ROMANIA

THE PRESIDENT

THE NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF ROMANIA

The European Romania, the Euro-Atlantic Romania:
For a Better Life in a Democratic,
Safer and More Prosperous Country

BUCHAREST

2007

The twenty-first century started out abruptly and violently, with a worldwide political earthquake – the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks that targeted major symbols of the democratic world, killing instantaneously thousands of innocent civilians. These events, followed swiftly by other similar murderous actions perpetrated in various parts of the world, triggered a deep-going transformation of the security environment, bringing about consequences that influenced the international community profoundly and over the long term.

In such a tense and complex environment, the security of each individual country, as well as that of the international community as a whole, depends on t**he ability to anticipate and to undertake proactive actions,** rather than on reacting to events or adjusting to them. In a conflicting, dynamic and complex world that is undergoing an all-encompassing globalization process the proper understanding of the major trends of the world's development and of the way in which each country has the chance to become an active part of this process is a prerequisite for progress. Equally important and also essential to it is being aware of, understanding and correctly assessing the domestic processes, the level of social cohesion and the ability to mobilize the people to carry out national projects.

To achieve its rightful interests, in its position as an integral part of the Euro-Atlantic civilization and an active participant in the process of building the new Europe, Romania: promotes, protects, and defends democracy; observes the fundamental human rights and liberties; takes actions that comply with international law, in order to speed up its economic and social modernization and development; acts to ensure the European living standards; and asserts its national identity. More than a decade and a half since the December 1989 Revolution, the Romanian people have gone through a period of transition from totalitarianism to democracy and are firmly committed to the process of moral reconstruction, institutional modernization and civic awareness, in full agreement with its own fundamental values and with the European and Euro-Atlantic values. ***Today – in a crucial moment in its history – Romania needs a realistic and pragmatic national project, able to harmonize individual initiative with modern civic spirit and responsible commitment. The new security strategy is a major endeavor in this respect, having the basic goal to guarantee the safety of the individuals, of their lives and families.***

As a cumulative and cross-party convergence factor, **national security** seeks to provide the state of normality to which the citizens, the communities and the state aspire based on its efforts to achieve economic prosperity, full observance of the law, socio-political balance and stability. National security is achieved within the democratic framework through: the exercise of civic rights and freedoms, by improving the state's ability to make decisions and take actions and by improving the Romania's status as a subject of international law. It is meant for Romanian citizens and, to the same degree, for all those who, in exercising their right of free movement and free initiative, live, work or temporarily reside in Romania.

As a national tool attaching weight and practical value to these requirements, **the national security strategy** is an integrating synthesis concept; it becomes operational through an aggregate of plans, measures and actions aimed at efficiently preventing and countering the risks and threats jeopardizing the national values, as well as the values that lend identity and unity to the European construction.

The goal of the strategy is both to effectively prevent and counteract the dangers brought about by the international environment and to guarantee the state of domestic security, as a whole, personal safety and security of the communities; the strategy is also aimed at addressing energy and food security, transportation and infrastructure security, and cultural and environmental security. Therefore, the national security strategy integrates the foreign policy, diplomatic and international cooperation activities, those of the military institutions and public order forces, of the intelligence structures, as well as the activities of other government agencies having responsibilities in this field. The integration and harmonization of the endeavors cover the national framework and the dynamics of the relations in the common European and Euro-Atlantic security and defence area.

Romania needs a new national security strategy capable of bridging the divide between itself and the developed EU countries - especially that related to the standard of living - to prevent and counter the threats faced by the Romanian citizens, communities, nation and state, to administer and manage effectively crisis situations and take an active part in the integration and cooperation processes. The current security strategy, the first after Romania became a NATO member and the one that accompanies our process of EU integration, reflects the changes that have taken place in the domestic and international security environment, and global realities and trends. It represents an integral part of European and Euro-Atlantic security as well as the results of efforts at a national level: joint actions, cooperation and partnership.

National security is achieved through our own means and through cooperation with our allies and partners, in accordance with the provisions of our strategies, the Alliance's strategic concepts and the EU's security strategy. It seeks to harmonize the national endeavors with the international commitments and to identify working methods able to prevent and counter threats in a timely manner. These efforts are also aimed at promoting democracy, peace, and stability in the neighboring countries and other areas of strategic interest, reducing vulnerabilities, building proper national capabilities and profoundly transforming the security institutions.

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PRESIDENT OF ROMANIA

C O N T E N T S

I. The premise of a realistic, bold, and pragmatic national project 7
II. A safe and prosperous future for the Romanian people:
the paths to construction 17
III. The priorities of the active participation in building international security:
promoting democracy, fighting international terrorism
and countering proliferation of weapons of mass destruction 20
IV. Building the new European and Euro-Atlantic identity for Romania 26
V. Accomplishing regional security and stability based on
a new political paradigm 29
VI. Romania – a dynamic vector of security and prosperity
in the Black Sea Region 32
VII. Homeland security: a systemic and comprehensive approach 37
VIII. Landmarks of good governance: professional and efficient public
administration; democratic justice; fighting corruption 42
IX. Increasing the competitiveness and high-performing
character of socio-economic activity 45
X. Modernizing institutions with responsibilities in the area of
national security 48
XI. Developing the critical infrastructure and enhancing its protection 52
XII. Resources and responsibilities 54

I. THE PREMISE OF A REALISTIC, BOLD AND PRAGMATIC NATIONAL PROJECT

National security is the prerequisite for the existence of the Romanian nation and state, and the main goal of democratic governance; it encompasses the national values, interests and objectives. National security is a fundamental right that stems from the people's full sovereignty; it is based on constitutional order and is fulfilled in the context of regional, Euro-Atlantic and global security.

The national security strategy meets the need and obligation of legitimate protection against the risks and threats that endanger the fundamental human rights and freedoms, as well as the foundations of the Romanian state's existence. It refers primarily to the following fields and activities: the rule of law, citizen's safety, public security and national defence, protection against natural disasters, degradation of living conditions and industrial accidents. National security is achieved by active measures of political, economic, diplomatic, social, legal, administrative and military nature, by intelligence, counter-intelligence and security activities, as well as through effective crisis management, according to the rules of conduct established within the Euro-Atlantic community.

Membership of the North-Atlantic Alliance, as well as the complex process of joining the European Union, acting in a security domain based on common values, interests and goals, on the principles and norms of democracy, the rule of law and market economy, provide our country with favorable conditions for sustainable economic and social development, active participation in peacekeeping and security activities regionally and globally, and in effectively countering both traditional and asymmetric security risks and threats.

National values and interests

The national security strategy seeks to preserve, promote, protect and defend the national values and interests. It is achieved through national efforts, using our own forces and means, as well as by cooperating with the allies and partners, in compliance with NATO's Strategic Concept and European Security Strategy. The strategy provides the operational bases for the systematic cooperation with the security and defence organizations that Romania is part of, with allied, partner and friendly states.

The **national values** are elements that define the Romanian identity. Their protection, promotion and defense provide the basic conditions for the existence and dignity of the Romanian citizens and state, in compliance with the provisions of the Constitution. They are the basic premises on which the society's organization and functioning system is built, both through the democratic institutions and organizations and through civic action. In agreement with the Constitution, this strategy lays at the foundation of the efforts towards the security and prosperity of the Romanian people, values such as: democracy, freedom, equality, supremacy of the law, respect for human dignity, for the basic human rights and freedoms, civic awareness, political pluralism, property and market economy, solidarity with the democratic nations, international cooperation and peace, and dialogue between civilizations.

These values are the cohesion factor of the communities and nation, the catalyst of the efforts towards progress and modernization, the solid link that provides the harmonious relation between the individual and national interests, in keeping with the norms of the constitutional order. Their fulfillment is guaranteed by: the respect for national sovereignty and independence; the national, unitary, and indivisible character of the state; the unity based on a common language, culture and spiritual life; the respect for the identity of each and every citizen and community.

The **national interests** reflect the most important, stable and institutionalized perception of the national values and aim to preserve, promote, protect and defend – by legitimate means – the values on which the Romanian nation builds its future, through which it guarantees its existence and identity and

for which it is integrated in the European and Euro-Atlantic community and takes part in the globalization process. By their intrinsic value, national interests are meant – first and foremost – for the Romanian citizens living on the national territory and also for the other people temporarily based in Romania and the Romanians living or working abroad.

In the modern world, **security and prosperity** are inseparable terms of the same equation – Romania's progress, prosperity and national security can only be the major result of a complex process designed to promote and guarantee national and community interests. Their range comprises, basically, the following: full membership of the European Union and responsibilities arising from membership of the North-Atlantic Alliance; maintaining the integrity, unity, sovereignty, independence, and indivisibility of the Romanian state; developing a competitive, dynamic, and highly-performing market economy; radical modernization of the education system and effectively turning to good account the human, scientific and technological potential; increasing the well-being, standard of living, and health condition of the citizens; asserting and protecting the national identity, culture and spiritual life, in the context of the active participation in building up the new European identity.

Security Environment

At the beginning of the millennium, the world entered a new phase of its development, marked by the co-existence and clash of major positive trends with others that generate risks, threats and dangers that jeopardize international security as a whole and the security of each individual state. The old world order, based on a bipolar logic – characterized by the rivalry and capability of some blocs of states to annihilate one another – disappeared, and the post-bipolar transition has ended, while the buds of the construction of a new global security architecture are taking an increasingly important place within the focus of the international community.

