THE EUROPEAN SECURITY

Ph. D. Lecturer **Vasile Creţ**
Assistant lecturer **Mădălina Pantea**

Abstract: *Practice and theory of force went hand in hand, defining the history of Europe up to now. The effort to organize forces to discourage aggression and resistance focused on two main directions: on one hand, the domestic resource mobilization, and on the other hand, the conclusion of agreements with other states to coordinate the defense against third countries.*

Key words: security, UN Charter, relation, states, peace.

1. The balance of power policy

Security concerns have always been related to force and provide the means and conditions necessary to prevent and reject aggression.

Practice and theory of force went hand in hand, defining the history of Europe up to now. The father of the international law, Hugo Gratius, significantly naming its treaty of interstate relations norms, in 1625, *De Jure beli ad pacis* (On the right of war and peace).

The effort to organize forces to discourage aggression and resistance against it focused on two main directions: on one hand, the domestic resource mobilization, and on the other hand, the conclusion of agreements with other states to coordinate the defense against third countries.[1]

The emergence of balance of power paradigm is dated with the use of force, so that De Hume noted in his essay *The balance of power*, appeared in 1752, that elements of this principle can be found in *Demosthenes orations* for megalopolithans and got extension after the formation of the modern states.

a) One of the oldest plans in this regard is that of Maximilian Bethune, the duke of Sully, when he was minister of the king Henrich IV of France. One of these plans foresaw Europe's division into "15 equal states" managed by France.

b) Another point was the idea of forming systems for the conflict solving through arbitration and conciliation as a way of maintaining the balance of powers. The idea emerged at the beginning of the 2nd millennium and was based on the Christian ideas of the world university. As for the arbitrator, the controversy was between the followers of the Pope and those of the Emperor, and they continued until the assertion of the national principle.

Later on, another idea appeared, that of the creation of some European institutions to keep the peace. The idea was repeated in 1464 by a certain Antonie Marini, a French refugee at the court of Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, and it became "Podiebard's plan" which provided a "Congregation of Concordia", a sort of league of the sovereigns representatives for peace by arbitration.

c) Another way to keep the peace was the creation of alliances to maintain the balance, which was adopted in the fifteenth century Italy and then expanded across Europe. This system was intended to limit the two great dangers that threatened the sovereignty of the states: the extension of the Ottoman domination and increased power of the Habsburgs. Thus, to cope with the invasion of France in Italy, the King of Spain, the Pope, Venice, Milan and Emperor Maximilian I joined on March 24th in the League of Venice.

1.1. European congresses, ways of promoting the balance of power

The European Congresses were a new way to promote the balance of power in Europe.

a) The system of Westphalia was created as a result of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) between the Protestant princes supported by the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, France and the Habsburgs.

---

[1] Boncu Simion*, European Security. Changes, Challenges and Solutions,* Amco Press Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999

The peace negotiations were held with the participation of delegates from Spain, Sweden, France, the United Provinces and Denmark, delegates of the emperor and German princes, representatives of the Republic of Venice and of Transylvania.

The treaty concluded in 1648 has sought to ensure a balance of forces to eliminate the possibility of a power to impose its domination over other countries.

b) The Congress of Vienna was determined by the hegemonic actions of France under Napoleon's leadership that led to the coalition consisting of: England, Austria, Prussia and Russia and it shows that the objective of this treaty is to establish a "real and permanent system for the balance of power in Europe".

c) "The European concert" arose as a result of the great monarchs opposition to the revolutionary trend of the French revolution which started against the ordinances of feudal Europe. [2]

The initiative belonged to Alexander I who suggested the conclusion of a "Holy Alliance" between sovereigns. The treaty was signed on 26 September 1815 between Russia, Prussia and Austria, being open „to all Christian princes". In November 1815, England also joined and imposed the secret quadripartite alliance by which the Member States could intervene in France in case of revolutionary movements and ensure collective borders.

1.2. The League of Nations and the balance of powers between the two world wars

a) The security system of the League of Nations was created on the proposal of the U.S. President W. Wilson on January 8, 1918 in "The 14 points" that lead to the international body to ensure perpetual peace as a collective force able to be " stronger than that of any other nation engaged in any alliance that no nation, no possible combination of nations can confront or resist.

