

MARIAN ZULEAN

**ARMATA ȘI SOCIETATEA ÎN
TRANZIȚIE¹**

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Marian Zulean's most recent book, *Armata și Societatea în Tranziție*, provides an up to date, scientific analysis of the current political and security situation in Romania. According to the author, Romania has managed to build an institutional framework in which civil-military relations are based on democratic principles. He analyzes the two main areas – civil-military relations and security – within the broader policy and institutional framework of the Romanian military. After several years of sustained effort, Romania has managed to attain one of its major goals, that of NATO membership. The 'open door' policy promoted by Alliance leaders and the international community constitutes, in the author's view, one of the main stimuli for the reform process of the Romanian army. When Romania becomes a full member of NATO, Romanian security policy – affecting not only military institutions, but also relations with the society – will have to be devised according to security objectives determined in cooperation with allies. The author works out an explanatory model, taking both the domestic and international context into consideration. In this regard, Marian Zulean's work provides not only a complex diagnosis of Romanian army reform, but also an analysis of this reform process within the broader context of international realities. Such an intervention is important as the basis for a much more comprehensive approach to Romanian security policy.

Drawing on an interdisciplinary scientific method, utilizing concepts from military sociology, political science and public policy, the author describes the



¹ The Army and Society in Transition

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military and social reform process in terms of a democratic transformation. Jeffrey Simon has presented a similar picture, claiming that 'since the army's democratic surveillance became a mandatory condition for NATO affiliation, by the agency of *The Study on NATO Enlargement* in 1995, the interest in this issue has considerably increased and multiplied in Central and Eastern Europe'.

Simultaneously, with this elucidative and descriptive method, the author considers the theoretical paradigms of civil-military relations. He analyzes the level of social democratization, appealing for civil control over the armed forces and lauding the effects of mechanisms of democratic accountability. Divided into two main sections, Zulean's book deals with the process of transforming civil-military relations in Romania, on the one hand, and with the factors contributing to this transformation, on the other. Civil-military relations are analyzed both from a theoretical framework and in the context of social science. The patterns of civil-military relations identified by Huntington and Janowitz are taken up as benchmarks, against which to evaluate the structure of the relations between the armed forces and society adopted in Romania.

As far as the dynamic of these relations is concerned, two ground vectors are taken into account: a societal vector – the implementation of democratic standards and mechanisms that enable the democratically chosen civil authorities to control the armed forces; and a military vector – the professionalization of the army so as to prepare it for accepting this control. Issues like tradition, transition stages, institutions of civil democratic control, the democratic professionalization of the armed forces, and the relationship of theory to practice are important for explaining the transformation of civil-military relations in Romania. The identification and description of the factors contributing to this transformation process, like security policy in the age of globalization, complete the author's comprehensive analysis.

The issues of democratization and the institutionalization of democratic control of the army are at the center of one of the most ardent debates in this field. They establish a theoretical framework that gives coherence and substance to this debate. The book offers a matrix for what present security policy is presumed to be: i.e., dedicated to army and secret services. However, the paradigm proposed by the author represents a much more complex vision, in which a state's security policy is understood to include, in addition to the military, also foreign policy, national security, economic policy, as well as social, political and administrative factors.

The other side of the paradigm identified by the author is the institutional one, which defines the relation between the army and democratic society. This pattern is built on two main pillars: the first addresses civil democratic control through the legal system, as it is implemented by public institutions and civil society; the second addresses the professionalization of the army, its structural transformation, human resources management and the educational system.

Still, there are several shortcomings that must be identified. The first is related to the methodology employed by the author. His starting point is Nelson's methodological diagram, based on a matrix with two inputs: a limited dimension of the armed forces, and an unrestricted dimension of society. This

theoretical paradigm fails in its attempt to offer a complete causal and explanatory complex. Another deficiency can be identified in the author's attempt to analyze security without taking into consideration other areas that make an important contribution to security, like intelligence and internal affairs. Furthermore, a comparative analysis with other countries in post-communist transition would lead to a more comprehensive approach to the subject.

The book is undoubtedly a major contribution to the field of civil-military relations. Its originality rests in promoting a theoretical and operational model for these democratic relations, which is historically, analytically and empirically grounded. The elaborateness and complexity of this intervention, in addition to the importance and timeliness of the themes addressed, are only a few of the reasons this book is deserving of special attention.