

## **8. Civil-Military Relations in Slovenia: Aspects, Factors, Problems**

### **I Introduction**

Slovenia no doubt belongs among those countries of Central Europe, which have since the end of the Cold War faced numerous situations of instability, risks, and threats, military as well as non-military. These upheavals are reflected in the current practice of the country's civil-military relations.

The military in a democratic country should be under political control. The main principle of such control is dispersing the authority between various political entities (the National Assembly and its bodies established for control of the military, the President of the Republic, the Government, the ruling or leading political parties, dominant social groups). The purpose of political supremacy over the military in the Republic of Slovenia is to ensure loyalty, efficiency, and subordination of the military to institutions of the civil society.

### **II Internal Political Aspect of the Civil-Military Relations and the Democratic Civilian Control Over the Military**

#### **1. Transition from authoritarian communist-party dominated system of civil-military relations to parliamentary model of civil-military relations**

Civil-military relations is a sphere of society which to a large extent reflects the system of social and political order, especially in circumstances of great social change as have occurred in the transition of the South-East European (SEE) countries from authoritarian one-party systems to systems based on parliamentary democracy, rule of law and market economy.

The area of civil-military relations is particularly important to Slovenia, because a state of war (a military conflict with the Yugoslav National Army in 1991) emerged in the country at the beginning of the transitional period. This happened in spite of the fact that there was a

very strong movement to demilitarise Slovenia just before the break of the war

Towards the end of the eighties there was an increased demand for de-politicisation (political neutralisation) of the military in Yugoslavia. There was a conflict between the Yugoslav army (YA) and the democratic public (the civil society) from the more politically advanced North Western parts of Yugoslavia.

At that time, Yugoslavia maintained an authoritarian communist-party dominated type of civil-military relations, which was established under the influence of the Marxist theory of the armed people, and drew from the experience of the national freedom fight during World War II. After the war the communist party exercised a form of civil-political control over the military. (Jelušič, 1997)

The conflict between the old communist-party dominated type of practice of civil-military relations and the parliamentary-democratic model proposed by Slovenia was essentially about political pluralism in a civilian political system.

By the end of the eighties in Yugoslavia there was already an explicit tendency towards dissolution of the federal state. Points of view regarding the future state regulation came to be openly and loudly declared. National programs for retribution of historical injustice appeared (Serbian Art and Science Academy memorandum), while Slovenia and Croatia declared their intentions of self-determination. The YA was losing its good name, its extra-national character and became increasingly less socially and nationally representative. These facts evoked strong negative feelings towards the YA with the young generation in the North Western republics of Yugoslavia.

In the post independence period Slovenia has implemented certain changes, which are important for an efficient transition from the authoritarian to a democratic socio-political system, market economy, and the establishment of the Slovene statehood.

The new Slovenian Constitution in 1991 included many fundamental changes, regarding the socio-political and legal framework of the state and its system of national security. Among the most important are: the introducing of constitutional parliamentary democracy; division of power between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches; increasing the governmental authority over the military budget and the military activities which regulate national security; reorganisation of the Ministry of Defence, which has assumed the full authority over the army management and logistics. (Grizold, 1998)

All this has provided the possibility for a quality change in the relations between the civilians and the army in Slovenia. The former symbiotic relationship between the state and the communist party was abandoned along with membership of political parties for military personnel. All political-party activities were banned and so were religious limitations and discrimination in the army. The Slovene army (SA) thus became more socially representative and more nationally and culturally homogenous. The military has passed under civilian control. The Defence Minister is a civilian, who is directly answerable to the National Assembly and the Government. The national security system has become more transparent and accessible to parliamentary scrutiny, to the media, empirical research, and public criticism. The overall co-operation between the military and the civil society has been subjected to the spirit of pluralist democratic values.

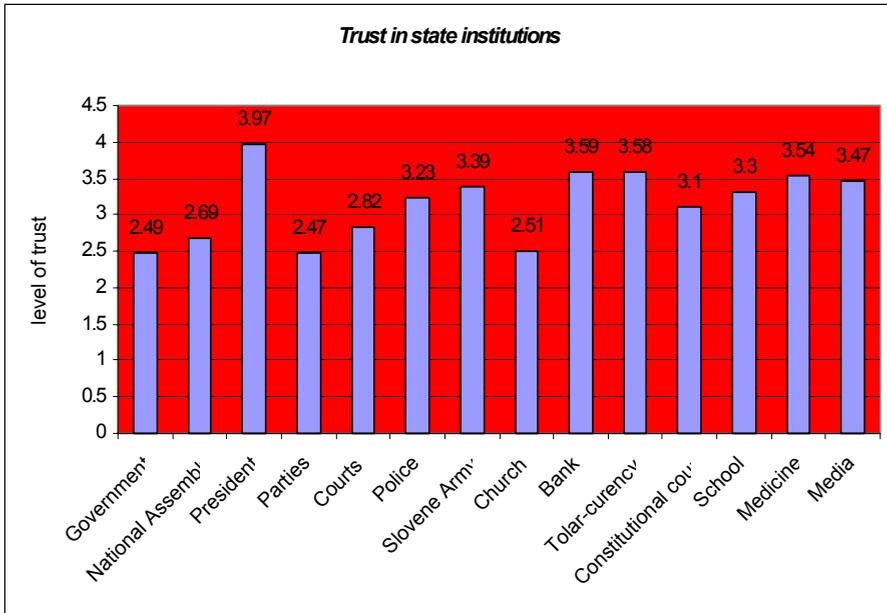
## **2. The Role of the Slovene Army in the Public**

Since the war for independence, the Slovene army has enjoyed a high measure of trust among the population. Public opinion research<sup>1</sup> from August 2000 confirms this, showing that the Slovenian army (with 3.39 points on a one to five confidence scale) only trails the President of the republic (3.97), the National Bank and national currency (3.59 and 3.58).

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Politbarometer' is a public opinion research, carried out by the Centre for Public Opinion Research and Mass Communications, Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana. It has studied the citizens' confidence in state institutions since 1991. The results of the current research show a decrease in trust in the institutions of the political system, i.e. it is getting stabilised at the level typical for the democratic countries.

