

Black Sea Energy Security - Present and Future

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Abstract: We chose this theme to highlight the need for continuous and sustained human society to secure energy resources needed to survive, needs reflected increasingly along the recent years in the strategies adopted at the level of international organizations and states. Achieving security and stability in the wider Black Sea area has been among the priorities of each country's interests in this region. In this context, state and non-state actors were being called to come up with new solutions to achieve those interests. Certainly not in all cases the negotiations were completed or not yet found a generally accepted formula for others to apply, but most of them show off their values. The main environmental threats to security environment in the Black Sea region are represented by ethnic conflicts and territorial secessionism. A significant contribution to the security environment of the Black Sea region has the phenomenon of globalization, which in this region is manifested by a steady increase in traffic and volume of shipping passage of communication, which largely affects the security in the region. Globalization and the need for energy resources in the Black Sea was an important area not only as energy transport route, but as a potential supplier of material energy (oil and natural gas). Black Sea Basin can be stabilized and secured only by the will and input from all States and interested international organizations in pragmatic and effective institutional frameworks, meant to promote and protect the common interests of countries decided to participate in actions aimed at ensuring a stable environment security.

Keywords: Energy Security; Black Sea; NATO

Some Conceptual Considerations

Considering that the geographical position of Romania and its regional connections, its interests in the Black Sea area represents the democratization, economic development, stability, and orientation towards European integration. Romania is interested to have as neighbors stable, democratic and prosperous states, because in this way there can be maintained the peace and harmony among the states.

In the Black Sea area, Romania together with other riverside states promotes the idea of a Euro-Atlantic Strategy for the Black Sea region. The NATO-EU cooperation in South-Eastern Europe could favor the democratic growth of states, preventing and solving the risks and threats, tensions and disputes.

The European security could be approached from a perspective which refers to both the news degree, and the importance of this issue for the European Union countries.

The context in which we intend to analyze the concept of European security is given by the adoption and entering into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. We consider it necessary to mention the importance of the European security system, policies, mechanisms, and capabilities in the version proposed at Lisbon. After this moment, the EU has become in a more obvious way a visible and effective security provider.

Although for a long time, the EU has been only a "civil power", it has always remained, in terms of ensuring its own security counting on NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). The EU was more concerned about the economic progress and the eastward expansion, neglecting, though not deliberately, the appearance of its own security. "The EU, although it succeeded to secure peace within, it does not exercise this function sufficiently in the final implementation of the peace in the entire European continent, especially in the vicinity. The achievements so far should serve to preserve what has proved to be positive, but also to correct what was wrong or the completion of what has been proved to be incomplete." (Bărbulescu, 2007, p. 96)

By the end of 2007, the representatives of EU Member States signed the Treaty of Lisbon¹ amending the previous Treaties establishing the European Community and the EU. Treaty of Lisbon was also known as the Reform Treaty. The treaty of Lisbon came into force in December 2009, aiming at increasing coherence and EU capability as security actor in the current global environment. By this Treaty it is strengthened the role of the High Representative for Foreign Policy and Common Security. According to the new Treaty, the ESDP becomes "The Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). CFSP / CSDP, by the Lisbon Treaty, it is determined the legal personality of the European Union, which means that the EU will be able to conclude, on their behalf, the international agreements (Article 47 of TL) and it will establish the position of Chairman of the Board European.

By the Lisbon Treaty, the European security, at the European Union level had two changes. The first amendment refers to the general harmonization of the institutional framework for crisis management, while the second refers to strengthening the EU's international role, by improving the CFSP and CSDP.

The Implication of NATO in the Wider Area of the Black Sea

Through NATO, it is achieved an important cooperation in the area, although, by its involvement, it has not yet identified a specific regional role. After the Cold War, the Black Sea area has become an area of interest of NATO, especially from a logistics intervention standpoint for the Central Asia, Southeast Europe and the Middle East. There is still potential for developing the regional cooperation under the NATO umbrella. It is based on the long-term security concept developed by NATO, focusing on democracy and good governance. The fact that the NATO has combined this concept with emphasis on the Balkans, can be viewed as an example in terms of future involvement in a torn region, as the Black Sea.

