

UKRAINE – A MATTER OF EUROPEAN AND ROMANIAN SECURITY

Paul DUȚĂ¹

ABSTRACT:

NATO DEPLOYS SYMBOLICALLY TROOPS NEAR UKRAINE, PLANS EXERCISES IN COMMON WITH UKRAINE'S NEIGHBOURS IN BLACK SEA. EUROPA DOES NOT SEEM READY TO TAKE SUPPLEMENTARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR A PARTNER THAT IS DYSFUNCTIONAL IN TERMS OF ECONOMY, POLITICS AND HAVING DIFFICULTIES IN PAYING ITS DEBTS, BUT RUNS AGAINST RUSSIA.

ROMANIA SHOULD STAY NEUTRAL IN THIS MATTER, BECAUSE IT IS A PART OF NATO AND EU, BUT ALSO IT IS IN BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE EU. IT SHOULD, THEREFOR MEDIATE THE TWO TO KEEP THE REGION CALM. ROMANIA'S INTEREST SHOULD BE PEACE AND STABILITY WITHIN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL AREA.

ROMANIA'S RELATIONS WITH UKRAINE HAVE IMPROVED SINCE IANUKOVICI WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT. UNDER HIS MANDATE ROMANIAN MANAGED TO OFFICIALISE THE ROMANIAN LANGUAGE IN MOST SETTLEMENTS IN UKRAINE AND ROMANIANS OBTAINED MANDATES IN THE SUPREME RADA. BEFORE IANUKOVICI, ROMANIA HAD DIFFICULTIES WITH UKRAINE, STARTING WITH THE DISPUTES ABOUT THE BLACK SEA, THE BASTROE CANAL OR NORTH BUCOVINA. ROMANIA'S STAND TOWARDS UKRAINEAN CONFLICTS IS PRO-EUROPEAN, FOR ROMANIANS IN UKRAINE HAVE AN INTEREST IN STABILITY AND EUROPEAN LAW ENFORCEMENT. ROMANIA WOULD MORE AFFECT BY A POSSIBLE CRISIS IN UKRAINE THAN OTHER STATES.

KEY WORDS: ROMANIA, UKRAINE, RUSSIA, NATO, UE, EUROPEAN SECURITY

For any state and for each individual security and defence are crucial. These can be threatened by rapid political, social, economic, demographical and ecological changes.

Diplomacy turned important for the political scene due to the fact that by means of politics interstate conflicts can be peacefully solved and good relations can be established and / or maintained. Being a diplomat is not an easy job; they have to find the right words for each moment because this sets the result of the negotiations.

“Among the best definitions of the word “diplomacy” is the one given by Flassan, at the beginning of the XIXth century: <<Diplomacy is an expression meaning for some years now the science of the external relations, resumed in a diploma or written papers

¹ Romanian Diplomatic Institute, ppduta@yahoo.com.

issued by the sovereigns. Diplomacy is not diplomatically, which means knowing the books, their age and authenticity. >>>².

Preventing and solving crises that may appear due to political, economic, demographic and ecologic changes can be achieved by means of diplomacy.

THE IMPACT OF THE UKRAINIAN CONFLICT UPON THE BORDERS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND NATO

„The Atlantism as historical principle is gone” declared President Dmitri Medvedev, during his visit in Berlin, on June, the 5th, 2008.³ NATO’s enlargement in Eastern and Central Europe worried Moscow which could not stop it. The possibility to include Georgia and Ukraine is to Russia „a red line not to be crossed”⁴.

Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan formed The Eurasian Economical Union and the treaty will come valid on 1st of January 2015. This will bring the three states closer to one another.

Kremlin imposed commercial sanctions and threatened to cease energy feeding trying to convince its neighbour states to adhere to the Eurasian Economical Union led by Russia.

