by the increased involvement
of the great powers and of the international institutions’
contribution to solve major issues of the region.

I think that the geographical position of Romania in
the vicinity of the Black Sea and its connection to the
Planetary Ocean represents a strategic advantage that
must be fully exploited.

As I said before, in the context of Romania’s
external policy priorities, a special attention is given to
the Black Sea issues. This concern is a very important
matter, of national interest.

Romania wants to promote its own maritime and
river interests, which are sustained by its maritime
power, by the access to the sea and by the length of the
maritime and river borders (from its length of more than
2500 km, Danube flows in Romania 1075 km).

From this perspective, our country has major
interests to support the supply with raw materials
through the maritime and river lines of communications,
to exploit the sea bed, to develop the submarine
exploration and exploitation, to support economic
activities at sea and river – naval transportation, tourism,
naval building – and to promote its image worldwide, by
showing the flag at seas and oceans. Also, the Euro-
Atlantic involvement on the extended region of the
Black Sea is very important.

The spirit of the maritime power of a state is
represented by the possibilities to efficiently use the sea
richness and facilities on its own interest and by its
capacity to deny the use of the sea by its potential
opponents. Romania and its Armed Forces represent
reliable partners for the process of cooperation and
regional stability. They contribute to broader forms of
cooperation development, to effective crisis management
and to the prevention of the conventional and non-
conventional risks. Romania also promotes the
transatlantic values and the security standards, ensures
the crises management interoperability throughout the
Wider Black Sea Area, the cooperation in border and
seashore security and in civil emergencies. Another field
of interest would be the assistance given to the
neighbouring countries in the reform of the security
sector as well as the development of the security programs’ reform. The activities of the Romanian Armed Forces and the armed forces of other states in the region for building confidence should also not be ignored.

According to “The Naval Forces Doctrine for Operations”, which is an unclassified document, the elements of the maritime power are:

a. The Naval Forces and their means, including those of the Border Police, the Maritime Aviation and the Marines;
b. The commercial fleet;
c. The infrastructure and the logistic resources: naval bases, ports, supply centers and warehouses, naval building yards, naval repair shops, airfields;
d. The naval educational system;
e. The naval leagues and associations;
f. The specialized mass-media components;
g. The naval shipyards and the firms with such profile;
h. The firms, installations and ships specialized in the research and exploitation of the maritime and river resources and of the sea bed;
i. The firms and associations that promote the sea and river tourism, and their means;
j. The research institutes with activities in the water environment researches and their logistics;

The elements of the maritime power come from specific sources of the overall power of the state (a short definition of A. Mahan, at the end of the 19th century). 
- the geographical position: the physical configuration, the territorial size, the length of the littoral; the existence of the gulfs and of suitable sites to set up ports and to shelter ships on bad weather conditions; the existence of the inland water courses, lakes, rivers and navigable channels;
- the maritime policy of the Government: the political and economical external relationships; the maritime policy of the state;
- the resources and the defense capabilities: the economy; the natural resources; the inland communications system; the telecommunications and radio communications system; the population; the armed forces, etc;

Considering these, the maritime power can be represented as a coagulated and inseparable system. Thus, we deal with an interconnection, in which the maritime trade influences the maritime resources; the resources determine the state’s naval strength, which, also, is transcribed in maritime supremacy, encouraging the commerce.

The economical and political evolution of Romania is tightly linked to the policy regarding the activities on sea. A developed Romania will also mean in the future ROMANIA, AS A MARITIME POWER.

Romanian maritime and river interests are a component part of the national, economical, political and military interests. They evolve in time, in accordance with the maritime power and the political status of the state.

The maritime and river interests are promoted through negotiations and treaties and the protection of the maritime and river interests is accomplished by the Naval Forces, which must be able to project the power in the blue seas, in order to defend the economical objectives and the maritime sea lines of communications wherever is needed by the national or by the Alliance interests.

