

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY SECTOR EXPERT FORMATION IN MOLDOVA

1.6 Assessment of Good Governance and Security Sector Expert Formation

1.6.1 Introduction

In seeking more efficient governance in the sphere of human development it is necessary and very important to involve, alongside other key factors, transparency, accountability and participation in the decision-making process of the population. When a society such as that of the Republic of Moldova has chosen democracy as the governing system, political, social, and economical priorities along with economic transition, institutional reforms and human resources development, become contradictory aspects for dialogues, discussions and consensus among various social groups.

Because the ambiguity of transition generates different values in different layers of society, the governing process gains a more open character. This means that governance should be associated with offering vulnerable social layers of society equal possibilities to express their wishes and desires, so that they can be sure their problems are heard by decision-makers. Also, material and financial recourses for reconstruction and development would be allocated more efficiently and in their favour. The comprehensiveness of good governing rises from the joining of all above-mentioned factors, which present the compound part of the democratic process of human resource development.

Concerning ‘good governance’ in the area of defence and state security, it is extremely important that civilians and military possess required knowledge on security and defence matters at strategic level, and know how to work together successfully. However, that is only a necessary

attribute but not sufficient for good governance. Really important for good governance is that both civilians and the military work closely together regarding state defence problems.

The following research will present the education and training situation of both civilian and military personnel, the status of the recruiting and promotion system, and how the force ministries and Parliament as well as parliamentary staff cooperate together.

1.6.2 Military Education and Training

Unlike most of the former Soviet republics, in which efficient military units on their territory smoothly transformed into national armed forces, in most cases the Republic of Moldova accepted under its jurisdiction military units in which officers and petty officers refused to make a pledge to Moldova and to serve in the National Army. For instance, the airforce regiment consisted of only 18 technical officers and no pilots; the artillery regiment contained only seven officers.

Despite the fact that by the end of 1992 most of the highly qualified officers of Moldavian origin returned to the country and actively joined the process of creating the National Army, the shortage of staff was nevertheless extremely acute. For example, a large portion of officers faced language problems, due to insufficient knowledge of the military and technical terminology in Romanian. The majority of the officers continued to maintain a Soviet military mentality, skills, and attitude to the service, which was incompatible with the new reality. However, in most cases, officers made efforts to meet the requirements imposed by the new situation.

Moreover, the remaining military units from the former Soviet Army were absolutely not suitable for Moldova from the following points of view: applicability, personnel and organisational structure and their location. The situation required not only a reform of the army, similar to other CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) countries, but also the creation of a National Army from scratch, by using only material and technical capacities of former military units.

According to the Law of Armed Forces, the military's main goal is to protect the state in case of military aggression, and to ensure the inviolability of the country's frontiers and airspace.

The Armed Forces were organised based on the following principles:

- keeping the Armed Forces actively strengthened by conscripts and enlisted personnel;
- preparing a military reserve based on compulsory military service performed by the country's citizens;
- a unified and centralised management;
- welfare and legal protection assured by the state to the military personnel;
- education of personnel in accordance to the spirit of patriotism, and compliance with the law and democratic ideas.

One of the principles of National Army building is education and training to instil high professional skills and a spirit of patriotism. To evaluate the prevailing situation in this area, a session of the Military Council (in Moldova we call it Military College) of the Ministry of Defence was conducted in December 1995, with the participation of the President of the Republic of Moldova as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. The session was significant for a variety of reasons. The session included the presentation of an annual report on military education and training, and scrupulously analysed the entire period of the state's process of building the defence system. Further, strategic problems concerning the future development of the state's body were discussed.

In his speech the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, declared the following:

The army is making its contribution in building Moldova as a state by way of establishing the relations of cooperation with armies of different states. I appreciate the positive participation of the National Army in the framework of the PfP [Partnership for Peace] programme, which includes, first of all, granting the necessary assistance for personnel education and training, consulting, and the exchange of experience for conducting peacekeeping operations.

At the same time the President mentioned: 'It does not mean that Moldova has any intention to join the NATO military block, as secessionist leaders from the so-called Transdniestrian Republic of Moldova accuse us in a speculative manner.' In this regard, M. Snegur has emphasised that according to the Constitution the Republic of Moldova is a neutral state, which does not allow the accommodation of foreign military troops or military bases on its territory and is therefore unable to join any military alliances.

