THE THEORY OF SECURITY AND INSECURITY
(Part II)

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Abstract: The author presents the stage in knowledge of the security concept, the (quantitative and qualitative) definitions of this concept function of risks, threats, and vulnerabilities. For this noble purpose, a method of investigation similar to the "thread of Ariadne" was used, which guided / guided us through the avalanche of information of scientific facts. The general method (valid for all sciences) was used, but also the one specific to the socio-human sciences. However, unlike the common knowledge – which is superficial – the scientific one has a theoretical structure and certain methods / techniques of investigation (research) and hypothesis verification procedures; in addition, it also has a scientific language that includes concepts and notions. In summary, the methodology used here represents the path of science – the set of stages and tools of scientific knowledge of (in) security. Therefore, the methodology covers the steps that are taken for our research to answer the questions of the topic (The theory of security and insecurity) and to achieve the objectives set. At the same time, our endeavor is also focused on the research of theoretical knowledge sources, in order to understand the possibilities of optimization of security capacities and capabilities employment. Likewise, we have used a synthetic approach in structuring our article in a logical, natural sequence and a gradual approach, starting from general aspects and moving on to specific, practical aspects, related to institutional regulations, norms, and constructs, as well as those referring to the culture of security. Therefore, the paper is structured in a few chapters, depending on the specific demands implied by the theories and ideas tackled. Yet, we could not say that our approach has managed to be exhaustive, given the huge number of elements involved in a deeper research but it highlights the steps and mutations suffered by security/insecurity over the centuries together with the National Defense.

Keywords: security, insecurity, risks, threats, vulnerabilities.

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Introduction

Security is an essential issue of humanity, of philosophical, military, sociological thinking as humanity / people are not able to live in harmony, generally speaking being in constant conflicts. The definition of security is grounded on threats, risks and vulnerabilities that determine / influence it, but no generally accepted definition has been embraced by consensus. International treaties and agreements stipulate the right to security, but the evolution of humanity also demands a redefinition and reconstruction on new bases of the right to individual, national, collective, and international security as the old norms / regulations are no longer accepted nowadays, even being inappropriate in the new security environment.

1. Risks, threats, and vulnerabilities

Any investigation of the security-related issues, covering an immense field of action, needs to focus on the human dimension of security as man / people is / are both the main beneficiary/ies of security and the main disturbing and aggressive factor / factors of natural order and Blue Planet resources. Communities, nations, and organizations have to cooperate in order to come up with measures of prevention and reduction of threats, vulnerabilities, and risks and to find effective solutions to security issues. Both natural and anthropic / anthropogenic threats are quite diverse, reflecting specific aspects and different complexities in fields such as culture, education, tradition / customs, political, social, military, state organization fields etc. Judging from this perspective, the level of preparedness of organizations, nations, communities etc. for ensuring security in front of disasters and other types / categories of risks and threats is extremely different, especially as the world is in continuous transformation. The capacity and capability to counter these threats are obviously perfectible in order to increase the power of reaction against threats and aggressions. In this context, Romania has also engaged in the process of identifying vulnerabilities and risks to national security and managing risks as efficiently as possible so as to become not only a consumer, but also a provider of security for the EU and NATO, but not

only for these. Analyzing the specificity of the security environment in the Romanian geostrategic space / area of geographic interest, we notice an amplification of risks and threats to national security and the emergence of new vulnerabilities that add up to the only ones, which, without an adequate / viable strategy of security might seriously threaten national security and endanger the very existence of the unitary state, the rule of law, and the life of its citizens.

Terrorist attacks in the USA, EU, Russia, and other states, at the beginning of the 21st century demonstrated that when facing Trans-border Organized Crime and terrorism, there are no invulnerable states, just as there are no invulnerable states to natural disasters (earthquakes, tsunami, volcanos, etc.), which proves that threats and risks have become international and consequences have become globalized. Humanity needs to answer these threats by strengthening state cooperation in order to effectively and efficiently manage all crises, as well as to prevent them, always abiding by the norms of public international law and developing it in accordance with the necessities of humanity. In order to keep and reinstate a global state of normality, the big international coalition against terrorism was funded which, in our opinion, should enlarge its range, directing it not only against terrorism, but also against Trans-border Organized Crime. The state of security cannot be imposed / preserved without applying the appropriate risk, vulnerabilities, and threats of national, regional, and global security. That is why Romania needs to also make use of this management in order to ensure the stability and development of the rule of law by the participation of all political and social forces that may come together in order to reduce threats, risks and vulnerabilities, on the basis of a culture of security meant to improve social mentality.[1] These are very complex issues, covering a large, insufficiently discerned area, taking into account the increasing number of threats, risks, and vulnerabilities and the imperious necessity to find the most adequate solutions to reduce and counter them.

