



OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES REGARDING THE REGIONALIZATION OF SECURITY AT THE BLACK SEA. PERSPECTIVES CONCERNING ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE BLACK SEA AND ITS IMPACT ON REGIONAL SECURITY

Rear Admiral (UH) Mihai PANAIT, PhD Candidate*

Within this approach, a radiography of the evolution of the regional security environment under the permanent influence of dynamic factors is made, analyzing ways of the contribution of the main regional actors to maintain a favorable climate for economic cooperation from the perspective of identifying the opportunity to regionalize security in the Black Sea.

The novelty of the approach is to decelerate, through a detailed analysis on several criteria levels, the new risks and vulnerabilities to which the regional security of the Black Sea is exposed, in the context of the global crisis generated by the pandemic, while identifying the prospects for regionalisation of the security of the Black Sea. In view of the current geopolitical situation, the realistic approach to the phenomenon will focus on revealing the algorithm of globalization and the balance of power, according to new reference points.

Keywords: geopolitics; regional security; economic partnerships; coronavirus; balance of power.

In this sense, the analysis of the regional situation will be taken into account, starting from the hypothesis that the opportunities in the field of security, economic, and financial cooperation are based on a mathematical model or an analyzing algorithm of the specific criteria in the concept of regionalization, a phenomenon due to large-scale factors manifested at the international level, namely globalization. This algorithm will be beneficial to decision-makers at the regional level to capitalize on it, as the main source of balance of power.

To validate this hypothesis, the following were established as objectives of the research: identification of the particularities of the Black Sea region; analysis of the concept of regional identity; identification of risks and threats on the regionalization and security of the Black Sea, analysis of generating security factors in the Black Sea region; identifying and implementing of several projects capable to provide opportunities for economic development in a regional security environment; analysis of current risks and threats to the Black Sea regionalization's security from the perspective of a disruptive factor such as the current global pandemic.

The Black Sea region, located between two geographical areas with great potential for conflict as Balkans and the Caucasus, and near the eastern Mediterranean, marked by conflicts in the Middle East, and the exacerbation of Islamist terrorism, is currently highlighted by the following features as it:

- represents the interference space of three geopolitical and geostrategic areas with acute security and stability issues (Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East);
- facilitates the access of riparian countries to the Planetary Ocean;
- constitutes the South-Eastern flank of NATO;
- faces cross-border crime (arms trafficking from the countries of the former USSR, and even trafficking of emigrants from East to West);
- contains offshore petroleum resources;
- holds a wide network of ports and port facilities but also a pleasant coastline, thus offering multiple facilities for commercial and tourist cooperation;
- represents a good context for the extension of military cooperation within the program of the Partnership for Peace – PfP, and even for the resumption of the special partnership program NATO - RUSSIA.

The concept of regional identity refers to historical spaces and cultural characteristics superimposed on a certain region "which, from

* *Fleet HQ*

e-mail: mihai_panait2000@yahoo.com



a geographical point of view, does not always coincide with the current borders of a state"¹. Under these conditions, we can consider that a community can be identified as belonging to several territorial structures, so carried out by historical regions, counties, geographical areas, as in a region several distinct communities can coexist (multicultural coexistence).

I have noticed that theories about the meanings of the concept of *region* have evolved, being influenced by geographical, social, historical, and political factors. The main effects led to a "stratification of space in centers and peripheries". In this regard, we can mention the economic discrepancies between areas of the same region. Another identified effect is the manifestation mainly in "areas where the nostalgia of empires has never died down"². This means that certain areas are targets of regional actors who do not give up the idea of rebuilding old historical borders by consolidating influence in the area, often using coercive measures, often hybrid ones.

If the Black Sea region seemed to be entering in an irreversible process of modernization and democratization, after Vladimir Putin's rise to power, the area became increasingly politically tense, with frozen conflicts in Transnistria, Georgia, Ukraine, and effectively occupied regions by Russian Federation forces such as Crimea, with the influence of liberal regimes even in NATO member countries such as Turkey, Poland or Hungary.

In the current context of combating the pandemic generated by the COVID 19 virus worldwide, the development strategy in all areas needs to be rethought, from the development of the means by which information is transferred among different entities of society to the reorganization of the current system of functioning of modern society.