The Russian company Gazprom ceased gas feeding to Ukraine twice due to some payment issues in 2006 and 2009. Furthermore, The Russian Federation exploits Ukraine’s energetic needs, using soft power means varying from promises (price reduction for Russian gas, elimination of custom’s costs) to threats (penalties, sanitary and epidemiological restrictions, reducing imports of Ukrainian products, repatriation of Ukrainian citizens working in Russian Federation, etc.).⁵

Beijing is not indifferent towards Ukraine’s military and industrial potential, mainly localised in the East and South of the Ukraine.⁶ The Republic of China retained from voting a project of The UNO Security Council that condemns Crimea’s annexation by the Russian Federation. The Republic of China needs Ukraine’s expertise in aircraft engines, ships, space and rockets technology, as well as in other fields.⁷ As far as the

² Mircea Maliță, *Diplomația. Școli și instituții*, (Bucharest: The Didactical and Pedagogical Publishing House, second edition, 1975), 35.

³ This vision explains in the first place the negativity towards the Alliance expansion to East. Regarding this issue, Dmitri Rogozin said „the decision taken at the Summit in Bucharest assured Saakașvili against that adventure from August. As far as Ukraine is concerned, since this decision in April 2008 there were no problems in our relations. If Ukraine will become a part of the Alliance we will understand this as hostility towards us. This would put an end to any cooperation between Russia and NATO. Oleg Severghin, *Moscova nu își face iluzii în privința continuării cursului NATO, axat pe extindere*, www.ava.md, 12.01.2009.

⁴ D. Rogozin: *Restabilirea deplină a relațiilor dintre Rusia și NATO depinde de documentele finale ale summitului din aprilie al Alianței*, „Prime-Tass” news agency (Russia), 27th of March.2009. NATO’s expansion in Ukraine, aimed by Washington and loosed for by the Ukrainian actual power, threatens to become an issue, considers the Russian political analyst Serghei Karaganov, this issue would not only endanger the Ukrainians, but would cause a lot of damage to Europe, Russia and the international stability.

⁵ The 1,2 million Ukrainian workers (of which only 110000 work legally), on the Russian territory have sent in Ukraine, in 2012, over 3 mld. USD.

⁶ According to infos from The International Research Institute for Peace from Stockholm (SIPRI), during 2009-2013, Ukraine’s exports came on the 8th place in the world, and the military and industrial complex is clearly a reason for Russia to maintain control over this state.

⁷ Ukraine makes the biggest airplane in the world, Antonov AN-225, as well as medium size cargo planes and gliders and line planes at a plant near Kiev. Motor-Sich, at Zaporozie (South-East Ukraine), is an important plane and helicopter engine builder and most Russian air fleet was build there. In Dnepropetrovsk (also South-East of Ukraine) there is an efficient industry for rockets and space ships that worked for the Soviets programme and now offers maintenance and services for Russian military needs. (Ballistic missiles „SS18”, some parts for „Soyuz” rockets.)

military technology is concerned, China is behind its Russian, European or American competitors. That is why China is interested in maintaining access to the Ukrainian weapons market.⁸ Changing Ukraine's status might create problems for the Chinese military acquisitions.⁹

At least in the first part of the crises, NATO seemed puzzled. The steps taken by the Alliance match its SOPs; most analysts criticised the fact that the Alliance didn't adapt to the adversary- at least from a political point of view, because there was no armed conflict. After the Crimea Referendum, NATO reacted by involving and monitoring the situation. Although they declared almost unanimously that they would not admit that, at later negotiations there were no discussions about this topic, as if it never existed or as if it were taken as a „de facto”. Important NATO leaders visit countries in the region to show support and determination to enforce the Treaty's Provisions, including Article 5, should there be the case. Currently, NATO deploys symbolically troops near Ukraine, plans exercises in common with Ukraine's neighbours in Black Sea, observing the provisions of Montreaux Convention, and monitors the situation in the area.