On the global level, the world continues to be strongly conflicting. The driving forces of the conflicts operate in the field of both the **access to resources, to the mechanisms of distributing them and opening the market-**

place, and the **identity differences** of ethnic, religious, cultural or ideological natures. The likelihood of a wide-ranging military conflict is slim, but the regional and domestic conflicts can be more frequent and their effects, direct or cumulative, can be even harder to control.

The international security environment is rapidly changing. Some changes are linear and predictable, either stemming from the objective development of the security environment or representing the result of some strategies and programs. Others have a surprising, seismic or strategic discontinuity character and come with a significant degree of uncertainty regarding their nature, size and duration.

The proliferation of the new risks and threats augments the insecurity of the global environment; consequently, in the upcoming 10–15 years, the global order will look significantly different, as the dynamics of the international relations favors the efforts made to **build a new international balance, able to ensure the expansion and strengthening of freedom and democracy.**

The security environment is mainly characterized by the following **major trends**: the acceleration of the globalization and regional integration processes, concomitantly with the persistence of some actions that aim for state fragmentation; reasonable convergence of the efforts made to structure a new stable and predictable security architecture, accompanied by heightened anarchic tendencies in some regions; renewed efforts by states to preserve their sway in the dynamics of the international relations, paralleled by multiple forms and increased likelihood of the interference of non-state actors in the dynamics of international relations.

In this complex, dynamic and clashing world, the main confrontation is waged between fundamentally different values, between democracy and totalitarianism. It is triggered by the increasing aggression of international religious-extremist driven terrorism, structured in cross-border networks, against the democratic states and the rational political forces in the states committed to democratization. The major trends that govern the global developments in the post-bipolar era bring about justified worries, generate new challenges, provide opportunities and pose risks to national values and interests.

Globalization is the main phenomenon that influences the contemporary security environment, creating both opportunities and new risks and threats. In this environment, no state can isolate itself or stay neutral, no state is protected and none should stay outside the global processes. International security tends, more and more to show its indivisible character and the international community is ever more aware of the responsibilities incumbent upon it. In principle, globalization provides a real chance of positive economic growth, able to create prosperity; however, going along this path is not a certainty guaranteed for each and every country; it depends on the states' capacity to seize such opportunities because, otherwise, the greatest risk for a country is to remain outside the positive globalizing processes.

In the context of this complex configuration of the global stage, entire regions are affected by instability and conflict, poverty and frustration that trigger or favor the proliferation of the new risks and threats. Some of these can have a major impact on Romania's security. At the regional level, in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, tense situations persist or swell, caused by old differences of an ethnic or religious, territorial or separatist nature or that challenge the existing borders, as well as by cross-border crime.

The collapse of communism as a political system and establishment of democracy, the enlargement of NATO and the European Union, opening the frontiers, intensifying the flows of persons, goods, services, and capital, as well as technological development, all created favorable conditions for the fledgling democracies to connect to the Euro-Atlantic prosperity and security area. For Romania, these phenomena, supported by its geo-political situation, are important **strategic opportunities.** They are augmented by: the North-Atlantic Alliance membership; the integration in the economic, political, cultural and security areas of the European Union; the strategic partnership with the United States; an increased role and place of the Black Sea Region in Europe's security and energy considerations; increased interoperability of Romania's security and defence institutions with their counterparts in the North-Atlantic Alliance and European Union member states.

Risks and Threats

In the context of this analysis, the risks and threats to Romania's national security are perceived mainly from the perspective of its status as a member of the North-Atlantic Alliance and European Union. Under such circumstances, although the danger of a classical war (of a conventional military aggression) is much less likely, overlooking risks might trigger major vulnerabilities to its own security and capability to act to fulfill its international commitments. The risks pertaining to the security and defence of the borders also fall into this category, as important parts of Romania's frontiers are, at the same time, the eastern frontier of the two organizations.

However, a range of new, asymmetric threats of military or non-military nature, including information or intelligence threats, stemming chiefly from the international and – to a certain extent – domestic environment, tend to increase the danger and likelihood of such moves and may have serious impact on the security of the Romanian citizens, the Romanian state or organizations of which Romania is part. The danger posed by such negative developments may be substantially increased if they combine, especially as the lines between global and regional threats and between foreign and domestic ones tend to become ever more blurred. As the global processes and technological development accelerate, when distances become less and less important, the emergence of such negative phenomena must be identified in good time - irrespective of the place where they happen - whilst, at the same time, their assessment needs to take into consideration the indivisible nature of global security. In this context, countering them firmly and effectively – even in locations remote from the national borders – becomes a major responsibility of a sensible government.

The main risks and threats that can jeopardize Romania's national security, its values and interests as a member state of the EU and Euro-Atlantic community are:

International terrorism: September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against symbols of the American civilization and power and the subsequent similar strikes in Europe and other areas of the world are to prove that terrorism - as a general phenomenon and **international terrorism, structured in cross-border**

networks in particular**, -** poses the most serious threat to human lives and freedom, democracy, civilization, way of life and the other fundamental basic values that make the foundations of the democratic community of the Euro-Atlantic states.

International terrorist networks have access to state-of-the-art technology and can use banking transfers and fast communication means, the infrastructure and assistance provided by extremist organizations, the support lent by cross-border criminal groups or by regimes that are corrupt or unable to govern democratically. They can inflict heavy casualties and cause wide-ranging material damage and, if they get access to weapons of mass destruction, the consequences of their actions can become devastating. The open nature of modern democratic societies, as well as the complex and conflicting way in which various aspects of globalization manifest themselves, make each and every state, as well as international community as a whole, vulnerable to international terrorism. For this reason, fighting this scourge and the cooperation of democratic forces to counter it – even by joint actions conducted in the areas that generate terrorism – are a vital requirement.

Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction: Nuclear, chemical, biological and radiological weapons constitute another very serious threat in terms of their destructive capacity. Numerous facts prove that: access to such means becomes ever easier from the technological standpoint and the temptation to acquire them is worryingly on the increase; some states that have them, are developing new war-heads, whilst focusing on improving their delivery means; the doctrine developments consider more and more the possibility of using such means for military operations; the effectiveness of the control exerted by some governments over the existing war capabilities, the components of which are under construction, and the technological processes are decreasing alarmingly. The guarantees of a responsible behavior by the authorities that come into their possession, particularly in case of the regimes driven by extremist political or religious ideologies, are also decreasing. There is an increasing risk of collapse or turning into anarchies of some states possessing nuclear weapons, a

decreasing authority exerted by some governments over the military structures, and a proliferation of the regions that evade the state control; all of them favor the development of the black markets for such weapons and equipments.

Regional conflicts: Despite the last 15 years' positive developments, which made Europe a safer and more prosperous place, the strategic area where Romania is located is still fraught with local conflicts, impacting heavily on regional and European peace and security. A consequence of the more or less violent dissolution of some multinational states in the area, the inter-ethnic or religious conflicts have strong political undertones and pose a serious threat to regional security, even though, due to some important efforts made by international community, most of them are contained. By their high number, these conflicts – alongside other tensions, disputes, separatist trends, territorial differences, and crises in the proximity of Romania – generate uncertainty, waste resources, and perpetuate poverty. They also feed other forms of violence and criminality and favor terrorism.

Cross-border organized crime is a developing global threat that can influence state policies and the activity of the democratic institutions. It is both an expression of the proliferation of negative phenomena that swell against the backdrop of globalization, and a direct consequence of the mismanagement of the profound political, economic, and social changes that occurred in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe during the dissolution of the communist regimes.

Against this backdrop, the region of strategic interest where Romania is located is a source, a transit area and a destination of criminal activities pertaining to: illegal trafficking in weapons, ammunition and explosives; drug trafficking; illegal migration and trafficking in human beings; trafficking in counterfeited products; money laundering activities; other aspects of economic-financial crimes. Given their nature and size, such activities are encouraged by local conflicts and, in turn, can favor terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or contribute to perpetuating separatist regimes.

An important role in cementing the stability and security of the fledgling democracies in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe is played by the

capability of the states and societies to promote an **effective management of the public affairs**, guarantee the responsible and effective exercise of power, in full compliance with the principles of democracy and human rights. The public expression of these exigencies is **good governance**, a field in which important headway has been made in Romania – and most of the states in this region - since the fall of the communist regimes.

However, the new democracies in this region are still being faced with a host of negative phenomena that impact on the quality of governance. In this context, **bad governance** undermines the citizens' confidence in public institutions and can pose a major threat to the security of the states. It is a consequence of the democratic deficit and institutional corruption, which manifests itself in political clientelism, the ineffectiveness of public administration, authoritarian tendencies and a lack of transparency and public responsibility, undermining the citizens' confidence in democracy. In Romania's area of strategic interest, ineffective governance often endangered the normal exercise of fundamental human rights and affected the fulfillment of some international obligations – as well as the obligations pertaining to safeguarding national identity – bringing about the risk of humanitarian crises with cross-border impact.

