



HYBRID WAR ECONOMIC DETERMINATIONS WHICH FOLLOWED ROMANIA'S FORCED INDUSTRIAL DECLINE

Ilie-Răsvan DUMITRU, Ph.D. Candidate*

Romania's industrial decline, applied methodically and persistently after the 90s, seems not to be part of the natural path towards industry 4.0, but rather to be a systematic process of planned destruction and erasure of the post-December industry, on a new Valev Plan system conceived in the new world configuration artisans' secret laboratories. The hard insistence on most of the large industrial capacities and platforms systematic and planned demolition betrays obscure interests that can no longer be classified as obsolete or non-performing, but rather as inconvenient for foreign markets and foreign capitals. To better understand the mechanisms that acted in order to reset Romania and return it to a semi-agrarian colony status, exporting raw materials, natural resources and cheap labor, shaped as the heavy, petrochemical, food and car manufacturing industry destruction, we need to perform an in-depth analysis on the manifestation framework essence for the globalism supported processes which act as an ideology and globalization as a supra-state and neo-colonialist policy of the great international power centers.

Keywords: hybrid warfare; deindustrialization; state actors; corporations; economic assassins.

Industry has always been very important to economic development, becoming a secular obsession and the only one able to separate it from its ancient status as a colony of the great powers, in many countries, including Romania. Industry was seen as progress and an indispensable support of economic growth, through superior processing of resources and raw materials, multiplying their value, increasing the labor productivity and production factors, on account of knowledge exploitation and of human capital creative intelligence including new knowledge acquisition and improvement. A short historical review on industrialization shows us that the world's societies and states economic development went through a series of stages, which followed one after the other, from the stone, bronze and iron ages to what we currently call the industrial revolution. Since the industrial revolution concept emerged, four industrial revolutions have been identified and described, the last one being that of ICT information technologies and artificial intelligence that humanity is going through today. All industrial revolutions were differentiated and delimited, especially by the type of energy used and the succession of generations

of technologies, from those based on the physical effort of humans to the mechanical, electrical, electro-technical, chemical, biological and IT ones. Specific about these industrial revolutions is the fact that the one that followed was based on the infrastructure, technology and specialized work of the previous one, the new technology that occurred being built on the foundation of the previous one. Except for the latest industrial revolution that no longer requires the same volume of specialized labor nor the same industrial infrastructure, being more service-oriented and A.I.-based production and ITC, the other three industrial revolutions did not require a massive deindustrialization process, but an intense obsolete technologies upgrading process. Thus, Romania's deindustrialization process, applied methodically and persistently after the 1990s, does not represent a direct step towards the fourth industrial revolution, but rather seems to be an industry planned destruction and erasure systematic process before the 1990s, on a new *Valev Plan system*. The events after the 1990s point out the fact that in no communist state in the former Soviet sphere of influence was there such an insistence on the demolition of all industrial capacities and their effective deletion from the economic map of the states, as it happened in Romania. The persistence with which the systematic and planned destruction of large industrial capacities and platforms was

**The Ministry of Finance*
e-mail: dumitrurasvan@yahoo.com



done betrays obscure interests that can no longer be placed under the umbrella of classifying them as obsolete or non-performing, but rather as inconvenient for foreign markets and capitals. Basically, the fall of the communist bloc was by far an inevitable process due to the inefficiency of the planned and centralized economic system that did not allow for natural adjustment due to liberalism and the levers of the market economy, but seen in retrospect takes on all the forms of a hybrid war, aimed at monopolizing the markets and the resources of vulnerable states, weakened by the investment effort imprinted by the socialist policy. The socialist political system with Chinese characteristics, successfully promoted by the Chinese People's Republic, demonstrated to us that one could go from socialism to capitalism and in no other way than by destroying and resetting a country's industry.

In order to better understand the mechanisms that acted with the aim of resetting Romania and bringing it back to the status of a semi-agrarian colony, exporting raw materials, natural resources and cheap labor, achieved through the destruction of the heavy, petrochemical, food and car manufacturing industry, one needs to look at the globalism supported processes framework as an ideology and globalization as great international power centers policy. Viewed as politics, globalization does not mean only interconnection and interdependence between all the states of the world, including the close links between international markets. Globalism represents a current international capitalism supra-state policy, the difference between it and the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century modern colonialism being only the instruments used, the goal and the means remaining the same. Transnationals and international corporations, seen as an instrument of globalism, itself viewed as a new form of colonialism that represents nothing more than an economic dimension of a soft-power hybrid war subversive form, represent today the capitalist power centers spearhead. They are extremely active in promoting their own transnational corporations, to achieve the political objectives of enslaving, subjugating and cheaply extracting the peripheral states resources. In fact, the acquisition of weak or underdeveloped states' natural resources and product markets has

remained the basic policy of the power centers that hold technological supremacy and much of the world's industrial infrastructure. From this point of view, we can include the whole set of hybrid aggressions to which Romania was subjected after 1980 and especially after 1990, in order to enslave it through the systematic destruction of the industrial and agricultural infrastructure, with the obvious aim of diminishing the economic potential. The enormous potential of selling Western products in an impoverished market thirsty for the need for new generation goods, and against a global overproduction crisis, represented a contemporary *El Dorado* for all the international corporations that capitalized at an unprecedented pace due to the the Romanian state and population indebtedness, after 1989.