Europa does not seem ready to take supplementary responsibility for a partner that is dysfunctional in terms of economy, politics and having difficulties in paying its debts, but runs against Russia. The partnership agreement includes a financial help of a billiard euro for the next 7 years in return for some reforms implementation.¹⁰ Kiev would need a larger amount of money to face the financial disaster. Due to the absence of a single voice of EU and of a credible European military structure, NATO has become the only instrument to influence the Russian military decision, by the measures taken to underline solidarity showed to eastern countries like Romania, Poland, Bulgaria and Baltic Countries. While the leaders from Bruxelles were hurrying to announce the success of the Eastern Partnership, namely Ukraine getting closer to EU, the Russian strategist came with an unbeatable offer: taking over an important part of Ukraine's external debt, allowing a state of pseudo-democracy, an economical dependance of Russia, along with the reduction of gases price.

Romanian authorities don't take serious the impact that the Ukrainian crises might have upon Romania. That's why Romania cannot take advantage of its geostrategic position. In this conflict, Romania was with NATO and EU, disregarding the influence that Russia has upon its neighbours. Due to its membership to NATO and EU, Romania considers that it can defy Russia's power, asked on NATO's military help.

But Romania, like Ukraine, takes its gas from Russia. Romania might encounter the same gas problems like Ukraine; no military support from NATO would help under such

⁸ Ukraine delivered a prototype of the Russian plane „SU-33”, used by China to create the fight plane „J-15”, destined to the Navy and also deliver jet-propulsion engines and engines for helicopters, as well as air-to-air, air-to-ground and cruise modern rockets along with engines for the „Zubr” attack ship (produced in Crimea and useful in missions against Taiwan, for example), „Varyag” and „Xue Long” or „Snow Dragon”, the only Chinese ice-breaker.

⁹ If Ukraine remains united and joins the EU (without Crimea), it should probably give up its military trade with China, because (as in the case of the USA) the EU maintains the sanctions against China following Tien An Men. On the other hand, if Ukrain (or the East of it) is under Russian control, a part- or all military agreements (especially those affecting Russia's weapons commerce) could be stopped, reduced or at least affected.

¹⁰ Ukraine was included in 2009 in The Initiative for the Eastern Partnership (IEP), with Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia and The Republic of Moldavia. The Partnership Agreement (PA) with EU was signed in March 2012, and contained an Agreement for Free Wide Change (AFWC), to be signed at IEP (VILNIUS, 28-29.11.2013). Although the Ukrainian authorities established a plan for European integration, the support received by Ukraine from Europe faded in time, on the background of Iulia Timoseko case.

circumstances, and Romania will have two choices: Russia's conditions or other gas sources. For the second choice there is a project called AGRI in which Romania is part alongside Azerbaijan, Hungary and Georgia. This project aims to bringing gas from Shah Deniz via Baku – Tbisili gas-pipe, than on the Georgian shore, than to liquefy it so as to transport it with ships to Constanța. The gas would be re-gassed in Romania and after that it would be send to Hungary and Bulgaria. This is only a project to begin in three years' time.

Given the threatening potential towards Russian influence in the area, Russia will not just sit and watch how this project takes shape.

Should this project be realised, Romania would become important in Europe. A first concern about this project was the price of iron ore needed for the pipes, raising concerns in regard to the output of such a project. Romanian authorities are probably counting on the solution of AGRI when defy Russia. Given the fact that the AGRI Project is uncertain, Romania's positions towards Russia are wrong. Romanian authorities should consider the interest of their citizens instead of their own.

Ukrainean crisis may affect Romania. In my opinion, Romania should stay neutral in this matter, because it is a part of NATO and EU, but also it is in between Russia and the EU. It should, therefore mediate the two to keep the region calm. Romania's interest should be peace and stability within its geographical area.

Romania's pro-NATO and EU position agitates the relations between Russia and those two Romania, influenced by the USA has forbidden Russian to fly over its territory, which created nuisances.¹¹ In case of a war between Russia and NATO and the EU, Romania together with Poland, Slovakia and Hungary will follow NATO's protection shield.