Will regionalization and security on the Black Sea change radically after this pandemic? Everything we have learned about it, all the initiatives in these areas after the fall of the Iron Curtain, will they have another projection after the fight against Coronavirus is completed? These are just two of the packages of questions we can generate in a comprehensive analysis. For this, I will perform a criterion analysis based on the following factors: political-diplomatic, military, historic, economic, geographical, and legislative.

In my view, in terms of instruments of state power, diplomacy, military power, economic and innovation capacity, national (and international) legislation, finance and development efficiency will now change as globalization, security and economic cooperation reached maximum yield and then, *thanks* to this virus, it reached a historical minimum. I think at this time we cannot identify the wounds in all areas globally, but we can already see major changes in the binomial regional security - cooperation and economic development.

I also believe that this pandemic and its side effects (which we cannot yet fully identify) will radicalize and accelerate military and economic transformations in the Black Sea. All risks and threats, the forecast of macroeconomic developments, the balance of regional power, the permeability of national and regional borders will have modified or alternative lines of development and directed towards new horizons. From the security analysis process, we have always highlighted the fact that, where weaknesses and gaps appear in the regional economic-military initiatives, new opportunities and perspectives appear too.

From a political-diplomatic point of view, in certain areas of the Wider Black Sea Region, states coagulate common interests in extremely small spaces. The West promotes democratic values in stages from West to East and the main opposing force is the Russian Federation. Thus, if the criterion is membership in an alliance, then the region is clearly divided, but if the criterion is membership in a political organization, then the region is quite larger, including the twelve countries united in the BSEC. So, we have identified a political factor to define the extended region. Analyzing from the point of view of interests in the area, there are heterogeneous states: as belonging to military alliances, specific territorial, demographic, and cultural characteristics.

From a military point of view, can a crisis in an extended region be resolved by a single military operation involving all regional actors or is there a need to fragment the region? Frozen conflicts can turn into open conflicts with a direct influence on regional security in a very short time. In this case, can we speak of distinct operations? From this point of view, we can observe that from West to East, the maritime spaces become narrower and narrower until they become closed. If ships



in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea have access without any restrictions, when we advance towards the Aegean Sea, the room for maneuver is restricted due to the adjacent islands and territorial sea. Further north, the Marmara Sea is a Turkish lake, and access to the Black Sea is limited to non-residents but also residents according to the provisions of the Montreaux Convention. Going even further North of the Black Sea, de facto, the entrance to the Sea of Azov is controlled by Russia. Access to the Caspian Sea is made on channels, obviously only with the agreement of the Russian Federation, only for ships with drafts below 3,5 meters, and with height restrictions due to bridges over the Don, channels, and over the Volga. The Caspian Sea has a special status being used in common only by residents. Through the Caspian Sea Convention signed in 2019, it is not considered a sea or a lake, but a special area exploited only by common residents.

Historically, even the modern history of the region has witnessed conflicts among the countries from region: the prolonged tension between Greece and Turkey over the island of Cyprus, the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan for Nagorno-Karabakh, Russia's insistence on maintaining extraterritorial status on Transnistria, Abkhazia's Independence War, and the Russian war in Chechnya, all prevented the development of regional relations. However, with the end of the Cold War, and the apparent entry of the world into a sign of peace, the relaxation of military rivalries in the region and the possibility for the Black Sea states to explore another political and economic dynamic under the auspices of a new European climate followed. Geographical proximity, common interests but also a similar level of development have turned the countries of the region into partners.

To this end, on June 25th 1992, the Istanbul Summit Declaration on the establishment of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Forum was signed by the Heads of State and Government of Albania, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Romania, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Turkey. Although originally founded as a forum without the legal status of a regional organization, the political will of the Member States overcame differences in mentality and agreed on the full cooperation mechanism by adopting the Yalta Charter in 1998 by transforming the forum into the

Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC). This was the most substantial attempt to strengthen cooperation in the region and to turn the Black Sea region into a peaceful, stable, and prosperous one. However, although the prospect of joining the most important military and economic cooperation alliances NATO and the EU, respectively, has always been a strong motivation for regional cooperation, in the Black Sea Region it has perpetuated the trend of isolation from neighbors and led to minimization of cooperation of the states from this area³.

