



ROMANIA'S PLACE AND ROLE ON COHEN'S MODEL OF COOPERATIVE SECURITY

Commander Valentin-Cătălin VLAD, PhD Candidate *

Romania's desire to secure its security guarantees at regional and international level has been permanently crystallized at conceptual and executive level through its national defence strategies, as well as through the sustained contribution the Romanian Armed Forces have had in the last two decades supporting UN, NATO or EU efforts for ensuring regional and international security and stability.

Consequently, Romania has joined the states that want not only to benefit, but also to actively contribute to ensuring international security within the framework defined by international treaties and conventions. In this regard she has steadily sought to calibrate its own strategies for defence on the conceptual footing of streamlining the process of international security, stability and prosperity in order to outline, secure, credit and legitimize its own position in this process, both regionally and internationally.

In the context defined by the presence of increasingly diverse challenges in the international security environment, Cohen's model might represent for Romania an opportunity to advance the idea of initiating and developing legitimate security communities through regional cooperation within the main Euro-Atlantic maritime basins, so as to streamline the process of ensuring international security.

Keywords: regional security; security communities; regional cooperation; regional stability.

Directly interested in improving regional and international security, Romania has affirmed and supported through its own national defence strategies and concepts, developed since joining the Partnership for Peace (1994), NATO (2004) and the European Union (2007), the intention to be an active part in the Euro-Atlantic and multinational efforts to streamline allied and international security.

In this manner, once inscribed on the orbit defined by the values and interests promoted by the Euro-Atlantic structures (NATO, EU), Romania has subscribed conceptual and actional to the allied or international collective security and defence commitments, building step by step a credible and legitimate profile, of a nation capable of fully honoring its security commitments at international level, and in this sense the last two national defence strategies are eloquent being developed under the mottos "A strong Romania in Europe and in the world"¹, respectively "Together, for a safe and prosperous Romania in a world marked by new challenges"².

Romania's actions have constantly gained relevance from the perspective of benefiting from collective security measures, but also of permanent

contributor to international security and stability, especially after the events recorded in the Black Sea region in spring 2014 when Russia annexed Crimea.

Thus, aiming to intensify the security measures on the eastern Euro-Atlantic flank, the participations of the Romanian Armed Forces in allied or multinational operations and actions carried out in theaters of operations such as Afghanistan, Gulf of Aden, Iraq, Libya, Mediterranean Sea or Euro-Atlantic vital security environment, were completed for the first time in the history by permanently or temporarily hosting of allied command and control or collective defence capabilities on Romanian's soil or by assuming the command over the Group Permanent NATO Mine Action No. 2 (Standing NATO Mine Counter Measures Group 2 – SNMCMG.2) for the first semester of 2020.

Romania's commitment to Euro-Atlantic and international security

Unquestionably, the aggression shown by Russia since 2008 (Russian-Georgian conflict³) materialized with the incorporation and militarization of Crimea in 2014 has induced concern among the international and Euro-Atlantic community, including the three NATO allies in the Black Sea – Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey especially when the Russian military capabilities

* *Romania's Navy Staff*

e-mail: valentin.vlad@navy.ro



were repositioned less than 250 nautical miles from the eastern Euro-Atlantic flank. At the same time, these actions led to a strong wave of solidarity and reinsurance of collective defence guarantees among the Alliance.

Intended not to escalate this tense situation in the Black Sea region, Allied solidarity has always manifested itself in full legitimacy and international credibility, materialized on the one hand by the immediate intensification of the Allied air, naval and ground regional presence and on the other by launching a strategic and operational planning process that has analyzed the regional security environment and set out the optimal course of action to strengthen Allied collective defence in full accordance with international security and stability.

Consequently, Romania's sustained efforts to Euro-Atlantic and international security and stability, undertaken since the Partnership for Peace phase of the early 1990s, have objectified in the largest security guarantees in Romania's history by the immediate deployment of air (American, British, Canadian, Italian, allied) and maritime (Standing NATO Maritime Group 2 – SNMG-2 and Standing NATO Mine Counter Measures Group 2 – SNMCMG-2) permanent capabilities in the Black Sea region and by integrating national capabilities into them, both in training and in Allied standing missions to ensure early warning and maintain the security of riparian allies.

Thus, in maritime terms, the dynamics of the deployments of the Standing Naval Groups in the Black Sea was accentuated to 2 - 3 regional activations a year, but in full consideration of the Montreux Convention⁴ provisions (not more than 21 consecutive days and up to 30,000 tdw – deadweight), which has significantly contributed to maintaining a continued presence and a high level of international legitimacy and credibility for all specific NATO military actions in the Black Sea basin.