The 11th Article stipulated that any war or threat of war that directly affects one of the member of the League, fully interested it and it must take appropriate measures to effectively safeguard the peace of the nations. The idea of collective actions, ranging from economic and financial boycott to the united military action, failed to find reflection in a tool which is able to implement it.

The military intervention was done on the recommendation of the Council, which was adopted by the unanimity of votes and the decision to use it was up to each state, leading to inefficiency.

b) The return to the political balance of powers was determined by the great powers which began to seek solutions, when the League was an obstacle in the promotion of their interests. The most fervent advocate of the concept was England which wanted the weakening of France and the German recovery.

The contradictions between the great powers allowed Germany to rearm and prepare a true war machine that inevitably led to the Second World War.

1.3. UN Charter and the block division of Europe

Searches for a new security system started during the war, the goal was "to protect the future generations from the scourge of war, which twice during a human life has brought unmeasured human suffering. [3]

a) The UN Security System

The UN founders also started from the power when they defined as the organization's primary goal "the maintainance of peace and security". Starting with the observation that inter-state relations are relations of force, it was considered necessary for the organization to have armed forces able to eliminate any threat to peace. The general concern was not the elimination of force, but the control over it. Instead of a decentralized system proposed by the League, the UN has imposed an international security system with a high degree of centralization. The Security Council is the body that finds and decides on the use of force. Decisions are taken by a majority of votes (9

---

[2] Gârz Florian, *Europe's Renaissance*, Odeon Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999
[3] Neagu Romulus, *The European Security*, Politics Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997

votes) but they have to include the affirmative votes of the five powers: England, China, France, USA, Russia. The veto was a deliberate decision to make the Security Council unable to take action against the five permanent members. Staff Committee composed of the heads of staff of the permanent members has become inoperative because the UN armed forces were not created.

The UN Charter has provided the member countries a wide range of possibilities for a peaceful regulation of disputes: negotiation, inquiry, media, conciliation, arbitration, legal way.

b) The balance of the NATO blocks and the Warsaw Pact

In parallel with actions at the UN, the European plan was to seek a separate system of security based on the same concept: the alliance between the powers.
Since 1943, the USSR has proposed the creation of a European organization in which the USA, England and Russia were supposed to take part and another world one and the U.S. suggested a world organization.

U.S. and other major Western powers have set on April 4, 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty, and after receiving Germanyin the Alliance on May 9, 1955, in May 14, 1955, the Warsaw Pact was created. The result was increased political and economic hostilities, otherwise known as "The Cold War".

The high degree of accumulation of arms and nuclear weapons has made the "balance of powers" policy an absurdity.

2. The new security concept promoted in the Helsinki Final Act

At the beginning of the eighth decade of the twentieth century, Europe was divided into two military blocks within which the arms race continued and also the accumulation of weapons, including nuclear ones which reached alarming levels. In these conditions, a new European security system was required to be based on military disengagement, cooperation and trust between states, principles to replace the use or threat of force in the relations between the states.

The new security concept was based on the settlement of interstate relations in Europe, the politicy of the blocks will have to make place to a security organization, claiming a commitment system and concrete measures to exclude the use of force and to ensure the peaceful development of European states in an atmosphere of relaxation, understanding and cooperation.[4]

2.1.Essential elements of the new security concept
The basic factors that work together to create the new security system are the states as independent sovereign entities. All the states must undertake not to use force, threat of force and relations between them will be based on the fundamental principles of international law regarding:
- Equal rights;
- Respect for national independence and sovereignty;
- Non-interference in internal affairs;
- the right of every people to decide their own fate, not expected to create a system of principles and standards different from that of the UN Charter, but their application to the specific Europe.

The implementation of these principles and rules covering the full range of relations between states (political-legal, economic, military and cultural) requires concrete measures that states must take in their mutual relations at all levels of representation.

Punerea în aplicare a acestor principii şi norme care cuprind întreaga gamă a relaţiilor dintre state (politico-juridice, economice, militare şi culturale) impune măsuri concrete pe care statele să le întreprindă în raporturile lor reciproce la toate nivelurile de reprezentare.

Measures:
The military disengagement and disarmament are key points for creating favorable conditions for the principles, which involve:

---

[4] Weaver Ole, *Security as a speech act: political analysis of a word, the center for peace and research of the conflicts,* Copenhaga, 1989

- Withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of other states;
- Dissolution of foreign bases;
- Dissolution of military blocks;
- Outlawing and destruction of stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction;
- Reduction of military forces starting with the heavily armed big states. On a lasting settlement and development of economic cooperation and exchange of cultural and material values for a mutual benefit is a further measure to implement the principles.

