

## PARADIGM OF STRATEGIC SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

Andreea Emilia DUȚĂ<sup>1</sup>

---

### ABSTRACT:

STRATEGIC SECURITY ENVIRONMENT PARADIGM SEEMS TO HAVE ACQUIRED FEATURES AND CONTENT THAT TWO DECADES AGO WERE AT LEAST MINIMIZED IF NOT IGNORED IN BUILDING STRATEGIC VISIONS. THIS STUDY INTENDS TO SIGNAL MAJOR CHANGES THAT CAN INFLUENCE THEORIES/ PARADIGMS THAT WILL BE BUILT ON THE FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRATIC INTERNATIONALISM.

SUCH PHENOMENA AS MULTIPOLARISM, THE STRUGGLE FOR RESOURCES AND POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF SOME LEADERS ARE ENGINES GENERATING TOTAL REORIENTATION OF TRADITIONAL POLICIES OF SOME COUNTRIES THAT WILL TRIGGER DRAMATIC CHANGES IN THE STRATEGIC SECURITY ENVIRONMENT.

---

**KEY WORDS:** THEORIES AND PARADIGMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, STRATEGIC SECURITY ENVIRONMENT, BIPOLARISM AND MULTIPOLARISM

### INTRODUCTION

With a pleiad of international, regional and national institutions, responsible in defining and influencing the security environment, safety, peace, security and global stability seem to be in good hands, capable of managing any crisis or conflict that may arise in the world. The harsh reality of world history, especially during the last twenty years, has shown, besides the lack of proactive nature of the above-mentioned institutions, their inability to manage the crisis that the international society is facing. The most cited

---

<sup>1</sup> Goethe German Colegium, Bucharest.

excuse of the institutions responsible for the international security is the continuous change and transformation of the security environment, far beyond what was previously forecast.<sup>2</sup>

### **THE SENSE OF SECURITY CONCEPT**

The classic sense of security concept is the lack of existential threat from a Member State to another. For the last two decades the literature of this field speaks about the new meaning of this concept: societal security<sup>3</sup> - social, ethnic, and religious or of "cultural minorities" - the individual one<sup>4</sup> - and the human security from all over the world - global or worldwide<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, it is considered that paying attention only to physical and political dimensions of a territorial security entity should be exceeded due to the increasing of interdependence of global environmental reality. Several areas that affect people's lives in terms of security are considered to be the main issues- the amount of economic resources, stability, institutions and ensuring adequate standard of living - economic security<sup>6</sup>. As an observation, the non-military dimensions of security have become the focus of security studies as theoretical fundamentals for a new paradigm of international relations: security through cooperation.

In recent decades, there have been significant changes in the prospects for understanding and approaching security threats and for the needs of crisis and conflict management.<sup>7</sup> The traditional view of security referred to threats outside the state, promoting national strategies for maximizing the state's power and its military capabilities

---

<sup>2</sup> "In the post-Cold War era, European and North American states as well as international organizations such as the EU and NATO had to deal with a more and more complex and uncertain security environment, where strategic surprises have become more the norm. The need to rethink strategic goals, adjust strategies, and reorganize policies and bureaucracies has increased. As a result, the number and importance of strategic security reviews have increased at both the national and international levels." See, Heather A. Conley, *The Definition of External Security and its Implementation Model, in EU-U.S. Security Strategies comparative scenarios and recommendations, the Pilot Project on Transatlantic Methods for Handling Global Challenges*, Bruxelles, (2012), 5.

<sup>3</sup> See, Waever, Ole, Buzan, Barry, Kelstrup, Morton and Lemaitre, Peirre (1993), *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, London Pinter.

<sup>4</sup> See, Subrke, Astri (1999), "Human security and the Interest of states", *Security Dialogue*, 30 (3) 265-276.

<sup>5</sup> See, Klare, Michael T. and Thomas Daniel C. (1994), *World security – Challenges for a New Century*, New York. St. Martin's Press.

<sup>6</sup> See, Keohane, Robert O. and Nye Joseph S., Jr. (1998), "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age", *Foreign Affairs*, 77 (5), 81-84.

<sup>7</sup> In 2003, the first European Security Strategy is edited, and in 2008 the first improvements to it; NATO Strategic Concept of 1967 remained unchanged for 24 years, but after the Cold War it has been revised several times in 1991, 1999 and 2010. See also, NATO 2020: Assured Security; Dynamic Engagement and revised after talks with non-NATO partners A Secure Europe in a Better World. See Hasenclever, Andres, Mayer, Peter and Ruttberger, Volker (1997), *Theories of International Regimes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

to deal with external aggression. After the Cold War, the international community's attention shifted from superpower rivalries that erupted into civil war in almost every continent, outside the borders, becoming regional problems. As a result, the security paradigm approach has changed.

It is mandatory to have an organization of a framework, generally accepted in definition of cooperative security, dependent theories/paradigms of international relations, some distinctions being relevant, and thus each distinction being a starting point for partial analysis:

- security cooperation: cooperation between allies and cooperation between rivals, cooperation within an alliance in peacetime and /or wartime;
- post-war security arrangements: objectives and collective security;
- perspectives on security cooperation: realities (relative gains issues, alliances, realistic relative optimism and the disappearance of relative gains), neo-institutionalism (state structures and their existence as constraining factors for cooperation, the shadows of future, the relativity of relative gains, the perseverance of cooperating regimes), liberalism (democratic peace, the reasons why the behavior of democracies is crucial with respect to the security cooperation, the cooperation with non-democracies, antinomies of liberal theory) constructivism (malleability of security issues, the initiative of a change in the normative structure, identity and imposed internal decision process, cultures and subcultures with respect to security), postmodernism (security, inclusion/exclusion). In conclusion, each current methodology and theoretical perspective regarding cooperative security does not provide a satisfying vision, thus a multi-valence of approaches being necessary.<sup>8</sup>

The current strategic documents use a metamorphosed vocabulary, because of the political-military strategic thinking adapted to the changing realities. First, there is a widening of the national security aim to combine external and internal security strategies, with the prerequisite reality that traditional barriers between external and internal security have been changed. In the new strategic vocabulary terms such as "September 11, 2001",

---

<sup>8</sup> See, Hasenclever, Andres, Mayer, Peter and Ruttberger, Volker (1997), *Theories of International Regimes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"crisis", "global war on terror", "proactive", "resilience"<sup>9</sup>, and "generalized interpretation" have been introduced.<sup>10</sup>

A special attention to conflict management at the expense of foreign direct threat to national security raises interest. Global security is redefined in local and regional terms and the list of responsibilities, necessary to ensure security is being extended with new terms, such as the protection of civilians against their own governments and the support given to population of those countries where there are fights between different military groups.

