

BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION – TWO IRREVERSIBLE PROCESSES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PRESENT-DAY INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

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Abstract: *The present paper aims at presenting two irreversible processes within the framework of the present-day international security environment: globalization and regionalization. Globalization must be accepted, it must not be avoided or criticized. The causes and the effects of this phenomenon should be understood. The good aspects should be used without highlighting the destructive ones. The phenomenon of globalization also affects Romania because the sovereignty is limited to the powers of the state. On the one hand, globalization is considered to be a process that is in full progress having a worldwide impact. On the other hand, its content can also suggest an ideology that could signify the “westernization” of the world. This study also lays emphasis upon a case study, Romania, presenting the vulnerabilities, risks and threats to the national security. When talking about national security, the vulnerability to threats represents the minimization or the complete annulment of the ability to deal with a real or potential danger brought to the national security. The present study analyzes the non-military as well as the military risks and threats to the national security trying to offer a perspective on the prevention and fight against the vulnerabilities, risks and threats to the national security. The present paper also renders the opinions on the concept of national security and the case study of Romania, this part being based on a questionnaire applied to a number of 33 subjects. Thus, this work is based on both quantitative and qualitative research methods. At present, Romania has to open itself to what the future holds, but it must not deny its past. Romania must reorganize and repattern its political system for it to be aligned to the new forms of society while the government shapes itself in order to adapt to the newly created society.*

Keywords: *globalization, regionalization, irreversible process, international/ national security*

1. INTRODUCTION

While a world fades away, and another one rises, Romania confronts itself with a series of transformations. During the past century, on one hand, many good things have happened. Romania redefined its national unity, shifted from an agrarian economy to an industrialized one, but on the other hand, other worse things happened, such as: the loss of territories, the communist experience and the participation in the bloody anti-communist revolution. Consequently, it is interesting to underline not only the positive aspects, but also the negative ones, which have contributed to a number of changes in Romania.

2. BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONALIZATION

It can be stated that regionalization defines a consequence, a way of protection against globalization. Regionalization transforms itself into an instrument which can be used in order to overcome the difficulties caused by the small dimensions of the national states.

There are two types of regionalization. The first one is a *hard essence* regionalization, which has the objective of transforming the micro-regions into national state spaces that should co-operate. The second type stands for the *soft* form of regionalization, open to modernization and “westernization” through *soft-power*.

Today Europe can be considered the only region in the world where the process of regionalization is visible as she is described in the revue entitled

Psihosociologia standing for Psychosociology, year V, number 2 (1999:19).

The issue of the frontier permeability is the common element of the two types of regionalization. The main role of the frontier is no longer represented by the traditional one, to protect the territory. The state becomes part of the globalized world, which represents the whole.

On the one hand, the money flows, the information and the culture are transformed into power vectors for those states that know how to produce them and on the other hand, into factors of destabilization if they are viewed as a fatality.

Romania was a country with oil and wheat and now its gross domestic product has a low value. In 2001, the level of its industrial production represented only 60% of the production registered in 1989 and Romanian politicians search for solutions to fix and stabilize the economy. It can be stated that the phenomenon of globalization has taken Romania by surprise without being prepared for it. At present, Romania is a state that struggles to make the transition from the economy on demand to that of free market (Chirovici, 2001:115-119).

In the case of Romania, the globalization process can have two kinds of consequences: the positive and the negative effects. The former type of consequences, namely the positive ones, refers to the fact that Romania needs a foreign fund of investment in order to grow. Romania cannot produce this capital only from internal resources. But we all have to agree on the fact that Romania is a state of economic opportunities: from tourism to the oil industry. There are also some economic forces and companies that could play an important regional or international role. The latter type of consequences, namely the negative ones, refers to the risks of the globalization process: the open economy will absorb the external shock with higher difficulty; the security will diminish especially in the capital city, consequently the organized crime could arise. Romania has changed its position from the status of a country perceived as a bridge for smuggling drugs to that of a consuming country and finally to a producing one.