However, it is unlikely and somewhat inappropriate to NATO, to develop alone such a policy of involving the regional states in a reform process. Open door policy and the approach of cost and benefits serve at the completion of other organizations, such as the EU and the OSCE, having as intention to reshape the regional political and economic landscape. In terms of attractiveness for the enlargement process of NATO, including Towards Accession Action Plan (MAP), it is obvious and has demonstrated the power change as a tool for inducing internal states of Eastern Europe, whose experience can be easily reproduced for the Black Sea area states. When talking about NATO's role in the Black Sea region, referring mainly to issues related to energy security. Thus, in terms of interests and objectives of NATO in this region, the Foreign Ministry said in a statement that "it will continue the consultations on the most powerful risks to energy security, NATO will be involved in the following areas: information sharing and fusion, design stability, fostering international cooperation and regional support with its consequences, support for protection of vital energy infrastructure."

¹ www.europa.eu

At Starsbourg-Kehl, NATO it was agreed that issues such as "ensuring secure and stable energy supply, diversification of routes, suppliers and energy sources, energy networks interconnectivity remain critical, stating, at the same time the continuous support for the efforts designed to promote the security of energy infrastructure."

Referring to the Bucharest summit, we must mention that NATO countries consider progress as, on one hand, strengthening multilateral cooperation and further development of the cooperation and dialogue between countries of the region and on the other hand, strengthening the same aspects between these countries and the North Atlantic Aliance. In terms of "energy security, NATO summit participants agreed on the fact that we need to focus on a number of aspects of this situation, and including information and intelligence sharing, promoting cooperation international and regional issues and also support in terms of energy infrastructure protection."

Geopolitical and Geostrategic Coordinates

The notion of "Great Basin of the Black Sea" appeared in the mid 90s when Zbigniew Brzezinski, in his famous work "The Grand Chessboard", he called this region "Eurasian Balkans" but, along with the Caucasus and the Balkans itself, included also a part of South Asia and the Persian Gulf and Middle East regions.

"The sea is of vital importance for humanity, because of economic and legal issues and also military and political ones. The Seas and oceans of the world, inland international communications, are increasingly essential for the global economy to carry oil, ore, general and special cargos. In addition, they also represent a source of wealth so that it is the capital stake within the interests of world nations." (Atanasiu, Zemba, Grad, Cornel, & Marin, 1998, p. 86) Vulnerabilities in the contemporary security environment are identified in relation to the existing material resources, environmental conditions, with various aspects of nature and behavior of state and non-state actors. The environmental threats to security are determined by the negative consequences of the economic globalization, resulting in the impoverishment of millions of people, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, plus the networks of organized crime that threaten the global stability, the local and national conflicts, interreligious and interethnic ones. (Neagoe, 2005) The developments in Black Sea area have changed the nature of the risks and threats to security in the European area, having negative influence on the regional security. Being a space that connects three important areas from the geopolitical and geostrategic point of view- Southern Europe, Eastern Europe and the Middle East - the Black Sea region was transformed after 1990 into a zone of instability, marked by political, military and economic disputes between the riverside states, but also the concern of other states to reconsider their interests in this area.

The "key positions" in the Black Sea area are positions that customize and records special meanings, but, above all, they contribute decisively to the geostrategic value and importance of this area. (The major status of navy forces, 2005). They are the following:

The Straits System (Bosporus, Dardanelles - linked by the Marmara Sea) enables and provides navigation form a "closed" sea to the Water World. Turkey controls the straits, which are the only strong artery for external shipping, which is available to all riverside states, from the economic point of view and with permanent prospects. The control of the straits gives Turkey a privileged status.

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¹ www.nato.mae.ro

Crimea Peninsula - a real aircraft carrier, "well anchored", with numerous facilities, surrounded by sufficient naval forces, always ready to act. Mouths of the Danube (the maritime Danube) - the movement of ships through the Sulina complex of navigation is done entirely in Romania, which represents an element of power for Romania.

The Continental Plateau of the Romanian coast, containing important elements, determined the problem of delimiting the continental plateau of the exclusive economic zone between Romania and Ukraine to "boil" for many years.

