

## CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES OF EXTENDED SECURITY – THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF ROMANIA –

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*The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a new era in the international order. Several theorists have defined this period as a transition from a new international order of bipolarism to multipolarism, from the binomial of two great powers to interconnected and interdependent power centres. A new approach to international theory has gained momentum, namely the in-depth study of security theories, or more precisely the emergence of security studies.*

*This paper explains the concept of extended security. The objective of this article is to conceptualise a new security model that is specific to our country. The results obtained will be presented in the conclusions of this article.*

*Keywords: extended security; National Defence Strategy; international relations; security complex; regional cleavages;*

### INTRODUCTION

After the implosion of the bipolar system, of the bicephalic hegemony, the world became unsafe dominated by insecurity. Insecurity is the presence of threats to the state, but also to its components (Cristian, Cotîrleţ, 2018, p. 70).

*What is security?* It is a question to which we cannot find a clear and concrete answer. Different schools of international relations have linked security to the state and its sovereignty. But is this the right answer? The new security environment is shaped by *centrifugal and centripetal* forces. The centre gathers around a developed world, the periphery disperses and it appears the globalisation. This axiom greatly complicates the definition of security and its study. In this context, a lapidary definition of security is the absence of a real, concrete danger, but also the absence of an abstract danger. The term comes from the Latin *securitas, securitatis* and can be defined as protection against a danger, it can mean protection and defence.

### EXPANSION OF SECURITY STUDIES

Following the latest developments on the international scene, certain theorists of security studies have proposed the expansion of security studies. Traditionalists in this field focused on the army and the state. Wilson, Woever, Lemaitre, Nye Jr. and Crawford were convinced that security evolved and developed on several levels.

Traditionalists have focused on defining security from the perspective of a military conflict, being a state-centred conception. Stephen Walt, a major theorist of neorealism, argued that security studies focused on studying the threat, use, and control of military force (Buzan, Waewer, de Wilde, 2011, p. 14). The same thinker considers economy and security to be military issues. Barry Buzan states that strategic studies focus on military issues and new security studies tend to focus on new levels (Ib., p. 27). Barry Buzan believes that to preserve international security we must secure security complexes. The approach is complete and close to the smallest components of the international system. According to the Copenhagen School, security must be approached from *the bottom up and vice versa*: a total, comprehensive and unitary approach.

The security complex is a group of states whose perceptions and major security concerns are so interconnected that their international security problems cannot be analysed or solved independently (Ib.). The subsystems ensure the stability

of the entire system. The system is fragile from the inside, not from the outside. According to Buzan's concepts, the key to solving security is preserving and keeping the security of security complexes and component subsystems.

Three factors help secure an X security system. The first factor is ensuring unity, differences or discrepancies must disappear, and thus regional cleavages will disappear. The second factor is establishing patterns of friendship or enmity. The third factor is the distribution of power between the main units of the security complex (ib., p. 29).

In the recent period, critical security studies have also appeared, which focus on finding theoretical and practical alternatives in addressing new events at the regional and global levels. Although classical security studies were strongly supported at the military and public order level in the states, lately, importance has also been given to an often hard-to-predict evolution that can thwart the security of a state. Thus, critical security studies were born, with a multispectral approach, at military, political, economic, societal levels.

A security issue appears when the issue in question is more important than others, when it becomes an absolute priority (Buzan, p. 45). Security issues were seriously addressed in our country after 1989 through the adoption of effective measures to increase national security, through the constitutional reform of 2002, and also through the renewal of legislation in the field of defence and national security.

### THE CONCEPT OF EXTENDED SECURITY – ROMANIA'S MODEL

The recent uncertain and unpredictable evolution of the international environment has caused Romania to define a new concept of national security based on the evolution of international schools of thought since 2015. The National Defence Strategy from 2015-2019, approved by Decision no. 33 of 2015 of the Romanian Parliament<sup>1</sup>, was the first of the strategies adapted to the modernity of security studies. The central pillar it was focused on was the development of national defence but also collective defence.

The concept of *extended national security* is essentially a multidimensional concept of national security. According to the National Defence Strategy for the period 2020-2024, extended national security can be defined as *"the state of normality of the nation, ensured by protecting and promoting constitutional*

*principles, social, economic and political stability, maintaining the rule of law, as well as exercising the rights, freedoms and fundamental duties of citizens. Extended national security is achieved through a set of processes, actions and measures of a political, legislative and administrative nature in the fields of defence, public order, information, counter-intelligence and security, education, health, economics, energy, financial, environment and critical infrastructures"* (SNApT, p. 8).

The concept of extended national security is based on respect for constitutional democracy and respect for democratic values. The 2015-2019 Defence Strategy as well as the 2020-2024 Strategy are implemented in compliance with European security principles and development of a direct relationship of proportionality with the European Security Strategy and also with the Internal Security Strategy for the European Union<sup>2</sup>. The convergence of these principles is a desire of both national defence strategies.