The lack of currency necessary to purchase modern technology, as well as the Western boycott regarding new technology transfer, led Romania to have a technology from the 70s and a paid staff that remained at the end of the 8th decade qualification level. Nonetheless, its infrastructure only required an upgrade for its relaunch after 1990, especially against Romania's opening to new markets. The fact that there was a specialized and skilled manpower, even if it was specialized on old technology, there was a fairly developed infrastructure present in industrial platforms employing thousands or tens of thousands of workers, there was a solid energy infrastructure, and a centralized energy market that could provide the necessary consumption for these industrial giants, which only requires vision, understanding, nationalist spirit and support from the new leaders (actually the 3-4 echelon of the old communist leaders), for the economic relaunch of the factories, on the background of the opening to new commercial markets in the West. Thus, an economy centered on industrial production, like the one before 1989, had a few important elements: energy, infrastructure, technology and specialized manpower. The hardest part in developing an economy, namely the development of integrated industrial platforms, had been secured in the last 50 years. Romania had managed to become independent both energetically and to ensure consumption needs from domestic production, through the construction of a set of power plants (hydro and thermal), combined, mining operations, factories, research institutes, food and agricultural

enterprises. A large part of these can no longer be found on the desert map of Romania's economy, the national industry having a similar fate to Carthage, which was wiped off the face of the earth after the Third Punic War (149-146 BC). We should remember that a labor force of 4.169 million employees was qualified in the 2.102 industrial units operating in 1989, out of the total of 10.94 million existing in the economy, in a population of 23.151,000 inhabitants.

According to statistical yearbooks, the number of companies decreased to 1.712 industrial enterprises employing 3.052 million people in 1991, returning to an average of 1.783 employees per company. In 2017, the statistical bulletin records 47.084 industrial companies in which only 1.259

from production an important mass of specialized and qualified labor force, which had to take the path of exodus in order to survive, this migration phenomenon being the great demographic problem in the 20th century Romania. In the last 100 year history this represents the Romania's third great demographic exodus in modern times, the first two being the great world wars and the post 1948 demographic catastrophe unfortunate consequence, when an extensive demographic cleansing process began in Stalinist Romania: class, ethnicity or political affiliation. According to the Ministry for Romanians Abroad 2019 annual activity report (Ministry for Romanian Abroad 2019), it is approximately 9.7 million Romanian speakers are estimated to live outside the country's borders, of

Table no. 1
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION EMPLOYED IN THE ECONOMY¹

Years	Total population ²	Population employed in the economy ³	Population employed in industry	
			Employees	% in total pop. employed
1950	15.872.624	8.377.200	1.000.700	12,0
1960	18.403.414	9.537.700	1.440.200	15,1
1970	20.252.541	9.875.000	2.276.800	23,0
1980	22.201.387	10.350.100	3.678.700	35,5
1985	22.724.836	10.586.100	3.927.800	37,1
1989	23.151.564	10.945.700	4.169.000	38,1

million employees were still employed, respectively an average of 27 employees per company. In 2014, 53.865 companies were active in the industry for which the average annual number of employees was 1.372 million. At the end of 2018, the industry sector registered 57.756 enterprises, respectively 10.5% of the total number of active enterprises in the economic field (industry, construction, trade and market services), the average per company being 24 employees, respectively a branch of 1.386 million out of a total of 4.12 million employees per economy (37.6% of the total employed population in 1989). The industrial capacities planned closure generically called deindustrialization, removed

which 5.6 million Romanian citizens are in the Diaspora. Thus, over half a million Romanian (National Institute of Statistics 2016) citizens emigrated in 2007 alone, most of them young people up to 35 years old (National Institute of Statistics 2018), educated, professional, specialized and qualified in various trades, ready to work and willing to make great efforts to adapt to a new society. Basically, the labor force exodus, mostly qualified and in which the state invested a lot, included the best of Romania, from a demographic point of view. These specialist, skilled and productive people no longer found themselves in a country ruled by a political class incapable of identifying viable solutions to meet their basic needs. One of the first causes of this massive labor migration was the poverty that covered Romania after the 90s, against the forced deindustrialization

¹ Source: data collected and compiled from the Statistical Yearbooks of Romania, 1970-1989.

