PROMOTING ROMANIAN MARITIME INTERESTS IN ACTUAL GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

The subject of this presentation is to emphasize the intrinsic relationship between Romania and Black Sea, taking into consideration geopolitical issues. From this point of view it is presented Romanian interests regarding Black Sea and the extended region of Black Sea, taking into account the fact that it doesn't represent a conjunctural or a historical issue or a consequence of actual geopolitical evolutions. In order to sustain and promote these interests it is much and much stressed the idea that Romania has to become a regional maritime power. This represent a condition for promoting national interests in Black Sea region.

Romanian interests in Black Sea region can be compeled by risky economic, military-political and military factors. Promoting our interests in Black Sea region, Romania becomes a factor of stability in the region, contributing at the same time to a stability and security climat, both in Black Sea region and in the extended region of Black Sea.

Keywords: *Black Sea, security, naval forces*

1. INTRODUCTION

Romania and the Black Sea are two geographical entities inseparable. Without the Black Sea, Romania would be a stretch of land unfulfilled, without Romania, Black Sea would be a boundless and without identity. The importance of the Black Sea to Romania is the concept of addiction to the Black Sea region, it is now vital interests of EU Member easy access to Caspian energy resources, the need to create a stable security environment, predictable and consistent in the immediate vicinity of border common European space.

Wider Black Sea region includes both coastal States and the Republic of Moldova and South Caucasus states of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Wider Black Sea region represent the area of intersection of two interactive systems: the Euro-Atlantic community, represented by NATO and the EU and CIS consists of OTSC under Russian influence. From the European perspective, three countries are EU member states - Greece, Romania and Bulgaria, a country is a candidate integration EU - Turkey, five partner countries - PEV are Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, a country receiving a strategic partnership with EU - Russian Federation.

Romanian Black Sea coast gives of Romania out free in oceans worldwide by the Bosphorus, Dardanelles and then through the Aegean and the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar from the Atlantic and then in the world. This opening to 71% of the planet has significant consequences on Romania. These relate to:

1) access to unlimited resources of the ocean;
2) a favorable geostrategic position;
3) the possibility of developing coastal cities;
4) the possibility of developing a transmission network;
5) the possibility of developing tourism varied and complex.

In light of this assertion and indivisible unit, Romania is obliged to promote the interests of guaranteeing existence. For this, Romania has to exercise its role of regional maritime power in the context in which this role is achieved, it must be managed by opinionated Security Strategy of Romania. From this point of view, Romania has to assume regional responsibilities in asserting a climate of stability and security in the wider Black Sea.

Regarding Romania's Black Sea interests in the wider Black Sea we can say that:

1) conjuncture is not a problem;
2) these not a historical problem;
3) these not a matter of geopolitical developments.

In a Europe that tends to its own territorial full continental Romania's interests are, in specific proportions of indivisibility strategic interests of the European Union, which Romania is acting upward interest and consistent.

Black Sea one of the oldest European geopolitical system, a special strategic importance for Romania, again a reality after the Cold War Euro-Atlantic community. After the disappearance of Russian Empire and the Ottoman Empire, the geopolitical system was initially divided in the center of the Balkans and Caucasus, then in four, adding the Centre-North Anatolian and Pontic. At present the interests of Turkey and Russia less overlap in the Black Sea area and more Turkish origin-Muslim republics of Central Asia, Turkey's influence means the area is much higher vis-à-vis those of Russia against Turkey.

These advantages offer Romania the role of commercial bearing south-eastern Europe.

2. ROMANIA'S BLACK SEA INTERESTS IN THE WIDER BLACK SEA

Are almost prophetic ideas and Titulescu's theses, which, in August 1934, the full effort to create the Balkan Entente, stress convincing: "Mission of building a Europe free extended will not be complete until the Black Sea countries will not be fully supported by the Euro-Atlantic community. The region boasts its ancient ties with European civilization, as evidenced by increasingly intense historical and archaeological

research. The strategic importance of the area was visible from the time of the Greeks and Romans, for this region is at the crossroads of Europe with Asia Minor and the Caucasus. Today we have the opportunity to meet these countries and to include them in the Euro-Atlantic community. In addition, enhancing democracy and stability on the shores of the river history, we can help revive the ancient name Black Sea, making it ever: Pontus Euxinus, «Grand Hospitable»".