The new National Defence Strategy for the period 2020-2024 is also focused on the development of this concept of extended national security. The strategy proposes an integrated management of risks, threats and vulnerabilities, with two aspects. The first aspect is the internal/national one and the second aspect is the international one, more precisely the external commitments of our country (SNApT, pp. 10, 23).

The integration of national security objectives into a complex of national security management involves perennial national security interests. The National Strategy 2020-2024 defines the national security interest as *"a desirable state of a nation, of an organic and inclusive community, aiming at defending and promoting fundamental national values, ensuring prosperity, guaranteeing the observance of the democratic rights and liberties, as well as safeguard and security of its members"* (pp. 26, 35). Eloquent examples would be state sovereignty, sustainable economic development, the defence and consolidation of constitutional democracy, and the rule of law.

The national security objective is defined by the Strategy as a set of *"objective (land size, resources, population, geographical location) and subjective (values, intentions, expectations) of the practical action taken by the state through the institutions representing it, namely through national strategies and policies for the achievement and affirmation of its fundamental national interests"* (ib., p. 39). The strengthening of national defence capacity, the unimpeded exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms by Romanian citizens, and the better management of internal and external crisis situations are all conclusive examples.

<sup>1</sup> Presidential Administration, [https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewjn\\_o-6meaCAXVbhPOHHThMA74QFnoECA8QAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.presidency.ro%2Ffiles%2Fuserfiles%2Fstrategia\\_Nationala\\_de\\_Aparare\\_a\\_Tarii\\_1.pdf&usq=AOvVaw0Q00SkNHmGD9I2GP2DgXs9&opi=89978449](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewjn_o-6meaCAXVbhPOHHThMA74QFnoECA8QAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.presidency.ro%2Ffiles%2Fuserfiles%2Fstrategia_Nationala_de_Aparare_a_Tarii_1.pdf&usq=AOvVaw0Q00SkNHmGD9I2GP2DgXs9&opi=89978449), retrieved on 5 October 2023.

<sup>2</sup> <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/01ecea40-3706-443e-8fe4-043ef5a2f438/>, retrieved on 12 September 2023.

The 2020-2024 National Defence Strategy will subsume under the theoretical template of extended national security concept, which was defined in the previous Strategy. In addition to armed defence – understood in dual quality, national defence and collective defence, the Strategy also covers other dimensions, such as foreign policy, public order, intelligence, counterintelligence and security, as well as crisis management, education, culture, health, economy, demography, finances, environment, energy or cyber security, security of critical infrastructure and historical and cultural heritage. We are thus observing how the new strategy operates with a multidimensional concept of security. It is true that our country is a member of the advanced democracies and has effective integrated national security management.

The national strategy also introduces an extremely important concept, namely the concept of **resilience**. Somewhat difficult to translate into Romanian, the 2020-2024 Strategy explains it extensively: *“The concept of resilience of Romania is approached in double-key terms: the inherent capacity of entities – individuals, communities, regions, regions, state – to resist and adapt articulately to violent stress-causing events, shock, disasters, pandemics or conflicts, on the one hand, and the ability of these entities to quickly return to a functional state of normality, on the other hand”* (Cîrciumaru, 2021, pp. 11-12).

The essential objective of Romania’s foreign policy is to increase the international profile of our country by strengthening its defence capacity, but also the ability to project in the neighbourhood and beyond democratic values and to provide security. The new multidimensional concept of enhanced national security reinforces this objective. According to the same 2020-2024 National Defence Strategy, *“the current global security environment, the interdependence between the **external levels** of pursuing Romania’s security objectives and the **internal levels**, of national public policies in areas defining extended security, is more emphasised than ever before and is the key to the effective implementation of this Strategy”* (Ib.).

The concept of extended security is proof of the maturity of the national defence system and awareness of its adaptation to new challenges or the emergence of new so-called *“black swans”* or other events impossible to predict. The big problem that will arise in the future is whether this concept of national security is adapted to our country’s real projection capabilities. The current problems of the country can be defined by a single word, namely **the deficit**: an economic deficit, a human resources deficit, and a deficit of efficient management of these resources. Another explanation would be poor management of some of the resources, which will lead to a deficit that will become chronic over time.

## CONCLUSIONS

Based on the triad of the European Union, the North Atlantic Alliance and the Strategic Partnership with the United States, Romania’s foreign and security policy is stable and predictable. What is not predictable is the evolution of security in the Extended Black Sea Region, which is why this concept of extended security convergent with that of resilience is clear, concise, and applicable in the current context of the international profile of our country.

One question that arises is whether our country is capable of reducing the cleavages with the rest of the Euro-Atlantic countries and of stagnating this deficit.

The 2020-2024 National Defence Strategy is based on the concepts of critical security studies and the main postmodern visions: investigating the power process and discourses in the field of world politics, and the political identity arising from complex processes. Postmodernism studies the essential differences between cultures and multicultural diversity (Cristian, Cotîrleţ, p. 79). In this sense, the strategy must also generate sub-concepts for sectoral strategies to help implement these great concepts but also to reduce the chronic resource deficit through mechanisms to mitigate resource management.

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