

NATIONAL DEFENCE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract:

In the paper, there is presented a perspective grounded on data and information collected from public and other sources on the bi-directional relation between Romania's country defence and its sustainable development in a predictable future under safety circumstances provided with determination and political will supported by a reasonable and credible armed retaliation capacity against a potential aggressor.

Keywords: *national defence, sustainable development, the European Union, NATO, new US politics.*

1. Introduction

The concept of **sustainable development** is discussed in various political and economic environments since 1972. That year, the **United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm** made the issue of environmental damage as a result of human activities that put danger to the future of mankind itself to be taken seriously for the first time.

The concept of **sustainable development** designates all the forms and methods of socio-economic development that primarily focus on ensuring a balance between social aspects, economic and environmental factors and elements of natural capital.

The most well-known definition of sustainable development is certainly the one given by the **World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)** in the report "Our Common Future", also known as

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the Brundtland Report: **“Sustainable development is development that aims to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”¹.**

Sustainable development pursues and tries to find a stable theoretical framework for decision-making in any situation where a human-environment relation is found, whether it is environmental, economic or social.

Although initially sustainable development was intended to be a solution to the ecological crisis caused by intense industrial exploitation of resources and continuous degradation of the environment, and first of all seeking to preserve the quality of the environment, the concept has now expanded on the quality of life in its complexity, and in economic and social fields. The concern for justice and equity between states, not just between generations, also became the subject of sustainable development.

The concept was originally linked to environmental issues and the crisis of natural resources, especially those related to energy 30 years ago. The term itself is very young and was imposed **in the summer of 1992 after the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro.**

Sustainability stems from the idea that human activities are dependent on the surrounding environment and resources. Health, social safety and economic stability of society are essential in defining the quality of life.

It should be noted that before 1992 there were some activities that prepared the configuration of the Sustainable Development content.

Thus, in 1983, the **World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)**, headed by Gro Brundtland, began work following a resolution adopted by the **United Nations General Assembly.**

Two years later, in 1985, an ozone hole across the Antarctic is discovered, and the Vienna Convention seeks to find solutions to reduce the consumption of ozone-depleting substances that surround the planet. In 1986, following the Chernobyl catastrophe of April 30, it is issued the so-called Brundtland Report of WCED, entitled “Our Common Future”, which gives the highest quoted definition of sustainable development, as shown above.

¹ http://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dezvoltare_durabil%C4%83

At the same time, the Brundtland Report admits that economic development cannot be stopped, but that strategies must be changed to fit the environmental boundaries offered by the planet's environment and resources. At the end of the report, WCED advocated the need to organize an international conference on sustainable development.

Thus, **in 1992, the “Earth Summit”** took place in **Rio de Janeiro**, attended by representatives from about 170 states. Several conventions on climate change (reducing methane and carbon dioxide emissions), biological diversity (conservation of species), and massive deforestation have been adopted following the meeting. Also, a plan to support sustainable development, Agenda 21, has been established.

Ten years after the Rio Conference in 2002, the Summit on Sustainable Development took place in Johannesburg.

From the studied materials one may conclude that many scientists connected to the complex problem of sustainable development have noticed and demonstrated some negative phenomena, which compromise the future of the Planet:

- The tendency to exhaust the natural resources of energy, raw materials and food;
- Consuming renewable resources at a rate superior to their regeneration capacity;
- Physical decay and pollution of some vital environmental factors: water, air, soil.

It is noteworthy that the European Strategy for Sustainable Development was adopted at the European Union level at the European Council in Göteborg in June 2001. The overall objectives of the Strategy are as follows:

- Limiting climate change and costs and its negative effects on society and the environment;
- Ensuring that the transport system meets the economic, social and environmental needs of our society, minimizing its undesirable impacts on the economy, society and the environment;
- Promoting sustainable production and consumption patterns;
- Improving management and avoiding overexploitation of natural resources, recognizing the value of ecosystem services.
- Promoting good public health in a fair manner and improving protection against health threats.