For all these reasons, Russia will try to destabilise Romania, first economically, and as a last resort, with a military intervention. Romania must rethink its politics and assume a more responsible and fresh external conduct in politics, in order to survive this power game.

UKRAINE'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA

Romania has with Ukraine a bilateral relation, based on good-neighbour policy and European democratically values. „The development and perfecting of the geo-strategically, economic, humane and cultural potential of the Ukrainian and Romanian cooperation based on good-neighbour principle, mutual trust and respect towards each party's interests, as well as on constructivism and mutual partnership are important factors to ensure and consolidate stability, security and cooperation within the region and in Europe”.¹²

Romania and Ukraine signed two treaties. The first concerns the good-neighbour relations and cooperation's, was signed at Constanta on 2nd of June 1997 and the second, considering the frontiers, cooperation and mutual help was signed at Cernauti on 17th of June 2003. Between Ukraine and Romania there are four committees: "The Ukrainian–Romanian Presidential Mixt Committee"; "the Mixt Ukrainian–Romanian Committee for Borders and State"; "the Mixt Intergovernmental Ukrainian–Romanian Committee for

¹¹ Russia's response came promptly and the vice-premiere Rogozin declared that next time he will cross over Romania on board of a bomb carrier. Romania received a war threat from the emerging Russia as a result of its lack of diplomacy. Romania has no military strength and cannot afford to be at war with no state.

¹² Ukrainean Embassy in Romania, <http://romania.mfa.gov.ua/ro/ukraine-ro/diplomacy>, (accessed on 30.01.2014).

Industry, Technology and Science“ and “the Mixt Intergovernmental Ukrainean–Romanian Committee for the Rights of the Minorities.”¹³

Romania’s relations with Ukraine have improved since Ianukovici was elected president. Under his mandate Romanian managed to officialise the Romanian language in most settlements in Ukraine and Romanians obtained mandates in the Supreme Rada.

Before Ianukovici, Romania had difficulties with Ukraine, starting with the disputes about The Black Sea, The Bastroe Canal or North Bucovina. Romania’s stand towards Ukrainean conflicts is pro-European, for Romanians in Ukraine have an interest in stability and European law enforcement. Romania would more affected by a possible crisis in Ukraine than other states; Russia’s ruling over Ukraine would mean a disaster, for it might bring Romania into the actual position of Ukraine towards Russia, due to the Russian gas and oil. Romanians in both Ukraine (Romanians are the third ethnic group in Ukraine) and Romania have a serious reason to worry.

The EU’s external frontier will face an increased number of illegal workers and other forms of human traffic. An important part of illegal traffic comes from this region. Until its joining the EU, Romania was just a transit country for illegal immigrants, but since January 2007 it became the main target and the gate to Eudora a part of these immigrants.

Another risk at the Eastern EU frontier is represented by the “frozen” conflicts from the former sovietical space; among them, the worst is the Transnistrean one from The Republic of Moldavia, a state that is Romania’s and, therefore, since 2007, EU’s neighbour. On the territory of The Republic of Moldavia exists an administrative entity that has all prerogatives of a state: army, institutions, money.

At the border of Euro-Atlantic community, represented by countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and the Community of The Independent States, such as Moldavia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan etc., there are not only cultural, economic and social interactions, but also military and intelligence ones. On the Prut river EU’s and NATO’s Eastern border, there are two different security systems confronting, those of The Russian Federation and of The USA, each of the two countries displaying their military components. The Moldavian territory is almost entirely controlled by Russia in terms of intelligence.

On The Island of Snakes there are two radars that cover the Lower Danube Basin in The Balkans towards Central Europe. The second radar covers The Mediterranean Sea, monitoring everything from The North-African Coast to The Middle East, including Israel. A sophisticated telephone cable connects the island with Odessa and The Centre for Electronic Leading and Systematization of Information; in the grounds of Tighina. These data guide the rockets. The Russian geostrategic „Corridor“ - Basarabia, Dobrogea, The Island of the Snakes, The Balkans – indicate a possible detour of attention and political focus.