We may consider that security can be divided, not by local-regional criteria, but rather as affecting the values and the fundamental interests of the entire community of nations. During the Cold War, most strategic concepts were classified documents; today's strategic documents are considered more valuable as they educate the public opinion with respect to current and future threats to national security and present developments for governments and international organizations in terms of managing future challenges.

Building a culture of security policy by promoting common values and strategic approaches are major targets for the international community.

The security environment has been constantly analyzed, defined and characterized, seminars and conferences largely dealing with the topic, at all levels (international, regional, national, and strategic, operational and tactical), most of which completed in articles or thematic books, nicely arranged and with logical conclusions, possibly with suggestions for approach of the current security environment features. But what lacks when dealing with current security environment is the practical result of the attempts of influencing it in a positive way, and that is something that I consider to be nothing more than the result of a superficial analysis of the development trends of the international security environment or the lack of sufficient motivation to avoid crisis whose victims are, generally, the poor populations –that have no military involvement- of some socially and economically underdeveloped societies<sup>11</sup>.

---

<sup>9</sup> The term "resilience" meaning to "*adapt to changing conditions and prepare for, withstand, and rapidly recover from disruption,*" originated in the UK. This term is used in the strategic documents of other states, e.g. France, USA, etc. See Buzan, Barry (1991), *People States and Fear An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post Cold War Era*, 2nd (ed New York Harvester Wheatsheaf, Lynne Rienner and Boulder), 23.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the European use of the term "comprehensive approach" *to characterize use of all available strategic tools has found its way into recent U.S. security documents* as a "whole of government" approach.

<sup>11</sup> Any strategic analysis treats certain areas of interest. Typically, a strategic analysis elaborates descriptive documents, explanatory for future actions and justifications for budgetary decisions. A strategy should be directed to the future in order to identify trends or future threats, to suggest adjustments to policies and

The beginning of the millennium suggests new sets of security objectives defined by non-classical criteria: the perception and the specificity determined by circumstances. We could include here: the political significance of a government, the threats addressed to society, to community or to its lifestyle, the ratio majority-minority, political language, etc.

The outbreak of civil wars in many parts of the world have revealed the human cost of war and triggered the development of the human security concept reiterated by the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly with respect to the responsibility to protect. Security threats cannot be reduced only to military means because, such being the case we would alter the dimensions and the global security requirements.

In an attempt to avoid phrases from various publications, that approach and analyze the security environment, I will limit this material to a brief analysis of those current international security environment issues that lately have been less discussed and analyzed such as: the political re-polarization in terms of economic policy, the economic collapse- as the source of the collapse of societies- and the political ambitions of some leaders, as engines generating complete reorientation of traditional policies of some countries<sup>12</sup>.

The crucial dependence of the external policies of the majority of states, not only on their economic power, but also on the sources of raw materials-especially energy- on which the respective states overwhelmingly depend, has been noted. Right after the end of the Cold War, most states-under the influence of the USSR- decided to shift policy with the precise aim of being part of those democratic states, in which the capitalist economic model ruled, but after nearly 20 years, the aspirations of those states have been bogged down by the cruel realities of the undeclared war for resources. The next step was the political re-polarization, on economic grounds, that is vital for the survival or the development of some countries.

---

budgets. From this perspective, it justifies the increasing value of contributions of advisers and consultants who do not belong to governmental structures. See Buzan, Barry, Waever, Ole and de Wilde, Jaap, *Security A New Framework for Analysis*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997), 12.

<sup>12</sup> It is to be noted that *"The NATO SC, like the European Security Strategy, is a non-legally binding document adopted by consensus within an international framework. Although it is too early to reasonably assess the impact of the Strategic Concept approved on November, 2010, we have attempted to measure the effect of the 1999 strategic review. Traditionally, the Strategic Concept has played some role by providing political guidance for future decisions with the caveat that as far as security and defense are concerned. Therefore, the SC has a limited impact on the development and operations of NATO and an even more limited effect on member states. Because NATO and the EU remain strictly multilateral forums where decision-making is very different and distinct from unilateral national processes, it is extremely difficult to measure the "net effect" of the strategic review as well as its success. "See, Cha, Victor D (2010), 'Globalization and the Study of International Security', Journal of Peace Research, 37 (3) 391-403.*

The most eloquent example is that of the former states of the Soviet Union, the vast majority of them overwhelmingly depending (some of them totally) on the energy resources of Russia. Belarus was the first state that declared itself as an extension of Russia, eager to restore the former Soviet Union. This did not come as a surprise for anyone, given the regime imposed and backed by Russia, and tacitly accepted by the population. The surprises came from the part of Ukraine, a NATO partner and a self-declared country on its way towards the integration into NATO, which subsequently gave up reiterating the desire of integration<sup>13</sup>. The same change also appeared in the case of Moldova, through a doubtful but necessary partnership with Russia. Georgia, the only former Soviet State that defied Moscow by declaring its intention of integration into NATO, has suffered the consequences of independence<sup>14</sup>. The short but determined war raged by Russia has shown that what happens inside the former Soviet Member States is still important and must be coordinated, or even enforced by Moscow<sup>15</sup>.

