Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

The Faculty of History and Philosophy

INTELLIGENCE AND THE GOVERNANCE PROCESS, CASE STUDY: ROMANIA

SUMMARY
- DOCTORAL THESIS -

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SUMMARY

KEYWORDS

THESIS ABSTRACT

In the following paper, entitled "Intelligence and the governance process - case study: Romania", we have attempted to present the ways in which the intelligence activity is essential in achieving the governance process, in all the great democracies of the world and in Romania as well.

This scientific approach is based on the premise that beyond the need for a culture of security, we need to acknowledge the importance of public support which the intelligence services have to provide to decision-makers in the governance process.

Today, Romania still lacks a culture of security as strong as the ones in older democracies and there is still no vast literature in the field of intelligence to explain the particular role it plays in the governance process.

After September 11, 2001, intelligence services have transitioned from the Cold War manner of approach, which was focused upon threats to the nation-state, into a climate of transnational threats, asymmetric and non-state, making global intelligence cooperation necessary and marking a change in philosophy from "need to know" to "need to share".

Given that national security policy is irrefutably part of the public policies, the intelligence services which have entered the public arena today have started to search, analyze and ultimately predict political, economical, social or military issues.

In the first chapter, entitled "The importance of intelligence information in human society", we point out the informational activities have been present ever since the time of Moses, and then show the difference between information and intelligence, pointing out that unlike the information, which has a high degree of relativity, intelligence is the analyzed information, presented to the decision-maker as basis for decisions.

Because the equivalent of what is regarded as "intelligence" in all the traditional democracies appears under the term of "information" and "information services" in Romanian, we consider it is necessary to adopt the term "intelligence" in order to ensure a minimum interoperability with the other intelligence communities around the world, and to allign our country to the current security necessities for maximum compatibility with the major intelligence communities in the world.

In chapter 2, we discuss "Globalization and intelligence", pointing out the effects it has over intelligence and adressing the issues concerning organized crime and terrorism as the new global threat, impossible to eradicate without the support of intelligence specialists.

Globalization is a long-term process, which leads to an interconnected, independent global system, and the nations that have participating governments, advanced technologies, advanced economic standards and last, but not least, the ability to be always informed properly, have the most to gain.

The art of governance implies mastering the information-decision process, which needs constant improving and adapting to the new realities on the security agenda, taking into account that we can't always discern correctly between the national security policies and the global security ones, in a world that's increasingly more marked by globalization.

We also highlight the importance of collective security in the context of transnational and asymmetrical threats that characterize the global dynamics, world governments having to understand the need to cooperate to ensure peace and global safety.

The continued expansion of complex interdependencies between states and non-states creates, in addition to asymmetric threats and a descrease in the capacity to ensure global security, therefor being necessary that representatives of the intelligence community focus their attention to assess and combat global risks. The role of intelligence should be one of global warning and strategic foresight.

In the next chapter, we present the features and limitations of intelligence cycle and highlight the extreme importance of multisource intelligence analysis and early warning, in making political decisions.

Intelligence cycle phases are:

- The request for information by the applicant (political or military decision-maker)
- Planning the collection of information
- Collecting the information
- Analysis of raw data and producing intelligence
- Disseminating results to the legal beneficiary

We further show that, in respect to the analysis phase, the biggest loss could be the lack of integrated analysis structures, which in turn causes:

- the fact that information products aren't a combined result; failure of fusion characteristics generates malfunctions in transmitting the data to other services, or attempting to retain "ownership" of information.
- elaborating analysis and estimates sometimes leads to different conclusions and assessments due to the lack of collaborative analysis, resulting into confusion of the shared information recipients
- cooperation between services in the analysis step is almost non-existent due to the absence of systems and procedures which allow communication between analysis structures

Another critical limit of intelligence activities, on a global scale, is the lack of coherent actions to create an organizational culture and a philosophy based on "need to share" for the decentralization of decision making in this field.

Thus, we are faced with the impossibility of developing new analysis and global estimates which include the participation of all intelligence services.

Further on, in chapter 4, entitled "Romania and international organizations from the intelligence point of view", we show the way in which Romania is an active member of the most important security agencies: NATO, UN, EU and OSCE.

At this chapter's end, we debate the way Romania needs to understand the importance of making political decisions an international matter when it comes to security, because we are facing a continuous rise in transgovernmental interactions, and public policies should relate to this unprecedented global dynamic.

In fact, for the year of 2011, Romania has made its goal to strengthen all partnerships and develop cooperation with neighboring states and cross-continental ones too. Another goal is to take part of the EU efforts in updating the European neighbourhood policies and joining the Schengen area while also supporting the idea of monitoring information and combating corruption.

In chapter 5, "Intelligence and public policies" we approach the issues concerning security policies as part of public policies.

National security as public policy is supposed to help implement strategic objectives and develop national strategies, and if we start seeing informational activities as "a universal social science which seeks to understand and ultimately predict all kinds of political, economical, social and military problems" then it becomes obvious that intelligence is part of the security policy and public policies as well.

Also in this chapter, we present the intelligence in terms of public administration pointing out that if we perceive public administration as an amount of actions, meant to ensure goods and services, intelligence's utility can be quantified, as long as we're only referring to the management process of authorized institutions involving financial and performance criteria.