National security can also be jeopardized by a number of **serious phenomena** of geo-physical nature, climate change or similar, stemming from the environment or reflecting its degradation, including dangerous, harmful or irresponsible human activities. Amongst them the following are noteworthy: natural catastrophes or other serious geo-physical or weather-related phenomena (earthquakes, floods, global warming and other sudden and radical changes in the living conditions), gradual exhaustion of vital resources; industrial or environmental catastrophes inflicting heavy casualties; substantial disruption of socio-economic life and serious pollution of the environment on the national territory and adjacent regions; the increasing possibility of pandemics.

The risks and threats to national security can be aggravated by **vulnerabilities and shortcomings** amongst which the following phenomena cause concern or dangers: serious dependence on vital resources that are hard to

access; persisting negative demographic trends and massive migration; high social insecurity; chronic poverty and ever wider social gaps; the low percentage, fragmentation and insufficient involvement of the middle class in organizing the socio-economic life; the frailty of the civic spirit and solidarity; poorly developed and insufficiently protected infrastructure; the poor state and effectiveness of the healthcare system; organizational flaws, lack of resources and difficulties of the education system in adjusting to society's requirements; inadequate organization and precariousness of crisis management resources; insufficient commitment of civil society to debating and solving the security problems.

II. A SAFE AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE: THE PATHS TO CONSTRUCTION

The National Security Strategy is the political program for building a modern, prosperous Romania, with a distinct regional profile, fully integrated into the European and Euro-Atlantic community, firmly committed to promoting democracy and freedom, in a dynamic and complex world, with citizens living safely.

The aim of this strategy is to mobilize the efforts of the nation to speeding up the processes of modernization, integration and sustainable development able to guarantee the security and prosperity of the country in a safer and better world. The strategy seeks to firmly promote political, economic and social liberties, respect for human dignity, through the conscious and responsible involvement of the Romanian people and the active cooperation with the allied, partner and friendly nations.

In order to accomplish these **goals**, the national security strategy seeks to: identify and pro-actively counter risks and threats in a timely manner; prevent conflicts and effectively manage risks, crises and their consequences; actively contribute to championing democracy and building security and prosperity in countries neighboring Romania and in other areas of strategic interest; transform institutions and enhance national capabilities.

Internally, the achievement of these desiderata depends on: the full exercise of democratic rights and liberties; political stability accompanied by a profound reform of the political class; a more mature civic spirit and the active participation of civil society in the process of government; eradicating high level institutional corruption; ensuring inter-ethnic, inter-cultural, and inter-religious harmony; rapid modernization of critical infrastructure; maintaining the stability of the financial and banking system and capital market; protecting natural resources and the environment.

Within the international community, for Romania to reach the aforementioned goals is dependant on: consolidation of the institutions of the EU rebuilding and revitalizing trans-Atlantic cooperation; enhancing strategic partnerships; promoting democracy, peace and stability in the area of our strategic interest; actively supporting Romanian communities living in their historical area and the Romanians all over the world in order to preserve their national and cultural identity.

In making efforts to protect, defend and further its legitimate interests, Romania fully complies with the principles and norms of the international law and develops the dialogue and cooperation with the international organizations and the states interested in achieving international security. Romania is directly interested in playing an active and constructive role on the regional level, in being a bridge between civilizations, different economic and cultural interests for the benefit of stability and prosperity of the whole of Europe. While the major tendencies in international relations are spreading democracy and expanding institutionalized cooperation, for Romania it is essential to promote its national interests through peaceful political, diplomatic, economic, and cultural means. Nonetheless, in order to protect and defend her rightful interests, Romania has to be ready to use, together with its allies and partners, all the legal means – including force, as a last resort.

Promoting these values and interests, Romania aims to: transform the institutions with responsibilities in the area of national security and enhance their ability to take action; strengthen Romania's role within the North-Atlantic Alliance and European Union, while reinforcing the ability of our country to act as a dynamic vector of the policies regarding Euro-Atlantic security; a sustainable economic development and guaranteed access to vital resources; efficiently foil and counter international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and cross-border crime; take an active part, in the spirit of the international law and effective multilateralism, in peace-keeping operations and other actions aimed at solving international crises; re-shape Romania's energy security strategy in agreement with the European Union's energy policy.

The **principles** underpinning the national security strategy are: convergence of security and socio-economic development policy; systemic and comprehensive approach to the security policy; the focus of efforts on the citizens' safety and public security; consistency between the assessment of the security environment, the political options and the strategic action. In achieving its goals, the strategy ensures: realistic assessment of risks and threats; accurate identification of the fundamental values and interests that have to be promoted and protected; efficient setting of goals and ways to attain them; and proper ways to mobilize resources. Basically, to promote these values and interests and to achieve the proposed goals require the accomplishment of the following main targets:

- Active participation in building international security;
- Build Romania's new European and Euro-Atlantic identity;
- Achieve regional security in the context of a new political paradigm;
- Take the role of a dynamic vector of security in the Black Sea Area;
- Approach comprehensively and properly the homeland security issue;
- Good governance as an essential tool in the process of building national security;
- A competitive and highly-performing economy as a solid pillar of national security;
- Transform the national agencies with national security responsibilities;
- Develop and actively protect the strategic infrastructure.

These construction paths must be regarded as priorities for the Romanian state and its citizens, which propose both **operational measures** to achieve national security and **transforming the institutions,** in order to reinforce the national power and the competitive advantages of Romania.

III. THE PRIORITIES FOR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN BUILDING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY: PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, FIGHTING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND COUNTERING PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

The active commitment to achieving security by promoting democracy, fighting international terrorism and countering proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is a must for Romania's security policy. It is the fundamental condition for us to enjoy the benefits of globalization, seize the opportunities offered by the international environment and effectively counter major risks and threats. In an inter-dependant world, impacted by the process of globalization, promoting democracy is the only way to guarantee freedom and respect for human dignity, the safe existence of the Romanian state and the prosperity of the nation, the safety of the citizens and the preservation of national identity.

Its aim is to achieve democratic security, which is attainable by cooperation, accelerated modernization and integration and allowing proper participation in managing global affairs, an active role within the Euro-Atlantic community, and the focus of efforts on crucial goals, specializing in strategic roles and related functions, as well as the efficient use of resources.

Externally, it is achieved by the active participation – in the political, diplomatic, economic, intelligence, military and other fields – in furthering democracy, security and prosperity in the countries neighboring Romania and in other areas of strategic interest. This approach is based on the conviction that democracy is the most important shield and weapon against terrorism.

Within the current multilateral security framework, this strategy is based on the following pillars: membership of the North-Atlantic Alliance, integration in the European Union and strengthening the strategic partnerships. Romania also considers that a key role in ensuring international, zonal, and regional peace and security is played by the activity within the United Nations (UN), the Organization

for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the regional security structures, as well as by cooperation with other states and organizations that have significant importance in the security of various regions of the world.

As part of its efforts to champion democracy, Romania actively supports the reforming of the UN and the efforts by the international community to profoundly transform this organization, to meet the requirements of the 21st century. It also acts to render more effective the Council of Europe's endeavors to protect human rights and reinforce the rule of law in the European and Euro-Asian security space and strives for a more dynamic activity of the OSCE.

Cooperation has to aim mainly to adopt and apply pro-active, pre-emptive measures in order to counter effectively international terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The proposed measures will be chiefly political, diplomatic, economic and social in nature, but will also relate to civic action, and a doubling of proper, legitimate and efficient endeavors in the information area. The measures to counter such threats by force will always be of last resort, and conforming to the letter and spirit of international law and proportional to the nature, urgency and characteristics of the danger.

Defining a legitimate framework of pro-active engagement, able to pre-empt effectively and counter the new risks and threats, requires a complex combination of policies, legal tools and actions that need to be achieved through both doctrinal, regulatory and internal organizational efforts and through activities conducted within the framework of security structures and international cooperation. The efforts must seek to: properly define the risks and threats and actively monitor them; identify the ways of effectively combating them, regardless of how remote they are from the borders; secure borders in a modern way; adequately organize domestic security, the defence of the territory, the citizens and their rights and assets, the institutions and infrastructure against the new risks and threats. When setting the ways for conducting such actions in its position as a member of the European Union and the Euro-Atlantic Alliance, Romania will act using all legitimate methods, alongside the allied, partner and friendly states, in the spirit of the measures implemented by the international community.

Participation in the international efforts against terrorism, which manifests itself as the bearer of a totalitarian and absurd ideology, endangering the security of all the states in the world and human civilization as a whole, is an objective need for the responsible democracies and a proof of their efficiency. Neutrality in the global war against terrorism is not possible. No country can consider itself safe from this danger and no state can neglect the responsibilities incumbent on it as a member of the international community. Terrorism cannot be ignored or condoned. It can and must be defeated through international solidarity and collective action.

In order to combat terrorism, Romania will act within NATO, the European Union, and other international organizations that have the same goals, have the same values and promote the same interests, aiming to reach consensus or focus most of the efforts on joint actions. The actions, initiated by or in which Romania takes part, will seek primarily to promote and strengthen democracy, support the government, security and defence institutions in the fight against terrorism, participate in multilateral operations and provide complex assistance in the process of preventing and countering international terrorism, as well as post-conflict reconstruction. When a consensus is not possible, by virtue of its deep democratic beliefs, vital interests and responsible assessments on the nature, imminence and degree of the danger, Romania will take part in multinational operations that follow rational political decisions. These actions will be grounded on the constitutional provisions and the obligations ensuing from the cooperation agreements with the allied, partner and friendly nations, as the situation requires it and in compliance with international law.