From an economic point of view, the Black Sea is still an untapped natural resource at the maximum level of its potential, and from an energy point of view, it is a natural reservoir of hydrocarbons. The Black Sea and the geographically delimited neighboring region offer several opportunities and challenges for riparian states and international actors, offering high development potential. From this point of view, the Black Sea is an important economic hub for energy flows and a valuable commercial, and transport hub.

Economically speaking, a new situation in the region was created following the completion and commissioning of the Turkish Stream pipeline on January 11, 2019, which makes Turkey a gas distribution node from the Caucasus to Bulgaria, Greece, and the Adriatic coast. Vladimir Putin took part in the official launch of the pipeline in Istanbul and military forces were brought to the area as a naval group consisting of a cruiser and a destroyer.

In the military geography of the area, many elements have changed with the inauguration of a road bridge over the Kerch Strait in May 2018, and a rail one on December 23rd, 2019. If until this construction, the Russian Federation had no direct access to the Crimean Peninsula other than by ship, this bridge can bring resources to the region, thus creating a great strategic advantage for blocking the area. Through these actions, the Russian Federation complements its zone ban tactics, using Anti Access / Area Denial (A2AD) measures.

The emergence of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation forum was not so much the result of a genuine commitment to regional cooperation, but the product of geopolitical interests and the same interests will prevail in the future. Although the re-establishment of consistent regional cooperation



does not seem foreseeable in the near future, the Black Sea region will continue to be very important for both, Europe and the US, being a bridge in energy supply between West and East, but also a barrier against transnational threats.

In my opinion, these approaches are the basis of a regional cooperation model that would lead to the hypothetical validation of security and economic-financial cooperation opportunities in the Black Sea, based on a mathematical model or an analysis algorithm. To complete this approach, I will further coagulate certain factors characteristic of the regionalization phenomenon. For this, I will highlight those areas that can be supported by projects that strengthen the Black Sea region security.

Black Sea regionalism should be strengthened around the common values of the region. The most valuable common asset is the sea itself. The development of comprehensive maritime policies through a regional vision, led by a single actor, a strengthened regional forum, will be an advantage for all riparian states, in all activity areas, without limiting individual expression in conditions of multilateral consensus.

Efforts should focus on identifying and implementing several projects in a number of sectors that offer opportunities for economic development, under conditions of stable regional security: trade; transport networks, environmental protection; renewable energy sources; contagious diseases; natural disaster management; migration and combating trafficking of human beings.

Trade is the most affected, so that economic problems are a common point of the countries bordering the Black Sea, which necessarily involves the participation of all actors to reduce undesirable effects.

Having highlighted these particular aspects of the Black Sea region, and the factors analyzed, let us continue to see what are the current risks and threats to the regionalization of Black Sea security from the perspective of a disruptive factor such as the current global pandemic.

Global developments in border permeability, the dilution of globalization to the detriment of regionalization (or even worse, in favor of overt nationalism), the focus of each nation's efforts on saving its citizens and less those belonging to a region, organization or military bloc, will have

a non-linear, asymmetric or even multi-faceted appearance. These issues will not be easy to assess and, implicitly, it will be difficult to identify such tools to address them. Thus, regionalization and security, which should have happily coexisted on the Black Sea, will suffer in the medium and long term. Moreover, the regionalization of security will be much more difficult to implement, given the current asymmetric conditions present in the wider Black Sea region, such as COVID-19 and the situation of Syrian immigrants from Turkey and the Turkish-Greek border. At the moment, it is no longer possible to speak of a unitary, global leadership carried out by multinational, regional, or global security organizations, with the emergence of much stronger national interests based only on the interests of the nation. The role of these military or economic security organizations will be diluted, if the states that do not claim to play the role of regional power do not consider that it is in their interest to act together. The great powers or states and organizations that are considered regional powers will tend to promote the regionalization of security, all the more so as this initiative will support the (otherwise selfish) effort to defend their military, economic and diplomatic interests, as well as citizen's security⁴.

War under the same flag (of a military bloc, regional initiatives or a religion) is called into question at this time, when the unseen enemy, this virus that has set out to break any rules, endangers not only fighters, but also the entire population. The danger that this virus may pose was recently materialized, when an exercise led by the Norwegian army, in cooperation with troops from the USA, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, France, Belgium, Denmark, and Sweden⁵, was canceled. The decision to cancel this exercise was taken in cooperation with the Norwegian health authorities in order to limit the spread of the virus both within the country and to protect the other participants in the above-mentioned countries⁶.