Russia's relationship with the European Union has become rather strange in the recent years. If the merger of a German company (made possible with the involvement of a former German Chancellor, who had just retired from political life) with Gazprom a few years ago, for the construction of a gas pipeline to transit through the Baltic Sea, wondered the European Community, the realities come no longer as surprises. The EU has become dependent on the Russian energy resources, aspect that Russia had known for a long time, but it had not resorted to these resources into diplomacy. Nowadays, the Russian foreign policy in relation with the EU bases on crude oil and natural gas. Although the EU still experiences this dependence and seeks solutions for energy independence from Russia, these solutions are just some long-term projects, and others are just dreams<sup>16</sup>. The result is reciprocal attempts, polite from the part of the European Union, due to the lack of other

---

<sup>13</sup> The explanation is that of the conclusion of dependence on Russian energy resources, that was noticed following the cessation of gas during the winter of 2008-2009. View, [http://www.caucaz.com/home\\_eng/](http://www.caucaz.com/home_eng/)

<sup>14</sup> Except for the Baltic States, which have immediately and unconditionally seceded from the USSR, taking as a safety measure, the immediate integration in the opposite orientation of political and moral values to the one they had just escaped from.

<sup>15</sup> Georgia's advantage was the energy independence from Russia, due to the main pipeline that runs through Georgia, bringing resources from Azerbaijan to Turkey. The year 2009 started with a series of agreements and joint activities of Russia with the former Soviet Union countries, rich in resources, all of them in the area of the Caspian Sea; Moscow disliked their advantage so much that, through immense pressure, even Azerbaijan accepted the delivery of a part of the resources extracted through the Russian infrastructure. See [http://www.caucaz.com/home\\_eng/breve\\_contenu.php?id=314](http://www.caucaz.com/home_eng/breve_contenu.php?id=314).

<sup>16</sup> such as wind plants in the Sahara, possible suppliers of electricity for EU.

alternatives and because of some daring projects, thus upsetting Moscow<sup>17</sup>. The states of the east of the Caspian Sea did so, some time ago, inviting U.S.A. to retreat temporarily the deployed troops<sup>18</sup>.

The same re-polarization or at least the political shift, on economic grounds, is also present on the African continent. Countries such as Sudan, Angola and Chad, which collapsed after the Cold War, are desperately clinging to the main beneficiaries of the natural resources they possess, which has led not only to internal crises (the situation of all previously- mentioned states), but also to the radical change of foreign policy<sup>19</sup>.

The so-called real estate crisis that began in 2008 in the U.S. radically changed the international security environment. The global attention turned to the attempt to eliminate the effects of the economic crisis, realizing the truth of the statements that the Secretary of the U.S. Mint John Connally made in 1971, namely that "the dollar is our currency, but it is your problem"<sup>20</sup>. The shock wave of the U.S. economic crisis rapidly expanded across the planet, affecting all kinds of societies, both those of the third world, but also the developed ones. The governments of the majority of states have had to face economic crisis that still triggers the risk of getting into a crisis of societies<sup>21</sup>.

---

<sup>17</sup> The competition between the major projects Nabucco and South Stream, that the European Union really favored in order to gain some independence from Russian's resources, seems to become a game without stake, totally depending on the subsequent orientation of Azerbaijan, as it was confirmed by the withdrawal of the afore-mentioned state from the NATO exercise in Georgia in May 2009. This country had to choose either the Western promises that are not yet translated into reality, and the fraternal request of Russia to demonstrate which side of the barricade it chooses. Azerbaijan did what Moldova as well as Armenia did, that is gave priority to economic realities. See [http://www.caucaz.com/home\\_eng/](http://www.caucaz.com/home_eng/); View, Edward w. Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union* (Lanham: Rowman Littlefield Publishers, Inc., &, 2003), pp. 11-12. Bruno Coppieters, 'The Roots of the Conflict ', in Jonathan Cohen (ed.), *A Question of sovereignty: The Georgia-Abkhazia peace process*, (London: Conciliation Resources), 1999. <http://www.c-r.org/accord/geor-ab/accord7/roots.shtml>, Liana Kvarchelia, "Georgia-Abkhazia Conflict: View from Abkhazia" in *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Winter 1998), 18.

<sup>18</sup> on the grounds of military training assistance or facilitation of the support of war in Afghanistan.

<sup>19</sup> In the case of Angola and Sudan, the influx of capital from China boosted the support of dictatorial regimes that enjoy the volatilization of the value of the extracted crude oil, while the majority of people suffer from hunger, as it is the case for Angola and Sudan, or even threatened with extermination, the case of Sudan, where Russian weapons end up in the hands of militias supported by the Government in the genocide against the traditional African population.

<sup>20</sup> Benn Steil, *Lessons of the Financial Crisis*, the Council Special Report No. 45, 24.

<sup>21</sup> The population, dissatisfied because of the reduction of social rights revolted, leading to the change of several governments in Europe, and at the same time to the waking up to life of some Socialist parties, for a long time without fervent followers. The general and continuous dissatisfaction is not without substance, as citizens of the developed states, which not care at all cared for the next day, found themselves not only without social rights and tax breaks, but also without job. Lack of jobs, the rising of unemployment over the alarming rate of 10%, the impossibility of paying real estate or consumer loans committed earlier, led to an

The governments of the majority of states have adopted as emergency measures the decreasing of social programs, of the control of loans granted by banks, and the stopping of wage increase. As these measures were not considered enough, some governments have moved on to lower wages, foreign loans, and even to the nationalization of institutions considered essential for the control of crisis development or for its eradication<sup>22</sup>.

The national consensus, specific to state-nations of Europe, disappeared, prompting waves of criticism towards any initiative of getting out of the crisis. Governments like that of Italy are issuing laws that openly contravene with the idea of the union they are part of, as it is the case of the new law that controls illegal immigration, with harsh measures even on their own citizens if they do not act unanimously in a xenophobic way.

The economic crisis triggers the whole world on the verge of a general society crisis<sup>23</sup>.

Moreover, today's security environment seems to be affected by the political ambitions of certain political leaders- heads of state- some of them determined to change the antagonistic character of the relationships among different societies (on various grounds), some frustrated by the reduced dimension of international acceptance of their personality, and other exploiters of various leitmotifs that might bring electoral votes in the future.

U.S. President Barack Obama, who seems to have changed from the ground the American political tradition, falls into the first category<sup>24</sup>.

