TRANSFORMING FOR MULTINATIONAL OPERATIONS: 
A STUDY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY OF MOLDOVA

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Command and General Staff College in partial 
fulfillment of the requirements for the 
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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE 
Strategic Studies

by
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Republic of Moldova, 2011

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 
2014-01

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Transforming for Multinational Operations: A Study of the National Army of Moldova

This study emphasizes how the policies and the strategic documents of Moldova support transformation; identifies the critical capabilities that National Army must develop to support international partners based on their needs; and determines the composition of forces designed to participate in international operations. The study used several qualitative methods to conduct the research such as observation and analysis of the evolution of policies, concepts and strategies in Moldova; and examination of the current state of the National Army applying DOTMLPF analysis methodology. The findings show that the Ends, Ways and Means in the country’s strategic documents related to the military security are properly aligned. But, in reality there is a severe discrepancy. This led to the creation of significant gaps across the DOTMLPF domains of the Army, which prevent interoperability. Niche capabilities such as SOF, EOD, medical, vertical lift, but also light infantry are capabilities and forces that are cost efficient for the National Army to develop. The conclusions emphasize that the transformation of National Army needs to start with a clear strategic vision, supported at the national level. Finally, the National Army transformation must be comprehensive in nature and include all the domains of DOTMLPF.
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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)
ABSTRACT

TRANSFORMING FOR MULTINATIONAL OPERATIONS: A STUDY OF THE NATIONAL ARMY OF MOLDOVA, by LTC Radu Burduja, 117 pages.

This study emphasizes how the policies and the strategic documents of Moldova support transformation; identifies the critical capabilities that National Army must develop to support international partners based on their needs; and determines the composition of forces designed to participate in international operations. The study used several qualitative methods to conduct the research such as observation and analysis of the evolution of policies, concepts and strategies in Moldova; and examination of the current state of the National Army applying DOTMLPF analysis methodology. The findings show that the Ends, Ways and Means in the country’s strategic documents related to the military security are properly aligned. But, in reality there is a severe discrepancy. This led to the creation of significant gaps across the DOTMLPF domains of the Army, which prevent interoperability. Niche capabilities such as SOF, EOD, medical, vertical lift, but also light infantry are capabilities and forces that are cost efficient for the National Army to develop. The conclusions emphasize that the transformation of National Army needs to start with a clear strategic vision, supported at the national level. Finally, the National Army transformation must be comprehensive in nature and include all the domains of DOTMLPF.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sometimes while accomplishing great things we tend to forget the persons who constitute the basis of our success. This section reflects my deepest appreciation to all those who stood by me and allowed me not only to become a graduate of the MMAS program, but also to become a better person, ready to move into the next stage of my life.

In this context I would like to express my gratitude to the MMAS committee that guided me through the research process. Special thanks to Dr. Phillip G. Pattee who was able to direct my research in the right path by offering invaluable advice and allowing plenty of space to express my personal ideas. I appreciate the wonderful contribution of Mr. James R. Cricks who sparked several key thoughts that were beyond my understanding in earlier periods of my career. Finally, my greatest thankfulness goes to Mr. Gregory J. Cook, the person who always took the first shock of my international student type writings, patiently proofreading them in order to get me to the next level.

During the research process I had the opportunity to conduct several interviews that gave a special flavor to my thesis. The interviewees provided a different perspective on some topics based on the internal processes in their organizations that normally are beyond the knowledge of an outsider. As such, I express my recognition to Colonel Ivan Ene, Lieutenant Colonel Alexandru Harea, Lieutenant Colonel Sergio Porres and Mr. Dorin Trestianu for the priceless information and insights provided in the interviews.

Finally, I want to recognize the enormous contribution to the success of this research of my wife Svetlana and my daughter Mihaela. Thanks for the infinite patience and words of support throughout this period of time. I love you girls so much.
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<td>Allied Command Operations</td>
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<tr>
<td>BN</td>
<td>Battalion</td>
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<td>CBRN</td>
<td>Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFSP</td>
<td>Common Foreign and Security Policy</td>
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<td>CGSC</td>
<td>Command and General Staff College</td>
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<td>CGSOC</td>
<td>Command and General Staff Officer Course</td>
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<td>C-IED</td>
<td>Counter Improvised Explosive Devices</td>
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<td>CIMIC</td>
<td>Civil-Military Cooperation</td>
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<td>COE</td>
<td>Contingent-Owned Equipment</td>
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<td>CSDP</td>
<td>Common Security and Defense Policy</td>
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<td>DIME</td>
<td>Diplomatic, Information, Military, Economic</td>
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<td>DoD</td>
<td>Department of Defense</td>
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<td>DOTMLPF-I</td>
<td>Doctrine, Organization, Training, Materiel, Leadership, Personnel, Facilities Infrastructure</td>
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<td>DPKO</td>
<td>Department of Peacekeeping Operations</td>
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<td>EDA</td>
<td>Excess Defence Articles</td>
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<td>EOD</td>
<td>Explosive Ordnance Disposal</td>
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<td>EU</td>
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<td>EUCOM</td>
<td>European Command</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
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<td>GPOI</td>
<td>Global Peace Operations Initiative</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<td>GWOT</td>
<td>Global War on Terror</td>
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<td>HNS</td>
<td>Host Nation Support</td>
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<td>HQ</td>
<td>Headquarter</td>
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<td>IGO</td>
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<td>International Military Education and Training</td>
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<td>IPAP</td>
<td>Individual Partnership Action Plan</td>
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<td>ISAF</td>
<td>International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan</td>
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<td>JCIDS</td>
<td>Joint Capabilities Integration Development System</td>
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<td>JMETL</td>
<td>Joint Mission Essential Task List</td>
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<td>JMRC</td>
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<td>MAP</td>
<td>Membership Action Plan</td>
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<td>MoD</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence</td>
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<td>MONUSCO</td>
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<td>MTT</td>
<td>Mobile Training Teams</td>
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<td>NAC</td>
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<td>NCO</td>
<td>Noncommissioned Officer</td>
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<td>NMS</td>
<td>National Military Strategy</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Security Concept</td>
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<td>NSS</td>
<td>National Security Strategy</td>
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<td>OCC E&amp;F</td>
<td>Operational Capabilities Concept Evaluation and Feedback</td>
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<td>ODC</td>
<td>Office of Defence Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPP</td>
<td>Operational Planning Process</td>
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<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe</td>
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<td>PAP-DIB</td>
<td>Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building</td>
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<td>PARP</td>
<td>Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process</td>
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<td>Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures</td>
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<td>UAV</td>
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<td>UNSAS</td>
<td>United Nations Stand-by Arrangements System</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>XO</td>
<td>Executive Officer</td>
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader in the context of this study, define the research question, the secondary and tertiary questions. The chapter introduces and defines the key terms used throughout the study, its limitations and delimitations. In addition, the introduction points out the significance of the study and explains the structure of the thesis.

The context and the background of the study describe the over-all strategic environment. It starts with the historic background of the National Army of the Republic of Moldova and continues with the discussion of the current state of the National Army. It briefly refers to the current issues that the National Army of the Republic of Moldova faces.

The statement of the research question introduces the reader to the problem. It addresses the principal research question that derives from the definition of the problem. In addition, it identifies the secondary and tertiary questions that help answer the principal question and brings more clarity to the study.

Operational definition of key terms defines certain terminology that is used throughout the thesis. The main definitions refer to terms like “The National Army,” “National Defence Concept,” “Neutrality Status, 6,” etc. They are necessary to facilitate the reader’s ability to better visualize and understand the study.

The limitations and delimitations paragraph describes the left and right limit for the study. It explains why some questions that are important and relevant to this research
have been omitted. By that, the study remains focused and narrow enough to allow an in-depth study of the proposed subject.

Finally, the introduction concludes by pointing out the significance of the study and potential directions for further research in the area. It also describes the structure of the thesis, emphasizing on the specifics of each chapter.

Background and Overview of the National Army of the Republic of Moldova

The topic of this study is the future development of the National Army of Republic of Moldova in the pursuit of becoming an Interoperable and Integrated Force in order to be able to support United Nations (UN), NATO or EU led international operations. However, it is impossible to talk about a future development without looking at the history of the National Army and its current state. This sub-chapter focuses on describing the background and the current issues of the National Army.

The National Army of the Republic of Moldova was formed on September 3, 1991. Just six days before, on August 27, 1991, the Independence of Republic of Moldova from Soviet Union was proclaimed. It did not take too long to realize how important the National Army was for the newly formed state. After only six months the Republic of Moldova had to defend its sovereignty countering the separatist movements on its eastern boundaries. On March 3, 1992, the National Army had its first military involvement in trying to bring order to the self-proclaimed, so called Transnistrian Moldovan Republic and thus maintain the territorial integrity of the new country.  

though the conflict was not long and lasted about five months, the outcome showed that Republic of Moldova needed a small, mobile and sufficiently strong army that could defend the sovereignty of the state, repel foreign aggression, and defend the interests of the Republic of Moldova in the region. As time passed, besides the core missions that National Army has, one more mission arose as a result of international commitments of the Republic of Moldova. This mission is continuous development of national capabilities to participate in international peacekeeping operations and increase the number of troops deployed to international missions up to one independent unit.²

During the history of its existence since 1991, the National Army of the Republic of Moldova was struggling to maintain the necessary level of training and readiness as the country was going through rough periods of economic down fall. Even at this time, the budget of the National Army is just 0.33 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which makes Republic of Moldova the country that spends the smallest amount of budgetary resources for defence purposes in Europe.³ Taking into consideration the threats that Moldova is facing in the region, as well as the challenges that derive from international agreements that the Republic of Moldova is part of, the budget that National Army is allocated in the last few years is obviously very restrictive. It demands strict prioritization of all the expenditures in order to maintain readiness, the ability to respond


to crises and at the same time to contribute to international peace and security as part of international commitments of the Republic of Moldova.