Snake Island - has been "rediscovered" in the recent years and placed in the issue of international diplomacy. 1

According to the new geopolitical configuration of the Black Sea, dominated to the West and the South by Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey, countries of NATO, along with Moldova, Ukraine, Russia and Georgia on the north and east cost, it has acquired a new identity which requires a different approach to the specific problems of the entire region, including the elaboration of strategies and programs. In this context we can not exclude Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, the three South Caucasus countries, because they represent parts of the Euro-Asian energy corridor linking the Euro-Atlantic system of energy resources in the Caspian area and the Central Asian states.

Over time, the Russian Federation secured its interests in the Black Sea area, reiterating its status of dominant power not only in Caucasus, but across the Black Sea region.

Ukraine is another state with problem in the Black Sea area. The gas crisis in early 2009 once again demonstrated a reduced ability of Kiev to establish itself as regional player in the Black Sea. Ukraine still has strong historical, economic, and ethnic links with Russia. We mention here the situation in Crimea, a region with mostly Russian neighbors, as it is, in fact, most of eastern Ukraine, it could become as dangerous as that of South Ossetia.

Ukraine, by its geographical position, can benefit from the Russian Federation and European Union using the Odessa-Brodii, becoming a sort of regional oil dispatcher. Bear in mind that while the Russian Federation was trying to block the access to Caspian oil on this pipeline, the EU allocated funds for this pipeline' extension to the Baltic Sea. At the same time, the transport on the pipelines connecting Ukraine to Romania and Bulgaria depends on the Kiev's position. (Bahnareanu, 2010)

European Union Energy Policy

According to the Lisbon Treaty and Europe Strategy 2020, EU legislation has adapted its own legislation to the new realities of the 21st century. The Lisbon Treaty,² entered into force on 1st December 2009, brought substantive amendments to the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on establishing the European Community and the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, providing to the Union the legal framework and instruments necessary to face future challenges and to formulate a response to citizens' expectations.

² Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on establishing the European Community, Lisbon, 13 December 2007, www.consilium.europa.eu.

¹ Simona Frolu, Securitate prin democratizare in zona Marii Negre/Security through democratization in Black Sea Area, www.generatiaeuropeana.ro

In Article 194 of the Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union¹ stipulates that the EU energy policy in a spirit of solidarity between Member States, aiming at: ensuring the functioning of energy; ensuring security energy supplying the EU; promoting energetic efficiency and economy energy, but also the development of a new source of energy and renewable energy; promoting energy networks interconnection.

In Article 122 of the same treaty² says that, without prejudice to any other provided procedure, the Council, at the Commission's proposal, has the right to decide, in the spirit of solidarity between Member States the adoption of the appropriate measures in the economic situation, particularly if there are serious difficulties in supplying certain products, especially energy.

When it was found that the Lisbon Strategy³ has not achieved its main strategic goal – the EU ought to become by 2010 the most competitive and dynamic economy in the world, based on knowledge - Brussels officials have started a consultation process for a new economic strategy, a strategy that was launched by the European Commission in early March 2010 and approved by the European Council in June 2010.

Europe Strategy 2020⁴ defines the objective of preparing the European Union social market economy for the next decade, for escaping from the economic and financial crisis, as well as by transforming it into an inclusive social economy, intelligent and sustainable.

The European energy policy in the last decade adapted to new geopolitical, geo-economical, and geostrategic realities and sought to ensure, in a more integrated way, the supply of affordable energy, respecting the market mechanisms, promoting energy efficiency and environmental protection. Thus, since 2000, there were promoted a series of documents, such as the Green Paper "*Towards a European Strategy for the security of energy supply*" in the 2000, the Green Paper on energy efficiency "*Doing more with less*" in 2005, Green Paper "*A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy*" in 2006. 6

In the autumn of 2007, the European Union has pledged by 2020 to carry out the plan target "20/20/20." *In the second Strategic Energy Policy Review*, the Commission proposes a European Union action plan for energy security and solidarity, focusing on five main elements:

- promoting essential infrastructure for community energy needs;
- developing external relations in the energy domain;
- improve oil and natural gas stocks and response mechanisms to crisis situations;
- increasing energy efficiency;
- better capitalization of the EU's internal energy resources, including the renewable ones.