XXI century projections back to the fore the great Romanian diplomat. Currently, Romania is engaged in designing, managing and asserting his own interests in the Black Sea and hence the wider Black Sea region.

In this context, the Black Sea, in which Romania promotes its interests, is induced by international geopolitical framework defining its own specific features, such as:

1) foreign involvement of the Black Sea littoral states, in implementing and ensuring democratic stability, economic development and social prosperity in the Great Middle East;
2) providing an additional platform for cooperation between U.S. and EU in a region where their strategic interests, basically, are complementary, which could lead to their successful approaches;
3) empowering NATO to engage in military operations outside the area, most likely in the Great Middle East, and in this case, providing some support from partners outside NATO;
4) positive engagement of Russia, against taking into account the legitimate security interests, which can be more effectively achieved under a stable and prosperous neighborhood than in an unstable environment;
5) encourage the development and ownership of the Black Sea regional identity itself as a partner of the West, which is possible by wise policies pursued by the NATO-EU co-US.

In this geopolitical context, Romania has stated its intention, to be a vector of stability, democracy and the promotion of Euro-Atlantic values in the region. Romania, promoting clear and open and their interests can be a vector of the EU's fundamental interests in the region, stressing the development of international processes, ultimately, the fact that Romania's interests are in Europe.

Romania's national interests can be promoted in the region Black Sea:

1) exploitation of economic opportunities;
2) constructive ownership of cultural opportunities;
3) involvement in education and social development in the region;
4) combating corruption, organized crime and terrorism;
5) transformation of the Black Sea region in a vector of solidarity and cooperation, as determining the social cohesion of Europe.

All this is possible in the context in which Romania will become practically a regional maritime power, General proposed to assert in this direction configuring virtually coordinates national strategic interest to the Black Sea.

3. ROMANIA - REGIONAL MARITIME POWER, ONE OF THE MAJOR NATIONAL INTERESTS

Not only in developing the Black Sea region (in the context of extremely complex and, not infrequently, conflicting beginning of this century) but the very fact that Romania has a coastline (245 km) complains that the assertion of our state regional maritime power in the geopolitical and geostrategic context of this space. The Black Sea region produces flow of strategic materials from the Orient to Europe Union, the region representing an area frequently economic, political and military and geopolitical and geostrategic change produced by an area which causes the active involvement of major international players and bodies Why have the global architecture of international vocation.

Against these considerations, both medium and long term, Romania should be able, alone or with allies, to defend and promote their interests in the Black Sea, but in other maritime areas, requirement can not be accomplished without Romania to become the geopolitical perspective, but geostrategic, a regional maritime power.

4. FACTORS THAT MAY CAUSE CHANGES IN STATE SECURITY AND THE WIDER BLACK SEA

Main risk factors identified in the Black Sea region are:

1) Economic risk factors:
   a. economic disparities between countries in the region and promoting economic strategy inadequate;
   b. economic stake started operation and transport of oil through the Black Sea, which may contribute directly or to the settling of conflicts or the deepening and diversification;
   c. circumvent the rights of States to exploit the natural riches of their territory or maritime economic zone of their own.
2) Risk factors such as political-military:
   a. continuation of deepening conflict and territorial disputes, exacerbated nationalism and separatist tendencies and internal instability of states formed after disintegration of Soviet Union;
   b. the position of Russia's reluctance to extend NATO eastward, including the states bordering the Black Sea and thus the Black Sea basin including the area of responsibility of the southeastern flank of NATO. A further NATO expansion eastward and more aware that Russia sees it as a U.S. intention to make the process of integration into NATO in a control element of the situation in areas "hot", adjacent to the Black Sea, with adverse consequences for her position as isolation and the threat of great power and influence factor in the area;
   c. the struggle for energy resources is yet the most important dimension of the states that have interests in this area. It may contribute directly or to the settling of disputes, either to further or

