

The Regional Dimension of Romania's Participation to the Anti-Missile Defense System

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Abstract: The current security environment is characterized by a high degree of instability and unpredictability, through the manifestation of new risks and threats, especially those with asymmetrical nature, by redefining the relations between the great powers, and increasing freedom of action of the regional actors (state and non-state). At the international level, the end of the Cold War has led to a fragmentation of efforts in the security field, with direct implications on the need for further efforts of the international community coordination. In this era of profound change and transformation it is not possible the adoption of an isolationist policy of security, but only in a broader context of interdependencies and relationships between general trends, threats or challenges specific to a particular area or geographic areas. Swift operationalization of the anti-missile system will strengthen the national security both directly, through the protection it provides for the entire national territory, and indirectly, as the system will have a deterrent important role, able to mitigate risks of possible attacks by ballistic missiles. The role of deterrence will remove the risk of attack against any Allied territory on which, by virtue of membership in NATO and obligations involved according to article 5 of the Washington Treaty, Romania has also responsibilities.

Keywords: NATO; USA; shield; regional security

1. Introduction

Globalization, manifested by emphasizing the multiple interdependences between states and liberalizing the global flows of goods, services, capital and information, has made domestic and external risks to be able to generate and enhance each other. Amid an increase in the complexity and unpredictability degree of international threats, improving the international security environment requires that the internal measures for crisis management should be better coordinated, and the strategic information exchange between the involved countries to occur in real time.

In these circumstances, the main operating mechanisms of the international environment abolish the possibility of isolationism. Moreover, the desire for such a positioning itself in international relations is canceled by the imperative of

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international cooperation in order to solve the problems defined in the terms of globalization. In this regard, some analysts (Naumann, Shalikashvili, Breemen, Lanxade, & Inge, 2007, p. 31) identify within the global trends of evolution of security environment the following aspects confirming the complexity of today's challenges: *population growth*¹; *climate changes*²; *revocation or diminishing the state sovereignty* due to the demographic and environmental trends, threats from the non-state actors, the globalization of capital flows and globalization of information; *proliferation of weapons of mass destruction*; *competition for resources*; *asymmetric warfare and the existence of the non-state actors*. (Naghi, 2010, p. 54)

From a practical standpoint, the beginning of the XXI century the actors with global impact on the security domain are the US, Europe, Russia, China and Japan. An interesting view is of Zbigniew Brzezinski, who believes that the essence of the new structure security of the world in the relationship between the US and Eurasia (comprising, besides Europe, all the other countries mentioned above).

Political and social developments are unpredictable in this part of the world and they are caused by the lack of solid experience in statehood. And this is due to an essential aspect: the shock of the collapse of the Soviet Union found them unprepared. Besides the political and social transformations relatively muted, it proceeded to restore the religious institutions and the lack of a national ideology was replaced with the Islamic ideology where currently there is a risk of the Islamic fundamentalism generator of crisis. (Everett-Heath, 2003, pp. 67-89) At the beginning of XXI century, the Central Asia is reflected in the center of the attention of the great powers. If the old times its importance was one closely linked to trade routes that pass over, after 1991, the Central Asia rebounded in the worldwide interest in the geopolitical and energy potential very important that they present. (Porojan, 2007, p. 28) The collapse of the Soviet Union has determined in the Caspian and Caucasian area the geopolitical and geostrategic processes which have become, especially in the recent years of the 20th century and the beginning of the next century an unprecedented scale in the history of international relations. The region has become an area of interest for the geostrategic "players" of the international environment of the contemporary environment not only because there have appeared crises of all kinds which have endangered the regional peace and stability as in the cases of crises in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, but also because in

¹ It will induce profound changes in the population both in the developing countries and in highly developed countries, intensive urbanization, increased crime rates and poverty, reduction of the absorption capacity of the active force of the labor market, due to explosive demographic growth worldwide, the migration will acquire a global feature, etc.