---

increasing of violence of street demonstrations, and to other effects that can generate zero tolerance that the developed societies could set up with great effort and in very many years. So, the ground was prepared for the emergence of xenophobia and its escalation, because all perception was that immigrants steal jobs from locals. Jayshree Bajoria, *The Dangers of 'Deglobalization'*, Daily Analysis, March 16, 2009,

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/18768/dangers\\_of\\_degloabalization.html?breadcrumb=/thinktank/greenberg/briefs](http://www.cfr.org/publication/18768/dangers_of_degloabalization.html?breadcrumb=/thinktank/greenberg/briefs). A. D. Smith, *Naționalism și modernism. Un studiu critic al teoriilor recente cu privire la națiune și naționalism*, traducere din limba engleză de Diana Stanciu, (Editura Epigraf, Chișinău, 2002), 153-177.

<sup>22</sup>Thus, unconceivable situations arose, that is the nationalization of some financial and banking corporations. The nationalization movement began in Europe, crossed the Atlantic, immediately hatching inside the society, society declared totally against this form of ownership and economic influence of the state. The U.S.A. tried to motivate their actions as being rather semantic in nature, than nationalization in the previously known meaning. Thus, the difficult economic situations that governments has to deal with, prioritized the reorientation to internal problems, leading to a decrease of the interest of the world for the problems of the crisis of some societies at the lower limit of social evolution. See also, Lee Hudson Teslik, *The Meaning of Nationalization*, Robert Cooper, *Destrămarea națiunilor. Ordine și haos în secolul XXI*, traducere de Sebastian Huluban, (Editura Univers Enciclopedic, București, 2007), 29-30.

<sup>23</sup> The capitalist American democracy is increasingly being criticized, as adulators of the long- gone regimes appear (neo-Nazi, socialist-communist).



Those conflicting state generators that the world really takes seriously, such as Hugo Chavez<sup>25</sup>, or Kim Jong-il of North Korea<sup>26</sup>, fall into the second category.

In 2001, Russia and China set up the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), along with a few countries in Central Asia, rich in energy resources: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan<sup>27</sup>.

Then, Russia counter-attacked the U.S.A. based on BRIC cooperation. The name belongs to Goldman Sachs, and refers to the cooperation of the four countries that will dominate the world as world economic and military superpowers, starting from 2030: Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC)<sup>28</sup>.

In May 2003, President Putin stated -for the first time- in a message upon the situation of the Russian Federation that "the modernization of the Russian nuclear deterrence force requires the creation of new types of nuclear weapons, superior to the American ones, in order to ensure the security of Russia for a long period."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Although initially the change that the American society needed was not very detailed, after the first four months at the helm of the United States, the most powerful president in the world opened a few channels that seemed impassable to the regular American. Beginning with the rights and facilities given to Cuban immigrants, he moved to the smoothing of the dialogue with the nation, which was until recently on the list of those with whom it was not worth to talk to. The same attitude of conciliation was manifested towards some South-American countries, which not only have declared but have also brought prejudices to the United States in recent years, as it is the case of Venezuela and Colombia. Even the controversial Ahmadinejad of Iran seems to have been impressed by Obama's approach to U.S.A.-Iran relations, which has temporarily led to a decrease of his incriminating statements.

<sup>25</sup> A mass manipulative person, capable to associate with anyone just for the pleasure of the opposition towards the United States. From the exacerbated nationalism, his statements passed to the verbal attack towards the leaders of U.S. and of Spain.

<sup>26</sup> The risk is that of the nuclear power that North Korea wants to have, especially the risks triggered by the desire to demonstrate that his nation can become and must be recognized as a world power.

<sup>27</sup> Members of the SCO, India and Iran were assigned as observers. The SCO projects generally deal with the energy and the military. Thus, Russia meets the condition of the father of geopolitics - Sir Halford Mackinder - practically occupying the area, rich in energy resources and with spectacular demographics, of the Eurasian Heartland ". Mackinder stated "whoever is to dominate Eurasia will dominate the world in the future." See, P. Duță, *Considerații privind sistemul instituțiilor de securitate*, Colecția Politică și Apărare Națională nr.33, (Editura Tehno Media, Sibiu, 2009), 47.

<sup>28</sup> This thesis has been advanced by Jim O'Neill, a global economics expert with Goldman Sachs. Those four states will totalize 40% of the world's population and a gross domestic product of 15.435 trillion dollars. The report "Dreaming with BRIC", elaborated in 2004 by Goldman Sachs, acknowledges that Russia, China, India and Brazil have changed their economic system, embraced global capitalism and are acting in this direction, competing in the long term with the United States and the G-8. See, P. Duță, *Considerații privind sistemul instituțiilor de securitate*, Colecția Politică și Apărare Națională nr.33, Editura Tehno Media, Sibiu, 2009, p.23,

<sup>29</sup> Russia develops constantly, what was his trump in the postwar era: the strategic nuclear force. Even during the economic chaos of the Yeltsin administration, Russia has not ceased to produce hi-tech weapons. As a

In April 2006, Russia has successfully tested a new type of missile, K65M-K, ultra-secret, able to penetrate the anti-American ballistics system.<sup>30</sup> In December 2006, Putin declared for the Russian journalists that the deployment of the new type of ballistic missile TOPOL-M is crucial to the security of Russia. Russia has already announced that in the next ten years, they will be building 63 new silos for the TOPOL-M system.<sup>31</sup>

In December 2007 Sergei Ivanov, the Minister of Defense, announced that Russia possesses 4279 nuclear missiles (to those 5966 of the USA) and 927 nuclear means of transport (to those 1255 of the USA).<sup>32</sup>

That is the reason why, in its turn, Washington is concerned with Moscow military investments. The new Cold War becomes, day -by – day/with every single day, more intense; and the specter of a nuclear confrontation, with incalculable effects, seems even closer. Once again, the arming race becomes a present issue, just like the period when the two military blocks were in the infamous arming race, generating what is unambiguously today right before our eyes: The New Cold War.

