



ROMANIA'S DEFENSE POSTURE IN THE CURRENT REGIONAL AND GLOBAL SECURITY CONTEXT

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INTRODUCTION

Few many periods in the past one hundred years have been more challenging and dangerous for the European and global security than the period we are living today. Consequently, with very few other occasions have strategic planning and building the right security approach and defense posture been more important for the future of a country. Not only what we do now will impact our security and way of life for the decades to come, but getting our deeds and actions wrong could have a devastating impact on the future of our continent.

To get things right we need to remain committed to our core values and principles, to establish realistic and achievable goals, to decide and act decisively, and also to involve the whole of society in achieving these goals. And, above all, we need to stick together and act together all who consider ourselves part of the democratic world.

It is the purpose of this food for thought (FFT) to generate a national debate on the current security posture, to assess the current national approach to security, bring ideas for corrective

action and identify solutions for a sustainable defense posture for Romania. This debate is to be nested in the European debate and contribute to it. It is to initiate dialogue on main security themes and to further allow universities and think tanks to develop them in mega trends that could be critical in the future. Even though this is not a comprehensive and rigid solution, it still offers suggestions about actions and policies to improve and adapt the national security posture and provides incentives to open conversations with relevant international and security actors.

To achieve these goals, a team of experts from Aspen Institute Romania has been assembled and started working. The first phase of the project has been drafted by this team. The second phase includes debate with relevant stakeholders, including academia, experts, government officials and representatives of defense industry, aiming to consolidate and verify the initial ideas and suggested solutions. Both phases focus on security, in a comprehensive and whole of society approach.

CURRENT REGIONAL AND GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT - PERSPECTIVE AND IMPLICATIONS

A. Global and regional situation - PMESII Analysis (Politic, Military, Economic, Social, Informational, Infrastructure)

In the current volatile and uncertain world, everything is interconnected. This applies to countries and organizations, as well as to the internal fiber of any society. In a period of intense confrontation in every domain, every instrument of power counts, has implications, and no instrument can be applied in isolation.

Politically, at a global scale, one notes a major shift towards fragmenting and polarizing tendencies, both related to the political class as well as society. Main political actors in the democratic world are gradually distancing themselves from a healthy approach towards consensus in great strategic projects. And this happens while autocracies advance and rules based international order is placed under intense scrutiny and is more contested every day. Social media pressure on political class, supported by populist and suveranist tendencies, adds to the regular election pressure, leading to situations when small but vocal communities might determine sudden changes of political course.

Militarily, force is about to be legitimized as a means to achieve political objectives in the great power competition. Russia's unlawful aggression on Ukraine has drastically lowered the threshold for war. There are many uncertainties regarding war and conflict resolution in Europe, while the West is largely unprepared to conduct and sustain high intensity combat operations over a long period of time (with a notable exception of

the USA). Even though Russia's aggression has galvanized a strong response from European democracies, there are still areas of different threat perception among these countries, while the developing world shares a different opinion on the nature of the conflict. Technological edge of the West has become very contested. Technology can and is faster converted to serve military purpose. A new race toward rearming has started and the main international treaties and agreements that used to regulate weapon control, non-proliferation and disarming are crumbling. New operations are being integrated into a multidomain approach to warfare.

On the **Economic** side, as the global supply system proved inefficient during the pandemics, states have rediscovered tendencies to renationalize strategic industries. Defense industry in Europe is reviving, but at an unsatisfactory pace, even though some could note massive subsidies across the globe to build national champions or key champions in strategic sectors (AI, microchips, autonomous vehicles).

Social - A comprehensive view of security to include not only its military aspects but also economic, cyber and social ones is imperative, as a symmetric answer to the modern war that encompasses all these spheres. The modern war does not only affect society, it uses it as a means to achieve victory. While a historical approach, it has become dangerously effective nowadays as global interconnection and technology allow for a much deeper penetration and manipulation than in the historical past.

Infrastructure - Contemporary security environment exposes the physical and digital

infrastructure to a wide variety of threats, from natural and anthropical ones to sophisticated cyber-attacks and risks associated with interconnectivity. These dynamics underline the necessity for an integrated approach to consolidate the resilience of critical infrastructure, meaning a sustainable modernization, diversifying the supply chains and energy sources, strengthening the cyber security and rapid adaptation to new and emergent technology.