² <https://insse.ro/cms/files/pdf/ro/cap2.pdf>

³ Statistical Yearbook of Romania, 1990, pp. 102-103.



through the intentional closing of most productive capacities, on the basis of an apparently new *Valev* plan. Essentially, factors such as the lack of jobs, rampant inflation, the strategic myopia of the country's leaders, which, through the policy taken, led to the impoverishment of the population, caused the exodus of the active manpower, between 1990-2000. After joining the European Union, the exodus was not only for a better life, but for the desire to live in a country that respects its citizens. Many left from a country where imposture, corruption and lack of vision of the political class that had taken control of it, managed to drive out more than half of the active and skilled labor capital specialized in the economy before 1990. Despite this exodus, one of the largest peacetime exodus in the history of the world, Romania continued and continues to educate labor force for other states with public money, which for the West represents an advantage and a financial relief from their budget allocated to education. Thus, Romania lost not only the human asset, but also all the amounts invested in their qualification as well as the enormous potential that could be invested in the state's economy. In the period 2013-2018, the percentage of GDP financing of the entire education system, in relation to the legal commitments from the annual execution account, recorded a minimum percentage of 2.57% of GDP for the year 2018 (National Institute of Statistics 2007-2019) (2.21% of rectified GDP for 2018 and 5.4% EU average) and a maximum percentage of 3.16% of GDP for 2015 (the EU average being 4.90% in 2015), being on the last place among the EU states. All this investment in youth education will never be recovered as long as the younger generation is unable to work in an economy that does not offer viable jobs, based more on consumption and less on production. In a study by the Romanian Academy - National Institute of Economic Research - *Demographic decline and the future of the Romanian population* (National Institute of Economic Research 2007), it is estimated that if the same negative trend is maintained after 1989, in 2050 the Romanian population will decrease to 16 million inhabitants, the population aged over 60 years being only 39%.

In 1989, Romania's economy used all the energy that the country produced at that time, even if most of the technologies used were outdated, which led to high production costs and in some

areas even affected the quality of the final product. But in a market where the cost of energy was not liberalized, the high production costs were not essential. Only quality represented an impediment, as the goods produced were not competitive in a fiercely competitive market. Romania really had an energy-intensive industry: steel, metallurgy, extractive industry, chemistry, petrochemicals, glass, and so on. They were high energy consumers. But an intensive process of upgrading the Romanian industry would have transformed Romania, from the point of view of production capacity, into a China of Europe. In fact, the upgrading process was in full development at the end of the 80s, but it was proceeding slowly due to the financial effort required to pay off external debts and investments in new production capacities. Dissonant was the fact that although the degree of production capacities use did not exceed 80% towards the end of the 80s, the construction of industrial facilities was in full expansion. Thus, in 1989 the Romanian economy was engaged in works on 21.400 investment objectives, which required a financial effort of USD 311.8 billion, which far exceeded their financing capacity. In 1989 alone, additional funds amounting to \$104.4 billion were needed to bring the goals started to full operation. The works on all these objectives have been stopped since 1990, without a logical justification and without a strategy for their conservation, being subjected to intentional destruction and thus condemned to disappear. Considered to be the pride of the golden age, the industry before 1989 was anathematized by former prime minister Petre Roman (ZF Live 2021), as a pile of scrap metal, and thus largely erased from the country's map. The former prime minister's statement, as if it had been dictated based on foreign agendas, gave free rein to the destruction and recycling of an industry for which many generations of Romanians were sacrificed. As an example, if in 1987, Romania achieved the performance of producing 14.96 million tons of steel, surpassing many countries with a tradition in this field (Worldsteel Association 2020), it ended up producing only 9.8 million tons in 1990 and approximately 3 million tons in 2013. Instead, a deindustrialization (destruction of industry) indicator is given by the trade in scrap metal. Thus, Romania ends up having a 65.2% share of scrap metal in the total steel produced of 13.4 million



tons, related to the period 2010-2013.

The sites where, until 1990, millions of skilled and specialized workers performed their activity, reveal today a Bacovian picture, similar to Dresden or Stalingrad bombing. Thus, piles of buildings destroyed as after intense bombings, stripped of iron, copper, aluminum, bricks or any other material that could be exploited, are what remained after the national economy forced deindustrialization grotesque process as it seems to have been thought in the secret laboratories of the modern colonialism followers. In the most fortunate case, where the industrial platforms, built by the ascensors' labor, presented real estate potential, being located in urban areas, the sites of the factories and plants were occupied by malls, foreign corporations offices, commercial or residential complexes.