At the European Union level, Romania's priorities will be to: implement the programs of building up the common justice and public order area; improve the mechanisms of cooperation between the intelligence services – especially by cooperating with the European counter-terrorism structures; lend assistance – under the solidarity clause – to any European Union member state, should it be the target or victim of a terrorist attack; improve radically border security; improve the mechanisms of cooperation between the police and other forces that contribute to the fight against terrorism, as well as between the bodies that

prevent and counter money-laundering activities; strengthen the air, maritime, and public transportation security.

Similarly, an important role is played by the efforts to improve cooperation in the field of justice, and also develop and interconnect European crisis management centers. Moreover, it is necessary to prepare – in accordance with the norms of the European Union – procedures and measures that will to guarantee: better emergency and victim assistance plans; to develop capabilities to manage the consequences of crises; to fight against attempts at terrorism financing; and to ensure the protection of the personal data.

The responsible and effective engagement in the international anti-terror campaign – including with military participation, when and where necessary – is a major landmark of Romania's security policy. Taken into consideration the fact that no agreement or compromise can be reached with the terrorists, the fight against terrorism needs to be waged while strictly observing the principles of democracy, international law, human dignity, fundamental human rights. The states and organizations involved must find a reasonable and effective balance between, on one hand, the protection of the democratic liberties and rights and, on the other hand, the necessary restrictions, constraints and punitive measures, including by guaranteeing responsible transparency and the right to information.

In this framework, the main directions of action of the national institutions with responsibilities in the field of counterterrorism will be: consolidate international cooperation, including by giving new impetus to the efforts aimed to comprehensively define terrorism and establish the regulations and standard operating procedures; achieve consensus between political forces, non-governmental organizations and the civil society on the need to promote the "zero tolerance" policy in the fight against terrorism; improve the national crisis management system; acquire better knowledge of the terrorist structures, methods and techniques. This requires setting a new counterterrorism strategy that should aim at: reviving the doctrines and regulations on the use of the forces; preventing, deterring, and pro-actively counteracting the terrorist danger through actions conducted together with the European Union, NATO and other partner states,

including those in terrorism-generating areas; harmonizing the efforts of politicians, diplomats, intelligence services, and armed forces engaged in counter-terrorism, particularly through better cooperation and operational coordination. This strategy, for legitimizing the participation of the national forces in the global war on terror, will bring about the convergence of the efforts, the population's active support and diminished vulnerabilities in crisis situations.

Combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is a major imperative of the efforts aimed to guarantee peace and security in the world, as the risk of irrational use of the developments of modern science and technology has increased. Although substantial headway has been made in reducing the strategic nuclear arsenal and important successes have been recorded in implementing international non-proliferation agreements, the danger that human civilization and life may be destroyed, by using such means, is still high. The risks that weapons of mass destruction will interconnect with international terrorism or that nuclear terrorism will be promoted by irresponsible regimes are also growing. These developments pose serious security problems to the citizens, communities, and institutions of democratic states.

In the area of foreign affairs, Romania firmly supports the efforts by the international, democratic community to prevent and combat this phenomenon and actively participates in shaping and implementing the policies and strategies of NATO and the European Union in this field. It also contributes to the efforts of the UN and other international organizations and strategic partners aimed at combating proliferation and the attempts of some countries to use the pretext of developing civil nuclear capabilities in order to produce weapons of mass destruction.

The risk that terrorist groups may purchase or produce weapons of mass destruction generates the need for improved counter-proliferation and non-proliferation policies, a better national oversight system in cooperation with the similar systems of NATO and EU member states, as well as a responsible participation in the international regimes and agreements in force. All the relevant institutions and agencies in this field, as well as the non-governmental organizations are called upon to give an impetus to their efforts to revamp, diversify and increase

the effectiveness of the enforcement structures and improve the strategies of counter-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in keeping with Romania's security interests and obligations ensuing from the treaties it is a signatory of.

Participation in the non-proliferation programs will be achieved by giving new impetus to the traditional actions (political, diplomatic, agreements on weapons and exports control) and by harmonizing the national mechanisms and processes with those of NATO, EU, UN and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The main national directions of action will be: increasing Romania's contribution to the international community's efforts to firmly observe international treaties in the field of disarmament and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction; reinforcing the regimes and arrangements on the control of exports and ban of illegal transfers of nuclear, bacteriological, chemical, and radiological materials; participating in international activities and actions aimed at blocking the illegal access of some states and organizations to weapons of mass destruction.

IV. BUILDING THE NEW EUROPEAN AND EURO-ATLANTIC IDENTITY

Building Romania's new European and Euro-Atlantic status is another priority on which the political, organizational and financial efforts of the public authorities and security institutions have to be focused.

The North-Atlantic Alliance – an organization based on the community of values and interests that constantly adjusts to new risks and threats – remains the main collective defence structure able to guarantee democratic security. The security guarantees that we enjoy today – an expression of the Euro-Atlantic solidarity – are the most solid in Romania's history. In the last decade, NATO proved its viability, its ability to change and enlarge in order to cope with new risks and threats. Cooperation with the member states, with the countries partaking in the PfP program and the regional cooperation initiatives is, for Romania, the guarantee of strengthened security in the Euro-Atlantic and adjacent areas and the chance to fairly share risks, costs and advantages. NATO membership not only brought Romania certainties in the field of its security, real defense guarantees, and access to the decision-making process on Euro-Atlantic security, but also corresponding obligations.

Taking into consideration these developments, Romania intensifies the efforts seeking to increase its participation in the EU common foreign, security and defense policy that – in spite of the difficulties inherent to such a complex process – aims to develop and consolidate trans-Atlantic cooperation. The main focus of this cooperation is to harmonize the contribution to strengthening international peace and security, countering terrorism and proliferation, solving the crisis situations in Europe, the Near East and other areas of the world.

As part of this geo-political zone, Romania is aware that the security of the Euro-Atlantic community is indivisible and the trans-Atlantic relationship is its

basis. Consequently, Romania actively supports the measures to rebuild and render this relationship more dynamic, the need for a profound change in the Alliance, the complementary functionalities in the field of security and defence of NATO and the European Union, as well as the necessity to avoid parallelisms, duplications and competition when it comes to capabilities, command structures, strategies and doctrines. Romania's cooperation with the member states of the two organizations will be conducted in keeping with the national values and interests harmonized with the set of values and interests that the two democratic organizations are furthering.

Romania's integration in NATO and EU triggers substantial changes in its status and strategic identity. From this viewpoint, the dynamics of the development of Romania's European and Euro-Atlantic identity, as well as that pertaining to the shaping of a profile matching its geo-strategic potential, will be structurally re-designed and promoted at a high pace. Membership involves the gradual configuration of a specific and active role for Romania within the two organizations and providing the necessary resources to fulfill it.

In this respect, Romania will act to enhance the political and strategic coordination of the security endeavors of the two organizations, on the basis of the common values and interests, while maintaining the fundamental role of the Alliance in the collective defence and Euro-Atlantic security. Our endeavours will also be focused on increasing the EU's contribution to accomplishing the common goals, particularly in the field of security in Europe, Euro-Asia, and the Middle East and on the African continent. Therefore, while preserving a major interest in strengthening the Alliance's collective defense capabilities and mechanisms and building new capabilities that should help increase its contribution to global peace and security, Romania will support NATO's reinforced political role as a forum for consultations and an increase in the EU's security and defence dimension, as the best way to approach the global strategy of counteracting the new risks and threats.

At the same time, Romania will take an active part in the decision-making process and the conceptual developments within the Alliance and keep to her commitments to provide the organization with forces and participate in crisis

management operations under NATO authority, in the activities aimed at countering terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and also in the processes of restoring peace and promoting democracy.

Romania will support the development of a common foreign and security policy and the European security and defence policy, by increasing its contribution to the military capabilities and to those meant to combat terrorism and manage the civil emergencies in the Union's area. Romania will boost its contribution to promoting democracy, peace, security, and prosperity within the policy of good neighborliness and in the operations of regional crisis management and safeguarding energy and trade flows. A key role will be played by a firm application of the principles and a strict pursuance of the goals of the European Neighbourhood Policy. They have to become the main ways to contribute more to guaranteeing a stable and safe environment in the eastern, south-eastern and Black Sea Region, by conducting projects to develop the cross-border areas of major interest for national security.

Our country will simultaneously pay close attention and earmark adequate resources for the effective protection of its borders, starting from the idea that it is, on the one hand, a major responsibility of national security and, on the other hand, the fulfillment of an important obligation towards the NATO and the EU. In fulfilling its obligations to secure its borders, Romania aims to increase the degree of security of its citizens and of those of Europe, as well as transforming its borders into an active bridge of cooperation and communication with the new democracies in the eastern vicinity of the European Union.

V. ACCOMPLISHING REGIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY BASED ON A NEW POLITICAL PARADIGM

In its capacity as a state located in a strategically important area, Romania seeks to play a substantial role in the process designed to define and implement the NATO and EU stabilization, co-operation and security assistance policies in central, eastern and south-eastern Europe.