² They have the possible consequences the increasing refugee flows, the trade and the military implications on the communication routes on land or sea, exacerbating the ethnic tensions in a situation where, for example, due to unfavorable weather conditions (drought or floods) it will appear the phenomena of "environment migration" and therefore "environmental refugees".

recent years in the region have taken important geopolitical change. Since 2001, the Central Asia has become a buffer zone and a base for supporting the fight against international terrorism. It is also an interference area of some culture and civilization blocks due to forces that ruled the area throughout history and that today put their mark on the collective consciousness. (Constantin, 2011, p. 31)

A look on the East, not geographically but in terms of concepts, revitalizes the Russia's perception on Asia in the "Eurasian" ideology. This means that keeping the Eastern territories with borders to the Pacific Ocean turned into an item with more influence over the geopolitical position, but recently this view is no longer responsible for the creation of a strong area, stable by the borders, in order to isolate.

2. US Missile Defense System in Europe

On 17 September 2009, US President announced the decision to develop the US missile defense system in Europe in a new, adaptive approach, in stages (EPAA / European Phased, Adaptive Approach to Ballistic Missile Defense)¹ to better protect the forces conducted in Europe and in operation facilities, both American and Allies, and in the US territory and their allies.²

This approach has some clear **advantages** over the former US administration plan:

- **it increases the capacity to defend Europe**, while the threat of short and medium range missiles are rising (in this respect, the proposed version of the current American administration takes into account and responds to the latest risk assessments of Rocket attacks); thus,
- **it responds to current threats and it can incorporate faster, easier, new technologies**, as technology continues to evolve;
- it will become **operational faster** than the previous version: practically, the achievement of the new anti-missile defense system options will **take six or seven years earlier** than according to the previous plan;
- **it covers the whole territory of Romania** (and ultimately of all Allied States); earlier version of the Administration did not provide anti-missile protection, only for a small portion of the territory, in the northwest Romania.

¹ EPAA missile system is a purely defensive system, it is not directed against anyone in particular. It defends against any attack, short-range missiles or medium-range or in the final, intercontinental stage. In the text of the Agreement it explicitly states that the system will be used only for purposes of self-defense, in accordance with the UN Charter. From the information we have from our American partners, the SM-3 program is considered one of the most successful programs of the Department of Defense.

² <http://www.capital.ro/ce-firma-va-construi-sistemul-de-aparare-antiracheta-de-la-deveselu-184236.html>.

According to the Ballistic Missile Defense Review Report, published by the US Defense Department on 1 February 2010, there were envisaged **four phases** of development:

- Phase I:

Protecting portions of Southeast Europe through the deployment of an advanced radar system (intended to detect missiles launched, even from their trajectory upward phase) and some SM3-IA interceptors placed on ships. The first phase started on March 7, 2011, by sending in the Mediterranean the USS Monterey ship, equipped with Aegis system, by deploying a radar in Turkey at Kurecik.

- Phase II (2015 timeframe):

Expanding NATO Allies protection by deploying a new generation SM3-IB interceptors (which can be launched from the ground), located in a land-based, at Deveselu. It is expected that the system will be located at Deveselu in order to reach the operational capacity in the fourth quarter, 2015.

- Phase III (2018 timeframe):

Extending the system for covering all NATO member states in Europe, by entering into service of a new version of the SM3 interceptor, which is to be located in a land base, in northern Europe (Redzikowo, Poland).

- Phase IV (2020 timeframe) - as planned in 2010 by the US Department of Defense:

It assumed the extension of protection to any intercontinental rockets attacks, including further development of SM3 missiles and radar systems, the placement being in Poland of a new class of interceptors. In March 2013, the US announced the EPAA adjustment, which involved giving up to that phase.