**Research Question Statement**

The scope of this study is to identify and emphasize three main things. First, is to identify the necessary steps the National Army must take to achieve a high level of interoperability with western partners in order to contribute forces and capabilities to UN, NATO and EU missions. Second, is to identify the critical capabilities that National Army must develop to support international partners based on their needs. Third, is to determine the composition of forces the National Army should develop to augment the capabilities necessary to provide to the international partners. Overall, the study analyses how the National Army of Moldova can contribute to the achievement of the Country’s national interests, by turning from being a security consumer, into a security provider in the region and worldwide.

Resulting directly from the scope of this research, the primary research question that is addressed in the study is:

What transformation should National Army of Republic of Moldova undergo in order to become an Interoperable and Integrated Force able to support UN, NATO and EU led international operations? There are two secondary questions that help answer the primary question:

What are the critical capabilities that National Army must develop to support international partners?

What forces the National Army should develop to augment the capabilities necessary to provide for international operations?
The primary and secondary questions require a basic understanding of the internal mechanisms of UN, NATO and EU related to security issues, as well as what are the specifics of bilateral agreements between the Republic of Moldova and the above mentioned organizations. The study also addresses the internal issues related to the limitations of the Republic of Moldova to join military alliances and coalitions with regards to constitutionally mandated neutrality status. As such, few tertiary questions help answer the secondary questions thus contributing to the development of the primary research question. The tertiary questions are:

Taking into consideration the relation between National Security Concept, National Security Strategy and National Military Strategy of the Republic of Moldova how do the Ends, Ways, and Means align in order to support the contribution of the Republic of Moldova to regional and international security?

What the cost/benefit ratio (including financial) is, by having Moldova contributing forces to international missions?

What forces and critical capabilities is NATO expecting from small democracies like Moldova?

What forces and critical capabilities is UN and EU expecting from small democracies like Moldova?

What forces and capabilities are feasible and acceptable for the National Army to develop in order to contribute to international security?

Definitions of Key Terms

In order to ensure that the reader fully understands the study there are few definitions of key terms used throughout the thesis. The definitions are specific for the
Republic of Moldova and are not commonly used in the international community. The key terms used through the thesis are described below.

When referring to the National Army of Republic of Moldova it is necessary to mention that, it includes Ground Forces Command, Air Forces Command, and Logistics Command. Special Operations Forces are separate from Ground Forces Command and are under control of the Chief of the Main Staff–Commandant of National Army. As of now, the Armed Forces of Republic of Moldova are represented just by the National Army. The Department of Carabinieri and the Department of Border Forces, part of the Armed Forces until 2011, became part of the Ministry of Interior.

According to the Article 11 of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, the country proclaims its permanent neutrality.4 According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, neutrality is the policy or status of a nation that does not participate in a war between other nations.5 That is the state or position of being impartial and not being part to any military or political alliances. As such, the permanent neutrality status of the Republic of Moldova currently prevents it from adhering to NATO, unless there is an amendment to Article 11 to the Constitution of Moldova.

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The National Security Concept of the Republic of Moldova, by definition is a document that outlines the medium term national security priorities of the state. The National Security Concept was passed by the Parliament of Moldova in 2008 and constitutes the legal basis for the security sector reform. Additionally, the National Security Concept constitutes the basis for the elaboration of the National Security Strategy and the National Military Strategy of the Republic of Moldova.

**Limitations, Delimitations, and Assumptions**

Few limitations, delimitations and assumptions have been taken into consideration for this study. Their purpose is to focus the study on what is important and maintain the left and right limit of it. Also, the assumptions helped the research process to be accomplished within the short time frame of several months.

The study does not use any restricted (classified) information that is prohibited for disclosure to public. Also, the study is focused on the medium and long term time-frame. Additionally, the thesis identifies only the transformations the National Army has to undergo to participate effectively in international operations, without focusing on other missions of the National Army prescribed by the Constitution of Republic of Moldova.

There are two assumptions that need to be mentioned. First, despite the Russian occupation of Crimea in February 2014, for the purpose of this study I assume that the balance of power in Europe and worldwide will not change significantly in the next 10 years. This will keep the research focused and will not over-extend it. Second, the

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internal unresolved dispute involving Transnistrian separatist region of Moldova will maintain the same status, of an unresolved “frozen” conflict.

**Significance**

There are two ways to address the significance of this study. First, the study is important from the theoretical point of view. It shows the insight of the problems that armies of small emerging democracies from East Europe encounter in their struggle to contribute to regional and worldwide security. As well, it can serve as source of inspiration to continue the research in this particular region of the world. Second, the study is important from the practical point of view. It can be used by the National Army of Moldova to address some of the problems regarding the critical capabilities and force structure designated for participation in international operations. Specifically, it determines what kind of capabilities the National Army has to have in order to fulfill its international commitments. Additionally, what should be the composition of the forces dedicated for international operations, based on the necessary capabilities to be provided to support the international partners?

**Thesis Structure**

The thesis is divided into five chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Analysis, Conclusions and Recommendations. Each chapter has several sub-chapters with the purpose to make the study easier to read and understand.

Chapter 1 “Introduction” puts the research into context. It offers a broad overview of the National Army of the Republic of Moldova, short historical data and the current challenges. Also, chapter 1 includes the thesis statements, the primary and secondary
Chapter 2 “Literature Review” focuses on the identification of what information is known about the subject and what the gaps are. The chapter is divided into three sub-chapters. The first one analyses the National strategic documents of the Republic of Moldova, such as the Constitution, National Security Strategy (NSS), National Security Concept, National Military Strategy, etc. The second sub-chapter focuses on the publications of national authors and their reflections on this specific subject. The third sub-chapter focuses on the foreign authors as well as UN, NATO and EU relevant regulations and policies.

Chapter 3 “Methodology” describes the different methods used to complete the study. It emphasizes the Ends, Ways and Means method that is used in the analysis of the strategic documents. In addition, it specifies the conduct of interviews that is used to get answers from inside of the organizations that normally are not published.

Chapter 4 “Analysis” describes the findings and their impact on the research questions. The structure of chapter three starts with the definition of interoperability in order to create a shared understanding of what the ultimate end state is. It continues with the analysis of the findings at the strategic level, comparing the National Strategic documents against the Ends-Ways-Means concept. Subsequently, it examines the capabilities and forces the Intergovernmental Organizations (NATO, UN, and EU) expect from small countries like Moldova. Additionally, the chapter looks at the cost/benefit analysis of Moldovan participation in international missions. The chapter ends with the analysis of the necessary forces and capabilities that National Army should develop in
order to meet the request of the above-mentioned Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs).

Chapter 5 “Conclusions and Recommendations for Further Research” is focused on describing the conclusions that are deduced from the study. Two sets of conclusions are presented in this chapter. The first set emphasizes the forces and capabilities the National Army has to develop in order to effectively contribute to international missions. And the second set refers to the comprehensive transformation that the National Army must undertake. Based on the conclusions the chapter emphasizes the recommendations for further research.

Overall, chapter 1 of the thesis puts the reader into context and gives him the initial necessary information to start developing an understanding of the research. Additionally, the “Introduction” frames the problem, identifies the primary, secondary and tertiary questions, sets the limitations and the delimitations, and makes the necessary assumptions. Finally, the chapter introduces to the reader the structure of the research and the main focal points of each chapter.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this study is mainly to answer the question of what steps are necessary to be taken to transform the National Army of the Republic of Moldova in order to ensure it is an interoperable and credible force and is able to effectively contribute to regional and world security.

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the scope of the study is to identify and emphasize three main things. First, is to identify what transformations the National Army must undertake to be able to contribute forces and capabilities to UN, NATO and EU missions. Second, is to identify the critical capabilities that National Army must develop based on the need to support international partners. Third, is to determine the composition of forces National Army should develop to augment the capabilities necessary to provide to the international partners. Overall, the study examines how the National Army of Moldova can contribute to the achievement of the Country’s national interests, by turning from being a consumer of security into a provider of security in the region and worldwide.

The structure of this chapter is focused on emphasizing the most important documents and publications related to the subject of this research. It identifies and analyses the relevant literature related to the subject of the study. At the same time, the study identifies a few gaps that are important for the scope of this study.

The chapter is divided into three main sub-chapters (parts). The first part reviews the documents and publications related to the legal aspects of the problem, and strategic documents, such as the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova,
national policies and strategies related to national security. The main goal of this part is to emphasize how the strategic documents foster interoperability and support Moldovan participation in international missions, and are hierarchically nested.

The second part analyzes the articles and publications of Moldovan authors, and their reflections on the subject. It emphasizes as well historical evidence by showing when the issue of participating in international operations became relevant for the Republic of Moldova. The interesting fact to mention here is the different approach the National authors assume regarding the same problem. Meanwhile some of the authors are supportive to Moldovan contribution to international missions; others are more skeptical towards the contribution and support the idea of total neutrality of the country.

The third part examines articles and publications of international authors and UN, EU, and NATO policies, regulations on regional security and international cooperation. It is worthy to mention that EU and NATO have similar approaches in solving security problems. At the same time, the UN has its own very specific procedures to respond to crises that involve military operations.

**National Strategic Documents**

To understand the National Army’s vision on its role in the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Moldova it is necessary first to identify and analyze the documents that ensure the legal base of Moldovan policies. This sub-chapter defines the most important strategic documents. Additionally the sub-chapter discusses them in the hierarchical order beginning with the most important.

Hierarchically, the most important document in the country is the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova. It is the supreme law of the country and was adopted on
August 27, 1994. The next in order is the National Security Concept (NSC). The Parliament of Moldova adopted the first NSC on June 29, 1995. The Parliament modified the NSC on May 6, 2008. The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Moldova (NSS) of July 15, 2011 followed the NSC. Based on NSC the most important military document related to the security of the country is the Military Doctrine of the Republic of Moldova adopted on July 14, 1995. Finally, the National Military Strategy (NMS) of the Republic of Moldova is the last strategic document related to security of Moldova. However, the NMS at this moment is still a draft version, and was not approved yet by the President of the Republic of Moldova.

The Constitution of the Republic of Moldova (further referred to as the Constitution) is the Supreme Law of the Country. Article 8 of the Constitution states that the Republic of Moldova shall respect the provisions of the United Nations Charter and signed treaties with international organizations, and the Republic of Moldova shall base its relations with other states on the unanimously recognized principles and norms of international law. A new international treaty that does not agree with the provisions of the Constitution will be signed only after the revision of the Constitution. Article 8 of the Constitution is mainly saying that the Republic of Moldova will be responsible for the assumed obligations to contribute to regional and international security and it will follow the treaties the Republic of Moldova is part of.

