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## **The Image of the Democratic Soldier. Transfer of the Normative Model Into the Military Institutions and Their Socializing Practice**

Romanian Case

PRIF- Research Paper No. II/13-2008  
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Research Project „The Image of the Democratic Soldier: Tensions Between the Organisation of Armed Forces and the Principles of Democracy in European Comparison“

Funded by the Volkswagen Foundation 2006-2009

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## Introduction

The paper on the first level of investigation described the genesis of the democratic norms of soldering in Romania after 1989, the institutions involved and the mechanisms of democratic control of the military. As its conclusion it can be stated that the basic norms of democratic soldiering were successfully adopted in Romania both due to the public support (particularly its willingness to return to its Western identity and protect from a set of threats) and due to Western assistance. However, the consolidation of democracy and internalization of the norms is a long process, which needs further research. It is necessary to study how the normative model of democratic soldiering is transferred into the military institutions and their socializing practice.

At this level of investigation the main research questions we should answer are: How is the training of recruits, noncommissioned officers, and officers organized in respect of its orientation and breadth? Does something like civic or value education, the teaching of rights, duties, international law... exist? Which style of leadership is aimed at? What is taught as being the desirable “in-house” culture of conflict, law, and argument? In addition to answering these questions it is useful to describe the output of the socializing practice, meaning to evaluate if democratic norms and values are internalized by the military.

This paper is organized in four parts. First part, after a brief introduction on the provisions of military concepts, would describe the training and education institutions, the spectrum of training and their curricula regarding the democratic soldiering. The second part of the paper would present and explain the leadership concept and values education in Romanian military. The third part would describe the norms and institutions of conflict settlement, punishment and discipline. The last part would present the result of a research regarding the internalization of democratic norms by the military cadets in comparison with their civilian peers.

### 1. The Education and Training of the Soldiers

This part of the paper would try to describe how the norms of democratic soldiering are being presented through the process of education and training. As it was described in the first paper on normative aspects of civilian democratic control there were three distinct decisions with great impact on the overall system of training and education: 1) a new system of planning, programming and budgeting system (PPBS); 2) the Concepts of Human Resource Management and Education, and 3) the adoption of all-volunteer-army since 2007.

In accordance with the PPBS system, the main guidelines for the provision of Romanian national security are defined by a presidential document -adopted by the Supreme National

Defense Council– the National Security Strategy. The concepts and goals set by the National Security Strategy are developed by sectoral strategies.

The National Security Strategy (2006) was the most debated and innovative strategic document by now<sup>1</sup>. Among other provisions, it introduced new concepts related with democratic soldiering, such as “good governance”, “defense transformation”, “civic education” and “civic patriotism”. It stated that the Romanian citizen is the beneficiary of the security policy; therefore he/she has rights and obligations to contribute to its ongoing construction. By the same token, the draft of the National Defense Strategy –still under debate in the Parliament- proposes a “new military ethos” based on values such as *esprit de corps*, comradeship and cohesion. The Strategy of Defense Transformation (2005) adopted before the NSS stated that the military education reform would follow the national trend of integration within NATO and EU. According to its provisions the main goal of the military education system should be that of preparing the personnel both for military career and for civilian life<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, the strategic documents such as National Security Strategy, National Defense Strategy or The Strategy of Transformation try to translate the norms of democratic soldiering into the practice of defense planning and training. They are consistent with international norms of democratic soldier and civilian control required international treaties and codes, such as Washington Treaty (NATO) or OSCE Code of Conduct.

However, it is interesting to assess how such norms are implemented. What are the basic institutions and how the curricula look like? Before answering it is important to remember that the transformation of the system of military education is part of the broader reform of Human Resource Management. Military Career Guide proposed the regulation of career development for officers, NCOs and enlisted sergeants. According to the Career Guide (into force after 2001), the access to military career became possible in two ways: *direct track*-through graduation from a military education institution- and *indirect track*- training the graduates of a civilian university or the enlisted personnel to become NCOs. Moreover, the career guide established as a goal the ratio of NCOs/officers to be 3/1, to be accomplished soon.

