

# Romanian Participation in Peace Support Operations

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## a. Characteristics of Peace Support Operations

The historic perspective proved that conflict phenomena, particularly those related to military conflicts, generated a series of analysis addressing their physiognomy, typology, determinations as well as their complex and multiple implications.

In the field of international relations, among the states, as subjects of international law, or among different groups or factions, as regional geopolitical actors, there may be differences that, if not solved appropriately, can evolve into conflicts.

The stages following the conflicts imply measures of post conflict management, re-making and re-building of the state or the area that was affected, generated or induced that conflict.

The motivations behind the actions of the involved parties give these kinds of conflicts inter-ethnic, religious, inter-civilization etc characteristics, inducing different levels of intensity<sup>1</sup>.

The conflict nature generated by different actions particularly characterizes the pre-conflict and during the conflict periods. The analysis of the post Cold War conflicts highlighted the fact that extremism and intolerance constituted factors contributing to the worsening of the regional situation as well as conducive to the conflicts.

The geographic assessment pointed out the existence of certain areas that might be considered traditionally conflictual, such as in the Balkans, Caucasus, Middle East, Central Asia, Africa etc.

The end of the Cold War, when the world bipolar balance of power came to an end,

generated the rebirth of some crisis situations that led to the outbreak of several armed conflicts. Within this framework, there were noticeable certain general characteristics of the post-conflict stage, as well as, a lot of particularities referring to the geographic area, geopolitical implications, the specific physiognomy of the ended conflicts, the interests of the contending parties, the effects of the conflict in the respective region, the position adopted by organizations and bodies involved in crisis management, but also the new challenges, vulnerabilities, risks and threats<sup>2</sup>.

The post Cold War security environment was characterized by an active instability that was also induced by a new configuration of the security architecture in different areas and was deeply influenced by a series of events such as the process of building new political regimes in the states of Central and Eastern Europe, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent independence of the former component states<sup>3</sup>.

Similarly, the political re-drawing of new frontiers in Europe and Asia as well as the bloody dismantle of Yugoslavia generated conflicts that necessitated important demarches to implement certain post conflict strategies.

The North Atlantic Alliance's processes of enlargement and at the same time of complex transformation endowed it with the necessary capabilities for crisis and conflict management, promoting stability within and outside of the Euro-Atlantic area. The proliferation of terrorism phenomena and

asymmetric threats led to waging the war against terrorism.

The major strategic changes having taken place during that stage necessitated a series of actions, developed in order to address in an effective way the new challenges and the need to find out valid solutions to them. The objective of these strategies aims to the global fight against terrorism and asymmetric threats, diminishing the intensity of the conflict, preventing military conflicts and successfully undertaking post conflict actions, including military ones.

The post conflict stage actually has numerous particularities, depending on the context in which the situations leading to the conflict evolved, on the intensity of the armed conflict, induced consequences, the positions of the parties and actors involved and it aims to deescalate the conflict, the undertaking and finalizing of the involved parties, re-making of the infrastructure and necessary structures for the normalizing of the situation, stabilizing and democracy building of the concerned area.

The de-escalation of the conflict is the most important stage in solving the problems that generated the armed confrontation. It relies on the will of the parties to cease hostilities, the wish of the international community to get involved in this process, to negotiate and if necessary to impose the cease of hostilities, the existence of certain specialized structures and institutions able to intervene in this process.

All these procedures were used to deescalate the existing or emerging conflicts after the Cold War. The mentioned actions are developed through political, diplomatic, economic, cultural, military means. Depending on the specificity of the armed conflict, on the parties involved, the dangers and threats associated to the conflict, the actions of de-escalation are flexible and imply a good collaboration among all the forces participating at this process: international bodies with global or regional reach, international actors, governments and non-governmental organizations, peacekeeping or peace-enforcement forces<sup>4</sup>.

The delivering and the finalizing of negotiations between the involved parties last a long time, as it was demonstrated by the practice of these kinds of activities. While international military structures work toward separating the forces and interposing, representatives of international bodies undertake an activity of defusing tensions between the parties and putting an end to the dispute. The activities take place right after the de-escalation of the conflict and aim to the military disengagement of forces. They mainly focus on providing the necessary conditions for rebuilding infrastructure, stabilizing the situation and passing to democratically rebuilding of the area, reconciliation of the contending parties being essential. During this stage, the main actors are the international bodies and peacekeeping forces deployed in the operations theater. These actions are included in what became known as peace-making operations that evolve toward peacekeeping operations.