Thus, it is harder and harder for the security structures to deal with the modern challenges and defiances: the financial “infiltrations”, money laundering, the cruel redistribution of income, the massive corruption, which is hard to imagine among the white-collar workers. In Romania, one can speak rather about a Hispanic-American type of income dispersion than a European type (Chirovici, 2001:121). Although Romania cannot be considered one of the powerful states, it has the potential to become an influent one. Our national identity is not permanent and this issue must be accepted.

If Romania adapts to the world, which is continuously changing, then its future will definitely be secured on a long term basis. We must recognize and accept the fact that the 21st century nation-state will no longer have the features we all have been used to (Lupu, 2001). When a certain form of sovereignty disappears, a new kind of social settlement arises. Actually, this new structure incorporates at the same time the international and national sides.

3. VULNERABILITIES, RISKS AND THREATS TO ROMANIA’S NATIONAL SECURITY

In the late 20th century and the early 21st century, the world is marked by contradictions and ambiguities. Thus, a more complex and heterogeneous world comes into being.

The present-day security environment lies under the sign of severe transformations, while concepts, such as: dysfunction, vulnerability, risk, threat and danger, are frequently used.

The national doctrine for security information introduces the concept of aggression. All these notions are also presented and analyzed by Ion Bidu (2004).

Regarding security, dysfunction can mean a slight transformation in the balance of a certain subsystem resulted from a lack of correctness in legislature by an unappropriate application of a normative act.

The national doctrine of security information approaches the vulnerability as a phenomenon belonging to the internal life of a national community, which minimizes society’s capacity of reaction to the external threats with consequences in the field of homeland security.

The threat is defined as a hint that predicts a future danger, the action of being a danger to someone or something or as a paradigm foreseeing something bad.

The threat represents the manifestation of any intention which could shape a possible danger. Nevertheless, this danger can jeopardize the economy of the state, the constitutional order, the fundamental rights and liberties of people.

The concept of danger refers to any situation that could jeopardize either the existence or the integrity of a person. In other words, the danger is the result of a threat that has already taken place, or is to happen in the future.

In the context of national security, the aggression is defined as a violent or non-violent action, which can occur through armed, psychological or informational means. It is based on the strategy of a certain entity – states or centers of power – against the interests of national security.

A risk represents the possibility of reaching a point when something jeopardizing could take place. The risks to which the national security can be exposed to are those circumstances in which threats are encouraged, becoming a reality. As a consequence, this issue affects the balance in a democratic society.

According to Ulrich Beck, the father of the risk society theory, the risk is a systematic way of managing events that are exposed to imminent danger and of the insecurity which is the result of the modernization (1992:10).

The risk factors to national security must be searched for not only in the interior and exterior of a country, but also at the social, economic, political, military, informational and ecological levels.

4. NON-MILITARY RISKS AND THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF ROMANIA

The non-military risks to the national security of Romania can be of economic, political, social, cultural, ecological, technological, ethnic or religious nature.

The economic risks are felt by all people because they have a great impact on the individual's security. By becoming part of the European Union, on the one hand, the Romanian companies have started to explore new possibilities, which can also involve some risks, especially for those companies that were not familiar with high rates of market competition.

The economic risks that can influence the national security can be on the one hand, internal risks and vulnerabilities and, on the other hand, external risks. Among the main internal economic risks and vulnerabilities, we can mention: the depreciation of the national currency, the property uncertainty, the sudden increase of the underground economy, the lack of reliability in the banking system. The external risks include the economic globalization against a national background incapable of repatterning controversial regionalization.

The lack of a national economic strategy and the impossibility for the financial system to align to the new market requirements could represent some of the main factors of economic risks having a great impact on the economic security of the state.

As for the political risks, it should be mentioned that these can also be internal and external. Among the internal political risks, it is worth to mention the political instability, the failure to correctly apply the democratic laws, the authority crisis in the power institutions. At least a few external political risks should be highlighted: the repatterning of the spheres of influence, external pressures on the minorities' issue, territorial claims made by powers from our own area of strategic interest, geopolitical reorganizations different from those imposed by the European integration.