The basic institutions for direct training of military officers are presented synthetic in the Figure no.1 (credit to Sylvain Paine). They are 3 branch education and training institutions: “Henri Coanda” Air Force Academy in Brasov, the “Mircea cel Batran” Naval Academy in Constanta, and the “Nicolae Balcescu” Land Forces Academy in Sibiu plus the Technical Military Academy in Bucharest. The basic education lasts for 3 years for Land and Air Academies, 4 years for Naval Academy and 5 years for Technical Academy, followed by 6 to 9 months of intensive military training in order to become a commissioned officer. Since the basic mission of these institutions is to educate military officers and –secondary- to have a back-up university education the first 3-4 years are dedicated to civilian specializations, such

1 The President of Romania, The National Security Strategy, Bucharest, 2007.

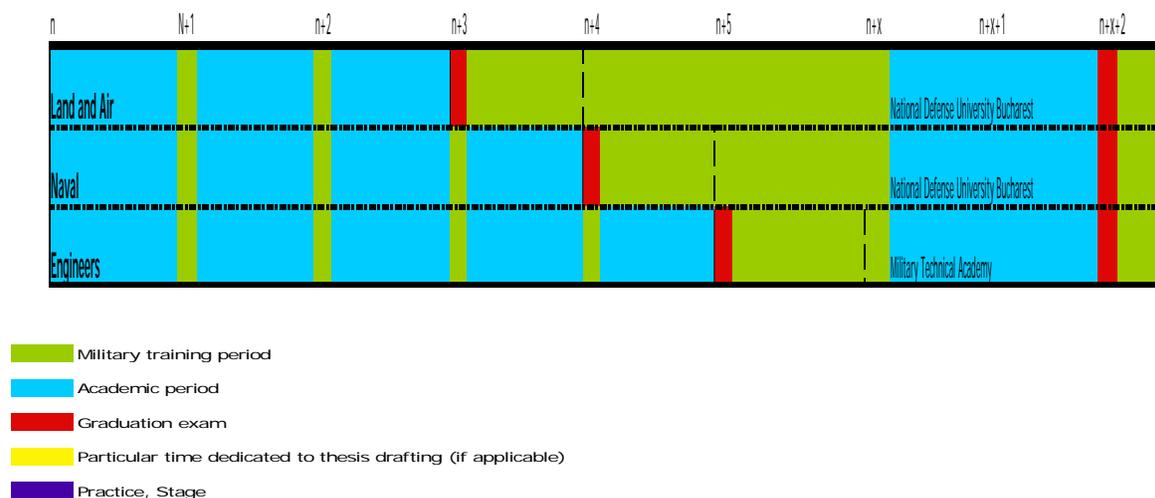
2 See The Strategy for Defense Transformation, 2005, pag. 12, [www.mapn.ro](http://www.mapn.ro) , accessed January 2008.

as Public Administration, Management, Military Science or Naval Engineering, followed by 6-9 months of intense military training and leadership in Schools of Training (Scoli de Aplicatie, rom.) in order to get military rank of first lieutenant. The similar Schools of Training have to be attended by the graduates of the civilian university that were asked to join the military officer corps through the indirect track. However, the direct track of training is the rule and indirect track the exception.

Regardless of their commissioning source, officers who opt for the long career path will have the opportunity to continue their military education at the “Carol the 1<sup>st</sup>” National Defense University. “Carol the 1<sup>st</sup>” is the institution of highest education, meant to train the military and civilians at the postgraduate level. Among its missions are: training of officers for *joint* and multinational operations; training of military and civilian personnel for positions of commander at superior levels; master and PhD training in the field of Military Sciences; development of postgraduate courses and development of scientific research activities. Moreover, according to a General Staff official, Colonel Gheorghe Croitoru, there are more than 40 courses taking place in NDU, including courses for NCOs<sup>3</sup>. Within the NDU environment functions The Center for Peacekeeping (established with UK support) and Center for Defense Management (with US support) and National Defence College (NDC). NDC provides general and specialized training in the field of defence and national security and contributes to the formation of the future military and civilian leaders.

Figure no.1

*The system of military officer education* (source Sylvaine Paine)



3 See Gh. Croitoru, Despre reforma invatamintului militar, in Spirit Militar Modern, martie 2006, pag. 6.

The training and education of NCOs, warrant officers and volunteer soldiers is another challenging mission. The training is done both through direct and indirect tracks. The new personnel management system considers NCOs as “the oil in running combat units;” they are the backbone of the military (Greenwood and Volten, 2003). Each branch (Land, Air and Navy) has its own training military school for NCOs’ and warrant officers. The training lasts for 2 years, with an initial training of 18 weeks. The NCO is the category of military personnel prepared to be both fighter and specialist, able to lead, train and motivate the subordinates. The all-volunteer soldier is a distinct corps recruited on voluntary basis as a basic fighter.