Article 11 of the Constitution states that the Republic of Moldova proclaims its neutrality and does not admit disposition of military troops of other states on its territory.

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8Ibid.
As such, in case the Republic of Moldova decides to become part of an alliance it will contravene the provisions of Article 11, which is maintaining the neutrality status. In such a case, before taking this step, the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova would have to be revised.

Currently, the neutrality status of the Republic of Moldova generates big debates in the Moldovan Parliament and Government. The debate is mainly about the necessity to join, an alliance (for example NATO) in order to be part of an improved security system. This debate became even more relevant after the latest developments in the Eastern Ukraine and the Russian invasion of Crimea.9

Another debate is about the possibility of joining a coalition and being part of an international military operation, in order to fulfill the obligations assumed by different international treaties that the Republic of Moldova is part of. So far the two debates constitute the main impediment invoked by politicians in order not to commit forces for international military missions. However, the recent deployment of a Moldovan infantry platoon (March 7, 2014) to participate in Peacekeeping Operations in Kosovo along with NATO troops, demonstrates that Moldova slowly is moving away from the stereotype of maintaining its forces solely inside the country.10

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The NSC adopted on June 29, 1995 discussing the military instrument of power envisions the military being used only for defensive purposes. It refers to international cooperation in different domains except the military. The Armed Forces are viewed solely as a mean to repel external aggression.\textsuperscript{11}

The NSC was modified on May 6, 2008. However, again similar to the previous version of the NSC the military instrument of power as a political tool is completely neglected. It is interesting to mention that despite the fact that in the NSC of 2008 the term military cooperation is missing, in reality Moldova already became member of the Partnership for Peace (PFP) program. And had numerous bilateral agreements regarding military cooperation.

The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Moldova is a document that was adopted on July 14, 1996, based on the NSC of 1995. The doctrine emphasizes the defensive posture of military forces of Moldova. Identifying the defence as the main form of combat. At the same time, the Military Doctrine is the first document that mentions the international military cooperation being one of political and military tools to overcome regional threats.\textsuperscript{12}There has been no initiative to update the Military Doctrine since 1995.


The National Security Strategy of Moldova (NSS) is a mid-term strategy that was approved by the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on July 15, 2011. It identifies the national security objectives, and delineates the ways and means to achieve them.\textsuperscript{13}

The Strategy emphasizes the fact that currently, the national security of a country cannot be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. Threats and instability from across Europe and its peripheries affect the security of all European countries, imposing intense cooperation and common efforts. Additionally the NSS identifies the role the National Army plays in the defence and foreign policies of the Republic of Moldova. It specifically states that one of the missions of National Army is participation in international peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance missions under UN, OSCE, EU and even NATO mandate. It states, as well, that the current relationship between NATO and the Republic of Moldova based on the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) within the PfP does not contravene to the neutrality status of Moldova proclaimed by the constitution.\textsuperscript{14}

Another document of significant importance is the NMS of the Republic of Moldova. The NMS is a strategic document that derived out of the Strategic Analysis of the Defence of the Republic of Moldova. It is still in the process of development, and is a mid-term strategic guidance for development of the National Army of Republic of Moldova.


\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 6.
Moldova. The NMS is a document that establishes the Ends, Ways, Means and Risks involved for the development of the National Army up to 2020.\textsuperscript{15}

The NMS is framed based on the provisions of the Constitution of Republic of Moldova, National Security Concept, National Security Strategy, Strategic Analysis of the Defence, and the Program of Governance of Republic of Moldova 2009-2014 “Freedom, Democracy and Welfare.” The international guidance for the development of the NMS comes from the Agreement between Republic of Moldova and European Union that establishes the frame for Moldovan participation in European Union’s operations for crisis resolutions, NATO “Partnership for Peace” program and the mechanisms for its implementation.\textsuperscript{16}

One of the strategic military objectives of the Republic of Moldova indicated in NMS is participation in international peacekeeping missions, humanitarian and crisis resolution missions under international mandates. One of the “ways” to accomplish it is the fulfillment of the “International engagements and agreements.” The NMS explains that the neutrality status of the country does not exclude participation of Moldovan forces in Peace Support Operations. Participation of the National Army of Republic of Moldova in such operations will demonstrate that Republic of Moldova is fully engaged in the process of consolidation of the present architecture of international security.\textsuperscript{17}


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 11.
Based on the NMS, one of the four missions of National Army of Republic of Moldova is continuous development of national capabilities for participation in international peacekeeping operations and increasing Moldovan international presence to the extent of one manoeuver battalion. The NMS also provides a clear projection of how authorizations should evolve out of the GDP in terms of financial allocations to allow National Army of Republic of Moldova to fulfill its missions and international engagements.\textsuperscript{18}

The importance for this thesis of the national legal and strategic documents described above comes from the fact that they delineate the legal framework, which allows to conceptually plan for the development of new capabilities and particular units that will potentially be part of multinational operations and represent the Republic of Moldova internationally. Also, the NSS and NMS are new documents elaborated in premiere that represent a paradigm shift and a change in the pre-existing mental model, which emphasized on using the National Army just to defend from external aggressions, disregarding other important ways to ensure the security of the country. Finally, these documents serve as a reference, or a point of departure in analyzing what changes have to be made in the National Army to achieve the ultimate goal of being interoperable and have adequate capabilities to be able to contribute to the regional and international security.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., 15.
Moldovan Authors

It is interesting to examine the ideas of Moldovan political analysts and professional military personnel on the political course of the Republic of Moldova and the necessary transformations in its security system. The necessary change in the security system is suggested as early as the beginning of the current century. Lieutenant Colonel Aurel Fondos in his master thesis titled, Moldovan Crisis Response: A Strategic Concept for Effective Inter-Ministerial Operations” tried to reflect on the institutional and procedural changes needed to be done in order to ensure the proper response of Moldovan authorities in case of crisis situations.19

The main Idea of the document is the roles and rapid decision-making of the Supreme Security Council of the Republic of Moldova in situations of crisis. It questions the 2004 Standing Operating Procedures (SOPs) of the Supreme Security Council and suggests a new approach to it. Fondos emphasizes that the National Army of Republic of Moldova is ahead of other Moldovan security organizations and agencies in having standardized procedures to handle crisis situations due to the cooperation with international partners.20

In “National Security Strategy of Republic of Moldova, Recommendations for the Implementation Process,” Andrei Iovu presents an analysis of the Moldovan NSS, and identifies some weaknesses in terms of specific description and identification of strategic objectives and the absence of a monitoring agency to enforce the implementation of the

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20 Ibid.
NSS. At the same time the document identifies that the first three strategic objectives described in the NSS are: European Integration, Participation in international efforts to counter threats and challenges, NATO cooperation and counter-terrorism.21

Nicolai Afanas, in his article “National Security of the Republic of Moldova in the Context of European Integration Process,” speaks about the Republic of Moldova transforming from a consumer of security to a source of regional security. The article discusses the security sector as a whole not focusing just on the military part of it. It emphasizes the Security Sector Reform proposed by the EU which includes the reform of the Armed Forces. It also describes recommends three ways the Republic of Moldova could take to preserve its national security. First is maintaining its status of neutrality, second to adhere to EU and NATO, and third to adhere to the Community of Independent States.22

**International Authors**

There are numerous sources that refer to the policies and the trends adopted by the international organizations such as UN, NATO, EU or OSCE, relevant to this study. It has to be mentioned that the key phrases and words in the sources are regional stability, collective security and international cooperation.

Eugene B. Ramon and Jeffrey Simon in their publication “Toward a Euro-Atlantic Strategy of the Black Sea Region” reflect on the security issues and solutions in the Black

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Sea region. The report is an analysis of the countries from Black Sea region including Moldova, and the security challenges they are facing. It describes the strategic environment and potential solutions to maintain stability in the region. Regional security cooperation is identified as the main solution. The standard tools available to the partners and allies to enforce regional cooperation and counter regional threats are considered to be the NATO processes and action plans: the Planning and Review Process (PARP), Individual Partnership Action Plan (I-PAP), Membership Action Plan (MAP) and Partnership Action Plan on Defense Institution Building (PAP-DIB).\(^{23}\) The report also emphasizes the importance of interoperability of peacekeeping forces in the region.

United States Army Major Steven Sabia in his report “Moldova: Analyzing U.S. and Allied Military Missions” represents a historical importance. The report emphasizes some long term recommendations of the importance to maintain stability in RM by preventing it from becoming a failed state. It emphasizes the development of interoperability of the Moldovan National Army and U.S.–NATO forces to enable crisis problem solving.\(^{24}\) It is important to mention that some of the recommendations he had in 2002 as part of his assessment are now active projects. Some examples that are relevant for the National Army of the Republic of Moldova are an increased number of PfP exercises and vast IMET program coverage.

Overall, the literature review has proven that the sources for the study in terms of literature are divided into two major groups. The first group includes the official


documents that represent policies, laws, international agreements and doctrine of both the Republic of Moldova and international organizations (UN, EU, NATO, etc.). With just a cursory glance it is easy to observe that the global trend of international organizations is oriented towards long term regional stability, collective defense or resolution of crisis situations, providing assistance and support to make sure new democracies can ensure their own security. The same trend is observed in the official documents of the Republic of Moldova.

In the second group are books, regional studies, articles and other publications performed by different individuals or academic organizations. It’s important to mention that the trends, main ideas and recommendations are quite the same as in the official documents. Additionally, the most relevant information is comprised in most recent publications that are in line with the latest political and economic developments around the world. That is why I restricted myself by looking at the references that are less than ten years old, unless it is a government document or official paper that was relevant for the thesis.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes different methods that were used during the research in order to answer the primary, secondary, and tertiary questions. The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part contains general information about the research and research techniques. Additionally it explains general terms and definitions. Finally, it shows a schematic representation of the research design. The second part refers to the analysis of the strategic documents and describes the Ends, Ways and Means concept and how it applies to this specific research. The third part discusses the term DOTMLPF and its relevance to this research. Finally, the fourth part describes the interviews, and the way they were used to improve the research.