Guarantees:

Establishing principles and procedures to transpose them into practice is one of the guarantees that each state, irrespectively of its economic, political and social system, can freely develop without any dangerer of interference or aggression.

Disputes of any kind or character must be solved peacefully within the system.

The new security system must have a general European character and apply to all European states, as independent states and with equal rights, overcoming the division of the continent in military blocs and opening the gates for connecting with the world states.

The European security system must be part of the global security system, having a great place and role given by the number of inhabitants, the economic production, the trade, the historical traditions and the European civilization.[5]

The new security system should be done gradually over time and it involves actions aimed at:
- liquidating of sequels of the Second World War and the "cold war";
- reducing the balance of powers from the highest to the lowest levels, for the relations between data;
- the dissolution of military blocks;
- the collective security.

The principles and rules underlying the new security system fed the preparation and conduct of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which was prefaced by the Bucharest Declaration of July 6, 1966 signed by the heads of state of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, RD Germany, Poland, Romania, Hungary and the USSR.

2.2. The European security at the turn of the millennium

The events produced in Europe in the last decades of the twentieth century (the fall of the Berlin Wall, the German unification, the dissolution the Warsaw Pact, the collapse of the communist block and of the USSR) have led to the reconsideration of the European security.

After dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the "balance of power strategy" in achieving security no longer functions and, as such, the European security system must be reconstructed in line with the new realities.

The trends regarding the reorganization of the European security are diverse and contradictory, each player (state, group of states, organizations) wishing to occupy a better place as to be able to promote and, if necessary, defend their own interests.

2.3 Trends and current guidelines

Among the current trends and guidelines in implementing the new European security system there might be seen:
- the tendency to organize the global security architecture based on the unipolar criterion, on one hand and the tendency, on the other hand, based on the multipolarity criterion organization;
- the tendency of some security organizations to take over the security of components belonging to national states (sovereignty) and their opposition;
- the primacy of decisions of international bodies in different areas to those of the Member States;

---

[5] Zbigniev Brezinski*, Central and Eastern Europe in the Transition Cyclone*, Diogene Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995

- the tendency of some political-military organization of circumventing the provisions of the UN Charter and acting outside the areas of responsibility and outside the areas of competence;

- combining the principle of cooperation between states and international organizations, with penalties, including the use of force;

- achieving the European security through conflict prevention actions at national and regional levels;

- making of areas (Euroregion, autonomous regions) that overlap in several countries and encourage the development of cross-border relations;

- making of zonal security organizations under the auspices of the Western security structures;

- imposing specific rules of the Western civilization: the rule of law, the market economy, the democracy, the human rights.

Analyzing these trends shows that European security is in reconstruction and that it prevails the idea that Europe must be of the Europeans and, therefore, European security must be made by the Europeans. [6]

The European security system comprises a set of principles and rules of action relating to security arrangements, as well as the institutions and instruments to verify and enforce them in Europe.

The principles and rules are comprised in the international documents to which states have joined, including:

The UN Charter and other documents;

The Documents of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe;

The recommendations and resolutions of the Council of Europe;

The treaties and bilateral agreements between states;

The partnerships between the States and the international organizations;

The status of "invited" or "associate" in various international organizations;

The provisions of documents of regional security organizations.

The European security organizations.

Organizations operating across Europe:

- The United Nations - with global vocation;

- The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe;

- The Council of Europe;

- The European Union;

- The North Atlantic Organization.

These organizations add the regional security organizations and the states as the subject of the international law.

2.4. Relations between NATO and EU in the security and defense field

Despite the U.S. opposition and the reluctance of some European countries, the German-French tandem had an upward trend of the phenomenon of crystallization of a European security and defense entitiy by which the Europeans should be able to solve their own problems.

Although there are many ambiguities in the legislative framework and the position taking regarding the European Security and Defense Identity, both from the U.S. and the European opart, we can state that there are cooperation relations between the EU and NATO and not of subordination.