After the system of military education and institutions have been presented it is interesting to study in details the spectrum of training and education. What is the content of non-military teaching and the extent of civic education? It is easily to discover, from the Figure no.1, that the academic education period for the military officers is more extensive that military training while -for the NCOs’- less than half of the time is dedicated to the military training.

The new military missions and the role model of the soldier proposed by the Human Resource Directorate is the starting point in assessing the curricula. The military officer should be, in opinion of Human Resource specialists, a military leader, a specialist, an educator, a citizen in service of nation and a fighter. Since the civilian university specialization of Land and Air are: Management and Public Administration the non-military curricula consists of such courses as Sociology, Social Psychology, Political Economy, Organizations, Military History and Pedagogy. Although one of the main goals of military education is “to build the capacity to self organize his/her life in accordance with the national values, constitutional system and standards of military professionalism”<sup>4</sup> there are no evidence to prove that the generous goal has been operationalized and it is implemented in the daily training.

The model of NCO should be: a fighter, a branch specialist, a small group commander, an educator and a citizen with high school education able to be promoted in hierarchy. In order to be a good citizen the NCO should be responsible, knowledgeable of national and international culture and legislation, international human rights law and a civilized behavior. In a program for individual training of volunteer soldiers the School of Training stated the psycho-moral standards of the soldier and the necessity to know the provisions of International Human Rights Law.

From the above presentations it can be assessed that the system of military education opened up the system of military education to the non-military and social science curricula. An important aspect of the reform is that - starting with academic year 2005-2006- the

4 See Academia Fortelor Terestre, “Consfatuirea de lucru pe probleme privind proiectarea procesului de formare, specializare si dezvoltare profesionala in anul 2006/2007”, Pitesti, 2006, pag. 3.

provisions of the Law no. 288/2004 required to all universities, both civilian and military to implement The Bologna Declaration.

There are some courses that can train the soldiers on civil-military relations and can present a model of democratic soldier (not clearly defined and taught) to the military students. However, the possibility of some civilian universities to organize master degrees in Security Studies having 70% of students from the defense and security institutions is another good opportunity to overcome the shortcomings of teaching civil-military relations in the military academies. For example at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Sociology was established a master in Security Studies where the students are taught such courses as Armed Forces and Society, Public Policy, Political System and National Security, Intelligence and National Security. Majority of the students are militaries from security and defense sectors and the graduates could be promoted for senior position within MoD, Intelligence or Gendarmerie.

In conclusion it can be inferred that the military education institutions faced a dramatic change after 1989 as well as the entire military. The most spectacular change was related with acceptance of indirect track to join the military, double specialization for graduates (military and civilian specialist) as well as the change of curricula. It is explainable though the necessity to downsize the military organization (from 230,000 to 90,000), need for reconversion of personnel and the challenges of democratization. However, the content of the civilian teaching agenda toward the clarity of democratic soldier concept is not very defined. The basic education on how a democratic soldier should behave, norms and values are indirectly taught through such courses and Management, Leadership, Sociology or developed during the daily training of volunteer soldiers. The abstinence in having a clear ideological training on democratic soldiering could be explained by the runaway from the recent past, when Political-Ideological Education was a mandatory course for the Communist Military. A Romanian saying defines the situation as “throwing the baby with the dirty water”. The next part would explain what kind of leadership is developed in the Romanian military.

## 2. The Leadership Concept

Leadership is becoming an interesting concept for the Romanian military due to the double openness of military education system: to the civilian education and to the NATO and EU “acquis”. As a basic assumption it can be inferred that the autocratic-hierarchical style is a dominant one although the Romanian military started to experience all spectrum of leadership styles. Even though immediately after the “revolution” of 1989 was established an informal organization of young officers, namely “The Committee for Democratization of the Army” (CADA) having the goal to trigger a profound reform and to contribute to the democratization of the military life the impact on the leadership style was minimal.

Among the arguments that the traditional autocratic style is dominant are: the organization of National Defense University faculties as old fashion “command faculties”, lack of specific Leadership courses as well as the existence of the ancient basic regulations in command and control (AN-2, *Regulament de conducerea actiunilor militare*, 2000), which is more or less the same regulation that has worked for the last 50 years.