THE CONFLICT IN UKRAINE

Ukraine is important for the international energy market, for it is a transit centre for gas and oil exports from Russia and The Caspian Sea to Europe, but also because it is a consumer of these products.

Its geographical position, connecting East and West, with ports at The Black Sea, makes this state important for both Russia and Europe, each party trying to attract Ukraine.

¹³ Ukrainean Embassy in Romania, <http://romania.mfa.gov.ua/ro/ukraine-ro/diplomacy>, (accessed on 30.01.2014)

The dispute between Russia, EU and The USA was just diplomatically, even though Russia made some war preparations.

Ukraine was offered support from the UNO Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, the American vice-president Joe Biden and The European Organisation for Security and Cooperation. The UNO Secretary General proposed to Ukraine an emissary to facilitate the dialog between the power and the opposition and the American Vice-president asks for the diplomatically solving of the crisis and the retreat of the special military forces.

The Ukrainian crisis had a few important moments leading to the actual context.

The first important moment was the announcement of not signing with The EU made by the Ukrainian President, on the 21st of November, just a few days after Russia declared itself in favour of the agreement between Ukraine and The EU. This shows us the importance of the Russian influence upon Ukraine.¹⁴

The second important moment was the visit of the Ukrainian president, Viktor Yanukovych, in December, at Moscow during which he obtained a reduction of the gas price by a third and an offer made by Russia to buy Ukrainian Governmental Bonds of about 15 billions US dollars. These two offers were tempting for the Ukrainian President, especially because Ukraine encountered difficulties in paying its debts towards Russia.

The third important moment, causing the actual situation in Ukraine was Arseni Yatseniuk was offered the prime minister position by Viktor Yanukovych with Vitali Klitschko as vice-premier, on the 25th of January, 2014. These offers were rejected and the opposition showed determination to fight until defeating the Yanukovych regime.¹⁵

Another important moment was the premier-minister Mikola Azarov resignation, followed by the abrogation of The Law against Protesting, by the State Duma, at the 31st of January 2014.¹⁶ This law was to forbid protests in Ukraine, causing the arrest of all those protesting. By adopting this law, Ukraine let the impression that it would turn into a dictatorial state.

Russia replied advising The EU and The USA not to get involved into the conflict and to allow the Ukrainian state to decide what to do with the treaty. This proves that Russia is aware of the influence it has upon Ukraine and that this depends on Russia for energy. But Russia itself depends on Ukraine due to its geographical position; Ukraine could function as a shield for Russia in case of an attack. Vladimir Putin also stated that the EU borders end where the borders of former Soviet Union used to be.

Russia cannot let go of Ukraine for other reasons: commercial, economic, military. Russia can get access to The Black Sea and from there to The Mediterranean Sea through the two ports: Sevastopol and Odessa, in Ukraine. Ukraine is strategically, economic and militarily important to Russia.

¹⁴ The protestors occupied the main square in the capital city, calling it „Euroground”. They protested against the delay of signing the EU Association Agreement. The Ukrainian president refuses till present day to sign the Border Union created by The Russian Federation, but the 15 bld US dollars help offered by Russia as support was seen as treason by the people.

¹⁵ On 9th of January 2014, The USA Senate adopted a special Resolution for the situation in Ukraine, calling the Ukrainian authorities to refrain from using force against peaceful protestors. “If the Ukrainian Authorities would continue the use of force against citizens, the president and The Congress would take into account some sanctions, such as freezing the financial accounts of persons involved into such activities, or the interdiction to enter the USA territory.”

¹⁶ The Ukrainian Parliament adopted a law project copied after a Russian one, forbidding the right to protest. The law was ambiguous enough to be dangerous to almost any meeting, allowing the government to decide. Moreover, any organization receiving money from outside of the country- including The Catholic Church- was to be registered as “a foreign agent”, which is similar to “spy”. These laws were adopted at night, after a hasty vote.