Informational - Social media and social networks speculate, use and amplify disparities, creating polarization within society. The system of ties within the social structure is more vulnerable than ever. Digital age brings a plus of inequity perception, and new technology hardens preconceived approaches.

Social networks and emergent technologies contribute to amplifying societal division and polarization, making societies vulnerable to external influences. These digital dynamics may bring an exacerbating feeling of alienations, social distancing, negative feelings and inequity perception, fueling social conflict. All these are tendencies that underline the need for a security strategy that takes into account the imperative to address the risks associated with digital tendencies and new technologies, while promoting societal resilience and social cohesion to resist disinformation and fragmentation.

B. Main drivers for the security evolution

- The consequences of pandemics and lessons learned in fighting it
- The consequences and expected outcomes of the current hot conflicts - Ukraine, Gaza, Red Sea
- Emergent and disruptive technologies

- Social and demographic tendencies
- Possible synchronizing of catastrophic events such as economic, sanitary, natural and military crisis at the same time

C. Assumptions - Where is the world heading at and where is the Black Sea region heading

Based on the above-mentioned tendencies, trends and drivers, and absent any certainty on what the future may bring, analysis needs to allow for assumptions. In this respect, an initial assumption is that war in Ukraine will last for an extended period of time, thus testing Western resilience and its capacity to support Ukraine.

Russian propaganda and psychological warfare will continue to aim at eroding and changing the western population perception, giving increasingly more space to the Russian narrative. An already manifesting Ukraine fatigue and perception of political indecision towards supporting Ukraine will embolden Russia in its action. Russia will continue to use increasingly threatening nuclear rhetoric, the global political climate will not become any calmer and Western institutions and rules based international order will continue to be under stress.

Global protectionist and populist tendencies may continue to exacerbate. Societal critical thinking and understanding will not increase significantly, while new technologies will offer options to weak but well-organized forces that will become able to counter much organized and better endowed armed forces. Increasingly, average citizens are tempted to consider their countries are heading in a wrong direction.

In this global climate, cooperation and integration in the BSR will remain challenging, despite opportunities to build alliances and joint projects.

D. Romania's current place in the world and in the region

Romania has become an important strategic and military actor in the Eastern Flank and in the Black Sea Region. The main areas that contribute to this are geography and military ties with its allies. In other areas, the country maintains a relatively low profile in European security debates and decisions, and does not use its economic and security comparative advantage to increase its general posture, including in the realm of defense. Potential still remains to be unlocked.

Romania scores high at the EU level in terms of connectivity and broadband availability. Further efforts need to be done in terms of 5G network development. In cyberspace, a new National Directorate for Cybersecurity (DNSC) was established in 2021. A National Coordination Center (NCC-RO) in cybersecurity was also established. NCC-RO is part of a new European management framework consisting of the European Competence Center in the field of cyber security - ECCC (located in Bucharest) and a network of 27 national coordination centers.

ANALYSIS ON CURRENT SECURITY POSTURE

A. Analysis on current security posture

PMESII - where we are:

Politically - Romania tends to lose time on small internal debates and petty confrontations that lead to a loss of focus on important topics that are not politically convenient for the moment. As 2024 is a multi-electoral year, parasite themes are being introduced in the political debate. A race to votes and immediate good news for the voters is unfolding, as opposed to the need to strategically construct and sacrifice for a future strategic objective. Romania has an ineffective administrative organization, whose reform is not politically convenient. EU funding and programs have become a replacement for strategy. There is a worrisome increased social approval for suveranist and nationalistic movements

Military - a comprehensive and balanced rearming program is underway, which creates the opportunity to start building new, modern and relevant military capabilities. ROU Armed Forces have gained operational experience in different theatres of operations, but delays in adapting TTPs (Techniques, Tactics and Procedures) to high intensity combat operations still manifest. The Armed Forces face recruiting and retention difficulties.

Nevertheless, Romania has a firm and trustworthy NATO and strategic partners' commitment to our territory, and coherent allied defense plans that are to be practiced in exercises. There is a claimed political commitment towards providing resources for defense, but, in fact, this commitment is sacrificed every year for the sake of deficit reduction. Delays in crafting an efficient offset strategy are manifesting, while the defense industry remains inefficient and disorganized.

