

GLOBALIZATION – A FORM OF MANIFESTATION OF THE HYBRID WAR

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Abstract: *The growing scale and diversity of specific events of globalization, taking place on a global scale in the first two decades of the 21st century prove indisputably that actions assimilated to the hybrid warfare have become the most significant threat to nations. Unlike conventional warfare, hybrid forms do not involve direct or declarative actions of open conflict, but rather involve complex issues that are constantly unfolding and that are constantly evolving. Like globalization, the conflict no longer has a geographical delimitation or an infrastructure component, and populations are no longer the main fighters of these conflicts. In this article I will seek to answer some questions about the phenomenon of globalization and its implications for amplifying the manifestations of hybrid warfare in the contemporary operational environment, especially those of a cyber, terrorist, climatological, biological and organized crime nature, while presenting the concerns of international actors for increasing investments in research in the armament industry, improving military intelligence and long-range capabilities, in order to use military power as a tool of intimidation in foreign policy, active involvement of forces in punishing actors on the "axis of evil", as well as the partial recovery of old areas of influence at regional or global level.*

Keywords: *globalization; cyber actions; terrorism; organized crime; climate change; COVID-19 pandemic.*

Introduction

Globalization is a broad and complex process, whose purpose is to achieve full integration in areas such as economic, political, military, security, social, cultural and more, with many advantages but also sufficient disadvantages for states absorbed by this phenomenon, which is in full swing and which does not offer nations too many chances to develop independently. The phenomenon of globalization is the stage reached at present by the process of globalization of economic activities and, at the same time, the strategic means used by the banking system and international corporations to ensure their profitability and to avoid fluctuations in their fields in which they invested the capital. Internationally, globalization means, among other things, freedom and dependence, uniformity, free movement of goods, services, people and ideas, all at the same time.

An economic and financial crisis, manifested on a global scale, clearly highlights the domino effect that any event produced in one part of the globe triggers in another. Thus, the crisis can be seen either as a catalyst for globalization, or as an obstacle to it, through efforts at the local or regional level to curb or limit its effects. In the register of challenges, more and more problems seem to be added to the list of issues to be managed, such as the emergence of supranational organizations, accessibility across borders, subordination of the policy of large economic and financial-banking associations, transfer of sovereignty and state reconsideration, transfer conflict situations from regional to global level, differentiation of economic and technical-scientific capacities, protection of the underground economy and its connection to international terrorism, organized crime, trafficking in human beings and drugs, population growth as opposed to chronicity of poverty, degradation of the natural environment and pollution with major consequences on life.

In conclusion, using well-established methods of scientific research, I will try a brief presentation and analysis of the newest and most important forms of hybrid warfare specific to the 21st century, which can affect the global security environment.

The implications of globalization in the scenario of hybrid actions of a cyber-nature

Cyber threats are becoming an increasingly common impediment in our lives. Moreover, some experts are already talking about a "cyber war", the most eloquent example being the United States, which already treats the cyber conflict as a terrorist one. Cyber threats

in the online environment are constantly growing. The cyberspace will always be animated by the continuous race between the attackers and those who are affected by these attacks. The interference in the electoral processes carried out in Europe and the United States has become, in the last decade, an almost permanent phenomenon. Intelligence assessments showed a substantial involvement of Russia in determining the election result in at least three important cases – the US presidential election, the Bulgarian presidential election and the referendum in which the Dutch rejected the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement.

In the spring of 2015, US intelligence agencies identified conversations in which Russian government officials spoke with associates of Donald Trump. During the 2016 presidential campaign and until his mandate, Donald Trump and at least 17 officials and campaign advisers had numerous contacts with Russian citizens. Moreover, the British and Dutch intelligence services provided information to the Americans about the meetings in European cities, between Russian officials – Putin's associates and officials of the Trump campaign. US intelligence agencies also intercepted communications from Russian officials, some of them in the Kremlin, discussing contacts with various Trump associates. In 2016, such contacts were also made with senior Russian intelligence officials, and yet in February 2017, US officials said they had no evidence that the Trump campaign had cooperated with the Russians to influence the election. As of October 2018, the question if Donald Trump won the 2016 election due to Russian interference has not received much attention. Counter-candidate Hillary Clinton's supporters were more likely to blame her defeat for the campaign's mistakes than to point out that Trump had collaborated with Russia.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assessments created an unprecedented separation between president-elect Donald Trump and the intelligence community. On December 11, 2016, US intelligence officials expressed dismay that Trump had challenged their findings as politically motivated or inaccurate. Former CIA director Michael Morell has said that foreign mixture in the US elections poses an existential threat. Republican politicians knew that publicly revealed information about Russia's interference was probably the tip of the iceberg over the real threat. Former National Security Agency (NSA) director Michael V. Hayden said Russia's involvement in the 2016 presidential election is “the most successful secret influence operation in history”¹.