The fact that the NATO umbrella is approaching to the Russian borders does not seem at all an issue for Russia. The signs of "nervousness" are rather formal. Russia knows very well that in time, its energy resources -taking into account its own low consumption- will silence the widening of NATO's umbrella. As for the expansion of the Russian capital

---

result, Russia stopped the destruction of nuclear missiles SS-18 MIRV, and launched the program START II. This program takes into account the reconfiguration of nuclear missiles SS-18 MIRV capable of hitting targets within 11,000 km. At the same time, Russia has redeveloped the SS-24M1 nuclear missiles. See also, Donald H. Rumsfeld, "Transforming the Military", *Foreign Affairs*, New York: May/June 2002. Vol.81, Iss. 3.  
<sup>30</sup> New Russian rocket, with an unprecedented cruise speed, able to "break" without a problem the US missile shield, can be launched from the ground or at sea, it is hypersonic and can change its flight's trail from the radar. This launching was already the sixth within the testing operations of a system developed for the purpose of a possible annihilation of the American missile defense. After this test, the Russian military's optimism has increased considerably. According to some sources from the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, the obtained results allow to state that soon it will run the re-equipment of the regular units of the forces equipped with strategic missiles, land-based missile systems TOPOL. See also, Donald H. Rumsfeld, "Transforming the Military", *Foreign Affairs*, New York: May/June 2002. Vol.81, Iss. 3.

<sup>31</sup> In 2006, Russia tested the nuclear rocket Bulava ICBM, the naval version of TOPOL-M. The rocket Bulava ICBM was launched from a Russian nuclear submarine of Typhoon class, in the White Sea, and hit a target in the Kamchatka Peninsula at a distance of 1000 km. Bulava missiles will be installed starting this year at the board of nuclear submarines from the Borey class. See Lavrov, Serguey. 2011. Speech at the 47th Munich Security Conference, February 4-6. <http://www.securityconference.de/Lavrov-Sergey-V.696.0.html?&L=1>.

<sup>32</sup> No other country in the world can rival with such nuclear capabilities. The artisan of the Russian arsenal modernization is the Minister of Defense, no other than an old comrade of former Russian President Putin. Immediately after the Munich Conference, President Vladimir Putin said that he has appointed Sergei Ivanov-his old friend of KGB/FSB as a supervisor for the arms industry of Russia. See Lavrov, Serguey. 2011. *Speech at the 47th Munich Security Conference*, February 4-6. <http://www.securityconference.de/Lavrov-Sergey-V.696.0.html?&L=1>.

in Europe, it says a lot. According to some opinions, there is no Cold War; or, at most, it is only in the economic field.<sup>33</sup>

Under President Putin, Russia has recovered enormously from the economic chaos that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. After renationalizing the energy supply industry by creating some companies controlled by the state, Moscow began to develop its economic influence, in order to promote the interests of Russian foreign policy.

Over the last six years the global conflict for oil and natural gas has triggered – according to the American strategists- a New Cold War. The Russian President's speech in Munich reminds of that of the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in Fulton (USA) in 1946, when he used for the first time the phrase “The Iron Curtain in Europe.”<sup>34</sup>

However, the struggle for energy resources, which now spreads over all the continents, has led to the creation of a powerful alliance, alliance that has always been the nightmare of the Western strategists, from Sir Halford Mackinder, the British "father" of geopolitics, to Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger.

In 2005, Russia has exceeded the U.S.A., becoming the biggest oil producer in the world. Its oil income now stands at 679 million dollars a day. Hungary, Poland, Germany and United Kingdom are among the European countries dependent on Russian oil. Russia is also the biggest producer of natural gas in the world, this status "allowing President Putin to treat Bush, his American counterpart, as his equal, having no reserves when it comes to condemn the U.S. policy."<sup>35</sup>

In 2006, Moscow and Beijing decided to increase their economic and military cooperation, with the neighbors from Eurasia.<sup>36</sup> Iran also joined this alliance, created on the structure of SCO. India was, in its turn, invited in the SCO. The Russian President's visit to New Delhi, aimed at the consolidation of the "Russia-India -China Axis ".But Mackinder, Brzezinski and Kissinger have constantly tried to promote international relations so as to make it impossible for an alliance among the countries that are rich in energy resources,

---

<sup>33</sup> View, Medvedev, Dmitry. 2008. Medvedev Sets Out Five Foreign Policy Principles in the TV Interview. TV news, 31 August; BBC Monitoring, translated in the Johnson's Russia List, JRL 2008-163, 2 September.

<sup>34</sup> See, Medvedev, Dmitry. 2008. Medvedev Sets Out Five Foreign Policy Principles in the TV Interview. TV news, 31 August; BBC Monitoring, translated in Johnson's Russia List, JRL 2008-163, 2 September.

<sup>35</sup> "A country, USA, has surpassed national borders in all possible ways," said Putin during the 43<sup>rd</sup> Transatlantic Conference on security policy in Munich in February 2007. See, Hiro, Dilip, *Puterile in ascensiune vs.Statele Unite*, Revista Lumea, Global Politics and World Events, No 11/2007, 37.

<sup>36</sup> It is about the countries rich in energy but- weak from the military point of view - of euro-Asian space: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, supported by Russia and China. See, Brzezinsky, Zbigniew, *Marea dilema, a domina sau a conduce*, (Editura Scripta, Bucharest, 2005), 43.

but weak on a military level. "The Alliance of the powerless" -as it was called by the American strategists- now relies on Russia's protection, which fundamentally changes the problem. The European Union -being in an economic dispute with the U.S.A - is, obviously, ready to any kind of cooperation with the SCO and "The Russia-China-India Axis,"; and at the same time Japan could adopt a similar position.<sup>37</sup>

Paradoxically, the Bush Administration's energy geopolitics was, in fact, the one that created the SCO, the one that has made Russia realize its formidable global asset, which can be assumed by making the most of its energy potential, by which it can finance its military projects and establish "new dependences" (as in the case of the European Union, China and Japan, just because of its oil and natural gas resources).

The worldwide energy confrontation between Russia and the United States has a special weight in the New Cold War. It is actually one of the trigger factors. President Putin has known how to make out of Russia's enormous resources of oil and natural gas some genuine strategic weapons.

In May 2007, Russia gives a finishing stroke to the United States, when Gazprom concludes a 20-year contract with Austria.<sup>38</sup> The 20-year agreement between Russia and Austria is, first of all, a defeat for the U.S. energy policy, which wanted a direct transfer-avoiding Russia- of resources from Central Asia.<sup>39</sup> The project involves the exploitation of a huge natural gas deposit, near Salzburg, the second in Central Europe, amounting to 260 million euros.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru - led by left-wing radicals leaders- have established contacts with SCO, which is foreshadowed as a global alliance, supported by Russia. See, Neil Buckley and Daniel Dombey, "Putin in threat on European arms treaty", The Financial Times Limited, April 27, 2007.

