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**ROMANIA’S NATIONAL SECURITY
AFTER THE EVENTS IN UKRAINE**

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Abstract:

The 21st century has presented us with the emergence of distinctive and new kinds of security challenges. These new challenges have specific intelligence components. The risks and the conditions needed for the occurrence of a traditional war on the European continent are not the same as during the Cold War. Nevertheless, at the sub-regional level there is still an occurrence of crisis and instability phenomena, trends of fragmentation and isolation of certain states.

The crisis in Ukraine poses as a factor of instability, considering Romania’s position as a state located on the eastern border of the EU and NATO.

Key words: security, new challenges, NATO, European Union, border, conflict, threats, cyber-attacks

1. Introduction

*“Ukraine will not go anywhere if Russia has something to say”
George Friedman*

When NATO heads of state gathered in Bucharest back in April 2008, the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin “stole the show”. The Kremlin leader strutted away triumphantly from that summit after persuading Western leaders not to offer Georgia and Ukraine road maps to eventually join the alliance. Four months later, in August, Russian troops rolled into Georgia, a move seen by many observers as a dress rehearsal for last year's intervention in Ukraine.

For the first time since the end of the Cold War, the Atlantic alliance is now treating Russia not as a potential partner with whom it can do business but as a problem that needs to be addressed and a threat that must be confronted.

Diplomats described the decisions made in Wales, setting up military facilities in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania, establishing a new rapid-response force that could assist endangered members within two days as the alliance is returning to its core mission.

NATO has returned to doing the things it is supposed to do. Collective defense is the primary task of the organization.

In 1989 in Romania, the totalitarian regime was changed with a democratic one and through the process of transition that required a major change. Nowadays Romania is in a position to show that it has achieved its objectives and that the country became a

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democratic state well integrated and connected to the new European geography and its geopolitical transformations under way.[1]

In a context marked by a deep conflict of both social and economic instability, the security of any country is based on anticipation and pro-active action, as a prerequisite for progress and prosperity.

In the current Ukrainian crisis, Russia ignores the right to territorial integrity of a sovereign and independent state and amid the need of NATO to strengthen the security on the eastern Border, Romania plays an important role since it has assumed the nation's leading Fund NATO (Trust Fund) for support in combating cyber threats against Ukraine.

Thus, Romania has glimpsed an opportunity to strengthen its position within both organizations - NATO and the EU, acting as a conductor of European interests and pro-European states in the Black Sea region. Supporting Ukraine and assisting the interests of Kiev Administration to the detriment of Russia, Romania has won a true enemy in Europe.

In order to know the context, the nature of alternatives, size and objectives of the decision to assist Ukraine on the landing prevention and countering of threats on cyber security, the present work aims to achieve a cost-benefit analysis and to highlight implications on Romania's national security.[2]

2.NATO and the conflict in Ukraine – Romania's role

The events in Ukraine, which started in autumn 2013, have sharpened the need to reconfigure the geopolitics of Europe and Euro-Atlantic area. Russian tendency to impose its influence in Eastern Europe and to regain the place of great power on the world stage is increasingly visible.

After the end of 2013 and the beginning of the next year rallies in Kiev against the pro-Russian and anti-EU turned into street battles between demonstrators and security forces, with loss of lives, which appeared to be a compatibility issue between the public and the government of Ukraine, has taken a completely different turn when the Crimea through a referendum challenged both internally and externally, declared independence a day later and joined the Russian Federation.

The incident had a strong international echo; Russia was heavily criticized for its involvement in the events. Based on this precedent, several regions in eastern Ukraine have expressed the desire to become independent and to join the Russian Federation, resulting in an armed conflict between pro-Russian rebels and Ukrainian armed forces, conflict still ongoing. European great powers, but also non-European countries, including the United States, have condemned Russia's involvement in the internal conflict in Ukraine imposing economic restrictions aimed at limiting the support which the Russian Federation is granting to the Ukrainian rebels. International institutions, particularly NATO and the EU have adopted a clear position against this situation, condemning the violation of territorial sovereignty of Ukraine and taking measures in the strengthening of the eastern flank against threats created by the aggressive policy of Russia, oscillating between "consultation with US and Western Europe and the desire to be recognized and comply with at least one power in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Diplomats and analysts stress that going back to basics does not mean returning NATO to anything resembling the hair-trigger footing of the Cold War era, when tens of thousands of troops faced off across the Iron Curtain. The size of NATO's new rapid deployment force, is a sufficient deterrent should Russia decide to make trouble along the alliance's eastern frontier. The new force will be drawn from the existing 13,000-strong NATO Response Force, which can be deployed anywhere in the world within five days. The new, smaller force will be deployable to any member state in trouble within two days.