- Creating a social inclusion society by considering solidarity between and within generations, ensuring security and increasing the quality of citizens' lives as a precondition for preserving individual well-being.

- Active promotion of sustainable development on a large scale ensuring that its internal and external policies and international commitments are respected.

I have presented above all the concerns, objectives and projects of Sustainable Development that have taken place under the auspices of the UN and the European Union without going into too much detail. Those interested can easily find information of interest. But let us look at the situation in Romania.

2. Sustainable Development in Romania

Sustainable development has become an objective of the European Union since 1997, when it was included in the Maastricht Treaty, and since 2001 at the Göteborg Summit was adopted the EU Sustainable Development Strategy, to which it has been added an external dimension in Barcelona in 2002.

Further steps have been taken so that the **Sustainable Development Strategy** for an enlarged European Union based on the Göteborg strategy and the outcome of the process started in 2004 was adopted in **June 2006**.

In Romania, after 1992, some timid steps have been taken to protect the environment, in the context of UN documents elaboration. During the pre-accession period to the European Union, the government and the central and local authorities of it have begun a sustained work of documentation and connection to EU actions on the Sustainable Development Strategy.

In 2008, "**National Strategy for Sustainable Development of Romania - Horizons 2013-2020-2030**" is finalized. The main author of the document was Dr. Călin Georgescu, Executive Director of the National Centre for Sustainable Development in Romania (1997-2013).

We will not go into the detailed presentation of the "**National Strategy for Sustainable Development of Romania. Horizons 2013-2020-2030**", because for those interested, the document is available on the Internet.

It is enough to show that the work aims at achieving the following short, medium and long term strategic objectives:

Horizon 2013 – Achieving organized incorporation of sustainable development principles and practices into all of Romania's public programs and policies as an EU member state.

Horizon 2020 - Achieving the current EU member states level on the main indicators of sustainable development.

Horizon 2030 - Significant appropriation of Romania to the average level of that year of the EU member states in terms of sustainable development indicators.

It is worth mentioning that after the public presentation in 2008 of the “**National Strategy for Sustainable Development of Romania. Horizons 2013-2020-2030**” almost all ministries, county councils, local authorities to the commune level and many Romanian and foreign companies operating in Romania have elaborated and communicated strategies, projects and programs that are in line with the requirements of sustainable development.

We find that at the theoretical level we have moved incredibly quickly and often consistently in terms of directives and deadlines to be implemented. Those interested can find more than a thousand titles on the internet with strategies, projects and plans.

The authorities' need to cover the new area of sustainable development has led to the emergence of bureaucratic structures at all levels, (few) specialists were employed and, of course, many political clientele was willing to occupy some sinecure positions without working too much.

From the study of the UN and EU documents on sustainable development as well as from the “National Strategy for Sustainable Development of Romania” we have not even found a sentence referring to the security of the countries engaged in the project or any reference to defence, including by military means (if necessary) of development in an environment of cooperation and peace.

I think it is common sense to find that where countries and whole areas are devastated by war, there can be no more development. The examples are numerous and can serve as a lesson for naive people who still believe in eternal peace.

And in the case of Romania there is a mutual inter-condition between Sustainable Development and National Defence, of course, in relation to the cooperation with NATO and EU partners.

One element of concern about NATO's solidity is the new US policy which, through President Donald Trump, often questions the steadiness of the alliance and its validity without subjective interpretations of Article 5 of the NATO Treaty. That is why the member countries, including Romania, have to take own defence measures under all conditions and against any potential aggressor.

3. Some critical considerations regarding governance in the context of the provisions of the "Sustainable Development Strategy of Romania"

It is mainly about the transition from theory to practice, a process that in our country, for many and varied reasons, occurs extremely cumbersome and sometimes it does not happen at all. Let us explain.

The subject of good governance is increasingly present in public space in Romania, being analyzed from different angles of view by politicians, government officials, more or less independent analysts, as well as by the so-called opinion-makers who operate through media vectors.