<sup>38</sup> Why is this contract a big blow in the Russia-U.S.' energy war? In "Eurasian Resource Wars", an American analyst summed up: "Western energy policies collapsed in May 2007, when Russia defeated, clearly, all projects that aimed at bringing oil and gas from Central Asia direct to Europe."

<sup>39</sup> According to M.K. Bhadrakumar (" A Pipeline into the Heart of Europe", "Asia Time"): "Austria has concluded a long-term contract with Gazprom, which will provide 80 percent of the Austria's gas ratio, set at 9 billion cubic meters, over a period of 20 years."

<sup>40</sup> President Putin stated: "the role of Austria is crucial in the transit of Russian gas to France, Italy and Germany in Western Europe; in Hungary in Central Europe; and to Slovenia and Croatia in the Balkans." Thus, he strengthens the dominant role of Russia in the Western energy market. Short after Gazprom president Dmitri Medvedev, the artisan of this veritable "energy strike ", signed the contract for 20 years with Austria, Putin suggested him as a candidate and as a successor for Russia's Presidency . He is the first technocrat, president of a transnational conglomerate as Gazprom, which accedes to the presidency of Russia. A world premiere, that we should reflect more, and not a mere hazard that is invoked by many people with conviction, but unfortunately with the same committed and unequivocally simplicity, stated over and over again. See, *Russian deputy foreign minister says position on NATO'S expansion "calmly and negative"*, Bbc Monitoring Former Soviet Union, London: April 3, 2004

Not only the occupation of Iraq but also the military campaign in Afghanistan has "shriveled" the credibility of the United States. The scandals of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay prisons have seriously defiled the moral image ... " <sup>41</sup> The stars of the international politics have been Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. Iran's attempts to enrich its uranium worries the West, as these attempts could lead to the manufacturing of nuclear weapons and to the country's elimination from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (according to the North Korean model).

A series of events could obviously lead to a new re-edition of the Cold War, the Second Cold War, such as:

Russia continues to work on Iran's nuclear program, in spite of the protests of the United States and of its allies. Russia's involvement in Iran demonstrates its attempt to "remain in the net" of the United States, as to its influence in the Middle East. The camps are now divided, and "the game" is conducted with the following members: the United States and the Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Pakistan, Russia and Iran, Egypt, Afghanistan.

The battlefields where the battle for supremacy in the Middle East takes place are Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan. The fact that Russia is involved in the area demonstrates that it has not given up at all to its dominating ambitions.

Iran continues to carry weapons in Afghanistan in order to support the Taliban. <sup>42</sup>

The French have a virulent speech against Iran that is sponsored by Russia. <sup>43</sup>

While Europe analyzes whether America and Russia have triggered a New Cold War, the United States seek to maintain their position in Asia towards China's rise <sup>44</sup>.

---

<sup>41</sup> See, Hiro, Dilip, Art. *Puterile in ascensiune vs Statele Unite*, Revista Lumea, Global Politics and World Events, No 11/2007, 35.

<sup>42</sup> The U.S. Central headquarters is convinced of this information, while the Government in Tehran vehemently denies it. On the basis of Muslims maneuver against the West, this continuity in the transport of weapons across the border is an attempt to undermine the importance of the American presence in the Middle East, an attempt to which Russia takes an active part: certain components of the bombs known as "explosively formed penetrators" (a name given by the combatants in Afghanistan to these bombs) are made in Russia. See, Kolodziej, *Securitatea si Relatiile Internationale*, (Iasi: Polirom, 2007), 16.

<sup>43</sup> It is known that France has a nuclear potential. To this, it is added the recent news that the United Kingdom has 100 tons of plutonium, enough to produce an arsenal of nuclear weapons. In the UN, Russia continues to undermine diplomatic attempts made by Western countries to stop the Iranian nuclear program. See, Hiro, Dilip, Art. *Puterile in ascensiune vs Statele Unite*, Revista Lumea, Global Politics and World Events, No 11/2007, 35

<sup>44</sup> Present at the regional security forum, the Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore, the American Secretary of Defense ensured that Iraq and Afghanistan shall not decrease U.S. engagement in Asia. However, Robert Gates gave up the accusations to China's military budget increase and recommended talks with Beijing similar to those with Moscow in the previous decades of the cold war. See, Ganguly, Sumit, and s. Paul

Far from the United States, the European Union and the relations between them, Asia has a feverish economic and political life; the partisans of the South-South relationships notice how the center of gravity of international relationships is moving gradually and on sectors, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but at the same time aiming to the Indian Ocean<sup>45</sup>.

In the mid-1990s, American relations with the two major Asian powers could best be described as strained, and it seems that there are few chances to become less tense<sup>46</sup>. The Asian States get together more and more often in order to know their weaknesses and opportunities<sup>47</sup>.

The three US strategic military bases were built in Afghanistan, immediately after the occupation of this country by the United States. In the winter between 2001 and 2002, the Americans built "Bagram Air Field, in northern Kabul, one of the most important logistic centers in the area; "Kandahar Air Field" in southern Afghanistan, and "Shindand Air Field" in western Herat province. It is to be noted that Shindand air base is the largest in Afghanistan, and it is just 100 km from the border with Iran.

The world has changed, but Afghanistan has preserved the strategic importance<sup>48</sup>, being a true geopolitical knot at the junction of South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle

---

Kapur, India, Pakistan and the Bomb: Debating Nuclear Stability in South Asia, New York: Colombia University Press, 2010, p. 45.

<sup>45</sup> In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the relations between the United States and Asian countries apart from Vietnam became increasingly antagonistic, and the capacity of the U.S. to dominate these controversies declined. These trends have been noticed in relation with the great powers of East Asia and U.S. relations with China and Japan have evolved simultaneously. On the one hand, the Americans, on the other hand, the Chinese and the Japanese talk about Cold Wars that develop between their countries. These simultaneous trends began during the Bush administration and developed during the Clinton administration. View, Kapur, Paul s., *Dangerous Deterrent: Nuclear Weapons Proliferation and Conflict in South Asia*, Palo Alto, (CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 19.

