SECURITY THEORIES AS DERIVATIVES
OF THE POWER CONCEPT

Col. Iulian-Liviu GORGOS[*], Ph.D. Candidate
Military Centre of Sector 2, Bucharest

Operational concepts in the international relations theory are historically determined and are continuously modernized at the same time with human society evolution. Under these circumstances, international relations theorists have developed concerns regarding shaping and/or justifying the behavior of governments in the international environment

The "security" concept is used in a multitude of contexts, determined by the variety of interests that, with or without a justification, are presented as security interests, or linked to the concept. In the field of international relations, the concept "security" is used to define the State of comfort that the government or the population of a State feels regarding the preservation of its fundamental political values, that it upholds on the international arena and which, usually, are not negotiable or debatable. As explained earlier, this kind of political values, such as sovereignity, independence, teritorial integrity are encrypted in the fundamental political documents, as the constitution is for the constitutional democracy or in similarly valued regulations in the other situations. Internationally, this kind of values are formally acknowledged through the Charter of the United Nations.

The internal and external ability, of the mentioned constitutional political values to support, related to the international relations system developed by the State, and to the general trend of the international system (mostly conflicting or mostly peaceful) determines, against this background, the State's power of manifestation State or, in other words, the State's power. If the ability to support the sovereignty, independence, or territorial integrity is high (based on a strong military system, strong international relations that

---
[*] e-mail: *liviugorgos@yahoo.com*

offer the security of mutual aid in times of crisis, increased social cohesion and on other basic elements that ensure an effective defense against any potential threat), the power of the State, considered externally, is credible and determines respect in relation with other States. Contrarily, the weak support of the fundamental political interests would lead to a poor external perception of the State, and as a result would lead to disbelief regarding the ability of the government to lead the nation to the implementation of the assumed obligations through international agreements, an oscillating behavior adapted more to conjectural Statements and not necessarily entirely to international regulations, because not even the actions of that State can be classified strictly as meeting these regulations that promote specific relations to some advanced democracies with strong governance and therefore credible.

If there are risks and threats on internal level, related to the governance, when the issue of external relations arises, the concept of security is closely related to the concepts of threats, vulnerabilities and risks that are connected to other topics of international law. Analysts and political deciders reason and act nowadays predominantly in a rational, realistic, reactive paradigm. The central goal of every Government is to minimize threats by decreasing the degree of vulnerability that affects significantly the ability (power) of the State to support the fundamental political interests in a competitive and hierarchical international environment, mostly depending on the military power. This support is accomplished by bilateral relationships and adherence to international organizations, in accordance with the rules enforced by the UN Charter.

In this context, theories have been developed by specialists in the field of international relations, a series of visions which have as common basic thread exactly the States' and international organizations' power to manifest externally. These theories are enhanced by theoretical perspectives on interests, the effects and the perception the mutual relations' development, as well as the solutions to counter the threatening tendencies on the States' own security and general international security. Some of these theories, which are considered to be more important in terms of the impact on the current evolution of the international environment, will be detailed below:

The Theory of the Threatening Adverse Power
The advocates of this theory, among which Douhet, Giulio, Vladimir Lenin, Quincy Wright, or Henry Kissinger, assert that all conflicts and crises are initiated by the adverse power, as a result of its expantionist tendencies. The reason that could be underlying may be related to economic, political, ideological and other nature matters. Economic ly, the State that declares

itself threatened usually ehxibits economic policies, which decisively contribute to the defensive abilities' undermining. Such policies regard some strategic economic branches. As far as the mining sector is concerned, the energy resources and the strategic raw materials have an extremely important role. Such resources are the renewable energy resources and, especially, in the current context, the non-renewable ones, etc. This aspect is highlighted more and more as these resources are unevenly distributed around the Globe and, most often, they are found outside the developed States, so, from this point of view, there is a major interest of these countries to ensure a n adequate rhythm of the economic development of its own society, detrimental to societies that own this kind of resources, which are usually underdeveloped or currently developing countries.

Special attention shall be given to dual-edged technologies - economic and military use, which are usually owned by the developed States. There is, from this point of view, the possibility of intense military threatening of the poor countries by the rich countries. In this context, nuclear technology stands out particularly. In the processing industry field, there are very important the branches of strategic materials processing - coal, steel, lightweight metals, electronics, electrics, spatial, and other ones, whose final products may also have dual use, or whose productive abilities could be easily converted for weapons production. Agricultural resources are also a matter of dispute, because the agricultural production's distribution is also uneven, thus resulting into the uneven level of the technologies, in particular advantageous for the developed States.