**General Information**

This particular research is a qualitative one. Qualitative research mainly uses observation, interviews, and focus groups as methods to identify the necessary information. It focuses on meaning and understanding, and uses the inductive methodology to find answers to research questions. Additionally, qualitative research is rich in description and shows depth of understanding. It does not focus on asking “what” event occurred; instead, it focuses on understanding “why” the specific event occurred.

This study used several qualitative methods to conduct the research. First, is the observation and the analysis of the latest important events that occurred in the National

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25 Command and General Staff College, A-211 Presentation.

26 Ibid.
Army and the evolution of the policies, concepts, and strategies. Also, the research analyzes the current state of the National Army, using the DOTMLPF concept. The research also examines what are the capability expectations of NATO, UN, and EU out of small democracies such as Moldova, and does a cost/benefit analysis of Moldovan contribution to international missions. In addition, the study uses the interviews as one of the main methods to collect the necessary information. It is important to mention that despite the fact that this is a qualitative research there was a need to analyze some limited statistical data about budget authorizations and financial allocations of certain military cooperation programs. The data is shown in chapter 4. The research design is represented in figure 1.
Figure 1. Research Design

Source: Created by author.

**Ends-Ways-Means Paradigm**

This study uses the Ends, Ways, Means method to analyze the strategic documents of the Republic of Moldova and identify how they contribute to the ability of the National Army to achieve a level of interoperability that will allow Moldova to contribute to international missions. In order to do this it is necessary to be familiar with several definitions and terms that are widely used throughout the Chapter 4 and 5 of the thesis. In the following paragraphs such terms as policy, strategy, and strategic concept
are defined. Also, the following paragraphs explain how the Ends, Ways, Means paradigm facilitates the understanding of a specific strategy, policy, or strategic concept.

Carl Von Clausewitz in his work “On War” asserts that military institutions of a country strongly depend on economic resources and on policies that are developed by the political leadership.\textsuperscript{27} Clausewitz defines policy as the trustee of the interests against other states.\textsuperscript{28} According to Dr. Harry R. Yarger’s monograph “Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy,” policy represents the wanted objectives and desired end state pursued by the government. In addition, he asserts that policy represents guidance towards the employment of the instruments of national power: Diplomatic, Information, Military, Economic (DIME) to achieve the desired end state.\textsuperscript{29}

If policy is guidance towards the employment of the instruments of national power, the strategy is the one who directly employs those instruments of national power to achieve specific objectives identified by the policy. The role of the strategy is to pursue and advance the national interests within the bound of the existing policy. As such, strategy is about the future environment, and is proactive nature. According to Yarger, the strategic process is about how (concept or ways) the leadership will use the power

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27}Peter Paret, ed., \textit{Makers of Modern Strategy} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 208.
\item \textsuperscript{29}Dr. Harry R. Yarger, “Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy” (Monograph, Strategic Studies Institute, 2006), 7.
\end{itemize}
(resources, or means) to achieve the desired objectives (Ends) in accordance with the current policy.\textsuperscript{30}

One of the premises of strategy and of strategic concepts is that they are hierarchical.\textsuperscript{31} In order to do the analysis of the strategic documents of the Republic of Moldova related to the National Army, using the Ends, Ways, Means method it is necessary first to define the hierarchy of these strategic concepts. The hierarchy of the strategic concepts helps the study to better illustrate how the strategic documents nest, both vertically and horizontally, thus clarifying how they work for the achievement of the common objectives. The following paragraphs discuss the hierarchy of the strategic concepts using Ends-Ways- Means paradigm.

The “Ends” encompass the purpose, interests and objectives. The purpose normally describes the durable fundamentals of a particular state, such as values, beliefs and norms. The purpose is usually found in the documents that form the basis of the nation’s state. For the Republic of Moldova such documents are the Declaration of Independence adopted on August 27, 1991 and the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, adopted on July 29, 1994. Interests usually express the desires and the needs of a nation’s state such as access to resources, economic prosperity, territorial integrity, etc. It is important to mention that national interests provide guidance for state’s policy formulation both domestic and foreign. They are conditions to be achieved, and normally are expressed using a noun. Finally, the objectives originate out of the national interests and are subordinated to them. The interests and the objectives are very similar. However, \textsuperscript{30}Ibid., 6. \textsuperscript{31}Ibid., 10.
the objectives tend to be more specific and normally are expressed using a verb, for example “Defend the territorial integrity,” “Ensure economic growth,” etc. Usually a national interest has more than one objective.32

The “Ways” are represented by policies. Policies describe how an interest or an objective will be achieved. They emphasize the methods, thus constitute the “Ways” of a strategy. The term policy is used very loosely. Depending on the formulation, it sometimes coincides with the definition of strategy. It happens when policy articulates all three elements of the paradigm: the ends, ways and means.33

The “Means” represent the commitments, programs and DIME instruments. Commitments can be expressed verbally or in written form and identify the intentions of a nation to use the instruments of power in support of pre-established policies or objectives. A government expresses its commitments in signed treaties, legislation, or verbal statements (i.e. Presidential or Prime Minister Statements). The programs are tangible proof of the commitments. The programs allocate resources to achieve objectives and support policies. An example of a program that the Republic of Moldova is part of is PfP. Moldova became member of the PfP program on March 16, 1994. Finally, DIME instruments are generic resources in support of strategic objectives.34


33Ibid.

34Ibid.
DOTMLPF Analysis Methodology

Deriving from the primary research question of what transformation should National Army of Republic of Moldova undergo in order to become an Interoperable and Integrated Force able to support UN, NATO and EU led international operations there is a need to define the term “transformation.” According to Captain Cristian V. Rus, from the Romanian Army who did a similar research in 2006 the term “transformation” is defined as a process of qualitative modernization of the Army. Modernization including the transformation of the infrastructure, military equipment, forces structure, command and control systems, training and culture.\textsuperscript{35} Given the fact that the development of the National Army of the Republic of Moldova is very similar to the development in earlier stages of the Romanian Army, the definition of transformation is relevant for this research as well.

John J. Garstka in his article “The Transformation Challenge” examines the transformation concept for both civilian and military organizations, including specifics of NATO transformations. He asserts that if one accepts the premises that the capabilities of an organization remain the primary source of their competitiveness, then the transformation of the organization should focus mainly on the enhancement of capabilities. According to Garstka, capabilities-based transformation comprises a co-

evolution of processes, organizations, technologies and human capital. As such, the four principal components of capability are people, process, organization and technology.\textsuperscript{36}

After the end of the Cold War US Department of Defense (DoD) also shifted its thinking from building the US military forces centered on “threat-based” approach to a “capability-based” approach. The US DoD defines capability as the ability to achieve a desired effect under specified standards and conditions through combinations of means and ways to perform a set of tasks.\textsuperscript{37} In addition, the US DoD adopted the DOTMLPF analysis methodology to identify solutions for capability gaps. According to Garstka the corresponding relationship between the four principal components of capability and DoD elements are the following:

People–Personnel, Leadership, Education and Training.

Process–Doctrine.

Organization–Organization.

Technology–Materiel and Facilities.\textsuperscript{38}

The DOTMLPF analysis is used to find viable solution for current and future capability gaps identified by the Joint Capabilities Integration Development System (JCIDS).\textsuperscript{39} Both JCIDS and DOTMLPF apply to the processes of the National Army of


\textsuperscript{37}Department of the Army, TRADOC Regulation 71-20, Concept Development, Capabilities, Determination, and Capabilities Integration (Fort Eustis, VA: Department of the Army, 2013).

\textsuperscript{38}Garstka.

\textsuperscript{39}Department of the Army, TRADOC Regulation 71-20.
the Republic of Moldova. As such, the DOTMLPF analysis methodology is used in this study to analyze the current state of the National Army capabilities, as well as identification of necessary solutions across DOTMLPF domain to build future capabilities that would increase interoperability of the National Army with international partners.

**Interviews**

Interviews are a common method to conduct qualitative research. Besides the important data, the interviews are able to provide personal opinions, points of view and insights on a specific topic by the interviewees. That is why interviews need to remain focused on the selected topic. The deviation from the subject of the interview may result in irrational use of time and lack of relevant information at the end.

In this study, the role of interviews is to answer the secondary and tertiary questions of the research by the subject matters experts in particular areas. Based on the answers, the collected data is analyzed using the inductive method. The collected information is used in chapters 4 and 5 to support the analysis and the conclusions derived from the research by relevant evidence provided from inside the organizations that are related to this study.

The selection of the interviewees occurred based on their area of expertise. All of them have positions that are related to the topic of this study. The interviewees are the Partner National Military Representative to the Allied Command Operations (ACO/SHAPE) at NATO Colonel Ivan Ene; The Peacekeeping Affairs Officer, Current Military Operations Service at the United Nations Department of the Peacekeeping
Operations (UN DPKO) Lieutenant Colonel Alexandru Harea; and former Chief of Office of Defence Cooperation of US in Moldova Lieutenant Colonel Sergio Porres.

The questions asked in the interviews are mainly the tertiary questions of the research. Below is the list with all the questions.

1. Taking into consideration the relation between National Security Concept, National Security Strategy and National Military Strategy of the Republic of Moldova how do the Ends, Ways and Means align in order to support the contribution of the Republic of Moldova to regional and international security?

2. What do you think the cost/benefit ratio (including financial) is, by having Moldova contributing forces to international missions?

3. What forces and critical capabilities is NATO expecting from small democracies like Moldova?

4. What forces and critical capabilities are the UN and EU expecting from small democracies like Moldova?

5. What forces and capabilities do you see feasible and acceptable for the National Army to develop in order to contribute to international security?