The only extensive monograph on military leadership that can be found in the Romanian literature claims that “...formally, any military commandant is a leader” (Mostoflei, Dutu, 2007: 7)<sup>5</sup>. Despite the fact that it presents an extensive literature on leadership of about 50 pages this paper approaches the leadership concept more as a description of the Western model, prescribing some directions for the Romanian military. Among the interesting advice the authors recommend a differentiation of leadership styles on strategic, operational and tactical levels as well as the elaboration of a Romanian doctrine of military leadership (Mostoflei, Dutu, 2007: 43).

The above monograph presented rather intentions and norms than presenting some factual data; thus it is interesting to see the modes of inculcation for military leadership. Despite the shortcomings the situation is under review due to the normative model prescribed by the political and military leadership as well as the interoperability requirements with other NATO military units.

Since one of the goals for the system of military education is to “produce“ leaders, that requirement is currently under operationalization in the curricula. As a result, the Military Academy of Land Forces “Nicolae Balcescu” decided that the curriculum should contain a special module on Leadership with such courses as: Organizations, Military Leadership, Public Relations, Organizational Behavior<sup>6</sup>. Also, the School of Training for NCOs “Basarab I” dedicated the “Third Module” of training to developing the leadership skills; 36 hours for theory of leadership, 20 hours for communication (out of 250 hours of theory) and 147 hours to practical skills of commanding a squad<sup>7</sup>.

Another way to train leaders or to acquire the values and behavior of democratic soldiering is through the interaction with NATO forces, either during the deployments abroad or peacekeeping missions or during the training of such troops. There are another two important issues in training the leaders: CIMIC and International Humanitarian Law.

CIMIC is a NATO concept that stands for Civil-Military Cooperation. It is defined as “The co-ordination and co-operation, in support of the mission, between the

5 See Mostoflei, C, Dutu, P, *Liderul militar in Romania*, Editura Universității Naționale de Apărare „Carol I”, 2007.

6 Academia Fortelor Terestre, “Consfatuirea de lucru pe probleme privind proiectarea procesului de formare, specializare si dezvoltare profesionala in anul 2006/2007”, Pitesti, 2006, pag. 8.

7 See “Documentarul consfatuirii de lucru privind proiectarea procesului de formare...in anul 2007/2008, Pitesti, Scoala Militara de maistri si subofiteri Basarab I”.

NATO Commander and civil actors, including national population and local authorities, as well as international, national and non-governmental organisations and agencies" (NATO Military Policy on CMIC-C 411/1). The long-term purpose of CIMIC is to help create and sustain conditions that will support the achievement of Alliance objectives in operations.

There are six principles governing the CIMIC as specified in the article 203 of CIMIC Doctrine: cultural awareness, common goals, shared responsibility, consent, transparency and communication<sup>8</sup>. The ultimate provision of AJP-9 states that "the most effective way for military forces to understand the skills, knowledge and capabilities of civilian authorities is to maintain relationships with them prior to entering an area of operations, and to educate themselves through military schools and courses which incorporate integrated training".

The Romanian CIMIC concept is similar with NATO's concept and was adopted after Romania was admitted as a full member. Then the General Staff established an Office within J-5. Moreover, every Brigade or similar unit includes an office or a cell responsible for CIMIC. The "1<sup>st</sup> Territorial Army Corp" established a CIMIC Group -battalion size-responsible for education and training the militaries before the operations<sup>9</sup>.

Another issue that became important in the training of military leaders is the International Humanitarian Law also known as the "Law of Wars". The MoD established a Center for Humanitarian International Law (IHL) having the main goal to integrate the provisions of IHL in the education and training of the military. The Chief of the General Staff/MoD ordered to the Center to elaborate two IHL Handbooks: the first one "Handbook DIU-1" meant to educate and train the soldiers deployable in missions abroad in understanding the humanitarian law, while the second, "Handbook DIU-2", to train the soldiers on the status of captured persons during the military conflicts or international missions accordingly with the provisions of international treaties, national legislation and defense regulations<sup>10</sup>.

On the national level, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has established, in 2007, a National Commission for International Humanitarian Law in order to help the Government to formulate and implement the IHL norms and to educate people regarding the IHL.

