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**FACULTY OF HISTORY AND  
PHILOSOPHY**

**COOPERATION MANAGEMENT IN THE BLACK SEA  
REGION  
(END OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY-BEGINNING OF THE  
21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY)**

**SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORATE  
THESIS**

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**Keywords:**

Cooperation; 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century; security; energy security; Black Sea; Black Sea Synergy; the European Union; petroleum transportation; natural gas; Silk Route; Danube; cooperation mechanisms; geopolitics and geostrategy.

**SUMMARY**

This doctorate thesis is focused on the analysis of the cooperation management in the Black Sea region, respectively on the effort of the E.U., NATO and bordering countries to accomplish a cooperation in this area.

Regarding the motivation pushing us to choose this subject, we will first mention that this historical and geographical space has reappeared in an explosive manner on the international politics scene after the end of the Cold War, due to the geopolitical and geostrategic modifications which took place, and secondly, the Black Sea region is one of the main concerns of the bordering states, the international actors and main powers of this millennium, generating many disputes, controversies and dilemmas, waiting to be answered.

Regarding the authors'/researchers' implication in the debate of this subject, we have noticed that, although the Black Sea is a rather frequently approached theme, I have not been able to identify authors who treat this region from the perspective of economic, military, sea safety, sea environment protection, territorial, regional, interregional, transborder and transnational cooperation.

These are the reasons why the purpose of this doctorate thesis is to prove the importance of cooperation in the Black Sea Region, to highlight that this could be a good cooperation example and to show that cooperation is the only way to maintain the stability and unity of a region.

The content of the doctorate thesis has been structured with the help of the scientific leader, in five chapters, conclusions, bibliography and annexes, which follow the objectives we have established (mentioned in the introduction of the doctorate thesis), and which structure a vast material into a logical flow, pleasant and hopefully interesting to read.

In order to fulfill the research objectives formulated in the introduction of the thesis, we have chosen as method of practice the main and traditional methods, of quality and quantity analysis.

Regarding the quantity analysis methods, in order to sketch an analytical frame of the cooperation in the Black Sea Region and its evolution, the data analysis was fundamental

on the study of several reference books in the field of international relationships and European studies, and also the monitoring of press articles in this field. We have also used the objective and interpretive method of practice. Within the objective method of practice, the main concepts are explanation and prediction, based on the analysis of determining factors; in the case of the interpretive method of practice, the main concepts are data and significance understanding, by considering the purposes and reasons for an action.

In **the first chapter** of the doctorate thesis we define and analyze the international management concept, we highlight the concerns of cooperation management after the Cold War and, last but not least, we make an analysis of the cooperation forms in the Black Sea region, showing their importance and evolution.

„The globalization and internationalization have generated the need for international cooperation. Its main purpose is to develop and maintain a competitive advantage”<sup>1</sup>.

The cooperation dynamics in the Black Sea region is highly influenced by the mutations which took place in Europe, Middle East and Asia in the past years.

The cooperation at the Black sea is difficult, because the six bordering countries and their neighbors have different concepts regarding the cooperation and security in this region.

The economic, politic and military cooperation is one of the main concerns of the states located in the Black Sea region and not only. At a regional level, there are mechanisms and organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation at the Black Sea (operating with the European instrument of vicinity and partnership and the document regarding the measures for increasing the trust and safety at the Black Sea), the Conference for Regional Security at the Black Sea, the Naval Cooperation Group at the Black Sea, the Southeastern European Brigade, the Multinational Peace Force in Southeastern Europe, the Initiative for border defense.

Apart from the intensifying of the aforementioned cooperation methods, in the last decades, the multiple, interdependent, broad opening to other fields, including the ecology, forms of cooperation are intensified.

The Cold War was carried out just as intensely in the economic and politics sphere. Under the economic aspect, its end and the emerging of the new Eastern European states

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<sup>1</sup> Vasile Pușcaș, *International /transnational relationships*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cluj-Napoca, EIKON Publishing House, 2007, p. 223.

and the former USSR means new potential markets and inequity, instability areas in the global economy. “Thus, one of the challenges to be responded to by the E.U. is to adapt what can be considered to be an outdated version of the international economic management, to the circumstances of the new Europe and the new global economy”<sup>2</sup>.

One of the characteristics of the period after the Cold War regarding the international cooperation, even a model in this field, is the development of a strong cooperation relationship between NATO and OSCE.

The end of the Cold War has determined a reintroduction of the Black Sea in the geopolitical continental and regional change flow.