The rebuilding of infrastructure and structures necessary for normalizing the situation take place after hostilities came to an end. It is one of the main economic, political and social aspects of this process and is developed under the protection of peacekeeping forces, including actions of reestablishment of communications, rehabilitation of the infrastructure affected by the conflict, rebuilding functional social, political, and economic mechanisms.

Stabilization implies the de-escalation of the conflictual situation, combating terrorism and various trafficking networks, organizing democratic elections, the transfer of authority to local structures and supporting the respective country in initiating and democratically rebuilding the state. The actions of this stage are known as stabilization operations. The role of the militaries, during this stage, is to assure optimal conditions for the development of functional state structures, to build security forces of the respective state, to prevent clashes between the former contending parties.

The democratic reconstruction of the area is a consequence of previous actions, for its accomplishment having involved in particular political, economic, information, social, and cultural means. New objectives are settled and economic and social strategies are drawn. The participant multinational forces are involved in peacekeeping operations, these operations being finalized when the situation turns normal<sup>5</sup>.

Although the peace support operations developed lately use in the operative and tactical fields the same categories of personnel and almost the same instruments as the previous ones, they are essentially different at strategic level through their purposes, political, military objectives and specific ways of planning, organizing, projection, deployability and sustaining, with or without host nation support (HNS) in the operations theater<sup>6</sup>.

NATO and EU, acting in support and in complementarities with the UN's programmes and initiatives, took over particular political responsibilities in implementing the post-conflict rehabilitation of the states or areas that went through situations of armed conflict.

Peace-making, following an armed conflict, implies more than exclusively diplomatic and military actions. Peace-building would necessitate in particular the re-orientation of military and civilian toward diminishing the risk of an outbreak in hostilities. This way, there are settled the appropriate conditions for stabilization, reconciliation and democracy building.

In post conflict societies, there should be promoted reconciliation, respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and participation in the political, social and economic life.

At the same time, it is necessary a progressive and safe process of refugees return and the programmes promotion of the reintegration into societies of the former combatants. Light weapons should be collected from the population and stored in safe locations. It is necessary to clear, gather and destroy the mines, and heavy equipment should be withdrawn to the barracks under strict guard<sup>7</sup>.

The international intervention in the post-conflict areas is necessary to resettle and consolidate stability. The strategy of post-conflict rehabilitation contains a series of factors that should refer to the process itself: correlating the assessment of threats with the reaction, adopting an optimum model of post-conflict rehabilitation and affirming the solidarity of the states participating at the process.

The stabilization of the situation and the prevention of an outbreak in armed hostilities in the areas affected by the conflict are the priorities of the post-conflict strategy. Defining the best solutions for a state rebuilding implies planning and using a diverse range of actions. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo are the most concrete examples pointing out a model of post-conflict rehabilitation successfully applicable, including through the establishment of the missions IFOR, SFOR, KFOR, in which Romania was and continues to be an active and reliable participant<sup>8</sup>.

After the end of the conflict, the strategy of state functional readjustment should not aim to achieving the maximum of objectives of society rehabilitation in a short period of time but within reasonable timelines<sup>9</sup>. The analysis of the complexity of the post-conflict rehabilitation, reconciliation and re-building objectives implies the harmonization of the overall relations among states and groups of states which gives substance to the action of international actors participant at the reconstruction of certain states asking for their support.

The post-conflict stage is bond to the suspension of hostilities and the ending of the conflict. The international practice highlighted that the ending of armed conflicts marked an activation of terrorism and asymmetric threats that necessitate adequate strategies of combat, sometimes for a long period of time, that are defined through a large range of demarches, instruments and operations, implemented through the collaboration of the involved parties and of the actors dealing with the

respective situation. The fundamental conclusion that one can draw following the analysis of the situation specific to each operations theater refers to the fact that the results of the stabilization and post-conflict reconstruction processes can be successfully implemented only in the conditions in which the population and the host nation are not hostile and affirm their wish to cooperate.