On 15 March 2013, the US Defense Secretary of the United States, Chuck Hagel, announced the US Administration's decision to adjust the EPAA, given the situation on the Korean Peninsula, which meant, among other things, giving up the Phase IV of the program (which mainly involved introducing in use of a new type of missile interceptors) and restructuring the program on SM3-IIB interceptor (which would have to be installed in Poland since 2022), through the transfer of funds to other improved programs of interceptors. Meanwhile, the US has decided to implement a series of measures of anti-missile protection on the US territory. This decision was motivated by the need to take account the developments of threats of possible attacks by ballistic missiles on the US territory from North Korea, manifested in March-April 2013. Before making public the announcement in the spirit of strategic and bilateral partnership and as NATO ally, the US had informed Romania on the decision to change the structure of the US anti-missile defense system.

The US side pointed out very clearly and firmly, publicly, that this adjustment decision EPAA does not affect in any way Romania, Phase II of the EPAA - which involves operationalization of Deveselu Base in 2015 - will take place according to schedule, without any changes or delays.

3. The Location in Romania of the US Defense System against Ballistic Missiles

Romania's participation in the development of the European component of the US missile defense system (*European Phased Adaptive Approach / EPAA*), decided by the Supreme Council of National Defense on 4 February 2010, represent a success for Romania, both in the bilateral relationship with the United States and in terms of consolidation of Romania's position as Ally within NATO (Robinson, 2010, p. 144). EPAA is the US contribution to NATO anti-missile defense system architecture.¹ Meanwhile, the US bilateral project contributes significantly to strengthening Romania's security and strengthening the Strategic Partnership between the two countries.

¹ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a political and military alliance which now has 28 members in Europe and North America. The Alliance was created in 1949 to ensure the collective defense of Europe against the threat of the Soviet Union. In this regard the most important article of the charter establishing the NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty is Article 5, which states that an attack on any NATO member shall be considered an attack on all of its members. The article was invoked for the first time after the terrorist attacks on the US in 2001. Since 1966 the NATO Headquarters was established in Brussels, Belgium. The alliance's supreme political authority is the North Atlantic Council, which consists of NATO ambassadors of each Member State. The Council meetings are chaired by NATO Secretary General, along with his staff is responsible also for running the organization. Since 1990, NATO has sought to transform an organization into one common defense of collective security and to spread its influence beyond the borders of Europe. The Programme of Partnership for Peace established by NATO in 1994 aims at encouraging the promotion of democracy and stability in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union through a series of cooperation agreements on security between NATO and partner countries. NATO has substantially increased the number of members receiving 10 former communist states of Eastern Europe. In 1995, NATO launched air strikes against Bosnian Serb forces in an effort to end the civil war, and in 1999 it has led an air campaign against Yugoslavia for three months in response to the actions of Belgrade to the Serbian province of Kosovo. The undertaken NATO military campaigns showed that the organization has distanced for the concept of defense, going toward humanitarian intervention, peace enforcement and peace building outside NATO borders. Since 2001, NATO troops fought the Taliban in Afghanistan. Although it is theoretically an alliance with equal members, NATO has always been dominated by the United States. In the recent years, many efforts have been undertaken to recover the balance by creating a European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP) that will give more power to the European "arm" of NATO. Some opponents of CESDP fear it could, in the long term, make the NATO redundant and that it could ultimately lead to the disappearance of the organization. However, in the short term there is no indication that the NATO members intend to replace the organization with something radically different, for NATO is likely to remain a major player on the international stage in the next period.

On 13 September 2011, Romania's Foreign Minister and Secretary of State have signed at Washington the *Agreement between Romania and the United States of America on the location in Romania of the US defense system against ballistic missiles*.

The document was ratified by the Romanian Parliament by Law no. 290/2011, on 23 December 2011 and entered into force. On 29 June 2012 there were signed five Implementation Arrangements. The Romanian officials have emphasized on the occasion of signing these documents in the timetable set with the Americans, that there is a clear demonstration of the commitment of the two countries for the operationalization on time of the component from Romania of the anti-missile defense system.

The negotiations continued and on 18 December 2012 at a meeting of the Romanian-US Joint Committee, it was signed a new Package of three Implementation Arrangements and on July 2nd, 2013 there were signed three documents for implementation. On 28 July 2014, within the Romania-US Joint Committee Meeting, there were signed the last three Implementation Arrangements. Romania supports the development of a NATO anti-missile defense system that would be based on the principled elements decided at the last Allied summits i.e. *indivisibility of the Alliance security, collective solidarity, full covering of the Allied territory*.