Public confidence in the Slovenian army is ahead of the Government of the RS (2.49), the National Assembly (2.69), the courts (2.82), the police (3.23), the Constitutional Court (3.1), the Roman Catholic Church (2.51) and political parties (2.47).



**Graph 1.** Source: Politbarometer, Centre for Public Opinion Research, Faculty of Social sciences, University of Ljubljana: August 2000

The high measure of public trust in the SA reflects the population's confidence in strict civilian control over the army and Slovenian Army's benign and neutral political posture. (Bebler, 2000).

While the level of trust in the Slovenian army is high, the social prestige of military professions is rather low. This dichotomy can be explained by the fact that in the public the Slovene army represents an important symbol of national independence and national pride, while, on the other hand, the former social significance of the military profession has greatly diminished with the emergence of new non-military forms of insuring a country's national security and a shift in social values. A review of the phenomenon of trust in the Slovene Army shows that after

the foundation of the state and, especially following the independence war of 1991, the Slovene citizens had an exaggerated opinion of the state institutions, which was indicated by an increased trust. During the period between 1991 and 1999 the trust in state institutions declined. Trust in the army stabilised at the level comparable to that of some European countries.

### **3. The Process of a De-politicisation of the Military**

The process of de-politicisation of the military is to be understood as the process of bringing to an end the communist party's control over the armed forces and ensuring (party-wise) political neutrality, and ideological plurality of the armed forces. The ruling communist party exercised the control of the armed forces in the former system. This was a communist-party dominated system of civilian supremacy over the army.

The process of de-politicisation of the Slovenian army began immediately after the establishment of independence and included the following measures: the dismantling of political structures in the military – all communist-party units were disbanded, and political management and the institutions of political officers in the military abolished. (Bebler, 1997). Thereby the first task in establishing a civilian democratic supremacy over the armed forces was completed. The central mechanism for insuring the communist party's control and political indoctrination of the military was removed.

While abolishing political officers, officers for motivation and informing (the so-called motivators) were introduced into the SA, who are in charge of warfare moral, public relations, informing soldiers, in co-operation with psychologists participate in solving conflicts and care for civil education.

Officers and non-commissioned officers have the right to form professional associations at the national and international levels. They, however, must not engage in politics while in uniform during the period of service, they must not publicly express their political views and judgement and must not enforce their views and judgement on others.

They must not be members of political parties. During their free time, they may participate in the activities of political parties as all other citizens, but they must not wear the uniform.

During the period of service, military personnel do not have the right to strike.

The provision of religious and spiritual care is by constitution and in practice guaranteed to all members of the SA. During the formation of the SA in 1993, an internal Act (an instruction) was passed that guaranteed the participation in religious ceremonies.

The MoD of Slovenia has recently worked with greater intensity on the project of introducing army chaplains, which is comparable to that in the countries of NATO.

The freedoms, rights and obligations of a citizen in the army relate to the personnel of the professional structure and the reserve formation. The Constitution and the Defence Act regulate these issues. Regarding the individual civilian control of the defence forces, the Ombudsman plays an important role being competent for the protection of rights in the army and Ministry of Defence.

### **III Democratic Civilian Control of the Armed Forces: Defence-Political Aspect**

In the most general sense of the word civilian control of the army in Slovenia means the control of the civil society over the activities and conduct of the military as one of the institutions of the state. In Slovenia civilian control proceeds through the following areas of control: **legislative**, which is a foundation for the military's activity in the society; **financial**, which is an instrument for the regulation of the military's activity, and **personnel-managing**, which is essential for developing the national security system.

Democratic control of the military has been laid down and executed as a fundamental political determinant in the organisation of the defence system and the national security system of the Republic of Slovenia.

An important segment of civilian control is also civilianisation of the defence sector in particular the military, which is reflected in the educational structure of the officers. A significant portion of Slovene officers has completed secondary school civilian education, which is a specific to the transitional period in Slovenia.

Democratic civilian control over the Armed Forces in Slovenia is exercised through participation of the Parliament, the media, and the individual – the citizen as a member of the civil society. An important figure in exercising the individual control is the Ombudsman, who is responsible for monitoring and implementation of the human rights protection in the army and broadly in the defence sector.

The purpose of democratic civilian control over the institution of the military in Slovenia is to establish a balance between the civilian democratic institutions and the power of the military institution. The defence political aspect of control over defence forces in Slovenia reflects itself in the process of implementation of defence policy. Here it would be necessary to insure co-operation between the various Ministries, as well as between the National Assembly, the Government, the Defence and other Ministries, political parties and expert and scientific institutions in the civil society and the area of defence. An extremely important factor in the Slovene defence policy will be the degree of fragmentation or concentration of the political power in the area of defence. There will be various obstacles in the future implementation of the defence policy. Concerning Slovenia there may be certain economic and defence budget limitations, technological deficiency in the area of defence, problems in finding a suitable model of military organisation (professional or conscription army, or a combination of both). There may also be a problem with the capacity of mobilisation and efficiency of reserve forces, with the provision of military hardware and its dependence on the import (armament systems, logistics capacities). A particularly important element will be public

opinion as a factor influencing the defence system (interests of civilian groups, political parties, etc.).

Most countries in transition, which are establishing the system of national security, encounter the problem of paucity of expertise in the field of national security. Expert knowledge and science are those elements that can establish communication between individual institutions in the state, participating in forming the defence policy: the National Assembly, the Committee for Defence, and the President of the Republic, the Government, and the Ministry of Defence. The discord between the expertise on national security and the institutions shaping defence policy is too great. Defence institutions often seek quick solutions and tend to ignore results of expert studies. Links of positive influence and trust should be built in this area to provide a fair and expert co-operation.

#### **IV The Foreign Political Aspect of the Democratic Civilian Control of the Armed Forces: Employing Armed Forces in International Relations**

Institutional civil control of the armed forces in Slovenia is very strong and proceeds as an intertwining of the legislative authority, the executive authority, and the President of the Republic.

The authority over the management and command in the Slovene army is divided between democratic civilian institutions, thus providing conditions for implementing the democratic principle of balance of political power and control over the armed forces, which stipulates that the command of the armed forces in peace time does not lie exclusively within the authority of one individual. This means that neither the President, nor the Defence Minister, nor the National Assembly, nor any political party has the exclusive authority to command and manage the Armed Forces in the country; rather, the authority is evenly divided between all the various entities.