A study on the 28-year of post-communism highlights flagrant contradictions in the expression of positions, in the exposed points, determined by the membership in the indigenous political and influence groups, and by the influences of multinational and national foreign actors acting only according to their own interests: geopolitical, economic, financial, military, informational and other. To blame only on the phenomena of globalization and their effects on Romania is unacceptable, ignoring the flagrant knowingly mistakes made by the Romanian politicians and governors who "governed" between 1990 and 2018.

Unfortunately, these mistakes, economic and financial mistakes, generalized corruption, social tissue dissolution, bad policies in the fields of education, health, defence and environment have never been analyzed and assumed, and thus not corrected so far (September 2018). Taking into account the autism of the so-called political class good signs cannot be seen in the short and medium term (2018-2030).

In the following, I intend to bring to light some aspects and phenomena that have happened in the last 28 years, which have affected us all as citizens and Romania as a European country with an old history and civilization.

3.1. Geographical layout and population

Romania is a state located in Southeast Europe (in some specialists' perspective) and in Central Europe (in others specialists' perspective), given the geographical reality that Europe extends from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains. From a multi-millenary historical misfortune, we are placed in a zone of geopolitical turbulence, between European and Euro-Asian powers with opposing interests and often hostile to stability and peace. Events in the period 2014-2018 confirm the expansion of military conflicts and threats.

Romania has an area of 238,391 km² (81st place in the world) and a population of 21,462,000 (54th place) with a density of 90 inhabitants/km². These data are known by everyone but ignored with serenity by those who "planned" and still "plan" our destiny. The harmoniously structured aspects of relief (mountains, hills, and plains), access to the Black Sea (247 km of seaside) and the indisputable advantages of the Danube River and the inland water network are also known. To these are added important mineral resources and fertile soil. What we do with these rare gifts of nature: we sell them for nothing, we administer them badly, we rob them (see the case of the forests), and we destroy the social fabric of the country, including the much-tried Romanian peasant.

Here, in the context, a point of view publicly expressed by a well-known scholar²:

"The predators who ruled and rule the country ignore the future and do not prepare for it; they are only interested in the present, to be able to steal now, when the mind of the people is still enslaved. Those who rule Romania are made, not born. They are the new human created before '89, they are mutants, another species! Unfortunately, we are witnessing a total dissolution of the country. And intellectuals keep silent. You rarely find an upright intellectual. Many of Romania's citizens can be compared to servants who serve a mafia system. Politicians, like intellectuals, are looking "to speak nicely" so as not to "disturb", they all want to be politically correct ..."

² Dr. Călin Georgescu, former Executive Director of the National Center for Sustainable Development in Romania (1997-2013), and from 2013 the President of the European Research Center in Vienna, the Club of Rome. Interview published in the newspaper « Formula AS » on Wednesday, March 05, 2014.

The direct question, not at all rhetorical, is how we capitalize on this potential, given the truth of some foreign and Romanian analysts, who argue with geopolitical, economic, financial and military arguments that **“Romania is a rich country with a land too fertile to be kept without a fight”**. In this point besides the other vital components of the statehood appears the defence component (the military and the other structures in the national defence system). We will see what has happened with the “defence” over the last 28 years, as well as the catastrophic upheaval since 2017 initiated by the current government.

3.2. Economy and finances

The economy of a state is the pivot of its existence and permanence, as under the conditions of the accentuation of the (few) positive and (many) negative positive elements of globalization was also imposed an increasingly accelerated rhythm by the great economic powers of the world, also under the influence of multinational corporations increasingly greedy and destructive to the world’s natural environment.

“The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century are detached by the amplitude and transformations of economic, political and cultural globalization. Globalization - through the free movement of capital and goods - favoured both the great traditional powers and the emerging powers. States (powers) are more easily classified by reference to their GDP”.