No matter how we look at it, the overnight disappearance of so many industrial capacities, through their effective destruction, cannot simply be the result of the transition from a centralized to a competitive market-based economy, but rather shows a lack of vision and the interference of some external factors that wanted a Romania that would not generate competition and that would once again become a country exporting raw materials. Realistically, even in the event of a conventional conflict, several wars would have been necessary to destroy the entire industry in Romania so thoroughly and systematically. Instead, in a hybrid war, only the appropriate lever needs to be pulled, and the rest of the destruction process will be completed by the country's own population. It is clear that someone wanted Romania not to become an emerging regional economy even if it is true we will never be able to identify the real enemy of the Romanian state. Exactly as in the perceptions of the great military strategist Sun Tzu, in the experiment called Romania, the hostile actors used their own enslaved political class. When the new political leadership, emerging from under the defunct communist party cloak, moved to the privatization process, through various subversive methods, it was not the economy that was privatized, but its infrastructure, and not with the aim of resuming production on competitive lines, but with the aim to dismantle it and recycle it into components. The instruments used demonstrated that Romania was the guinea pig on which various economic bombs with immediate or delayed effect were

experimented. In fact, a great part of the industry that presented economic potential was either destroyed or was transferred to the property of the neo-communist political class that took power after 1989, on the grounds that the new nomenclature had to be stimulated to complete the country's economy destruction process. Exceptionally, there were also situations where production continued, although this was not a survival stake, but the infrastructure, the land, the amount of iron, the stocks of materials and products existing in warehouses, but not in documents, etc. Thus, many industrial platforms were privatized at low prices, which had warehouses full of goods, subsequently capitalized without the benefits that could help the modernization effort. The political leaders' lack of vision was seen in the way they thought about reforming the Romanian industry. Instead of maintaining three of the four important elements that underpin an economy (industrial infrastructure, specialized labor and energy sources), replacing only technology, the domestic gray eminences decided to strictly privatize the infrastructure for purely financial interests and destroy the rest. In fact, the destruction seeds lay in the way Romania's large industrial platforms were designed. In a planned and centralized economy, it was normal for the industry to be integrated and interconnected with other capacities, both horizontally and vertically. Thus, industrial platforms such as Oltchim, RAFO, Săvinești and others operated in an integrated system with many other industrial capacities, throughout the production flow. The privatization of a single capacity, without integrating the entire technological flow, was the original solution for the entire system bankruptcy, based on the domino effect principle. For example, RAFO Onești was an industrial capacity that was not profitable in the situation where it would have been limited to the sale of the gasoline and diesel produced. But together with the UTON mechanical plant and the CAROM petrochemical plant, which took over the derived products, transforming them into raw materials to obtain superior products with high added value, it allowed a substantial profit to be obtained at the final end of the integrated production flow. The privatization of only one of the capacities led to the blocking and bankruptcy of the other two, which were deprived of the sold one raw materials or capabilities. Similar situations can



be found in all industrial platforms and factories that did not survive the privatization experiments (for example, the closure of the Arpechim platform that produced raw material for the petrochemical giant Oltchim). To exemplify the way in which the economic assassins financed by the transnational corporations had entered into competition with the domestic ones, the events and facts regarding the intentional destruction of the Săvinești Industrial Platform (PROTV 2020), the Brașov Tractor Plant (DIGI24 2014a), the Aro Campulung Muscel Plant (DIGI24 2014b) and the almost successful attempt to destroy the Oltchim industrial platform with the direct support of the Austrian OMV company, granted to external competitors infiltrated in the shareholding of the company are presented. The process of destroying these industrial platforms is representative for the entire Romanian industry destroyed after 1990, the means and instruments being identical in all 1.205 of the 2.100 large enterprises that are no longer found on the country's economic map.

Thus, the fact that Romania represented an experiment for various interested actors can also be seen from the fact that all these "privatizations" failed one after the other, because the economic assassins disguised as "investors" quickly understood that the most productive assets of the factory were the goods from the warehouses, the iron from the foundation and the land below it, most of the industrial platforms being located in urban areas. Moreover, the great international corporations, which had always perceived the Romanian industry as a true commercial competitor, had every interest in closing these capacities, using various instruments that are limited to hybrid wars. Thus, after 2000, a triad made up of economic mercenaries (directors, union leaders and local politicians) knowingly or unknowingly in the service of Romania's economic assassins, mortgaged the liquidation of the buildings and the sale of the land to the "real estate developers" who were and are, basically, the financiers of this process of destructuring and destroying the Romanian economy. The pride of the golden age represented by the factories and plants built with the effort of our forefathers, was replaced by malls, residential complexes or offices, as an ironic sign of the new post-integration doctrine: the engine of the market economy is consumption.