In the beginning of the previous decade, Romania stood between two major hotbeds of instability and conflicts – former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia. The lack of anticipatory strategies of the international community for these regions – strategies able to prevent crimes against peace and humanity – caused long-lasting violence in the ex-Yugoslav area and deprived the efforts aiming at conflicts resolution of lack of coherence and perspective. Thanks to the Euro-Atlantic community intervention and following the peace-enforcement and peace-keeping measures taken in the last years, the intensity of the conflicts affecting the peace and security in the Balkans has significantly dropped. At the same time, as result of the Romania's and Bulgaria's accession to NATO and EU, the Balkan region has become safer and more stabile

Due to its geographic proximity and regional connections, and due to common values shared by Balkan countries, Romania's primary interest in this field concerns the region's democratization, economic development, stabilization and European integration, while increasing its own contribution and the assuming a more important and pro-active role as a regional security factor. In this context, Romania's strategic efforts will be conducted toward settling ongoing security issues in the Western Balkans and Romania's eastern vicinity so that the two areas could gradually accelerate the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

Regional co-operation in the security field, mirrored by the existence of a significant number of organizations and initiatives, offers the perfect opportunity for improving existing joint mechanisms designed for assessing the strategic environment, to identify a common approach to future risks and adequate crisis management tools. Synchronizing the efforts of south-eastern European states, aligning their actions to the NATO and EU efforts, enhancing their regional security responsibilities and increasing their contribution to settling conflicts – are major requirements of the new regional security paradigm.

In fact, solutions to regional problems should come primarily from within the region. We deem the time has come for south-eastern European states to assume direct responsibility for settling the problems their region is facing. This goal requires a modern and mature civic conscience, firm promotion of democratic principles, respect for human dignity, freedom and identity of all people, preservation of border stability and the cessation of propaganda favoring ethnic or religious violence and separatism.

The fundamental goal of these actions is to ensure a democratic, just and equal security, and to focus the efforts designed to enhance people's prosperity on planning the EU integration. Romania's regional objectives aim to consolidate the European perspectives of these states, to remove terrorist, organized crime and illegal trafficking threats, and to establish a long-lasting stability based on such standards as democracy, prosperity and observance of fundamental human rights and liberties.

In order to attain these goals, national foreign and security policy will be firmly based on international law. In this respect, Romania will actively support the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions and the relevant Council of Europe and OSCE decisions and recommendations. At the same time, acting together with the other countries from this region, Romania will contribute effectively to implementing the NATO and EU political, economic and security programs. In this domain, the main priority aims at breaking the deadlock in finding solutions to the existing tensions, crises and conflicts, as well as at developing democratic institutions designed to generate security and prosperity,

while observing the fundamental human rights, enhancing confidence, developing regional cooperation, and promoting multiculturalism.

The legitimate efforts of Romanian society to improve the legal status, living conditions and social treatment of Romanian communities in neighboring countries and other EU states will also be approached from this modern viewpoint in keeping with international regulations, European standards, and commitments assumed in the bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements.

VI. ROMANIA – A DYNAMIC VECTOR OF SECURITY AND PROSPERITY IN THE BLACK SEA REGION

As a bordering state of the European Union and a NATO member, Romania is highly interested in neighboring stable, democratic and prosperous states, because only these countries can preserve peace and good relations among them, build pluralist regional communities and have a predictable behavior in the security field. **Building a climate of security and prosperity in the Black Sea area is a distinct direction of action of this strategy.**

As a dynamic vector of democratic security, economic stability and prosperity, Romania has a fundamental strategic interest in seeing the wider Black Sea area stable, democratic and prosperous, tightly connected to the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Subordinated to this interest, the strategic goal of our country is to give an impetus to the European and Euro-Atlantic involvement in the region.

Lying at the crossroads of three areas of paramount importance – Europe, the Middle East and Central Asia – the Black Sea region is a main transit area for energy resources and, at the same time, an important place of asymmetric risks and hotbed of conflict, impacting greatly on the Euro-Atlantic security. Far from being considered a mere buffer or peripheral area, the Black Sea Region is a **connector of strategic importance**, situated on the corridor linking the Euro-Atlantic community (as a security provider and energy consumer) with the Middle East area – the Caspian region – Central Asia (as an energy provider and security consumer). From the energy point of view, the Black Sea region is the main transit area and, to a great extent, a source of energy that is consumed in Europe, while the forecasts speak of a substantial increase in its importance in the following decades.

From the security challenges standpoint, the region accurately mirrors the new risks and threats and is a potentially dangerous in which to test them. Among those worth mentioning are: international terrorism; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and delivery means; local conflicts; illegal trafficking in weapons, ammunition and explosives; drug-trafficking; illegal migration and trafficking in human beings; ineffective government affected by endemic corruption and organized crime, characterized by a democratic deficit and the inability to properly exercise the prerogatives conferred to the sovereign countries.

The Black Sea region is Europe's richest and, probably, one of the densest parts in the world in terms of separatist conflicts, tense situations and disputes. The separatist conflicts in eastern Republic of Moldova (the Dniester region), in the east and north of Georgia (Abkhazia and South Ossetia), in the west of Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh), in the south of the Russian Federation (Chechnya and other republics or autonomous regions in Northern Caucasus), other smaller and less intense separatist movements, as well as tensions related to disputes over territory or borders, pose serious threats to the security of the region and run the danger that violent confrontations reignite.

Cross-border crime is one of the hallmarks of the region. Criminal activities of this nature, conducted on land and by sea, are connected with international terrorist groups and favored by separatist regimes and the illegal presence of foreign troops on the territory of the new democracies. Cross-border crime might seriously impact on the governance of some states in the region, bring about instability and anarchy, favor violence and create the danger of interruption to vital energy flows.

Countering these risks and threats is an essential responsibility of the states neighboring the Black Sea. These countries have to be, first and foremost, aware of the existence of these perils and are obliged to develop internal, foreign and security policies able to neutralize the negative phenomena inside their own borders and to **refrain from supporting, in any way, separatist movements, extremist or terrorist organizations, and criminal activities.** The countries bordering the Black Sea must actively and effectively cooperate, promote

confidence-building measures in the region and fulfill, in good faith, their obligations to reduce their conventional weapons and withdraw the troops that are illegally stationed on the territory of other states.

At the same time, starting from the indivisibility of security in the Euro-Atlantic area, in agreement with the requirements of globalization, and from the need of an equal treatment for all the entities having interests in the area – NATO and the European Union included – Romania considers that the Black Sea region is a geo-political area open to the international democratic community, in which the allied, partner and friendly states can be fully involved. In this sense, Romania actively champions the need for **a Euro-Atlantic strategy for the Black Sea region**, taking into account the experience of a concerted NATO-EU approach in the process of stabilizing South-East Europe and the need of a balance which favors the democratic rights of the states, prevents the worsening of risks and threats and effectively contributes to solving conflicts and tensions. Expanding the European Union's responsibilities in stabilizing and rebuilding the region, strengthening the presence and contribution of the North-Atlantic Alliance and the Partnership for Peace Program in promoting democracy, peace and security, as well as the presence of some American operational capabilities in the area are factors that can contribute to substantiating such a strategy.

A priority for Romania is to harmonize and render more efficient the institutional processes of cooperation under development, to prevent competition or hegemonic temptations and establish a new framework of dialogue and cooperation in which all the interested democratic states and organizations should take part. In this sense, Romania is firmly acting to organize the **Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Cooperation** – an initiative chiefly aimed at championing democracy and economic development, energy security, confidence building, consolidating stability, peace, and security. For this purpose, Romania will cooperate closely with the states neighboring the Black Sea – Bulgaria, Georgia, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Moldova, Turkey, and Ukraine –, with the other states located in the close proximity, as well as with other member states of the Euro-Atlantic community. In parallel, Romania will actively support the

process of building a Euro-Region of development in this area, to encourage cooperation with the EU member states, to encourage the development of energy and transport infrastructure, foster trade, investments and improvement of the market economy mechanisms.

As regards the issue of resolving **frozen conflicts**, Romania will use the new window of opportunity in order to keep it on the political agenda of the main security actors, will promote active political and diplomatic strategies and become more effectively involved in making the mechanisms to peacefully solve these conflicts work. The ineffectiveness of some of the mechanisms used to solve conflicts thus far requires that they be revisited and the states and organizations that can bring a positive contribution become more actively engaged. As part of such a strategy, it is necessary that a set of unitary principles, regulations and lines of conduct be established, in compliance with the interests of the people, of the communities and states in the area, with the security interests of the Euro-Atlantic community and the provisions of the international law, that should be able to respond properly to the peculiarities of each and every conflict. The set of principles, regulations and lines of conduct may include obligations such as: not recognize separatist regimes and not encourage them in any way; firmly counter terrorism and other terrorist-related activities; withdraw the foreign troops illegally stationed on the territory of various enclaves; under international supervision dismantle warehouses of weapons, ammunition and explosives,; and dismantle the paramilitary groups founded by the illegal regimes on the territory of the separatist regions.

Romania seeks to engage directly in peacefully solving the conflicts and disputes in her strategic proximity, through both national and multilateral actions, aiming at fostering democracy, support the efforts of rapprochement to the European and Euro-Atlantic bodies and of building security and prosperity. Romania's interest is that the enlargement of the two organizations should not lead to new lines of separation.