The world after the Cold War is an independent one, due to the accelerated globalization; the “global state” is fragmented not only in states, but also in political, economic and cultural regions, haunted by various conflicts, both internal and international.

As predicted Shintaro Ishihara „The 21<sup>st</sup> century will be a century of economic war”<sup>3</sup>, where the energy resources will constitute an element of safety or lack of safety for those owning/controlling, exploiting, distributing or using them<sup>4</sup>.

From an economic point of view, the main differences between the states located in the Black Sea basin consist in three main indicators: gross domestic product, energy resources and foreign investments.

“The economies of the states locate in the Black Sea area have an important role within the European and global economy. The Black Sea area has resources, a special potential and the capacity to outcome the dark effects of centuries of battle and tensioned confluences between empires”<sup>5</sup>.

The organization for economic cooperation at the Black Sea (OCEMN) is the most significant within this cooperation. Its objective is the security, stability and full prosperity of all its members.

In its decade of existence, OCEMN has partially justified the reasons for its creation.

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<sup>2</sup> Dumitru Miron, *The economy of the European Union*, Bucharest, Luceafarul Publishing house, 2004, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Theodore Rueter, *The United States in the World Political Economy*, New York, McGraw-Hill Publishing house, 1994, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> Cristian Băhnăreanu, *The energy weapon in the context of international relationships at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, Bucharest, The Publishing house of the National Defense University „Carol I”, 2007, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Grigore Alexandrescu, *The management of differences in accomplishing safety at the Black Sea*, Bucharest, The Publishing house of the National Defense University „Carol I”, 2007, p. 27.



Through the very wide activity range of OCEMN, the Black Sea region is gradually getting close to the European regional cooperation criteria, as a base and precondition for security and prosperity.

Regarding the military cooperation, its main objective is to “support the development of the operational potential of the commandments of large units, the operation and generation/regeneration of forces for participating to the national territory defense in the responsibility area, and also for fulfilling the agreements towards NATO, EU and regional partners”<sup>6</sup>.

The military cooperation is focused on preventing and eliminating the risk factors which might generate crisis situations, with harmful effects on the security and stability in the Black Sea region. The military cooperation relationships are thus promoted for the purpose of maintaining and consolidating the stability, for increasing trust and transparency.

The military cooperation mechanisms at the Black Sea are: BLACKSEAFOR, SEEBRIG, CSBMs and GUUAM. We will not detail them in our abstract because we will analyze each of these mechanisms in the content of the doctorate thesis, from the point of view of their role, importance and activity.

The increasingly high need to ensure navigation freedom and to protect transports, territories and citizens, against an increasingly high wave of risks and threats, mostly not military, generated by sea activities, seem to support the idea of cooperation in the field of sea security.

“Sea transports and harbors are vital points in the distribution chain, and these are the reasons why the cooperation in the field of sea security must be improved”<sup>7</sup>.

EU has a tendency to create a common sea space, governed by the same safety, security and environment protection standards. This would increase the efficiency of the territorial waters management and the Exclusive economic areas (ZEE) by the member states and would make the short distance sea transport (Short Sea Shipping) have the same status as land transport, between the member states. This will have consequences in the international trade negotiations.

The international cooperation organisms in the field of sea security are:

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<sup>6</sup> Gheorghe Petria, „International military cooperation activities of the Romanian naval forces”, in *Romanian military thinking*, no.1, Bucharest, Printed by the Staff of the Romanian Army, 2008, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.arduph.ro/securitatea-maritima>, accessed on 15.09.2010.

COLPOFER, RAILPOL and AQUAPOL. These cooperation organisms and their objectives are debated and analyzed in within the doctorate thesis.

The awareness regarding the danger of environment degradation and destruction has turned the protection and conservation of the environment into one of humanity's priorities, both nationally and globally. Founding an international cooperation in the field of environment protection is a necessity, and the international right is the main instrument of bilateral, regional and planetary cooperation of states and international organisms for identifying new forms and means to contribute to the prevention of pollution and environment protection.

The deterioration of the sea environment has become obvious all over the world, and European waters are no exception. Threats frequently exceed borders and essentially come from excessive fishing, destructive fishing techniques, discharges of waste and polluting substances from the coast, sound pollution from ships, sea transport infrastructures, acoustic underwater activity, invasive species, impact of the climate changes, petroleum extractions or urbanization in coast areas<sup>8</sup>.

The result of cooperation in the field of environment protection has become tangible through the creation of international, regional and subregional conventions and agreements, with important attributions in this field.