“The Naval Forces Doctrine for Operations,” emphasizes the fact that Romania is vitally interested to: maintain its own territorial integrity within the limits of the land, maritime and river borders; keep the exit of Danube river to the Black Sea unmodified, mainly through its branches and, secondary, through the Danube-Black Sea canal; guarantee the conditions to enforce and keep the maritime areas of interest for the economical use and freedom of action; preserve stability in the area; keep freedom of movement on the maritime and river lines of communication; to protect the river infrastructure; protect the sea, river and delta environment; to participate to the naval events of the Allies and of the partners.

In the conditions of such a complex economical and political situation, especially in the Black Sea area, the existence of the Naval Forces is the sound argument that grants credibility to Romania’s policy, on defending its own maritime interests. In this context, the completion of the restructuring and the shift to the new stage of modernization of the Naval Forces is a national priority.

In the same context, there is the co-operation of the Romanian Naval Forces with other national institutions with responsibilities in the domain, to the combating of the naval terrorism and to the prevention of other risks and threats to the security, such as: organized crime, drugs traffic, illegal weapons traffic, and also the illegal exploitation of the maritime resources in the Romanian maritime and river sovereignty.

In case of natural disasters or emergencies on crisis situations, the Romanian Naval Forces can ensure the evacuation of the civilian population and of the non-combatant personnel. Also, the Naval Forces can provide, through its specialized structures, emergency medical treatment, can fix or evacuate the damaged infrastructure, can restore or build bridges and roads. Also for the humanitarian support, the Naval Forces actions can focus on measures for human life saving, such as medical support, water supplies, food, clothing, fuel and also the transportation on sea of the persons affected by the disaster.

I consider that the reconstruction and modernization of the Naval Forces must be related permanently with the following goal:

ON LONG AND MEDIUM TERM, ROMANIA MUST BE ABLE TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS IN THE BLACK SEA AND IN THE OTHER MARITIME AREAS, ON ITS OWN AND TOGETHER WITH ITS ALLIES.

AS A CONSEQUENCE, ROMANIA MUST BECOME A REGIONAL MARITIME POWER.

In the future, the potential participation of a Romanian naval component, in the permanent structure of the Allied Naval Forces, might be a support factor to place Romanian policy inside the international decisional political organizations.

At the present stage, there have been identified a series of possible threats which might occur within the area of responsibility of the Naval Forces and in the
neighboring areas, such as: the escalation of the inter-ethnic and religious conflicts in the vicinity of Romania; the restriction of the freedom of navigation or of those actions guaranteed by the international maritime laws; the violation of the maritime, river or land borders; the conduct of terrorist actions; weapons, ammunitions, drugs and hazardous materials smuggling; the conduct of specific informational and economic actions against both the civilian society and the military organizations; illegal emigration; pollution and, not the least, a potential nuclear accident.

Romania doesn’t consider any state as a potential threat to its national security and, as the entire Armed Forces, Naval Forces can bring their contribution to solve sea and river issues, especially through peaceful means, to contribute to the security environment in the region.

Participation at common naval exercises under the auspices of the regional initiatives, such as the Group for Naval Cooperation in the Black Sea – BLACKSEAFOR, consolidates the trust, friendship and relations of good vicinity with all Black Sea littoral states.

The principle from the “Romanian National Security Strategy”, according to which the military force acts as the last resort to provide country’s security, compels us not to neglect the possibility of a military involvement.

From the analysis of the present risks and threats in the region, results a certain hierarchy, in relation with the probability of occurrence of conflicts and events to which the Naval Forces will have to react. These can be non-military actions of asymmetric type, materialized into actions against organized crime, drugs traffic, smuggling and refugees flow from the sea, against the piracy and terrorist acts at sea and in harbors. These do not exclude the possibility of an outburst of, either a regional armed conflict characterized by the combination of conventional actions with unconventional ones, low to medium intensity on all environments, nor a major armed conflict, consisting on a conventional war, based on means with high maneuvering capacity, precision on hits, multi-dimensional protection of the forces, use of the electronic means and informational warfare.