The participation of US troops in the Defender-Europe 20 exercise in Europe was canceled due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 virus, and the guidance of the Deputy Secretary of Defense, David L. Norquist⁷, considering extremely important "the health, safety and operational capacity of military and civilian personnel, as well as their families is a major concern"⁸. The exercises connected to



Defender – Europe-20, namely Dynamic Front, Joint Warfighting Assessment, Saber Strike and Swift Response, did not take place⁹.

On the other hand, the famous daily *New York Times* published in its pages an action of Moscow, which until a month ago would have been unimaginable. Thus, in propaganda action with maximum impact on international relations but, especially, on the American population, the largest Russian military transport aircraft AN 124, landed at the International Airport J.F. Kennedy with protective masks and mechanical ventilators on board¹⁰. This action initiated, from a very wide range of organizations, many pros and cons in both countries. To ease the situation, the Russian foreign minister said that the expenses were shared by both states, and the spokesman of this ministry stressed that, if the situation had been reversed, the US would have supported Moscow in the same way without any doubt. This action taken by Russia sending aid to the Americans took place two weeks after the aid granted by Russia, to Italy, sending 15 planes full of medical equipment and personnel specialized in the fight against contagious diseases. All this was loaded on Russian trucks with the message "From Russia With Love"¹¹. Russia also maintains a constant strategy to increase its geopolitical influence in the US and Europe and to promote its propaganda to increase influence in the Balkans area. With this in mind, the Kremlin will send to Serbia too eleven military aircraft loaded with materials, equipment and specialists in combating the COVID-19 epidemic¹².

The new defence budgets will be reconfigured according to the new risks and threats posed by this epidemic. The rescheduling of the postponed or canceled exercises will inevitably lead to an increase in the allocated budgets. Also, a lack of training or exercises for a longer period could lead to a temporary decrease in some abilities. Future defence budget projects could be strongly linked to massive investments in command and control systems in the field of epidemic control or citizen health, and those involving the increasing of operational efficiency.

Also, the planning of actions involving the medical field in the event of pandemics must be guided by the same planning principles, in parallel and collaboratively approach with the central structures of the National Defence System.

Pandemic research should also be carried out under the auspices of the Supreme Council of National Defence, and the Prime Minister, supported by representatives of the Ministries of Health, National Defence, Internal Affairs, and other ministries, such as Economy, Energy and Business Environment, agencies, organizations and associations that have an important role in this field.

Romania will have to identify all the instruments of state power to prevent this triple threat: the global pandemic, the imminent global economic crisis, and the national security that can be threatened at any time. A triple, military-economic-pandemic, intense and long-lasting shock to the civilian population will put the state and its instruments of power to fight first against the pandemic, then to support the strengthening of society's systems and bodies responsible for citizen security and national interests.

So far, 205 states or territories have confirmed that they have been identified as having COVID-19-infected individuals on their territory¹³. In all these countries, COVID 19 has exposed a dangerous trend in which the future of globalization seems to be collapsing in the face of this virus. Nations are extremely focused on what is happening internally to the detriment of common security. Countries around the world restrict free movement, apply isolation or quarantine measures, and fight particularly hard to limit the negative effects on society as a whole.

I believe that in this approach, we have met the proposed objectives so that by observing the field, analysis, and deductions we have managed to analyze the current risks and threats to the regionalization of Black Sea security by identifying projects that provide opportunities for economic development in an environment of regional security. Furthermore, having fulfilled the research objectives, I consider validated the hypothesis of the present approach, so that I can make some predictions on the regionalization of security on the Black Sea.

Conclusions

The Black Sea region is of particular strategic interest to the Euro-Atlantic community, but the effort to ensure regional stability and security is undergoing transformation whenever an Article 5 action is called into question, which has created



some uncertainty among Black Sea riparian states. The state must ensure its border security, and contribute to common security, but the mechanism is difficult to implement.