Romania's involvement starts from Phase II of the program EPAA. This means hosting on the Romanian territory, at Deveselu, Olt county, land-based interceptors, i.e. interceptor missiles SM3-IB (*Standard Missile 3, Block IB type*), which will become operational from the end of 2015. The Phase II of EPAA, by the base at Deveselu will represent the **Initial Capability** of NATO system after the declaration of **Interim Capability** at the Summit in Chicago.

On 15 March 2013, the US Defense Secretary, Chuck Hagel, announced the US Administration's decision to abandon the fourth phase of the EPAA (which included in the 2022 timeframe, the location of SM3-IIB interceptors in Poland). On this occasion, the US official reaffirmed the US commitment to the protection of NATO territory against ballistic missiles. He noted that through the implementation of Phases I-III of the EPAA, including through the operationalization (until 2018) of future anti-missile defense facilities in Romania and Poland, the US BMD system will ensure coverage of the entire territory of the European Allies (*"The US commitment to Phases 1 through 3 of the EPAA and NATO missile defense remains ironclad, including the planned sites in Poland and Romania. The US missile defense deployments to Europe will be capable of providing coverage of all European NATO territory in the 2018 timeframe, so there will be no impact on the defense of NATO"*).

On October 28, 2013 it was held at Deveselu Military Base, the official ceremony marking the start of the main construction work on Anti-missile Facility. Along with Romanian officials at the event there were Dr. James Miller, the Deputy Secretary of Defense for Defense Policy of the US Department of Defense, the Ambassador Alexander Vershbow, the Deputy Secretary General of NATO, and a delegation of US senior civilians and military officials of State and Defense Departments in the US. There were present also representatives of foreign ministries of Turkey and Poland, countries that host or will host components of the US missile defense and thus contributing to NATO's anti-missile defense system.

In for fulfilling the Romania's commitment on the anti-missile defense system, our country hosted in November 2014, in Bucharest, the multi-national conference and exhibition of US Agency for the Defense against Ballistic Missile in the domain of the anti-missile defense.

Romania's involvement takes place from Phase II of the EPAA. It involves hosting the military base at Deveselu, Olt county, of land-based interceptors (SM-3 interceptor missiles, Standard Missile 3 Block IB type), which will become operational within 2015 timeframe.

Romania should neither buy SM3 interceptor missiles nor to pay for installing or upgrading their proper location in Romania. The expenditure for implementing the PAA will be covered by the USA. Romania will make available the location for the interceptors. Article 11 of the 2011 Agreement clearly sets out the financial responsibilities of the parties.

Romania's national security level significantly increases, by the involvement in EPAA project. Also, Romania's participation in the anti-missile defense system has an important regional dimension, in the sense that both Romania's security is strengthened and also its neighboring countries. The operation of the facility interceptors does not adversely affect the environment or public health. There are not affected the activities, life or health of humans or animals or use of crops. So far, in the case of the facilities operating in the US or other partner countries or ships, there were not recorded harmful effects on personnel or on the environment. The system in Romania is of small size and it does not have the potential to alter the strategic balance in Europe. In Romania three batteries will be installed, i.e. 24 SM-3 interceptor missiles.¹

¹ Dosar de presa/Press File, *Participarea României la abordarea adaptivă în etape a Sistemului de Apărare Antirachetă în Europa*/ Romania's participation to the phased adaptive approach of the Anti-Missile Defense System in Europe http://media.hotnews.ro/media_server1/document-2011-05-3-8581677-0-scut-antiracheta.pdf

4. The Reactions of International Actors on the Anti-Missile Shield at Deveselu

4.1. EU and NATO before Deciding

The project is - at this stage – bilateral, Romanian-American, but it represents the US contribution (through the entire system EPAA) and Romania (by Deveselu headquarters that will accommodate elements of the EPAA) to the NATO defense system against ballistic missile. We note that the entry into service of components deployed at Deveselu (planned for the end of 2015) will mean achieving the Initial Operational Capability of the NATO defense system against ballistic missiles. The current state of Common Security and Defense Policy - the new name of the European Security and Defence Policy following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty - does not require prior consultation of EU Member States on a national security project, referring on which states can decide to be sovereign. But there are debates within the European framework regarding the strategic importance of the NATO anti-missile defense system and the US contribution to the system, in order to ensure the European security.

