

## THE GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION OF SECURITY

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*Globalization is a multidimensional process: information technology and other fields develop and spread with amazing rapidity. On the one hand, these developments allow the possibility of economic prosperity, political freedom, promoting peace and democracy, but on the other hand, they can lead to social fragmentation, to the creation of critical vulnerabilities and to states of emergency or conflict. Local threats are now easily becoming regional or even global. For an efficient and effective response to these threats, security cooperation is absolutely necessary. There are global threats which regional cooperation cannot cope with, but there are also regional threats for which global cooperation does not have the necessary tools to counter, regional cooperation being more effective.*

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### **Globalization – a conceptual approach**

**G**lobalization is now the source of much controversy in international relations in terms of reporting to reality, the content and the impact it could have. Although these debates started from studies on global political economy, the interest in analysing the phenomenon of globalization as the impact on national and international security has increased.

A temporal excursion in the genesis and inclusion of the concept of globalization locates it in the '60s and '70s, hidden under the term "international", while the following decades impose it by phrases like "global economy", "global

governance" etc., bringing it within the globalist, post-modernist sphere only after 1990, under the current name, so intensely debated and publicized<sup>1</sup>.

Being a wide and highly debated phenomenon, it is easily understood that an attempt to find a universal definition of globalization will not lead to any conclusion. If we try to find a definition in the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language*, we will be disappointed - the term "globalization" is not mentioned in this dictionary. However, *The Great Dictionary of Neologisms 2000* defines the verb "to globalize" as: "bringing together disparate elements into a whole; judging a problem on the whole. (fr. Globaliser) ". So, one of the keywords is "whole".

As Roxana Ciurcanu, assistant professor at the University "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" Iasi, states, "lacking a rigorous definition, globalization tends to become a cliché, a grand idea, which includes everything that happens around us and cannot be explained coherently, or the cause of all the problems that world economy and the contemporary society have to face."<sup>2</sup> The term globalization can be used in different areas. In the economic context, it refers to reducing or even eliminating barriers at the borders between countries to facilitate the route of goods, capital, services and labor (although there are still certain barriers on the labour market). The term can also refer to the spread of cross-border ideas, languages or cultures. In this article we try to analyse the phenomenon of globalization from the perspective of national and international security.

Regarding post-Cold War security, great attention is paid to asymmetric threats, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, cross-border crime and environmental threats, as well as to global inequality as a threat to human security. After the events of September 11, 2001, national and cross-border terrorism has become a priority on the international security agenda. All these aspects are clearly linked to globalization, not only in the economic aspect but also as an idea of interconnected social movement, of goods and people circulation, especially as an idea of "transnational" as opportunity and threat at the same time.

The study of the relationship between globalization and the reconstruction or reconfiguration of political, economic, cultural, military, multinational, alliance and

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<sup>1</sup> Vasile Popa, *Implicațiile globalizării asupra securității naționale*, Bucharest, National Defense University "Carol I", 2005, p. 7

<sup>2</sup> Roxana Ciurcanu, *Economia mondială între globalizare și regionalizare*, in *Analele științifice ale Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași, Științe Economice*, Tomul L/LI, 2004/2005 *apud* general-locotenent prof. univ. Dr. Teodor Frunzeti, *Globalizare sau regionalizare?*, Impact Strategic, Nr.2/2011, Bucharest, National Defense University "Carol I"

power centres' identities is extremely enlightening for the impact of this wide process in a globalizing world. The development of global networks results in a state interdependence in certain industries. Financial markets are getting global. Global strategic alliances and new players who want to become global competitors emerge.<sup>3</sup>

Even though the economic power has a central place in the study of globalization, the term is not synonymous to economic liberalization. This view tends to marginalize the role of states in the globalization process by labelling states as victims of globalization rather than making an analysis of the interaction between states and globalization.<sup>4</sup> For example, works dealing with the phenomenon of globalization emphasize the transformation of northern industrialized countries and such trends are not entirely consistent with the literature on security and globalization.