The Armed Forces in Slovenia are a constituent part of the state's legal order, and are by no means a state within a state. This means that

the SA is a dynamic and equal partner in the society, subordinated to democratic rules thereby achieving legitimacy and legal status in the civil society. The SA is not to be used for the purpose of political, and political party activities.

The government makes decisions about the Slovenian army's co-operation in performing the duties assumed within international organisations.

In addition to preparing the forces for its own defence and future tasks in NATO, Slovenia also provides forces and facilities for participation in international peace support operations and other crisis management operations.

## **V Factors Influencing the Civil-Military Relations in Slovenia**

### **1. The legal and the institutional factor**

The legislative and executive authorities, and the President of the Republic jointly perform institutional civilian control over the military in Slovenia. Political control proceeds through the legislative authority i.e. through the National Assembly and its competent working bodies (the Committee for Defence, the Committee for the Budget, Finances and Monetary Policy, The Committee for Control Over the Budget and Other Public Finances, the Committee for Monitoring the Implementation of the Resolution on the Starting Points for the Concept of National Security of the Republic of Slovenia, the Commission for Control Over the Work of Security and Intelligence Services, and Committee for International Relations). The main weakness of such control is in the insufficient training of those who implement it, and in a functional deficiency of the legislation, which does not stipulate the exact criteria and conditions of the control.

According to Samuel Huntington (1964), the problem of the modern state is not the army's revolt but in the relation of experts to politicians. The problem indicated by Huntington is how to accomplish objective

civilian control while acknowledging autonomy of military professionalism and independent military expertise. In the case of Slovenia the question would be: how to regulate the relations between the General Staff of the Slovene army and the Minister of Defence, the Chief of General Staff and the President of the Republic, and the Minister of Defence and the President of the Republic?

An essential element in civil-military relations is also the balance between the military and civilian factors in the decision-making process. To establish the balance in conditions with no clear legislative framework is extremely difficult, though not impossible. T. Skauge (1994:189) maintains that without determining the boundaries between the administrative and the political domains, civilian control is becoming a factor contradictory to professional autonomy.

A Canadian defence system expert Dr. Bland differentiates between various organisational models of defence systems, which differ among themselves with regard to the type of political system and the relations between the civilian and the military part of the Ministry of Defence. Dr. Bland believes that a typical characteristic of most Eastern-European defence systems is the so-called unified organisation, in which all mechanisms of control, management and command are joined under the authority of one leader.

The executive authority (the Government of RS) performs another part of the institutional control. It is legally binding that the Government participate in the control activities over defence in the following areas:

- Defence budget,
- Personnel policy,
- Management of military service relations by means of rules and regulations,
- Determination of rules for carrying out of tasks for particular authorised persons in the Armed Forces and in part of the defence structures.

The government co-ordinates activities of the defence and finance ministries and their bodies. Thus it tries to balance between the powers

in the adoption of the defence budget. A more visible role in this area in the future should be given to financial experts, specially trained in the field of defence (defence economists). Their task would be (by means of the professional argumentation) to advise and persuade the legislative authority of the necessity of long-term planning (for the period of 510 years) and securing financial resources in the area of defence.

In the future, the Slovene government should become more active in expert planning, control, leading and managing of personnel, and promotion policies in the Slovene military. The Government appoints the Minister of Defence who is a member of the Government in charge of defence matters and answerable to the legislative authority, i.e. the National Assembly. The Slovenian Minister of Defence is a civilian, which is one of the principles of the civil society in the development of democratic civil-military relations. The Civilian Minister of Defence executes the state's defence policy. The main task of the Minister of Defence in any democratic government including the Slovenian is to co-ordinate defence matters in co-operation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and, if necessary, with other ministers. The Minister of Defence proposes the Chief of General Staff of the Slovenian Armed Forces to the Government. The chief of General Staff will be responsible for combat readiness, the operation and employment of all commands, units and technical agencies in the Armed Forces. The Chief of General Staff is answerable to the Minister of Defence.

A critical survey of the previous and current relations between the Slovene (legislative and executive) authorities confirms our previous assertion that the accumulated problems are approached by means of ad hoc solutions, with much rhetoric offering a lot of promises, but giving little consideration to strategic aspects. In particular the Ministry of Defence emphasises the necessity of quick and pragmatic solutions that are supposed to be carried out within a few days, weeks or months. At the same time there's little consideration of the relevant fields of expertise: the military expertise, defence studies, sociology, psychology, organisational studies, technical fields, etc.

Since the political changes in 1990 the legislative civil control of the military has been secured through normative legislative Acts, which

have been very helpful in the development of Slovenian defence system since 1990, and have formed a legal basis for its functioning and the existence in the civil-military relations. In 1990 the first Law on Defence was passed. In 1991 the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia was adopted. In 1993 The National Assembly adopted the Resolution on the Starting Points of the Concept of National Security of the Republic of Slovenia. The document stipulates the tasks and functions of the bodies for control over the Armed Forces in Slovenia. In 1994 a new Law on Defence was passed. In the same year was adopted the Law on securing financial resources for the implementation of fundamental development programs of defence forces of the Republic of Slovenia between the years 1994 and 2003.

In the year 2000 the Slovenian Government adopted the Strategy of National Security and Strategy of Defence. The Strategy of National Security will be discussed in the Slovenian National Assembly, which will adopt a special resolution on this matter.

On the level of legislative and executive control over the Armed Forces (AF), an Instruction on fulfilling the obligations towards the President of the Republic in the field of defence (Official Gazette of RS, no. 64/95; pp. 49744976) was laid down. The instruction specifies the obligations of the Ministry of Defence towards the President as the supreme commander of the Slovenian AF. These include the conditions and procedures of informing the President, the orientations for the (annual) plans of deployment of the Slovene AF, the conditions and procedures of securing the appointment of the supreme commander of the Slovenian AF, protection of the supreme commander, protocol matters between the President and the Ministry of Defence, and details on the appointment and functioning of the defence advisor to the President.

On the level of government, the State Administration Law regulates competence and responsibilities. Article 140 in the Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, regulates the competence of individual committees of the National Assembly authorised and responsible for the control over the AF. The article does not specifically mention individual committees, but refers to the working

body. One of the functions of the working body is to assess the appropriateness of the legislation relative to other countries and to test the efficiency of the regulations.