In terms of air support, the initial Allied deployment was also proportional to the situation created since 2014, being at a high level and supported by the rotational deployment of military fighter jets at Mihail Kogalniceanu and Câmpia Turzii Air Bases for NATO Air Police⁵ missions, as well as by performing strategic, operational and tactical air surveillance and patrol missions with

surveillance aircrafts (P3 Orion, P8 Poseidon) or AWACS of Canada, Italy, Great Britain, the United States of America or NATO.

The tailored Forward Presence (tFP⁶) of Allied Air and Maritime Forces on the Euro-Atlantic South-East side has been strengthened by the Assurance Measures (AM⁷) approved by the North Atlantic Council (NAC), which involved the deployment of the Multinational Brigade in Craiova, but especially the establishment for the first time Romania's territory of allied command, control and integration structures, such as the Multinational Division Command for the South-East (HQ MND SE) or the Integration Unit of Allied Forces (NFIU) in Bucharest.

Another important component of the Allied collective defence system hosted by Romania is represented by the Deveselu⁸ NATO's Aegis Ashore Ballistic Missile Defence site, which became operational on May 12, 2016, as an integral part of the NATO Ballistic Missile Defence (BMD NATO).

Beneficiary of the measures of ensuring the allied collective defence, Romania proved to be equally a security provider by respecting all the collective security commitments assumed and consequently the Romanian Armed Forces continued to contribute significantly on air, sea and land to ongoing allied or multinational training/exercises and operations in the Euro-Atlantic and international space, such as the Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan (RSM), the Kosovo Peacekeeping Operation (KFOR), the Mediterranean Sea Guardian Operation (OSG), NATO activity to combat illegal migration from the Aegean Sea (AEG) or the NATO mission in Iraq (NMI).

In addition, in the first semester of 2020, Romania has consolidated its status as a credible security provider at NATO level by assuming, for the first time in history, the command of the Standing NATO Mine Counter Measures Group no. 2 (SNMCMG-2). Thus, the Romanian Naval Forces made available to the Alliance the commander and the core of the group's staff (14 Romanian officers and petty officers, 1 Spanish officer, 1 Turkish officer, 1 German officer), together with the commanding ship, the Minelayer "Vice Admiral Constantin Balescu" (274), on board which the group's command conducted its specific actions to

ensure the ability to fight and react immediately in the Euro-Atlantic maritime area (Black and Mediterranean Seas) within the restrictive tactical framework imposed by the symmetric and asymmetric threat level, but especially by the presence of the pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.

Romania's subscription on the Cohen's cooperative security model

Addressing the international community's concern for ensuring international stability and security Richard Cohen proposes a model on which security communities could be initiated and developed through regional cooperation in order to streamline the security process at the Euro-Atlantic and international level.

The model proposed by Cohen also known as *the four-rings model*⁹ because it consists of four concentric rings that subscribe to international legitimacy and credibility by promoting individual security, collective security, collective defence and international stability as recognized and guaranteed by the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations¹⁰ (Figure 1).



Figure 1 The "four-ring model" of cooperative security¹¹

Individual security is at the core of the model and gives its legitimacy and credibility by promoting and guaranteeing fundamental human rights, *collective security* aims to maintain peace and stability of the area of common interest while *collective defence* allows collective action against external aggression and *promoting stability* to a security community and its vicinity completes the comprehensive approach to security issues through cooperation on political, economic, diplomatic or military coordinates.

Relying on the fact that its model promotes internationally recognized individual and collective rights, freedoms and obligations and intending to propose it as a platform for cooperative security communities, Cohen analyzed how the main international organizations – the UN, OSCE, EU, NATO, orbit the rings of individual and collective security, collective defence and the promotion of international stability, concluding that "*NATO is currently the only working model of Cooperative Security*"¹² due to the fact that the remaining three organizations do not comprehensively tackle the collective defence (Figure 2).

Noticing the viability of the model for calibrating security communities through international cooperation under the acceptance of Taylor's theory that a security community "needs to be small because its universality is impossible"¹⁴, we might advance the idea of sizing security communities through cooperation at the regional level so that they find their effectiveness while considering and harmonizing regional values, needs, challenges and limitations with the international ones.

Romania's inclusion in the orbit of the four rings of the security model through cooperation is described first of all by Romania's unconditional availability towards regional and international cooperation¹⁵ within the framework defined by international treaties, conventions and laws, secondly by the membership of all four international organizations, already framed by Cohen on the orbit of the model, and thirdly by full consideration for the freedoms, rights and individual and collective democratic values assumed, valued and promoted by the Romanian people and leadership.