Russia's interests in Ukraine are as follows: Russia's national security –it is a shield for Russia in case of an attack; it has access to the sea, that's military and commercial access; it is an important route for the gas pipes, which provides Russia the opportunity to control gas exports and take advantage of it. European and American interests in Ukraine are: market for over 46 bld. People, the as pipes infrastructure that is of interest for great energetic companies, immediate access to Russia in case of war, the possibility to isolate Russia by cutting access to The Black Sea, a strategically position of great value and also a way towards The Middle East, the reaches energetically region in the world.

The Ukrainian conflict was triggered by Ianukovici's refusal to sign the EU Association, which caused the population to demand for his dismissal.

Ianukovici's decision was good for Russia. Ukraine's situation is unstable. Starting 21 of November last year, thousands of Ukrainians gathered together to turn Ukraine to Europe and sign the association. They blocked the streets, went on strikes, took on the administration buildings in Kiev, etc. The EU representatives have tried to convince the Ukrainian president to sign the agreement.

The state of tension and conflict became more evident after Ianukovici's visit to Moscow. The Ukrainian president agreed to Russia as a result of the fact that Ukraine was unable to pay its debts to Gazprom. His visit to Moscow solved the problem of the Ukrainian debt and obtained a smaller price for energy in the future. We can say that Russia's interest of not losing its influence was accomplished. As can be noticed, the fact that Ukraine didn't sign the association agreement with The EU was mainly due to the influence that Russia has over Ukraine but also to the fact that The EU cannot support Ukraine from an economical point of view.

On 2nd of February 2014, in The Independence Square were over 60000 people asking for international mediation to solve the crisis and also asking for financial support from The EU. Starting January the 19th, the peaceful protests turned into violent conflicts with the police; as a result, there were a few people that died. On 30th of January 2014, the Ukrainian president Viktor Ianukovici addressed a letter to the Ukrainian citizens, asking for peace and a normal life in the country.

On 25 of May 2014, Ukraine had presidential elections; the new president is Petro Poroshenko. Vladimir Putin expressed the willing to work with the new president and encouraged this to solve the problems in the country and make it stable.

CONCLUSIONS

Ukraine's situation affects Romania directly and whatever would come out of this will impact Romania in the future. Romania's relations with Ukraine at this moment are getting cold and Romania's diplomatically relations are blocked. Romania's interest within this zone is for The EU to win and for a peaceful Ukraine.

A first consequence of the Ukrainian conflict towards Romania is deterioration of the relations with Russia. Romania could be a conflict zone between Russia on one hand and NATO and EU on the other hand. Romanian authorities must take seriously both an economic and a military real threat from Russia. In order not to lose in the battle of these powers; Romania must change its external policy. For Romanian authorities the most important thing should be the safety of its citizens.

In defying Russia in the Ukrainian matter, Romania was based on the AGRI project, on its quick materialization and on the idea that due to AGRI Romania was to be free from the Russian gas.

At this moment Romania depends on Russia until the materialization of AGRI.

Romania's attitude will not be forgotten by Russia and the consequences are to be seen in the future; Romanian population is to suffer the consequences on the long term.

As a conclusion I would add that Romania should take advantage of its geopolitical position, to become an important mediator between Russia and The USA and The EU to make the region stable.¹⁷

Ukraine has passed a difficult period that seems ended by the election of this new president. The country seems to have difficulties in matter of national security as well as economically and financially. Although the crisis seems to have ended, the difficulties of the state will not come to an end too soon. Ukraine's economic perspectives will be influenced by the ability of the authorities in Kiev to maintain a healthy political climate and to maintain national cohesion, as well as by the ability to resolve the difficulties in their relations with Russia. Most likely, Ukraine will face major difficulties in the absence of financial assistance – perhaps even bankruptcy.