We have analyzed the issues approached in this paper through the well-known instruments of scientific research, stressing out the less investigated areas. We opted for investigating the issues of security paying

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[1]Constantin Zamfir, *Securitatea civilă și globalizarea*, FED Print S.A. București, 2009, pp. 15-16.

special attention to threats, vulnerabilities and risks generated by both natural phenomena and the anthropic ones, as well as those elements that we deemed as relevant for perceiving the causes of risks and vulnerabilities to the individual and national, regional, international security and the difficulties encountered in preventing and countering them.

As a consequence, the definitions of security, presented in the article called „The Theory of Security and Insecurity" (part I), published in Revista de Științe Militare nr. 4(49), anul XVII, 2017, have to be altered function of the above mentioned elements, namely function of risks, threats, and vulnerabilities.

National security is the likelihood that state institutions and society (with all its domains / components) function at normal parameters, not be vulnerable to natural and anthropic threats and risks that they might counter through an efficient and effective management of risks, on the basis of efficiency and viability facilities, of mitigating the effects of threats and functional re-shaping in case of imminent dangers so as to ensure the reproduction of the nation. This is obviously a quantitative definition of national security as the likelihood or probability is something that can be measured. Unlike this one, a qualitative definition of national security may be given: namely the aptitude (quality) of a state and nation to fulfill its functions specified in the conditions of current and future risks and threats and in case of imminent dangers so as to ensure the reproduction of the nation in conditions of durable development.

The first definition leads to the conclusion that national security is characterized by the probability of adequate functioning of state institutions and Romanian society (of all the domains: economic, social, political, cultural, environmental etc.) given the current and future risks and threats, probability that has a value, for instance, equal to 0.75 (75%) for a period of 200 months, for instance, which means that state institutions and society are going to function on the premises of countering risks and threats for a time of $T=200*0.75=150$ months, namely 12 years and 6 months in case of preserving the performances of institutions and society functioning and in the prescribed functioning regime, known beforehand from the point of view of both national (internal) demands and external ones (external factors or security environment). In case of more serious circumstances of

functioning (threats that are higher than the ones accounted for), conclusions are not the same, but they change, resulting in a smaller time than the calculated one, namely lower threats than the ones taken into account) conclusions are no longer the same, but they are changed, resulting in a less time than calculated, namely less than 12 years.

Hence, the ability of institutions/society to function safely and securely in certain circumstances of risks, threats, and vulnerabilities, is their security, which means that always, be it in relation to national, regional, or international security, the concept of security is based on the quality of the people and of the technical infrastructures / products of the institutions and society and the conditions of employment function of threats, risks, and vulnerabilities.

Taking into account everything mentioned above, we might say that security is the probability that an institution, an organization, a nation, a state, etc. function appropriately in a given time and in the circumstances of a certain set of risks, threats, and vulnerabilities so as to become possible to reproduce. This means that in order to measure the security of an organization, nation, or state, it is necessary to determine the frequency of occurrence of events generating insecurity (deaths, wounded, sick people, infrastructure or technical products malfunctioning), in order to judge first of all the aptitude of security.

The quality of an institution is the „static virtue/aptitude", namely at a certain moment t_0, while the „dynamic virtue" – its security expresses synthetically the permanent upkeep of institution performance during a certain interval T and in the given conditions of threats, risks, and vulnerabilities.

Preserving the level of security imposed to an institution by stipulating certain reserves or reserve supplementary elements is called the redundancy of security.

At the same time, our endeavor is also focused on researching the sources of theoretical knowledge in order to understand the possibilities of optimization of the use of capacities and capabilities of security, protection, and defense. Moreover, we have approached in a synthetic manner the structuring of our article in a logical, natural sequence and a gradual way, starting from general aspects and up to specific and practical ones, meant to regulate, create norms and institutional constructs, as well as those

pertaining to the culture of security. As a result, the article is structured in a few chapters, depending on the specific requirements of theories and ideas. Yet, the issues are not approached in an exhaustive manner as the number of elements allowing further research is quite significant.