There is a lack of communication, that meets a lack of understanding and public support for military service, combined with outdated defense legislation especially concerning population and territory preparation for defense. In terms of research and technology implementation and innovation, the process is very slow.

Economical - the country faces a workforce challenge and a brain drain. A technological revolution is under way globally, and this will force Romania to recapitalize the economy. From the economic standpoint Romania is a large country in the region, large enough to allow for processes that are not accessible everywhere. The country has a large agricultural area and diverse energy resources, and the Black Sea ports play an important role in trade. There are urban clusters with a magnetic influence on technology and human resources.

But Romania scores low on competitiveness on key domains (agriculture, energy), while competitiveness becomes a driver of economic security and food security. There is little understanding of and no leadership in transferring to a new economy. Technology and competition bring a very high speed of changes, that allow less time for security (trade security for competitiveness).

Social - Romania displays social homogeneity and a national natural resilience. At the same time, a lack of security education of the ordinary citizen manifests itself. Romania lacks behind in media literacy and critical thinking. Media lacks professionalism and ethics.

Romania is particularly vulnerable in the societal aspects of security. First, the low level of

critical thinking and media literacy allows for an easy and effective penetration of cognitive warfare, including but not limited to dis- and misinformation. The use of AI in cognitive warfare is a serious threat throughout the trans-Atlantic space, as the manipulation of information is very difficult to detect. Unlike other countries in the region, Romania does little to contain dis- and misinformation and to promote critical thinking and media literacy.

Second, Romania's demography, with an aging population, becomes a vulnerability in case of mobilization. While the new and sophisticated technologies of the current and future wars supposedly need fewer human resources, the war in Ukraine has proven that traditional fighting is not obsolete, and remains a part of modern warfare.

Third, Romanians have a very low level of trust in state structures and institutions. This is a serious impediment in a potential preparation for and carrying of a war. It is also a background against which moves meant to destabilize the state may have a good impact.

Fourth, the level of corruption in Romania remains at levels that allow for penetration of foreign malign influence in economic and political life. Corruption is fueled by adversaries not only to influence decisions, but to further reduce the trust of the population in government, and to destabilize the economic and political scene. All of the above make almost impossible any gathering towards a strategic purpose.

Infrastructure - despite the fact that infrastructure has started to gain attention and careful planning, military mobility and protection of critical infrastructure remain challenging. There is a lack of legislation on critical infrastructure and system resilience. There is some improvement on communication systems, but the myths of

a very fast and nationally spread Internet still deceive us.

Informational - nobody works alone, but in global networks, which leads to deep security challenges. Cyber incidents have a higher impact on society, given the lack of trust of the population and the amplifying effect of the media. There is a lack of immediate control of the AI. ROU has a very well prepared core of experts that export knowledge, it has good communication networks, but remains vulnerable to 5 and 6 G challenges. At large, population has undeveloped digital skills. ROU has the cheapest internet but the smallest usage rate. Involvement of great regional players has increased steadily, Bucharest scoring among top 20 regions in Europe, but there is an uneven distribution of wealth on national territory.

Current national posture regarding emerging and disruptive technology is mainly characterized by a proactive effort to adapt and consolidate defense and cyber security capacity to dynamic regional and global challenges. Digital has a low rate of economic influence (from digital competencies to technology usage) which leads towards an uneven distribution of development. On the background of low level of trust of the population and amplified by distorted presentation in media or social networks this could create cleavages within society, easy to be exploited by promoters of informational warfare.

B. Analysis of current strategies and plans

Currently, it is difficult to distinguish clear and consistent national planning in pursuing strategies in all national sectors relevant to or intrinsic part of security.

A National Defense Strategy 2020-2024 approved

by the Parliament awaits to be updated after the Presidential elections.

Apart from the Governing Program, it is very hard to identify public debate based on Government display of major strategies, especially on the development, role and usage of the main instruments of power - diplomatic, informational, military and economic. Based on what has been made public so far, Romanian security is based on the six pillars of the EU approach to resilience - the Green Deal, digital transformation, intelligent, sustainable and inclusive economic growth, social and territorial cohesion, health and institutional resilience, children, young education and competencies.