We have analysed the problem of intelligence services independence, showing the degree of those should be carefully tuned; any excess independence or lack of it can be dangerous.

Finally, we present characteristics of the decision-making process in public policy creation pointing out that when it comes to security policy decision-making, aside from the support provided by the intelligence, they should anticipate all the risks in a strategic manner.

Chapter 6, entitled "Use of the intelligence in decision-making for the great democracies of the world" displays how intelligence is being used in the US, Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany.

In chapter 7, entitled "Intelligence and democracy consolidating" we discuss intelligence efficiency in every democratic society, done by adopting specific laws which are balanced between ensuring the rights and freedoms of all citizens and ensuring their security, explaining afterwards the way this is achieved in the US, UK and Germany.

Talking about fighting corruption and intelligence support in the process of governing, we've reached the conclusion that a corruption free society implies intelligence support, and in the absence of it, decision-makers cannot exercise their prerogatives correctly.

The last chapter of my thesis - presented as a case study - is called "Romania and intelligence support in the process of governance". I presented the government organization in Romania as well as the organization of intelligence services.

We also discuss how the Romanian intelligence is kept under democratic control and explain the relationship between the political or military decision-makers and the representatives of intelligence structures, how the National Informational Community is organized and how it operates. Finally we debate the problems behind the culture of security in Romania.

Without exhausting the subject, we've proven the efficiency of intelligence services depends on the way they relate to the governance process and how they help achieve political and state objectives.

This research aims to provide, alongside of the theoretical aspects of the subject, a practical perspective in Romanian territory, concerning the intelligence services and the role they play in the governance process. To help with this matter, we have monitored the mass media between 2007 and 2011 searching for related news, academic debates, politics and we've also interviewed the former presidential councillor in matters of national security and head of the Military Intelligence Service, Sergiu T. Medar, the former director of the same service, Adrian Parlog and the former deputy director of the Romanian Intelligence Service, Dumitru Zamfir.

These interviews have provided us with an insight into the way the policy makers relate to intelligence's representatives, on the level of compatibility of the National Intelligence Community with the major intelligence communities around the world and the need for grounding a culture of security in Romania.

At the end of the last chapter of this paper, we have drawn a number of conclusions and proposals resulting from the research we've done.

We believe the actions of the intelligence services prove the art of governing is strongly connected to the process of informing-decision making, seen in all its complexity.

It is desirable that any man in the state decides politically, in full knowledge, making the best of intelligence to achieve good governance.

Beyond the real reform which must occur in the organizational structure of intelligence, beyond the changing relations between political leaders and heads of intelligence services that have to provide the intelligence which not only contributes to the society security, but to the "good governance" as well, a change in mentality is needed for the intelligence services so that a real cooperation is achieved, at a global level.

In academia and beyond, adressing intelligence activities has to be made in terms of international cooperation to deal with transnational and international challenges.

In all the great democracies of the world, control and oversight of intelligence is a prerequisite for the existence of democracy and intelligence is there to strengthen democracy in a state, not only helping to combat corruption, but also in governance, where intelligence helps substantiate decisions in all sectors of the government.

The general organization of the intelligence structures and the entire amount of informations in the state apparatus is vital in interpreting the informations the right way.

The intelligence product used by decision-makers is, in fact, a clear choice of governments towards rationality and an obvious concern for understanding reality and for good governance.

In Romania intelligence is aligned to the standards of the international security environment and the presence of Romania in NATO, and other international security organizations, is particularly appreciated.

In our country, the organizations carrying out the work of national security information are: the Romanian Intelligence Service, the External Intelligence Service, the Protection and Guarding Service. The control of intelligence services in Romania is made by special control committees and CSAT.

It also appears as a priority, besides the need for Romanian decision-makers to comprehend the true importance of intelligence in governing and understanding of the intelligence community, that the work they have conducted has to be in the use of public services. Proper functioning of the intelligence services should eventually provide citizens access to the benefits of good governance.

We believe that in Romania, it is necessary to prepare government officials in understanding how best to collaborate with the representatives of the intelligence. To achieve good governance the Romanian intelligence must be permanently connected to current developments in public policy, only this way, can there be effective intelligence in any democracy.

It is extremely important to consider granting an extended mandate to the supervision and control committees over all the intelligence services in Romania, which

can check the efficiency of intelligence. Also, a proactive mandate is needed, one that can change, if necessary, policies and intelligence operations before practical implementation.

We consider it is necessary to achieve legislative reform in Romania, one leading to a clear understanding of the duties, powers and mode of supervision and control of intelligence services and other departments of their structures.

We also believe to be necessary that intelligence representatives present to the decision-makers the effects of their decisions as well. They must also provide informative continuity to political leaders, whatever their political affiliation.

A priority remains the need to identify a coherent system for the quantification of National Intelligence Community's performance. It is necessary to adopt a culture of performance because the ultimate goal of intelligence is to contribute to good governance.

Finally, we consider it is necessary to change the predominant negative image the intelligence services have in Romania, through their openness to civil society to all citizens of Romania.

It is a good idea to bring a culture of intelligence by the intelligence community representatives working with members of civil society and academia to achieve seminars, conferences and workshops for the general public.

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