The fight for power and the lack of morality in politics could be considered the main political risks. But it should be mentioned that this situation is a characteristic feature of the entire world, not only of Romania.

All the previously mentioned issues have made it possible for Romania to make a transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one.

The internal social risks are the following ones: the degradation of citizens' health and socio-professional status, the social unreliability, unemployment, poverty, the *brain drain*. The external social risks are those related to the globalization of poverty, the lack of demographic consolidation in the Balkan region as well as the Romanians' immigration in the West.

Another category of risks is that of the internal cultural ones among which we should mention the decadence of the national educational system, the devaluation of the national values, the aggressive multiculturalism. The external cultural risks refer to cultural pressures, the replacement of values with non-values, the cultural globalization, the increase of subculture, non-culture and anti-culture.

The ecological risks can be divided into internal ones, such as: the environmental degradation, natural hazards, ecological accidents and into external risks, such as: the toxic waste deposited on the Romanian territory, the natural calamities registered in countries situated in the vicinity of Romania.

The internal technological risks include the degradation of the technological heritage or the incapacity of producing modern technology, whereas the external risks refer to the limitation of the access to modern technology and the increase in the price of modern technological equipment.

Among the internal ethnic risks, we can underline the pressure exerted by some ethnic groups and the issue of the autonomous regions established according to ethnic criteria.

Among the external ethnic risks, we can highlight the pressure of certain groups exerted on behalf of some organizations or communities in order to federalize the country or to give autonomy to ethnic territories.

Concerning the religious risks, we can state that in Romania the majority of population is Orthodox, and the Romanians' belief in God is very powerful. Also, we can add that the internal religious risks are not significant, but there are some actions against some of the Church figures. Definitely, there are some tensions between the Greek-Catholic Church and the Orthodox one in terms of heritage. There is a fierce fight against the religious sects as well as against religious extremism.

The national security of a state can be consolidated either by diminishing the vulnerabilities or by preventing and reducing its threats (Chețe & Ciobanu, 2004:30). Thus, the national security strategy should orient itself to the reduction of the state's internal vulnerabilities or to a minimization of the external threats.

5. MILITARY RISKS AND THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF ROMANIA

At present, the European Union is no longer threatened by classical conflicts or symmetric ones, but it is confronted with asymmetric ones. Likewise, Romania as a component part of the European Union, could face, at a certain moment, a situation in which it could feel threatened by asymmetric conflicts.

The most important military threats are international terrorism, the proliferation of the weapons of mass-destruction, the regional conflicts as well as the organized transnational crime.

The 9/11 terrorist attacks, registered in the United States of America as well as other similar actions that took place in Europe and other regions all over the world, can stand as proof for the fact that terrorism is one of the most severe threats to the people's freedom, to democracy and to other fundamental rights and values, which constitute the fundamentals on which a democratic community can be based.

The international terrorist networks can cause massive casualties. Due to the access to all kinds of weapons of mass destruction, the effects could become devastating.

The vulnerability of all the states in front of such a real danger is highlighted by the open character of democratic states as well as by the complex and contradictory way in which the process of globalization manifests itself.

There are two very important measures that must be taken: namely, the annihilation of international terrorism as well as the co-operation of the democratic forces.

As Lucian Stăncilă considered, terrorism itself cannot change the political will of a nation, but, it rather creates a state of insecurity, a sort of "psychosis" which, subsequently, tends to be eliminated by the public opinion (2004:63).

The proliferation of the nuclear, chemical, biological and radioactive weapons stands for a very serious threat and the access to such weapons can be easily obtained.

Even if some states possess all these kinds of weapons and develop new combat types, they might face the risk of collapse. Thus, the black market for such weapons flourishes rapidly.