Such "disappearances" of industrial platforms had consequences both in the economy (industrial branches disappeared, which caused Romania to turn from a large producer into a large importer either for raw materials or for finished products), as well as in the social environment: the depopulation of many cities, the exodus of a huge number of people, with professional training, with manpower, with appropriate, specialized knowledge. All this in less than 20 years. It is certain that the level of destruction suffered by Romania after 1989, the extent and value of the damage recorded, the massive exodus of specialized and qualified labor force, would have required several classic wars. In Romania's case, it only took two to three decades of soft hybrid war, in which various instruments were applied, from economic to political, diplomatic, social and environmental ones. This war Romania fell victim to, is not a war between states, but a war with unseen, non-state, extremely flexible, mobile and volatile actors. Most of the time it is really hard to call it a war if we imagine that everything is maybe a world politics in which Romania has nothing to say, if we did not have the scale of the disaster in front of us (an industry wiped off the face of the earth, an enslaved political class, a weak economy, a highly indebted country, an agriculture sold as a package, and the largest population exodus in peacetime, and so on). And as in an unseen but felt war, there are left behind villages without inhabitants, uncultivated or fruitful lands for foreigners, a few old, disappointed, demotivated and discouraged people, who wait for no one. Economically speaking, in all cases it was about concerted attacks to remove the product from the market (by cannibalization) or eliminate (by abolishing) production capacities. The destruction or closure of the main urban employers not only forced the early retirement of a part of the qualified active manpower, but also left without the possibility of specialization and employment of the new generation of industrial high school graduates and, above all, the rural youth, who stormed the cities after 1990. By 1989, much of the manpower was training and specializing on the job, with businesses and factories becoming "nurseries" of specialized manpower. The closure of these production capacities removed the most effective form of technical and professional schooling from the scheme, high schools and vocational schools

being forced, in turn, to rethink their curriculum. All the former employees who became newly unemployed, were poured into the public services system - of the state - mainly administrative - (thus oversized) and, to a lesser extent, to the small trade that was developing in the era. But the real outlet for this poorly qualified mass came after 2002 - in this case after Romanians European circulation liberalization. Since then, we have been constantly witnessing an exodus - symmetrical to that of urbanization - which has the effect, of decreasing social pressure in Romania (a benefit from the state's perspective) on the one hand, and on the other the effect of an active age segment progressive disappearance from the country's economy. Thus, Romania witnessed the largest population migration in peacetime, unprecedented in the entire humanity history. Finally, the collapse of education into a bureaucratic formalism has led to an acute lack of skills and specialization in highly profitable fields. To a certain extent, Romania's industry has recovered, but - most of the time - as a scrap industry, which mainly values cheap labor, union disorganization and government corruption, as well as the low claims of a population that does not have the means to combine consumption with quality.

As a sad conclusion, the summary of the last 30 years shows us that the entire economy has been scrapped and the manpower has been thrown into unemployment. How was such an error possible? How was it possible to destroy everything that the Romanian people built with hard work and great sacrifices, in almost half a century? There can be many answers, all valid (incompetence, indolence, primitivism, corruption, thirst for wealth, lack of strategic vision, lack of patriotism, enslavement, and so on). But, looking in retrospect and analyzing, each destroyed strategic industrial objective, the process takes the shape of a hybrid war which a large part of the country's economy fell victim to and in which a whole arsenal of economic, political, financial and social instruments were used.

We believe that the large industrial platform collapse main causes are the following:

- lack of vision and superficiality in dealing with phenomena that deviate from the natural course of things, with the potential to affect strategic areas of the state;
- lack of a national strategy for both

privatization and administration of national assets, after the Revolution;

- the controlled disinterest of the state, as the owner, combined with the private interest of some groups oriented towards obtaining profit at the expense of the state;

- poor privatization legislation, which was more oriented towards the destruction and not towards the efficiency of production capacities;

- obscure, subversive, insidious and destruction-oriented interests, which led to the disappearance of thousands of billions of dollars from Romanian capital and all the effort and suffering of the predecessors;

- the controlled interest of various groups within the country that acted in the interest of foreigners, not of their own country;

- the lack of interest and the controlled disinterest of the institutions that had to defend the properties that had belonged to the state and the assets (goods) that were in stock at the time of the alienation of the enterprises;

- legislation created specifically to be able to evade responsibility or not to hold accountable, in any way, those involved in the theft or destruction of Romanian capital;

- the haste with which enterprises that operated well and had a market, were included on privatization lists for no reason (for example, Petrom, Rompetrol). These were the perfect targets for the foreign competition, much more skilled and perfected in strategies of undermining and economic cannibalization, which directly or through interposed companies bought the ownership right after which, they proceeded to stop the activity, dismantle the installations, transport them to the competitor's country of origin (see the case of Săvinești, SIDERCA Călărași, Mechel Târgoviște, ARO, Tractorul, and so on). After this process, the end was unmistakable: the scrap metal hunters very quickly finished the erasure action (both physically and in writing) for an uncomfortable competitor (see the Săvinești case);

- in all cases, the companies whose post-1989 route we analyzed were the flagships in the industrial sector, large production and research centers in the field, their development was led with western concerns as a model.