2. The current environment of security

The current environment of security is complex and fluid and affects – on short, medium, and long term – communities, states and organizations.

Given the continuous increase in the energy consumption, the environment and the lives of the people on our planet are seriously affected. Because of the climate changes, by 2030, the level of rivers and oceans will have grown and significant parts of certain cities (Venice, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Lisbon, New York, London, Stockholm etc.) will be flooded. The reserve of drinkable water in various parts of the Earth are going to decrease dramatically, while extended spreads of land are going to turn to deserts. The lack of water and food (agricultural products) are going to determine the yearly migration of millions and tens of millions people. Therefore, energy security is connected to water security and food security and, likewise, all dimensions / components of security are inter-conditioned.

Both in Romania and internationally, numerous security studies have been developed regarding the qualitative evolutions of the concepts of security and the analysis of the trend followed by these concepts at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, due to the new phenomena in the current society that have influenced the constant transformation of security. As a result, the new dimensions / components of security were taken into account as well as its new meanings / perceptions. Military threats were added new political, economic, societal, ecological risks etc, and national security was extended (becoming an extensive field) dominated by civilian dimensions and acquiring the meaning of security under risk conditions, which represents a change in paradigm of military security and security in general. There were some national and international scientific events within the country and outside it, in which unprecedented aspects were debated regarding the manner of crisis management in various domains of security. There are numerous examples in this regard: the scientific conferences of the Study Center for Regional Security in

„Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, the Center for Strategic Defense and Security Studies in „Carol I" National Defense University, „Ion Conea" Geopolitics Association, Bucharest University, Oxford University, NATO/PfP Course „Civil-Military Cooperation Relations" Constanța, other international NATO/PfP exercises, Cambridge University, Columbia University, Duke University North Carolina, University of Chicago etc. In addition, security studies analyze the vulnerabilities of states, organizations, communities, nations, critical infrastructures, citizens, etc. and the risks they are subject to.

The analysis of citizen and organizations' security and of the quality of living in nowadays society also leads to the necessity of shaping a solid culture of security in order for all citizens to participate in ensuring their security. The reason is that the analysis of crises and emergency situations led to the conclusion that citizens' interventions and initiatives are of great importance for supporting the actions of authorities.

With respect to energy security, it can be improved by using new technologies, such as, for instance, the drones that might surveil the oil and gas pipes on distances of hundreds and even thousands kilometers against terrorist attacks or trans-border criminal organizations. Nowadays, in order to provide maritime security, there should be a mobilization of armed forces capable to fight against the pirates who attack all sorts of ships, such as, for instance, in vicinity of Somali shore (the Horn of Africa). The states of the world do not always manage to successfully counter these new threats / risks and that is why they are looking for new solutions, new partners, including those in the private environment, or the academic environment, or even the support of certain NGOs.

Among the new risks, threats, and vulnerabilities, we should also mention the cyber ones as cyberattacks in various domains, including the domain of critical and strategic infrastructures are still conducted by the governments of certain countries, as well as the terrorist or trans-border criminal organizations. Some states have more or less cyber defenders; thus, for instance Germany and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have five times more people engaged in cyber defense than France. Romania has maybe ten times fewer or maybe not.

As a consequence, critical infrastructures are becoming increasingly vulnerable and there is no state in the world capable to counter natural or

anthropic disasters of large magnitude, including some terrorist or trans-border criminal organizations' actions. Therefore, new standards are necessary in the domain of societal, national, regional, and international security which might provide scientific stipulations able to ensure the continuity of functioning institutions, organizations, states, firms, etc. in various situations of emergency and crises / conflicts. Crises are nowadays considered disturbing factors and even deviations from the state of normality that need to be managed efficiently in order not to have serious consequences for society.

3. Political and juridical sovereignty and security

The definition of sovereignty offered by Oxford Dictionary of Politics, Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy etc., shows that there are three main elements that need to be taken into account:

1. Sovereignty is the state's right to be the ultimate/exclusive political authority;

2. State authority is exercised on a determined territory (the territorial character of sovereignty);

3. The fundament of international system is represented by the principle of sovereignty mutually recognized by states.

These three elements may clarify the definition of political globalization through the reinterpretation of the 3 elements thus:

1. States' absolute sovereignty is strictly limited to a relative sovereignty;

2. The territorial character of the states is becoming increasingly independent to states' borders;

3. The international system relies less on sovereignty and more on peace keeping, human rights, and sustainable development.