Currently the ranking is headed by the United States, the European Union, China, Japan, Germany, France and the United Kingdom. Exact figures for 2015 are found on various media. GDP per capita varies from 134,400 USD (Liechtenstein), 108,800 (Luxembourg), 84,490 (Norway), 47,380 (United States) to 180 USD (Burundi and DR Congo). These huge discrepancies confirm the bigger gaps that are getting worse, with more and more serious political, demographic and economic consequences in the future.

Romania with a GDP per capita of USD 7,540 is among the last countries in Europe in this chapter. Why do we have this situation?

Possible answer:

- The destruction of national industrial heritage **in the last 28 years** amounting to approximately € 1.6 billion (public sources);
- Only 30% of Romania’s GDP is made from industrial activity;

- Chaotic and irresponsible loans, which reached EUR 100 billion in 2018 (without any effect on infrastructure and investment);
- The alienation of industrial assets and natural resources (oil, gas, aluminium, gold, rare metals, etc.);
- The compensations in the National Authority for Property Restitution (politically controlled) “style” of former owners or “advisors” who have bought the disputed litigious rights, totalling approximately EUR 15 billion, of which 70% were fraudulently over-valued;
- The destruction of the banking system with Romanian capital, so that today more than 80% of the banks operating in Romania are foreign, with no interest in the development of the country in which they operate, oriented solely on the extortion of local population and entrepreneurs;
- Reducing the country’s foreign reserves to € 32 billion and to a 100-tonne gold reserve, caused by the huge external debt and the overwhelming interest payments to the main players of globalization (the IMF and the World Bank) and the destruction of “emerging economies” and small states;
- Many other causes that can be identified by economists and financiers, which are supposed to still care by the country called Romania.

And to have a clearer picture of the situation, this is what the authors say in “World 2013”³:

*“The great powers intervene directly and indirectly, including by military means, in getting through the corporations of the access to financial, natural resources and markets. National and regional logistics, international legal regulations, from the WTO to the IMF and the WB are all the results of the action of important states in support of major corporations. **“Withdrawing the state from the economy”** is just a slogan or a strategy of separating corporations in small and medium-sized countries from their own states and passing them under the control of multinationals”.*

A similar point of view is expressed by Dr. Călin Georgescu⁴:

“Corporations currently dictate politics in much of the world. Following just their own profit, they hide reality, undermining the future of younger generations and depriving the nations of authentic leaders and

³ *Ibidem.*

⁴ Dr. Călin Georgescu, Interview, „Formula AS” newspaper, Wednesday, March 05, 2014.

patriots. 200 multinationals are stronger than 150 states together! The economic field is headed by the IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization. This troika has led to economic collapse and ecological disaster in many places around the world. Instead of serious economic policies, Romanians are offered bread and a circus: buying other people's goods and thinking that you are living well. This happens on a background of unprecedented poverty and moral decadence".

In my opinion, it is important to review, in this contrast, who, how and why were acted through unconsciously and/or betrayal actions on "Roşia Montană" and "Pungeşti". In recent months the pressures and statements of some interested politicians have been emphasized in favour of the gold mining exploitation of Roşia Montană.

3.3. Romania's current social layer, reconsideration of historical role and cultural traditions

During our known history (at least 2,500 years) a cultural model of our traditions and customs has been established and consolidated, which together with other elements contributed to the survival of the Romanian people under the most tremendous conditions. This social and cultural tissue (territory, language, culture and habits, traditions) has been a real rock in our history.

For many years the vectors and beneficiaries of globalization with the support of indigenous spoilers (animated by immediate and easy gains and the mistrust they have joined) have been attempted and have largely succeeded in breaking this rock.

Let us explain:

- The rushed import of foreign cultural models, in flagrant context with Romania's traditions and realities;
- Falsification of history by "specialists" specifically assigned by foreign "actors";
- Atomizing family and its values;
- Aggressive promotion through media of non-culture, aggression, immorality and bad taste, all contributing to the moral disruption of citizens and, above all, of young people;
- The concurrent attack on the majority religion in Romania (89% are declared Orthodox Christians);
- The disorganization of education through the so-called reforms (which occur from six to six months) a more inept and anti-national one than another (see the disappearance of national history in school curricula following the decision of the Brussels' "technocrats" and their descendants to governance in 2017);
- The development of envy and social hatred between various socio-professional groups, promoted by the Romanian Governments (to study carefully the permanent attacks against the military launched by the Boc Government in 2010 and continued to this day through the wilful and irresponsible assimilation of the citizens of the country against the Army and the military).