The important conclusion made by the Military College was related to the fact that the Ministry of Defence had produced the basic principles of national military art that corresponded to the real military-political situation in the region, to the state's economical status and to the military policy promoted by state leadership. To achieve this goal, a number of scientific conferences, seminars, workshops and other activities concerning that topic were conducted.

Since then, the training process at platoon and company level has improved significantly. Further, a number of military applications on the field and on maps have been conducted that contributed to the improvement of the commanders and headquarters ability to plan combat actions and to conduct military actions at company level.

(a) *The Structure and Curriculum for Education of the Professional Military Personnel*

A robust educational structure has a vital impact upon the army's capability to defend the country, because only well-educated and trained military personnel are able to conduct successful military missions. Therefore, the National Army developed an education and training system. From the very beginning the system has been similar to the former Soviet system, but now deviations are noticeable.

Educational system

Tactical level

Operation level

Strategic level

- The US war college
- Alexandru cel Bun Military Institute: special courses (in progress)
- Army Military education centre
- Marshal Centre
- Brigade Military education centre
- CIS Military Academy
- Military Institute
- Alexandru cel Bun
- Defence Resources Management Institute, USA
- Courses in Western countries
- Foreign military institutes
- The Academy of General Staff, Russia
- Civilian institutes and colleges

At the tactical level there were and still are institutions that prepare military personnel:

- *at the squad level* – squad leaders for technical maintenance units were prepared in the army-training centre. Squad leaders for infantry units were prepared in every brigade. For this purpose every infantry-motorised brigade has its own training centre. The training lasted 3–5 months (depending on the specialty). Squad leaders were taken from the conscripts and their term of service was one and a half years. Now, the term has been reduced to one year.
- *platoon and company leaders* were prepared up to 2002 in the Alexandru cel Bun Military College, the only military educational institution in Moldova. The first graduation took place in 1995 when 72 lieutenants successfully graduated.

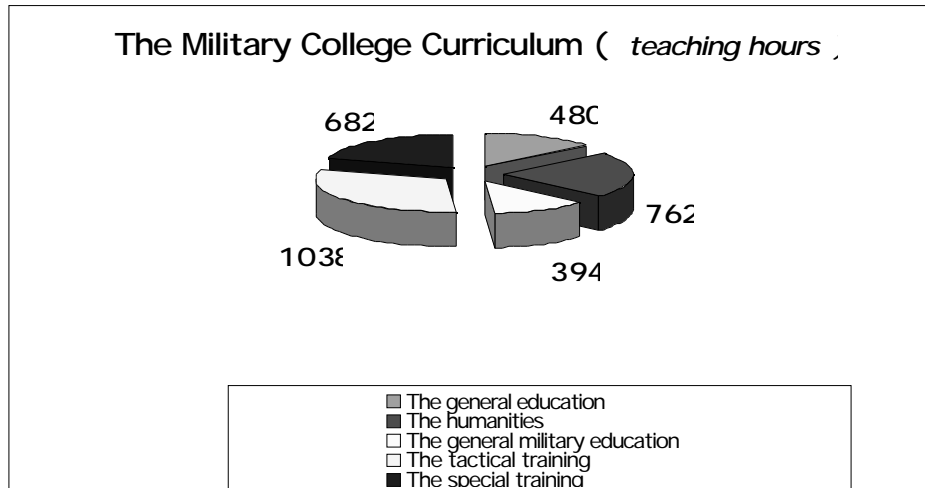
Until 2001, the Military College had faculties that prepared officers for infantry, artillery and communication units. Due to unattractiveness of the military service (low payment, ‘foggy’ future prospects for both the Army and officers, shortage of houses, and better opportunities to make a career in civilian businesses) the National Army sees itself in real danger to remain without lower and middle-level officers if such a tendency is maintained. According to statistics, no more than 50 per cent of graduates remain in military units after one or two years of service. In September 2002 this educational facility became the Alexandru cel Bun Military Institute. Its objectives are the preparation of junior officers for the National Army, the Ministry of Internal Affairs’ troops, Gendarmerie and Border Guard Troops. Another source of platoon and company leaders is provided by officer corps from civilian colleges and universities, which offers 20–30 individuals to the Army per year. However, their quality is a little lower, and they basically serve in logistics and technical maintenance units.