After the 30-year War, Westphalia Peace was signed (1648), laying the grounds for present-day S.I. contemporan (Westphalia Treaty) and the principle of sovereignty of nation-state.

In 1945 United Nations Organization was established by endorsing the Charter of the United Nations by 51 states (San Francisco) which consecrated the principle: „*The Organization is based on the principle of*

the sovereign equality of all its Members."[2] This principle was also adopted by OSCE by the Helsinki Final Act (1975) being part of the Helsinki Decalogue. In addition, UN Charter also includes a series of articles limiting nation's sovereignty starting with art. 2 (states shall settle their disputes peacefully and shall not claim the territories of other states) and the following ones by which states are compelled to support all the actions and principles of the UN. Thus, UN Member-states gave up their sovereign principle to declare or to conduct a war.

According to Chapter VII, Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression, there are provisions regulating the intervention (including the military one) of UN forces against states that violate UN principles, endangering peace: *„Security Council ... may take the measures that are necessary for maintaining or re-instating peace and security at international level, using air, naval, or land forces. Such measures may include demonstrations, blockades, or other operations of the United Nations Members' forces"*[3]. Thus, not only do states lack the right to declare / conduct a war, but they also lack the possibility to adopt / conduct the internal and external policies they desire.

Thus, the UN endorsed the trigger of the first war against Iraq, because Iraq attacked the independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait, as well as the war against Serbia (that broke the human rights principle in the United Nations Charter). Thus UN took over from all its Members part of their sovereignty regarding their external policy (the use of force in international relations) as well as their internal policy (for instance respect for human rights). Likewise, the respective states accepted that issues of international peace and security, which are of global importance, be solved by the UN.

Political globalization resulted in restraining the sovereignty of states initiated by United Nations Charter, the agreement closed at Bretton Woods, the Declaration of Human Rights, the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) of 1972 and Convention against Torture (1987).

The second stage in which the sovereignty of states became relative took place after the end of the Cold War (1990) by openly attacking the

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[2] Principiul nr. 1 al cartei Națiunilor Unite, San Francisco, 1945.
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 42.

sovereignty of the nation-state, having as arguments the proliferation of ANM, terrorism, trans-border criminal organizations, pollution, human rights. After the dismantling of USSR and the power balance, the only remaining super-power was the USA that started making unilateral decisions and the UN entered a decline period while regional actors started to rise (economic and military alliances).

The main issue for the dimension of political and juridical dimension is the amount of and internal and external influence and control still held by the state and the powers delegated to international institutions (European Union - Commission, Council of Ministers, Court of Justice, Central Bank or Parliament) or local and regional administrations. The state *„reinterpreted in a creative manner”* the diminishing of its economic sovereignty and mentioned its strategic position regarding the price to pay.

After the Cold War, the ethnic notion regarding the nation was reiterated, which led to the dismantling of federal states in the Center, South-East, and East of Europe and to threatening nation-states[4].

Although this concept was justified until the emergence of modern national states, the continuation of its application in the 21st century would have meant an unpardonable erosion of state sovereignty[5].

Thus, for instance, the adoption of the Law regarding the statute of Hungarian citizens in Hungarian neighboring states[6] (19th June 2001), has as a central objective promoting the new concept of „Hungarian nation as a whole”, in order to *„make up for the prejudice endured by the Hungarian ethnics who lost the Hungarian citizenship due to other causes than their free will”*[7]. By separating the Hungarian ethnic minority and creating a direct connection between the neighboring state and this minority, based only on the criterion of ethnicity, there is an attempt to destabilize state authority and attack *„state sovereignty by rendering the exercise of sovereignty as being somewhat else than territorial”*[8].

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[4] Constantin Zamfir, *op. cit.,* p. 61.
[5] Cezar A., Radu R., Lupu A., *Evoluția conținutului conceptului de suveranitate,* în „Revista de Studii Socio-umane”, nr. 4-5/2004, p. 101.
[6] Bogdan Aurescu, *Noua suveranitate,* București, Editura All Beck, 2003, p. 85.
[7] Constantin Zamfir, *op. cit.,* p. 61.
[8] Idem.