## **2. Military culture, professionalism and education**

Here we wish to explain the influence of professionalism and military culture, and military training and education on the formation of the civilian democratic control in the period of social transition in Slovenia.

Military professionalism<sup>2</sup> is an important factor of political legitimacy and objective<sup>3</sup> civilian control. The monitoring and study of military professionalism is very important for a better understanding of the relations between the military and the society. Particularly important is the officer elite, which holds the greatest power of decision making, and is also under continuous scrutiny in its relations and communication with the political system and the civil society in general.

With the establishment of sovereign state in 1991 Slovenia formed an autonomous military organisation. The Slovenian Armed Forces were formed on the basis of the organisational structure of the former 'Territorial Defence' (TD). The commanding personnel of the TD mostly came from schools for reserve officers of the former Yugoslav Army, while cadre occupied certain positions with civilian as well as exclusively military education.

When examining personnel structure in the Slovene army one finds that officers and non-commissioned officers came to work in the military from a variety of working and social environments, and with differing general and expert military education. This means that that they have been exposed to different socialisation processes and influences, and

---

<sup>2</sup> Military professionalism and professionalisation is to be understood as a specific form of military socialisation.

<sup>3</sup> Huntington (1975) sees the solution in civilian control in the objective civil control with the aim of maximising military professionalism. The idea is a division of political power between the military and civilian groups, the consequence of which is expert behaviour and attitudes among the members of the officer corps.

reflects itself the great variety of professional identities, subcultures, ethics, and values. (Kotnik, 1999).

The Slovene Army personnel are categorised into five groups as follows:

- 1) Former active commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers with military training acquired at military schools in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY);
- 2) Former officers permanent formation of TD, which acquired military education at military schools in the former SFRY, or in a reserve officers school;
- 3) Reserve personnel of the former Yugoslav Armed Forces (with a rank acquired in the Reserve Officers School or in courses for military rank) with acquired various degrees in general education, and various civilian occupations;
- 4) Commissioned and non-commissioned officers with training acquired in the Military School Centre system; and
- 5) Defence Studies graduates who acquired a military rank during the course of instruction in the units of the former Yugoslav Army.

As a result of different (re)socialisation influences and processes one finds that, at least at the officer corps level, the Slovene army is a conglomerate of cadres. This kind of diversity on the one hand enriches the knowledge and experience of the SA, while it does not insure good functional connectedness<sup>4</sup> and cohesiveness between army collectives and of the SA as a whole. (Kotnik, 1999).

The heterogeneous structure of the SA is a consequence of the emergence of the new Slovenian state and the formation of a new army. Thus, the 'concept of military profession'<sup>5</sup> in the SA is still under

---

<sup>4</sup> Functional harmony is a greater functional homogeneity and unification, unity of thought, common ethics.

<sup>5</sup> Military profession is a group of technically and organisationally trained professionals for managing violence, linked by common training, common (corporative) practice and professional ethics (Abrahmsson, 1972). The Military profession exhibits three main characteristics: expertise, corporativity/common identity and responsibility (Huntington, 1957).

construction, since Slovenia is only just establishing the system of military education.

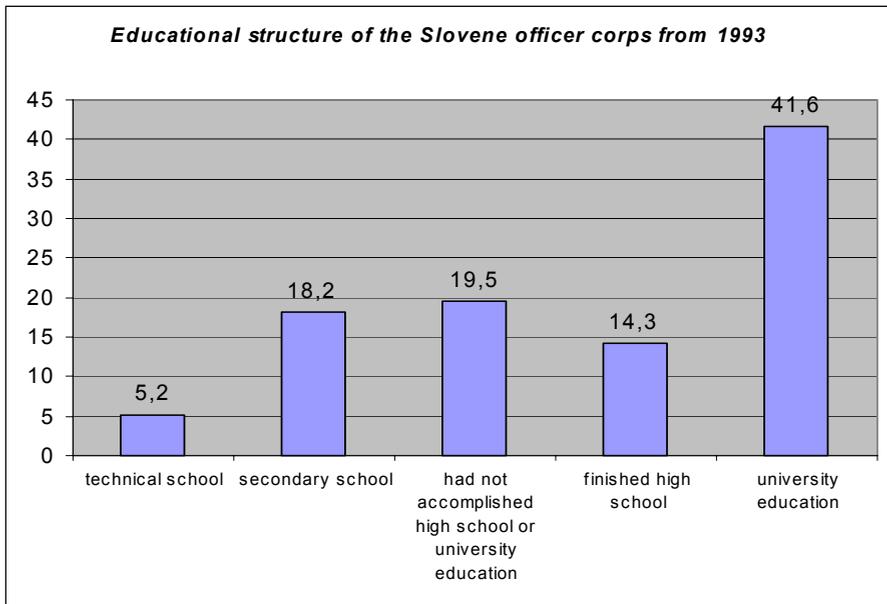
The overall education level of the SA personnel is rather low and acquired in the civil education system (with dominance in technical fields of expertise). Within the personnel structure there has not yet been established the necessary balance between the expert military, technical, and social science education.

After the independence in Slovenia we have not opted for a classical military academy, but for a civilian-based education system. The present military education system is based on general knowledge acquired by the officers through studying at civilian university programs, which is supplemented with the subsequent expert military and specialist training. This system is currently acceptable and rational from the point of view of providing non-career officer, to whom military service is only a stage on a diverse career path. However, it cannot provide sufficient career officers, who have chosen military occupation for life.

Career officers represent a firm professional core of a military organisation, from which the entire institution draws traditional military values and ethics and thus maintains cohesiveness, continuity and, in particular, organisational and functional efficiency.

The educational structure of the commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers is a legacy, especially of the post-war period. As a newly formed army, the SA was faced with a shortage of military intelligence, whereby heroic commanders with inadequate general and military expert education occupied the high command positions. The problem arose later when it emerged that their war practice had not been tested, supplemented or advanced with the necessary military expert and general knowledge. The problem was partly solved by additional training of the personnel "although there was normally no proper response among those who were already occupying important positions". Data from 1993 on the educational structure of the officer corps shows that only 41.6 % of the officers had university education (civilian faculty or military academy), 14.3% had finished high school, 19.5% had not

accomplished high school or university education while 18.2% had secondary school education.