Regarding the teaching of democratic and military values within the military there is no direct modes of inculcation. Some values and norms could be learned by the cadets from such courses as Military History, Organizations or from military regulation and practice but there is not such a special course. The main reason is the recent history of Communist propaganda that undermines any kind of political or values education today. Starting with 1948 was established a Superior Political Directorate of the Army in charge with Communist

8 See AJP-9 NATO CIVIL-MILITARY CO-OPERATION (CIMIC) DOCTRINE (June, 2003)

9 See LTC Florea Udrea, "Romanian Concept of CIMIC", in Globalization of civil-military relations, G. Maior and L. Watts (Eds), Bucharest, 2002, pag. 173-175.

10 See LTC Dumitru Codita, "Instruire în domeniul dreptului internațional umanitar", LEX, no.1/2006, pag. 57-59.

propaganda and whose leader in the early 1950s was Nicolae Ceausescu himself, with a rank of political general. That Communist chain of command was the institution that assured the subjective civilian control of the military and responsible with Communist propaganda. Therefore, any kind of post-communist practice to have a political education, even though they would be about prestige, military honor would have been treated as propaganda by the soldiers. Although the General Staff has a Section for Military Traditions and Civic Education in charge with elaboration of programs and regulations regarding the military traditions, education of military culture and civic education its activity is minimalized, the only visible activity being the commemoration of historical moments and ceremonials.

### 3. Norms of Conflict Settlement, Lawfulness and Argument

Military Discipline is the trade mark of the soldering in the modern armies, a professional marker of the military identity. However, in a democratic society the discipline as a value might enter in some tensions with the democratic values of the parent society, particularly when an order can breach the human rights. Therefore it is important to study what habitus do members of the military develop, what counts as a conflict and deviance in the military life and how is the system of reporting organized?

One cannot understand the evolution of discipline or punishment and institutions of conflict resolution within the Romanian military unless he/she takes into consideration the historical heritage. Particularly, the role of the military in the 1989 „revolution” is a key of understanding the post-communist evolution. What was the framework of regulation regarding the military discipline during the Communist regime? A Code of Conduct on Military Discipline from 1960s stated that „The military order of a superior is a law for subordinates...” and it should be accomplished „...as ordered, without comments and immediately”. After 1969 such provision has been changed and included in the Penal Code, the comandants being responsible for the legality of the order. However the essence of discipline remained.

The military oath is an important aspect of the military discipline everywhere, and Romania is no exception. The military oath proposed in 1972 contains the following phrase: „...swear to respect the laws, to fulfill the orders of the Supreme Commander, the requirements of the military regulations and the orders of my superiors, both during peacetime and wartime”<sup>11</sup>. Having such regulations in place, the soldiers were put under the state of emergency -starting with December 17th, 1989- and received the mission to intervene against the population for public order reasons. Although that was not a traditional military mission Ceausescu regime used the military for all kind of non-traditional tasks, including forced labor. Ceausescu himself declared in December 21st that „...if the army and public

11 See the Law no.14/1972 regarding the organization of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

order units wouldn't fulfill their duty and responsibility towards their country it would have meant that they didn't respect the oath, provisions of Constitutions..."<sup>12</sup>. But the military leadership and the soldiers decided -after December 22- to support the people in the streets and to defend the „revolution”. That was the „original sin” of post-communist transformation of the military.

Beyond the positive image that the soldiers were „the saviours” of the nation, helping the people to get rid of Communism it generated a negative legalistic approach that strangled the initiative. Some high ranking officers were on trial for the victims of revolutions, some junior officers were convicted for mistakes during the military operations. All these juridical processes not only that triggered the positive debates and reforms regarding the role of the military in democracy, involvement of the military in domestic public order operations but also generated a „legalistic” culture. Many years after 1989 the soldiers tended to avoid any non-military missions without having a legal cover; they dismissed strategies or orders if didn't have a legal provision with clear punishment provisions. And that kind of approach lasted until recently, making the military a passive organization, being an obstacle in taking the initiative.

The evolution of juridical doctrine on military discipline evolved gradually. The best analysis of that evolution is presented in a monograph edited under the leadership of the former Chief of General Staff, General Constantin Degeratu<sup>13</sup>. In a chapter about the military oath and the Code of Conduct on Military Discipline, Degeratu considers that the provisions that „the order of superior is mandatory and should be accomplished as such, without comment and immediately” tried to put on the same level the provisions of military oath with a law. The content of the oath after 1990s evolved to the actual form: „I... swear to be loyal to my country, Romania/ Swear to defend it even with the price of my life/Swear to respect the laws and regulations/So God helps me!” (Degeratu, 1999: 114).