Here is what author Dr. Calin Georgescu says⁵:

"Unfortunately, in the post-December Romanian politics, a long-term vision is lacking. The map of the future is missing. If Romania understands what a huge chance it has in a full crisis, it would make a gigantic leap, not just to restore it, but also to take an unbeatable leadership position, at least in the Balkan region. We could restore social justice, defend the sovereignty of the country and preserve the traditions of the Romanian people. Let us not forget that Romania is not just some country. We, the Romanians, are a civilization. That is why Romania's foreign policy needs are, in particular, the preservation of the state's identity in the face of the attack of non-state entities, i.e. corporations and "strategic investors" like speculative funds. Romania needs a state that serves citizens with abnegation and not one who serves the international capital. Strengthening

⁵ Ibidem.

and developing the modern unitary national state must be our motto, as it was our predecessors' motto. Strengthening the state is essential in the times we live. The state-citizen binomial relationship is the one on which much of human history has worked".

I am convinced that sociologists, historians, philosophers and other culture people in Romania who have preserved their national sentiment and defend our values will present many other aspects of the attacks on the "national core" and will propose ways of countering them.

3.4. Political and administrative management quality

In the 28 years of "original democracy", political decision-makers and central and local governments officials created an ocean of frustration and dissatisfaction to the Romanian citizens. Let us just identify a few phenomena:

- **Parliament** and its officials have entered the top of corruption, incompetence and mistrust (only 12% of Romanians still trust this institution); they make every effort to maintain at this level;

- **Governments and all ministers** after December 1989 acted without vision, often emotionally and on short-term, contributing to the destruction of the industrial heritage, to the indebtedness of the country, to the destruction of social cohesion and the impoverishment of the population, while encouraging the theft of public wealth; the expansion of corruption at all levels and in all state institutions and agencies. The main concern of today's government is to save the corrupt politicians and the administration;

- The majority of the **parties** are, in fact, interest groups, often criminal groups, with no interest in reforming and serving the public interest;

- **Expanding** the bureaucratic hydrocephalic apparatus that only consumes producing unnecessary paperwork and making life hard for Romanians (over 300 government agencies, commissions and committees, with hundreds of employees each). In fact, these structures are maintained and new ones created for the political clientele and relatives;

- **Irresponsible appointments** in positions of ministers, state secretaries and directors of political and other clients, without any training in the field they were led to (examples: secretary of general school at the Ministry of the Interior, accountant specialized in health, lawyer with criminal issues in transport, philosopher in defence, etc.). These strange

appointments have condemned Romania to stagnation and poverty because these “people” have neither the training nor the desire for a long-term vision of national interest.

At this point, thousands of pages can be written with facts and arguments that demonstrate the most disastrous political and administrative management for Romania and its citizens.

That is why I consider it necessary to present some appreciations from an official document of the Romanian state on “threats, risks, and vulnerabilities” (ARV) ⁶:

- **of a social nature** on the basis of trends such as: demographic decline, emigration of active population, actions that have the effect of degradation of environmental factors, deficiencies in national health systems, education and social assistance, distortions in the labour market, tendency to escalate the criminal phenomenon (proliferation of the underground economy, tax evasion); the low degree of resistance without major turmoil on foreign markets, especially in the financial-banking area;

- **corruption** - which affects the rule of law and confidence in the act of justice and in state institutions, generates damages to the economy and affects the country’s development potential, good governance, decision making for the benefit of citizens and communities; provokes dysfunctions in the absorption of European funds, the use of public money in agriculture, energy, environmental protection, justice, health, education and scientific research; critical infrastructure scarcity; the absence of real multiannual budget planning, which would lead to the assumption and observance of investment programs; the limited capability of central and local government to implement national and European public policies; the deficiency that affects the capacity of state institutions to evolve and mitigate the impact of risks and threats on these systems; resource scarcity and incoherence in managing the various types of risks.