diversification. Such situations can act as a brake on investment in the area (except the oil from the Caspian Sea area) or may limit the scope of assistance programs created by various European and international institutions necessary for a sustainable regional development. It can be appreciated that in the near future stability will depend considerably on the Black Sea and direct extraction of oil and gas the Caspian Sea area. The commissioning of the Rhine-Main Canal, which connects the North Sea to the Black Sea and Baltic Sea in perspective and through the Main-Elbe canal, the Danube waterway is the main thoroughfare in Europe, enabling the access faster to Asian markets and to the Caspian Sea, to move towards large-scale exploitation of the important existing oil reserves;

d. cross-border crime, organized crime connections, especially on issues relating to trafficking in arms, drugs and people. Thus, in recent years, this area is crossed by several transit routes for drugs from the Middle East and Central Asia, particularly Afghanistan, the consumer markets of the Russian Federation and European countries.

3) Risk factors for military:
   a. the existence of ongoing internal military conflicts or military conflicts between states in the area;
   b. the disintegration of the armies of federal states and national armies trained subsequently use to obtain political advantages, the new regional economic conditions;
   c. changing the ratio of forces through the creation of armed sub-November;
   d. development of new military alliances;
   e. resizing military potential;
   f. the possibility of significant discrepancies regarding the degree of protection of states, the prospect of EU membership, some countries in Eastern and Southeastern Europe will have a triple protection (OSCE, NATO, EU), other dual (OSCE, NATO) and the third category one level of protection (OSCE);
   g. the production of military potential gaps between countries in stages to reduce conventional weapons and the military;
   h. participate in equal measure to all states to deepen confidence building measures and security arrangements in the area and the open skies;
   i. various forms of non-governmental organizations, private companies and mercenaries involved in conflicts or potential.

Black Sea and its littoral states, the overall area of interest is a political, economic and military, a special sensitivity, given the specific risk factors and potential threats to the security of this area, which may occur as a result of poor management of risk.

By geographical location, existing threats and risks and benefits of political cooperation, economic and military, in recent years, the Black Sea has attracted more and more interest in European and transatlantic organizations, but the major powers, resulting in a closer approach to problems facing this area.

Security developments in the Black Sea are directly connected to the transformation of global security, increased stability in the logic of integration opportunities and secondly, increasing the need for risk management and security challenges in the area.

Assessments on the security system can address a broad vision on the Black Sea, since developments in this region are intrinsically linked to the EU and NATO borders, but also changes in the security environment in the Balkans - the former Yugoslavia to Albania and Greece; of Caucasus - in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, the Middle East and East - from Turkey to Iraq and Iran.

In the future Black Sea region could play a dual role: as a platform for the design of military force to Middle East and Central Asia as a buffer against asymmetric risks for European security. Annihilation factors favoring development of regional risks and threats has been the attention of the Black Sea and European and international bodies. All measures taken, these factors continue to keep risks and threats and even generate new ones.

Complexity of the security situation in the Black Sea countries is the result of summing the effects of separatist conflict, ethnic, religious, illegal trafficking in weapons, drugs, people and other forms of cross-border crime. This fact, coupled with the inefficiency of local authorities in the countries concerned in management situations, is a framework for carrying out actions that could destabilize the regional balance.

On the military situation in the Black Sea basin is characterized by relative stability. Strategic importance of naval forces of neighboring countries tend to change from the traditional role of territorial defense mitigation, achieving the main functions of control, cooperation, risk and asymmetric power projection in the Black Sea and Black Sea outside.

Stimulation predictable multilateral cooperation in the Basin, the bus trans-European waterway contributes significantly to the value of sea and river transport routes across the Black Sea area, including connection to the Caspian basin via the Volga-Don.

Developing trade is still a primary factor of convergence integrating states in the region. The objectives are speeding up preparations for a functional market economy status, encouraging free trade zones, clarifying the status.