Considering the reality that pollution has no boundaries and that environment issues are global, it is mandatory that a cooperation is established, both internationally, between states, and the various international organizations and organisms, for finding global solutions for preventing and removing the effects of pollution.

Territorial cooperation is perceived as an initiation and development of shared activities related to development policies for territories belonging to different jurisdictions, from the administrative point of view. This cooperation is important mostly around national borders, but is also relevant for the administration units of the same countries. "It has the purpose to speed up territory integration and to promote more competitive and durable forms of territory development than those resulting from individual, fragmented, cooperation free development policies"<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Duțu Mircea, *Environment right. Treaty. Integrated approach*, Vol I, Bucharest, Economic Publishing House, 2008, p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> Adrian Pop, Dan Manolei, *Towards a European strategy in the Black Sea basin – territory cooperation*, Project SPOS – Strategy and politics studies, Study ny.4, Bucharest, The European Institute in Romania, 2007, p. 36.

Territory cooperation between national, regional and local authorities is an important element for the European integration. Its purpose is to fight the negative impact of national borders on the territory development. This is the reason why the territory cooperation programs for the Black Sea were founded, namely: The Joint Operational Program for the Black Sea Basin 2007-2013; The cooperation for approaching common challenges; The promoting of local human to human cooperation; The European group for territory cooperation (GECT); The operational program for Southeastern Europe (SEE) 2007-2013; The operational program ESPON 2013; The operational program INTERACT 2007-2013 and the Program for the development network URBACT II 2007-2013.

“The increase of the importance of European regions, regardless of the definition used for region – an international or political definition, is a striking phenomenon of the last decades. Denis de Rougemont has not only anticipated it, but has inserted it as a fundamental element of the European construction in the 21<sup>st</sup> century”<sup>10</sup>.

The regional collaboration and cooperation formulas will be hard to achieve and develop because of the diverging interests in several punctual issues related to history, influence, population, territory, culture, etc<sup>11</sup>.

The regional cooperation is and will remain one of the main pillars of the security architecture in the Black Sea area.

The interregional cooperation is theme related and takes place between regions of different countries, sometimes at great distances, generally without any territorial continuity. “This cooperation can include transfers of know-how and experience regarding urban development, updating public services, social integration, entrepreneurship, common improvements of techniques and methodologies which can contribute to the development of regions or businesses, promoting tourism on large distances, developing studies and collecting data in fields of shared interest, and so on”<sup>12</sup>.

The interregional cooperation can also take place between regions of the same country, with or without territory continuity, and has become one of the essential components of stability preservation mechanisms.

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<sup>10</sup> Cristian Bădescu; Ioan Alexandru, *Introduction in the study of the interregional cooperation process*, Bucharest, SYLVI Publishing House, 1997, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Grigore Alexandrescu, *op.cit*, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Pașcu Ioan Mircea, *European security and the extending of NATO in Romania, NATO – Partnership and cooperation*, Bucharest, Military publishing house, 1999, p. 70.

“Creating a safe and prosper Europe does not only depend on the cooperation between states; transborder cooperation is also necessary between the local and regional authorities, without affecting the territory integrity of the states involved”<sup>13</sup>.

“Any transborder region is composed of a space, a certain number of human collectivities and the specific relationship network connecting these collectives and this space, but which are disturbed or even opposing because of the border”<sup>14</sup>.

Regardless of the political systems including the transborder regions, often peripheral, they have to deal with the specific issues of the space, society, economy, politics and institutions.

The following agreements are extremely relevant for transborder cooperation: the frame convention; the Benelux convention and the agreement signed in 1977 within the Council of the Northern Countries.

The types and programs of transborder cooperation are detailed in the content of the doctorate thesis.

The transnational cooperation is an efficient procedure for developing, testing, applying and disseminating common good practices, and also an opportunity to build networks and partnerships for the purpose of improving the cooperation, experience exchange, results, knowledge, know-how and mutual support at all levels between the EU member states.

As final conclusions of the first part, we consider it is necessary that the cooperation relationships are not only limited to the actors bordering the Black Sea, but to be extended to the level sketched by the concept of extended Black Sea region, from the Balkans, to the Caspian Sea and beyond. Thus, the actions will be addressable to a larger range of issues, directly or indirectly threatening the security of the Black Sea area.

It is necessary to continue the efforts for bringing the extended Black Sea region, with all of its dimensions and implications, first of all, in the attention of the bordering countries. Because such a construction has to start from within, even though it needs a massive support from the great powers.