<sup>46</sup> "We should note that that at least in the United States there is a confusion of terminology in connection with relations among countries. Good relations are those of friendship and cooperation; bad relations are hostile and antagonistic. It reflects the specific statement according to which harmony in international relations is always good and the conflict is always bad. "Huntington, Samuel p., *the clash of civilizations and the Remaking of world order*, (Header, Prahova, 1997), 327.

<sup>47</sup> The last big Inter-Asian summit was held in Seoul, where 30 representatives from Asian countries – including Russia were invited. It was attended by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei, Cambodia, China, the United Arab Emirates, the Philippines, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Thailand, Uzbekistan and Vietnam took part in "Asia Cooperation Dialogue" . A world concerned with filling the digital precipice of wealthy and poor nations of the region. And also with the Korean Peninsula denuclearization. See, Michael Swaine, *America's Challenge: Engaging a Rising China in the Twenty-First Century*, Washington, (D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011), 24.

<sup>48</sup> Historically, Afghanistan has been in the middle of the fight for supremacy and control over Central Asia, between the British Empire and the Russian Empire, the rivalry referred to by geo-politicians as "the Great Game in the late 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century". The English sought to prevent Afghanistan falling into the hands of the Russians because the United Kingdom had a military base with

East. On the other hand, Afghanistan is extremely important, considering its energy resources<sup>49</sup>. In Pakistan, the United States have obtained the consent of Gen. Pervez Musharraf, the president of the country, to use Jacobabad airport, situated at 400 km from Karachi, which is used by the United States and NATO to support the campaign in Afghanistan. Two other U.S. bases will be built in Pakistan, at Dalbandin and Pasmī.

The idea of a closer integration of the Central Asian countries, supported by the President of Kazakhstan, is based on the reality that the countries of this region have a lot in common<sup>50</sup>. The negotiations between President Putin and his counterparts from Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have had unexpectedly positive results. During negotiations they established that almost all Kazakh oil will be transported through Russia. On the other hand, the agreements for the export of Turkmen gas proved to be more important<sup>51</sup>.

The untapped resources of the North Pole are some remarkable oil and mineral resources. In the dark depths of the Arctic Ocean, restarts the Cold War<sup>52</sup>. American and

---

which it controlled the "crown jewel", India. See, David Loyn, *In Afghanistan: Two Hundred Years of British, Russian and American Occupation*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 34.

<sup>49</sup> Here will pass the oil pipeline UNOCAL that will pump oil from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean, as well as the gas pipeline that will carry natural gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan and Pakistan, to Dabhol plant near Mumbai. The first contract for the pipeline was negotiated by "Halliburton (Cheney's company) and Enron. The second contract for pipeline-belongs to Enron's exclusively. View, Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Central Asia: Its Strategic Importance and Future Prospects*, (Macmillan Press, UK, 2001), 24.

<sup>50</sup> Besides the geographical proximity, there is also the historical and cultural rapprochement of the peoples who have been living here for centuries. Except for the Tajiks, who speak Farsi, other peoples: the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Karakalpaks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, speak Turkic languages, their history weaving itself into a unified whole. This premise is a rather credible argument for the Central Asian states to overcome the challenges and threats of a new cold war more easily. And because any successful action must have a leader who can channel efforts coherently, that one must be identified and followed without delay. See, David Loyn, *In Afghanistan: Two Hundred Years of British, Russian and American Occupation*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 53.

<sup>51</sup> However, Russia continues to dominate the former Soviet space. All this has not only economic importance, but also ideological. As how hard Russia's relations are built with Western republics, as simply the relations with the Eastern, the central Asian and continental states establish. It is an eloquent example that geopolitics is not an inaccurate science, but an effective instrument of measurement and statement of reality. View, Hafeez Malik (ed.), *Central Asia: Its Strategic Importance and Future Prospects*, (Macmillan Press, UK, 2001), 13

<sup>52</sup> Rob Heubert, director of the Center for Military and Strategic Studies in Calgary, is of the opinion that the presence of the British submarines in the Arctic waters is the clear proof of the fact that Britain is preparing to face the Russian threat. Although it seems an opinion from a war novel, the fight for the North Pole between Russia and the West has been running for years. Its radicalization occurred when Kremlin announced that it would send a miniature submarine, with a crew composed of scientists in order to claim a Western Europe-sized part of the Arctic Ocean. The huge bet consists in enormous quantities of natural gas and petroleum, assessing the value at 18% of total world resources, which is equivalent to that of similar underground resources of Saudi Arabia. See, *Russian foreign Ministry condemns NATO activity along Russian borders*, (BBC Monitoring Former Soviet Union London: Jun 29, 2004).

British submarines patrol very often, getting ready to face the biggest challenge for the space conquest, until today launched by the Monolith Science-State of Russia. The latter's decision to send an expedition to the Arctic Circle, with the purpose of annexing a huge part of the ocean, strains political and economical circles, confirming once again the embarrassing dependence of Western Europe on the energy "treasure" of Russia<sup>53</sup>.

The United States abstained to enter into a controversy over the extent of exploitation rights, because of a Reagan administration policy, which feared that the initiation of such a dispute would lead to the seizure of important parts of the arctic territory by the Soviets<sup>54</sup>.

The fight for the arctic region is becoming an issue of global interest, because of the speeding process of melting glaciers, thus being created a new pass through N-V, which the trading ships can use yet only in summer<sup>55</sup>. Given the importance of the geo-politics of the region, it is no wonder that the United Kingdom shall monitor closely the situation, by claiming its membership to NATO<sup>56</sup>. From the economic point of view, the Arctic Ocean

---

<sup>53</sup> The expedition led by Artur Cilingarov, the most famous Russian explorer, needs to prove that the Lomonosov Ridge, which lies under the Arctic Ocean, is an extension of the Siberian continental fault in Eastern Russian territory, in the area of 17 million square km. Stepping on the submarine Akademik, Fyodorov stated: "the Arctic is Russian. We need to prove that the North Pole is an extension of the Russian continental fault. Of course that the expedition, in addition to the major scientific importance, has also got a geo-political significance ". And, betting on the fact that it is the first human expedition to search the bottom of the Arctic Ocean, Valery Kuznetsov, the Coordinator of the oceanographers team aboard the submarine, stated the possibility of discovering unknown organisms. To symbolize its claims, Russia placed its flag at the sea, before the members of the expedition had started collecting samples to support Cilingarov's statements. The previous episode of this Nordic saga took place in 2001, when the UNITED NATIONS set up a Commission of experts to assess Russia's claims to a portion of the Arctic Ocean, being asked to bring evidence in this respect. In a Convention of the United Nations, the States bordering the North Pole are allowed to exploit the Arctic's resources in an area of up to 200 nautical miles of the economical area of their territory. A surface that can be extended if one of these States, as Russia is trying at present can prove that the subocean continental fault is linked to their territory. See Sherle R. Schwenninger,, "American Grand Strategy Revamping", (*World Policy Journal*, Fall 2003).