The North Atlantic Alliance has as strategic objectives crisis and conflict management while adjusting its structures, capabilities and missions to the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The final communiqué of the Istanbul Summit stresses that the transformation of the Alliance the defining of its orientation is on the way aiming to adjusting NATO structures, procedures and capabilities to the 21<sup>st</sup> century challenges, risks and threats. The Alliance took over a large range of missions, promoting stability where it considers necessary to defend its security and values<sup>10</sup>.

The typology and models of peace support operations have a series of characteristics inherent to the assumed objectives, as well as, to the means, resources and capabilities made available. Particularly known as military operations others than the war (non-article five operations), they are multinational operations, constituted and conducted as CJTF (Combined Joint Task Force), operational, multinational and joint forces.

*The peace-making operations* imply in particular the use of diplomatic means to persuade the contending parties to cease hostilities and negotiate the peaceful resolution of the conflict. The United Nations can play an effective role providing that the contending parties agree to it. Peace-making does not make compulsory using the force against one of the parties in order to impose ending hostilities. The peace-making operations are part of the stability operations (as for example the missions SFOR, KFOR, ISAF) and the support ones<sup>11</sup>. These have a nonlinear character and the force structure participating at these kinds of operations has a

heterogeneous character, being composed of military forces belonging to several nations, police forces, national and international civil bodies, governmental agencies etc. A structure like this should not impede the concentration of efforts to achieve the assumed objectives.

These operations are developed according to specific principles that refer to the unity of effort, protection, restricting, clarity of objectives, legitimacy, determination, and the proportional use of force, preventing the escalation of the conflict, the diversity and complementarities of actions, flexibility, non-challenge, the transfer of power and authority to the civil structures<sup>12</sup>.

*The peacekeeping operations* were developed as a way of conflict management, by deploying the multinational military personnel, in the area of interest, under the UN mandate, to control and solve the armed conflict. These operations are developed, mainly nowadays, in situation of intrastate conflict, the missions assigned to the peacekeeping forces under an UN mandate evolving from interposing between the contending parties, collecting light weaponry and heavy equipment, distribution of humanitarian assistance to the civil population, and even reestablishing cooperation between the parties previously in conflict. These operations are the most frequent, developed and complex, having an outstanding preventive function. The participating multinational forces are tasked to discourage and de-escalate the tension and conflict centers and to prevent the outbreak of new armed clashes. This kind of operations aims to discouraging the use of force, the defusing of the conflict, promoting peace and supporting the civil authorities to mitigate the consequences of armed confrontations and creating the conditions for the transition to the democratic reconstruction of the area<sup>13</sup>.

*The peace-enforcement/peace-implementation operations* are developed when the contending parties are not willing to negotiate putting an end to the conflict and continue hostilities. Virtually, in these kinds of situations, after

exhausting all the means of reconciliation and identification of the conflictual aspects as a threat to peace and international security, the UN Security Council can authorize the licit use of force to impose/implement peace. It gives the member states the authority to take all necessary measures, including military ones, in order to accomplish the adopted resolutions. This kind of operations is organized and conducted by a state, group of state, alliance or coalition and imply the use of force. Missions as IFOR, KFOR represented the accomplishment of this kind of operations. In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, the solution proved to work out since it managed to put an end to hostilities and pass to the implementation of post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction, creating this way the conditions to make secure and pacify these areas, considered to be traditionally conflictual, should it be religious or civilizational<sup>14</sup>.

*The peace-building operations* refer to activities aiming to support nations building and preserve peace after a conflict came to an end. In the case of these operations, the mandate is comprehensive given by the implications of a state reconstruction. Within the framework of peace-building operations, the military and civil components collaborate on the basis of the same concept that aims to reducing the vulnerability of the newly implemented political, economic, social and military structures and to combat the asymmetric threats and the new terrorism phenomenon<sup>15</sup>. The societies previously involved in armed conflicts are generally vulnerable, therefore it is necessary that to have involved in all these processes of stabilization and post-conflict reconstruction not only security bodies, but also other political organizations, regional security structures etc.

*The humanitarian actions* have as main objective providing humanitarian aid in case of conflicts, humanitarian and natural disasters. The participants, UN agencies, governments, non-governmental organizations, strive to coordinate their that often necessitate the

logistical support of multinational forces, as the only way to apply and assure assistance programmes. Humanitarian actions do not represent a distinctive stage, being developed alongside peace support operations, from those of peace-making to the peacekeeping ones. The North Atlantic Alliance and the European Union pay special attention to humanitarian actions and missions. This kind of actions was developed in support of the refugees of Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kosovo etc.