In the **second chapter** of the doctorate thesis we make an analysis of the EU

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<sup>13</sup> *The Declaration of Vienna*, in [http://www.mfa.gov.md/img/tratate/Conventia\\_Viena\\_1969.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.md/img/tratate/Conventia_Viena_1969.pdf), accessed on 21.11.2010.

<sup>14</sup> Tiberiu Brăileanu , *Regional development and transborder cooperation*, Iași, Junimea Publishing house, 2007, p.119.

involvement in the Eastern Europe cooperation, but considering the role of the Black Sea region, in which we present the cooperation organizations in Southeastern Europe; we make an analysis of the European security and the security at the border of the Black Sea basin; next, we analyze the petroleum and gas market in Central, East and Southeastern Europe, and the transport networks for petroleum and natural gas from the Caspian Sea-Black Sea, where we speak of the most important routes and projects for transporting petroleum and natural gases. Near the end of the chapter, we present the Caspian Sea as case study and at the end, we will speak about the conflicts in the Black Sea region.

In the chapter's introduction, we speak about the European Union and its extending towards Eastern Europe, trying to get acquainted to its involvement in the cooperation process.

The extending process of the European Union, mostly towards the Central and Eastern Europe, includes as a previous component in its edification project, the harmonization of the contiguous border areals, by promoting and supporting the transborder cooperation programs at any level and in a great variety of forms.

Through the decision of extending the European Union, taken in Helsinki, Europe has founded a new development model, based not on the potential of one country, but on that of an entire geographical region. It has evolved from a mainly economic process, to a mainly geopolitical one, dictated by the current realities.

The extension waves of NATO and the European Union in the past decade has turned the Black Sea region in a safety and security „limes” of the Western space.

The extension of the European Union towards the East brings to light the evolution of the integration, through depth and dimension. This decision of extending the European Union is definitely a political one. By including the new member states, the European Union will be able to control the Black Sea, with the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits and the Baltic Sea, thus holding the main trade routes in the area, extending its area of influence.

For the EU, the Black Sea region represents a distinct area for implementing the European Vicinity Policy (PEV), which has the purpose of creating a „circle of friends”<sup>15</sup>, at its borders, as it was called by Romano Prodi, where its principles, values

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<sup>15</sup> [http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/fact\\_sheets/info/data/relations/framework/article\\_7239\\_ro.htm](http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/framework/article_7239_ro.htm), accessed on 21.08.2010.

and means of governing will be, at least partially respected and promoted. If we accept that the last wave of extension towards the East has meant the control of the European Union over neighbors marked by instability and poverty, the application of PEV means the extending of this process.

The consecration of the international organization term was given by Walter Schücking's paper „The world's organizations”, published in 1908, and Paul S. Reinsch's guide „the international public unions”, from 1911<sup>16</sup>.

The period of the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has considerably influenced and modified the profile of international organizations, both from the point of view of their adaption of strategies to the challenges of the security environment and the increasing in the number of members.

The international operation organizations in Southeastern Europe are relatively new in the global system. They were founded during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but only became important during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These allow the states to approach common issues together.

The cooperation organizations in Southeastern Europe are: The Cooperation Initiative in Southeastern Europe; The Organization for security and cooperation in Europe; The stability pact for Southeastern Europe; The multilateral cooperation process in the Balkans; The Royaumont Process – (The Stability and Good neighborly relations in Southeastern Europe) and the NATO initiative for Southeastern Europe. The role and objectives of these organizations will be detailed in the content of the doctorate thesis.

The massive extending, mostly towards the East, of NATO and the European Union, is a transformation process that has not only meant taking in new members, but increasing the capacities and potentials for fighting serious dangers and threats regarding the continental and global security<sup>17</sup>.

In order to consolidate the cooperation, both NATO and the European Union, have to focus on their key capacities, the increase of interoperability and doctrine coordination, technology, equipment and training planning<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Rittberger Volker; Bernhard Zangl, *International Organization. Polity, Politics and Policies*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan Publishing house, 2006, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Vasile Popa, Nicolae Dolghin, *NATO and EU. Determination and finalities*, Bucharest, National Defense University Publishing house, 2004, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Rik Coolasaet, „A European Security Concept for 21st Century”, in *Diplomatic News*, no.14, Brussels, Academia Press Publishing house, 2004, p. 31.

The double enlargement of NATO and EU has installed a new stability on the continent, sustained by the shares of each accepted state. The two organizations can create a more efficient preventive joint action and a multilateral attempt to fight the dangers of terrorism and the weapons of mass destruction.