During 2016-2017, all Russian officials, like Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov, and even President Vladimir Putin categorically denied any involvement in the US presidential election. It was not until June 2017 that he continued to deny government involvement, saying that "patriotic" Russian hackers could be responsible for cyber-attacks on the United States during the 2016 campaign. A few days later, he also said, “The presidents come and go and even the ruling parties change, but the main political direction does not change. That's why, in the grand scheme, we don't care who the head of the United States is. We know more or less what will happen. And so, in this regard, even if we wanted to, it would not make sense to interfere”. Putin also criticized US foreign policy, saying, “Put your finger on a map of the world and you will hear complaints everywhere that American officials are interfering in internal electoral processes”².

Due to the warm relations between Israel and Russia, since the 2016 US elections, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had been accused of helping Russia interference in the election process. It was not until 2020 that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) revealed links between Russia and the Trump campaign and that Israel had openly helped Russia get involved in the election.

¹ Munslow, Julia, *Ex-CIA Director Hayden: Russia election meddling was 'most successful covert operation in history'*, Yahoo! News, 21.07.2017, accesat la 20.11.2020.

² Smith, Allan, *Russia responds to reports it hacked US election: Prove it*, Business Insider, 16.12.2016, accesat la 10.01.2021.

In the 2016 election campaign in Bulgaria, candidate Rumen Radev used anti-migrant rhetoric and argued that it was in the country's interest to find a balance between EU membership obligations and improved ties with Russia. This Bulgarian general, considered inclined to plead for the Russian cause, was proclaimed winner in the second round of voting to succeed the incumbent president Rosen Plevneliev, from the ruling party. It was obvious that a victory for General Radev could lead to a more favorable position for Russia, while Plevneliev had shown his intransigence towards Moscow. Radev had already spoken out in favor of lifting European sanctions against Russia and said the Crimea region was "in fact Russian". On the other hand, the Bulgarian energy sector is largely dependent on a strong Russian presence and the two countries have obvious cultural and historical ties. Denying all comments in the media, Rumen Radev defended his neutrality, strongly recalling that he is a "NATO general trained in the USA" and pointing that "EU and NATO membership has no alternative".

In 2014, the European Union and Ukraine signed an association agreement which marked a new stage in the development of EU-Ukraine relations. The Association Agreement, as the main tool for the process of rapprochement between Ukraine and the EU, promotes stronger political relations, stronger economic ties and respect for common values. The economic part of the agreement facilitates the alignment of key sectors of the Ukrainian economy with EU standards.

In April 2016, the Dutch voted massively, with over 61% of the vote, against the association agreement between the European Union and Ukraine. The victorious result was welcomed by the Dutch Eurosceptic formations. Although previous estimates reported a turnout of less than 30%, which would have invalidated the result of the popular consultation, the turnout was still 32.2%.

On December 15, 2016, the European Council reaffirmed its commitment to the conclusion of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, paving the way for all EU Member States to confirm ratification of the agreement. The Netherlands is the only member state of the European Union that has not yet ratified the agreement with Ukraine.

Therefore, we are dealing with electoral interferences, consisting of significant violations on the essential pillars of liberal democracy, represented by the right elections and the ability to lead freely. Russia has demonstrated on various occasions its ability to affect the outcome of the elections in question and that electoral interference can take place at low cost and with limited risk, as a permanent feature of current international relations.