The national state keeps its monopoly upon essential instruments, such as the legislative, monetary, military, and external policy ones, in order to be able to intervene when the market takes a steep slope as the state needs to impose certain measures onto itself in order to be able to adjust to the new situation. Theoretically, the state might intervene to control the various markets, but this policy would be too costly and would lead, in nowadays conditions, to an isolation of that state and even to a real boycott caused by the other countries or great companies (investors). Similarly, the welfare policies regarding Romanian citizens, of redistributing on a large scale the income and benefits are nowadays utopic. Being based on progressive income taxes, these policies might drive away potential investors and cause a capital hemorrhage (job vacancies). For reasons of efficiency, states are subject to voluntary weakening and sometimes are put in a situation in which they cannot react, even when the evolutions in society or economy lead to crises. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, for instance, could not prevent, in 1992, the crash of the British pound following the speculative attacks that overcame the capacity of intervention of the central bank.

UN, World Trade Organization, IMF, World Bank and International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity, as well as the Interpol (and other organizations) tried to solve certain issues that went beyond the forces of most states.

It is well-known that juridical sovereignty functions as a system of norms of internal and international law that are also taken over by states' Constitutions and international treaties or Charter of the United Nations. According to international law, the state is for the time being the most important subject of law and has territorial competences (complete power upon the national territory), political-economic (internal order, political, economic, and social organization), formal (elaboration and preservation of jurisdiction) and citizenship competences (citizenship regime, citizens' protection abroad). At the same time, states have a right to self-defense and, according to the Charter of the United Nations, they benefit of sovereign equality.

Yet, juridical sovereignty started to be drastically restricted because of military interventions against some sovereign states – some of which even with UN agreement (the one in Iraq at the beginning of the '90s, the

one in Kosovo or the one in Afghanistan), while others were unilaterally conducted (the second American intervention in Iraq). After the Coalition's intervention in Kosovo, approved by 1244 UN Resolution, the former American diplomat Edward Marks stated that the moment marked the passing from *„the Westphalian system that dominated the world scene until after the Cold War, to a „post-Westphalian one" (Marks, American Diplomacy)"*[9].

As a conclusion for this model, we consider that we may take into account Marks's statement about the Kosovo intervention: *„But which are the long-term implications of the intervention in Kosovo? Probably it is exaggerated to say that it signals the beginning of a new world order, but it might not be wrong to say that it constitutes an important step towards an integrated political community."* (a global one – *author's note*)[10]

4. Economic warfare

The classical approach of the dimensions / components of security comprises the following: economic, political, military, ecological, and social dimensions to which we are adding civil security, too. Recently, after redefining the concept of security there is also a new approach of these dimensions / components: societal security, society of risk and the human dimension of security and, in addition a new paradigm emerges – economic warfare conducted by the large transnational corporations / companies against national states.

Within Law 481/08.11.2004 republished in Romanian Official Gazette no. 554/22.07.2008 at art. 1, it is stipulated that Civil Protection is a component of the System of National Security and comprises a number of activities, measures, and tasks „...in order to prevent and reduce the Risks of disasters".

Article 9 stipulates that: Disasters have natural causes and other causes, man-made.

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[9] Constantin Zamfir, *op. cit.,* p. 62.
[10] Marks, G., *Multi-level Governance and European Integration,* (Rowman & Littlefield: Boulder, Colorado). 2001.

The situation of civil protection includes both disasters and armed conflicts.

We are witnessing nowadays an intensification of the types of risks, their frequency and spreading, which represents a danger and a threat to people's lives and health, the environment, and the public and private goods. The activity of prevention for emergency situations is regulated by national and EU norms, but this is not the case for all the situations which might endanger the individual or communities' / nations' security. Anyway, citizens need to become aware at least of the risks in the area where they live and to get information about the measures of preventing and diminishing risks in various situations of civil protection (security). Part of the effects caused by a situation of civil protection (of emergency) might be limited or even eliminates through a rational, profound thinking, an opportune action, and a correct intervention in the spirit of the law.

As a consequence, it is necessary to get informed on dangers, risks, and threats that we might have to confront, to acquire the measures and rules of prevention of emergency situation/ civil protection and participate in exercises and simulations organized by authorities or by different organizations / NGOs etc. as, through a preventive, and even pre-emptive behaviour we might save our life / health and goods. In this respect, it is very important to acquire the lessons learned from the survivors of certain disasters, armed conflicts, etc.