“Along with the end of the Cold War, the concept of security was redefined by analysts and politicians, in the attempt to sketch a concept which would open new horizons for the international order. International security implies a shared interest in the field of security, which exceeds the particular interests of the bordering states”<sup>19</sup>.

The European security environment has went through two major stages in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

1. the one immediately following the second world conflagration, especially characterized by the East-West confrontation, in what was called the Cold War. The main threat was represented by massive attacks triggered between the two parties with conventional and nuclear weapons;

2. the period following the end of the Cold War, when the European security environment was shaped by the conflicts in the space of the former Yugoslavia and the measures adopted for solving them, through the cooperation of the first European actors and NATO.

“Major changes of the security environment are foreseen globally in the next 20 years. Romania, still in an extended transition, is caught in the games of interest of the greatest international actors. Excluding Romania from the European circuit of energy routes would further complicate the map of regional stability”<sup>20</sup>.

Europe evolves towards a security environment through cooperation, whose defining element is the political and economic integration and the extending of the community of the states sharing and promoting democratic values. The risks of an emerging major military confrontation on the continent are significantly diminished. There are still phenomena of instability and crisis at a subregional level and fragmentation tendencies, marginalization or isolation of certain states.

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<sup>19</sup> Michael Mihalka, „From Theory to Practice, in Cooperative Security: New Horizons for International Order”, *The Marshall Center Papers*, No.3, April 2001, in <http://www.marshallcenter.org>, accessed 17.08.2010.

<sup>20</sup> Marian Rizea, Stan Petrescu, Ioan Șandru, *Energy security at the Black Sea – The key of European (In)Stability*, Bucharest, Information Academy Publishing house, 2008, p. 36.

The security of Southeastern Europe is essential for insuring a durable stability in the entire European-Atlantic space and all the states and nations in Southeastern Europe have to enjoy peace and stability and to establish normal relationships among each other.

In the Black Sea area, there are several particular “key positions”, which give its uniqueness and special features, but are mostly contributing decisively to the global value and importance of this space. These “key positions” are<sup>21</sup>: The strait system (Bosphorus, Dardanelles – connected by the Sea of Marmara); The Crimean Peninsula; The Danube exits (sea Danube) and the continental plateau in front of the Romanian seaside.

This region is, more than obviously, an alert intersection space of the strategic directions and geopolitical interests, giving the tone of a global affirmation for the main statal and non-statal actors, subsuming it to the major interests.

Today, the geopolitical structure in the region is marked by two dynamics. The first is the replacement of the old Russian and Soviet influence with the American one, which is herself in a competition with France and Germany’s ambitions. The second is represented by the energy axis, connecting the petroleum and gases from Central Asia and the Caspian Sea region with the Balkans and the EU<sup>22</sup>.

The geostrategic interests manifesting in the Extended Area of the Black Sea are strategic interests normally generated by the global actors. We are thus taking into account the Russian Federation, USA, NATO and the European Union, but also the European dimension of China’s policy.

The complex process of geopolitical and geostrategic redefining in the Extended Region of the Black Sea was determined, from a historical perspective, by the breaking of the military balance between the states in the area, on one hand, and on the other hand, between the important state actors in the region and actors of global vocation, affirming their interests in the Extended Region of the Black Sea and, complementary, Central and Southeastern Asia.

In this century, the Extended Region of the Black Sea will continue to be in the center of the geopolitical and geostrategic interests of the most important global actors.

In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we have witnessed the accentuation of the worlds’ economies’ dependence of energy resources. The world economy still depends of

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<sup>21</sup> Mircea Dănuț Chiriac; Gheorghe Deaconu, *Romania’s security interests in the Extended Area of The Black Sea*, Bucharest, National Defense University „Carol I” Publishing House, 2009, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Mihai Manolache, „Risks and vulnerabilities for the energy security in the Black Sea region”, in *Romanian Military Thinking*, no.3, Bucharest, Edited by the Staff of the Romanian Army, 2009, p. 54.



petroleum, as a central energy resource, and the struggle for energy dominates the 21<sup>st</sup> century geopolitics.

The energy security targets three dimensions: insuring an alternative supply source, identifying alternative energy routes and securing the existing sources and transport routes.