The questions in some instances differ based on the specific area of expertise of the interviewed person. The information assembled from the interviews augments the information gathered from the analysis of the relevant literature and the strategic documents. As such, the analysis is enriched with relevant facts and opinions based on the internal processes that occur currently in the UN, NATO, US, and Moldovan civil society, thus adding credibility to the study.
Overall, chapter 3 presents general information about the research methods used to answer the primary, secondary and tertiary questions of the thesis. The study uses qualitative research techniques to achieve its objectives. The main methods used in the research are: the Ends-Ways-Means paradigm, the DOTMLPF analysis methodology, and the Interviews. In addition to the qualitative research techniques limited statistic data will be added to support certain arguments and add credibility to the study.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Chapter 4 provides the analysis of the data gathered from the research. This chapter is compartmentalized into six distinctive parts. The first part provides the definition of interoperability. Defining the term interoperability helps framing the primary research question. In addition, the first part gives a broad overview of what interoperability includes and emphasizes how the next three parts of the chapter relate to interoperability.

The second part refers to the analysis of the strategic documents of the Republic of Moldova related to the military instrument of power. The analysis includes the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, National Security Concept, Military Doctrine, Military Reform Concept, National Security Strategy, and National Military Strategy. The analysis is accomplished by comparing the above-mentioned documents against the Ends-Ways-Means paradigm. In addition, the second part looks at several international agreements, programs and action plans such as PfP, PARP, IPAP, FMF, IMET and their contribution to interoperability. Finally, this part examines the role of the National Army in the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, and the specifics of Moldovan current Civil-Military relations.

The third part examines what are the expectations of NATO, UN and EU organizations from small countries like Moldova. It analyzes each organization separately. Moreover, the subchapter emphasizes very specific details and insights provided by the Moldovan representatives at NATO and UN.
The fourth part refers to the cost/benefit analysis (including financial) of having Moldova contributing forces to UN, NATO and EU missions. The subchapter makes a reference to a study that was conducted by a working group formed by representatives from the Ministry of Defence (MoD), representatives of the civil society and representatives of relevant intergovernmental organizations regarding the costs and benefits of Moldovan Army international deployments. Additionally, in order to have a better understanding of the costs and benefits of Moldovan participation in international missions the research will refer to the interviews conducted with both Moldovan representatives at UN and NATO, and with former Chief of the US Office of Defense Cooperation (ODC) in Moldova. The officers provide a good insight on the subject from the perspective of the organization they represent.

The fifth part refers to the DOTMLPF analysis. This subchapter examines the current capabilities of the National Army using DOTMLPF analysis methodology that enables, or prevents it to be interoperable within the above-mentioned intergovernmental organizations. It mainly includes the analysis of the internal processes of the National Army related to force management and modernization, participation in international peacekeeping and stability operations, as well as international military exercises.

Finally, the sixth part discusses the forces and capabilities that are feasible for Moldova to develop based on the previous analysis. This subchapter takes into consideration the recommendations of the interviewed persons as the subject matter experts. But at the same time it relies on the cost/benefit analysis. Additionally, the subchapter prioritizes the forces and capabilities feasible to develop and deploy in the initial stages of contribution to international missions.
It is critical to mention that overall chapter 4 looks at every subject of the argument through the prism of interoperability. The chapter addresses the majority of the secondary and tertiary research questions, which lead to the answer of the primary research question. The information provided by the interviews is widely used in the chapter to support and add credibility to the study.

**Interoperability**

Interoperability is one of the key components of a successful multinational operation. This sub-chapter analyzes the term interoperability, its implications and criticality for multinational operations. In addition, the subchapter emphasizes that interoperability is relevant at strategic, operational and tactical level.

There is more than one definition of the term interoperability. Joint Publication (JP) JP 1-02 defines interoperability as the ability to operate in synergy for the execution of the same tasks. JP 3-16 “Multinational Operations” stresses that establishment of interoperability between partners in a multinational operation is one of the first priorities. In addition, JP 3-16 emphasizes that interoperability goes beyond the technological compatibility of military assets. It includes doctrine, procedures, communication and training.

The National Army defines interoperability as the capability of military organizations (usually from two or more countries) to efficiently cooperate in order to

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accomplish certain missions. Interoperability is conditioned by the similarity and/or compatibility of organizational structures, specific procedures, armament and technology. According to the National Military Strategy of the Republic of Moldova, the aim of the first implementation phase of the strategy (2014-2017) is to ensure the development of deterrence capabilities through the achievement of an increased interoperability of the national defence system forces and international partners.\textsuperscript{42} The National Army is seeking to achieve a greater level of interoperability through security cooperation programs, bilateral activities, multinational exercises, and military training and education abroad.

United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UN DPKO) sees interoperability as a tool to bolster the effectiveness of mission assets. United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual (UNIBAM) serves as an example of a tool which was edited to increase interoperability. Its purpose is to align existing UN policy and guidance with the capability-based peacekeeping operations.\textsuperscript{43}

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization perceives interoperability as a force multiplier. It defines interoperability as the ability for Allies to act together coherently, effectively and efficiently to achieve tactical, operational and strategic objectives. In addition it identifies the components and the mechanisms to achieve interoperability. Specifically, the components are technical, procedural and human dimensions, complemented with the information element. The mechanisms to achieve interoperability are the employment of standardization, training, exercises, lessons learned,

\textsuperscript{42}National Military Strategy of the Republic of Moldova, 22.

\textsuperscript{43}Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Department of Field Support, United Nations Infantry Battalion Manual, Volume II (United Nations: 2012).
demonstrations, tests and trials. In its attempt to achieve maximum interoperability NATO identifies also the term “cultural interoperability”. The term is part of the so-called “soft” dimension of the interoperability and refers more to the human component. It comprises language, social beliefs and ethics, which pertain to culture.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization considers that exercises are one of the most important tools to improve the interoperability. Based on the exercises members and partners of NATO are able to see areas where they need improvement. As such, in some countries the results of the exercises contribute to defense reform. This means changing defense policies, strategies and institutions.

On March 26, 2010 the 21st Century Defense Initiative at Brookings hosted its first annual Military and Federal Fellow Research Symposium with the theme “Defense challenges and future opportunities.” Colonel Hiroaki Uchikura, a representative of Japanese Air Self-Defense Force, speaking about US–Japan interoperability made several recommendations. It is critical to mention that the first recommendation he made was to stand up a bilateral interoperability study team with the primary focus to develop a shared

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The paragraph emphasizes that the interoperability starts at the strategic level and it is not limited only to operational or tactical levels of war.

The information presented in this subchapter emphasizes that interoperability is relevant for every level of war: strategic, operational and tactical. It originates in the strategic documents of a state such as constitution, defense policy, and national strategies. It continues with similar doctrine, and ends up at the tactical level with similar Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTPs) and technology. That is why the next subchapter specifically focuses on the analysis of the strategic documents of the Republic of Moldova trying to emphasize on the alignment of the Ends, Ways and Means in support of interoperability. Meanwhile the last subchapter focuses mostly on the tactical level and technical aspects of interoperability.

Analysis of the Strategic Documents

This subchapter focuses on the strategic documents of the Republic of Moldova. The purpose of the subchapter is to analyze how the strategic documents foster the interoperability at lower levels. In order to do this the strategic documents related to the defense sector are analyzed from the Ends, Ways and Means perspective. The strategic documents and concepts are brought into light using the hierarchical order, which was discussed in chapter 3–Methodology. The subchapter examines also the current foreign policy of Moldova. Specifically, it addresses the question what is the role of the National

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Army in the foreign policy and how it impacts the interoperability. In addition this part of chapter 4 briefly addresses the current civil-military relations in Moldova.

Ends, Ways and Means Analysis

Ends

According to the hierarchical order of the strategic concepts, the Ends represent the top of the hierarchy and include the purpose, national interests and national objectives. The purpose normally is part of the fundamental documents of the country such as declaration of independence or constitution and represent the expression of enduring values, beliefs and norms recognized by the society. The national interests are the wants, needs and desires of a nation. Finally, the national objectives are broad activities in support of national interests.

The national purposes of Moldova are represented in the Declaration of Independence, which was adopted on October 31, 1991, and in the Constitution. The Declaration of Independence states that the Republic of Moldova is a sovereign, independent and democratic state, free to determine its present and future, without any interference from abroad in accordance with the ideals and aspirations of the people in the historic and ethnic space of its formation. The Constitution also establishes several national purposes of which the most important and relevant for this research are those related to national security. Specifically, the Republic of Moldova is an independent sovereign, unitary and indivisible state. The Republic of Moldova is a democratic State.

The dignity of people, their rights and freedoms, the open development of human personality, justice and political pluralism represent supreme values that shall be guaranteed. All the citizens of the Republic of Moldova are equal before the law without discrimination as to race, nationality, religion, sex, ethnic origin, political choice, or social origin. Its territories are inalienable. Moldova proclaims its permanent neutrality and will not admit foreign troops stationing on its territory.\textsuperscript{49}

The purposes drive and define the national interests. The vital national interests of the Republic of Moldova are identified in the National Security Strategy (NSS). They consist in the defence of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inalienable borders of the state, security of the citizens, protection of the human rights and freedoms, consolidation of democracy, which permits the development of a state governed by the rule of law and of market economy.\textsuperscript{50}

The national objectives support national interests. The analysis of the NSS identifies sixteen strategic objectives pertaining to security. They include:

1. EU integration;

2. Participation in international efforts to manage contemporary threats and challenges;

3. Cooperation with NATO;

4. Combat poverty;

5. Economic security;

\textsuperscript{49} Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, art 1-12.

\textsuperscript{50} Parliament of Moldova, National Security Strategy (Chisinau, Moldova, July 2011), 2.
6. Reduce energy dependence;
7. Transdniestrian conflict resolution;
8. Diminish chances of internal friction;
9. Combat crime and corruption;
10. Ameliorate demographic situation and populace health;
11. Prevent and manage the effects of natural disasters, and pollution of the environment;
12. Informational security;
13. Societal security;
14. Political stability;
15. Food security;
16. Combat terrorism.51

When studying the purposes, national interests and national strategic objectives of Moldova, which constitute the Ends, it is easy to identify how they nest and follow a logical path. At this hierarchical level, the study identifies several strategic objectives pertaining to security cooperation, which involves military interoperability. These objectives are NATO cooperation (military aspect), EU integration, and participation in international efforts to manage contemporary threats and challenges.