Water sources are an important debate topic between countries worldwide. The phenomenon is magnified not only by the uneven distribution of water in the populated areas, but also by the destruction of the traditional natural sources as an effect of the anthropogenic activity, in particular the economic oneThe destruction of the environment by mankind appears to be increasingly obvious as the ecologic threatening, particularly in terms of industrial air pollution, soil and water sources, leading to more and more destructive natural disasters.

The social threat was and continues to be nowadays an important element of pressure in relations between the States, in particular by its ethnic, cultural, religious ideological components. All these tensions are particularly determined by the specific values of economic underdeveloped societies, which obviously determine the withholding of their social evolution. There are today, for instance, primitive societies in Africa and on the South American continent, but also in the Asian region and on the smaller islands of the oceans which are, in particular, outside the spheres of interest of the great

powers. At the top of the social evolution there are the great capitalist democracies, which are supporting their current evolution, as I demonstrated, on the basic economic resources coming from poor and socially underdeveloped countries. In contrast, there are the poor States that because of the globalization tendencies that give advantage to the developed countries, become poorer and poorer, in such conditionsturning into political and military instability sources.

Depending on the possibilities of the States affected by such tensions of becoming conscious about the fault of another State for its internal problems, the transfer of internal tensions in external world is increasingly possible by a more and moreskeptical diplomacy to international performe identified as a source of evil, and later, while the reactive military capabilities are evolving the idea of a military threat could be developed. The escalation of the conflict may be both felt and noticed, starting with the "civilian" fields which are far from the military areas, which would produce as a result, social, political and military crisis, which are meant to worry the neighboursof the respective State, which also have a poor political and social stability.

In conclusion claiming that, taking into consideration the perceived threats, these States will tend to develop sufficient defensive skills to react timely and effectively, to counter, in their areas of interest, the policies of competitors. An important aspect in this case is the need to obtain trust capital from the international community, due to the limitation of offensive actions internationally, and the posibility of this community to intervene against a country that is described by UN deciding agencies as being an agressor State. Such an approach is aimed to create a favorable image in the international community towards their own approach and a more hostile stance towards the competitive actor. During the debates within the framework of international organizations, regional or worldwide, the violation of the international law regulations established by the constitutive documents of the certain organizations will be often brought in the foreground.

Conspiracy Theory/Of the Agreements Between the Great Powers
This theory, supported in 1945 by Karl Popper, had to be developed by small and medium States relating to the mutual agreements between the great powers, often called superpowers, with the aim of dominating the whole world. In this context, some advocates such as Michael Barkun Todd Sanders, Harry G. West, Daniel Pipes, express the idea of a stiff competition only virtually, the conspiratives great powers' purpose being to divert attention of the international public opinion from their premedited intention of establishing across some zones of influence on the neighbour territories or across the entire world. The theory was further emphasized in 2000 by David Icke.

The motivations of such an agreement may be diverse, taking action in political, ideological, religious, ethnic, ambiental and other areas, particularly cultural. Consequently, we can conclude that such a theoretical approach may often occur into the development of a certain guideline against the conspirative countries and the achievement of a favorable international opinion to the governmental or non-governmental groups which reveal this "dirty game".

The goals of such theories have increased success chances in the situation in which there is a powerful international actor, which has the ability to manifest discretionary, as a pole of politic and military power through the international agencies.

Arming Race Theory. Security Dilemma

According to the arming race theory, for which I will mention a few followers such as Douhet, Giulio-in the early '20s, Liddell Hart, John Foster Dulles, Glenn Snyder, H. , Deterrence and Defense: Toward a Theory of National Security, Princeton, N. J. : Princeton University Press, 1961 or on Henry Kissinger, during the '50s-'60s, and Raymond Aron, Robert Osgood, or Maxwell Taylor, the development of the arming trend is determined by the necessity of defense of the basic interests of the recognized States or political-military organizations in conditions in which it is necessary to restore the military balance after the opponent's arming action. In this context, what the specialists in the field of international relations call " security dilemma" will become apparent. It presumes that the accumulation of means likely to increase the security of an international actor determines obviously, the reduction of the security of the other international actors that are located in its neighbourhood. International actors ' behavior is dictated, in such conditions, not by the need for security, but by the answer to the perceived danger of insecurity towards State and the political-military organization that enhances their security. This behavior leads to a reduction in the resulting security level of competitors, an effect of the important destructive potential accumulation, in the conditions of increased military costs, often far beyond the real acceptable` limit of the majority States. In such conditions the security systems of the respective geopolitical space may colapse due to the internal social conflicts (for example, the Warsaw Treary Organization, self dissolved in 1990, after the fall of the Communist regimes). If, however, the growth of the military potential takes place in a harmonious conception, in which the politic, economic, military, social development, support each other, lead to an equilibrium, and as a result, to an increase in the security status in the concerned area. We bring as a fact for this situation, as an example NATO, which continued its existence even after the fall of the Communist regimes,

and subsequently expanded until in the year 2009 (when Croatia and Albania joined the political-military organization).