The independent character of the EU towards NATO is given the following:

- Security and defense policy objectives of the EU are set by the EU and aim to defend the common interests of the member countries;

- EU institutional system;

- EU's own legal system;

---

[6] Zamfirescu Dan, *The Third Europe*, Roza Vânturilor Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997

- Military command structures and implementation are under the EU decision makers.
Between the EU and NATO, collaboration is based on:
- At management level, the EU and NATO General Secretary assists the ministerial meetings of the two structures;
- NATO recognizes and supports the development of the European Security and Defense Identity within NATO, providing its capabilities for EU-led operations;
- NATO is in the EU view, the concept of collective security and remains the key forum for consultation among allies;
- Membership of a member state of EU and NATO is compatible with the European security and defense policy;
- Complementarity and transparency in the mutual relations between the EU and NATO
- Development of military capabilities separable but not separate to be used by EU or NATO;
- EU and NATO acting in line with the UN Charter principles and aiming at the security and defense of their members;
- Both structures promote the Western values of democracy, the human rights, the rule of law and the market economy.

2.5. Relations between EU and the Russian Federation
In the carried out analyses, the Europeans concluded that Europe's economic integration can not lack the security and defense to be made by Europe for the Europeans. In the new context, the role of the Russian Federation in the European security and defense system that is built, is impossible to ignore. It has the potential economic, demographic, cultural, military and geostrategic potential, as well as the repercussions a state of instability in the Russian area upon the European security and defense construction would have. [7]

The relations between the EU and the Russian Federation, as part of the new security architecture of Europe are recent, advance with caution and take shape, as the result of some exclusively European initiatives and efforts.

Although the sequela of the „cold war" have not disappeared, although there are suspicions in the foreign policy of the Russian Federation, it shows a cooperative attitude with the EU which no one considers to be a hostile organization to endanger its security.

The Western political and military analysts agree that Russia, on the consolidation of democracy and market economy, should take its place in Europe.

The cooperation in the economic field that are mainly oriented towards integration builds new relationships between the EU and the Russian Federation.

The Security Strategy of the European Union and its relations with Russia have reached the level of vital interest by creating collective cooperation structures (committees, commissions, partnership, standing meetings).

In military terms, between the EU and the Russian Federation ongoing programs are aimed at a number of strategic areas such as:
- satellite research;
- high capacity and long distance air transportation;
- missile defense systems;
- nuclear technology.
The powers and duties in the EU defense and security field belong to the institutional system and are composed of:
- the European Parliament;
- the European Council;
- the European Commission.

---

[7] Zbigniev Brezinski, *The Geostrategic Triad. Living with China, Europe and Asia*, Historia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006

3. The Treaty of Nice

The Nice Summit within the European Council discussed at the level of Heads of State held between 7-11 December 2000, along with other major problems (the EU enlargement, the Charter of Fundamental Rights, the improvement of the decision, economic, social, cultural, sports, or health and safety of consumers issues, the maritime security, the environment, the external relations) and issues of European security policy and defense policy.[8]

The fundamental objective in common defense was that by 2003, European countries, working on a voluntary basis, can take place within 60 days and sustain for at least a year, a force of 60,000 men.

In the civilian aspects of crisis management, it was tried to ensure that, at the same time, states of the continent be able to provide a force of up to 5,000 police officers for international missions and be able to develop within 30 days, up to 1,000 policemen.

The importance for European security and defense results from the new EU Treaty formula known since December 2000, the Treaty of Nice, which states: "The text approved by the Nice European Council on European Security and Defense (Presidency report and its annexes), the European Union's objective is to be quickly operational. Such a decision was taken by the European Council during 2001, under the provisions of the Treaty "(Treaty of Nice, art. 25).

The report of the President on the European Security and Defense, presented at Nice, had as annexes:

- Statement of employment of military capabilities - document issued at the Conference of employment of military capabilities held in Brussels (20-21 November 2000);
- Strengthening capacities of the European Union in the civilian aspects of crisis management;
- Political and Security Committee;
- European Union Military Committee;
- Organization of Staff of the European Union;
- Arrangements for European NATO member states that are not part of the EU and other EU candidate countries;
- Permanent reasons regarding consultation and cooperation between the EU and NATO.

The report stressed that the development presented the European Security and Defense Policy to respect the UN Charter, and contributed to the strengthening of security and peace in Europe, the primary responsibility in peacekeeping and international security belongs to the UN Security Council.