*The save and rescue actions* are specific to the complex situations caused by natural and ecologic disasters and are developed using specialized forces and means, particularly those of civil emergency, to which multinational forces take part effectively or through logistic support.

The peace support operations are part of the strategy of crisis and conflict management by the international community through its bodies and organizations. The essential purpose of these ones is to stop in due time the armed confrontations, to impose the path toward negotiations to the involved parties, to assure the conditions for the rehabilitation and re-building of the infrastructure of the areas affected by conflict, to participate at the former contending parties' reconciliation to participate at the economic and social reconstruction, to assure the transition to normal life, to participate at the process of democracy building and to preserve peace and international security in post-conflict areas. The new challenges, vulnerabilities and asymmetric threats on the international relations arena should be treated as a priority and in appropriate way, in a participative and co-operative spirit, since the instability factors can create the premises for an international crisis that was not solved in an appropriate way, to evolve toward an armed conflict. In the post Cold War period, the armed conflicts recorded a diverse typology, becoming more numerous and more violent<sup>16</sup>.

Therefore, it is necessary to continue while implementing the preventive strategies

and policies, the demarches of development and implementation of post-conflict strategies aiming to providing the necessary forces and means.

Taking into account that some areas are traditionally inclined to conflict, the

international community should develop a specific approach for each of them in order to stop the conflicts during the early stage or to channel them towards non-violent forms, therefore adapting the strategies of combating the new threats and especially terrorism.

#### **b. Romanian Participation in International Missions**

Romania is deeply involved in the international efforts of managing the new global challenges to the international peace and security.

Consequently, Romania has participated to numerous peacekeeping, crisis response and combating terrorism operations with military and police personnel. Participation to these operations underlines Romania's commitment in combating the new risks to the international security, as part of its security policy. The strategic partnership with the United States, based on the existence of common interests in the Euro-Atlantic space, also strengthens this demarche.

NATO, adapting its missions and capabilities, demands the new member states to adapt and to intensify the process of internal reform in order to integrate in an organization that is itself found in a process of transformation. On the long run, the new risks demand multinational approaches and solutions. NATO's transformation can be placed in a wider institutional context, in which the organizations that have responsibilities in the field of security (UN, NATO, EU, and OSCE) consolidate their own capacities of preventing and managing the crises<sup>17</sup>.

The activity of the UN continues to confer the proper framework in which Romania can affirm itself as a regional and global factor of stability. In its contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations, Romania has assumed a number of commitments, such as the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding with the UN, and has participated to a number of missions, such as those from Iraq-Kuwait, Somalia, Angola, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo etc.

On October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2003, Romania became a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for a two-year mandate (2004-2005), thus actively contributing to the international peace and security, defending human rights and directly involving itself in resolving global issues. At the same time, Romania supports the internal reform of the UN, such as the strengthening of the role of the UN Security Council. During its mandate, Romania was actively involved in the debates and activities of the Security Council concerning the global war on terror, other non-conventional threats, consolidating peace, stabilization and democratic reconstruction of the states etc.

National security demands the direct involvement in maintaining the regional and international stability, as regional instability can have negative effects on the national security.

As part of its national security, Romania places a special importance on its political and military commitments in supporting the processes of stabilization and democratization in its proximity. This approach is part of a wider regional vision that includes South-East Europe, Black Sea area, Middle East and Central Asia.

Romania's involvement in the regional affairs materializes in political and military demarches with the purpose of resolving conflicts and preventing their escalation, as well as, supporting an efficient international co-operation in order to achieve these goals<sup>18</sup>.

Romanian Armed Forces participate to peace support operations under NATO and EU command and under UN and OSCE mandate with national contingents or within

multinational forces and regional initiatives of security.

Romania also contributes to actions of humanitarian assistance, search and rescue and disaster relief within multinational missions. Romanian Armed Forces take part in military operations within coalitions, alongside other states, thus supporting its allies and partners in the fight against terrorism and in ensuring the international stability.