The US bilateral project represents a concrete contribution, substantial even, to the development of the missile defense system developed by NATO. Our NATO Allies were regularly informed by the Romanian side, along with the US, on the project development, in the spirit of transparency and openness that characterizes the transatlantic relationship and this process will continue.¹

4.2. Romania's Involvement in the Anti-Missile Defense System in Europe

Romania has been and will remain a constant promoter – within NATO – of the anti-missile defense project, acting consistently for its materialization. In this respect, the decisions taken at the NATO Summit in Bucharest (April 2008), reiterated at Strasbourg-Kehl (April 2009), Lisbon (November 2010), Chicago (May 2012) and Newport (September 2014) mention the development of a comprehensive system, covering the whole Allied territory, in accordance with the principles of indivisibility of the Alliance's security and collective solidarity. Romania has supported the declaration of Interim Capability of the NATO defense system at Chicago against ballistic missiles.

Given the complexity of the anti-missile system there are necessary several locations in different states. In Phase I of the US missile defense project, Turkey hosts at Kurecik an early warning radar, operational since 2011 and under NATO's command. Poland will participate in Phase III of the EPAA in Redzikowo base, on Polish territory, where there will be placed interceptor missiles by 2018

¹ Matei Donea, *MAE prezinta "Scutul antiracheta"/MAE presents the "Anti-Missile Shield"*, Published 23/09/2011, <http://www.politicienii.ro/2011/09/23/mae-prezinta-scutul-antiracheta>.

timeframe. Other allied countries contribute or have announced the intention to join the project.

The main objective of this system is to strengthen the collective security of NATO and Romania. Of course, a country which has a high level of security has increased opportunities for economic development, and in this case it results from Romanian companies' participation in the implementation of project related works. In addition, another economic benefit will flow from the development of strategic partnership with the US.¹

4.3. The Anti-Missile Shield in Romania and Poland, US Threats to Russia

The Russian President Vladimir Putin perceives the anti-missile defense shield elements in Romania and Poland as threats coming from Washington. The US anti-missile defense is one of the topics most often criticized by the Kremlin, from the start of the project. *“They are placing strategic elements of the anti-missile shield not only in Alaska, but also in Europe, in Poland and Romania, even at our borders”*, said the Russian leader. Russia has repeatedly urged the international community to address the issue of extending the US anti-missile shield.

Within the NATO anti-missile system, radars and interceptors will be installed in several NATO countries, including Romania, Turkey, Spain and Poland. The anti-missile shield will be strengthened with systems placed on sea. The Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bogdan Aurescu said on December 14, within a meeting with a US congressional delegation, led by Republican Mike Rogers, that the Deveselu project is “purely defensive” and “it is not directed in any way against Russia”.

Incidentally, this purpose and character of the facility at the Deveselu comply with the documents of the NATO summit in Britain, said the chief of Romanian diplomacy, according to a MAE release.

Also, *“the facility will enhance the protection of territories, populations and allied forces in Europe against possible ballistic missile attacks from outside the Euro-Atlantic space,”* Aurescu said at the meeting with the American delegation. The minister also emphasized the “extended cooperation to the Mihail Kogalniceanu Air Base, in the context of US and Allied forces transit to and from Afghanistan” considering that the bilateral relations in the areas of security and defense have an “excellent” level.²

¹ <http://www.mae.ro/node/1523?page=6>.

² <http://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/ministru-de-externe-deveselu-este-un-proiect-pur-defensiv-nu-a-fost-creat-impotriva-rusiei.html>.