Therefore, it is imperative to develop a conceptualization of the globalization of security. In other words, the relationship between globalization and security has to be redefined. All in all, the globalization of security should be seen as evolving in each of the security dimensions - economic, military, political, social and environmental. Far from being a linear process, with a uniformly accelerated development, globalization is accompanied by numerous side effects, which, uncontrolled in time, can irreversibly destabilize the system. The risks, dangers and threats to the process, occurring on the basis of unpredictable vulnerabilities, create a state of uncertainty and insecurity for its development. Thus, globalization is also the engine of its insecurity. This is because the process "did not only transform the characteristics of the existing risks and threats, but also created some new, specific ones". From this perspective, the *globalization of security* appears as a *sine qua non* condition for the success of the globalization process. Far from being a metaphor, security globalization requires a global response not only to risks, dangers and threats, but also to their management requirements and to the monitoring and reduction of vulnerabilities<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, we could very briefly define the globalization of security as a response to global threats to security. In the following pages we will

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<sup>3</sup> Dan Nica, *Uniunea Europeană în era societății informaționale și globalizării*, [www.mie.ro/media/Romana/2003/Publicatii/ro/ue/informatizare.htm](http://www.mie.ro/media/Romana/2003/Publicatii/ro/ue/informatizare.htm) apud Vasile Popa, *Implicațiile globalizării asupra securității naționale*, Bucharest, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare "Carol I", 2005, p.11

<sup>4</sup> Bryan Mabee, *The Globalization of Security. State Power, Security Provision and Legitimacy*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p.4

<sup>5</sup> Grigore Alexandrescu, *Globalizarea securității – o simplă metaforă?*, Sesiunea de comunicări științifice cu participare internațională Strategii XXI/2007, National Defense University "Carol I", Bucharest, 2007, p.25

list some of the globalization effects that have led, more or less, to the phenomenon of globalization of security.

### **The impact of globalization on security**

Globalization has a considerable amount of effects, both positive and negative. From the positive elements, we can mention: trade, investment, financial flows amplification and liberalization, extension of democratic values, individual identity protection, environmental protection and "free circulation" of security ... But globalization also has negative effects, such as: safety lowering to all indicators, the globalization of chronic local and regional phenomena, the globalization of great organized crime (weapons, drugs, people trafficking), the radicalization of ethnic and religious fanaticism, terrorism.<sup>6</sup>

There are also positive and negative sides regarding the impact of globalization on global and national security. The global market can generate wealth and prosperity, but where the level of development is not uniform, it can lead to political tensions and risks of instability.

In the context of globalization, communications and new technologies can be used by states, institutions and honest people as well as by organized crime networks, terrorist groups and organizations, the latter thus accomplishing their own propaganda, expressing their threats, making illicit money businesses (through e-Money) or affecting the security of states by breaking the computer systems protection. Globalization gives birth to insecurity in various ways, by transnational political terrorism, illegal weapons and lethal unconventional means, drugs and persons trafficking, illegal migration, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, economic and financial aggression, as well as by generating environment catastrophes.<sup>7</sup>

The international security environment is now full of serious risks and threats - terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, ethnic disputes and religious rivalries, transnational organized crime, tensions and conflict maintained by destabilizing forces in many parts of the world, internal disorders, while some unexpected events like floods, earthquakes, droughts, etc., individually and all together, being a risk of instability and insecurity for the international community. Ensuring collective security is therefore the objective of bringing together the efforts of UN and other international organizations which increase solidarity in the world, their cooperation

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<sup>6</sup> Vasile Popa, *op. cit.* p.15

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p.19

and collaboration leading to common rules, structures, procedures and capabilities meant to tackle the challenges of the 21st century, being an effective response to crises, threats and regional and global instabilities.<sup>8</sup>

As a conclusion of this section, we emphasize that the many dimensions of globalization require a new approach to security. The new transnational threats, rooted in various aspects of globalization, involve too many risks to be ignored. In order to prevent and control the threats resulting from the globalization process, it is important to use the positive aspects of this process, by achieving international cooperation in the security field, by promoting economic growth and by spreading democracy.