Although the European continent seems to be a safe place, the strategic area in which Romania is located is threatened by local conflicts, which diminish the regional and European stability and security.

Generally speaking, the inter-ethnic or religious conflicts represent an important threat to the regional security. Many of such conflicts in the vicinity of Romania magnify the violence, causing poverty and insecurity.

Organized crime can be perceived as an expression of the sudden increase of negative phenomena. It has intensified due to the process of globalization and the inefficient management of political, economic and social transformations that have taken place after the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern, South-Eastern and Central Europe.

In this context, the strategic interest space in which Romania is situated has become both an area of transit and destination for a wide range of illegal activities, such as: the illegal trafficking of weapons, drugs and human beings as well as money laundering.

The local conflicts are those favoring such activities, which, in their turn, might favor terrorism and the proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction.

6. ROMANIA'S VULNERABILITIES

Still having a not so powerful economy as well as a not very easy transition towards democracy, Romania widens its uncertainty area to the terrorist attacks. According to Mircea Mureșan and Gheorghe Văduva (2004:475), these vulnerabilities cover the entire Romanian territory, some of the most important ones being the political, diplomatic, economic and military vulnerabilities.

Among the political vulnerabilities we can mention the massive corruption in the political branch, the fight for power, the political behavior of opportunity, the lack of ethics as well as the lack of experience.

Also, there should be mentioned diplomatic vulnerabilities, such as: the breakthrough of elements lacking diplomatic abilities as well as the creation of new situations of uncertainty.

The economic vulnerabilities are numerous and this category consists of the proliferation of underground economy, the support of certain international terrorist groups as well as the vulnerability of the banking system in Romania.

Last but not least, there must be underlined the military vulnerabilities, which refer to the Romanian military structures that are on a mission outside the Romanian territory, the insufficiently securized strength on the shooting grounds.

Likewise, the civil-military relations that describe the relationship between the civil society as a whole and the military organizations established to protect it as well as the computer-aided systems are easily penetrable due to the fact that they are harder to securize.

Romania could be exposed to global terrorism, to the crime-based terrorism, which is adjacent to mafia networks, to the mobsters' nets as well as to drug smugglers and human traffickers, to the psychopatic and fortuitous terrorism.

States should build up some protection structures in order to fight against terrorism. As for Romania, the solution could come from the Special Forces or other structures specific to the Romanian armed forces.

Some actions of the Special Forces are small-scale and short-lasting strikes, decisive and fast operations, which aim at destroying certain objectives and marking certain targets that eventually will be hit by aviation or other types of weapons (Bădălan & Frunzeti, 2004:227-228).

Romania takes part in the *war on terror*. Thus, the potential terrorist attacks on Romania might integrate themselves within the framework of a larger concept motivated only by belligerence.

7. THE PREVENTION AND FIGHT AGAINST THE VULNERABILITIES, RISKS AND THREATS TO ROMANIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

One of Romania's priorities is represented by the way in which the national security is assured. In this respect, two major dimensions should be taken into consideration.

The first major dimension refers to the intensification of the internal co-operation among the institutions which have assignments in the field and the development of specific ways and means of action.

The second major dimension refers to the permanent co-operation with the international structures and institutions specialized in the fight against the large scale risks and threats.

The co-ordination of the national actions in the field of security is based on a set of laws, rules, regulations and fundamental documents, which stipulate the main ways and means of action: the *Romanian Constitution*, the *Strategy of National Security*, the *Military Strategy*, *The White Paper on Security and Defense* etc. The Romanian Law is adjusted so that it should defend the national interests and strengthen the homeland security.

The new risks and threats to the national security of Romania have determined changes in the structure and functioning of the main institutions, which have been repatterned in order to be able to respond to the new challenges and to the asymmetric vulnerabilities, risks and threats.

Romania has set a series of measures to fight against the risks and threats in fields, such as: foreign policy, finance, economy, national security and national defense.