<sup>54</sup> Canada and especially Denmark, through the sovereignty that exercises upon the Greenland, claim that the Lomonosov Ridge is linked to their territory, therefore the Ocean being effectively in their property. As a proof of the escalation of the unprecedented tensions, Canada has recently spent 7 billion dollars for the purchase of a new vessel patrol flotillas, which Prime Minister Stephen Harper did not hesitate to declare that they are destined "to defend Canada's sovereignty over the Arctic Ocean". View Sherle R. Schwenninger,, "American Grand Strategy Revamping", *World Policy Journal*, Fall 2003.

<sup>55</sup> Opening up this passage can shorten the distance between Europe and Asia up to 2,000 nautical miles, in preference to the use of the Panama Canal. See, Andrew Zagorski, *European security architecture and challenges: where are we in 2011 as compared to 2008? Food for thought paper*, Moscow, the European Studies Institute at MGIMO-University, 11-12 April 2011.

<sup>56</sup> In the opinion of the Director, Heubert, United Kingdom, whose Trafalgar SSN class submarines have been patrolling under glaciers of the Arctic Ocean since 1986, wants to preserve the quality of the strategic important player under the Arctic ice, indicating that there would not be long until the British flotille sonars notice the presence of an enemy. Heubert said: "Russia rebuilds its fleet, they have just released their first



is the answer to two major problems. First, the oil determines the states near the Polar Circle to intensify a propaganda boost to claim the territory. When the price was within reasonable economic limits, the exploitation of deposits in the Arctic Ocean was considered to be an adventurous undertaking in economic terms. Nevertheless, the growing needs of China and India, which are in total process of economic development, unprecedented in the world, have led to an increase in the price of crude oil barrel in accordance with the discrepancy between supply and demand<sup>57</sup>.

The other issue of major economic interest is the presence of supposedly huge mineral and coal resources, and the perspective of some unusual fish sources, particularly cod and capelin, that has become much less expensive with the melting of the ice covering the Arctic Ocean. For several years, British research vessels of the Marine Research Station at Dunstaffnage have been studying the shoal of fish in the area. The results of the research could change the geopolitical structure of the world for some hundred years.

## CONCLUSION

From the brief analysis of the effects created by the politic re-polarization on economic reasons, by the economic collapse-as the source of the collapse of the societies-as well as by the political ambitions of some leaders, real engines generating total reorientation of the traditional policies of some states, it can be concluded the major importance of the factors previously listed, upon the international security environment.

An algorithm for analyzing the paradigm "security environment":

- Is a revival of the concept of "regional security" of topical interest?
- How could the security trends be interpreted for the last 20 years?
- What is the significance of the challenges analysis from the regional perspective?
- Do the challenges of the present security environment require new tools for conflict management?
- Who would benefit from the regionalization of security?

---

submarine from 1987 onwards and three others are on the way." See also, Jane m. Sharp, *Striving for Military Stability in Europe: Negotiation, implementation and adaptation of the CFE Treaty*, London, UK: Routledge, 2006, 24.

<sup>57</sup> Experts say that the increase at the rate of 70 American dollars per barrel would provide viability to projects for exploiting resources in the Arctic subterranean. Canada has panicked, but both Americans and Europeans are quite familiar with this fight, estimating that the Arctic hides 25% of oil and gas resources worldwide. See <http://kerry.senate.gov/cfm/record.cfm?id=310648>.

March 2013

- Is there an effective capacity to ensure management of regional security?
- What is the relationship between collective security management and regional security management?

## REFERENCES

1. **Bajoria, Jayshree**, *The Dangers of 'Deglobalization'*, Daily Analysis, March 16 2009,  
[http://www.cfr.org/publication/18768/dangers\\_of\\_degloabalization.html?breadcru b=/thinktank/greenberg/briefs](http://www.cfr.org/publication/18768/dangers_of_degloabalization.html?breadcru b=/thinktank/greenberg/briefs)
2. **Dunaway, Steven**, *Global Imbalances and the Financial Crisis*, Council Special Report No. 44, March 2009, Council on Foreign Relations, NY, USA
3. **Hasenclever, Andres, Mayer, Peter and Ruttberger, Volker** (1997), *Theories of International Regimes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
4. **Hodge, Carl Cavanagh**. *Atlanticism for a New Century: The Rise, Triumph, and Decline of NATO*. Upper Saddle River, NJ, Pearson/Prentice Hall, 2005. 145 p. (Prentice Hall studies in international relations).
5. **Keohane, Robert O. and Nye Joseph S., Jr.** (1998) "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age", *Foreign Affairs*, 77 (5), 81-84.
6. **Klare, Michael T. and Thomas Daniel C.** (1994), *World security – Challenges for a New Century*, New York. St. Martin's Press.
7. **Teslik, Lee Hudson**, *The Meaning of Nationalization*, Daily Analysis, March 03 2009,  
[http://www.cfr.org/publication/18672/meaning\\_of\\_nationalization.html?breadcru b=/thinktank/greenberg/briefs](http://www.cfr.org/publication/18672/meaning_of_nationalization.html?breadcru b=/thinktank/greenberg/briefs)
8. **Waever, Ole, Buzan, Barry, Kelstrup, Morton and Lemaitre, Peirre** (1993), *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, LondonPinter.
9. **Steil, Benn**, *Lessons of the Financial Crisis*, Council Special Report No. 45, March 2009, Council on Foreign Relations, NY, USA
10. **Subrke, Astri** (1999), "Human security and the Interest of states", *Security Dialogue*, 30 (3) 265-276.