**Graph 2.** Source: Kotnik, 1996, Educational structure of the Slovene officer corps from 1993

Military education in Slovenia in the near future will have to face two main tasks:

- It will have to homogenise the knowledge and skills that have already been acquired by the professional soldiers in the present formation of the Slovenian Armed Forces, and
- Design an educational program that will provide new trainees with sufficient general and specialist knowledge and skills for work in their profession, and shape them into officers who will be loyal to the Slovene state and nation. (Jelušič, 1997).

The Defence Ministry of the Republic of Slovenia as the main founder of the SA tries to consider modern trends in the area of military professionalism. Sociological research that was carried out in the military units (Garb, 1993), show a growth of military expertise,

responsibility and corporativity. The motivational factors are diverse and mutually connected. There are no excessive patriotic tendencies, nor does financial motivation stand out. There is also a very strong tendency towards civilianisation of the military as a result of the practise of employing civilian experts in the military. There is also a notable trend of fragmentation of fields of expertise within the Armed Forces (deprofessionalisation<sup>6</sup> and superprofessionalisation<sup>7</sup>)

The social milieu from which the Slovene Army personnel come is quite even. No social milieu is predominant as indicated by the following almost even ratios of the Slovene Army personnel: rural areas 25.8, smaller towns 21.0, and bigger towns 24.2. The average age is 27, while the majority belong, with respect to social status of the parents, to the middleclass. (M. Garb, 1993)

Finally, we may conclude that military professionalism in the SA is still under construction and is not yet an entirely homogeneous phenomenon. Owing to the varied structure of the SA personnel, there is a presence of diverse cadre groups, and an absence of unified professional identity and ethics.

When talking about the process of professionalisation<sup>8</sup> of SA we also think of enlarging the proportion of professional members of the Armed Forces on all levels, as well as a change in the system of providing soldiers in the military forces i.e. by increasing the number of professional soldiers at the expense of conscripts or by completely abolishing the conscription system.

There are two sets of factors, which suggest intensive professionalisation of the Slovene army. From the point of view of the state they could be labelled the external and the internal factors. The external factors come as a consequence of the changes in the

---

<sup>6</sup> Increase in the number of civilians, civilian scientists, bureaucrats technocrats working in the fields linked with national security.

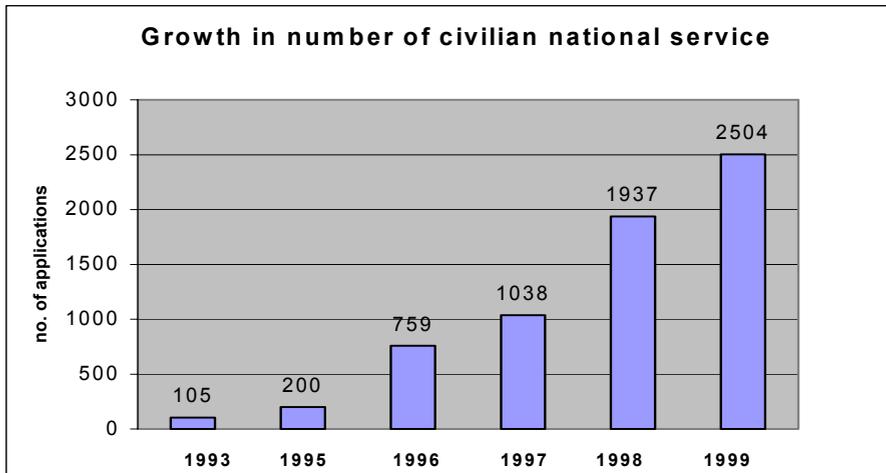
<sup>7</sup> Internal specialisation within the frame of profession.

<sup>8</sup> Professionalisation is a trend in modern armies of many European countries, which began changes into the way of providing soldiers for the Armed Forces.

international security environment after the end of the Cold War and the related changes in the nature of conflicts and tasks of the Armed Forces. Slovenia shall increasingly participate in the co-operative international peacekeeping operations. And the practice has shown that wholly professional armies are extremely suitable for multinational peacekeeping operations.

The internal factors influencing professionalisation of the Armed Forces include particularly social, political and demographic changes.

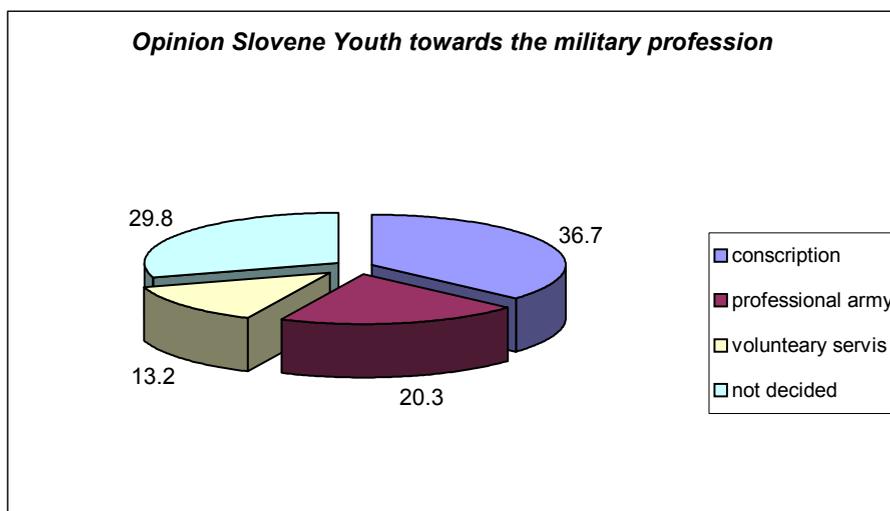
In Slovenia there is decline in the willingness to serve in the military service among the young population. Recently there has been an increase in the number of those physically and mentally unfit for service and the percentage of those temporarily unfit for military service is also on the increase. (In 1992 there were 14% of the unfit, and grew to 28,8 % in 1998.)



**Graph 3.** Source: Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Slovenia, 1999

There has been a *growth in the number of objectors* who implement the right to conscientious objection, whereby the number of applications has grown from 105 citizens in 1993 to 2504 in 1999 (see Graph 2).