In current conditions, when technologies are also unevenly distributed geographically, the potential military buildup can occur both in terms of quantity, as well as the of quality. Quantitative aspects are decisive for the international actors that are in the situation of parity of the possible military abilities to confront in a potential conflict. They may have as quantitative representation the number of systems, weaponry and technique of the same generation related in gun-versus -gun, the quantity of ammunition held and the materials needed in order to operate these strategical weapons systems. Just before the political-military crisis status occurs, the arming race is followed by the training of the human resource neeeded for the operation of the existing military arsenal.

Qualitative aspects of the arming race are determined in the relationship between the international actors that are in situation of strategic skills unbalance. The main element that can hold this status is, in this case, maintaining a technological advantage in warfare. This advantage ensures if needed, increased effectiveness of the modern weapons systems, compared to the morally worne out ones. We can study for instance the example of the latest generation weapon systems with increased annihilation possibilities, the morally worne outweapons systems of the enemy, which become this way obsolete (e. g. high precision tapping systems made for anti-aircraft defense, able to launch attacks with intelligent weapons, outside anti-aircraft defense areas). We should also discuss the status of the countries that have nuclear weapons, which become this way subreagional or regional powers across the States that do not posses nuclear arsenal, despite the fact that they do not have a last generation classic military potential. This is the situation of India, China, Pakistan and even more recently, North Korea, country that resorts more often to the nuclear argument in order to get concessions from the international community in other fields of interest.

The arming race theory is the generator of the arming spiral, which can gain uncontrolled aspects, as it happened to be the situation in the second half of the 20th century, between the United States and the Soviet Union, when the nuclear arming level of the two superpowers had created a real threat to the existence of mankind itself. The declared goal of the arming race is that of restoring the balance of power or, in the case of high-power destructive weapons, restoring the balance of terror, caused by significant destruction threat towards the threatened actor's population. The threat of military destruction and the demonstrations of force are methods by which the involved countries in which the arming race is minding the possible enemies

on destructive potential, in order to impose, often, giving up the armed commitment in the fundamental interests in front of the possible aggressor.

As a conclusion, under consideration of the previously mentioned arguments, that in the situation of the arming race, governments in the circumstances of the race emphasis must be laid on ensuring a substantial benefit in terms of a possible military mission. When the power of the States allows it, the obtained result is usually that of maintaining a certain international status quo, as effect of the equilibrium established between the defensive and offensive skills of the competing States, in the classical weapons situation, either between the initial force of impact and forecast measures of repression, particularly in the hypothetical situation of nuclear weapons usage. In this direction, there have been developed response or repression doctrines, which were usually made known to potential competitors, in order to discourage the usage of force because of the sanctions threat, which might arise from the other members of the international society, but also from the inner public opinion, when the armed conflict is initiated. This seems to have been the reason for which the great military powers refrained from involvement in a nuclear war for nearly a half of a century, preferring to demonstrate to each other their classic military skills in territories out of their own safety regions on which they mutually agreed, even since the 2nd World War.

Analyzing the notable international actors' behaviour on the international arena we can also conclude that this kind of action would have had ensured the great powers, the preservation of regional advantage towards small and medium sized neighbour contries, thus because of the fear, under the decision influence of the concerned hegemonic State. The arming race theory had to be, for the political deciders of the international actors, the main orientation in determining the place and the role that the States had in the post-war world security system, the influence being directly proportional to the military power proven and recognized by the other competitors, in which the balance of offensive-defensive and the defensive-offensive differentiation are part of this positional reasoning, which particularly values the military strenght as an element of enforcement ability or of the need for approval of the political decisions externally.

We can conclude, at the same time, supporting the fact that the arming race theory correlates in some situations, with the the conspiracy theory/agreements established between the great powers, particularly regarding the responsibility of States the superpower that polarizes the neighbour countries, while influencing the behaviour of the countries that are under the tutelage of their States, for the purposes of arming policies

adoption. Such a context provides the great powers, as exporters of military equipment and technology, situated mostly in the process of moral exceeding, undeserved benefits, built on the deep feeling of subregional or regional insecurity, depending on their destructive capacity.