However the juridical responsibility is because of breaking of the laws, not due to the oath. Breaking the oath is just a moral problem, because the soldier breaks the promises contained in the oath and –automatically- the military honor, which is one of the highest military values, as general Degeratu considers. However, the authors consider another problem with the reference to God, because of necessity to respect the religious freedom; so they propose a differentiation of the last proposition for atheist or soldiers of different religions.

Regarding the fulfilment of military orders, now the Penal Code considers that the comandant is responsible for the legality of the order. According to the Law of status of military profession no.80/1995 the subordinate has the possibility not to execute an order if he/she evaluate it as illegal or breaking the human rights. However that situation has some

12 “Cuvântarea lui Nicolae Ceaușescu din seara de 21 decembrie 1989”, *Scînteia*, nr. 14725/22.12.1989

13 See Constantin Degeratu et al., *Executarea ordinului militar*, Ed. Militara, 1999.

subjective bias so the legislation can make such situations more clear. Another shortcoming of the legislation is related with the orders given by the political leadership to the the military in domestic public order situations. The Gen. Degeratu's book discusses such situations and the provisions of laws for the state of emergencies or crises management and suggest a lot of proposals, some of them still under discussion for the new law of integrated crisis management.

The Code of Conduct on Military Discipline RG-3, based on Constitution, national laws and international treaties is the framework that regulates the military behavior and during the wartime and peacetime. It specifies the military hierarchy, sources of authority, disciplinary responsibility the system of punishment and reporting in case of conflict. The commandant is responsible for the discipline, both prevention and punishment. Article 61 states that „...when a soldier considers that he/she was punished unlawfully or unfair has the right to report orally or written to the next hierarchical superior and the superior is obliged to analyze and inquiry the case” (RG-3)<sup>14</sup>. For serious violations of the Code, the soldiers could be brought in front of the Council of Honor, Council of Discipline or in Court.

Beyond the Code of Conduct that require the hierarchical report the soldier has some other institutions that can investigate a conflict or an abuse. First of all, The Corp of Control and Inspection of the Minster has the responsibility to conduct inquiries, inspections or control, to investigate petitions regarding the abuse, ilegal or disciplinary misconduct of any military unit.

The Ombudsman (Avocatul Poporului) is the public institution in charge to defend the rights and liberties of the citizens in their conflict with publica administration, including the MoD. One of the Ombudsman deputies is in charge with military service, justice, police and penitentiaries and every soldier could address petitions to report an abuse, breaking the law or unfair punishment. However the Ombudsman is a national institution with some regional offices but there is not an office based in the Military, only a deputy and a section at the central office in Bucharest.

#### 4. Cultural Gap Between the Military and Civil Society?

The next part of the paper would present the result os an empirica study regarding the existence of a cultural difference between the culture of the military organisation and the culture of the parent society<sup>15</sup>. This research is part of a cross-national European study that investigates the Romanian future elites' attitudes and values was carried out in 2003 on a total sample of 180 students, consisting of 89 military cadets from three military academies

14 See Statul Major General, Regulamentul Disciplinei Militare RG-3, Bucuresti, 2000, pag. 25.

15 See “Civil-Military Cultural Gap in Romania”, in *Military Missions and their Implications Reconsidered: The Aftermath of September 11th*, G. Caforio and G. Kummel (Eds), Elsevier (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 2005).

and 91 civilian students from three universities (economics, law and political science) based in Bucharest.

First of all, on the importance of the values for the education of their children, the military cadets considered that “determination”, “open mindness”, “initiative” and “patriotism” are very important while their civilian peers considered “tolerance” as very important, and “initiative” and “determination” as rather important. On the other hand civilian students considered “traditionalism”, “patriotism” and “obedience” as very unimportant.