The EU cooperates with the UN, OSCE and the Council of Europe in matters of security and peacekeeping.[9]

The progress made by the European Council meeting in Helsinki (December 1999) are the stages of a planning and evaluation process that will continue to support the involvement of experts from "HTF" and "HTF plus" groups. "HTF (Headlire Goal Paskal Force) is a group under the responsibility of the EU's interim military body consisting of experts seconded from EU countries and capitals and of officers belonging to the core of the future EU Military Staff, which led under the responsibility of the Presidency, the study on capacity . When this group is reinforced by experts from NATO, it is called "HTF plus".

"HTF" has the following tasks:

- Identify the objectives of the EU capacity for crisis management. The original objectives, set by the European Council in Helsinki will be evaluated and revised whenever necessary and by the same institution;

---

[8] Boncu Simion, *European Security. Changes, Challenges and Solutions,* Amco Press Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999

[9] Zbigniev Brezinski, *The Geostrategic Triad. Living with China, Europe and Asia*, Historia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006

- Monitor the achievement under the direct leadership of the EU Military Committee, the "Catalogue" of forces and capabilities. It will be done through the preparation and review of the planning assumptions and scenarios by working groups comprising "HTF" and "HTF plus" experts;

- Identify and harmonize the national contributions on the required capabilities. National contributions will be assessed and harmonized in light of the revisions and agreed needs;

- Review the quantitative and qualitative progress towards the achievement of the agreed national commitments, including the needs for interoperability of C3 forces (management, control, communication), exercises, training, equipping, and rules on the availability of forces. It will be made by the EU Military Committee on the details of the "HTF"expert group.

The EU Military Committee should identify any deficiencies and make recommendations to the Political and Security Committee regarding the measures to allow:

- the matching of the commitments made by the Member States with the existing needs;
- the modification, where necessary, of the national commitments.

The contribution of non-EU NATO states and candidate countries to the EU will be treated as additional contributions, meant to improve the European military capabilities.

At Nice new information was brought, it is comprised in the Annexes of the Presidency's report about the organization and operation of the Political and Security Committee, EU Military Committee and EU Military Staff, bodies whose establishment was decided by the European Council in 1999 .

The Political and Security Committee (PSC) with its headquarters in Brussels, comprising senior representatives or ambassadors, will handle all aspects of foreign and security policy (CFSP), including those relating to the European security and defense. It has a central role in defining and monitoring the EU response to crises. The General Secretary may chair the CFSP, especially during a crisis.[10]

The Political and Security Committee (PSC) has the following tasks:

- to monitor the international situation in the relevant field of the CFSP;
- to contribute to the policy by giving "advice" at the request of the Council or on its own initiative and to supervise the practical application of the agreed policies;
- to give guidelines on relevant topics for the CFSP to the other committees;
- to be the privileged interlocutor of the General Secretary / EU High Representative for CFSP and the special representatives;
- to give directives to the Military Committee and to receive its opinions and recommendations;
- to receive information, advice and opinions from the Committee for Civilian Aspects of management and to give it directives in connection with the topics relevant to the CFSP;
- to coordinate, supervise and control the work of the CFSP of the various working groups, to which it might give directives and consider the reports;
- to lead a political dialogue to its level and in the positions which appear in the Treaty;
- to be a privileged instance for dialogue on European security and defense policy with the 15 EU members and 6 non-EU NATO countries and NATO, according to the made arrangements;
- to assume the responsibility of the Council's political leadership development of military capabilities, given the nature of the crisis which the EU intends to respond.

On the basis of their PSC works, the General Secretary/the High Representative guide the activities of the Situation Center. This one supports the PSC and provides pieces of information in appropriate circumstances of crisis management.

PSC exercises "political control and strategic direction" of the EU's military response to the crisis. For this, it assesses on the basis of opinions and recommendations of the Military Committee, the essential elements (strategic military options including the chain of command, design and operation plan) to be submitted to the Council. For the prospect of launching an PSC operation, the Council addresses a recommendation supported by the opinion of the Military Committee. On this

---

[10] Zbigniev Brezinski, *The Geostrategic Triad. Living with China, Europe and Asia*, Historia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006

basis, the Council decides to launch the joint operation. This joint action determines in accordance with Articles 18 and 26 of the EU Treaty, the role of General Secretary / the High Representative to implement the relevant measures for "political control and strategic direction" exercised by the PSC.

Assuming that a new Council decision would be considered as appropriate, may appeal to the simplified written procedure (art.l2.4/The Inside Rule of the Council). During these operation the Council will receive the PSC reports presented by the General Secretary/the High Representative, as chairman of that committee.