In an interview on TVR (Romanian Television), broadcasted on May 22, 2018, with



the UN for the Global Sustainability Index former executive director, within the “*Questions and Responsibilities*” (active news 2018) show, Prof. Dr. Călin Georgescu, claims that Romania was and still is the victim of obscure interests, aimed at undermining the production capacities of the state, interests supported by the levers and instruments of the new type of hybrid war. A similar theory is also addressed by the economist Ilie Șerbănescu in the volume *Current colonialism and its colony Romania*, which states that Romania is nothing more than “*a poor colony on the periphery of Europe*” (Șerbănescu 2018b). Professor Dumitru Mazilu, PhD believes that the impoverishment of Romania through the liquidation of the national industry, the decapitalization of Romanian companies, the alienation of factories at low prices, the alienation of agricultural land, taking over the resources by multinationals, the imposition of obedient individuals enslaved to obscure foreign interests to the leadership of the country, represents a deliberate process, orchestrated by the new colonial empires (Mazilu 2013, 9). Due to a political class that is enslaved, corrupt, incompetent or with private agendas, which has found itself all these years, supported and protected by economic assassins in the service of the world of corporations, Romania missed the chance of economic development based on strategic thinking, prosperity and a better life. Approximately 82% of the capital no longer belongs to Romanians, as well as 40% of the total agricultural land, so that our prosperity is a desideratum at the mercy of others (Șerbănescu 2018a, 266). Meanwhile, those who rule Romania’s destinies from the shadows have seized the remaining 18%, thus ensuring their own prosperity. The political class’s lack of long-term vision and strategy forces Romanians to accept being made lazy and stupid in their own country (in other words, unproductive). With this lie, Romanians are kept captive and poor in their own country. Poverty drove away almost 5 million people from Romania, half of the active manpower. They migrated to other states to convince themselves that they are neither lazy nor stupid and that they can make an honest profit on their effort and knowledge.

The destruction of the Romanian economy was not only the merit of a mediocre, corrupt, unpatriotic and professionally outdated political

class. It is very serious that the disaster happened under the supervision and with the blessing of those who were supposed to watch out that it would not happen. If the destruction of the economy is accompanied by the loss of control over national natural resources: energy, oil, ores, water, wood, etc., along with the loss of the banking system, the insurance market, public utility services and retail sales, we will be aware of the seriousness of the situation of total dependence in which Romania has reached. Not only are we kept in poverty, but the policy of destroying the economy and indebting the population also eliminated any chance of Romania’s exit from corporate neo-colonialism.

Conclusions and proposals

Analyzing the defining elements of the economic domination imposed by the Ottoman rule (1450-1821) or the SovRom ticks (1945-1956), we can observe certain similarities and patterns that fit into a matrix that transcends time and whose imprint we also find in Romania’s evolution after 1989, equally vital and devouring for the national economy. A brief historical retrospective only certifies part of the causes of the effects we see today, namely that in order to achieve some political goals, the interests of the leaders connected to cross-party interests, at the expense of the country’s economic interests at certain stages vital for the course and development of the Romanian state. We cannot understand the reasons that were the basis of some decisions that effectively stopped the democratic course and the economic development of the country, but we can analyze the effects of these decisions in the current context of the economic level reached by Romania. From the point of view of the analyzed topic, we can analyze the patterns of these economic aggressions to which Romania was subjected, in order to identify them in the hostile actions of some state or non-state actors directed, currently, against the stability and security of the Romanian state. These economic slippages can be superimposed on the patterns identified in the financial pressures imposed by the Ottoman rule, Soviet domination or Western deindustrialization, which fit perfectly in a true hybrid war which Romania has constantly been subjected to, in the last half century. The hybrid war conducted by the great powers was shaped by the socio-political configuration of



the time periods in which it occurred. Thus, in the Ottoman Empire we find an open war, in the Soviet one a subversive war, and the period after 1989 presents us with a hidden and insidious war, with a complete arsenal of techniques and methods folded on the new technologies and peculiarities of contemporary society, at the limit of detectability and without revealing the identity of hostile actors. The common pattern of all these aggressions is related to the pursued goal which was and always is profit. In this type of war, the structural vulnerabilities of the state and the weaknesses of its leading or decision-making factors are speculated. Thus, the Ottoman Empire took advantage of the desire for power and enrichment of the Romanian rulers, the Soviet one took advantage of the structuring of the new power and the obedience of the political factors of the communist party born prematurely and with malformations, and the current hostile actors of the Romanian state took advantage and are still taking advantage of both weaknesses that we find much more nuanced, more diversified and more meaningful than in the past. The new type of hybrid war conducted by actors that are hostile to Romania takes advantage of these vulnerabilities of the Romanian state to achieve its goals. A complete and efficient network of state institutions, which puts the national interest above group or personal ones, would not allow the appearance of security breaches that could be speculated on by hostile actors. By hostile actors we do not necessarily mean the state ones, but most often we meet companies, societies or investment funds that act as real enemies, the effects of their aggressive policies being comparable, often, to those of a conventional war.