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But despite NATO's move towards confronting Russia and the alliance's suspension of all formal cooperation with Moscow, there is still opposition among many members to burn the bridge entirely. This manifested itself in Wales in a behind-the-scenes struggle over the fate of the Founding Act, the agreement the alliance made with Russia in 1997 to assuage Moscow's fears about former Warsaw Pact members Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic joining NATO.

In the Founding Act, which alliance officials say is a "political" and not a "legal" document, NATO pledged that it would not station "permanent" or "substantial" forces on the territory of its new eastern members.[3]

In the end, a compromise was reached that kept the Founding Act intact, with NATO explicitly stating that Russia had "breached" it with its actions in Ukraine. Even as NATO moves to beef up its defenses in the east, diplomats and officials admit that the alliance is struggling to find ways to counter the type of stealth and hybrid tactics Russia is using in Ukraine. By relying on local proxies and unmarked Russian irregular forces, Moscow has been able to claim a degree of plausible or somewhat plausible deniability that it is involved in the Ukraine conflict. It has also very effectively utilized well-organized subterfuge, diversion, and deception, a highly disciplined disinformation campaign, and coordinated economic warfare, analysts say.

At the NATO Summit held in Wales NATO allies have agreed to increase their help Ukraine through the implementation of four support funds aimed at the following areas: capacity to command, control, communications and IT (C4); logistics and standardization; cyber defense; career transition management in the military. It was also decided to assist Ukraine in the rehabilitation of military wounded personnel.

Over time, NATO has developed a number of mechanisms and instruments to support cooperation with partners outside the alliance through combinations of policies, programs and action plans. Support funds involve voluntary involvement of NATO member states through coordination and financial support for a project in a partner state (non-NATO), which focuses on areas such as security and defense that are in accordance with the legal framework of the Policy support funds within NATO Partnership for Peace.[4]

Cyber-security Trust Fund is headed by Romania, following the decision of the Supreme Defense Council (CSAT) on 03.09.2014, as a nation-leading, supported by two additional contributors: Hungary and Estonia (started on 2014, December the 1st). This project is developed through RASIROM RA, state-owned company under the authority of the Romanian Intelligence Service, which has a staff of engineers, foremen and highly skilled technicians with certifications in Germany, England, Holland, France at leading companies worldwide involved in research, design, development and implementation of security systems. It must be said that the Romanian state is the executive agency responsible for operating support fund and its implementation period is 24 months.

Among the main objectives of this project include: developing technical capabilities to counter cyber threats; establishment of an Incident Management Centre in order to monitor cyber events, and to supply hardware; setting up specialized laboratories for investigating cyber security incidents; delivery of training programs by Ukrainian staff to use equipment and technology supplied through this program.

By H. G. no. 1130 of 23 December 2014, the Romanian Government approved the Agreement of Financial Management between Romania and the Office of Financial Control of the NATO Trust Fund NATO for Ukraine in the field of cyber defense signed on 2 December 2014 and which states that there will be allocated 500,000 Euros by this

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project, the approved budget amount coming from the Romanian Intelligence Service 2015.

2.1. Romania's military capabilities

From the military point of view, after 2004, our country has emerged as the second NATO military regional member after Turkey and a strong partner of the US in central and Southeastern Europe. "Even though budget cuts have affected the preservation of the Romanian army to capacity, Romania has considerable military resources to other countries in the area. Thus, Romania has over 70,000 active troops, plus 80,000 retired military personnel. For active people, more than half took part in military operations, in conflict zones theaters of operations under the aegis of the UN or NATO. In 2007, nearly 2,000 Romanian troops participated in military missions on three continents, and in 2008 1,800 military ground forces were engaged in a wide range of missions with a very high level. In this way, Romania has ensured that its troops have the experience of a real conflict, in addition to military exercises carried out with international partners.