Because of this, stopping the arming race and the promotion of disarming had become, in the early '70s, the basic guidelines for a range of small and medium sized States, also threatened by the aggressive tendency of both Soviet and American powers, as well as a spectrum of a nuclear war. These States had to be grouped under the movement for peace, contrary to the general trend of escalation in the arming race. Thus, the concerned countries expressed their feeling of insecurity toward the arming policies support, justified only by the inner reasons detrimental to the international agreements which are, primarily, pacifist. At the same time, this position allowed some States, such as Switzerland, Austria, Norway or Finland, Yugoslavia, to protect themselves against the expansion policies or against the influences shown by the great political and military powers during the Cold War.

The Theory States' Polarization around Hegemons

The supporters of this theory, among them Robert Keohane, Robert Gilpin, Kenneth N. Waltz, or John or George Modelski, Mearsheimer have as a starting point Thucydides's ideas on Pelopenesian War and consider that the major conflicts in the world have diverse causes, most often in economic and social contradictions, which subsequently found an ethnic or religious ideological correspondence. These contradictions are determined by the uneven distribution of resources around the Globe, correlated with international inequities in the field of profits distribution. The situation is paradoxal for international actors owning important natural resources, but that are in the position of dominated States because of the economic and military powers, classified into the rich countries category, but that will depend on the resources located in other territories. In the third world the competition for the dominant position is perceived as the source of all conflicts.

To sum up, in this direction, pointing out the similarity with the theory of the agreements established between the great powers, except that the dominant assumptions from which it is developed, are in first instance, the economic ones and then the military ones. In these conditions the results are different, responsible for the anarchical international climate being the world's economic powers, which are not always also military powers due to the limits imposed by the security system set up over half a century before. We reach, in this respect, the discussion of the status of international power, on the basis of new criteria, that are somewhat contradicting with traditional acknowledgement, imposed by political-military agreements set at the end of the second world war.

Conclusions

All shown facts give us the right to conclude that, although it has been acknowledged relatively recently, the concept of security seems to have been permanently in the attention of every government, within the external relations which it has established. As a result, the concern of the political power to find more and more effective solutions to solve the problems of security, has led to the development of the theory of international relations, geopolitics, diplomacy or military geostrategy. Such theoretical approaches put forward various solutions and are often played live, depending on the political and ideological partisanship, groups of interests and even psychological and cultural peculiarities of the personalities that they have grounded or of those who develop them. In any of them, the concept of power of the State has a key role to play, and this concept is most often identified with the concept of military power, a result of determinant place of the military system within the equations of State's security military and of the international environment.

Governments seem to be concerned, consequently, to adapt their behavior in the relations between them, the aim being to achieve their fundamental political interests, which they will present in front of the the international community as national or even international interests and will use those political, diplomatic, economic, military and other means, that appear to be the most appropriate for the international context and its own possibilities. We must add that, regardless of the government, the decision-making act, intended to lead to a complete settlement of the political-military issue cannot be a perfect one, in the light of the costs - benefits ratio. This aspect is determined by the limited ability of the deciders to analyze all the factors that compete to the evolution of any given situation, but also of the alert pace in which the events succeed each other in the international arena, especially in situations of political crisis with conflict generation potential.

We also consider that the tendencies of explaining the international environmental reality, by politicians and theoreticians of international relations, often by conflicting visions, mostly, are accomplished in a neo-realistic manner. We support our statement by our observation that the theories that apply mainly in the field of international relations would induce the idea that the current international situation has an unclear, complex causal constellation, and that the responsibility for the evolution of the international environment is firstly the responsibility of the States and the security status of States and of the international environment is based on a set of "truths", such as:

1. the competition for power between the international actors is not enough or totally uncontrolable, which determines the status of prevailing insecurity;

2. the security of the States is accomplished individually, as much as possible, due to the lack of local and international institutional regulations, as well as due to the uncertainty of warranties obtaining or firm support from other States. The tendency is determined also by the limited applicability of the very principles of morality, due to the oscillatory behaviour of many States internationally;

3. the increase of the security of a State determines the decrease of other States' security - fact that emphasizes the insecurity of the international system, according to the security dilemma.

We recognize then, in these affirmations, the tendency of international environmental modelling, primarily on the principles and policies of brute force/power-power politics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Icke David, *And the Truth Shall Set You Free: The 21st Century Edition*. Bridge of Love, 2004.

Jervis Robert, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1976.

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Omul, statul şi războiul*, European Institute Publishing, Iaşi, 2001.

Keohane Robert, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Princeton University Press, 1984.

McCauley Martin, *Rusia, America şi Războiul Rece, 1949-1991*, Polirom Publishing House, Iaşi, 1999.

Mearsheimer John, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics,* W. W. Norton & Company, NYC, 2001.

Modelski George, *Long Cycles in World Politics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987.

West Harry G., Todd Sanders, *Transparency and conspiracy: ethnographies of suspicion in the new world order*. Duke University Press, 2003.

http://www.jstor.org.