In the current geopolitical context, in which the Russian Federation is perceived as the main hostile actor in the Black Sea area, we must understand how it could affect the security of the Romanian state, taking into account the patterns and vulnerabilities we find in our history. Structural, political or social peculiarities, which are found in the coastal states of the Black Sea and which are intensively speculated by the Russian Federation, are not found, except in small part, in Romania. The Latin and Western spirit of the Romanian people, the lack of a Russian minority, an economy that is not linked to the Russian economy, are characteristics that cannot facilitate

a toxic influence of the Russian Federation that would seek to affect the stability and security of the state. But we find other vulnerabilities and weaknesses, which are specific to the Romanian state, due to past influences of the domination of the great powers over us, a fact that led to the modification of mentalities and the adoption of non-compliant habits, which represent real security breaches in the current context of threats which hovers in the Black Sea region. Corruption, clientelism and group interests are largely inherited from traditional society, where power was conferred on whoever offered the most. Thus, the leadership was appointed or endorsed by spheres of influence outside the country. Private agendas were prioritized over the state interest which did not offer the same material satisfaction, and the great mass of the population represented only possibly a maneuvering mass. We identify these patterns even today, the alteration of the state from within, generating too much vulnerability and weakness to oppose private interests outside the country. In this sense, we are currently witnessing a permanent assault on state institutions and public companies, launched by non-state actors who mainly aim to obtain revenues or benefits that exceed contractual agreements or economic alliances. This is done with the direct or indirect support of public officials or the political environment in which representatives of international bodies also participate. Many times, in order to achieve their goals, non-state organizations ensure the support of the diplomacy of the countries of origin or interested, ambassadors or diplomats becoming a means of persuasion when other instruments of corruption or blackmail prove ineffective. The support is given for the mutual satisfaction of interests, often the profits of non-state actors financing the public campaigns of political entities in the countries of origin or guaranteeing the occupation of key positions in the governing structures of the states. Although the term economic assassin seems a little theatrical, it is as perhaps current if we consider the army of economists, lawyers, managers and lobbyists employed by international companies, who speculate on any vacuum or legislative loophole, to maximize profits. At a higher level, the human arsenal of these companies includes divisions specialized in corrupting officials or decision-makers, including influencing their actions through



various techniques and methods that are at the limit of detectability, but extremely effective in a society based on interdependence, interconnection and social networks. Access to the social network database, in an increasingly interconnected and media-exposed society, represents the most effective hybrid tool in the arsenal of hostile actors. Access to these databases, fueled by the very desire to be human, which includes the intimate details of individuals who may at a given moment occupy important positions in the management of public institutions, companies or political parties, represents an instrument of influence, which through intimidation, exposure or corruption, may allow the achievement of the goals pursued by a hostile actor, at the expense of a state or a company.

Although this type of aggression against the state, completely different from classic military aggression, aims to obtain immediate or long-term financial or economic advantages, it indirectly aims to influence the collective mind, demoralize the population, demotivate public employees, make public capacities vulnerable and weak. Classical means of defense, especially those involving the armed forces, are ineffective in the face of new strategies involving disinformation, public manipulation, concealment or cyber-attacks. In the new type of warfare, classical military troops are effectively replaced by civilians. Hybrid warfare is conducted between economists, legal experts, lawyers, analysts, sociologists or managers, and military art is successfully replaced by communication, informational, cyber, economic or legislative art. In the new type of war, bioterrorism is replaced by infoterrorism, infoepidemic affecting the mind of a population more effectively than an epidemic, infecting the population through media sources or social networks being faster, more efficient and without the risk of attracting sanctions from other states.

The Infodemic Triangle consists of three main elements that completely change the perception of the truth: disinformation, manipulation and concealment. Thus, the first victim of the hybrid war is the truth. The redundancy of the flow of information changes the perception of it, so that instead of shedding light on some events it generates confusion and chaos. In an ocean of bits, even if you identify the source of disinformation, it is almost impossible to unequivocally establish

the identity of the enemy.