In the view of Daniel Yering, the Cambridge Energy Research president, the key principles of energy security are<sup>23</sup>: diversifying the sources of energy supply, which represents the basic point of insuring energy security; the existence of a single market for petroleum; the importance of existing exceeding capacities, emergency stocks and an excess of critical infrastructure; relying on flexible markets and avoiding the temptation of small scale administration can facilitate fast adjustments and even minimizing long term damages; understanding the importance and mutual interdependence between companies and governments, at all levels; developing the relationship between suppliers and consumers as a recognition of mutual interdependence; creating a proactive physical security frame; supplying good quality information; investing regularly in technological transformation, within the specific industry; the obligation to research, develop and innovate, for an energetic stability as long as possible.

The energy security is currently an integral part of any national security strategy.

The energy security has to take into account the challenges implied by the globalization process, any dysfunction or vulnerability from one side of the world (of an energy source) affects consumers all over the world.

In the subchapter called “The petroleum and gas market in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe”, we analyze the market.

In the last period, the production and export of petrol and natural gas in the Extended Area of the Black Sea have increased significantly, and the benefits were also important.

Because the Caspian Sea is surrounded by land, a giant pipe system is necessary for transporting the petroleum along the Caspian shore, to the global markets. This implies the participation of other countries, not only petroleum producers, because this pipe system can lead to major economic benefits and also an increase of the political power national and regional security. The great game is in full development. The stake is represented by the petroleum and natural gas. The black and the grey gold are the instruments for the

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<sup>23</sup> Liviu Luca, *Globalization, petrol and Romania's energy security*, Bucharest, Expert Publishing house, 2008, p. 54.

influence clenching for the control of the center of the Eurasian continent.

Considering that the local Caspian market for hydrocarbons does not require large quantities of hydrocarbons, the increase of production had no sense if it (especially the petroleum) was not transported to great distances. As a natural consequence, the need to build transport pipes appeared:

- on one hand, from Caspian deposits, to the harbors on the Eastern shore of the Black Sea or directly to the Mediterranean Sea;

- on the other hand, from the Black Sea, to Western Europe.

In this subchapter, we have presented the most important routes and petroleum and gas transport, namely: The pipeline Constanta – Trieste; The pipeline NABUCCO; Baku-Novorossiysk; The pipeline South Stream; The pipeline Nord Stream; The pipe Atyrau – Samara; Baku – Tbilisi – Ceyhan; The pipeline Azerbaijan, Georgia, Romania (AGRI); The pipeline project AMBO (Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria); CPC Project (Caspian Pipeline Consortium); The pipeline Mozdoc (Russian Federation); The pipeline Iran – Turkey; The pipeline CAC (Central Asia - Centre); The Russian main pipeline Druzhba and the Southeastern European pipeline.

Through the end of the chapter, we speak of the conflicts in the Black Sea area.

In the history of the Black Sea, the conflict remained one of those essential aspects of existence. Some entities got involved in conflicts by attacking, in order to destabilize, control or conquer, while others did it to defend themselves. Thus, the conflicts are not a new concept for the contemporary problem.

Any conflict in the Black Sea area, regardless of the cause, has elements of geopolitical and geostrategic competition.

The process of solving the conflicts in the area seems far from over.

The local and geopolitical remodeling and the dynamics of the international security environment further complicates peace negotiations. The interests of directly involved and third parties will not reach a satisfying compromise any time soon. Still, negotiations have to go on, only the consolidation of trust and cooperation and giving up the force positions can represent a base that can stimulate the peace process.

In the end of the second chapter, we have presented the Caspian Sea, as case study.

The Caspian Sea draws attention because of its natural resources. This is why the interests of great powers, such as Russia and the USA meet in this area.

It is the most promising region, considering the Caspian petroleum located in the Southern part of the Absheron Peninsula of the Azerbaijan, up to the Peri – Balkan region

of West Turkmenistan.

A special scientific interest in the region of the Caspian Sea is the multilateral analysis of political and economic processes, and the insurance of energy security in the area is a very actual matter.

The uniqueness of the region is conditioned by the following factors: first of all, there are many large states interested and drawn to this area, and second of all, many of these states are new actors on the scene of international relationships (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan), and third of all, almost every aspect of this region is seriously under researched.

The Black Sea, along with the Caspian Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, form an important liaison for the Eurasian geopolitics, representing in fact a natural border, defending “the heart of Eurasia”, insuring the stability and security of the entire continent. Through straits, rivers and canals, these seas communicate with the Planetary Ocean, thus offering opportunities to the continental countries without access to the Global Ocean, to enter the global product market.

In the **third chapter** of the thesis, the research objective is to analyze the Black Sea Synergy Initiative, where we present the characteristics of the initiative and we speak of the main fields of cooperation of the SMN.