Romania's contribution to the regional security certifies its role of contributor in the field of security, thus ensuring its own stability, on one hand, and demonstrating its willingness to act as a NATO and EU member state, on the other hand. Romania is actively involved in the regional initiatives of cooperation and participates with forces and military capabilities in peace support operations under the mandate of the international organizations. Romania has forces available for peacekeeping missions under UN and OSCE mandate and for regional multinational forces, such as the Multinational Peace Force South-Eastern Europe (MPFSEE) – SEEBRIG<sup>19</sup>, SHIRBRIG, BLACKSEAFOR, Romanian-Hungarian Battalion, TISA Engineers Battalion etc.

Starting from 1991, Romania has been actively involved in UN peacekeeping operations. Until now, Romania has participated with more than 11,000 military personnel to peace support operations with a wide range of forces: Infantry and Engineers Battalions, field hospital, Military Police, transport facilities, military observers, staff officers. The wide range of military operations, from humanitarian assistance and reconstruction to combat, directly contributed to the training of the personnel and to the implementation of the interoperability standards with NATO forces, but also to the defining of the integration level of Romanian Armed Forces, according to the lessons learned from the participation to multinational missions<sup>20</sup>.

For instance, Romanian Armed Forces participated to already ended peace support operations under NATO command – *IFOR (Bosnia-Herzegovina)* 20.03-30.11.1996, *SFOR (Bosnia-Herzegovina)* 01.12.1996-02.12.2004; under EU command – *Concordia, Allied Harmony (FYROM)* 10.06-15.12.2003; under UN mandate – *UNOSOM II (Somalia)* 06.07.1993-26.10.1994, *UNAMIR II (Rwanda)* 09.03-15.04.1994, *UNAVEM III (Angola)* 17.05.1995-08.07.1997, *MONUA (Angola)* 30.06.1997-26.02.1999, *UNIKOM (Iraq-Kuwait)* 23.04.1991-22.03.2003, *UNMA (Angola)* 01.09.2002-01.02.2003; under OSCE mandate – *ALBA (Albania)* 14.04-24.07.1997, *GROM (Republic of Moldova)* 19.04.1992-01.02.1993, *KVM (Kosovo)* 20.08.2000-23.05.2003, *Monitoring Mission in FYROM* 15.10.2001-30.06.2003<sup>21</sup> and within multinational coalitions – operation *Desert Storm* 20.02-20.03.1991.

At present, Romanian Armed Forces participate to various peace support and combating terrorism operations under NATO command – *KFOR (Kosovo)* since 01.03.2000, *NATO HQ Sarajevo* since 02.12.2004, *ISAF (Afghanistan)* since 30.01.2002 and *NATO Training Mission (Iraq)* since August 2005; under EU command – *EUFOR*, mission *ALTHEA (Bosnia-Herzegovina)* since 02.12.2004; under UN mandate, with military observers and monitors – *MONUC (D.R. Congo)* since 23.10.1999, *UNMIK (Kosovo)* since 10.06.1999, *UNMEE (Ethiopia-Eritrea)* since 09.10.2000, *ONUCI (Côte d'Ivoire)* since 15.06.2003, *UNAMA (Afghanistan)* since 25.07.2003, *UNMIL (Liberia)* since 18.11.2003, *UNOMIG (Georgia)* since 2003, *UNMIS (Sudan)* since 12.11.2005 and *UNMIN (Nepal)* since January 2007 and within multinational coalitions – operation *Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan)* since 23.07.2002 and operation *Iraqi Freedom (Iraq)* since July 2003<sup>22</sup>.

At present, summarizing the numbers of the military personnel deployed in various operations theaters, the situations looks like this: peace support operations in the Balkans –

204 military personnel; peace support operations in Afghanistan – 854 military personnel; peace support operations in Iraq – 496 military personnel; military observers and monitors in missions under UN and OSCE aegis – 62 military personnel; staff and liaison officers in the HQs assigned to led the operations in Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq – 11 military personnel, thus resulting a total number of 1626 military personnel<sup>23</sup>.

Romanian Armed Forces are an active participant to the peace support operations in NATO and EU-led operations, under UN and OSCE mandate or within coalitions. The resulting experience can now be found in the new operational doctrines. A deeper understanding of this kind of operations, monitoring and evaluation the areas with a potential of conflict, especially those from Romania proximity (Balkans, Black Sea area, Middle East, Central Asia) constitute an important premise for the proper identification of the new challenges, risks and threats.