- Some extra company leaders or their equivalent, the National Army, do receive non-commissioned officers, once they obtain necessary tactical knowledge on special courses in Military

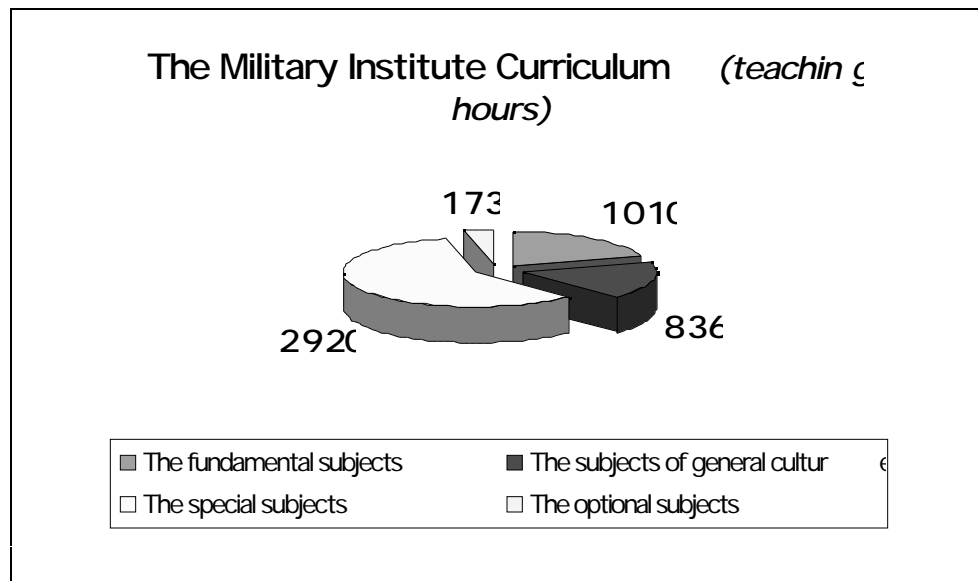
College. But that source is insufficient – approximately up to ten persons per year.

- Existing commanders for battalions and regiments were educated in the Soviet Regime. The new generation of that commanding level will be prepared at special courses at the Alexandru cel Bun Military Institute. Courses will last from six to eight months.

The Alexandru cel Bun Military College curriculum has the following distribution:



The Alexandru cel Bun Military Institute will have the following curriculum:



In any case, subjects that teach special courses designated for future military service maintain the biggest proportion of academic hours. But in the Military Institute the proportion of hours for fundamental subjects and general culture becomes a little larger than in college, which allows for the preparation of more educated future officers.

So far, the system of education and curriculum in Military College has produced fairly good officers. According to brigade and battalion commander reports conducted during tactical exercises in the MoD with young officers, Military College graduates possessed better professional qualities than lieutenants from military schools, Romanian colleges and CIS states.

At the same time, the Military Institute faces problems concerning an insufficient number of faculties and the improvement of technical and scientific research according to modern requirements.

Concerning civilian institutes that prepare officers mainly for technical maintenance units and subunits, military faculties provide the necessary knowledge to become an engineer officer. The ratio of hours in those institutes designated to the military subjects makes up only for 6–7 per cent of all academic hours. That is not sufficient to prepare a good officer.

The operational level – the level between tactical and strategic level – consists of brigade commanders and chiefs of departments in the MOD and Main Staff of the National Army. The operational level of the chain of command presupposes the conducting of military operations in large formation such as a brigade plus reinforcement units and higher.

So far, this level has been occupied with officers trained during the Soviet era. Almost all brigade commanders and chiefs of departments in the MOD and Main Staff did graduate work at different kind of military academies in the former Soviet Union (equivalent to postgraduate schools in the USA and other Western states). Unfortunately, they are getting older and no longer meet the requirements of the system. Therefore, they need to be replaced by younger personnel. Even today, officers of the operational level of chain of command are prepared with the assistance of Western states, Russia and the Ukraine. On average, 7–10 persons are educated in different countries. The curriculum in that case depends on the educational facility.

At the same time in the MOD, ideas to organise special courses for the chain of command level are being discussed. However, this is a problem for the near future.

At the strategic level – the National Army only had one person who graduated from the General Staff's Military Academy, the only educational facility that prepared a strategic level of chain of command in the former Soviet Union. The National Army needed that level because the Main Staff of the National Army is responsible for conducting military operations by Armed Forces of the Republic of Moldova and during peacetime is responsible for its readiness. Those responsibilities already concern the strategic level. One has to know

what kind of Armed Forces to establish, what structure they need, how to conduct operations and so on and so forth.