To all of these we add the natural disasters and ecological incidents which, due to their unpredictable character cannot have hierarchies based on the probability criterion, but have important effects that demand the intervention of the Naval Forces.

2. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ROMANIAN NAVAL FORCES TO THE PROVISION OF COOPERATION AND SECURITY IN THE BLACK SEA AREA

The capability to control the maritime space is, at present, one of the main strategic factors, even if, simultaneously, we witness a reduction of the level and a change of the types of the virtual threats. The new element added to this constant strategy – the tendency to consider the Naval Forces as the “operational arm” for peace keeping operations and crisis management – needs, necessarily, a reassessment of the criteria regarding the composition, training and the use of these forces.

Able to operate remotely, without constraints imposed by the national borders or by the limitations of weapons control, the Naval Forces, frequently, are the first forces to operate in the crisis areas. Thus, a naval force may constitute a tool of the external security policy, whose presence often exercise a much more convincing influence, in comparison with the size and costs of its elements.

Although the region is characterized by instability, the relationships between the littoral states of the Black Sea have been drastically modified in the last decade. The main tendency for the Black Sea is that this area will become an area of co-operation, development and regional security. The regional co-operation is a reality with significant results, especially regarding to the level of trust between the littoral states. For the first time in its history, Black Sea is about to become a source of unity, development and stability in this extended geographical area, which has permanently been unstable and represented a border between various political, ideological and religious systems.

The co-operation relationships are focused on the economic development and the prevention and elimination of the risk factors that may generate crisis situations, with harmful effects over the regional stability and security. Thus, there are promoted political, ideological, economic, diplomatic and cultural relations in order to maintain and consolidate the stability and, also, the military co-operation relations in order to increase the trust and security through transparency.

Consequently, the Romanian president, on the occasion of his visit to the USA, in his speech regarding the importance of the Black Sea, in March 2005, stated: “We are prepared to participate in a mutual fund of the Black Sea, which will be implemented with the financial support of our American partners, USAID and German Marshall Fund, with the participation of the European Union. This mutual fund will seek to support the democratic developments in our vicinity, by the creation of public-private partnerships. Moreover, we will continue to initiate projects under the auspices of the Community of Democracies, in order to join Georgia and the other states to the euro Atlantic community”.

The conservation of a peace and stability climate, desirable in order to achieve the economic and prosperity objectives, must be ensured by an appropriate tool that will guarantee the regional security. Romania’s option for the future achievement of the Multipurpose Naval Force, able to fulfill traditional naval missions and, to fight also against the asymmetric threats, is subscribed under and has been determined by the present capacity of the Romanian economy to sustain reduced military structures, by the great diversity of the actions in which the Romanian Naval Forces are engaged, and also by the transition to modern technologies and multifunctional equipments in the naval field.

The existence of a multinational maritime force to which all Black Sea littoral states participate represents a mean to achieve some of the co-operation activities, such as: fighting against the danger at sea, human life and environmental protection. By participating to the
activities of the Black Sea Naval Cooperation Task Group BLACKSEAFOR, the Romanian Naval Forces are mainly engaged in the fulfillment of humanitarian and Search and Rescue missions. The contribution of the Romanian Naval Forces to the regional stability can be evaluated also by the adoption of “The Document on Confidence and Security Building Measures in the naval field in the Black Sea”, which is the result of the negotiations between the six littoral states.

The domains provided in the “Document on Confidence and security building measures in the naval field in the Black Sea” increase the trust, security and, consequently, to the peace preservation, are:
- cooperation in the naval field;
- reciprocal visits of ships and observers of the littoral states in the naval bases;
- exchange of naval information;
- notification of the forces and the main national naval activities;
- planning and execution of common naval exercises every year.