³ Lisbon European Council, Presidency Conclusions, 23-24 March 2000, www.europarl.europa.eu şi European Commission, Working together for growth and jobs. A new start for the Lisbon Strategy, Communication to the Spring European Council, 2 February 2005, www.eurlex.europa.eu

¹ Council of the European Union, Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on functionning the European Union, Brussels, 28 May 2010, p. 177, www.consilium.europa.eu

² Ibidem, p. 131

⁴ European Commission, Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, ecological and favorable growth to inclusion, Brussels, March 3, 2010, www.ec.europa.eu

⁵ European Commission, "Doing more with less. Green Paper on energy efficiency", 22 June 2005, www.ec.europa.eu/energy ⁶ European Commission, Green Paper "A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy", 8 March 2006, www.eur-lex.europa.eu

⁷ European Commission, Second Strategic Energy Review: An EU Energy Security and Solidarity Action Plan, 13 November 2008, www.eur-lex.europa.eu

Energy Balance in Black Sea Region - Actors and Energy Interests

The actors in the Black Sea area are connected to energy channels between East and West. They are big producers, such as Russia, and consumers or important intermediaries of energy resources. The Black Sea Region is a major junction of supplying routes of Europe with Russian hydrocarbons, the Caspian Basin and other producing countries in the East, probably the shortest. The Black Sea littoral states, except Russia, have built their energy strategies so as to secure the energy security and defense, economic development and welfare of the population, environmental protection. However, the dependence on Russian hydrocarbons make them vulnerable to some energy games under the form of reduction / cessation of supplies, increasing prices and developing alternative transport routes.

Energy Potential

The energy potential is the hydrocarbon flows that conveys through that area, as well as many sea areas rich in energy resources. According to the achieved research, the Black Sea would be about 10 billion barrels reserves of oil and 1500 billion m3 of natural gas. (Kardas, May 26, 2009) However, the depth at which these reserves are found are not easily exploited. In terms of energy, Russia is by far the most important reservoir, manufacturer, and exporter of the region.

The States of the Black Sea region can be grouped into three categories:

- independent countries of external energy resources have significant reserves of oil and natural
 gas. In this category it is only the Russian Federation, a country rich in hydrocarbons and one of
 the greatest exporting country;
- partially dependent countries have limited energy resources and fills in its needs through imports or keep their resources as they are, for example, Ukraine, Romania and Turkey;
- countries totally dependent on external energy resources, whose resources are crucial for the
 economy in order to function and develop. Bulgaria and Georgia are states that are almost
 totally dependent of foreign hydrocarbons. (Ioan, May-June 2008, p. 19)

Romania's Energy Strategy

Romania's Energy Strategy was developed in 2007. Ensuring national security, according to Romania's National Security Strategy (SSNR) (Romania Presidency, 2007, p. 46) it can not be achieved without ensuring Romania's energy security by optimizing operational adapting structure of primary energy consumption and increasing energy efficiency. In line with the requirement made in SSNR – the reconfiguration of Romania's energy security strategy in line with EU energy strategy (Romania Presidency, 2007, p. 18) - the government prepared and approved a new energy strategy¹ for 2007-2020.

The purpose of the Energy Strategy is to ensure the energy independence, in terms of sustainable development of Romania and the European Union.

The Romania's energy security does not depend only on its own resources, its economic potential, or its national power. This security goals and objectives must be negotiated at the level of European Union with the most important leading producers and social consumers.

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¹ Romanian Government Decision on the approval of Romania's energy strategy for 2007-2020, the Official Monitor of Romania, Part I, no. 781, 19 November 2007.

The issue of Energy security in Romania has been specifically increased in 2007. According to the *National Security Strategy* (SSNR), (Romania Presidency, 2007, p. 46) the national security is directly determined by the energy security. To do this, Romania had to take urgent measures to optimize the structure of primary energy consumption. Security requirements involve reconfiguring the Romania's energy security strategy, in close liaison with the European Union's energy strategy. (Romania Presidency, 2007, p. 18) Through this strategy, Romania has aligned with the main aims and objectives of the European Union's energy. In this respect, the Government prepared and approved a new energy strategy for 2007-2020, a document that mentions the EU energy objectives outlined in the "European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy" and the new "Energy Policy for Europe".