In the field of foreign policy, Romania has taken measures, such as: the participation in international missions under the auspices of NATO in order to fight against terrorism, the development of new relations with the EU member states, the development of a Strategic Partnership with the United States of America, the involvement in achieving a European Identity of Security and Defense, the support of the European dimension - referring to all the European countries - specific to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe as a forum for dialogue in the field of security, the participation in peace operations initiated by the United Nations, the promotion of a certain politics and policy at the international level in order to assure the security in South-Eastern Europe, South Caucasus as well as the Danube and Black Sea region.

Among the measures initiated by Romania in the economic and financial areas, there should be highlighted the economic and financial system based on a market economy, the correlation of the national economic policy with the European Economic and Monetary Union, the harmonization of the economic and financial regulations as well as tax policy with the European laws and rules and the EU requirements.

Romania has also taken a series of important measures in the national security and public order areas. These specific actions regard the prevention and fight against the organized crime, the citizens' protection as well as the protection of both the private and public property.

In order to achieve such objectives, there are required several ways and means of action, such as: an efficient system to protect the classified information at the same time respecting the citizens' right to be informed as well as the intensification of the fight against massive corruption and organized crime.

In the national defense area, Romania has taken a series of significant measures, such as: the process of repatterning the Romanian armed forces by creating an army capable to carry out a wider range of missions.

The main measures deal with the modern operational instruments turning Romania into an actively involved state in the NATO's missions and in military operations designed to build and maintain peace, to strengthen the stability and security in Central and South-Eastern Europe, to offer humanitarian assistance.

Romania's *National Security Strategy* consists of the assessment of the international security environment, the identification of both national and international risk factors, the national objectives and interests in the field of national security.

On a long-term basis, Romania's *National Security Strategy* contains the evaluation of the resources allotted to defense in order to achieve the objectives of the main institutions involved in the national security and defense.

Romania's *National Security Strategy* is the fundamental document on which the defense planning at national level is based.

Romania's *Security and Defense White Paper* establishes the objectives and responsibilities of the main institutions involved in national security, the actions and measures that can be taken as well as the natural, human and financial resources, which can be allotted annually in order to create and prepare the forces participating in the national defense. This document is important for the Romanian military strategy.

By its content and developed issues, the present Romanian Military Strategy reveals, from a realistic perspective, the multifarious manifestations from the field specific to the promotion and protection of the fundamental national interests (Bădălan, Berdilă & Bogdan, 2009:185).

The Romanian Military Strategy establishes and depicts the security environment, the risks, national military objectives, strategic principles and concepts, strategic missions, the structure of the armed forces, logistics, resources and many other aspects.

Romania plays a new role, that of a state situated at the east border of the Alliance, a location which makes possible the opening of new important strategic orientations and directions.

Romania and the Romanian armed forces share the common interests of the Alliance. Romania turns into a sort of vector projecting the democratic values eastwards.

8. OPINIONS ON THE CASE STUDY OF ROMANIA AND THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

8.1 The Questionnaire. In order to find out the opinions of the young people living in the present-day Romania on the concept of national security and the case study of Romania, I suggest the following questionnaire consisting of a set of 10 questions.

Q1. In your opinion, how should we understand the phenomenon of globalization in the case of Romania, which is considered to be a small country, in order to make the clear-cut distinction between the winners and the defeated?

- it should be accepted; it should neither be avoided, nor contested;
- its causes should be understood;
- its effects should be understood;
- one should act in the sense of *aikido*: we should take advantage from its power and we should not let it crush and defeat us.

Q2. In the case of Romania, what is, in your opinion, the greatest modern defiance to national security?

- massive corruption;
- money laundering;
- the cruel redistribution of income;
- financial "infiltrations".

Q3. Where should we search for the factors of risk to the national security of Romania?

- within the framework of the country;
- outside the country's limits;
- at the social, economic, political, military and informational levels;
- both inside the country and outside it as well as at the social, economic, political and military levels.

Q4. What do you think is the greatest internal political risk in the case of Romania?