By virtue of the special relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova and in agreement with the responsibilities that naturally result from the

common historical, linguistic and cultural background, with the “one nation – two states” principle, and the spirit of the European policy of good neighborliness, we shall pay special heed to the cooperation with the Republic of Moldova. Romania is politically and morally duty-bound to support this country in its modernization, democratization and European integration, to do everything it can to advocate – politically, economically and diplomatically – the principle of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as to boost its contribution to expanding the area of security and prosperity. We shall continue to carefully monitor the developments of the separatist conflict in the eastern region of the Republic of Moldova, to contribute actively to identifying viable solutions – based on the democratization and demilitarization of the region, the withdrawal of the troops and illegally stationed weapons – and to support a decisive involvement of the European Union and the United States in the peace process.

The **economic dimension** will play a key role in the process of Black Sea cooperation. Romania will promote a pragmatic foreign and economic cooperation policy using the tools provided by the bilateral and multilateral formats in order to take part in the economic projects that have a substantial impact on consolidating democracy, security and stability. The efforts will be mostly aimed at developing the energy and transport corridors able to link, from the economic and commercial point of view, the Black Sea region with the states of the Euro-Atlantic community and allow a better use of the potential offered by the sea and river ports in the region, while also protecting the environment and restoring the multi-fold functionality of the Danube – Black Sea eco-system.

A goal will also be to develop programs to increase the national and regional capabilities to monitor and swiftly intervene in order to prevent and counter the security risks coming from the maritime area. Support will also be lent to the initiatives aiming to enhance the regional capability to respond to crises and thwart asymmetric threats, as well as the initiatives to improve the legal framework necessary to build confidence.

VII. HOMELAND SECURITY: A SYSTEMIC AND COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

The emergence of international risks and threats of a new type, the complex evolution in the internal environment, and also the substantial change in Romania's security status on the international arena requires a new, integrating, systemic, and comprehensive approach to the goals of domestic security. The absence of a predictable danger of a possible external attack means that, in the current circumstances and in a predictable future, the task of protecting values and liberties, human life and people's assets can no longer be conceived as territorial defence typical of the Cold War period. At the same time, the experience of the large-scale terrorist attacks in the United States, in other countries – in Europe, Asia and Africa - as well as sizeable natural disasters highlight the need for an adequate strategy to protect and defend human life, freedom and dignity, as well as the assets and activities on national territory, in extremely dangerous conditions.

Homeland security is the aggregate of activities meant to protect, guard and defend the inhabitants, communities of people, infrastructure and assets against military or non-military asymmetric threats, as well as from threats caused by geo-physical, weather-related or other natural factors that jeopardize the life, liberties, assets and activities of the people and communities, the infrastructure and socio-economic activities, as well as other values, at a level of intensity and scope that is much different from the usual state of affairs. Domestic security refers to the citizens' safety and public security, the security of borders and transportation, the protection of critical infrastructure and the vital resources supply systems. It also includes social security, law enforcement and fight against organized crime, security of the financial-banking activities, IT and communication systems, protection against disasters and environment security.

The task of providing homeland security is an interdependent one. It involves responsibilities of a great number of organizations. These tasks are chiefly incumbent on: the public administration and security and public order structures, as well as those bodies in charge of civil protection, border security and coast guard; the intelligence, counter-intelligence and security organizations; the bodies in charge of preventing money-laundering and controlling strategic imports and exports. In special situations, some activities are conducted by the military structures. Important responsibilities also belong to the tax control and customs structures, the environmental watch bodies and the specialized bodies in charge of the health of the population and animals, as well as those dealing with the consumer protection. Another set of tasks is incumbent on the industrial and services operators that conduct vital or dangerous activities or involve a great number of people or major social interests.

Given the higher possibility of terrorist attacks, involving even radio-active, chemical or bacteriological means, or by sabotage, causing damage or dangerous functional changes, as well as the higher risk of industrial or natural disasters, the task of guaranteeing domestic security is becoming ever more complex. The need to identify problems in a professional manner, set the conceptual framework of organization and action, as well as adjust to the exigencies of the European Union, trigger an increased interest, from the national security viewpoint, in such a vast, complex and vulnerable field, directly impacting on people's lives.

A proactive and effective counteracting of **terrorism** is the top priority of homeland security. In this respect, taken into consideration its responsibility to protect its citizens and its commitments assumed during the integration process, the Romanian state must mobilize all necessary resources to attain the following goals: early identification, prevention, countering and thwarting the terrorist activities and actions on the national territory; protection of the institutions, Romanian citizens and foreigners staying in Romania from terrorist attacks; forbidding the use of the territory of Romania in order to mastermind terrorist attacks against other states.

From the domestic security perspective, counterterrorism mainly aims to enhance the protection of the citizens, communities and groups of people, state institutions and civic organizations, economic and transport infrastructure, infrastructure that guarantees vital social functions, the diplomatic missions, the military facilities and activities, as well as other facilities of national interest. The actions aimed at attaining these goals are conducted on the whole national territory and must be regarded as both an issue of public security and citizen safety that has to be solved through police and law enforcement means, and a problem that has to be worked out through the intelligence, counterintelligence, and security service activity or by military means.

Counter-proliferation measures have also to be adequately addressed. They seek to improve both the legal and organizational framework, and the activity of the intelligence community, border police, public order institutions and other governmental agencies in order to prevent terrorist groups or other criminal organizations or hostile states from acquiring, transporting or transferring components, substances, know-how or technologies specific to developing weapons of mass destruction, delivery means, and radio-active or dual-use materials.

Enhancing the citizens' safety is also a high priority for the justice and home affairs sector. To achieve this target, improving the effectiveness of the strategies aiming to **prevent and combat crime** is of particular importance. Their main goal is to reduce the risk, frequency and consequences of highly dangerous crimes – murder, robbery, physical attacks, deprivation of freedom, and drug consumption. These endeavors must be focused on: the protection of the local communities; the special protection of schools and other institutions and places mainly attended by children and youngsters; adequate protection measures for those living in an environment posing highly criminal risks; effective mechanisms of communication and partnership between the police and representatives of the local communities; informing the population about crime prevention; better cooperation between the gendarmerie and police; concrete and firm actions meant to change, as soon as feasible, Romania's status as an originating, transit, and destination country for trafficking in drugs, weapons and human beings.

Special efforts are also necessary to counter activities jeopardizing the safety in the area of transportation, communication, energy and vital resources supply networks, so that the security of each individual, community and the business environment should meet the European Union standards in this field.

Improving the mechanism of the crisis management is another major priority of the Romania's homeland security. In the globalization era, the line between the internal and external risks, affecting the security of the citizens, communities or state is becoming ever less relevant and the possible effects of some catastrophic threats ever more difficult to foresee. Reducing the influence of risks on security, through an active posture in conflict prevention and crisis management, will be a constant focus of Romania's security policy. The dynamics of the recent tensions and crises has highlighted the need for a more comprehensive approach, using the whole range of political, diplomatic, military and civilian tools to manage them, so that the effective countering of risks and threats should become a reality. Internally, the danger that some risks, such as the separatist groups, anarchic movements and other violent actions or environmental risks (catastrophic floods, earthquakes, nuclear accidents, etc.) might turn into major threats to national security is possible and must be addressed in a systematic and anticipative manner.

In order to take efficient action against the whole range of crises, Romania needs to implement an integrated national system of crisis management that should bring together, in a modern and functional network, all the national structures – civil and military, from the central and local administration – in charge of security and defence. It will also be necessary to coordinate effectively the human, material, financial and other resources used to prevent the dangers, contain negative effects, eliminate the consequences, and restore normality. This system will seek to provide the best level of operational and functional planning and training for all the relevant decision-making and executing bodies in order to manage the whole range of crises.

At the same time, as it is mission-driven, the system will be able to respond in a timely and adequately to various crisis situations, ensuring the autonomy of the constituent subsystems, so that they should become operational and

able to react according to the nature and intensity of the crisis. At the national level, there will be a harmonization of laws and procedures with NATO's and the EU's system for managing security crises and tensions in the field of public order and civil emergencies. In order to act effectively within both organizations, Romania will contribute to elaborating and implementing the new NATO's crisis response system and the provisions of the agreement with the EU regarding the framework of participation in crisis management operations.

The development of the crisis management mechanisms, norms, procedures, structures, forces, and means will mainly seek to: solve the crises and deal with the consequences of crises generated by terrorist attacks; limit the effects, eliminate the consequences and restore the normal activities in case of an attack with weapons of mass destruction or radio-active, chemical or biological accidents; prevent and remove the effects of floods and other consequences caused by major weather changes; prevent or diminish the effects and restore the socio-economic systems in case of a major earthquake; restore normal activity in case of a cut in the vital flows of energy, food, medicine, communications, etc.; remove the consequences of industrial accidents; prevent and counteract the effects of pandemic diseases.

VIII. LANDMARKS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE: PROFESSIONAL AND EFFICIENT PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION; DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE; FIGHTING CORRUPTION

Good governance is currently an essential condition for security and prosperity, the instrument that pushes democracy from the conceptual and theoretical level to real life. It is the cumulative measurement unit through which society validates the result of the democratic elections, tests the realism of the programs and ability of the political forces to deliver on their promises while strictly observing democratic standards. Good governance assesses the success of the efforts aimed at combating insecurity, inequity and poverty and sets the necessary corrective actions.