Starting with 1990, the Romanian Armed Forces began an ample process of reform, whose goal is the interoperability with the armed forces of NATO countries. The Romanian Government supported and will support this costly and long process, so that Romania will hold a military force capable to address any threats to its national security and sovereignty.

In this general context, the Naval Forces passed through a reform process, which led to the transformation of this military service into a more flexible and powerful force, that passes at this moment through a process of conceptual, structural and actional modernization.

The present and the future activity of the Naval Forces is oriented towards the setting up of a new structure of force capable to respond to the threats and risks specific to the new security environment in our region and, in the same time, to be able to be interoperable with the other NATO navies. The main objective of this demarche is to review our concepts, legislation, doctrine, regulations and manuals to ensure the legislative framework for all new missions, to implement standard procedures on execution of operations together with the Allied and Partners navies, to modernize our fleet, to endow with new military equipment of the latest generation, that will provide the interoperability and carry out all missions with maximum efficiency.

The doctrines, regulations and other internal leading documents have a clear, easy to understand content and easy to apply at all level echelons. The endorsement, within these documents, of the concept of “centralized leadership and non-centralized execution” will allow commanders to adapt to the changing conditions.

In the past 15 years, personnel from the Romanian Navy participated, within the Partnership for Peace framework and, in the last year, under NATO command, to the military exercises in the Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea. Multinational exercises we participated, aimed to strengthen the co-operation with the other NATO navies, as well as with the navies from the Partnership for Peace. We can remind here the exercises carried out in the Black Sea, such as COOPERATIVE PARTNER, BLACK SEA PARTNERSHIP, LIVEX with Bulgaria and Turkey and annual training activities, under the BLACKSEAFOR.

For the fully integration into NATO, Romania keeps a firm line to hold a capable fleet that can respond to all requirements of the Alliance. Besides the Mărășești frigate, our country acquired 2 new frigates, in 2004 and 2005, which increases the operational capability of the Romanian Navy. Also, the corvettes and mine hunters received a good appreciation from our partners, due to the success in multinational exercises they participated. The divers unit has an important place within Romanian Navy, due to the special use of this kind of force. These elite divers carry out missions with a high impact in the theater of operations.

Romania continues its consistent policy to impose its maritime interests in Black Sea region and has the objective to become a real partner within the Alliance. Through the Naval Forces, Romania will be capable to respond to any kind of threats to the global and regional stability. Beginning with the participation between 15 October and 15 December of frigate Ferdinand to the Active Endeavor Operation, Naval Forces show their capacity to accomplish the missions of the Alliance and also the possibility to protect the Romanian interests in others maritime theaters of operations. The Naval Forces prove that the fleet has made important steps in the transformation from a coastal force into a new force which can be deployed and sustained in a military theater far away from its maritime bases (a so called blue waters navy).

The Black Sea region and, especially the eastern part represents an area with long periods of instability and insecurity, a source of concerns for the European democracies, but in the same time an important turning point for the world wide energy corridor. From the NATO and UE point of view, there must be taken firm measures to reinforce the safety of commercial routes and pipe lines in the region. Thus, Romanian Navy becomes a core factor which can be used to accomplish these objectives. The responsibilities which Romania will assume in the region, and the means will use, were presented by the president of Romania, Mr. Traian Băsescu: “Black Sea area is the area of criminality in which Romania must be involved. Not only we have a Navy capable to participate to the control of what happens in the Black Sea, but in the last month, Romanian Navy has got two new frigates, excellent equipped, which together with Mărășești frigate, form three units of a maximum importance, capable to participate to the process of controlling what happens in the Black Sea”.