#### **The regionalization of security**

Regional security is a necessity imposed by many factors: the challenges of globalization, the substantial difficulties that the countries in the region encounter in economy, ethnicity, environmental issues and more. In the Middle East, for example, economic and security deficits, according to analysts, cannot be solved using patterns or by external force solutions, thus generating resentful phenomena of rejection. The Muslim issue must be "viewed in a regional rather than a global perspective and from a geopolitical, not theological, point of view." In the "new global Balkans", a space between the Persian Gulf and Xinjiang, Brzezinski sees a main challenge for the U.S. for at least a generation from now on. Influenced by violence, social injustice, massive demographic growth, the region will have to build its security through U.S. security cooperation with its traditional partners: Turkey, Israel, India, and Russia. The problem is that they have their own internal security problems and, moreover, they have a security agenda that does not always correspond to the American one.<sup>9</sup>

Regional cooperation has become an increasingly important phenomenon in international relations in recent years. As globalization continues to evolve, we might as well say that we live in an era of regionalization. An objective view over regional security – the global security relationship highlights the existence of a real congruence and complementarity between the two terms of the process, put into practice by continuously supporting and empowering each other - the only possibility that is capable of successfully establishing and maintaining a genuine atmosphere of peace and regional, continental and international stability.

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<sup>8</sup> Grigore Alexandrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 26

<sup>9</sup> Vasile Popa, *op. cit.*, p.21

Regional security, which is basically a sum of economic, ethnic and state security entities in the region, is built on the involvement of states, on the concept "common regional problems - solutions through regional cooperation" so as to combat the current risks and threats generated by the globalization process.<sup>10</sup> As an integrating part of globalization, regionalization is a tendency in international relations today.

Regionalization should not be seen as a rival concept of globalization. On the contrary, the co-operation between the United Nations and the regional organizations should be encouraged in conflict prevention and peace-keeping or peace-making. The regionalization of states is now considered an element of integration, by establishing a community – region connection, which aims at correcting or preventing regional imbalances, giving legitimacy to the regions and to those institutions that represent their interests. This process is designed as a factor of democratization and of cultural specificity awareness.

The regionalization of security - the role of regional organizations in maintaining international peace and security in their region - is now at the centre of discussions both within the United Nations and in regional organizations. The global role of the action of many existing regional cooperation organizations in the area - see the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, the Cooperation Process of the countries in South-Eastern Europe, the Cooperation Initiative in South-Eastern Europe, The Conference of the Defence Ministers in South-Eastern Europe, GUUAM -, that have the capability to generate new initiatives, including the field of regional security and defence, indicate a regional-global bi-univocal relationship, supported by large institutions, like the UN, OSCE, NATO, EU, etc.<sup>11</sup>

Regions are both sources and solutions to many security threats. There are some contemporary threats that can be seen as regional rather than global, i.e. there is a shift of threats at local level. However, the regionalization of security does not exclude the possibility for many or some security issues to be also global, therefore being dealt with by multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations. But we must be aware of the fact that some regional sources of insecurity can be controlled more effectively by regional institutions, since there are cases where the UN does not meet the specific needs and interests of a region.

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p.23

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p.23

Regional security threats are usually military. The magnitude of this type of threat occurs in the absence of a pre-set order, which should reinforce or create generally accepted rules on the use or threat of military force. In this context, we note that regional security is threatened by both internal and external elements:

- the unwanted military presence of Russia in Chechnya;
- the conflict in South Ossetia;
- the conflict in Transnistria;
- the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave;
- the unfinished conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina;
- the campaign against terrorism in Afghanistan;
- the war in Iraq;
- underground economy, corruption, etc..<sup>12</sup>

Of course, regional threats are constantly changing, differing from one area to another. Some initially considered global threats become regional and vice versa. Regions themselves may change depending on the nature of threats, regional interests, etc. Thus, we conclude that regional and global security must remain in close contact to better counter the threats, whatever their nature.

#### **Security in the Wider Black Sea Region**

The security environment in the Black Sea region is subject to a series of transformations from two perspectives: the impact of NATO and EU expansion on the region and the development of the cooperation between riparian states. The vision of security in the area classifies riparian states in the following categories: **NATO and / or the EU countries**, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey, which organize their security strategies depending on the status and international role involved by their membership in these organizations, the **Russian Federation**, which has a distinct view about security, coming from its position in international relations.

#### **Risks, dangers and threats to security in the Wider Black Sea Region**

Europe is facing a period of challenges derived not only from changes taking place in the national, regional, or global security environment, but also from the large-scale institutional transformation. The Black Sea Region and the Balkans are the main target of all present and future processes and for these reasons, assessing

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<sup>12</sup> Alexandra Sarcinschi, Cristian Băhnăreanu, *Redimensionări și configurări ale mediului de securitate: zona Mării Negre și Balcani*, București, National Defense University "Carol I", 2005, p. 30



vulnerabilities, risks, dangers and threats to regional security<sup>13</sup> is the basis for working out regional policies for the state actors.