We can say that SMN, has unfortunately not had the success it was based on upon its launching. This is why we consider that in the region, the „common control” of the EU, regional actors and other important factors with interests in the region on the cooperation process should be promoted.

It is also necessary to have an initiative through which to orient the political attention at a regional level and to boost the cooperation processes in progress.

Next, in the chapter, we present the CEPS model of the regional cooperation synergy in the extended region of the Black Sea.

The study has assumed as major premises two essential conclusions: despite a high diversity of UE instruments of involvement in the Black Sea region, a strategic or holistic approach of this involvement is missing; and, respectively, the previous experiences of the EU regarding the promotion of regionalism can be subsumed to the typology of two basic models – the outside-in model and the inside-out model.

In the opinion of CEPS<sup>24</sup>, in order to make a cooperation synergy in the extended region of the Black Sea, the new regional initiative should focus on the sectors which truly have a regional character: environment, transport, energy, internal security and promotion of democracy.

In each of the five fields, partnerships should be instituted, as coordination mechanism between a movement factor (the regional initiative with the highest relevance as experience and geographic covering) and a number of main partners (states, international organizations, international financial institutions, think tanks, NGOs, private consortiums).

In the penultimate part of the chapter, we make an analysis of the transport infrastructure destined for the access to the Silk Route.

Characteristic for the Silk Routes is that it can be compared to a giant tree, with roots in China, the trunk over Central Asia, and the crown with its countless branches reaching over from the Caspian Sea, to Europe, to the Atlantic Ocean<sup>25</sup>.

The Silk Route is the transport route which represents the highest global interest within CEE – ONU and at a regional level, within the cooperation of the Asian countries.

The importance of this artery is given by the fact that it can insure direct transport, forming an intercontinental communication route, crossing the largest land surface Terra-Euroasia, considered in this millennium one of the most dynamic regions in the world.

The great riches in the areas crossed by the Silk Route are anticipated to attract investors for creating transport infrastructure in the countries located on both sides of the Caspian Sea, first of all in the Caucasian countries and the ones from Central Asia.

In the last part of the chapter, we present a Synergy Continuum at the Mediterranean and Black Sea.

The Mediterranean and the Black Sea, strongly tied throughout the evolution of the European civilization, have always represented a space with a synergy effect in the Eurasian and Eurafrican relationship.

This effect lead, on both sides of the shores, to the creation of confluences harboring the essences of the civilizations which flourished here and the sedimentation of

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<sup>24</sup> <http://www.ceps.be>, accessed on 21.03.2010.

<sup>25</sup> Gheorghe Floricel, Mihai Vasiliade, Gabriel I. Năstase, *Euroasian transport corridor through the Black Sea - the Silk Route in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, Bucharest, Economic Publishing house, 1998, p. 8.

indisputable value systems.

One of the routes we consider successful is the creation of a synergy continuum from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. It could be focused on coordinating the different policies and initiative developed on the chessboard by the bordering countries and by the interested international institution.

In the **fourth chapter** of the doctorate thesis we make an analysis of the cooperation management, from the perspective of the EU, in the Danube and Black Sea region.

The EU strategy for the Danube region represents an innovating cooperation model at a macro-regional level and implements the new concept of territory cohesion, included in the Treaty of Lisbon. This strategy will contribute to the improvement of interregional, transborder and transnational cooperation and will create an authentic dialog platform between the states, in order to facilitate the development of projects with a national, regional or local impact.

The four priority axes of the Strategy<sup>26</sup>: connectivity (intermodal transport, culture, tourism, energy networks), environment protection (management of the resources for biodiversity protection and risk management), increasing the Danube region' prosperity (education, research, competitiveness) and improving the government system institutional capacity and internal security).

It is hard to present the future of the Danube as Transeuropean communication axis and especially the role of the Danube Delta on this axis.

Regarding the EU strategy at the Black Sea, it should consolidate the coherence and visibility of the EU action in the region and to insure the energy resource stability and security<sup>27</sup>.

The strategic interests of EU in the Balkans is ties both to fighting communism and organized crime, and also economic and commercial expansion, control of the energy routes coming from the East, gaining a pillar which will facilitate the entry in the Middle East and the Black Sea Extended Area, but mostly the EU affirmation as an efficient and coherent actor on the international stage, in defending its well-known values and principles.

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<sup>26</sup> *EU strategy for the Danube region*, p. 4, in <http://mae.ro/strategia-dunării>, accessed on 14.02.2011.

<sup>27</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ro>, accessed on 07.03.2011.