To defend the airspace, aviation transport troops and other missions, Romania has 16 attack aircrafts, fighter 16, 19 and 74 transport training. In addition, the Army longer fall 81 helicopters without attack capabilities. At their disposal there are 45 usable airports. Romania has an ongoing project to purchase 24 F-16s in use, six of which are already optimized on which the Romanian pilots are currently running flights without assistance. Other aircrafts will be gradually delivered until 2018, when the Mig21 Lancers with which the Romanian army is currently equipped will leave the household. The purchase of these aircrafts is a part of the multi-role program of the Strategic Partnership between Romania and the US. This program includes the acquisition time of 48 aircrafts, 24 F-16s in the midway, and 24 F-35 Joint Strike Fighters. During the full endowment of the Romanian army, the acquisition of these aircrafts is the ultimate goal of the program. Also present at the motion is a project that would involve the purchase of additional twelve F-16 devices in use, given the evolution of the conflict in Ukraine.

Army includes 875 tanks, 1,450 vehicles, 413 artillery tractors and 188 missile systems. Last but not least, Romania also has three frigates, corvettes and 5 destroyers. Although the state is partially landlocked with a line exceeding 200 km of coastline, our country has no aircraft carrier or submarine. The only submarine in the Romanian Army is inoperative due to technical reasons. Romania's military fleet is not at its best, considering the importance of the "economic, political and strategic Black Sea Area that has the bond with the Mediterranean", providing a "significant opening (...) to Middle-East and to Asia".

Romania's capacity to defend itself lies not entirely in its military capabilities. A segment of the partnership between our country and the United States is the establishment in Romania of US military bases. Besides the safety factor assured by the presence of these bases, they have also created the opportunity for the Romanian military to train and have modern standards joint exercises of implementation. Also, this partnership has led to an influx of investment in the defense sector and the development of research and development programs in the military.[5]

Another important step is the project of installing on the Romanian territory of the missile shield project components that will be completed in 2016. Thus, the defense of our country has been enriched by the addition of capabilities in the event of ballistic missile attacks.

The development of military capabilities in the region represents a major challenge in terms of the "gap between political ambitions and real military capabilities or the balance between current capabilities and requirements of the organization's mission. With few exceptions, collective capabilities of the European members of NATO are below those of

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the US, which spends more than double on defense compared to all other partners in the Alliance together. "This technological gap between European Union states and the United States "has grown so much that can create interoperability problems including difficult operations (...) and may hamper decision-making within NATO"

2.2 Romania's involvement in Ukraine. Costs and benefits

As a border state of the European Union and NATO membership, Romania has a major interest in neighboring stability, democracy and prosperity, creating community pluralism and predictable security. This challenge, successfully implemented over the last decade, is now at a turning point, Romania being faced with threats posed by armed conflict in the territory of a neighboring state. Also, the same conflict threatens security in the Black Sea, giving birth vulnerabilities both in terms of trade in the area and where exploitation of hydrocarbon reserves in the basin of the Black Sea, an important component of Romania's energy independence policy.

It should be noted that Romania's involvement in the conflict in Ukraine, in cooperation with two other NATO member states (Hungary and Estonia) and while keeping the other actions of NATO comes to the events generated by strained relations between Russia and Ukraine and the Fund need Alliance to consolidate its eastern border.

Below I outline what are the costs and benefits of Romania's national security posed in support of Ukraine on the landing prevention and countering of cyber security threats, given the current events which are taking place north of the border of our state.

Costs	Benefits
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial resources (500.000 euros); • Human resources; • Exposure to cyber threats. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Image within NATO; • Strengthening the position of authority in cyber security; • Contribution to regional security regional stability.