The only possibility of educating high-ranking officers of flag officers was and still is the education overseas. On average, two persons per year are educated abroad. The courses are given at the US War College, the General Staff's Military Academy in Russia, the US Postgraduate School and the Marshall Centre.

The high-ranking officers of the strategic level actually communicate with the civilian-ministerial staff, cabinet, parliamentary staff and parliamentarians, presidential staff and the President. The MOD does have that level of officers, and continues to educate officers abroad.

During 1992–97, a group of 32 officers was educated in military academies, courses in the USA, France, Great Britain and Germany. Currently, a total of 89 military persons study overseas, including all educational levels.

(b) *Career Structure and Promotion System*

The military career structure is very simply organised and similar to that of different other countries.

First level

Minister of Defence (civilian or military) (Three-Star General)

Second level

Deputy Minister of Defence (Two-Star General)

Third level

Brigade commander, Chief of Department in MOD and Main Staff of the National Army (MSNA) (One-Star General, Colonel)

Fourth level

Regiment Commander, Chiefs of Section in MOD and MSNA (Colonel)

Fifth level

Separate Battalion and Battalion Commander, Chief of Section in department and equivalent (Lt. Colonel)

Sixth level

Deputy Battalion Commander and equivalent (Major)

Seventh level

Company Commander and equivalent (Captain)

Eighth level

Platoon Commander and equivalent (First and Second Lieutenant)

It was suggested that the promotion system should be as simple in its structure. The Regulation on Military Service by Soldiers, Sergeants and Officers of the Armed Forces, adopted on December 1994 by the Government of the Republic of Moldova, clearly states the promotion policy performed in Moldova. The regulation specifies terms for every military rank: Lieutenant – 2 years, First Lieutenant – 3 years, Captain – 3 years, Major – 4 years, and Lieutenant Colonel – 5 years. The term has not been established for colonels and generals. Unfortunately, the regulation presumes different exceptions in ranking promotion, which allows the promotion of officers in advance of their terms, sometimes based on personal loyalty to decision-makers. This tendency brings significant damage to the morale of the officer corps.

A more difficult situation is presented by the promotion issue. Despite the fact that the regulation clearly determines the sequence of promotion, the statement very often is violated. Again, the prevailing situation allows for the promotion of officers concerning their loyalty to superior officers and not according to their professional qualities.

(c) *Education and Training for New Missions and Force Structures*

Due to new obligations of the Republic of Moldova and participation in military activities in the framework of Partnership for Peace (PfP) it became obvious that the National Army must have military personnel ready to accomplish missions during exercises and, mostly important, in future peacekeeping missions under UNO aegis.

As previously mentioned, the officer staff for the participation in peacekeeping operations has been prepared overseas in different Western countries. This process was enacted in 1993 when the first group of officers studied Western military science, NATO military procedures, staff standards, rules of engagement etc.

In 1997 the process of substantiation of the necessity of peacekeeping battalion started, and in 1998 that battalion was formed. The commanding officer and the major part of battalion's officers were and still are in their process of education in the United States.

Since 1997 the MOD actively participates in international military exercises where officers from different branches of the National Army and Main Staff develop and improve their ability to implement missions in the framework of the peacekeeping battalion in multinational peacekeeping brigades. At the same time, certain officers participated in exercises in the international headquarters. It is known that they performed duties in international headquarters fairly well. In conclusion, Moldova has a prepared officer's staff ready to carry out duties at high level, both in peacekeeping battalion and in international headquarters.

1.6.3 Education and Training for Civilians in Defence and Security Sector

(a) *Training and Education of Civilian Staff, Attendance at Military Schools and Courses*

According to the Law on Preparing the Citizens of the Republic of Moldova for State Defence, adopted by the Parliament on July 2002, the

military education of the civilian population for defence purposes should be conducted on a voluntary basis. This system of preliminary education can be divided in two parts: the first part concerns the preparation of technical specialists for the Army, and is designed for the private and sergeant level. The second is designated for the level of junior officers. This level is prepared in institutes and universities with a special military faculty. So far, there have been two universities in Moldova that educate people on defence issues. Those are: Medical University, which prepares military medical staff, and the Pedagogical University, which prepares junior officers staff for infantry. In 2003–04 two more educational facilities, Polytechnic University and Transmissions Academy, will be ready to prepare junior technical officers.