The Romanian economy developed organically in a first stage when foreign investments capitalized on a widely available cheap labor force, on a number of university centers producing relatively high numbers of trained specialists, as well as on cheap energy costs. As of present, there is no integrated economic strategy at national level (with ambitions, objectives, resource planning, education reshuffling, geographical specialization, strategic subsidies allocation) yet a couple of big bets have been placed in industries of the future, by allocating significant amounts from the EU Funds: AI, hydrogen technologies, microchips, small nuclear reactors.

The Law 203/2015 on defense planning sets the requirements of comprehensive and parliamentary approved defense strategies, but it maintains a narrow approach, limited to defense sectors, and it is too normative in terms of the contents of these planning documents. Even if it allows for the revision and adaptation of the planning documents to the changes in security environment, practice has proved this very difficult.

The result is a National Defense Strategy

published in 2020, outpaced by the catastrophic events generated by the RUS aggression on UKR. Even though the strategy is comprehensive in its approach towards the national posture, it is based on assumptions that have been very much challenged lately. These are: (1) the risk of a major armed conflict among the great powers is low (*Riscul declanșării unui conflict armat major între principalele puteri se menține redus*) and (2) the risk of an inter-state armed conflict is low (154. *Riscul declanșării unui conflict armat interstatal se menține redus, dar se profilează riscul adaptării operațiunilor ofensive cu caracter hibrid la evoluțiile tehnologice, printr-o diversificare continuă a modalităților de acțiune și a resurselor coordonate, în scopul afectării intereselor naționale, inclusiv de securitate.*).

Also, the strategy is outdated in its first national security objective - to consolidate security in the BSR and the Balkans, as well as in all the neighboring regions (*obiectivele naționale de securitate vizează: • consolidarea securității în regiunea Mării Negre și în regiunea Balcanilor, precum și cea a securității și stabilității celorlalte regiuni învecinate*).

In cyberspace, Romania has approved its Cybersecurity Strategy in 2013 and revised it in 2021, better aligning it with the continuous changes of cyber attacks and the EU Cyber Security Strategy, adopted in 2020.

There are two main actors involved in cyber defense at the national level: National Directorate for Cybersecurity (DNSC) and National Cyberint Center - the national authority in the field of cyber intelligence, part of the Romanian Intelligence Service.

The main responsibility of the DNSC is to ensure the cyber security of the national civil cyberspace, in collaboration with the competent institutions and authorities. DNSC is the competent authority

at the national level for civil national cyberspace, as well as for the management of cyber security risks and incidents.

National Cyberint Center advocates and acts for the knowledge, prevention and countering of vulnerabilities, risks and threats to Romania's cyber security. Its main mission is the correlation of the technical defense systems with the information capabilities in order to identify and provide the legal beneficiaries with the information necessary to prevent, limit and/or stop the consequences of an attack on the information and communication technology (ICT) systems that represent critical infrastructures.

Strategies on a dozen of other issues which may have a great impact on Romania's defense posture remain in the stage of project or desire - a national industrial and competitiveness strategy, a national strategy on defense industry, an energy strategy, AI strategy.

C. Analysis of means - DIME

Diplomatic. Despite all the shortcomings in leadership and strategy, Romanian society has many characteristics that play in favor of its resilience and help ROU diplomatic effort to craft its goals. First, an overwhelming majority supports Romania as part of the trans-Atlantic community and has trust in its military alliance. Popular approving rates for EU and NATO institutions continue to remain high. Anti-Western narratives find less fertile ground than in other countries in the region. Second, Romanian society, although diverse, remains homogeneous, without destabilizing ethnic and/or racial conflicts. Third, despite what public debates and social media may indicate, Romanians are still proud to be Romanian (see polls). ROU diaspora throughout Europe continue to remain a support and not a liability for Romania's foreign policy objectives.

Informational - Romania has well known capabilities for cyber defense, well nested in the international cooperation. The country has high speed networks, reasonably developed and with sufficient coverage; the cheapest Internet access at European level; ROU education system delivers well prepared graduates in STEM domains (science, technology, Engineering and mathematics). ROU has a dynamic and continuously expanding IT&C sector, a solid base of information technology experts, software developers and cybersecurity experts. The community of start-ups and innovative companies is vibrant.

Military - ROU Armed Forces is probably the institution with the most dynamic and advance transformation and adaptation to NATO and Western standards. It has permanent access to know-how within the allied and partnership framework, permanent access to personnel training and education, a well-balanced participation in exercises and fine connection to all NATO command structure and force structure headquarters. Units are being consolidated, readiness becomes a premium in assessing the units, headquarters are being modernized with the multinational structures established on national territory having a role of catalyst in this process.