At the same time, by placing the individual as focal point of its internal and external security approach, Romania fully subscribes to the core of the four rings model, and in this sense the latest national defence strategy views Romania as "the state that works for every citizen, having its institutions working for country development, for promoting and guaranteeing real democracy, citizen's rights and freedoms in order to ensure the development of society and the assertion of the country"¹⁶.

Subscribing to regional cooperation initiatives such as *Bucharest 9 (B9)*¹⁷ or the *Three Seas Initiative (3SI)*¹⁸ only strengthens Romania's interest, credibility and responsibility to honor its commitments and to actively contribute to security through regional and international cooperation.

Conclusions

According to the last two national defence strategies and its active role within the initiatives, operations and actions carried out in the last three decades, Romania has affirmed and confirmed a

through cooperation within the main Euro-Atlantic maritime basins (Black Sea, Baltic Sea, Northern Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Atlantic Ocean, Arctic waters) in order to revitalize and streamline the international security process.

<i>Institution</i>	<i>Ring One: Individual Security</i>	<i>Ring Two: Collective Security</i>	<i>Ring Three: Collective Defense</i>	<i>Ring Four: Promoting Stability</i>
UN	Yes?	Yes?	No	Yes?
OSCE	Yes?	Yes?	No	Yes?
EU	Yes	Yes	No	Yes?
NATO	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Figure 2 Institutionalizing Cooperative Security¹³

firm intention and willingness to legitimately and credibly contribute to allied and multinational community efforts for Euro-Atlantic and international security, stability and prosperity.

The increasingly various challenges exposed to the international security environment denote the need for a continuous efficiency and adaptation of the process of ensuring international security, stability and prosperity in a responsible, cooperative and transparent approach.

The establishment of maritime security communities through regional cooperation within the main Euro-Atlantic sea basins based on Cohen's model could be a solution available to Romania in order to strengthen its role as a security provider for the Black Sea basin, within a more legitimate, credible and efficient wide international security process.

Therefore, the circumscription of Romania to all four rings, combined with the security guarantees given by the Euro-Atlantic membership, with the legitimacy and international conceptual and actionable credibility and especially with the intention and willingness to consolidate its position as a pole of stability in the Black Sea region¹⁹, to honor its commitments and to actively contribute to international security, offers Romania the prospect of advancing Cohen's model for the initiation and development of security communities

NOTES:

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2 *Strategia Națională de Apărare a Țării pentru perioada 2020-2024*, Administrația Prezidențială, 2020, https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/Documente/Strategia_Nationala_de_Aparare_a_Tarii_2020_2024.pdf, accessed on 07.07.2020.

3 Iulian Chifu, Monica Oproiu, Narciz Bălășoiu, *Războiul ruso-georgian*, Curtea Veche Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, https://www.academia.edu/3624787/Razboiul_ruso_georgian, accessed on 05.07.2020.

4 *** *Convenția privind regimul strâmtorilor Mării Negre din 20.07.1936*, <https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/g42dsnrw/conventia-privind-regimul-stramtorilor-marii-negre-din-20071936>, accessed on 05.07.2020.

5 *Air policing: securing NATO airspace*, NATO, 16 May 2018, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_132685.htm, accessed on 05.07.2020.

6 *** *NATO – Informații generale*, MAE, june 2020, <https://www.mae.ro/node/5337>, accessed on 05.07.2020.

7*** *NATO Assurance Measures*, SHAPE, 2020, <https://shape.nato.int/nato-assurance-measures>, accessed on 06.07.2020.

8*** *Naval Support Facility Deveselu*, https://www.cnic.navy.mil/regions/cnreurfcent/installations/nsf_deveselu.html accessed on 06.07.2020.

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11 R. Cohen, M. Mihalka, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

12 *Ibidem*, p. 16.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 15.

14 Michael Taylor, *Community, Anarchy, and Liberty*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1982, pp. 167-168.

15 *** *Strategia Națională de Apărare a Țării pentru perioada 2020-2024*, *op.cit.* pp. 13, 21.

16 *Ibidem*, p. 4.

17 *** *Declarație comună a miniștrilor de externe din statele Formatului București 9 (B9)*, MAE, 2017, <https://www.mae.ro/node/43571>, accessed on 06.07.2020.

18 3 Seas Initiative Summit, 2020, <http://three-seas.eu/about/>, accessed on 03.07.2020.

19 *Strategia Națională de Apărare a Țării pentru perioada 2020-2024*, pp. 5-7.

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