However, those facilities only prepare the tactical level of the chain of command. When civilians become decision-makers, take over the cabinet or become a minister – for instance finance minister – in the best case their knowledge on defence issues remains at tactical level, in the worst case at zero level. Of course, self-education should not be neglected but it definitely is not enough.

In order to increase understanding of military problems among civilians in charge, annual seminars have been organised with the assistance of the US Government. The seminars mainly discussed the issue of the management of defence resources and questions related to this topic. Some parliamentarians, chief of departments in civilian ministries and their staff attended those seminars. The seminars can be considered significant in achieving a common understanding of defence building and the distribution of resources funds.

In addition to the seminars and workshops, some foreign educational facilities educate civilians on defence issues. Every year military officers and civilians from the Ministry of External Affairs and Ministry of Economy are educated through special courses at the Marshal Centre, where they receive necessary knowledge regarding the management of state resources, foreign affairs, defence issues and their interconnections. The Marshal Centre periodically organises seminars on defence planning and economic analysis, where civilian and military officers from Moldova participate. Therefore, Western educational facilities are often

the only educational opportunity for high-level civilians and military officers.

(b) *Civil Service System: Recruiting, Selection, Promotion, and Dismissal*

The civil service system maintains a similar structure for every ministry or separate department.

First level

Minister, Separate Department and equivalent
(State Counsellor of the Republic of Moldova (RM) first class – equivalent to Three-Star General)

Second level

Deputy Minister and equivalent
(State Counsellor of the RM second class – equivalent to Two-Star General)

Third level

Chiefs of Department in Ministry and equivalent (State Counsellor of the RM third – equivalent to One-Star General)

Fourth level

Chiefs of Section in Ministry and equivalent (State Counsellor first class – equivalent to Colonel)

Fifth level

Main specialist and equivalent (State Counsellor second – equivalent to Lt. Colonel)

Sixth level

Leading specialist and equivalent (State Counsellor third class – equivalent to major)

Seventh level

Specialist and equivalent (Counsellor first class – equivalent to captain)

Eighth level

Junior specialist and equivalent (Counsellor second and third class – equivalent to First and Second Lieutenant)

The promotion system is similar to the system being maintained in the MoD, when the promotion of work experience, education and aptitude is considered. Unfortunately, the civilian promotion system allows for the promotion of people not according to their professional qualities, but according to their personal loyalty to superiors. The civilian situation has an even more significant scale than in the Army. Some posts in the civilian sector are subject to substitution on a competition basis. For instance, this tendency protects educational facilities from occasional persons in leadership. But legally established and open criteria for advancement and promotion, universal for all public bodies in Moldova, are not yet established and are subject for further development.

1.6.4 Parliament and Parliamentary

Because the final decision of the state budget issue belongs to the Parliament, which means the resource allocation for state defence, it is of vital importance that parliamentarians understand the importance of correct defence infrastructure building. Of course, not every parliamentarian has to have full knowledge on state defence and security matters, but every one of them should have the possibility to receive necessary expert information.

Parliament and Security Committee do not have a special staff on the state's defence and security issue. But some parliamentarians do have a military background and are familiar with that problem. In addition, as mentioned above, seminars that have been held in the framework of the MOD provided extra knowledge and updated their experience. In the decision-making process parliamentarians use assistance from experts of the ministries involved in defence and security matters – MOD, Ministry

of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Department of Border Guard Troops and so on. In addition, the opinion of experts from different NGOs is occasionally used. Due to this fact, more people are involved in the decision-making process.

At the same time the possibility of using external expertise in defence problems has not been excluded, but Moldova has not made use of this option so far.

1.6.5 Conclusions

1. In the Republic of Moldova there are premises for fairly effective civil-military relations in defence and security affairs to be established. In spite of the fact that civilians (civil ministerial and parliamentary staff) do not have full competence in military matters, the decision-making process is going on in a positive direction by way of using different kinds of expertise. This is the cheapest form of decision-making process, and it is explained by a backward economy, insufficient resources and lack of educational facilities for high-ranking civil and military officers.
2. The army does have prepared officers ready to implement their knowledge and experience in the establishment of state defence and peacekeeping missions.
3. The personnel management system, though far from perfect, does allow the promotion of officers according to their experience, knowledge and professional qualities. A clearly determined criterion for promotion in organic law should eliminate some of its imperfections.