The main factors involved in this process are the **state** and **civil society**, with the rule of law being a salient feature of good governance. The state bodies that take part in achieving good democratic governance are the legislative, executive, and judiciary branches and the local authorities. The main non-state actors are: the media; the political parties; the unions, the employers and other professional organizations; boards of companies; non-governmental organizations and other forms in which the civil society takes part.

Past experiences show that good governance has sometimes been endangered by the activities of groups of illegitimate interests or non-democratic forces that – by taking advantage of the vulnerabilities of the system – have tried to influence the exercise of power for their own benefit or change the democratic power through violent or anarchic means. Given their amplitude, some of these actions have negatively impacted on the achievement of some vital strategic goals of Romania, especially those related to the integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic political, economic and security structures.

The effectiveness of the public administration is a pre-condition for the security and prosperity of the citizens of Romania. The process of preparedness to join the European Union have highlighted the fact that both the real effectiveness

and the public image of the administration can be affected by a number of factors, among which: corruption; excessive bureaucracy; low level of expertise in some areas of crucial importance; unrealistic programs; insufficient judicial authority; insufficient capacity to absorb European funds. **Removing or correcting these aspects is a priority of the current administration.**

Today, Romania has stronger democratic institutions. They are undergoing a dynamic process of consolidation and improvement, able to guarantee a normal politic, social and economic life. A functional market economy, reliable and responsible institutions able to serve the citizens, an independent justice system, and law enforcement structures working properly are the major landmarks of the state's stability and its democratic development; all of them are based on the values defining Romania's status as a member of the European and Euro-Atlantic community. In these circumstances, any major failure of the administration to provide good governance can be regarded as a possible risk to national security. The risks to the coherent, efficient, legal and fully democratic functioning of the public administration's strategic components that had been identified in recent years are topics that should be consistently reviewed and acted upon.

In the recent years, **the public administration's quality and ability to act** triggered some concerns during the preparations for accession. The exigencies of accession and providing the administrative and institutional compatibility with the EU system entail a number of actions aimed at: strengthening the institutions and the authority of the public administration; the full transparency of and strict observance of the law by the public administration; the effective implementation of policies regarding decentralization and local autonomy.

A democratic and effective public administration involves **a radical improvement of the institutional capability at the central and local levels.** That will be possible only by adequately using the administrative levers – namely by transparency, fairness and responsibility in fulfilling its public function and spending public money – can one guarantee the real improvement of the citizens' living standards. For this purpose, public administration institutions must be competent, flexible, and adaptable to the new requirements and act in the

interests of the citizen. In the process of European integration, they have to be able to put into practice the regional development policies and provide the integral, efficient and legal use of the structural and assistance funds.

As major pillars of good governance, **strengthening the independence and efficiency of the justice system and increasing people's confidence in justice** are yet another top priority, meant to guarantee the European standards of this activity. The directions of action will enhance the positive developments achieved hitherto, as well as the results confirmed by our European partners in the stage reports on the readiness to join the EU. It is, however, understandable that justice, as a public service, needs to go through the whole program of transformation in order to become efficient and reliable. As part of this national endeavor, state institutions are called upon to provide the necessary legal, organizational, human, and material conditions so that the task of radically transforming the justice system and its contribution to attaining the strategic goal of a genuine integration becomes possible.

Achieving these desiderata is the top priority and major responsibility of the relevant bodies that govern the activity of justice, as Romania's integration in the European Union depends, to a great extent, on the way the Romanian justice system will prove its independence, un-biased character, professionalism, ability to take action according to the rule of law and its **real effectiveness in the fight against serious corruption**. Thus far, the efforts of the factors partaking in attaining the national goals have mainly resulted in reducing and containing corruption, setting up the adequate mechanisms of action, initiating shifts in the people's mindset and a process of change in the public perception.

Currently, in order to fight corruption, it is compulsory that the institutions should function, cooperate and be integrated in a system in which the vital information should circulate professionally, legally and in a timely manner, responsibilities should be clear and not overlap, and tasks should be accomplished under the law, promptly and with maximum efficiency.

IX. INCREASING THE COMPETITIVENESS AND HIGH-PERFORMING CHARACTER OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

A strong, highly-performing, competitive, and macro-stable economy, dynamic from the viewpoint of the pace of the growth and functionality, is a key pillar for creating the conditions of the economic and social security is in the interest of the people in strengthening the democratic institutions and a necessary basis for promoting initiatives aimed at the nation's prosperity and security.

Enhancing and improving the activity of the market institutions on the basis of the principles of free competition and social solidarity is a priority. This is the basis for healthy economic development, able to guarantee Romania's effective integration into the European Union, meet the exigencies of globalization, normal access to resources and international markets, and cope with the major economic ebbs and flows. The sustainable economic development able to attract strategic investments, generate jobs, and produce resources for social protection is the only way to achieve a significant narrowing of the gap between Romania and the European average. It will also contribute to eliminating the phenomenon of extreme poverty, to diminish substantially the number of people with incomes below the European poverty threshold and achieving a social balance able to stimulate the growth and importance of the middle class. Building, for the first time in the history of Romania, a complex and effective social security system, able to encourage work, high performance, the capital and solidarity of the partakers in the socio-economic processes will represent an essential contribution to strengthen national security.

Rapid economic development – a pre-requisite of welfare and security – depends decisively on **the nation's level of competitiveness**. Romania can become genuinely competitive only if we have a well-educated, knowledge-oriented society, able to capitalize, to the maximum, upon its resources of intelligence and creativity, proceeding from the conviction that well-trained and flexible labour force is an essential condition for the success of European integration and of seizing the opportunities offered by globalization. This requires guaranteeing the access of all

citizens, including those in the rural environment and disadvantaged areas, to good quality education during the whole span of their lives and needs significant changes in the field of **education, research and development**.

For this purpose the transformation of, **the education system** must be accelerated and directed towards the new realities: Romania's accession to the European Union, the opportunities of the European labour market and the need to make the Romanian education compatible with the European systems of education and professional training. It has to give an impetus to basic education, guarantee the swift modernization of public education and the strengthening of private education institutions, the reform of early education, and the enhancement of the institutional capability to design and manage projects, as well as support, in an integrated manner, education, research and innovation. The increase in Romania's competitiveness on the global markets will also be backed with policies and programs facilitating the access of companies to the results of **research-development**, which involves substantial organizational endeavours, as well as substantial financial commitments. A rise in the earmarked funds must come together with the judicious setting of the strategic priorities.

Speeding up economic modernization and maintaining a fast pace of sustainable development also requires that **the population's health should be radically improved** and **a new social balance should be attained** through a solidarity system able to guarantee the economic, social and health security of all the participants in the process.

A key role in guaranteeing national security is played by achieving **energy security** through **the operational adjustment and optimization of the structure of primary energy resource consumption and a rise in the energy efficiency**. For this reason, it will be a priority to take action: reduce dependency on the supplies from unstable regions or states that use energy as a lever of political pressure; speed up programs to produce nuclear energy; increase the production of hydro-energy and energy produced from coal using modern technologies. An essential role is also played by energy produced from renewable or alternative sources and by the enhancement of the energy efficiency in the industrial and

home environment. The measures in this field will be adjusted to the European Union's strategies regarding energy security.

A special direction of action, with major implications on attaining the goals of national security, is the restructuring**, development and modernization of the defence industry**. Being a key constituent of national economy, defence industry needs to overcome the standstill and provisional state and develop swiftly to become effective and inter-operable with the European defence industry, in compliance with the national security requirements. Efforts in this regard will be mainly focused on: privatizing, revamping, modernizing and technologically streamlining the defence industrial capacity, through cooperation with companies within the European Union and NATO allies; connecting the relevant Romanian companies to the activities of the European Defense Agency; planning the products in accordance with the real needs of the Romanian security institutions.

X. MODERNIZING INSTITUTIONS WITH RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE AREA OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Romania has undergone profound changes in this field. The main purpose of this phase was to reach the parameters that are specific to the rule of law and integration into the North-Atlantic Alliance. Thus, in the past 15 years, the focus was on the reform and reconstruction of the security structures, on their consolidation and democratic oversight.

In the new security environment, the imperative of their democratic and professional developments needs a new approach – a systemic, deep-going and comprehensive one, as all these institutions need to work under a professional and efficient coordination. Consequently, the reform of the security sector requires the profound **transformation** of the institutions, quality of leadership, a better national coordination between security and defence agencies and their functional integration into the European Union and NATO security systems. Efforts will be made to strengthen and professionalize the civil oversight of the forces with responsibilities in the field of national security and will focus on the structures, regulations, relations, missions, training, and resources of the system, in full compliance with the principles of democracy, effectiveness, transparency, and lack of political partisanship.

The main directions of action are to: profoundly transform the mechanisms of planning, implementing, controlling and evaluation of foreign, security and defence policy; increase the level of expertise of the personnel exercising the democratic oversight of the institutions that have responsibilities in the field of national security; create a modern, efficient and participative system for designing, planning and assessing security policy; establish the basis for a new legal framework regarding the transformation of the institutions with tasks in this domain, in accordance with the requirements of the new security environment; draw up and implement a new concept concerning the role of defence policy within security policy in order to cope

with the new challenges; build the national intelligence community in order to increase efficiency, enhance responsibility and use resources more effectively in combating the new risks and threats to national security; improve communication and transform the education system, by improving the training programs and developing research on national security objectives.