- a. political instability;
- b. failure to correctly apply the democratic laws;
- c. the crisis of authority related to the institutions of power;
- d. the unclear definition of the national interest.

Q5. What is, in your opinion, the most serious internal social risk in the case of Romania?

- a. the degradation of the health status;
- b. the degradation of the citizens' social and professional condition;
- c. social incertitude;
- d. the phenomenon of *brain drain*.

Q6. To what type of terrorism do you think that is exposed today's Romania?

- a. to global terrorism;
- b. to the crime-based terrorism which is adjacent to mafia networks as well as to drug and human traffickers;
- c. to psychopathic terrorism;
- d. to fortuitous terrorism.

Q7. What is, in your opinion, the most important measure initiated by Romania in the field of foreign policy?

- a. its participation in international missions under the auspices of NATO in order to fight against terrorism;
- b. its participation in the process of achieving the European Identity of Security and Defense;
- c. its support of the European dimension, referring to all the European countries, specific to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe as a forum for dialogue in the field of security;
- d. the promotion of a certain politics and policy at the international level in order to assure the security in South-Eastern Europe, South Caucasus as well as the Danube and Black Sea region.

Q8. According to you, what should today's Romania do?

- a. to open to the future;
- b. not to deny its past;
- c. to repattern its political system;
- d. to adjust its governing to the new type of society.

Q9. In the context of globalization and regionalization, which are considered to be irreversible processes marking the present-day international security environment, how should we behave? What should we do?

- a. to hate each other and treat each other as enemies;
- b. to ignore each other;
- c. to find out if we want to search for our faults in order to strengthen our own stereotypes;
- d. to know each other better, to tolerate each other and to live together peacefully.

Q10. In your opinion, what is a globalized world like?

- a. an integrated and harmonious world;
- b. an integrated world, but not necessarily an integrated one;
- c. a world that can be reduced to a unique parameter – the globalization of insecurity;
- d. a unique place, but at the same time a diverse one.

8.2 The Subjects of the Questionnaire. The previously presented questionnaire has been distributed to a number of 33 subjects aged in between 19 and 23. It is worth to mention the sex of the subjects: out of the 33 subjects, 12 are male subjects representing 36.36% and 21 are female subjects standing for 63.63%. Regarding the subjects' nationality, we confront ourselves with unity in diversity. Out of the 33 students, one student has Venezuelan nationality – 3.03%, another subject has German nationality (Hungarian and Czech) according to that particular subject's statement – 3.03%, 2 subjects have Hungarian nationality – 6.06% and 29 are of Romanian nationality – 87.87%. All in all, except for the fact that all the subjects are students within the framework of the Cultural Studies program at *TRANSILVANIA* University of Brasov – Romania and all of them live in an urban area, we can say that we deal with the phenomenon of *diversity in unity* due to the various religious backgrounds and nationalities registered in this study based on 33 subjects or *unity in diversity* as although they belong to different categories, they are united within the framework of an academic environment, which offers them the same chances irrespective of sex, nationality or religion.

9. INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA ON THE CASE STUDY OF ROMANIA AND THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

The present set of ten questions is centered on the case study of Romania and on the concept of national security.

The 1st question is centered on the way in which the phenomenon of globalization is understood and interpreted in the case of Romania, which is considered to be a small country, in order to make a clear-cut distinction between the winners and the defeated.

Out of the 33 respondents, 3 subjects (9.09%) have chosen variant a) considering that the phenomenon of globalization in the case of Romania should be accepted, it should neither be avoided, nor contested.

Out of the 33 subjects, 5 subjects (15.15%) have selected variant b) thinking that the causes of globalization should be understood and 2 subjects (6.06%) have chosen variant c) considering that the effects of globalization should be understood.

Most of the subjects, that is 23 (69.69%) out of 33, have selected variant d) considering that one should act in the sense of *aikido*: that is, we should take advantage from the power of the phenomenon of globalization and we should not let it crush and defeat us.