### **Globalism/Localism**

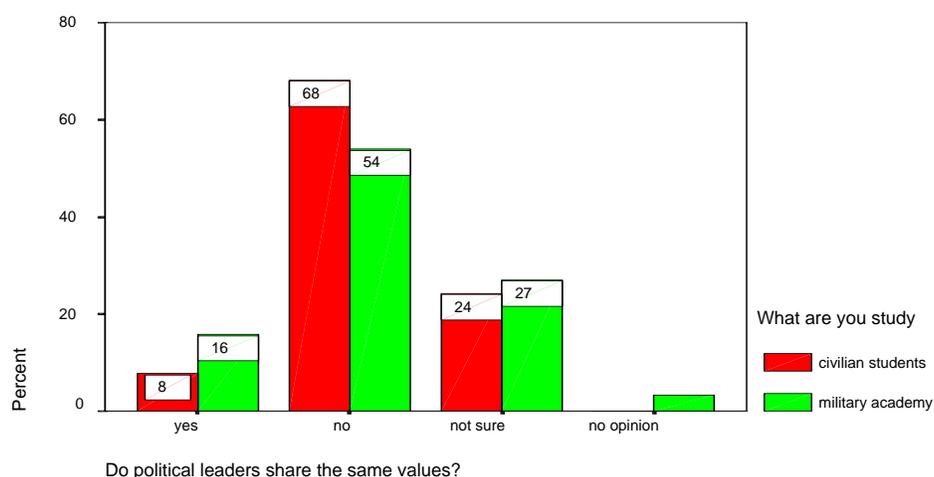
On a scale ranging from 1 (weak attachment) to 10 (strong attachment) students were asked to indicate their attachment to different local or global groups. Roughly speaking there were not large differences between the cadets and their civilian peers, except for “their country”, where the cadets felt more attached (mean 8.69) while the civilian students expressed a high attachment but much lower than military (7.70). The strongest attachment of both civilian and military students are expressed towards their primary groups (family) and themselves, while the weakest attachment is in world community and religious community.

Table no.1- Localism/Globalism (means)

	Civilian students	Military cadets
World community	5.11	5.54
Europe	6.30	6.54
Your country	7.70	8.69
Natural environment	7.63	7.88
Your colleagues	7.71	8.08
Your friends	8.71	8.53
Your family	9.53	9.38
Your religious community	5.91	6.42
Your native city	6.92	6.66
Yourself	8.99	8.66

## Knowledge and Values of Politicians

The study shows that there is a relevant difference between the cadets and civilian peers ( $p < 0.05$ ). While the majority of the civilian students consider the political leaders as somewhat ignorant in military matters (58%), the cadets consider them somewhat knowledgeable (40%). Going further, on the question if the politicians share the same values as the rest of the population, although the difference was not statistically significant some information of interest could be drawn. Only 16% of the cadets and 8% of civilians consider that politicians share the same values as the population while the majority of both categories consider that they don't share them (68% and 54% for cadets) or are not sure about it.



## Military's Role Within the Society

On two points related with the role of the military in the society, the military and civilian students views differ significantly. Firstly, on the question if the military should publicly criticize or not the Government, the military students agree that the military should not criticize the government ( $p < 0.05$ ). Secondly, on the issue of the military's influence over the society, more than 50% of the cadets consider that is proper for the military to have influence over the society (only 30% of civilian students agree with that).

The problem of subordination of the military to the political leadership is considered very important and important by 58% of the civilian students and 48% of military cadets. However, most of the military students consider that the subordination of the military was realized in Romania (61%) comparative with the civilian students that only 47% consider it done. On the direct assessment with the statement that the military profession is subordinated to the political leadership, it was not significant difference between civilian and military students (70% of the civilian students agreed with the statement and 72% of the military).

However, a significant difference proved to be related with the statement that the politicians must give professional autonomy to the military ( $p < 0.05$ ), with a very strong agreement from the military side (50%).

It was observed an increasing gap when civilian and military students were asked about the role of the military in peace making, war and their direct relations with the military or the role of patriotism. As shown in the Table 3, the military students are strongly inclined to agree with the statements that: “a Romanian should feel that his/her primary allegiance is to his/her country”, “military service is the strongest indicator of good citizenship”, “patriotism should be a goal for citizenship education”, “all Romanians should fight for their country”, “the loyalty to the country should prevail before the world brotherhood and “the most important role of the military is to prepare for a war” (Pearson 0.000). A significant difference is revealed on the statement that strong armed forces improve the image abroad” ( $p < 0.01$ ). The only aspects where both civilian and military students expressed very high support are related with the view that “peacekeeping should be central military function today” (95.7% civilian and 89.8% military students) or that “the military should be prepared for whole spectrum of missions (91.2 civilian and 96.6 military).