According to the US definition, policies represent the Ways of the strategy. A policy is a broad course of action designed to attend objectives or interests. Theoretically there are more policies than objectives or interests.\(^\text{52}\)

As per the Moldovan legislation there are two strategic documents that represent policy and need approval from the parliament. The two policy documents are concept and strategy. The concept represents a set of general ideas oriented to a multilateral interpretation of a problem (social, economic, security, etc.). The strategy represents a document in a particular policy, which includes activities for a medium (4 to 7 years), or long (8 to 15 years) term with the goal to identify ways and mechanisms in order to achieve the pre-established objectives or interests.\(^\text{53}\)

For the purpose of this research the study examines three strategic documents at this level. First, the National Security Concept (NSC). Second, the National Security Strategy. And third, the National Military Strategy, that currently is a project and waits for the approval by the President of the Republic of Moldova (The Commander in Chief).

The NSC is a strategic document that was adopted on June 6, 2008. According to the Institute for Public Policies, an independent nonpartisan, nonprofit organization from Moldova, the NSC is the first document in Moldova that defines the security and defense policy of Moldova. In addition it establishes the priorities of the state in the national security domain, reflects the security environment in which Moldova operates, defines

\(^{52}\textit{Yarger, “Strategic Theory for the 21st Century,” 2.}\)

\(^{53}\textit{Legea nr. 780 – XV din 27 decembrie 2001 privind actele legislative, art. 13 (2).}\)
the scope of the national security, main guidelines for national security, the values and
general principles that shall be protected by the state and the society.54

The elaboration of the NSC was initiated as part of the Individual Partnership
Action Plan (IPAP) between NATO and Moldova in 2006. The initial version of the NSC
placed a big emphasis on military cooperation. It included NATO, UN, OSCE and EU.
Specifically the focus was on the ability to contribute to UN and OSCE peace support
operations. Unfortunately in 2007 and 2008 the political leadership of Moldova
drastically changed direction and distanced itself from NATO. The change was
conditioned by the possibility to resolve the Transdniestrian conflict based on a document
package directly with the Russian Federation. The provisions of the agreement
envisioned a total demilitarization of Moldova. As such the NSC refers to the military
instrument of power very briefly. The cooperation with NATO in the NSC is addressed in
a paragraph long statement and stresses that the cooperation with NATO will have as the
initial point of departure the neutrality status of Moldova.55

Despite the fact that the NSC was severely influenced by the geopolitical situation
in the region at the time, several strategic objectives that relate to military cooperation
and interoperability maintained their place in the document. The objectives are:
participation in international efforts to manage contemporary threats and challenges,
cooperation with NATO, cooperation with EU and bilateral cooperation in the security


domain with US. The NSC was the foundation for the National Security Strategy and the
National Military Strategy of Moldova.

The National Security Strategy (NSS) is a medium term strategy (4 to 7 years) that was adopted by the Parliament of Moldova on July 15, 2007. According to the definition the NSS is the art and science for the development, implementation and coordination of the instruments of national power DIME with the purpose to achieve the objectives that pertain to the national security. The NSS was elaborated based on the NSC guidance.56

The importance of this strategic document comes from the fact that this is the first document of such kind in Moldova. It establishes the objectives of the national security system and identifies the ways and the means, which ensure national security. At the same time the NSS is a political and legal document that allows flexibility of the security policy depending on the changes that occur in the strategic environment. It also identifies specific segments of the national security system that require reform and determine a realistic plan to implement the reforms.57

The NSS adopts similar strategic vision with the European Security Strategy, which stresses that in the current strategic environment the security of a state cannot be regarded as an isolated phenomenon. It requires a comprehensive approach which


57 Andrei Iovu, “National Security Strategy of Republic of Moldova, recommendations for the implementation process” (Public Policies Institute, Chisinau, Moldova, November 2011), 2.
involves the political, military and public order domains as well as social, economic, ecologic and energy aspects. In addition the NSS emphasizes that the security of a European state cannot be perceived outside of the European Security. The strategy acknowledges that Moldova should be part of common efforts to maintain regional and global stability.

The NSS identifies the national interests, the main threats, risks and vulnerabilities of the national security system. It also addresses the main reference points of the foreign and defense policies that relate to the national security. The strategy specifies the ways to ensure national security and the main guidelines for the security sector reform. It addresses the means in a very broad manner which draws a certain amount of criticism in the NSS analysis.\textsuperscript{58}

The NSS dedicates chapter 3 of the strategy to address the consolidation of the national security through the foreign and defense policies of Moldova. The strategy defines several ways to pursue this objective. First, is through the process of EU integration, by increasing cooperation in the security domain according to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) of EU. Both EU policies involve participation in stability missions across the World. The second way is through participation in international efforts to manage contemporary threats and challenges, which involves participation on international operations under UN, EU and OSCE leadership. Development of the necessary capabilities to enable participation of Moldova in humanitarian relief and peacekeeping operations became integral part of development plans and reforms of the Armed Forces. A third way is

\textsuperscript{58}\textit{Ibid.}, 3.
through cooperation with NATO as part of PfP and framed by IPAP. Cooperation at bilateral level with EU countries, US, and Russian Federation constitutes a fourth way. And the fifth way is through the support of the defence policy. One way for the defence policy to accomplish its objectives, would be participation in international peacekeeping missions.

The brief analysis of the NSS demonstrates that it is nested with the NSC. The NSS maintains and further expends the idea of participation of Moldova in international missions. As such, the interoperability becomes even more critical to achieve the objectives of NSS.

Adoption of the NMS normally should follow the NSS. Currently the NMS is still a project. The MoD of Moldova presented the NMS for approval to the President of Moldova on February 27, 2014, but the President rejected it. No public explanation of what caused the rejection followed. However, after this event the Minister of Defence Vitalie Marinuta resigned. As for now, the NMS remains in the status of a project pending approval. Despite the fact that the NMS is not officially approved, the study still refers to it because it represents an evolution and an innovation in the military strategic concepts of Moldova. A fair assumption could be made that the NMS will be approved in the nearest future after a review.

The NMS is a mid-term strategy that in fact presents the defence policy of Moldova and the ways to achieve the national defence objectives mentioned in the NSS. The national legal framework based on which the NSS was elaborated include such documents as the Constitution, NSC, NSS, Strategic Defence Review, the Governance Program “European Integration: Freedom, Democracy, Welfare.” And two international
agreements: The Agreement between Republic of Moldova and EU for the establishment of a framework for Moldovan participation in EU operations for crisis management, and the PfP Program. The strategy defines the national military objectives and establishes the missions of the National Army. In addition, it emphasizes the capabilities and the requirements that necessary to fulfill in order to enable the National Army achieve the established objectives. The NMS will serve as foundation for the development of specific programs and plans to increase the necessary military capabilities to ensure sovereignty and independence of Moldova.59

The NMS identifies as the fundamental objective of the defence policy consisting in undertaking of all necessary actions to repel aggression on the Republic of Moldova, and defend the national interests to ensure national security. In addition, according to the NMS the mission of the National Army is to guarantee (to the Republic of Moldova) the sovereignty, independence and unity, territorial integrity and constitutional democracy. The NMS identifies four strategic military objectives, one of them being participation in peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance and crisis management missions under international mandate. In order to accomplish this strategic objective the strategy identifies the way called “International Engagement.” It presumes military cooperation with EU, NATO, UN and OSCE under the framework of pre-established agreements and programs such as CSDF, PfP, IPAP, PARP, etc. 60 It is important to mention that the NMS follows the DOTMLPF-I format when it discusses the necessary capabilities that

59 Republica Moldova, Ministerul Apărării, Strategia Militară, a Republicii Moldova, proiect.
60 Ibid., 12.
need to be developed. DOTMLPF-I is a NATO acronym which has the same meaning as the US one. It only adds “I” at the end which stands for Infrastructure.\textsuperscript{61}

The NMS (project) and the way it is formulated at this moment is the document that stresses more than any other strategic document the importance of military cooperation and interoperability. The strategic objectives of the NMS nest with the objectives described in the NSS and the NSC.

In the absence of the NMS the Military Doctrine is the main document that represents the defence policy of Moldova. The Military Doctrine was approved by the Parliament in 1995. It constituted the basis to adopt the National Defence Law on July 25, 2003. The two documents are not discussed in the study because they mainly establish the legal framework for the defence policy and refer very briefly to military cooperation and interoperability aspects.

**Means**

In the hierarchy of the strategic concepts the commitments, programs and DIME instruments represent the Means. Governments express commitments in form of agreements (bilateral or multilateral), legislation, treaties and presidential statements. Programs are tangible proof of commitments and allocate resources including financial to support the commitments. DIME instruments are considered generic means that may be used all together or separately to achieve the objectives of a strategy.

For the purpose of this study, the research looked at two major commitments the Republic of Moldova made and relates to military interoperability. The first is the

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid., 14.
commitment to cooperate with NATO. The second is the bilateral agreement with US. Both of them are critical to the security of Republic of Moldova. In addition, both of the commitments initiated important programs to support security cooperation. As such, the study refers to Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, Operational Capabilities Concept Evaluation and Feedback (OCC E&F) program and Partnership for Peace Planning and Review Process (PARP). The two programs and PARP reflect Moldova–NATO bilateral security cooperation. On the other hand, the thesis refers to the International Military Education and Training (IMET), the Foreign Military Supplies (FMS), and Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) programs, which support the Moldova–US bilateral agreement.

The current framework for Moldova–NATO cooperation is the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP). The initial plan was signed in 2006. The revised plan was signed in 2010. The security cooperation was focused on the formulation of the strategic security documents and the support of the military reform. Another objective of IPAP was to enable the 22nd Peacekeeping Battalion to work with NATO forces in order to contribute to international peacekeeping and crisis management missions.62

The PfP program was launched in 1994. It is a practical bilateral program, and is signed between NATO and an individual country. The focus of the PfP is to allow partner countries to build their own relationship with NATO depending on their particular need. As such, PfP program includes all spectrums of NATO activities. For the purpose of this study just the activities related to military interoperability are listed. They are: defence

reforms, military-to-military cooperation and exercises, defence related work, civil-military relations and defence and policy planning.\textsuperscript{63}

Moldova became member of the PfP program on March 16, 1994. Since that moment the National Army was involved in several activities of which the most important were the hosting of the “Cooperative Longbow” and “Cooperative Lancer.” Two PfP international exercises that took place in 2006. The Operational Capabilities Concept (OCC) evaluation and certification of certain military units to enable them to participate in international peacekeeping missions. And participation in annual regional military exercises, which had a significant contribution to military interoperability of the National Army with the North Atlantic partners. Initiated by the IPAP two major strategic documents were elaborated the National Security Concept and the National Security Strategy thus fostering the military reform.