4.4. Russia - on Romania's Participation in the Project

There was an open exchange of views with Russia on various topics, including on NATO's agenda, based on respecting each country's national interests. In the spirit of transparency, the Romanian Foreign Ministry informed the Russian side, on every possible opportunity, on the state of negotiations with the US on anti-missile defense.

On 1 April 2014 the North Atlantic Council, at the level of Foreign Ministers, approved the suspension of the practical cooperation assembly with Russia on civilian and military landings, including the participation in committees and other working meetings, both within the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) and under the auspices of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and Partnership for Peace (PFP). Any change of the decision on NATO's approach towards Russia will be evaluated depending on the conditions and not according to a predetermined schedule.

4.5. Russia, the First Military Base in an EU Country: Cyprus

After a massive dependence on Russian money manipulated by offshore companies¹ in Cyprus, the relations with Russia become more concrete with the Cypriots. Through an agreement at the highest level, Russia will set up its first military base within the EU. We believe that this shows us the true dimension of the desire of Moscow's strategic expansion beyond its immense territory. Located in a deep economic crisis, Russia wants to compensate by political and military gestures the delicate moment at which it is on the international scene. The annexation of the Crimea and the eastern Ukraine military aggression are complemented by military activity persistence on the Black Sea, through blackmail and threats of independent states on the territory of which there are the Russian military bases, the so-called frozen conflict zones - Transnistria in Republic of Moldova, Abkhazia and Ossetia in Georgia. With the establishment of military bases in Cyprus, which is completed with the base in Syria, Moscow transmits the signal of strengthening its military presence in the Mediterranean Sea. Two other areas of massive political influence of Russia are Serbia and Montenegro.

¹ An offshore company is a company registered in a country or in a dependent territory of a country with autonomous legislation, but it is not conducting economic activities in the territory, so it does not make profit in the country where it was recorded, but outside of that State. The offshore area means a country or territory with a system of tax incentives, which usually restricts access to information about financial transactions conducted through this area, which is why it is considered to be a tax haven. The main reasons for a profitable offshore tax optimization are related to legal protection of certain properties or property, privacy of ownership structure and access to financial markets and investment worldwide.

Meanwhile, amid the aggressive behavior of Russia, the NATO members strengthens its security especially in Eastern Europe, where the territories of the allied countries and populations must be protected from any unwanted developments on the border Alliance.¹

Cyprus signed a military agreement with Russia, where the Russian war ships granted access to the ports of that Member State of the European Union (EU) already hosting the British military base in the context of the worst crisis between the West and Moscow since the Cold War, the AP reports. The Russian President Vladimir Putin, after a meeting with Cypriot President Nicos Anastasiades, said that the agreement mainly concerns the ships of the Russian Navy involved in international operations for fighting terrorism and piracy. The military cooperation between Russia and Cyprus is not directed against any third party, he added. "Our ties of friendship are not directed against anybody," said Putin. "I do not think that it should cause concern somewhere. The Russia got the permission for its Navy ships to use the ports worldwide to refuel and undergo maintenance operations, agreements that allow Moscow to extend its global military presence," he added. The Russian vessels have already made stops in Limassol.

According to the Cyprus Mail, Moscow and Nicosia signed eight bilateral agreements and two memoranda - one with the Central Bank of Russia and one in investments. Anastasiades, who was on an official visit to the Russian capital, stressed that Nicosia supports a constructive dialogue with Russia and insisted on the Government's decision to work towards "restoration of strategic cooperation" between Moscow and Brussels. In turn, Putin reiterated the Russia's commitment to solving the "comprehensive and just" conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots under the resolutions of the UN Security Council.²

4.6. NATO and Russia Have Established a "Red Phone"

The NATO alliance has established for the first time after the Cold War, a military direct phone line with the Russian army, for emergencies in the context of increased tensions with Russia, reports the newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on the Sunday's release. "*NATO and Russian military authorities maintain communication links. The NATO Supreme Commander for Europe and the NATO Military Committee Chairman have received permission to contact their Russian colleagues*", said NATO sources quoted by FAZ. The communication channels remain open and should be tested regularly, added the source. Contacted by the newspaper, the NATO did not say when the system was activated.