And another statement⁷:

⁶ *Ghidul Strategiei Naționale de Apărare a țării pentru perioada 2015-2019*, document aprobat prin Hotărârea CSAT nr. 128, din 10.12.2015 (In English: Guide for the National Defence Country Strategy for the period 2015-2019, approved by the Supreme Defence Council Decision no. 128/10.12.2015).

⁷ Dr. Călin Georgescu, Interview, „Formula AS” newspaper, Wednesday, March 05, 2014.

• **“The current Romanian state is a weak state.** It acts according to myths and biases, takes important decisions based on wishful thinking (the thinking that distorts reality according to its own desires). Romanian society differs from Europe’s mature economies, meaning that if there is a government changing, nothing serious happens; the economy goes forward, the institutional structure works. **While in Romania we have no efficient management,** and management means vision and perspective. The present Romanian state no longer exists because it no longer functions in institutional terms”. It does not have a way under the conditions of changing and 2-3 times a year.

What can be said about the political and administrative “management” in Romania? Of course, many things can be said, but 90% negative aspects.

3.5. Sustainable development between reality and necessity

On this complex and often controversial topic, tons of books, studies, articles and projects have been written. Since 1992, I have heard and read how top politicians said, without blinking, how well they understand sustainable development and how they will do in the shortest possible time a sustainable Romania in economic, demographic and environmental terms. Absolutely none of these promises have ever occurred. They did not even have the common sense to apologize.

The reverse, perverse effects of sustainability were instead the result:

- Mass **deindustrialization**;
- The sale of strategic assets to foreign companies (often unknown), such as oil, natural gas, aluminium, other important natural resources;
- The massive **pollution** of the environment due to the lack of intervention by competent institutions and to corruption;
- Massive **deforestation**, of a clear criminal and anti-national character, guaranteed by corrupt politicians, these criminal acts continue in 2018;
- **Increase of the demographic decline** (-2% per year) so that in 2040, in the optimistic version, only 16 million Romanians (including those going abroad to work);

- **Sabotage and punishment** of the small domestic agricultural producer, through lack of financial support, taxes, purchase of production at prices of nothing (example: 50 cents per litre of milk?!);

- Planned **destruction** of irrigation systems and lack of effort to restore them.

Romania has the “National Sustainable Development Strategy” since 2008, but according to the lead author - no sentence in this document has been put into practice.

Things to be done, even with a minimum of political will and good faith:

- Legislative and constitutional strengthening of the state. Laws effectively managed by officials in whose authority and competence the people trust; abandoning the struggle of corrupt politicians against justice.

- Launching research and development with the involvement of the Romanian Academy, universities and other institutions and research structures.

- Strong monetary and fiscal policies. Taxes must be lower. Keep the national currency until the Romanian State is able to integrate politically and economically into the Eurozone.

- Developing transport routes.

- A regional and global foreign policy to promote reconciliation.

- Transforming a handicap into economic niche: Romanian agriculture.

- Forest protection and environmental conservation.

- Sustainable development - national concept.

- Person's security: health strategy based on prevention, healthy food, education through movement, stable demographic policy.

These actions require concrete plans, in the long run, to transcend the clientele and group interests of the successive governments, as we see more and more often.

4. National defence between theory and practice

For Romania, the strengthening of defence structures (primarily the Army, but also the other components of the Defence, Security and Public Order National System) is a **vital** condition of statehood, of maintaining sovereignty and national integrity.

A brief analysis of the past years of global and regional events show a worrying increase in risks, threats and vulnerabilities, including in our geographical area, deeds that endanger peace and sustainable development projects.

Romania is situated near some turbulent areas, including from a military point of view (Ukraine-Russia, Turkey-Russia, the Western Balkans and the Middle East).