The continuation of Romania's involvement in this kind of operations will help better to train the forces that will take part in such operations; with or without of the host nation support.

The deployment of the Armed Forces to various operations theatres, the transformation of the classic concepts of territorial defense to expeditionary ones and the broadening of the role and missions of the Romanian Armed

Forces have definitely contributed to the gradual shaping of a new strategic profile.

From this perspective, the transformation of the defense policies is fundamental, the effort being translated from an approach based on ensuring the own security and the protection of the national territory to the embracement of a larger role in the regional security, and at present, it is witnessed the birth of new multi-regional demarches that bring together reconstruction and stabilization components in areas far from the European continent.

Romania has also fit its missions and capabilities according to its NATO membership. The range of objectives was therefore enlarged in order to include the training of the forces for common defense, the improvement of the capabilities for the entire range of crisis management operations, including those concerning the multinational operations for combating terrorism.

The role of Romanian Armed Forces in mediation, assistance and peacekeeping missions has grown significantly, being a consequence of the gradual transformation of Romania in a contributor to the regional and global security. The ended missions, as well as, the present and future ones, represent an important contribution to the professional process development of the Romanian Armed Forces personnel.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Grigore Alexandrescu, Gheorghe Văduva, *Acțiuni militare post-conflict*, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare, București, 2004, pp. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Dorel Dumitraș, Ion Giurcă, *Alianțele și coalitiile politico-militare*, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare, București, 2004, pp. 155-160.

<sup>4</sup> Grigore Alexandrescu, Gheorghe Văduva, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>6</sup> Keith Krause, „Conflict Prevention”, in *International Security. Challenges and prospects*, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Berne, 2003, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Eugen Bădălan, Teodor Frunzei, *Acțiunile militare altele decât războiul* Editura Militară, București., 2001, pp. 149-156.

<sup>8</sup> Valeriu Nicuț, „Armonizări conceptuale în managementul crizelor în contextul apartenenței României la NATO”, in *România. Membru al Alianței Nord-Atlantice* Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare, București., 2004, pp. 63-64.



<sup>9</sup> Marina Ottaway, „Promoting Democracy after Conflict. The Difficult Choices”, in *International Studies Perspectives*, No. 4/2003, p. 316.

<sup>10</sup> *Istanbul Summit Communiqué*, [www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-096e.htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2004/p04-096e.htm)

<sup>11</sup> Klaus Reinhardt, *Lessons Learned as Commander KFOR in Kosovo*.

[www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/Studies/volume\\_9/reinhardt.htm](http://www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/Studies/volume_9/reinhardt.htm)

<sup>12</sup> Kurt R. Spillmann, Thomas Bernauer, Jürg M. Gabriel, Andreas Wenger, Yvonne Rosteck, *Peace Support Operations: Lessons Learned and Future Perspectives*, [www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/Studies/volume\\_9/general.htm](http://www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/Studies/volume_9/general.htm)

<sup>13</sup> Eugen Bădălan, Teodor Frunzeti, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> John Mackinlay, *The Development of Peacekeeping Forces*,

[www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/Studies/volume\\_9/mackinlay.htm](http://www.fsk.ethz.ch/documents/Studies/volume_9/mackinlay.htm)

<sup>15</sup> Doron Zimmermann, *The Transformation of Terrorism*,

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<sup>16</sup> Stephen J. Blank, *Rethinking Asymmetric Threats*. [www.comw.org/rma/fulltext/0309blank.pdf](http://www.comw.org/rma/fulltext/0309blank.pdf)

<sup>17</sup> *Carta Albă*. Romanian Ministry of Defense website, [www.mapn.ro](http://www.mapn.ro)

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> SEEBRIG website, [www.seebrig.org](http://www.seebrig.org)

<sup>20</sup> Călin Hentea, Cornel Scafeș, Horia Șerbănescu, *Armata română în misiuni internaționale. 1991-2003*, Editura C.N.I. “CORESI”, București, 2004, *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Călin Hentea, Laurențiu Sfinteș, *Armata română în misiuni de pace. 1991-1998*. Editura Militară, București, 1998, *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Romanian Ministry of Defense website, International Missions, [www.mapn.ro](http://www.mapn.ro)

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.