Evolution of the strategic east-west and caused economic opening of the European Union and NATO enlargement require clarification of policy issues, which aims to transform the Black Sea into a pole of political stability and economic growth in order to expand the climate of peace and security to the Balkan area and further to the Caucasus and Central Asia.

There are three strategic themes, the process comes into contact with the challenges and opportunities in the Black Sea, namely:

Romania's admission into the North Atlantic Alliance and European Union increased responsibilities for security convincing Romanian state border of southeastern Europe. As Romania's border responsibilities, now part of the European Union, but NATO and are in a position to double the operational

assertions with mutual determination: Romania's border security responsibilities north-western Black Sea region are equally and the Alliance, and the European Union, as the active logic of mutual determination, as specified responsibilities of Romania subsumes default on the part of organizations, namely the EU and NATO.

Moreover, building a European deep Romanians, a Euro-Atlantic Romania fully and convincingly, democratic country, safe and prosperous, is generally transmitted desire Romania's National Security Strategy.

5. ROMANIA'S ROLE AND STRATEGIC INTEREST TO ASSERT THAT DYNAMIC VECTOR OF SECURITY AND PROSPERITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION

Specialized studies estimates that Romania "as the state border of the European Union and NATO member, has major interests of the neighbor countries stable, democratic and prosperous because they are only capable of maintaining peace and understanding between them, creating regional community pluralistic, and have a predictable behavior in security, allocate is that the current geopolitical and geostrategic context, "the building of security and prosperity in the Sea. Black is a direction separate action of this strategy".

In fact, Romania's strategic interest to the Black Sea region and the wider Black Sea region is stable, democratic and prosperous, closely connected to European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Subsumed this interest, the strategic objective - the dynamic array of democratic security, stability and prosperity - is to stimulate greater involvement in European and Euro-Atlantic region.

Arguments Romania's strategic interest to the Black Sea region lies mainly in the following considerations:

1) In terms of security challenges, the region is a faithful mirror of the new risks and threats and a virtual polygon dangerous for their experimentation. Be mentioned among them: international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, local conflicts, illegal trafficking of arms, munitions and explosives, drug trafficking, illegal migration and human trafficking, government inefficiency, undermined by endemic corruption and organized crime, democratic deficit and failure characterized by the proper exercise of the powers conferred sovereign states;
2) Black Sea region is the richest part of Europe in separatist conflicts, tense situations, disputes and probably one of the densest in the world;
3) Cross-border crime is a reality of the region. Criminal activities of this nature takes place on land and water, have connections with international terrorist groups and regimes are favored by separatist and illegal presence of foreign troops in the new democracies.

Countering these risks and threats is a primary responsibility of the Black Sea littoral states. They must be, first, fully aware of these dangers and are required to develop internal policies, external security and able to neutralize the negative phenomena within their borders and to refrain from supporting in any kind of separatist movements, extremist or terrorist organizations, criminal activities. Black Sea countries must cooperate actively and effectively, to promote measures for increase confidence in the region and fulfill in good faith the obligations on conventional arms reduction and withdrawal of military forces stationed illegally in other states.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The meaning of the claim based on the indivisibility of security in the Euro-Atlantic area, in accordance with the requirements of globalization, the need for equal treatment for all entities that have interests in the area - including NATO and the U.E. Romania believes that the Black Sea region is a geopolitical space open international democratic community, where the allied, partner and friend states can fully manifest.

In accordance with this aim, Romania promotes actively the necessity of a Euro-Atlantic strategy for the Black Sea region, taking into account the experience of NATO-EU in the stabilization process of Southeastern Europe and need a balance capable of promoting democratic option of states, to prevent worsening risks and threats and to contribute effectively to resolve conflicts and tensions. Enlargement of EU responsibilities in stabilizing and rebuilding the region, strengthening the presence and contribution of NATO and PfP programmer at the processes of promoting democracy, peace and security, and presence in the region some operational capabilities of U.S., are factors capable to contribute for substantiate such a strategy.

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