The OCC Evaluation and Feedback (OCC E&F) program is a PfP tool and is used to train and evaluate the declared forces for participation in international NATO-led missions. The program is designed to train air, maritime, land and special operations components of the partner nations. The OCC program was established in 2003.\textsuperscript{64}

Moldova declared its first forces for OCC evaluation in 2009. They were comprised of one Infantry Company and an EOD section. The OCC process ended in June 2013. Currently the personnel of the certified units are deployed to support the


NATO mission to Kosovo as part of the Kosovo Force (KFOR). In 2013 Moldova declared a mortar battery for OCC evaluation and certification.\textsuperscript{65}

The PARP is another tool of the PfP program. NATO launched PARP in 1995 as a tool to identify forces and capabilities that could be used in NATO training, exercises and operations. Currently PARP is used by NATO and partner countries as a planning tool and as a measure of progress in the transformation efforts.

Moldova became a member of PARP in 1997 establishing 24 partnership objectives. For the National Army PARP is tool for planning and monitoring the ongoing reform. In addition, PARP helped the National Army monitor the readiness of the forces declared by Moldova for participation in peacekeeping missions. Evaluation of partnership activities occurs every year. The latest evaluation occurred on March 26, 2013. During the evaluation, 45 objectives were discussed. It is important to mention that beginning in 2003; representatives of Ministry of Interior, Border Police Department, and other security agencies and departments are part of PARP evaluation sessions.

The United States of America brings an important contribution to Moldovan security. Moldova and the U.S. established diplomatic relations as early as 1992, just six months after the proclamation of Independence. Currently, several security cooperation programs facilitate National Army modernization and interoperability with western partners. IMET, FMF and GPOI are the most important programs at federal level. State Partnership Program (SPP) between the state of North Carolina and the Republic of Moldova is another very important program. Within the framework of SPP was signed

North Carolina National Guard partnership agreement with the National Army of the Republic of Moldova. Subsequently, on May 3rd, 2013 the Special Forces Battalion of the National Army signed a Memorandum of Understanding with B/1/20th Special Forces Company (Airborne), North Carolina National Guard, which formalized the partnership of the two units.

The IMET is a tool used by the US Department of State to increase US national security. The Department of State uses IMET as an instrument of US Foreign policy. The program is based on financial grants allocated by the US Government and provides professional non-political military training and education to foreign military and civilian personnel. IMET pursues several objectives. One of them is to provide military training and education to foreign military personnel to augment their capabilities and support the interoperability with US, NATO and regional coalition forces.\(^66\)

The National Army uses the IMET program to train and educate its military and civilian personnel since 1994. Moldovan officials consider it very beneficial for the National Army. Currently the key leadership of the National Army including the former Minister of Defense Vitalie Marinuta, the Chief of Staff of the National Army Colonel Igor Gorgan and the Vice Minister of Defense Aurel Fondos are graduates of education and training courses provided by IMET. The IMET grant varied for the Republic of Moldova depending on the political direction of the ruling parties and the contribution of the National Army to international US and NATO led operations. Table 1 represents the allocations and expenditures of IMET in Moldova from 1994. The table shows an

increased IMET budget for 2004 and 2005. This was related to the participation of Moldovan military contingent in Operation Iraqi Freedom. Moldova deployed to Iraq one infantry platoon and several EOD elements on rotational basis.

Another important program that Moldova has committed to is the Foreign Military Financing (FMF). FMF is a US security cooperation program, which represents an important tool of US foreign policy used by the Department of State. The program provides grants for acquisition of US military equipment, training and services. One of the major FMF objectives is to enhance military standardization, rationalization and interoperability of military forces from allied and partner countries.\(^6\)

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Moldova used FMF grants for the first time in 1997. Since 1997 the National Army acquired a variety of military equipment ranging from military vehicles to communication equipment. One of the most recent acquisitions (2013) is the MC-6 parachute systems for the Special Forces Battalion. The package consists of the equipment and training courses related to the exploitation of the parachutes. The specific

Table 1. Moldova IMET Allocations and Expenditures

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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>750K</td>
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**Source:** Created by author, data provided by Mr. Dorin Trestianu, ODC Assistant/Programs Manager, Chisinau, American Embassy in the Republic of Moldova.
package included jumpmaster training which led to common US-Moldovan parachute jumps at Joint Military Readiness Centre (JMRC), Hohenfels, Germany in February 2014. The evolution of the FMF grants are represented in table 2.

Table 2. FMF Program Moldova

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<td>2013</td>
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$20,354,031.00

*Source:* Created by author, data provided by Mr. Dorin Trestianu, ODC Assistant/Programs Manager, Chisinau, American Embassy in the Republic of Moldova.

The last important program discussed in the study within the framework of Moldova-US bilateral relations is the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI). The GPOI is a program initiated in 2004 by the US Department of State with the purpose to
enhance capacities of international partners to conduct United Nations led or regional peacekeeping operations. The program has two phases. The first phase (2004-2009) oriented towards the training of more peacekeepers. The numbers eventually reached 75,000 peacekeepers by the end of 2009. The second phase (2010-2015) focuses to increase peacekeeping training capabilities within the countries that contribute forces to peacekeeping missions. In order to become a member of GPOI a country should “de facto” deploy its troops to peacekeeping missions.

Moldova became part of GPOI in 2012. The official start of GPOI program was granted after Moldova declared that its forces would participate in UN peacekeeping operations across the globe. The GPOI program in Moldova has three phases. Phase I, $1.6 M allocated to rebuild the multi-purpose firing range at the National Army Training Centre. Phase II, $770K allocated to improve quality of life for the military personnel on the National Army Training Centre. It includes barracks, dining facilities and showers. Phase III, allocations to build the training infrastructure of the Training Centre. It includes classrooms, automation assets, computers and screens. Additionally, phase III includes two Mobile Training Teams (MTT) dedicated to “train the trainer” for peacekeeping operations. The estimates are that the program duration in Moldova will extend over the next 2 to 3 years. Currently Phase I and II are approved and financed by the Department of State. Phase III is pending approval.

GPOI is a program that fosters

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69Mr. Dorin Trestianu, ODC Assistant/Programs Manager, Chisinau, American Embassy in the Republic of Moldova, Interview by author, March 20, 2014.
interoperability by training forces from partner countries to the same standards of conducting peacekeeping operations.

After the analysis of Moldovan commitments and programs, which represent the Means, according to the hierarchy of the strategic concepts, it is evident that from the interoperability perspective they align to the Ways (security and defence policy) and the Ends (interests and objectives pointed by the fundamental documents). However, it is important to mention that Moldova committed itself to programs that are mainly financed by foreign governments or intergovernmental organizations. The only major program financed by the Ministry of Defence is the OCC Evaluation and Feedback (OCC E&F) program.

Despite the apparent alignment of the Ends, Ways and Means reflected in the strategic documents and international commitments the reality does not look the same. The major issue is the lack of budget allocations for military spending. Currently the National Army budget constitutes approximately 0.33 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country (see table 3).
### Table 3. Budget Allocations for the Ministry of Defence 1992-2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Currency</th>
<th>Allocations</th>
<th>GDP billions lei</th>
<th>% of GDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>thousands ruble</td>
<td>1 570 465,0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>thousands ruble</td>
<td>3 800 000,0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>29 080,0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>64,784,5</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>1.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>70,581,5</td>
<td>7.79</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>80,941,2</td>
<td>8.91</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>56,959,0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>64,861,4</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>63,601,7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>76,731,6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>94,729,9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>0.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>109,467,5</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>115,628,3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>126,936,4</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>0.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>164,348,3</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>218,279,3</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>0.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>223,675,1</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>0.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>222,686,8</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>205,054,6</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>233,257,6</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>0.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>250,474,5</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>303,394,7</td>
<td>97.6</td>
<td>0.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>thousands lei</td>
<td>354,793,3</td>
<td>106.1</td>
<td>0.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3 shows the allocations for the Ministry of Defence on yearly basis since the creation of the National Army. It is easy to observe that the military spending never exceeded 1 percent of the GDP. This indicates that the Means are insufficient to support the Ways in order to achieve the established Ends. This leads to several abnormal processes that affect the National Army force management and ability to deploy forces for international operations. One of them is pointed out by Colonel Ivan Ene, the Partner
National Military Representative to the Allied Command Operations (ACO/SHAPE) at NATO.

In his interview, Ene stresses that because of the economic austerity, in Moldova the paradigm Ends, Ways and Means is turned all the way around. According to Ene the classic model where the Ends drive the Ways and Means does not take place, instead the current coalition Government of Moldova is trying to adjust the Ends to the currently available scarce financial resources. Thus preventing the National Army to achieve its long and short-term objectives and fulfill its international commitments. In his interview, Ene brings a recent example where Moldova was not able to deploy its peacekeeping contingent to Kosovo until March 2014 because of the cost involved with the deployment. It finally became possible because of a political party that proved the fact that if there is a political interest the money follow. According to Ene “where there is a will, there is a way.”

The discrepancy between the Ends, Ways, and Means deeply affects interoperability. Thus affecting the overall ability of Moldova to contribute to regional and international security.

The lack of financial resources allocated to the MoD is not only due to the economic austerity that Moldova is facing since its independence. Another factor that plays a significant role is the civil-military relation that exists in the country. Currently, a civilian Minister of Defence leads the MoD, thus ensuring the civil control over the military. Despite this fact, the role of the National Army in the security of the country and international engagements is pushed on the second plan. A recent research of the Public

\[70\text{Col Ivan Ene, Interview by author, March 18, 2014.}\]
Policy Institute of Moldova proved that none of the current political parties that govern Moldova has in its political platform anything related to the military security of the country and the development of the National Army.\textsuperscript{71} Bottom line is that the political leadership of the country does not put too much emphasis on the military. As such, it is easy to deduce that the military instrument of power does not play an important role in Moldovan Foreign policy. Which again is a significant impediment towards achieving interoperability with partner nations and contribution to regional and international security.