Concerning the 2nd question, "In the case of Romania, what is, in your opinion, the greatest modern defiance to national security?", there have been registered interesting answers.

Out of the 33 respondents, 32 subjects (96.96%) have chosen variant a) according to which the massive corruption represents the greatest modern defiance to the national security of Romania.

No subject (0%) has selected variant b), that is, money laundering, only one subject (3.03%) has chosen variant c), namely, the cruel redistribution of income as the greatest defiance to national security and again no subject (0%) has chosen variant d) standing for the financial "infiltrations".

The 3rd question, "Where should we search for the factors of risk to the national security of Romania?", has been differently interpreted by the various respondents.

Among the respondents, 6 subjects (18.18%) have chosen variant a) considering that the factors of risk to the national security of Romania should be sought within the framework of the country.

In the opinion of one respondent (3.03%), these factors of risk should be sought outside the country's limits, thus, outside Romania.

According to 7 subjects (21.21%), the factors of risk to the national security of Romania should be searched for at the social, economic, political, military and informational levels.

Most respondents, that is, 19 subjects (57.57%) consider that these factors of risk to Romania's security should be looked for both inside the country and outside it as well as at the social, economic, political and military levels in accordance with answer d).

The 4th question is centered on the greatest internal political risk in the case of Romania.

This internal political risk has been associated with the political instability by 13 subjects (39.39%) who have chosen variant a), with the failure to correctly apply the democratic laws by 12 subjects (36.36%) who have selected variant b), with the crisis of authority related to the institutions of power by 5 subjects (15.15%) who have chosen variant c) and with the unclear definition of the national interest by 3 subjects (9.09%) who have selected variant d).

The 5th question deals with the most serious internal social risk in the case of Romania, the 33 respondents perceiving differently this issue.

Out of the 33 respondents, 5 subjects (15.15%) associate this main internal social risk in Romania with the degradation of the health status represented by variant a), 16 subjects (48.48%) with variant b), that is, the degradation of the citizens' social and professional condition, 10 subjects (30.30%) with variant c), namely, with social uncertainty and 2 subjects (6.06%) with variant d), with the phenomenon of *brain drain*.

The 6th question refers to the type of terrorism to which Romania is exposed at present being registered a multitude of perspectives in this particular case.

According to 3 subjects (9.09%), today's Romania is exposed to global terrorism identified with answer a) and according to 25 subjects (75.75%), it is exposed to the crime-based terrorism, which is adjacent to mafia networks as well as to drug and human traffickers, represented by answer b).

One subject (3.03%) considers that our country is exposed to the psychopathic terrorism according to answer c) and the opinion of 4 subjects (12.12%) is that Romania is exposed to fortuitous terrorism according to variant d).

The 7th question, "What is, in your opinion, the most important measure initiated by Romania in the field of foreign policy?", has registered interesting answers.

According to 13 subjects (39.39%), variant a) is the most appropriate one, namely, Romania's participation in international missions under the auspices of NATO in order to fight against terrorism is perceived as the most important measure initiated in the field of foreign policy.

There are 7 subjects (21.21%) considering that variant b), that is, Romania's participation in the process of achieving the European Identity of Security and Defense, can be viewed as the best foreign policy measure that has been initiated by our country.

According to 2 subjects (6.06%), variant c) is the best answer, namely, Romania's tendency to support the European dimension, referring to all the European countries, specific to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe as a forum for dialogue in the field of security. This can be perceived as the most important foreign policy measure.

There are 11 subjects (33.33%) considering that this foreign policy measure consists in promoting a certain politics and policy at the international level in order to assure the security in the South-Eastern Europe, South Caucasus as well as in the Danube and Black Sea region, thus choosing variant d) as the best possible answer.

Concerning the 8th question, "According to you, what should today's Romania do?", there have been registered multifarious answers.