In such an analysis it is necessary to follow a series of indicators of regional stability and security, out of which we consider the following to be the most important: internal political stability, market economy, resources, access to the strategic resources, observing fundamental rights and freedoms, the quality of life, achieving democratic civilian control over the armed forces, involvement in armed conflicts (national, regional, or global), possession, use or production of nuclear or biological weapons, cultural differences between a country's national values and the values of the neighbouring countries, participation and cooperation at regional and global levels, environmental degradation etc.

#### **Regional security - the Black Sea Region and the Balkans**

The state's internal stability is crucial to its ability to cooperate internationally and, more than that, its internal security is an important factor for the regional security quality. There is a danger that, while some countries strengthen their democracy, others may be poorly managed, so they that are either disintegrated or marginalized under the external pressure of European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

At the same time, regional security directly influences global security, making international organizations and institutions adopt policies of stabilization, development and regional security. The process therefore develops in both directions: regional – global – regional.

In the Black Sea region and the Balkans, the wars in Kosovo and Chechnya have contributed to setting a new international security environment: the territories, population and vast resources of the powers in the region no longer represent advantages in 21st century geopolitics, meanwhile factors such as information warfare and "the CNN effect" help establish the rules of the game in this fragmented region.

Meanwhile, the new security environment has undergone two significant changes<sup>14</sup>:

1. a new internal structure, due to the increased number of European countries after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union

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<sup>13</sup> Regional security threats are largely military in nature. A *threat* is a declaration of intent to punish or injure a person, especially if that person does not want a sign or a warning of possible trouble, danger, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Loucas Ioannis, *The New Geopolitics of Europe and Black Sea Region*, in *Security Dynamics of the Black Sea Region: Greek Geo-Political Perspectives*, Coord M. Sheehan, Conflict Studies Research Centre, 2000



2. a new perception of the eastern border of Europe, due to the Euro-Atlantic extension towards the East.

Because of these new realities, there are new major problems directly related to the political, economic and European military identity. It is obvious that such problems are, on the one hand, connected with the NATO and EU extension, and on the other hand, with the post-Cold War transformations in the Black Sea countries and the Balkans. In the other direction, from global to regional, the European geopolitical transformation had two main effects on the Black Sea region and on the Balkans. South-Eastern Europe no longer consists only of the Balkans, but also of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Cyprus; at the same time, the Balkans represent a Southern part of Central Europe, which in turn will be divided into four geosystems:

- the Scandinavian geosystem, consisting of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark;
- the German geosystem, consisting of Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Croatia;
- the Italian geosystem: Italy and Malta;
- the Balkan geosystem: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece.

Another proof of the mutual relationship between the regional and the global security environment is the new concept of the Wider Black Sea Region.

#### **Romanian interests in the Black Sea Region**

The Romanian National Security Strategy<sup>15</sup> defines the security objectives for our country: maintaining the integrity, unity, sovereignty and independence of the Romanian state, guaranteeing the fundamental rights, democratic liberties, welfare, safety and protection of the Romanian citizens, the economic and social development of the country, in keeping with contemporary development.

No matter if we talk about national, regional, or international security, in general risks and threats are placed in the unconventional area - terrorism, organized crime, drugs, weapons, radioactive materials trafficking, corruption etc. National structures admit the need to contribute to the management of European and Euro-Atlantic security, particularly to find effective and lasting solutions to crises and conflict situations in the Western Balkans and in the Wider Black Sea Region.

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<sup>15</sup> *Strategia de Securitate Națională a României, România Europeană, România Euroatlantică: pentru o viață mai bună într-o țară democratică, mai sigură și prosperă*, Bucharest, 2007

Chapter VI of the "National Security Strategy", entitled "Romania – a dynamic vector of security and prosperity in the Black Sea Area", clearly defines Romania's objective in the Black Sea region. "Building a climate of security, stability and prosperity in the Black Sea is a distinct direction of action of this strategy." Romania's interest is to be bordered by stable, democratic and prosperous states, because only such states are able to maintain peace and good relations among them, to create pluralist regional communities and have a predictable security behaviour. Romania's interest in the area is, at the same time, the European Union's interest. Romania has stated its desire and proved its ability to be a vector of stability and democracy, as well as to promote the values of the two organizations, NATO and the EU, in the area, while demonstrating that it can be a coagulation factor for the ex-Soviet states' aspirations.