The implications of globalization in the scenario of hybrid actions of a terrorist nature

Terrorism is a particularly serious threat, and the gravity is proven in the ability of terrorist structures and organizations to capture, through the difficulty of assessing terrorism, the wave of uncertainties and anxieties that accompany this phenomenon, difficult to understand and explain. Terrorism is a premeditated, punitive and vengeful action, inhuman, criminal, sometimes suicidal and always ferocious, which aims to destroy, cruelly kill and frighten. Terrorism cannot be justified in any way, as it presents itself neither as a way of unblocking a strategic situation, as war is generally identified, nor as a simple reaction of revenge against an enemy it does not you can strike differently, but as an untimely and criminal aggression against the human being, civilization and value systems.³

The terrorist attack launched on September 11, 2001, on some targets in the United States, was part of the FBI's largest criminal investigation. At its apogee, more than half of the FBI agents were working on the investigation, following about half a million lines of investigation. The FBI concluded that there was clear evidence linking al-Qaeda and Bin Laden

³ Văduva, Gheorghe, *Terorismul contemporan – factor de risc la adresa securității și apărării naționale, în condițiile statutului României de membru NATO*, București, Editura UNAp, 2005.

to the attacks.⁴ The FBI was able to quickly identify the network of terrorists involved in the 9/11 attacks, as the luggage found at Boston's Logan Airport, belonging to Mohamed Atta, one of the terrorists directly involved, contained the names, tasks and connections of al-Qaeda terrorists involved in attacks. A few hours after the attacks, the FBI presented photos of all 19 terrorists, along with information about possible nationalities and pseudonyms. Fifteen of the terrorists were from Saudi Arabia, two from the United Arab Emirates, one from Egypt and one from Lebanon.⁵ Not long after, the US NSA and German intelligence agencies were in possession of intercepted conversations between al-Qaeda leaders and their travels during 2000-2001 in Malaysia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Hamburg, USA. Authorities in the United States and the United Kingdom also obtained electronic interceptions, including telephone conversations and electronic bank transfers, in connection with the planning of the 9/11 attacks. These conversations did not specifically mention the World Trade Center or the Pentagon or other locations. The Inspector General of CIA conducted an internal review of the agency's performance before 9/11 and harshly criticized senior CIA officials for not doing their best to deal with terrorism and their failure to share held information with the FBI.

In February 2002, the Senate and House Intelligence Committees conducted a joint survey of the performance of the US Intelligence Community. The report, published in December 2002, detailed the FBI and CIA's shortcomings in using available information, including on terrorists that CIA knew they were already in the United States, to prevent a terrorist attack.⁶ The National Commission for Terrorist Attacks on the United States (Commission 9/11) was established in late 2002 to provide a detailed overview of the circumstances surrounding the attacks, including preparing for an immediate response to the attacks. The Commission's report states that the attacks were carried out by al-Qaeda members and highlights the inadequate way in which security and intelligence agencies were coordinated to prevent the attacks.⁷

The 9/11 attacks also led to US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The NATO Council stated that terrorist attacks on the United States were an attack on all NATO nations, and thus the provisions of Article 5 of the NATO Charter were met. This was the first invocation of Article 5, written during the Cold War in reaction to a possible attack by the Soviet Union. The Bush administration has announced a war on terror, with stated goals of bringing Bin Laden and al-Qaeda to justice and preventing other terrorist networks. On October 7, 2001, the war in Afghanistan was launched by US and British forces through airstrikes on Taliban and al-Qaeda camps and locations. A few days later, Afghanistan was invaded by ground forces of special forces.

Following the attacks, many governments around the world have adopted by vote anti-terrorism legislation. In Germany, where several of the 9/11 terrorists lived and took advantage of the country's liberal residency policies, two major anti-terrorism legislative packages were adopted. The first eliminated the legislative loopholes that allowed terrorists to live and raise money in Germany. The second addressed the effectiveness and communication of intelligence and law enforcement services.⁸ Canada has passed the Canadian Counter-Terrorism Act, their first anti-terrorism law. The United Kingdom adopted the Counter-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001 and the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2005. New Zealand adopted the Suppression of Terrorism Act of 2002.⁹

⁴ Clarke, Richard A., *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terrorism*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004.

⁵ *The FBI Releases 19 Photographs of Individuals Believed to be the Hijackers of the Four Airliners that Crashed on September 11, 2001*, FBI National Press Office, 04.09.2001, accesat la 12.01.2021.

⁶ *Crime in the United States 2001*, FBI National Press Office, 28.10.2002, p.2, accesat la 12.01.2021.

⁷ Press Release of Intelligence Committee, Senate and House Intelligence Committees Announce Joint Inquiry into the September 11 Terrorist Attacks, 14.02.2002, accesat la 16.01.2021.

⁸ Miko, Francis; Froehlich, Christian, *Germany's Role in Fighting Terrorism: Implications for U.S. Policy*, Federation of American Scientists, 27.12.2004, accesat la 16.01.2021.

⁹ *Q and A: Anti-terrorism legislation*, BBC News Online, 17.10.2003, accesat la 20.01.2021.