Table 3- Opinion on war, peace and patriotism (strongly agree-rather agree-%)

Statement	Civilian students	Military students	Chi-square
a. The Romanian should always feel that his or her primary allegiance is to his/her own country. *	63.8	95.0	0.00
b. The strongest indicator of good citizenship is performance of military service in defense of our country. *	26.4	63.2	0.00
c. The promotion of the patriotism should be an important aim of citizenship education. *	64.8	91.0	0.00
d. All Romanians should be willing to fight for our country. *	43.9	88.7	0.00
e. We should strive for loyalty to our country before we can afford to consider world brotherhood. *	55.0	86.6	0.00
f. Today, peacekeeping and other non-combat activities should be central military function.	95.7	89.8	4 0.08
g. The military should be prepared to cover the whole spectrum of possible missions (from war aid to the civil power).	91.2	96.6	3 0.08
h. The most important role of the military is preparation for and conduct of war. *	50.6	82.0	0.00

i. Sometimes war is necessary to protect the national interest.	60.5	71.6	6	0.61
j. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war.	62.5	76.4	6	0.14
k. Strong armed forces improve our image throughout world. *	63.8	85.4	9	0.00

On the question of conscription vs. AVF a strong difference between the civilian and military students is evident (see Table 4). While the military students consider that the draft “guarantees an exchange of values and perceptions with the society” (65.1%) only 28.6% of civilians agree ( $p < 0.001$ ). The difference is also evident on the estimate that Romanian AF attracts high quality people, 64.1% of military students being very supportive. Although there is no significant difference, a very high percentage of both student categories consider that AVF fits better to the new missions (86.9% of civilians and 92.1% of military). Interestingly, although military students prove the high esteem they have about the military profession and military service (confirmed earlier) they agree that AVF would be more suitable to the actual missions.

Table 4- Conscription vs. AVF

Statement- conscription	Civilian students	Military students	Chi-square
a. All male citizens should be required to do some national service *	34	70.7	0.001
b. All (male and female) citizens should be required to do some national service *	5.5	21.4	4
Statement-national-volunteer service			
a. There is a natural link between democracies and conscription *	35.2	48.3	6
b. The general military draft should include women too *	14.3	7.8	9
c. The draft guarantees a steady exchange of values, opinions and perceptions between society and armed forces *	28.6	65.1	0
d. AVF fits better than conscription the need of new missions	86.9	92.1	0.10
e. Looking at the whole national economy, conscription causes more costs than AVF, because of the waste of human resources *	69.3	85.4	6

f.	I am proud of women and men who serve in the military *	69.3	89.7	9	0.03
g.	The Romanian Armed Forces are attracting high-quality, motivated recruits. *	33	64.1	0	0.00

Summarizing the findings of future elites survey, some conclusions on civil-military cultural gap could be drawn. There were many similarities and agreements. Slight differences proved to be on the role of discipline in education, political orientation, confidence in institutions, sources of information, attachment to the primary groups, values shared by the politicians and military, democratic principles of subordination of the military to the political leadership, role of the military in peace-making.

An increasing gap is revealed on issues such as: subordination of the military (the cadets favor group consensus and listening orders), materialism/post-materialist orientation, foreign and security policy goals, missions of the military, attitude towards defense spending, military's role in the society, public image of the military and media's attitude towards the military. The most evident gap is related with the possible missions of the military, attachment to their country, national service and conscription.

The final conclusion of the survey is that a certain difference between the civilian and military culture exists in Romania, particularly on such issues as the role of patriotism and discipline in education, foreign and security goals, image of military profession and conscription/national service. However the difference doesn't seem to become wider, or to represent a fear of "militarization" of society.

## Conclusions

The main goal of the paper was to discover how the normative model of democratic soldiering is transferred into the military institutions and their socializing practice. The first part of the study showed an emerging interest to clearly define the model of democratic soldier and the norms of good governance and civic education within the strategic documents such as National Security Strategy. However, the content of the civilian teaching agenda toward the clarity of democratic soldier concept is not very well defined. The adaptation of Bologna Agenda is the most challenging issue of the moment and could be regarded as an opportunity for an European model of democratic soldiering. The leadership concept is on the educators agenda but looks like the education of the lower ranks benefit of further instruments to cultivate such concept and to develop leadership skills than the higher ranks education.

Lastly, the basic norms of conflict solutions in discipline issues are into place but the change is rather incremental. The classical discipline is seen as the trade mark of military and there is a skepticism that some norms could be democratized. As shown in the survey from the part IV despite some differences on some issues there is no clear evidence of a cultural gap between the military cadets and their civilian peers regarding the democratic soldering and the role of civilian control.

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