In the opinion of 4 subjects (12.12%), Romania should open to the future as it is suggested in answer a), 2 subjects (6.06%) considered that our country should not deny its past according to variant b), 23 subjects (69.69%) have chosen variant c) according to which Romania should repattern its political system and 4 subjects (12.12%) have selected variant d) thinking that Romania should adjust its governing to the new type of society.

The 9th question has been the following one: "In the context of globalization and regionalization, which are considered to be irreversible processes, marking the present-day international security environment, how should we behave? What should we do?"

No subject (0%) has considered that we should hate each other and treat each other as enemies as it has been suggested in variant a).

One respondent (3.03%) thought that the solution could be that of ignoring each other as it has been suggested by answer b).

According to 5 subjects (15.15%) who have chosen variant c), we should find out if we want to search for our faults and strengthen our stereotypes.

There have been 27 subjects (81.81%) who have considered that we should know each other better, we should tolerate each other and live together peacefully.

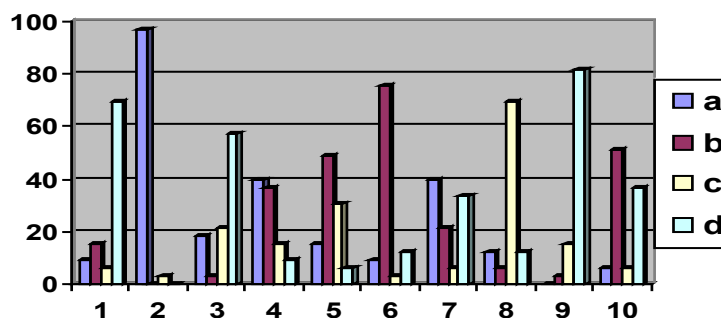
The last question, the 10th one, "In your opinion, what is a globalized world like?" has the role of drawing a conclusion.

According to 2 subjects (6.06%), a globalized world is an integrated and harmonious world as it has been suggested by variant a).

There are 17 subjects (51.51%) who think that such a world is an integrated world, but not necessarily a harmonious one.

Answer c) has been chosen by 2 respondents (6.06%) who view a globalized world as a world that can be reduced to a unique parameter – the globalization of insecurity.

Other 12 respondents (36.36%) have selected answer d) according to which a globalized world stands for a unique place, but at the same time a diverse one being characterized by multifarious aspects, which are interwoven, thus giving its uniqueness and diversity.



As it can be seen in the Figure above, there have existed only three cases representing three answers that have not been chosen by the respondents.

The first case as well as the second one refer to the same question, the 2nd one. No one has chosen either answer b) or answer d). Thus, it results that in Romania's case, the greatest modern defiance to national security is neither money laundering, nor financial "infiltrations".

The third case refers to the 9th question. Nobody has chosen answer a). Hence, in the context of globalization and regionalization, which are considered to be irreversible processes marking the present-day international security environment, we should not hate each other and treat each other as enemies, but on the contrary, we should tolerate each other and live together peacefully.

CONCLUSIONS

At present, we live in a multicultural and multiethnic world and this thing must be understood, recognized and accepted.

Globalization and regionalization are irreversible processes and within the framework of the international security environment, all that remains for us to do is to know each other better, to tolerate each other and to live together peacefully.

As Mihai Hotea considers, ignorance represents the main cause for 99% of the conflicts registered all over the world (2005:84).

We live within the framework of different cultures, different civilizations and religions and that is why we should find out if we want to search for our faults in order to strengthen our stereotypes or we are willing to look for and find common points.

The world is deprived of stability although it has important values and landmarks. The evil spreads all over the world. And it is not the state of security that dominates the world, it is not peace that overwhelms the world, but, unfortunately, it is the state of insecurity and fear that is dominant.

Even if, after two world wars and a cold war, the world has suffered a lot being redimensioned, no one could ever deny the fact that the continuous effort to build a new viable national and international security environment is beneficial for all of us.

The highly technological progress creates certain threats to security. The enemy can be annihilated only by founding new institutions and structures that are able to act asymmetrically. Thus, we assist at a repatterning of a new world order.

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