In the United States, the Department of Internal Security was created by the Internal Security Act to coordinate internal counterterrorism efforts. The federal government has been given greater powers, including the authority to detain foreign terrorist suspects for a week, to monitor telephone communications, e-mail and the use of the Internet by terrorist suspects, and to prosecute suspected terrorists without time restrictions. The Federal Aviation Administration has ordered the consolidation of the cockpit to prevent terrorists from taking control of the planes.

The implications of globalization in the scenario of hybrid actions specific to the organized crime system

Criminal organizations have gradually expanded their area of action at international level, constantly adapting their ways to maximize profits from illegal actions and exploiting the opportunities offered. The same opportunities have led to the diversification of activities, developing links between crime in the field of drug trafficking, trafficking in human beings and illegal migration, cybercrime, trafficking and smuggling of various goods in a controlled form and in the field of money laundering.

The spread of organized crime is a threat to all countries of the world, requiring analysis and evaluation, with a view to taking appropriate and combined measures to limit and combat it, at international, European and national level. The impact is felt by both European and global economies, seriously affecting countries' tax revenues. Criminal organizations have developed considerably, carrying out activities in many sectors, attacking areas of public administration, thus becoming an economic actor, specializing in providing various types of goods and services, combining illegal activities with legal ones.

A complex set of factors supports human trafficking, including poverty, unemployment, social norms that discriminate against women, institutional challenges and globalization. The economic impact of globalization pushes people to make conscious decisions to migrate and be vulnerable to trafficking. Victims often come from poor rural communities and see few options other than selling organs illegally. The inability of rich countries to meet the demand for organs within their own borders perpetuates trafficking. Globalization and the rise of Internet technology have also facilitated human trafficking. Online sites and social networks have been heavily controlled for use by customers and traffickers in facilitating sex trafficking and sex work in general. While globalization has promoted new technologies that can exacerbate human trafficking, the technology can also be used to support law enforcement and anti-trafficking efforts.

The trade or trafficking with drugs is a global, black market dedicated to the cultivation, manufacture, distribution and sale of drugs prohibited by national and international law. The COVID-19 pandemic had an immediate disruptive impact on drug use, retail supply and treatment services, and highlighted the special needs of drug users. Although the long-term impact of the pandemic has not yet been assessed, in the short term we are already seeing some changes, such as a greater interest in the use of digital technologies in the drug market and type of medicine by electronic means and mobile telephony. We need to be concerned that, as the economic repercussions of the crisis are felt, some people may become more vulnerable to drug problems and more likely to get involved in the drug market, putting increased pressure on our already overworked services. It is therefore essential to act swiftly to identify and combat new threats that may arise as a result of this rapidly evolving situation.

Anti-money laundering laws were originally created to be used against organized crime during the Prohibition in the United States in the 1930s. The attacks of September 11, 2001, led to a new awareness of money laundering laws to combat terrorist financing. Money laundering problems exist as long as large-scale criminal enterprises operate. Modern anti-money laundering laws developed with the modern war on drugs. In more recent times, anti-money laundering legislation is seen as a completion to the financial crime of terrorist financing, as both crimes usually involve the transfer of funds through the financial system, although money laundering refers to the place of origin of the money and the financing of terrorism refers to the destination of money. Transaction laundering is a huge and growing problem. The merger of international terrorist

organizations with transnational organized crime is one of the most serious threats facing society today. The debate on these emerging alliances has been going on for some time, and experts agree that there are clear overlaps between international structures of terrorism and organized crime. Terrorist and criminal organizations rely on the same global transport, communication and financial infrastructure. They benefit from the same tolerance in the actions of the authorities, in the legislation and its application in the target states. Both organizations are seeking an increasing share of the wealth generated by drug trafficking and other crimes.¹⁰

Terrorism is changing along with society and to preserve itself as a phenomenon it uses what society offers it, including the most modern weapons and the most advanced ideas.¹¹ The risk of terrorists obtaining nuclear fissile material is small but real. Such a risk is much higher for radiological material, which is ubiquitous throughout the world and is not subject to the same level of control and protection as fissile nuclear material.