It would have been expected from the Romanian power structures (President, Parliament, Government, Ministries, Central and Local Authorities) to become aware in the 28 years of the role of the defence and of the Army to maintain the Romanian state. On the contrary - the actions of the current political power are firmly directed towards the destruction of the remaining Army.

Instead of this logical course, in the national interest, serious phenomena have occurred, with short, medium and long-term negative consequences:

- The so-called Army reform has been summed up to a single dimension - the destruction of many military units and the massive reduction of personnel;

- These irresponsible reductions have not been offset, as promised, with modern weapons equipment and systems;

- The annual budgets of MoND were, on paper, between 1.2-1.4% of GDP, but in reality, by perverse manoeuvres they were not higher than 0.9-1.1% of GDP (provided that through the Accession Treaty to NATO (2004) Romania committed to defence expenses of 2.28% of GDP); The current government has achieved the “performance” of 0.7% of GDP in 2017, instead of 2% politically assumed, and will hardly succeed 1.81% in 2018.

- Active and reserve military are attacked and insulted since 2010, the tone being given by the President, the Prime Minister and other “politicians”. For this reason, their morale has fallen dramatically with consequences in the event of a military conflict (perhaps this is what we

have wanted and still want). I do not know of a case in a country in the Northern Hemisphere where politicians at the forefront of the state are doing these incalculable facts;

- The Army's top military functions (but also from other institutions) are increasingly aggressively promoted obedient and politically supported persons, instead of professionals and those who still believe in patriotism and moral values;

- It has been obsessively repeated since 2002, that we no longer need an army because NATO defends Romania. It is a big stupidity; NATO can defend us if we are not able to defend ourselves. In fact, many foreign analysts have told us this in the face (see statements by founder of STRATFOR - George Friedman);

- Older or newer weapons systems and equipment are devoid of normal maintenance and repair work (for example, the RTP/RMNC military communications network is abandoned since 2008 to date, reaching over 4,000 landmarks and subassemblies with repair needs and rapidly approaching the total collapse, under the gentle contemplation of the "responsible" people);

- The main provisions of the "**National Defence Strategy**"⁸ are not systematically followed by the pen in hand, to see what has been done and what has not (and who are the political and military responsible, who regard the document as a plain paper). In fact, they are well-known: the leaders of the ruling parties, the Prime Ministers and the numerous Ministers of "Defence";

- Another important document "**The Guide for the National Defence Strategy for the period 2015-2019**"⁹ makes a comprehensive and correct analysis of Romania's internal and external threats, risks and vulnerabilities and proposes several national security objectives. However, their fulfilment requires political will, important human, material and

⁸ *Strategia Națională de Apărare a țării, 09 iunie 2015*, Hotărârea Parlamentului nr. 33 din 23 iunie 2015, Monitorul Oficial, nr. 450, partea I, 23.06.2015 (In English: National Defence Strategy of the country, June 9, 2015, Parliament's Decision no. 33, June 23, 2015, Official Gazette no. 450, Part I, 23.06.2015).

⁹ *Ghidul Strategiei Naționale de Apărare a Țării, pentru perioada 2015-2019*, aprobat prin hotărârea C.S.A.T. din 10.12.2015 (In English: Guide for the National Defence Country Strategy for the period 2015-2019, approved by the Supreme Defence Council Decision no. 128/10.12.2015).

financial resources. Are current and future governors willing to grant them!? Until now (September 2018) the answer is definitely NOT;

- Multiannual endowment plans are a myth, a legend and have never worked. Each Government and every defence minister changes everything and takes it from scratch. Or it is known that a complex system of weapons or equipment cannot be achieved in one year. For some, 10-15 years are needed, with rhythmical budget allocations, to the level required by plans and projects. But who can understand the phenomenon!? Until now, no government understood or wanted to understand it;

- The planned destruction of domestic production capacities in the field of defence (both of the state-owned enterprises and of the Romanian private companies) took place and continues. A book can be written about this phenomenon and maybe someone will write it;

- The Romanian Armed Forces is as poor as possible in important chapters for discouragement and retaliation, for example: modern multirole combat aircraft, attack helicopters, anti-tank means, armoured tanks and transporters with increased capabilities to survive and fight in combat, etc.;

- The fighter's equipment is still obsolete and far from modern standards. Probably it is believed that if the soldier dies is no problem, he will be an "exaggerated" pension in the minus. We will never see politicians or sons of politicians fighting with the gun in hand if needed. They will be found in tax havens and other exotic places where they have secured their fortunes.