Given the complexity of these goals, actions will be taken to make changes in the following areas: **foreign policy; defence; intelligence, counter-intelligence, and security**.

A dynamic and creative foreign policy: diplomacy is an indispensable defence instrument in dealing with threats to national security and an important part of the mechanism of planning and implementing the security policy. Romania's NATO and EU membership makes its foreign policy to be oriented towards turning to good account its new status to the benefit of the country and regional security.

Foreign policy provides the harmony between the goals of national security and Romania's international perception; foreign policy plays the role of an interface between the domestic efforts and foreign environment. It contributes to attaining the goals of national security through an active, creative and pragmatic diplomacy, oriented towards: finding political solutions to conflicts, particularly in the Romania's strategic proximity; promoting good neighborliness and regional cooperation; furthering national interests within the multilateral organizations that Romania is part of; supporting strategic partnerships and alliances; turning to good account the NATO and EU policies in order to develop the bilateral relations with Middle East, Africa, Asia and the Americas; improve the dynamic of relations with the Romanians all over the world, preserving their national and cultural identity; strengthening international laws in an effective multilateral framework.

Defence Transformation: in the last decade, the military has undergone a wide-ranging reform, modernization and revamping process with a view to establishing reliable and effective defence capabilities that would be able to respond to the dramatic changes in the international environment and ensure that the requirements entailed by NATO and European Union integration were met.

NATO membership involves setting up the necessary capabilities for the Romanian Armed Forces to take part in Alliance missions – first and foremost those pertaining to collective defence, playing an important role in the development of concepts that are specific to the new strategic context, as well as speeding up the transformation of the military system and developing new capabilities. The shift from the territorial defence specific concepts to collective defence and countering asymmetric risks in the global perspective of the military commitments, calls for the **transformation of the Romanian Armed Forces** whilst at the same, fulfill the tasks incumbent upon them.

Romania aims to create a modern and professional Army that has the proper number of troops and appropriate equipment, with mobile and multifunctional expeditionary forces that are swiftly deployable, flexible and effective. They have to be able to provide a reliable defence of the national territory, to fulfill its commitments to collective defence, and to take part in international operations, in keeping with the priorities and requirements of its foreign policy. Improving the joint and multinational operations capabilities and increasing the effectiveness of generating forces and use of resources are the goals of this process.

The transformation of the Military needs to take into consideration the new strategic orientations of the process that the Alliance is undergoing and be complementary to it. Thus, we shall meet the requirements of establishing military capabilities that would allow the conduct of operations in the Alliance's area of responsibility and beyond, carrying out the whole range of possible missions, and ensuring consensus in decision-making.

Particular heed will be paid to the changes in the area of defence planning and especially to the harmonization of national planning procedures with the standard procedures of NATO, European Union and strategic partners. The process of force planning will be improved, new principles and operational concepts will be adopted and a new military strategy will be drafted.

The priorities of transforming the domain of intelligence, counter-intelligence and security: the activities of the intelligence, counter-intelligence and security services are a key component of the national security system for preventing, and

giving early warning of risks and threats to the values and fundamental interests to Romania, as well as providing adequate protection against other dangers. Intelligence guarantees avoiding being taken by surprise and provides the decision-making power and speed of reaction, as well as the capability for pro-active action in order to mount new types of missions. The priorities will be the fight against international terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other cross-border risks, the effective monitoring of the local conflicts that can jeopardize the security of Romania, its allies and partners or fundamental human rights, countering cross-border crime, corruption and other illegal activities which endanger Romania's national security.

The ability of the intelligence services to address these challenges stems from the specificity of their own activities, as they are the first structures expected to foresee the changes and tendencies of the security environment.

Setting up the intelligence community is a clear objective of this phase and a major opportunity for the development of the intelligence, counter-intelligence and security activity on the national level, triggered by the evolution of the security environment. It is aimed at increasing the functional coherence and effectiveness, through structural harmonization, timely coordination, elimination of overlap and avoiding gaps in specific activities.

The national intelligence community provides for the functioning, within an institutionalized partnership, of the intelligence, counter-intelligence and security services that preserve their specific responsibilities and missions, while also guaranteeing that these services coordinate their activity better at the strategic level. It allows that its specific missions to be accomplished while its constituent elements function independently and, nationally, some capabilities are set up and may be jointly used. It also allows inter-operability and the use of opportunities opened up by the information technology era. The national intelligence community also guarantees that joint national programs may be accomplished in order to enhance the effectiveness of collecting, processing and jointly using intelligence in accordance with the states democratic and lawful needs.

XI. DEVELOPING THE CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND ENHANCING ITS PROTECTION

A key way to reach the main goals of this strategy is launching a wide-ranging process of developing and modernizing the critical infrastructure, as well as guaranteeing the protection of such an infrastructure, of the vital elements that prepares our society, economy and nation to be able to cope with the risks threatening national security. Action will be taken in order to modernize and adjust the legislation and institutions, in accordance with the real dynamics of the process, the exigencies imposed by the new risks and threats and the requirements resulting from the cooperation needs with NATO, the European Union and the strategic partnerships.

Romania's strategic options have in view rapidly developing specialized and efficient infrastructure networks, compatible with the European and Euro-Atlantic ones, able to intensify sustainable development and fast modernization of the economy and also foster national security. To this end, in cooperation and partnership, wide-scale programs of national investment will be launched.

The main fields of interest concern: ***the transport infrastructure, especially the building of new highways, modernization of railway infrastructure, and traffic management; energy and communications infrastructure; hydrographic management and protection against floods; the revamping of the military bases system.***

The main course of action aiming to adjusting and modernizing the infrastructure will be to: rehabilitate, modernize, and develop the transport infrastructure in order to improve the quality of the services, render passenger and goods transport more efficient and adjust it to the European transport system; develop, secure and build – on alternative routes – new energy supply networks, in agreement with the European Union's strategic projects and Romania's

interests in the Black Sea area; promote new technologies and develop the integrated IT system in the field of security, in conformity with the European standards; adapt the national system of aeronautical and port security to the new types of threats; modernize the specific military infrastructure and also prepare and modernize the capabilities offered within NATO, the European Union and the strategic partnerships; identify high risk areas, draw up maps with probable risks and consolidate the infrastructure for the defence of the population from natural calamities, disasters, and environmental accidents; diminish the risk of nuclear incidents or accidents and provide the security of the nuclear infrastructure.

It is important to draw up a unified strategy of protection, guarding and defence of the critical infrastructure, able to provide continuity, coherence, methodological and procedural unity, as well as real anti-terrorist effectiveness. The security of the critical infrastructure will seek to both counter risks caused by hostile actions and those produced by accidents or forces of nature and must also provide the measures for restoring normal activities in case of the destruction or damage to elements of infrastructure.

XII. RESOURCES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

As a full member of the NATO and European Union, entering its new phase, Romania reasserts, through the national security strategy, its role as an active, substantial and predictable contributor to international and regional security, as a country with its own strategic profile within NATO and the EU. Through an integrating approach to the strategic course of action and the efforts to achieve the proposed goals, this national project can become a reality, resulting in a modern, safer and more prosperous country and an active and worthy member of the European and Euro-Atlantic community. The perspective of this strategy and its targets will be the conceptual ground for drafting the other documents regarding the functioning of the institutions that comprise the national security sector, as well as the fundamental elements for setting the programs to earmark resources.

The main resource for achieving this program is the **political will** of the forces that the people have granted the responsibility of governance and their connection with the nation, with those who have anchored their hopes in this program. The political responsibility towards the people and their security is, at the same time, an immense moral responsibility.

Attaining the national security strategy's goals requires a major endeavor to become aware of this responsibility and of the need to strengthen the political basis of governance; it also involves the need to turn to the people's judgment and to its conscious commitment in achieving the program. The experience of more than a decade and a half of building democracy and prosperity sets the degree of our society's maturity; the membership of the Euro-Atlantic community is a security guarantee. The belief that the program is realistic and can be accomplished is also based on the significant results that were recorded after the

December 1989 Revolution, the superior institutional capacity attained in the functioning of Romanian democracy and in the favorable legal framework achieved in the last decade.

Equally important, **the human resources** that the society offers at present and the **economic-financial resources** created by the Romanian economy have reached the critical mass and are able to guarantee that the goals will be achieved. In agreement with its constitutional obligations, with the imperatives of democracy and requirements of security, the Supreme Council of National Defence will oversee the strategic goals, the process of their accomplishment and the strategies' implementation by the institutions within the national security system.

The Romanian citizen is, however, the main beneficiary of the security policy and, therefore, has the right and duty to actively contribute to its ongoing construction. When it comes to security, the citizen, the lawful holder of the fundamental rights and liberties on which the democratic state is based, has – under the Constitution – inalienable rights, as well as consciously assumed obligations. Consequently, citizens must develop a participative and responsible behavior, with the **civic education** being the best way to harmonize these rights and obligations that ultimately give the real substance of genuine and profound civic patriotism.

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