Romania's political interests lie in the fact that the Black Sea opens its way to the Planetary Ocean (a source of political and economic power), allowing it to reach a medium maritime power status, as a result of the geostrategic advantages provided by its access to the sea, by its possession of a very important segment of the river-sea communication path that is the Danube, as well as by its participation in political organizations formed by the Black Sea countries. Our country has a fundamental strategic interest in having the Wider Black Sea Region members in a stable security environment. "With its EU accession, Romania's eastern border became the eastern border of the Union and this causes increased obligations regarding security in the area."

#### **Romania's contribution to security in the Wider Black Sea Region**

Romania has a crucial role in securing the eastern border of NATO and the EU. Romania aims at becoming a vector of stability, democracy and Euro-Atlantic values for the Black Sea region and for the Western Balkans, as well as an anchor of these regions to the West<sup>16</sup>. Romania takes a long term commitment to invest in the extension of democracy, market economy and the values that characterize an open society, as far as possible towards the East. As stated in the National Security Strategy, in order to promote this initiative, Romania will closely cooperate with the Black Sea countries - Bulgaria, Georgia, the Russian Federation, Turkey and Ukraine - with other countries in close proximity, and also with other Euro-Atlantic community member states. At the same time, Romania will actively support the

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<sup>16</sup> *Strategia de Securitate Națională a României, România Europeană, România Euroatlantică: pentru o viață mai bună într-o țară democratică, mai sigură și prosperă*, Op. cit.

setting-up in this area of a development Euro-region that will be able to facilitate cooperation with the EU member states, to stimulate the development of energy and transport infrastructure, to promote trade, investment and market economy mechanisms. Concerning the frozen conflicts, Romania will promote active political and diplomatic strategies and will be more actively involved in the mechanisms that aim at solutions through peaceful means. The ineffectiveness of some mechanisms used so far to resolve conflicts requires the necessity of revising them and a more active involvement of those states and organizations that can make a positive contribution to this effect.

In the relationship with the Russian Federation, Romania aims at developing a dialogue in which pragmatism and good cooperation in economic terms will be at the top of the list.

From Romania's point of view, Central Asia should become an area of convergence and construction. In this regard, creating bridges of cooperation between Europe – the Black Sea – the Caspian Sea - Central Asia is a necessity.

### **Conclusions**

Studying national and international security from the perspective of globalization and integration is essential, since it provides an opportunity to structure a response strategy, which, by starting with the causes of generalized crises, would reduce the states' insecurity. Since there is a global and regional determination of national security in parallel with a process of dynamic opening of states to the outside and of increasing collaboration and international cooperation in the field, the multiple efforts of the international community should be aimed at the peace, security and stability in the regions and in the world.

In terms of security, programs and projects aimed at accelerating the integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures, the effectiveness of the strategies for preventing and fighting against new risks, dangers and threats to the region should be a priority. These forms of cooperation and dialogue should be encouraged and further developed by using European, Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian methods and instruments.

The Black Sea is a strategic link between the neighbouring countries, having a synergistic effect in maintaining a stable security environment, favourable for the economic and social development and for regional co-operation. This environment can positively influence the chronic conflict areas in the Caucasus, Transnistria and even the Near East. The NATO and EU border enlargement to the Black Sea

created the conditions for this space to turn into a communication hub and crossroads between East-West and North-South.

Romania, as a NATO and European Union member, should be more actively involved in transforming the Black Sea area in a region of stability, both through the means provided by its strategic position at the crossroads of the Balkans with the Caucasus, and through cooperation and collaboration with the EU and the riparian states. Thus, Romania can advise countries aspiring to NATO and PfP membership. In addition, our country must continue its mission as a leader of the regional efforts to counter asymmetric threats and dangers such as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Simultaneously, it can be a gateway to the West, promoting the transatlantic values of democracy, peace and security in the Black Sea Region and in the Middle East.

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