Through this strategy, Romania takes an active role within the EU and, in particular, in the eastern and south-east area of the continent. Romania has, in accordance with the European energy policies, a number of priorities in terms of energy security:

- ensuring competitiveness;
- diversification of energy supply sources;
- environmental protection;
- ensuring investments for increasing production and development capacity.

Romania must have a range of skills that allows it to express the status of stability exporter. Its own security is a key element in the context of which Romania is acting regionally. "Another element that illustrates the competitiveness of a given society is how it manages to use available resources in order to minimize the threats, risks, and vulnerabilities to which it is subject. The energy security of a state has become again one the main elements of concern, given the security implications of both security society members and their prosperity. The recent events have demonstrated the need for the NATO and EU states to treat their problem of ensuring security energy as one of the priorities of governance."

Ensuring stability and security zones to the Black Sea represents a major objective in Romania. "Romania - dynamic vector of democratic security, economic stability, and prosperity - is a key strategic interest to the wider region of the Black Sea to be a stable, democratic and prosperous one, close connected to the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Subordinated to this interest, our country's strategic goal is to stimulate a greater and a more productive European and Euro-Atlantic involvement in this region."

According to the National Security Strategy "Romania actively promotes the necessity of a Euro-Atlantic strategy for the Black Sea region, taking into account the experience of a NATO-EU concerted stabilization process in South-east and apt to favor the need of a democratic option states, to prevent worsening the risk and threats and to contribute effectively to solve conflicts and tensions." (Romania Presidency, 2007)

The increased interest in the wider Black Sea area is due to the fact that it is located at the confluence of three major areas - Europe, Middle East and Central Asia, such as a "significant transit area of energy resources and also an important place of manifestation of asymmetrical risks and outbreaks of conflict, with a substantial impact on Euro-Atlantic security." (Romania Presidency, 2007)

In the near future it was stipulated that the Black Sea could be a source of energy that is consumed in Europe. Moreover, this determines, in terms of security, both risks and threats to international security.

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¹ National Defense Strategy - For a Romania, which guarantees the security and prosperity of future generations, Project 2010, p. 6.

Thus, we can mention: "a faithful mirror of the new risks and threats and a virtually dangerous potential for their experimentation. Among those we mention: the international terrorism; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery; local conflicts; illegal trafficking of arms; ammunition and explosives; drug trafficking; illegal migration and human trafficking; ineffective government, undermined by endemic corruption and organized crime." (Romania Presidency, 2007)

Romania, together with other countries in the Black Sea, has responsibilities in dealing with such risks and threats, it can be achieved, if they agree to "develop national policies, foreign and security policies able to neutralize the negative phenomena within their own borders and refrain from supporting in any way, the separatist movements, extremist or terrorist organizations, criminal activities." (Romania Presidency, 2007) Also on this line of regional cooperation, we should mention that Romania contributes to the institutionalization of the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership.

Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership is an initiative dedicated to promoting democracy and economic development, energy security, trust, consolidating stability, peace, and security. For affirming true security in the wider Black Sea region, Romania with other countries in this area must participate in a process of economic consolidation, development of energy and transport infrastructure. This will be achieved in order to make the connection from the economic and commercial point of view of the space at the Black Sea to the Euro-Atlantic community.¹

Also, "there would be also monitored the development of special programs that will enhance the national and regional monitoring capabilities and rapid intervention in order to prevent and counter the security risks coming from the maritime area. There will be supported, at the same time, the initiatives on enhancing the regional capacity to respond to crises and to deal with asymmetric threats, and those though which it will be favorable for increasing the legal framework conducting to increasing the confidence between states in the area and others interested states in the security area." (Romania Presidency, 2007)

When Bulgaria and Romania's adhered to EU, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, the Commissioner for External Relations and Neighboring Policy, said the following on the relation between the European Union - Romania - Black Sea: "the EU has become part of the Black Sea region. Today, we accomplished a promise made last December, that is to develop a regional dimension within ENP. It is the time to politically focus on the regional level and invigorate the ongoing cooperation processes, providing a space for cooperation with Russia, Turkey and our eastern partners of the ENP (European Neighboring Policy).²

In this context not only the European Union manifested a special interest in the Black Sea area, but alos the United States of America which believes that: "The Black Sea region has a strategic importance for the United States. We have in that area three NATO allies - Turkey, Romania, and Bulgaria. (...) The Black Sea region is at the heart of the debate on security energy."