The extended Black Sea region, including the Black Sea Region, remains in the same diplomatic tension until the opportunity to apply cooperation measures based on good neighborly relations, which in my opinion is a model of regional cooperation. The solidarity test that COVID-19 gave international relations is already deeply marked by tendencies of isolationism and independent action, directly proportional to the interest of each nation. We have noticed the tendency of security and the global market to change from global to regional, or even more, to state. Globalization has suffered, due to the negative influences of the virus, starting from the individual level, and ending with the international level, successive implosions, going through the regionalization phase and reaching the state level, or even decreasing at the point level (such red areas in each country). Borders have become impervious, citizens have much reduced freedom of movement, and the convergence of common interests in a given region or globally is no longer timely but tends to uneven convergence or, perhaps more dangerously, to a divergence dictated by the interests of states, organizations or alliances.

I believe that the transition from globalization to regionalization seems to be an unprecedented situation in international relations theory. Regionalism must be seen as a consequence of globalization that has accustomed us to living in an interconnected world where the transfer of population, goods, and services and the exchange of information in support of security can become extremely vulnerable, affecting, first and foremost, national interests.

The changes in the dynamics of the regional security environment are unprecedented. The new inflections of the security regionalization physiognomy after the identification of the current threats in the Black Sea will be observed as soon as the countries in the region have analyzed their identified lessons and implemented them in new security strategies. The old security strategies will be reanalyzed by geopolitical analysts and polished by politico-military specialists. The influence of

unconventional threats will severely affect the state instruments of power.

I consider that it is extremely important for the countries in the region to find the strength to come together and (re) negotiate the ultimate goals and objectives of a regional security strategy. This security strategy must be understood, first of all, as a desire to return to a climate of respect, mutual trust, respect the rights of the citizens of each country to security and welfare, and last but not least, security will learn that the state has the tendency and reflex to (self) save oneself to the detriment of regional/collective security and to use all the tools of power for their own purpose and less in favor of the regional or international community.

It is interesting to see the solution that the great powers will choose: globalization or regionalization? Economic cooperation and regional security or their unitary and unconnected development to military alliances, initiatives or blocs? Will the powerful states try to keep their power influences and the other nations try to change the balance of power in their own interest? There are as many other questions that we can approach patiently and intelligently to identify the best answers.

The opportunities and challenges of regionalizing security on the Black Sea are unique and need to be carefully considered in the new context of the fight against the current threats. Also, the prospects for economic cooperation in the Black Sea and its impact on regional security from my point of view should be exploited with a positive, proactive attitude and even an attempt to apply the principles of modern leadership at regional level, with the clear purpose of identifying optimal solutions for the harmonious development of the Black Sea region.

I am sure that this approach will be a starting point for debates, analysis, and consolidation of solutions adapted to the new conditions of the security environment in the Black Sea region. Thus, specialists can consider this approach a bibliographic benchmark for developing the subject and completing the spectrum of security analysis criteria from a regional perspective. The arguments presented represent opportunities to manifest regionalization that will be able to strengthen a model of regional cooperation leading to the regionalization of Black Sea security.



NOTES:

1 Ilie Bădescu, Dan Dungaciu, *Sociologie și geopolitică frontierei*, vol. II, Floarea Albastră Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 1-2.

2 Ilie Bădescu, Dan Dungaciu, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4; Grigore Iulian, *Geopolitică și sociologia integrării europene: teorii și doctrine*, in *Euxin. Revistă de sociologie geopolitică și geoistorie*, no. 1-2/1997, Bucharest, pp. 133-144.

3 BSEC, *BSEC at a glance*, <http://www.bsec-organization.org/bsec-at-a-glance>, accessed on 13.03.2020.

4 Michael T. Klare, The Nation, *From Globalization to Regionalization? The world after the coronavirus pandemic is likely to be a very different place*, March 22nd, 2020, <https://www.thenation.com/article/economy/globalization-regionalization-covid/>, accessed on 27.03.2020.

5 Norwegian Armed Forces, *Cold Response 2020*, <https://forsvaret.no/en/coldresponse>, accessed on 31.03.2020.

6 Norwegian Armed Forces, *The Norwegian Armed Forces end exercise Cold Response*, <https://forsvaret.no/en/newsroom/cold-response-status>, accessed on 27.03.2020.