These assets, adding to our strategic position, give ROU Armed Forces influence in NATO decision and acting. Internally, an interinstitutional working system is organized and practiced. The main issue remains a lack of sustainment and support capacity, especially in terms of production capacity.

Economically - Romania can count on a relatively diversified economy, with notable potential for regional and European competitiveness (replacing suppliers located in Asia, being a key regional supplier) and benefiting from significant/massive sources of financing and transformation of

the entire economy. Overall economic growth and job creation represent a medium-term strategic advantage to stimulate foreign investment, support local production and create opportunities for skilled workers.

Automotive sector: Investments in research and development in the automotive sector may lead to innovation and technological advancement, benefiting not only the automotive industry, but also other sectors such as IT, engineering and advanced materials. These technological advances may also have applications in military security, such as the development of autonomous military vehicles or advanced communication and control technologies.

IT and Cyber Sector: Romania enjoys a skilled IT and cyber workforce, which can support the development of cyber security and counterintelligence capabilities, helping to protect the state's critical infrastructure and sensitive information.

Energy and Mineral Resources: Access to diversified sources of energy and mineral resources, such as natural gas, oil, and rare metals, can strengthen energy independence and reduce Romania's vulnerability to external geopolitical pressures.

The Agri-Food Sector: Agriculture and the food industry represent important sectors for the Romanian economy, providing a safe source of food and strategic resources in times of crisis or conflict.

Strategic Infrastructure: Investments in strategic infrastructure, especially newly built airports, can support air mobility and the development of the drone and autonomous aerial vehicle sector.

THE PROPOSED POSTURE - WHAT IS TO BE DONE

D. Strategic objective - ROU, regional anchor of stability and security provider in the BSR; credible deterrence

ROU has the potential to become a regional stability anchor and a security provider in the Black Sea region, given its strategic position and membership in both NATO and the EU. This goal can only be achieved by providing a **credible deterrence**, especially by developing offensive and defensive military capabilities adapted to the challenges of XXIst Century and by consolidating international cooperation.

A stronger ROU, politically, militarily, economically, and socially could better contribute to the security and stability of the BSR. The main purpose of any strategy in this regard is strengthening the national instruments of power. This should be nested in the Euro-Atlantic strategy and values, and should be developed in conjunction with and with the support of our allies and strategic partners. Nothing can be done in isolation. And nothing can be achieved unless Romania remains committed to its core values and achieves an informed national consensus of the way forward.

These end goals can be achieved in several ways, from setting Romania's domestic actions in order, to using diaspora to create geopolitical capital. For every instrument of power, ways and means are described in the following chapter.

E. Ways and means - DIME approach

Diplomatic: ROU diplomacy is respected

throughout the globe. ROU has a calming effect in the Balkans, is regarded as a key anchor of US policy in the BSR, and is perceived as an honest broker in many international issues. Also, traditionally, ROU has friends in different areas of the Globe. The main purpose of many diplomatic strategy should be to preserve and increase the role of ROU as a democratic, stabile, reliable partner and ally, and a force for good in the region. It needs to emphasize the importance of the BSR and the key role ROU plays here.

In terms of allies and partners, the effort should be directed at better integrating the political and diplomatic goals of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the economic and security interests of the country. This needs a better interinstitutional framework and an easy access of the companies, public and private to shaping policy.

Informational: The answer to cognitive and psychological wars is an increased resilience of society. This is a long-term goal, but there are also short term "fixes" that should be employed. ROU needs a concentrated effort of governmental and nongovernmental actors to identify and contain dis- and misinformation, in particular, and malign interference in general.

Connection to similar efforts of countries in the region, and, if existent, at European level is necessary. Also, a better communication on security issues of the government is paramount.

As long-term goals, Romania needs to increase the level of media literacy and critical thinking skills within the population.

Meanwhile, ROU must consolidate its human and technical cyber-intelligence capacity,

to implement an efficient strategic communication (STRATCOM), to improve inter-institutional cooperation, intensify its international partnerships, promote education and public awareness regarding informational security and invest in advanced technologies.