In order to achieve the recognized maritime picture the successful task accomplishment besides the Naval Forces there is a need to engage other national governmental institution based on special agreement, such as:
- surveillance and reconnaissance aviation and Air Force Operational Command;
- Naval Border Police
c) Romanian Naval Authority and Constanta Ports Administration
d) Romanian Intelligence Agencies
e) National Custom Authority

In order to successfully monitor the crises and prevent the conflicts at sea, Romania must have the capability to protect its legal and legitimate interests of using the sea on a peaceful manner. To accomplish this aim, Romania needs a Naval Force able to address any situation of crisis or conflict, to have the possibility to act when and where is necessary, a force that, in order to be well balanced, must include elements required to lead under water, surface or air warfare operations.

To cope with all risks and threats against the national security, Naval Forces will pass in the next years, together with the other services, through an adaptation process of its structure and capabilities, to accomplish as well specific missions for high intensity conflict, as non combat missions, which determine the existence of minimal military structures, flexible and quick deployable, able to sustain itself in an area of operations.

Thus, our option refers to the development of a Multipurpose Naval Force, that would be structural, manned, equipped and such trained that, using the same resources, will correspond to the evolution of military phenomenon, in order to easily adapt to the qualitative leap in naval technology and to be based on a highly motivated and qualified human resource.

The Multipurpose Naval Force will be fully interoperable with the other services of the Romanian Armed Forces, with the other partners in joint and combined operations and, high potential to modify the operational capability of forces and their capabilities proportional to the evolution of the situation at the strategic level. The Force will have the capacity to exploit the advantages of the technological level of ships to obtain, in an efficient manner, the success in all undertaken actions.

An efficient and economic Multipurpose Naval Force needs a self sustained logistics system, composed from resources dislocated in permanent bases and own means for replenishment.

The structural reform and the modernization of Multipurpose Naval Force will continue to achieve a force capable to accomplish the role of naval component in combined operations, to accomplish all type of missions, included in Romanian Military Strategy. The requirements that must be accomplished by the naval force which we project are as follows: command and control, a balanced structure of forces, interoperability and infrastructure.

The components of this effective naval force will match each other and, all together, will be able to cover the operational spectrum, in order to respond to the requirements and conditions imposed by the new geo-strategic situation and by the increased importance of force offered to NATO, able to accomplish the whole range of missions.

The composition of the Multipurpose Naval Force is determined by the necessity to balance at least two essential requirements: enough forces to accomplish the missions and the capability to sustain and maintain the forces in the planned operational status.

The strategy for the endowment and development of the Naval Force, on a long and medium term, comprises programs of acquisitions and modernizations whose completion is represented by the creation of a balanced structure of modern capabilities, required in order to accomplish the new missions. The modernization of the equipments is determined not only by the evolution of the security environment and the need to respond to new risks and threats, but also by the progress imposed by the transformation process of the armed forces in general and of the navy, in particular.

The endowment program of the Naval Forces refers to: replacement of the littoral surveillance system with the SCOMAR system; finalizing the program of modernization for frigates and the endowment of these with helicopters and modern warfare systems; replacing the corvettes with new multifunctional corvettes; replacing the mine sweepers with modern mine hunters; revitalizing the submarine and, on a long term, the acquisition of 2 new modern classic submarines; the endowment of the divers with performing equipments and competitive support vessels; providing logistics and support capabilities for the deployed forces in the theaters of operations.

Starting from the present status of the Naval Forces, analyzing the probability of risks and threats’ occurrence in the region and, considering the possibilities to financially sustain the development and modernization processes, we can assess that in the present and predictable conditions, the accomplishment of such an endowment of the Multipurpose Naval Force is possible to be accomplished, gradually, on a long and medium term, until the year 2020.

The number of years required to accomplish the Multipurpose Naval Force, is directly dependent on the evolution of the economic progress and on the value of the allocated financial resources. The process can be accelerated by an optimal distribution of the allocated budget of the Ministry of National Defense to the services, in accordance with the most probable risks and threats, as well as the analysis of the acquisition costs for ships and equipments and the costs for their operation and maintenance.

In our opinion, set up of a balanced military fleet is the key for the fulfillment of the national operational and strategic goals.