After the fall of the communist / socialist system (after 1989) some corporations / companies set as their goal the dominance of the world by any means. The transition from the centralized communist / socialist economy to the (capitalist) market economy actually meant a period of extension of the economic warfare. Yet, there is also a mixed market economy (for instance, in China) by combining the companies / enterprises with a centralized control of economy (certain fiscal and monetary policies upon the strategic sectors from the national state-controlled economy). If there is such a thing in China, we need not to forget that most capitalist industrialized states have a mixed market economy (a combination between a private economy and a state economy). The literature in the field presents three models of successful economy: 1. Social state economy; 2. Market

economy „directed" by consumption" and 3 Market economy „guided administratively"[11].

Economist M. Albert yet proposes only two models: the Neo-American and the Renanian (German) ones[12].

The Neo-American model refers to the existence of a scarce public economic sector (the state does not get involved too much in economy) and a market with an essential role, the fiscal policy being reduced. In the Renanian model, the state intervenes in order to defend social protection and free negotiations between company owners and syndicates and the state through a thicker fiscal system and a re-distribution of revenue.

In the current economic warfare, the most widely used economic weapon is actually the psychological weapon that aims to change mentalities through manipulation, through advertising, in order to develop consumerism by exploiting anything: instincts, vanities, some people's naivety, shallowness and generally speaking other negative features of people. Through economic aggression, the respective person or nation are targeted in order to develop in these targets certain artificial needs/demands so as to deprive the targeted person or nation of all the income, to bring them to bankruptcy and to make them dependent on loans offered, obviously, by those who are doing the manipulation. In this economic warfare, skillfully led by the aggressor, the purpose is to create economic slaves (people and states). We wonder if Romania has been turned in an economic slave. A short and serious analysis leads us to the conclusion that Romania and Romanians are consuming more and more imported products and are making increasing loans from foreign banks that „generously" offer them higher and higher credits, for intervals that are as long as possible, calling them „cost-effective". Economic aggressors also have other directions of action: diverting the consumers' attention from the productive sector to the non-productive, even detrimental one; creating in the targets' conscience fake human and technical/technological values as a substitute for traditional/national values; destroying the image of leaders/dignitaries

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[11] Constantin Zamfir, *op. cit.,* p. 247.
[12] Idem.

whose aim would be to ensure the economic development of their country, intoxicating citizens with fake information about those leaders etc.[13]

On the whole, economic warfare is an economic phase characterized as post-competition – incurring the overpassing of the threshold of transformation of competition into crisis (caused by the economic aggressor) and of the crisis into conflict. It is exactly what is happening in Romania following the recipe mentioned in the previous lines. Thus, nowadays, conflicts are not necessarily military, but rather economic, while battles are commercial battles.

This concept of economic warfare is not new, being known ever since the last century when Herzog presented in a paper the manner of waging economic warfare at peace time. Moreover, Hausser, another German scientist, presented even in 1917 the methods of economic expansion of Germany. Although specialists in international relations almost unanimously think of military warfare when speaking about warfare, just as the very definition of war is in Larousse dictionary, for instance. If warfare, by definition, means imposing your own will to your opponent, it means that if through economic means the same aim is pursued, it is still about warfare, but this time the reference is made to economic warfare. This warfare is going to be carried out just like any kind of war, by using information, not by armed force. By information the communication capacity of the (economic) opponent may be neutralized.

From the information collected and processed through intelligence means, China has correctly perceived the fact that the liberal / neoliberal model of international commerce actually poses a significant threat to its identity, an imminent danger to this identity, and has come to the conclusion that: *„Economic security is the basis, political security is the principle, while military security is the guarantee, technological security is the key and cultural security is the salvation"*[14].

Through economic warfare, the economic relations of the country with other countries may be (negatively) affected with other countries or with certain economic firms/companies from various areas / regions on the globe. Different methods are used to this purpose: 1) implementing a certain

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[13] *Ibidem*, p. 248.
[14] *Ibidem*, p. 254.

economic ideology (through manipulation, people are induced the idea that profitable business can be done with one state or side only, the one that has the „appropriate" ideology); 2) amateur economic leaders are promoted; 3) the products made in the targeted country are depreciated, by making use of psychological means (through propaganda, rumors, jokes, fake information propagated through the media).

Obviously, all economic invaders (assassins) have businesses in the whole wide world, without taking into account their ideology, religion, etc. as in the economic warfare there is a single ideology – the economic advantage. In order to collect economic intelligence, economic espionage is used in relation to markets, resources, products, technologies, and competitive services, which brings economic advantages to the respective country.