The growth in the number of cases of civilian national service indicates, in a broad sense, the changes in values among the youth in modern society. The values, norms, and lifestyles of the youth are in total contrast with the goals and lifestyles of the army. The Slovene youth<sup>9</sup> also follow the general trend of the post-modern youth. A series of dominating values indicate a preference for basic "post-material" values such as: peace in the world, friendship among people, security of the family, personal freedom, a healthy environment, aesthetics and self realisation. The youth who are oriented in this way are characterised by little interest in national service and in defence and security issues.



**Graph 4.** Source: Defence Research Centre, Faculty of Social Sciences, public opinion research, N=1398 secondary school students, September 2000.

<sup>9</sup> When talking about value orientations of the youth during the 1990s we must take into consideration the general shift in value system which occurred among the youth across the world during the 1980s, that is, the shift from global, ideological, and the wholly developed value systems, towards particular and concrete values among which increased sensitiveness to mutual relations and to the quality of daily life predominate. Researchers attribute this shift mainly to the modern urban youth, which is to be found in developed societies.

Defence Research Centre at the Faculty of Social Sciences has carried out a public opinion research with the aim to find out what the relationship of the Slovene youth towards the military profession is. In the opinion of 36.7 percent of the young the present, conscription system of providing soldiers for the SA is the most suitable one. 20.3 percent of the respondents maintain that professional army should replace conscription, while 13.2 percent support voluntary service.

Other research<sup>10</sup> (carried out on the entire Slovene population) also shows that there is still considerable doubt in the Slovene public regarding the shift to a wholly professional army, namely, the proportion of those who support conscription is still relatively high. The people probably feel that it is not yet the right time to abandon this proven in the independence war and functioning institution of military conscription.

Intensive debates on professionalisation and the new way of providing soldiers for the SA are in progress in the political as well as the professional public.

The Slovene government has also adopted a document 'the Scope and Structure'<sup>11</sup> of the SA', proposing a plan of the development of the Slovene AF up to 2010. The document determines the direction for long-term development of the SA and among other things proposes increasing the proportion of professional soldiers in the army; however, it does not

---

<sup>10</sup> In September 2000, Centre for Public Opinion Research at the Faculty of Defence Science carried out a telephone survey (Politbarometer) on 902 randomly chosen respondents. The aim was to obtain the public opinion on the preferred system of providing soldiers for the Slovene army. The results show that 28.4% percent of the respondents decided for an entirely professional army, 21.6% supported conscription army with a narrow professional core, 20.4% maintained the army should be mainly professional with a smaller degree of conscription, and 13,7% of the respondents expressed support to providing soldiers entirely by means of conscription.

<sup>11</sup> The Slovenian army has currently 62,000 soldiers in war time/combat formation, out of which 4,100 professional formation. By the year 2010 the number of professionals is supposed to increase to about 7,700. There is supposed to be from 4,000 to 4,500 conscription soldiers, and the overall human potential will have gradually diminished to about 47,000 members.

mention abolishing the conscription system. Increase in the number of professional soldiers is by all means a good foundation for a transition to entirely professional army system; however, the question remains whether in a small country like Slovenia professionalisation is the best way of ensuring military security.

Whether professional army system will be suitable for Slovenia in the future will become clear after a thorough analysis. For the time being, however, professional army in Slovenia is probably not yet the right solution. The political situation in Slovenia is still rather unbalanced, and the question is whether it will settle in ten years. In such circumstances professional military may become an instrument in the hands of politics.

### **3. Internal political, economic and social factors**

One of the key internal political aspects of Civil-Military relations in the Republic of Slovenia is the strategy of regulating the military's relations with the public. The main principle and the goal of the strategy in peacetime are to obtain public support for the military's activities. Thus the military attempts to secure the legitimacy for its activity in the society. Public support is exhibited in trust in the Armed Forces and the national security system. In democratic political systems the Armed Forces are expected to act in accordance with the expectations of the public, and to submit to civilian political control. (Edmonds, 1988: 130) In this way the Army and the entire national security system shapes its public image and influences the public's perception. On the basis of these perceptions the public forms its attitude (of trust or distrust) towards the military institution, as well as certain demands from the system. The Military can lose the public support. The reason for this is that the military and other structures within the national defence system can create wrong impressions of the dangers in the public and thus appropriate a larger share of the Budget finances than necessary.

The significance and power of managing and planning of public relations both in peacetime and in wartime has been recognised by individual countries regardless of their political system.

Promotion policy within the professional military hierarchy and the administrative sector of the Ministry of Defence is an important factor influencing the image of the military in the public. Therefore it plays a significant role in the civil-military relations. The public follows personnel policy of the military more closely than the military professionals realise. This is particularly the case in the transitional countries where the military establishment is still forming its role in the society. The public in these countries often compares the social position of civilian officials with the position of the military elite, which is still being formed. The comparison is particularly at issue in promotion and salary policies. The inequitable position of civilians in the military in comparison with military professionals in the defence system is a common source of conflict in the military promotion policy in the countries of transition. The promotion policy in the military and the entire defence sector (and its appointing of managers and leaders) influences the public trust in the military and its public image a great deal more than the salary policy, since it also represents the decisive element in the formation personnel structure in the military institution.

The Slovene Minister of Defence proposes the Chief of General Staff of the Slovenian Armed forces to the Government. This is another fundamental principle of the civilian control of the army. The government of the Republic of Slovenia carries out the control over the personnel policy of the Ministry of Defence. The Government also gives its consent to the appointment of senior administrative personnel at the Ministry of Defence. A well-regulated personnel policy and promotion system is a basis for a development of democratic civil-military relations. Much of personnel policy in the Slovenian Ministry of Defence is still based on outdated legislation (State Administration Law). Likewise there is no specific regulation of the relations between the status of professional soldier and state administrator. In practice many Slovenian officers perform their duty as state administrators. This causes complications on the micro-level, in promotion and salary policies, and remuneration policy, which conflicts with the promotion system. Personnel policy in Slovenia will strongly depend on the type of Military School System that the country will establish. According to the experience from the Western democratic countries a modern and efficient army can be developed in a country only if the latter has its own

system of military education. An American theorist of civil-military relations in the fifties wrote that the nation, which does not respect its own army, would be forced to respect the enemy's army. Thus he made an important observation that no other institution in the modern state, including the police, can replace the military institution.