¹ Radu Tudor, Feb 26, 2015, <http://radu-tudor.ro/rusia-prima-baza-militara-intr-o-tara-ue-cipru>.

² <http://www.mediafax.ro/externe/acord-militar-cipru-rusia-navele-rusesti-de-razboi-primesc-acces-in-porturile-acestui-stat-13895352>.

But a source within the national delegation told for FAZ that the Russian side has already received the phone numbers. The operation was classified as being “secret”, the publication adds. It is based on an initiative of the German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier (SPD), who suggested in December, the reintroduction of emergency service, given the tensions over the conflict in Ukraine. Moscow has intensified lately the flights of long-range bombers, which can be nuclear armed. The NATO pilots performed last year alone 400 missions to intercept Russian military planes, near the airspace of NATO, which flew with their transponder off and / or without communicating flight plans for air traffic controllers. United States and Russia created after the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, a permanent telegraph connection between their armed forces, known as the “red phone”.¹

5. Conclusions

Experts analyses consider that Iran will not act precipitately, nor will give signs of disinterest in what is of great interest to its regional policy. It will remain an “actor” of great importance, but it will not be manifested actively, according to Ankara. In the face of a possible Russian-Turkish conflict in the Caucasus, the Tehran will support Moscow, in terms of common interests and bilateral agreements. Russia could try to destabilize countries that are not NATO members such as Republic of Moldova and Montenegro, warn the officials of the US Department of Defense heard in the US Congress on the opportunity of providing lethal weapons to Ukraine. According to ABC News, the Pentagon officials have disclosed to members of the Armed Forces Committee from the House of Representatives that Russia could expand interference in other regions of Ukraine. In addition, according to the cited officials, Russia could try to destabilize the non-NATO countries such as Republic of Moldova and Montenegro. The US General Philip Breedlove, commander of NATO forces in Europe, said that he presented to the Barack Obama Administration the available options regarding the crisis in Ukraine. These include the provision of heavy weapons and military personnel of the Ukrainian army.

The British Prime Minister David Cameron said that NATO and the European Union must maintain the sanctions imposed on Russia amid the crisis in Ukraine, because otherwise there is a risk of destabilization of Republic of Moldova and the Baltic countries. The Economic sanctions imposed on Russia should be expanded

¹ Valentin Vidu, NATO a înființat un "telefon roșu" cu armata rusă pentru prima dată după Războiul Rece/ NATO established a “red phone” with the Russian army for the first time after the Cold War, <http://www.mediafax.ro/externe/nato-a-infiintat-un-telefon-ro-su-cu-armata-rusa-pentru-prima-data-dupa-razboiul-rece-14199410>.

and tightened, in case the Russian President Vladimir Putin, will not withdraw the troops from Ukraine, said David Cameron to the members of the Commission.

The British Prime Minister warned that any attack against a NATO state will attract a lasting rebuff. The imposed economic sanctions to Russia should be expanded and tightened if the Russian President Vladimir Putin, will not withdraw troops from Ukraine, said David Cameron in front of the members of the British Parliamentary Committee for the Relations with the government.

As a conclusion, the data show that the Middle East space is an agitated geopolitical environment. The very geographical position creates this reality! The hub of all Asia, it is a pivotal-area which joins great Asian regions between them. From a geopolitical perspective, it is the most northern regional area of expression of Islam, possessing natural resources, especially energy (oil and gas), of great importance. Beyond this, it is of great ethnic and social heterogeneity, where the relationships between groups and clans are extremely tense. Last but not least it is a heaven of delinquency, corruption, drug production and trafficking. Middle East security deficit is fueled also by the nature of relations between the states that make up the area and entering in the area of Islamic fundamentalist elements, many countries proving to be incapable of ensuring border security.

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