In 2015, the surging waves of refugees/migrations against EU states amplified the phenomenon of Euroscepticism. After the pandemic shock on the EU, this phenomenon generated a nationalist, populist resurgence, slowing down the process of European integration. The Eurosceptic phenomenon springs from an ideational antagonism (an opposition to the supranational construction of the EU) or from a Euroscepticism fueled by public / governmental policies (a platform opposition)[15]. In France, UK, Italy, Spain, etc. there are Eurosceptic political parties that became radicalized during the economic and financial crisis, when some governments took austerity measures (for example in Romania). Yet, Euroscepticism is different from radicalism or extremism, which are forms of violent opposition to the democratic status quo[16]. In fact, it was found that the electorate that voted for the extremist parties was motivated by the attitude towards immigrants. Eurosceptic rhetoric was fueled by huge waves of immigrants, the destruction of borders, the elimination of social

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[15] Clara Volintiru, Cronica din CONVORBIRI EUROPENE: „Euroscepticismul - ne unește sau ne dezbină?" Recenzia unei lecture obligatorii în 2016, p.1, disponibil la http://www.convorbirieuropene.ro/euroscepticismul-ne-uneste-sau-ne-dezbina-recenzia-unei-lecturi-obligatorii-in-2016/, accesat la 19.10.2020.
[16] Gherghina S., Soare S., Mișcoiu S., Combaterea euroscepticismului, extremismului/radicalizării și consolidarea încrederii în valorile europene, Studii de strategie și politică SPOS 2015, nr.1, pp. 4-9.

protection, cultural / religious differences, the lack of trust in political parties, the lack of responsibility of European institutions, etc. European citizens in several countries are dissatisfied with the direction the EU seems to be heading. As compared to the moment of joining the EU, even the critical attitudes of the Romanians are much stronger now[17].

In 2020, after the pandemic shock, the unity of the EU decreased and the dissatisfaction of some European citizens with the internal policy of the Union increased18, which not only accelerated the withdrawal of the UK from the EU and the political division of Germany, but also brought along the slowdown of economic development, radicalism, extremism and nationalism. Controls at the borders of some EU Member States are being reintroduced in times of crisis (terrorist, migrant, pandemic / health emergencies, etc.), which requires joint decisions by EU countries. However, as evidenced by the impact of Coronavirus on the EU, the response to this crisis was weak, Italy's reaction was virulent, and member states were forced to take control just as during the immigrant crisis. A far-right French politician urged the closure of the borders with the Italian state. So, in the face of the coronavirus, the EU seemed on the verge of splitting up and is struggling to recover after "Italy broke away from the EU"19. So we are witnessing an EU security crisis triggered by a tiny coronavirus. Social networks horrified the EU population, and the media, which is only interested in rating and profit, freely conveyed alarmist news without resorting to analytical expertise. Even the World Health Organization (WHO) or the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) were blamed for causing much confusion, just like that produced by "fake news". Very few credible sources commented on the evolution of the new Coronavirus, which had a negative impact on the morale of Euro citizens.

There was a large gap between the processes of testing, analysis and data collection / reporting on infection with the new coronavirus. Governments did not provide up-to-date and consistent official information. As a result, the media induced negative scenarios and caused panic. All this has increased citizens' distrust of the authorities. Some policy makers do not

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[17] *Ibidem*, p.10.
[18] Claudiu Săftoiu, Provocarea COVID-19 în lumea intelligence, Revista de Științe Militare, nr.3/2020, p.66.
[19] *Ibidem*, p.68.

have sufficient culture of security and do not take seriously the information provided by the intelligence community or the scientific community, although scientists rely on scientific arguments without which most political decisions do not have real or viable support.

The population is always bombed with false information by social media. In addition to this misinformation, there is also the issue caused by faulty government information[20]. Millions of posts are spreading misinformation online and Facebook is not taking serious action to counter this practice. Certain life-threatening messages are removed, though. The fake news phenomenon during the pandemic is caused by some political interests or meant to induce social panic and can therefore endanger people's lives. In conclusion, it is necessary to combine transparency from official sources with independent and professional journalism that leads to reliable / true information.

The security/insecurity has got a limit; nothing is without limit. This is the law of security and insecurity. The people must obey this (in)security law, and they have to act in the name of the security law.

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[20] *Ibidem*, p.71.

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