After the sudden retreat of Crimea, Ukraine have started constantly loosing administrative, economic and military control of the pro-Russian East of the country. The support from the Occident is not - and cannot be- strong enough, today, to stop the accelerated disintegration of the Ukrainian state.

In theory, there are solutions to discourage Russia (severe economic and commercial sanctions up to embargo, stopping the gas imports for Europe, the urgent admittance of Ukraine in NATO, followed by the annihilation of the separatist paramilitary groups), but all these are way too expensive and surreal in terms of money and human lives. The West is not ready to pay the huge costs to combat Russia's pretensions in Eastern Europe.

The absence of the European soldiers from the forces deployed in Estonia, Leetonia, Lithuania and Poland, following the crisis between Moscow and Kiev might misled the calculations made in Kremlin and raise questions at Washington.

During the last three months, Moscow has forcefully taken Crimea and caused troubles in Eastern Ukraine. President Vladimir Putin stated his right to protect the Russian ethnics wherever they might be, disregarding their citizenship.

These declarations generated justified fears for some NATO members such as Estonia and Lethonia- countries with plenty of Russian ethnics.

The interests for this country are high for Russia as well as for The EU and neither one of the two would give up peacefully. Dominating Ukraine is vital for Russia's economy and national security, for without this influence Russia would be vulnerable to The EU and the USA. In such a case, Russsia would use all its weapons especially that it considers that Ukraine belongs to it, given their history. Ukraine's territory belonged to the Soviet Russia and Russia wishes to take it back. For The EU, Ukraine is important economically and to extend its power.

¹⁷ Because of these „, The Occident should not reject Russia's wish for new negotiations over the European security system. In return, it should be considered as an opportunity to answer, at least to the key question regarding Russia's place in Europe. NATO should get a central role here, because it is vital for most Europeans as well as for The USA. A possible transaction p could be that the present EU principles and institutions, including NATO, remain unchanged and are accepted and implemented in Russia, which would obtain an important role within NATO, including the perspective to become a full member. The unimportant nature of the NATO-Russia Council was not functional. But why not see NATO as a real European security system, including Russia? The rules of the game can be changed and a great variety of strategical objectives can be achieved –European security, neighbor conflicts, energetical security, weapons reduction, non-proliferation, etc. Yes, these bold steps would transform NATO. But they would transform Russia even more.” Joschka FISCHER, *Un răspuns la provocarea Rusiei*, „Zaman” newspaper (Turcia). Joseph Martin („Joschka”) Fisher was a foreign minister and German vice-chancellor in Gerhard Schröder government (1998-2005).