The implications of globalization in the scenario of hybrid actions of a climatological nature

Climate change is affecting all regions of the globe. The ice caps are melting and sea and ocean levels are rising. In some regions, extreme weather events and rainfall are becoming more common, while others are facing extreme heat waves and drought. An intensification of these phenomena is expected in the coming decades, with global warming being at the origin of the melting of ice caps and glaciers. Taken together, these changes lead to rising sea and ocean levels and thus flooding and eroding coastal and low-lying areas. Torrential rains and other extreme weather events are becoming more frequent. As a result of this situation, floods occur and water quality decreases and water resources become increasingly precarious in some regions. People in many poor countries are among the hardest hit. In addition to the fact that their lives often depend to a very large extent on the natural environment, they also have the fewest resources that could allow them to cope with the situation.

Climate change already has a significant impact on health. We are already witnessing a change in the distribution of water-borne diseases and vectors and the number of deaths caused by heat has increased in some regions, and the number of those caused by cold has decreased in others. Damage to real estate and infrastructure, as well as human health, entails high costs for society and the economy. Sectors that are highly dependent on temperature and rainfall, such as agriculture, forestry, energy and tourism, are particularly affected. Climate change is happening so rapidly that the survival of many plant and animal species is threatened. Many terrestrial, freshwater, and marine species have already migrated, and some plant and animal species are at risk of extinction if global average temperatures continue to rise uncontrollably.

Climate change poses threats to international peace and security. While geoengineering technologies (GTs) may present an increasingly attractive solution for some governments, their exploration and deployment would not be without risk. Once set in motion, control over these complex and highly invasive technologies could no longer be maintained. To any unintended consequences that may arise from their use, states or the international community could react unpredictably. Before reaching the point where GTs can be deployed on a large scale, the international community will face a number of ethical, technical, security and governance issues that currently do not seem to be well addressed. Similarly, the perspective of solutions that adequately address fundamental concerns about environmental justice and intergenerational equity seems weak. But with a problem as urgent as rapid global climate change, time is of the essence. In the absence of an unequivocal commitment to climate change mitigation, the international community may eventually be forced to pay serious attention to GTs. Historical

¹⁰ Glenn E. Schweitzer, *Detecting and Preventing Nuclear Smuggling*, Congressional Testimony, 22.09.2005, accesat la 05.01.2021.

¹¹ A. Fedorov, Report given at Russian Federation State-Duma Conference on *International Terrorism with the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Myth or Reality*, în *Yadernyy Kontrol*, PIR Center, Decembrie 2003, accesat la 02.02.2021.

examples of areas where the environment and infrastructure with an ecological risk have been used as a weapon of war are common. Therefore, the potential arming of GTs cannot be rejected and any movement for their development or implementation must take these risks into account.

Statistics show that global income distribution has worsened in the age of globalization. Simultaneously with climate change, globalization amplifies the polarization between rich and poor nations and leads to a separation in terms of income – some with high incomes and others with lower and lower incomes. The phenomenon inevitably produces losers and winners, accelerating the stratification process of underdeveloped countries.

The implications of globalization in the scenario of hybrid actions of a biological nature

The COVID-19 pandemic has shown how vulnerable modern society is to viral infections and their consequences and it is becoming increasingly clear that in the future terrorists could predominantly use biological weapons. There is no reason to believe that terrorist groups will forget the lessons learned from this pandemic, as the damage thus created would have a rapid impact and global potential. Deliberate use of pathogens such as viruses or bacteria in a terrorist attack could be extremely effective. The damage to people and economies could be significantly greater than in the case of traditional terrorist attacks.

The pandemic resulted in misinformation and conspiracy theories about the extent of infections and the origin, prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of the disease. False information, including intentional misinformation, has been spread through social media, text messaging and the media. Journalists were arrested for spreading false news about the pandemic. Misinformation has also been spread by many celebrities, politicians and other important public figures. A study by Cornell University on the COVID-19 pandemic reported that US President Donald Trump was "probably the biggest generator" of the media disinformation infodemic.¹²

The commercial scams claimed to offer home tests, alleged preventive measures and miraculous remedies. Several religious groups have argued that virus protection can be achieved by faith.¹³ Some people have claimed that the virus is a biological weapon accidentally or intentionally released from a laboratory, being a population control scheme, the result of an espionage operation or the side effect of 5G updates on cellular networks. The World Health Organization (WHO) has declared an "infodemic" of incorrect information about the virus, which poses risks to global health.