The European interest for the Black Sea space is continuously increasing. As the energy resource volume transiting the Black Sea increases daily, the region becomes more and more important to the EU.

It is clear that the Black Sea represents a turning point for the European interests and this will bring an extra economic comfort and political and diplomatic discomfort, and highly probable, military, in the region.

In **the last chapter** of the doctorate thesis, we present and analyze the role of Romania in the Danube and Black Sea region.

“Romania and the Black Sea are, through the will of the planetary destiny, inseparable. Without the Black Sea, Romania would just be an unfulfilled surface of land; without Romania, the Black Sea would be as an infinity with no identity”<sup>28</sup>.

The means and measure in which Romania is promoting and defending its interests ~~in the Black Sea region~~ are directly dependent of its navy power; for this purpose, our country’s major interests are highly determined by: the procuring of raw materials on the sea and river communication routes; exploiting the sea underground; promoting and developing economic activities on the sea and river; the involvement in activities and procedures originating from the Euro-Atlantic region, developed in the Black Sea Extended Region.

Romania is vitally interested in: keeping and insuring the integrity of its territory within the sea, land and river borders; keeping intact the access to the Danube-Black Sea; ensuring stability in the area; protection and maybe defending the infrastructure from the national space bordering the Black Sea; protecting the sea and river environment and the Danube Delta; participating to military naval actions of the allies and to those contracted through relationships and partnerships.

Regarding the political interests, our country is interested in keeping its territory integrity and the state’s sovereignty in the sea spaces.

From the point of view of military interests, the sea offers the most generous option for manifesting these interests, which can become at some point the highest support for the regional politics developed by Romania in the sea area, mainly, and in other areas of national interest, secondly, but which can at some point be of great value in the balance of

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<sup>28</sup> Sorin Vicol, *Geopolitics and geostrategy in the Extended Region of the Black Sea*, Bucharest, Tehnic-Army Center Publishing house, 2008, p. 59.

political options.

The vital interests of Romania at the Danube mainly follow the maintenance and promoting the nation spirit, with the exit at the Black Sea and the Danube.

Secondly, they are related to keeping unaltered the Danube's exit to the Black Sea, because we have the responsibility to fulfill the anticipation of the great political figure, Mihail Kogălniceanu, who said that ".../under suicide punishment we have the duty to protect the freedom of the Danube. The key of our saving is the Danube's path to the large sea"<sup>29</sup>.

And third of all, the interests relate to the preservation of the correct dimensions of the national water territory and defending the economic interests in the river and sea exclusive economic area.

Romania's priorities are: the amortization and efficiency of the institutional cooperation processes in progress, preventing competition or hegemonic temptations and establishing a new dialog and cooperation frame, including all the interested states and democratic organizations.

Our country wishes to be directly implicated in the peaceful solving of conflicts and disputes in the strategic proximity, both through national and multilateral actions, targeting the promotion of democracy, supporting the efforts to approach European and Euro-Atlantic structures, and those which have as purpose the building of security and prosperity.

For the first time, our country is in the situation where both the geographical and the geopolitical positions offer it a series of opportunities, which should be completely valued. Romania has a diverse, but small from the quantity point of view, of primary energy resources, fossils and minerals: oil, natural gas, Uranium ore, and an important renewable resource potential, which could be valued.

The final part of the doctorate thesis is represented by the conclusions. The performed analysis has lead to the following **conclusions**:

The role of the Black Sea region is more than a collaboration with the EU, NATO and international actors. A deeper implication is necessary, in all cooperation processes and forms, in order to accomplish stability in the region.

Also, the region has to develop an own identity, which would allow a viable

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<sup>29</sup> Marius Hanganu, Cornel Marinescu, Ion Chiorcea , *Romania's interests at the Danube and Black Sea*, Bucharest, National Defense University „Carol I” Publishing House, 2007, p. 21.

partnership with the great powers.

In the case of regional organizations, we consider necessary that OSCE becomes more than a simple observer of disputes and conflicts in the region and especially focus on economic and military cooperation.

From the economic point of view, it is necessary that the region pays attention to common projects promoting the liberalization and privatization of the markets and favor an attractive investment environment.

We consider that Romania has the obligation to play her role as coagulation pole for each forces and efforts in order to improve the cooperation in all domains.

According to the analyzed elements, we think that the Black Sea region could be a good example of cooperation if the bordering states, along with the regional powers and international actors could overcome their barriers and disputes.

In the light of all the elements presented before, we wish that our doctorate thesis continues the tradition of unique approaches of the Black Sea Region and brings a touch of originality.