REFERENCES

1. **Anna Primac**, *Pace în Ucraina: Viktor Ianukovici și opoziția au ajuns la un acord privind anularea legilor contestate*, <http://www.zf.ro/business-international/pace-in-ucraina-viktor-ianukovici-si-opozitia-au-ajuns-la-un-acord-privind-anularea-legilor-contestate-11975429>, accessed on 20.04.2014.
2. Ukraine Embassy in Romania, <http://romania.mfa.gov.ua/ro/ukraine-ro/diplomacy>, accessed on 06.04.2014.
3. ANALISYS: Why do Russia and Turkey Fear Romania? <http://www.timpul.md/articol/analiza-de-ce-se-tem-rusia-si-turcia-de-romania-22613.html> accessed on 20.05.2014
4. **Apollon Cristodulo**, *Ucraina sfâșiată între Kremlin și Occident. Cronica unui prăpăd anunțat. Veteranii din Afganistan au ales „Maidanul”*, <http://www.ziuanews.ro/dezvaluiri-investigatii/iarna-vrajbei-la-kiev-ucraina-sfa-iata-intre-kremlin-i-occident-113159>, accessed on 14.05.2014.
5. **Apollon Cristodulo**, *Ucraina. Trei scenarii însângerate ale Euro-Revoluției*, <http://www.ziuanews.ro/dezvaluiri-investigatii/ucraina-trei-scenarii-insangerate-pentru-euro-revolutie-109345> accessed on 30.04.2014.
6. Clock bomb for Romania: The Russians actually want Transilvania., <http://www.expresmagazin.ro/bomba-cu-ceas-pentru-romania-rusii-vor-de-fapt-transilvania/> accessed on 15.5.2014.
7. **Dan Alexe**, *EU și diplomația lui du-te-vino*, <http://www.europalibera.org/content/article/25247017.html>, accesat la data de 30.04.2014.
8. **Calin Marchievici**, *Alertă în Ucraina: Cazacii de pe Don trec la ofensivă în estul și sudul țării*, <http://www.cotidianul.ro>, accessed on 16.04.2014.
9. **Dumitru Constantin**, *Mizele crizei în Ucraina*, <http://www.cotidianul.ro/mizele-crisiei-din-ucraina-231016/> accessed on 16.05.2014.
10. **Ion Predeasca**, *Kremlinul pregătește un plan de dezmembrare a Ucrainei*, http://adevarul.ro/moldova/politica/kremlinul-pregateste-plan-dezmembrare-ucrainei-1_52c06f38c7b855ff5614c657/index.html accessed on 30.04.2014.
11. *MAE urmărește evoluția situației din Ucraina*, <http://kiev.mae.ro/local-news/833>, accessed on 20.05.2014.
12. **Mircea Maliță** (1975), *Diplomația. Școli și instituții*, Bucharest, The Didactical and Pedagogical Publishing House, ed. II
13. Putin's plan goes on. The Novorossia Party at Donetsk, <http://www.cotidianul.ro/planul-lui-putin-merge-mai-departe-la-donetc-a-apatut-partidul-novorossia-237663/> accessed on 27.05.2014.
14. The external policy profile, <http://www.cotidianul.ro/profilul-politicii-externe-238328/>, accessed on 24.05.2014.
15. Romania supports Ukraine's process of political association and economic integration in The EU, <http://luxemburg.mae.ro/romania-news/3450> accessed on 15.04.2014.
16. Rusia a semnat cu Belarus și Kazahstan acordul de formare a Uniunii Economice Eurasiatice <http://gandeste.org/general/rusia-a-semnat-cu-belarus-si-kazahstan-acordul-de-formare-a-uniunii-economice-eurasiatice/41627> accessed on 29.05.2014.
17. Russians could strike Romania: NATO does not protect us! <http://www.capital.ro/rusii-ar-putea-lovi-romania-nato-nu-ne-apara.html> accessed on 15.05.2014.
18. Official site of Ukraine Ministry of External Affairs, <http://mfa.gov.ua/>, accessed on 12.04.2014.
19. Official site of State Rada of Ukraine, <http://portal.rada.gov.ua/> accessed on 25.04.2014.
20. Official site of Viktor Ianukovici President of Ukraine, <http://www.president.gov.ua/> accessed on 14.04.2014.
21. The Conspiracy theory: The Russia-Germany Alliance, a threat for The USA – Romania's role, <http://www.ziare.com/economie/analiza-economica/teoria-conspiratiei-alianța-rusia-germania-o-amenintare-pentru-sua-ce-rol-are-romania-1297839> accessed on 27.05.2014.
22. Ukraine on the verge of breaking. What does Romania do? <http://www.romanalibera.ro/actualitate/europa/ucraina-in-pragul-rupturii-ce-face-romania-324824.html>, accessed on 10.05.2014.
23. *Ucraina: Peste 60.000 de persoane au protestat în Piața Independenței din Kiev. Opoziția cere mediere internațională și asistență financiară*, <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-international-16530137-ucraina-pest-50-000-persoane-protesteaza-piata-independentei-din-kiev.htm>, accessed on 30.04.2014.
24. *Ucraina - un butoi cu praf de puscă*, <http://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-opinii-16505993-ucraina-butoi-praf-pusca.htm> accessed on 25.04.2014.
25. www.trading-safety.com accessed on 20.04.2014.