Military: ROU needs a genuine agreement to invest a minimum of 2.5 - 3% of GDP in defense. This has to happen predictably, over a long period of time, with a genuine desire of every government not to sacrifice defense spending over reducing deficit.

Legal framework on defense must be updated. Apart from allowing a better institutional cooperation in peace, crisis and wartime, a better preparation of the population for defense, a simplified acquisition process and an effective usage of defense contracts to develop national defense industry, the legal framework should allow for effective retention and recruitment policies at the MOD level.

In terms of capabilities, ROU Armed Forces should prioritize investment for the development of long-range precision strikes and air defense as a first priority, should develop maritime capabilities and situational awareness as a second priority, rethink reserve system, integrate planning for NATO forces stationed in ROU, resupply of stocks mainly involving the national defense industry and continue to provide a consistent support for UKR.

Economically - a three pillar economical anchor could be envisaged: I) using a market large enough to entertain strong economic projects with a diverse network of suppliers, II) leverage the logistics of Eastern European potential trade routes from Mediterranean to the Baltic Sea and III) play a significant role in key sectors: defense industry, autonomous vehicles (air, land, sea) dual use technologies, AI and big data analysis.

Romania should consider the following economic strategies:

Investment in human capital: With a shrinking population, investment in the existing workforce becomes crucial. This can be achieved through measures such as improved education and training programs to improve the qualification and reskilling of the workforce, thereby increasing productivity and innovation. Particular focus to be given to new technology capabilities necessary both in the economy of the future as well as advanced fighting capabilities of a modern defense industry and army.

Emphasis on automation and technology: To compensate for the shrinking workforce, Romania can adopt automation and technology to increase productivity in all industries. This can involve incentives for businesses to adopt new technologies and automate processes. A special fund for dual use or military technologies to support local companies to develop automation and technology usable in a modern defense industry and army.

Encouraging entrepreneurship and innovation: Encouraging entrepreneurship and innovation can lead to the creation of new businesses and industries, spurring economic growth even with a smaller population. This could be facilitated by financial support, reduced bureaucratic barriers and a favorable business environment. Romania should start considering a technology spin off cluster for technical universities with military profile (similar to Israel start up culture of its most technologically capable military personnel).

Regional/global trade and export diversification: Expanding and diversifying exports can lead to increased economic activity, job creation and income generation, even in the context of a declining population.

This involves accessing new markets and identifying competitive advantages in existing ones.

Regional development (relative to the regions of Romania): Focusing on regional development can help distribute economic opportunities more evenly throughout the country, encouraging population retention and even attracting people from urban areas to rural areas; special attention should be given to urban centers of strategic importance to the defense of the territory.

Overall, in terms of dual use technologies as well as engineering capabilities needed in the economy, a specific strategy to encourage the development of such clusters and capabilities needs to be discussed at a very strategic public-private-partnership level.

A special vocational school system can be conceived where graduates would focus on mid skill capabilities in several domains: telecommunication, logistics and construction, robotics.

Last but not least, AI and its application for defense purpose needs several years and massive investment in educating the workforce of the future. Economically that would mean focusing resources in creating a fertile environment for AI driven economic sectors to hire and continuously train a significant number of specialists.

CONCLUSIONS - 10 BIG QUESTIONS FOR ROU

D:

How can ROU better link the diplomatic effort of the dedicated number of foreign affairs experts with the economic purpose and security interest in its external relations not only with allies and strategic partners, but also with other traditional or non-traditional friends?

What would take for Romania to learn from and cooperate with other countries in the extended region, mainly Baltics, to contain Russia's nefarious interference?

I:

What would be the best narrative to coalesce the whole-of-society towards a common goal and national project?

Can Romania build A Whole-of-Society Approach to Cybersecurity and become the EU/NATO hub for cybersecurity?

Is Romania's societal resilience deteriorating? If so, what needs to be done?

M:

Should ROU change its strategic planning assumptions and plan on the premises that in the next 5-10 years it could be involved in an extended regional conflict?

How can ROU better couple investment in developing modern military capabilities with an increased national industrial capacity to sustain these capabilities?

How can ROU better prepare society to face an escalation of military tension in the region and focus better and more cohesively on national resilience?

E:

Can Romania be a key player in industries of the Future, especially dual use (ex: autonomous vehicles)?

Does it have the means to produce an educated workforce fit to the Industries of the Future?