Romania to the European Union's Eastern Borders and the North-Atlantic Alliance

By the accession of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU in 2007, the Black Sea has become a direct neighbor of the European Union. Romania has become, over time, the most active member of the EU in promoting the strategic importance of the Black Sea and the need for an increased role of the EU in this

¹ For these objectives to be achieved, our country will work with Black Sea riparian countries, namely Bulgaria, Georgia, Russian Federation, Turkey and Ukraine and the other 35 member states of the Euro-Atlantic community.

² www.europa.md

³ www.mediafax.ro

area, in the spirit of a strategic approach. An important support in this regard came from other member states, mainly Greece, Bulgaria, and Germany, which had, at that time, the EU Presidency. The cooperation with these countries has contributed substantially to the success of this approach, under the form of the Black Sea Synergy and the process initiated by it. The importance of the region has been highlighted clearer in many policies and instruments of the European Union by its eastern neighborhood, including the Eastern Partnership, launched in 2009.¹

Through its membership to NATO and the EU, Romania has an active part in the "wider region" of the Black Sea, on the coordinates pursued by NATO and the EU. Located West of the Black Sea and at the Mouths of the Danube, Romania is a head for the transatlantic community, but also for the EU to the Black Sea area and, as a country of contact between the Euro-Atlantic and Euro-Asian, it has the benefit of the intersection of six axes of strategic importance. (Pestrescu, 2005) Romania has been involved in supporting efforts that, though the CFSP instruments, have led to inviting neighbors from the east and south to share peace, stability and prosperity, of which all the Member States enjoy.

At the same time, Romania plays an important role in Southeastern Europe, along with its allies in NATO and EU in the fight against terrorism. Located at the NATO border and on the eastern flank of the EU, Romania has much to offer to its neighbors, based on its own experience.

The major objectives of the Romanian Black Sea, as defined by the relevant National Strategy (2006) refers to building, near east, a stable, democratic and prosperous area, in consonance with the opening of the Black Sea towards the European and Euro-Atlantic values and processes. Also, the difficult process of eastward expansion should have as support a model of cooperation to reinforce the EU force.

During 2009-2013, the Romanian foreign policy in this area will focus on balancing the balance between resources and objectives and a rigorous selection of approaches and initiatives in regional cooperation domain. (Pestrescu, 2005)

Brief Conclusions

The energy resources continue to be both a plea for cooperation, but also one of confrontation and disputes between the actors of the international system, the struggle for increasingly shaping the economy and also the security, foreign policy and states' priorities.

- In the Black Sea area, Romania together with other littoral states promote the idea of a Euro-Atlantic Strategy for the Black Sea region;
- NATO-EU cooperation in South-Eastern Europe could encourage the democratic growth of states, preventing and solving risks and threats, tensions and disputes. Through its membership to NATO and EU, Romania has an active part in the "wide region" of the Black Sea, on the coordinates of the directions pursued by NATO and the EU;
- Black Sea region is an area of production and distribution of a strategic importance for EU energy security, with its natural resources, and having a strategic position at the junction of Europe, Central Asia and the Middle East;
- Romania's energy security depends not only on its own resources, its economic potential, and its national power. Security goals and objectives of the European Union have to be negotiated with the leading producers and social consumers;

¹ www.mae.ro

- During 2009-2013, Romania's foreign policy on energy security will focus on balancing the balance between resources and objectives and on a rigorous selection of the approaches and initiatives in the regional cooperation area.

Romania, as a member country of the European Union and NATO, but also very important actor in the Black Sea, depends to a considerable degree of, not only economic cooperation but also of the development of a strategic and stable energy partnership in the area.

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