Most probably in the future Slovenia will encounter a problem that is currently concerning in the Canadian Ministry of Defence. The latter is facing paucity of management experts of different profiles in the administrative sector of the Ministry of Defence as a result of the 'brain drain' of good managers into the better-paid private sector. How can the problem be solved? For example: (a) by motivating state administrators in other ministries to seek employment in the defence sector (the most efficient means of motivation is a better salary), or (b) by motivating certain successful officers to take on the tasks in the civilian sector of the ministry.

The economic factor of the civil-military relations reflects itself in the tasks of civil defence economists. Their tasks should be directed towards rational defence expenditure and the distribution of financial means in accordance with the requirements of the government. The military in the democratic societies can spend only as much as it has been able to negotiate through its experts, and by means of argumentation supported by precisely worked out financial plans. Defence expenditure in Slovenia represents a considerable portion of the state budget and is a very sensitive issue in public opinion.

The issue of expenditure on the account of Slovenia's joining NATO is another economic factor in the current situation and future civil-military relations in Slovenia. Slovenia's integration in NATO will depend mainly on the organisation's assessment of whether Slovenia meets the necessary political and military expert standards.

Slovenia has made a commitment to spend on defence the percentage of the Slovene GDP, which will be equivalent to other members of the union.

Besides securing the appropriate Defence Budget, it is very important to insure a transparency i.e. civil control over the defence expenditure and the defence Budget.

#### **4. The international factor**

Defence and force planning is one of the conditions of the modern military professionalism and a base for the complex strategic decision-making process. The international factor is also important for the Slovenian civil-military relations. The Slovenian Minister of Defence is responsible for leading and managing the defence planning process. A crucial condition for establishing an effective national security system and national defence system is the revision and co-ordination of the basic documents in the area of national security. This is also a condition laid down by Membership Action Plan, and Annual National Program for implementation of the MAP. *National security strategy* was adopted by the Slovenian government on 24 August 2000, and is to be approved by the parliament in the first half of the year 2001. The Slovenian government adopted one week later the *Defence strategy*. Proposals of the doctrines of military defence, civil protection and disaster relief will be prepared for governmental procedure in the year 2001. The documents should also define the responsibilities of the Minister of Defence, and the Head of the General Staff concerning defence planning and force planning. So far, none of the Slovenian defence ministers was in power long enough to organise the system of leadership, management and the commanding process inside the MoD. The future role of the Slovenian State Secretary of Defence should be more dynamic with the focus on work in small groups.

#### **5. Historical Tradition and Legacies**

Civil-military relations in Slovenia have passed through various stages in the past ten years. The end of the eighties, which is called 'the time of the Slovenian spring', is characterised by the intensity of the relations between the institutions of the civil society, the military, and the state authorities (former Yugoslav and those of the Slovenian Republic). Institutions of civil society as *Mladina* magazine, Human

Rights Committee functioned as mechanisms of civilian control of the military and state authorities.

A decisive shift in the civil-military relations came with the ten days of war and the period that followed. With the formation of the new country the Territorial Defence was gradually transformed into the Slovenian army. The country began building the elements of the new defence system, which attained a new dimension with the passing of the Defence Law and Resolution on the Guidelines of the Concept of National Security of the Republic of Slovenia. Also, the Strategy of National Security and Defence Strategy were adopted this year. The following doctrines are currently in the governmental procedure: the Doctrine of Civil Defence, the Civil Protection and Disaster Relief Doctrine, and the Military Defence Doctrine.

The early 1990s were characterised by a marked normative (emphasis on the legal expertise) approach in the practice of civil-military relations. The emphasis was on civil-military relations in the narrow sense i.e. the relations between the state authorities and the military. The professional civilian institutions (for example, the non-governmental institutions and the University) did not actively participate in the shaping of the Slovene defence legislation.

In the development of the defence system so far little attention has been paid to the development of the system of National Security and to the complex development of civil-military relations. The normative approach continues to dominate in the creation of civil-military relations in Slovenia. However, the administrative transformation of the national security system (by means of a great number of restructuring of work posts) alone does not insure a successful functioning of the System of National Security.

## **VI Conclusion**

This article outlined the situation in the civil-military relations of Slovenia in 1990 2000.

The internal political aspects of the civil-military relations is comprised of three parts: the transition from authoritarian to parliamentary system of civil-military relations, the role of the Slovenian Army in the Public, and in the process of a de-politicisation of the Military. In Slovenia civilian control proceeds through the following areas of control: legislative, which is a foundation for the military's activity in the society, financial, which is an instrument for the regulation of the military's activity, and personnel-managing, which is essential for the development of the national security system.

The Slovenian Army is present in international activities. The government makes decisions about the Slovenian army's co-operation in performing the duties assumed within international organisations. In addition to providing the forces for its own defence and for the future tasks arising from the country's full membership in NATO, Slovenia also provides forces and facilities for participation in international peace-support operations and other crisis management operations.

The following factors, influencing the Slovene civil-military relations, have been identified: the legal and the institutional factor; the internal political factor, the economic and social factors, and the international factor.

The legislative and executive authorities, and the President of the Republic jointly perform institutional civilian control over the military in Slovenia. One of the key internal political aspects of Civil-Military relations in Slovenia is the strategy of regulating the military's relations with the public.

Defence and force planning is one of the conditions of the modern military professionalism and a base for the complex strategic decision-making process. It is also an important international factor of the Slovenian Civil-Military relations.

Civil-military relations in Slovenia have passed through different stages in the past ten years. The end of the 1980s, which is also called 'the time of the Slovenian spring', is among other things characterised by the intensity of the relations between the institutions of the civil society,

the military, and the state authorities (former Yugoslav and those of the Slovenian Republic).

As a participant in the PfP, Slovenia meets most of the required standards in the area of Civil-Military-relations. In the future the country should pay more attention to the preparation, management and control over the defence budget. While the necessary institutions of civilian control have been established, the content of their work, and of defence policy has not yet been determined. The communication between the various authorities of defence policy in Slovenia and the institutions of national security is also quite rigid.