The beginning of the 21st century is characterized by a world in which crises and conflicts are real and present. We are witnessing a racial and religious ideological polarization and the paradigm shift is obvious, with state-centered strategic security becoming paramount in relation to human security, which has faded into the background. Hybrid actions are becoming a common feature of the contemporary security environment and seek to exploit national vulnerabilities in the political, military, economic, social, information and infrastructure fields. From this perspective, building a resilient society that responds dynamically to hybrid threats must be seen as an opportunity and not as an additional burden on the economic effort currently unfolding in a country.

Conclusions

Those who condemn globalization neglect the benefits it has brought to the world, and those who only acclaim it are in a much greater error. In the latter's view, globalization is equivalent to progress. Developing countries have to accept it if they want to grow and fight poverty, but for many people in these countries, and not only, globalization has not brought

¹² Stolberg, Sheryl Gay; Weiland, Noah, *Study Finds 'Single Largest Driver' of Coronavirus Misinformation: Trump*, in The New York Times din 22.10.2020, accesat la 25.11.2020.

¹³ Kowalczyk, Oliwia; Roszkowski, Krzysztof; Montane, Xavier; Pawliszak, Wojciech; Tylkowski, Bartosz; Bajek, Anna, *Religion and Faith Perception in a Pandemic of COVID-19*, in Journal of Religion and Health nr.59(6) ISSN 1573-6571, accesat la 25.11.2020.

much-promised benefits at all. The negative effects of globalization are mainly due to the fact that, at least until now, there is a tendency to concentrate decision-making power in the hands of large companies. They can, through increasing development, get out of state control, promote their policies without regard to the restrictions imposed by nation states, suffocate smaller competing firms, cause an excessive agglomeration of wealth at one pole of humanity and widespread poverty in other parts of the globe.¹⁴

Western banks took advantage of the easing of control over capital markets in Latin America and Asia and expanded, but these regions suffered when the accumulated capital suddenly withdrew. This brutal ebb has left extremely vulnerable national currencies and banking systems. In the case of trade liberalization, but also in other areas affected by globalization, even seemingly well-intentioned efforts have sometimes had negative effects. When agricultural or infrastructure projects recommended by the West and financed by the World Bank or other such institutions fail, all the people of those countries are the ones who have to pay the loans received, except of course in cases where the accumulated debt is canceled in whole or in part.

Undoubtedly, some suffering is inevitable, but the suffering of some developing countries has been much greater than necessary and could have been avoided by an appropriate view of the consequences. These countries do not receive any support in terms of the social security system, some have been marginalized by global markets, the sacrifices made and the price paid by them are not important and worthy of consideration by those who emerge victorious from the table of globalization.

If, in most cases, the benefits of globalization have been less than its supporters claim, the price paid has been far higher than the benefits obtained – the environment has been irreversibly affected, corruption has ravaged the political class, and the rapidity of the changes that take place every day does not give countries time to adapt or keep up.

Globalization has produced a misallocation of resources between private and public goods. Markets are capable of generating wealth, but they are neither capable nor designed to meet other types of social needs. Economists have concluded that the reaction of nation-states to the Great Depression of the last century – that of isolationism, of self-closure, especially from an economic point of view – was wrong, and the right reaction would have been rather openness. Drawing a parallel, Romania certainly cannot defend itself from the wave of globalization by closing itself in, trying to preserve anachronistic structures. The economy must be gradually opened up to continental and international structures, but institutions and reflexes must also be developed in order to be prepared to face, if necessary, a different type of crisis than the classical one.

The abolition of borders that ensure the free movement of people, values and capital, the creation of economic regions, the restriction of state authority and, especially, the emergence of European parliaments and governments, but also the role of world financial institutions – IMF and World Bank, the abolition of currencies and the changeover to the euro, as well as the drastic reduction of national armies in favor of NATO, all show that, gradually, the nation-state, with which we have been accustomed for more than two centuries, is approaching an increasingly well-defined finish.¹⁵

In this chaotic period, in which the differences of opinion between the global actors USA, Russia, China and the EU are growing, when terrorism produces a continuous state of insecurity in the international arena, when the epidemics and the pandemic of COVID-19 put the health of many peoples and when the use of armed power is the solution adopted in regional conflicts, the specter of unrestricted war threatens, at every moment, the existing fragile peace. The world order is being challenged in unprecedented ways, and the current health crisis has put the global economy under severe pressure, creating an increased sense of economic vulnerability and geopolitical opportunities.

¹⁴ Săgeată, Radu, *Globalizare culturală și cultura globală. Global și local în geografia culturală*, București, Editura Universitară, 2009.

¹⁵ Robertson Roland, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, Sage, 1992.

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