I believe that at this point we have to rest more on the demo-military component of Romania's defence, important in the current geopolitical context:

Romania population	Citizens capable of military effort	Active military in peacetime	%	Reserve military	%
In 1989 year 22,800,000	6,840,000	340,000	1.48	820,000	3.6
In 2017 year 21,462,000	6,438,600	70,000	0.33	80,000	0.37

We notice a drastic reduction of 4.5 times of the military in peacetime and 9.75 times of the reservists mobilized in units increasing their numbers in the war. The presented numbers demonstrate a gross

irresponsibility of all those who have decided in the defence for the last 28 years.

First of all, we are a NATO and EU border country, then we are in an area with many risks and threats, and NATO defence devices are “shyly” moving to the East so Russia will not be upset. But Russia is mad at us for 300 years, in the 13 occupations it administered to us, whether we were allies or adversaries.

Given the above-mentioned realities and the fact that we are close to zero in the modern weapons chapter, it would have been necessary to have an army in peacetime numbering between 120,000-140,000 soldiers (fighters, not civilian political clients abundantly planted in central structures of MoND) and the number of persons able of mobilization in the first phase should be at least 400,000 people. It would have been an effort, but the defence of state and statehood costs everywhere in the world. Considering that a young man fit for the military service, who is unemployed, consumes resources, there would be added something up to the salary of 1,400 lei of a professional soldier and two problems would have been solved, one social and another military and of defence.

Another shortcoming is the fact that **4.5 million Romanians are** long-term left **abroad. At least one million of them** are fit for military service at war. But there is no way to take them back and, as some people publicly say, they do not want to die to defend the wealth of corrupts in Romania.

In conclusion to this chapter, we find out based on data and information from public sources that the defence of the country has been knowingly left out in the 28 years. Unfortunately, there are no signs that the situation could improve in the short and medium term, despite the development of defence planning documents and laws.

When the Prime Minister still in office declares with serenity, on September 12, 2017, that MoND has achieved until this date, only 8.5% of the 2017 Endowment Plan remains nothing to comment on.

5. Some conclusions

I cannot imagine for a moment that the current politicians and military in the top positions will be impressed by what a general in reserve thinks and writes. They could, however, note that many active, reserve and retreated officers think the same and are exasperated by the way the both, **Army and Defence**, are treated. There are strong indications that they are acting as planned for their destruction.

Some conclusions are required:

- **The Romanian society**, in its entirety, is disturbed by the chaotic, visionless policies in all areas of activity;

- **Citizens** do not understand why the political-economic mafia continues to steal undisturbed, daily appearing new cases of fraud in the media;

- Romania is living on debt, on the account of future generations that will probably no longer live in Romania.

- **Deindustrialisation** and destruction of small agricultural producers is continuing to grow;

- **The security of the citizen** is increasingly threatened by all sorts of crime clans covered by those who should, by attribution, cut them off;

- The moral degradation of youth through drug abuse, the dependence on TV broadcasts that promote violence, the livelier way of life with ever more grotesque accents **are accentuated**;

- **Education** continues to be the scene of unfortunate experiments with a pronounced anti-national character;

- **Health** is in focus only on paper, in plans and strategies, never applied;

- **Defence is a flower that is put on buttonhole only on 1st December. Everyone else with his business.**

- Under these conditions and the difficult to challenge realities as presented above, we can hardly talk about a Sustainable Development of Romania.



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