The European Union Military Committee (EUMC) created in the Council is made up of the heads of the army staff, represented by their military delegates. EUMC meets, as needed, the Chiefs of Staff. This committee will submit to the PSC some military advice and recommendations on any military matter within the EU and give military directives to the EU Military Staff.[11]

The EUMC president attends the Council meetings when decisions with defense implications must be taken.

EUMC leads any military activities within the EU. The military advice they give is issued based on consensus.

EU Military Committee is, therefore, place of consultation and military cooperation between EU Member States in the conflict prevention and crisis management field.

Opinions and recommendations for the PSC are given the military at its request or on its own initiative, especially for what falls under:
- developing the general concept of crisis management in its military aspects;
- the military aspects of political control and strategic management of operations and crisis management situations, the assessment of potential risks of a potential crisis;
- the military dimension of a crisis and its management implications;
- the development, evaluation and review of objectives in terms of military capabilities;
- EU military relations with non-EU NATO states, with other countries and organizations, including NATO;
- financial calculation of operations and exercises, etc..

In situations of crisis management at the request of the PSC, the EUMC gives an initial directive to the General Director of the EU Military Staff to define and present strategic military options. The same body assesses the strategic military options developed by the EU Military Staff and forward them to the PSC, accompanying it by its evaluation and military advice. With military option adopted by the Council, it authorizes the development of a directive by the commander of the operation. Based on the evaluation made by the EU Military Staff (EUMS), the EU Military Committee submits opinions and recommendations to the PSC:
- the design of the operation (CONOPS) perfected by the Operation Commander;
- the draft operations plan (OPLAN) drawn up by the operation commander.
Simultaneously, the PSC submits a notice to finish the transaction.

During the operation, the EUMC monitors and pursues the proper execution of military operations conducted under the responsibility of the Operation Commander.
The president of the EUMC (PCMUE) is a 4 star general appointed by the Council, preferably a chief of staff in a country.

The EU Military Staff (EUMS) has expertise in the European Security and Defense Policy, directing military operations waged by the EU in crisis management. Its mission is to ensure the alarm warning, the situation assessment and strategic planning for Petersberg tasks including the identification of European national and multinational forces and application of the EU Military Committee directives.

EUMS is the source of military expertise for the EU, providing the link between EUMC, on one hand and the military resources to the EU, on the other hand, providing its military expertise to the EU bodies as directed by the EUMC. Meanwhile, the EUMS:

---

[11] Boncu Simion, *European Security. Changes, Challenges and Solutions,* Amco Press Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999

- Ensures a rapid alarm capability, plans, evaluates and makes recommendations regarding the concept of crisis management and general military strategy;
- Applies the decisions and directives of the EUMC;
- Assists the EUMC regarding the situation assessment and strategic planning, as well as its military aspects;
- contributes to the making, evaluation and review of the objectives in terms of capacity and provides the correlation with the process of establishing the NATO defense plans (DPP) and the PART process of the Peace Partnership. [12]

The EU Military Staff is responsible for monitoring, evaluating and making recommendations on the forces and means that Member States make available to the EU, which is part of the training, exercises and interoperability.

Strategic planning involves: assessing the situation, the definition of the political-military framework and the strategic option development.

In perspective, it is expected that the common security and defense policy will move towards increasing the transfer of sovereignty to the EU institutions, the national defense becoming a European subsidiary. The EU security and defense policy will be developed after the adoption of the European Constitution project by the Member States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. Boncu Simion, *European Security. Changes, Challenges and Solutions,* Amco Press Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999 ;
2. Gârz Florian, *Europe's Renaissance*, Odeon Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999;
3. Neagu Romulus, *The European Security*, Politics Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997;
4. Weaver Ole, *Security as a speech act: political analysis of a word, the center for peace and research of the conflicts,* Copenhaga, 1989;
5. Zamfirescu Dan, *The Third Europe*, Roza Vânturilor Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997;
6. Zbigniev Brezinski, *Central and Eastern Europe in the Transition Cyclone*, Diogene Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995 ;
7. Zbigniev Brezinski, *The Geostrategic Triad. Living with China, Europe and Asia*, Historia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006.

---

[12] Zbigniev Brezinski, *The Geostrategic Triad. Living with China, Europe and Asia*, Historia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006