7 US Department of Defense, Immediate Release, *Statement by the Department of defence on Domestic Travel Restrictions*, March 13, 2020, <https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Releases/Release/Article/2112213/statement-by-the-department-of-defense-on-domestic-travel-restrictions/>, accessed on 01.04.2020.

8 U.S. Army Europe, *Defender – Europe 20*, <https://www.eur.army.mil/DefenderEurope/>, accessed on 01.04.2020.

9 U.S. Army Europe, *Exercise Defender-Europe 20 UPDATE*, March 16, 2020, <https://www.eur.army.mil/Newsroom/Releases-Advisories/Press-Release-and-Advisory-Archive/Article/2113178/exercise-defender-europe-20-update/>, accessed on 01.04.2020.

10 Anton Troianovski, New York Times, April 2nd, 2020, *Turning the Tables, Russia Sends Virus Aid to U.S.*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/02/world/europe/coronavirus-us-russia-aid.html>, accessed on 03.04.2020.

11 Anton Troianovski, "From Russia With Love", *New York Times*.

12 I.B., Hotnews.ro, *Rusia trimite în Serbia 11 avioane cu personal și echipamente medicale*, April 04th, 2020, <https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-international-23783596-rusia-trimite-serbia-11-avioane-personal-echipamente-medicale.htm>, accessed on 07.04.2020.

13 World Health Organization, *COVID – 19 situation*, <https://experience.arcgis.com/experience/685d0ace521648f8a5beee1b9125cd>, accessed on 01.04.2020.

REFERENCES

***[Norwegian Armed Forces], *Cold Response 2020*, <https://www.forsvaret.no/en>

[Norwegian Armed Forces], *Cold Response 2020*, <https://www.forsvaret.no/en/coldresponse>

[Norwegian Armed Forces], *The Norwegian Armed Forces end exercise Cold Response*, <https://forsvaret.no/en/newsroom/cold-response-status>

[US Army Europe], *Defender – Europe 20*, <https://www.eur.army.mil/DefenderEurope/>

[US Army Europe], *Exercise Defender-Europe 20 UPDATE*, March 16 2020, <https://www.eur>

army.mil/Newsroom/Releases-Advisories/Press-Release-and-Advisory-Archive/Article/2113178/exercise-defender-europe-20-update/

[US Department of Defense], *Immediate Release, Statement by the Department of Defense on Domestic Travel Restrictions*, March 13, 2020.

[World Health Organization], *COVID-19 situation*, <https://www.experience.arcgis.com/experience/685d0ace521648f8a5beee1b9125cd>

Bădescu Ilie, Dungaciu Dan, *Sociologie și geopolitică frontierei*, Floarea Albastră Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995.

Farrell Henry, Newman Abraham, "Will the Coronavirus End Globalization as We Know It? The Pandemic Is Exposing Market Vulnerabilities No One Knew Existed", *Foreign Affairs*, March 16, 2020.

I.B., Hotnews.ro, *Rusia trimite în Serbia 11 avioane cu personal și echipamente medicale*, 4 april 2020.

Klare T. Michael, "From Globalization to Regionalization? The world after the coronavirus pandemic is likely to be a very different place", *The Nation*, 22 March, 2020.

Oba Mie, "Coronavirus and the Future of Globalization", *The Diplomat*, March 18, 2020.

Sfinteș Laurențiu, „Coronavirusul și ce mai rămâne din raporturile internaționale de putere”, *Monitorul Apărării și Securității*, 25 March 2020.

Troianovski Anton, "Turning the Tables, Russia Sends Virus Aid to US", *New York Times*, April 2nd, 2020.

<https://www.defense.gov/Newsroom/Releases/Release/Article/2112213/statement-by-the-department-of-defense-on-domestic-travel-restrictions/>

<https://www.thenation.com/article/economy/globalization-regionalization-covid/>

<https://www.thediplomat.com/2020/03/coronavirus-and-the-future-of-globalization/>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/02/world/europe/coronavirus-us-russia-aid.html>

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2020-03-16/will-coronavirus-end-globalization-we-know-it>

<https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-international-23783596-rusia-trimite-serbia-11-avioane-personal-echipamente-medicale.htm>

<https://www.monitorulapararii.ro/coronavirusul-si-ce-mai-ramane-din-raporturile-internationale-de-putere-1-30153>