Table 1 – Romania's involvement in Ukraine. Costs and benefits

Some benefits are also mentioned by the Government in the explanatory note of the Government Decision no. 1130/2014 and refer to the fact that this project will enhance the visibility of our country among Allies and reinforce support for Ukraine is likely to boost security at regional level, as targeted by NATO.

We know that Romania has actively contributed, over time, to support measures to deal with the issue of cyber security in NATO, including supporting initiatives to implement the new Strategic Concept of the Alliance. The current approach to the North border can be an opportunity to define and consolidate a new status within NATO.[6]

In terms of costs involved in the current approach, we can easily grasp that this measure has no macroeconomic implication, considering the amount that Romania has allocated to this project (0.5 mil. Euros). Given that a judicious pre involvement analysis has not been conducted and cyber security threats to Ukraine may occur, the initially allocated financial resources will certainly increase.

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Although Romania has a respectable educational system geared towards engineering and science and has a base for the IT industry and a long history of education in information technology, when it comes to information systems it is known that this calls for human resources skills and expertise, highly qualified professionals and it is necessary to foresee a number of issues such as efficient allocation of human resources, employee motivation and satisfaction, turnover of staff due to competition in the labor market etc.

Given those listed above I must say that security, when it comes to human resources, must ensure continuity so that in the issues that we are discussing, we mean human resources both in terms of a cost and in terms of vulnerability.

Given the quality of national leadership, Romania can play a significant role in this project. We see that in recent years attacks on information and communication infrastructures of European level have occurred. We estimate additional costs involving both government institutions and business environment. For example cyber attacks against Georgia and Estonia in 2012 showed long-term destructive effects arising on the functioning of civil society and economy.[7]

Conclusions

Through its membership of NATO, Romania, in addition to the responsibilities that this adhesion involved benefits from the protection offered by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty which stipulates that if a member state of the Alliance suffers a military aggression from another state actor, the other Member States are obliged to provide support and act on the principle that an attack against one is an attack on all members. These protections alone can not ensure the security of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Romania. Our country must be able to repel an armed aggression by its own, giving allies time to intervene.

The events in Ukraine and the aggression shown by Russia have called into questioning the issues of security and defense. Increasing the budget of the Ministry of Defense is more than necessary. Upgrading existing military capabilities, the acquisition of modern military equipment and providing a tactical and combat training for Romanian soldiers should be at the top of the list of Romania's priorities. An increased budget for the defense sector could lead to the development of military research, the development of the projects within international partnerships designed to revitalize the production of arms and military equipment in our country. Thus, in the event of conflicts in the region, Romania could provide military capabilities in a very short time, which would improve the reaction of the Alliance to support its partners in this geographical area.

National security is a fundamental right derived from people's full sovereignty; constitutional order is based on and fulfilled in the context of European, Euro-Atlantic cooperation and global developments. The membership of an important political and military alliance such as NATO has had an impact on attitudes and behaviors of the country, building confidence in itself and in its partners, taking voluntary and conscious responsibilities on national security and defense at regional and global levels.

The adoption of the Agreement for Financial Management between Romania and the Office of Financial Control of the Trust Fund NATO for Ukraine in the field of cyber defense is an agreement which brought Romania both benefits and some costs and disadvantages.

With the support of Ukraine's case for joining the Atlantic and Euro-Atlantic structures, Russia has become a real enemy. Therefore, be it cyber attacks against the country, or shared propaganda of existing information warfare or threat from Russian

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military aircraft overflying close to borders, Romania is continuously a subject of constant attacks from Russia.

Despite these very negative aspects, Romania's decision to support Ukraine on the level of cyber threats was a decision that brought a number of significant benefits. Thus, considerable financial resources have been mane, which have not had implications at the macroeconomic level. Considering the risk of being exposed to potential cyber threats, Romania has consolidated its capabilities in NATO proving that it is prepared to meet the expectations of the Alliance and contribute directly to reducing risks and increasing safety in the region.

Given the investments made by supporting Ukraine we believe that in the next period it is necessary to pay attention when they will effectively contribute to strengthening the cyber-security of Romania, in the context of threats coming at this level in ambiguous, complex and volatile nature.

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