The new type of hidden war involves changing the value system of a population, by affecting its reference systems, for example influencing culture, traditions, ethical and moral norms. Thus, sabotaging the stability of a state is no longer a spontaneous activity, but a long-term procedure, carried out over 2-3 generations, which mainly involves knowing and affecting the collective mind by changing the value system, these becoming the basis for conquering a state. A generation that no longer has a cult of history and traditions, no longer values national and territorial identity, the desire and motivation to fight for its values being eliminated. Thus, in order to destroy the infrastructure of a state, it is no longer necessary to bomb it, it can be sabotaged through a set of instruments that include environmental protection activities, economic and legislative artifices hidden in contractual clauses, corrupting leaders, hiring incompetent individuals as useful idiots and so on. Civil society, through environmental organizations or foundations, also plays an important but immoral role in supporting the interests of non-state actors, supporting their attack on state institutions and companies through intense lobbying and manipulation of public opinion. State organizations stand behind the actions of non-state actors, not publicly displaying their true interest except through diplomats at most. The interests of state actors are diverse, from sabotaging certain government projects or initiatives to protect their own economy, to taking control over resources, utilities, infrastructure or certain branches of the economy. Practically, war 4.0 has taken the form of a corporate neo-colonialism, with states being the real beneficiaries of the battles won by the non-state actors they support. Under the generous umbrella of democracy and market economy, interests are often hidden, which affect the development, stability and direction of a state. Generation 4+ war no longer involves the taking over of the government or administration of a state by another aggressor state, but the promotion of obedient, corruptible, mediocre or leaders easy to manipulate (officials, commanders, decision makers). It is much more effective and less expensive to destabilize a state by creating chaos and disorganization (economic, social, political or legislative) than by occupying it militarily. In war 4.0, information is the enemy's



new ammunition, and modern weapons are represented by the Internet, mass media, and social networks. By manipulating information to the detriment of a state, through misinformation and manipulation, the population becomes the enemy of its own nation. The vulnerability of a state occurs on several levels: political, social, institutional, economic and environmental, affecting one level automatically destabilizing the other levels as well.

The theory of the expansion of the living space (present in the World War 1+World War 2 doctrine) through the expansion of the states outside the borders, is replaced by a new theory of the expansion of the living space without the involvement of the borders, but only by seizing new consumer markets or seizing the resources of the states that do not have the capacity to protect them. A vulnerable state ends up being like a fortress with weakened defense walls, without sources of supply or water, with inefficient soldiers, poorly armed or trained, unmotivated and demoralized, susceptible to the offers of the enemy, without understanding the importance and role of a fortress and ever liable to allow the enemy to penetrate it.

The triangle of weaknesses of corruption, incompetence, and ignorance spices up the new kind of non-kinetic warfare. Although the interests against the state originate from outside national borders, the problem lies within the borders. A war of this kind is successfully conducted in a vulnerable state, in which ineffective institutions operate, are led or in which corrupt officials operate. The non-kinetic proxy forces of the enemies of the state (which do not use conventional means) end up, through manipulation, misinformation, coercion or corruption, becoming their own officials or dignitaries of the attacked state. Non-state actors acting against state interests are corporations, companies, foundations, civil or environmental organizations and law firms. The fact that institutions are not professional anymore in conjunction with a permissive or laconic legislation, creates security breaches and a favorable environment to the launch hybrid aggressions, facilitating the emergence of aggressors whose actions are directed towards obtaining large profits (through a continuation of the policy with hybrid means) lead to a vulnerability of the state.

In conclusion, the current type of hybrid warfare takes advantage of the loopholes of the weak state,

which becomes a victim of its own indifference to the health of the political environment, public or private. Corruption, incompetence and disinterest, create security breaches heavily speculated by non-state or state actors. In this type of war, caution and skepticism are the most effective shields, because military allies are not necessarily economic allies, and corporations, companies or civilian organizations become proxy forces through the tolerance shown by some states in various economic alliances, to satisfy their own interest without being visible. A responsible state must define and consolidate, on solid and healthy bases, including a system of values and ethical and moral norms, the triangle of responsibilities formed by the political environment, that of public employees and the civil one. Although the military is an important pillar of defense and deterrence of any aggressive and hostile intentions, weapons become useless in front of the tools used in a hybrid war. Thus, an important emphasis, in addition to the army, must be placed on the efficiency and professionalism of the intelligence services, which through their activities can prevent various hostile aggressions directed against the strategic areas of the state. In addition to strengthening the intelligence services, the state must direct its attention to strengthening the administrative apparatus, based on criteria of performance, meritocracy and professionalism. A robust, efficient and professional administrative apparatus will provide not only quality services, but also the additional protection needed to counter potential economic or other aggressions launched by various hostile actors. Another tool to counteract these types of aggressions is the establishment of national priorities based on long-term strategies, aimed at both the administrative consolidation and the economic development of the country. It is vital that Romania be part of as many economic partnerships as possible, which will thus support the economic environment by softening the possible aggressive tendencies of transnational companies and corporations. Perhaps, last but not least, a responsible and correct political class should give less importance to the immunities conferred by political positions and dignities, so as to hold accountable and correct in time any slippages that some dignitaries may have on the background of the interference of external and foreign factors of national interest.



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