Nevertheless, Slovenia has managed to establish a solid defence system, which is the most transparent among the countries of transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

The army that is being formed is small but efficient. The military system is in progress towards attaining a high degree of professionalism of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the Slovene army.

Further progress will follow, if we manage to develop the professional soldiers' personal qualities and to provide quality training for the army recruits. The development of personal qualities, with the emphasis on leading and managing abilities, is a part of the process, which aims at establishing an efficient military system. Within the PfP Slovenia can demonstrate many advantages of small but well trained military units (e.g. the Alpine unit). The personal approach to training the leading and managing cadre in the defence system and control over it must become a basis for all other qualities in the system of national security.

## Bibliography

1. ABRAHAMSSON B, 1972: Military professionalisation and political power, London.
2. ARNEJÈIÈ B. 1997, National Value Orientation of Slovenian Citizens and Their Trust in the Armed Forces, Österreichisches Jahrbuch für Internationale Sicherheitspolitik 1997, Styria, MoD, Austria (333344).
3. ANASTASIO A. 1991, Leader Development, Direction for the Future, Military Review, May (10 19).
4. ARONSON, A. 1988: The Social Animal, New York: W. H. Freeman; Allgemeine Dienstvorschriften für die Bundeswehr.
5. BEBLER A: 2000. The public's role in the democratic control of the armed forces in Slovenia.
6. BEBLER A. 1997 "Koga bodo letos povabili v NATO?", "v" Obramba, str. 49.
7. BERG, FROCHLING, KONSTANTY, SCHWARZE (1976)
8. Kooperative Führung, Der Führungsvorgang in Militärischen Führungssystemen, Verlag, E.S. Mittler & Sohn, Herford.
9. BLEND D. (Ed.). 1999, Issues in Defence Management, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University Kingston, Ontario, Canada.
10. BERG W. D. in ostali (1976), Kooperative Führung, Der Führungsvorgang in Militärischen Führungssystemen, Verlag E.S: Mitler & Sohn, GMBH, Hervord.
11. BUÈAR F. 1981,Upravljanje, CZ, Ljubljana.
12. CABANAC C.S. 1992, Das Operative Führungsverfahren, Republik Östereich, Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung; Generaltruppeninspektorrat, Operationsabteilung, Wien.
13. COALES C. 1970. A Study of American Military Institutions and Military Life, Pb. The Social Science Press.
14. DE CZHAGE H. 1992, A Comprehensive View of Leadership, in: Military Review, vol. 8. (21 29).
15. DONOHUE, K. S. in drugi (1993), Leadership, "v": International Military and Defence Encyclopaedia, Vol. 3, Col.

16. DEFENCE LAW of the RS, 1994, MoD, Slovene.
17. DEMOCRATIC Civil-Military Relations Program (DMCRP), Information Package for the 199 DCMR Sessions, Associations of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Ottawa.
18. EDMONDS M. 1988, Armed Services and Society, Leicester University Press, UK.
19. FELD D.M. 1977, The Structure of Violence, Armed Forces as a Social System, Sage Pb. London, UK.
20. GARB M, 1993. Vojaški profesionalizem, FDV, Ljubljana.
21. GILS M.R. (Ed.), 1971, Perceived Role of the Military, Rotterdam UNI. Press, Contributions to Military Sociology, Vol.I.
22. GREGORY, D. 1991: Artificial Intelligence in the US and UK Military: Current Research and Future Trends: Handbook of Military Psychology, Ed. by R. Gall and A. D. Mangelsdorf, John Wiley & Sohns, Ltd, (170 181).
23. GRIZOLD A:1998, Perspektive sodobne varnosti, FDV, Ljubljana.
24. HUNT T. / J.E. Grunig (1995), Tehnike odnosov z javnostmi, DZS, Ljubljana.
25. LEE I. 1995, Public Perception, The Role and Nature of the Media in a Democratic Society, Predavanje na simpoziju "Oborožene sile in družba" v Londonu, decem. (1995).
26. FRANK H. 1995, Bindeglied zu den Bürgern, Die Rolle der Reservisten in der Bundeswehr, IFDT, November, št.10.
27. INGLEHART R. 1987, Value Change in Industrial Societies, "v": American Political Science Review, Vol. 81, N0.4;
28. The Military and American Society: A Clash of Values, The Defence Monitor, Centre for Defence Information, Washington,
29. JUERGEN H. 1991, Die Alltäglichkeit der Schikane.
30. HUNTINGTON S, 1975. The soldier and state.
31. HAYSE V. 1990, Der Manager und Zukunft, "v": Innovation & Management, Heft 5, Berlin, (14 16).
32. JELUŠIČ L, 1997: Legitimnost sodobnega vojaštva, FDV, Knjižna zbirka TIP, Ljubljana.

33. KATZ, D. KAHN, R. 1966: *The Social Psychology of Organisation*, New York, London.
34. KOTNIK I, 2000. *Preoblikovanje sodobnih armad*, FDV, Ljubljana.
35. LIPPERT P.K. 1979, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, Bernard und Gräfe Verlag.
36. M. MALEŠIÈ (ed): 2000, *International security, mass media and public opinion*, Ergomas.
37. MUSEK JANEK, 1993. *Osebnost in vrednote*, Educy d.o.o. , Ljubljana.
38. NASTRAN ULE, M. 1992: *Socialna psihologija, Znastveno in publicistièno središèe*, Ljubljana.
39. NASTRANULE, 1996: *Mladina v devetdesetih, analiza stanja v Sloveniji*, ZPS, Ljubl.
40. NYE H. Roger (1993), *Command*, in: *International Military and Defence Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 2 , Ed. Col. Trevor.
41. ROCKE M.D. 1992: *Tematska številka Military Review, Leadership*, avgust.
42. THE RESOLUTION 1993, *of the guidelines of the concept of national security of the RS*.
43. THE CODE of the Execution of the Obligations to the PRS on the Defence Area.
44. VEGIÈ V. 1997. *Prikazi, recenzije: A. Bebler (ur.): Civil-Military relations in Post-Communist States, "v": Teorija in praksa, št.3, str. 555*.
45. WYATT T.C. 1991, *Society's Soldiers, A Paper, The International Seminar on Military in the Service of Society and Democracy, Israel, 1013 December*.