**Analysis of NATO, EU and UN Expectations from Partner Countries**

In order to identify what transformation needs to occur in the National Army to be able to contribute to NATO, EU and UN operations, first is necessary to examine what are the expectations of these organizations in terms of capabilities and forces from small democracies like Moldova. The paragraphs below describe the expectations of all three organizations.

**North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

On April 15, 2011 in line with the 2010 NATO Strategic Concept and the Lisbon Declaration the organization created a document called “Political Military Framework for partner involvement in NATO-led operations.” The document formalizes the modalities of partner participation in NATO-led operations beginning with the planning phase and

finalizing with the execution. Additionally, the document defines the terms “Operational Partners” and “Potential Operational Partners”. The operational partners are the nations that contribute forces and capabilities to NATO operations and had been formally recognized by the North Atlantic Council (NAC) as operational partner. The potential operational partners are the nations that have the intent to participate, but did not yet contribute to NATO operations. The NAC accepts these nations as potential operational partners.

It is important to mention that the conditions for official recognition as an operational partner are the ability to operate together with the Allied Forces, interoperability, and previous participation in NATO exercises and training activities. One of the key things is to provide NATO Military authorities access to assess the capability that is intended to be committed by an operational partner to contribute to NATO operations. NAC will recognize a non-NATO country as operational partner based on the advice of the Military Committee based on the completion of several political, operational and administrative requirements necessary to achieve this status.

The document addresses the full process that a partner nation has to follow in order to contribute forces to operations but it does not specify what forces and capabilities NATO requires from the partners. It specifies that the forces and capabilities for contribution will be assessed for each operation separately. Colonel Ene in his interview confirms that NATO in the process of force generation for a specific operation

or mission identifies a list of specific capabilities that are open to the partners. The partners can choose what contribution they are willing to make. The list is based on the agreements NATO has with partners on a bilateral basis and is influenced by the level of access to information, national caveats and political interests.

Ene asserts that NATO does not expect mass contribution of forces and capabilities from small countries. Nevertheless, small countries can fill in several important niches. He points out Special Forces, Counter-Improvised Explosive Device (C-IED), Human Intelligence (HUMINT), Signal Intelligence (SIGINT), Chemical Biological Radioactive and Nuclear (CBRN), Psychological Operations and Civil Affairs teams are some relatively inexpensive and affordable capabilities and forces that small countries may contribute to NATO operations.

An interesting issue here becomes the political and the operational perspectives on non-NATO countries contributions. Ene provides a very good insight on this issue. He explains that NATO by being a political Alliance supports a broad participation of partner nations in NATO operations regardless of the size of the force. The politicians are eager to put as many flags on the “Coalition constellation” as possible. More contributing nations result in legitimization of NATO operations and credibility across the globe. On the other hand, military leadership has a different opinion. Military planners and commanders on the ground think from the perspective of interoperability, integration, necessity and command and control span of the military forces. The military commanders are looking to fill in the gaps with suitable forces, which are interoperable and can contribute to the achievement of mission success, versus a symbolic force that is placed
under their command for the sake of participation and not for real contribution to the achievement of military objectives.

Another point raised by Ene is the participation of partners in prolonged operations which requires sustainability. NATO is looking for partners that are able to rotate forces in the theatre ensuring longevity and continuity. The shorter the deployment period is the more problems it causes to the planners and the commanders.

Finally, Ene points out a third concern which deals with national caveats. National caveats are based on national interests and political objectives of partner nations. According to Ene the ideal situation for the commanders on the ground is to have forces with no national caveats. However, this is very difficult to achieve. As such, Ene suggests that small countries can increase their value by reducing as much as possible their national caveats or even eliminating them at all. He brings the example of Georgia in International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan. Currently Georgian forces operate in Afghanistan without any national caveat.

In conclusion, NATO welcomes participation of small non-NATO countries in operations under the Alliance authority. However, besides the list of available capabilities and forces open to the partners there are no additional specific requirements. The list is available after the force generation analysis for a specific mission, or operation. Additionally, before accepting capabilities and forces contribution to the operations there is a need for the partner country to be recognized by NAC as a potential operational partner, or operational partner. This recognition is based on NATO Military Committee assessment and recommendations.
The UN has expectations similar to NATO from contributing countries. However, several differences will be examined. The next paragraphs discuss what the expectations of UN from contributing countries are. To augment the subchapter with relevant and current information I will use the interview obtained from Lieutenant Colonel Alexandru Harea. Lieutenant Colonel Harea is a Moldovan Army officer currently deployed in a secondment position as a Peacekeeping Affairs Officer, Current Military Operations Service, Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), United Nations (UN).

According to Harea, despite the political consideration and the flag representation the expectations of the UN are more focused on operational capabilities of the contributing nations. The operational expectations are the same regardless if the contribution comes from a small or large country. Any UN Peacekeeping Operation (PKO) legitimacy is ensured by the Security Council resolutions.

The required forces and capabilities for UN peace operations are generally represented in the UN Stand-by Arrangements System (UNSAS) manual. However, the UN has started to develop UN military unit manuals and the first project UN Infantry Battalion Manual (UNIBAM) was approved and is in effect since August 2012. Eleven more manuals are in process to be developed, which will become as a basis for the required capabilities, the employment and tasks, the organization and equipment and the training of the units that are to be deployed in UN PKO. The UNSAS manual was edited in 2009 and prescribes the capabilities and tactical tasks a unit must be able to execute. Additionally the manual includes the tables of equipment (TOE) that prescribe the

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73LTC Alexandru Harea, Interview by author, March 30, 2014.
necessary equipment and weapon systems a unit must have. It is important to mention that the largest maneuver unit is battalion sized. Besides the ground forces the manual refers also to the maritime and air components.\(^7^4\)

Harea asserts that currently the most demanded capabilities are Explosive Ordinance Disposal (EOD), C-IED, construction, intelligence, Special Forces and advanced monitoring systems such as Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV). Another important capability is aviation. UN is looking for both transportation and attack helicopters. Some of the capabilities mentioned above are missing from the UNSAS manual. It is because the manual was published in 2009 and some of the requirements changed. An important fact, says Harea, is that the UN recognized the role and the need for advanced capabilities provided by the UAVs. For the first time in UN history drones were used in the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) in December 2013.\(^7^5\)

Additionally Harea stresses that the so-called “Big Three Group”, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh currently provide the majority of infantry forces. The contribution with infantry units is similar to a marketing competition in business. The fact that the country declares that it is willing to contribute an infantry unit does not mean it will get a spot in a mission. There are several factors that are considered, including political and the quality of the unit. Despite the real operational experience of the deployed units in UN PKO,


another reason for such a big competition is the fact that the contributing countries are financially remunerated for the units they contribute. The amount of financial reimbursement is stated in the Memorandum of Understanding between UN and a specific country. The amounts of money the UN is paying for specific units are also listed in the Manual on Policies, and Procedures Concerning the Reimbursement and Control of Contingent-Owned Equipment of Troop/Police Contributors Participating in Peacekeeping Missions (COE Manual). It is important to mention that the UN is seeking the size of infantry units deployed to a mission to be company sized and higher.

Harea asserts that there are three ways to contribute to UN missions avoiding the harsh competition, given the fact that Moldovan military equipment is quite outdated. First option is if the Moldovan contingent (company, or platoon sized) is incorporated in a unit of another country (sponsor contingent). The later having the responsibility of supporting the Moldovan contingent. The second option is to organize the contingent on regional basis between two or more countries. Harea also mentions a third way to access a UN mission by paying attention when a contingent from another country is pulled out from a mission and declaring in a timely manner the will to replace it.

To summarize, the UN expectations from small countries like Moldova do not differ from the expectations the organization has from larger countries. The required capabilities are similar to those of NATO. The size of the infantry units declared for participation in UN missions must be at least company level or above. The declared units must have the composition, equipment and weapon systems in accordance with the TOEs prescribed by the UNSAS manual. Finally, participation in a UN mission to have the
country flag on a chart for political reasons without being effective on the ground has less value.

European Union

The EU conducts international operations under the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), initially known as European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). It was launched in 1999. The CSDP is the operations arm of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).76 Currently, there are 16 ongoing missions under the framework of the CSDP. Four of them are military operations and eight are civilian missions.77

The CSDP uses the EU Battlegroups to conduct military operations. The Battlegroups represent EU rapid response forces with the main goal to respond to crisis. Each Battlegroup numbers 1500 to 2500 personnel. The Battlegroups reached their full operational capabilities in 2007. The battlegroups are conceived as multinational forces. Each member country contributes forces and capabilities to fill in specific niches. Partner countries can contribute forces to a Battlegroup as well. Two non-EU countries currently contribute regularly to the Battlegroups—Norway and Turkey. Ukraine provided forces and capabilities to the “HELBRUC” Battlegroup in 2011, which was deployed to the Horn of Africa. The lead nation in the Battlegroup is usually responsible for common training and certification of the forces provided by other countries that constitute the


77Ibid., 15.
specific Battlegroup. Additionally they have no fixed structure thus ensuring the necessary flexibility.

On the EU official site, military partnership is viewed mostly as EU cooperation with intergovernmental organizations such as UN, NATO and African Union. As such, there is no possibility to identify the expectations the EU has from non-member states regarding military capabilities and forces. However, I assume that EU has similar expectations with those of NATO because for the last decade EU conducted mainly stability operations across the globe.

Summarizing on the findings of NATO, UN and EU expectations for capabilities and forces from small countries like Moldova a few facts must be mentioned. First, the capabilities all three intergovernmental organizations expect out of the contributing countries are very similar, because for the last ten years all three organizations were involved in similar stability, or peacekeeping operations. Second, the requirements regarding composition of forces differ and are more prescriptive for UN peacekeeping operations. Third, partner countries are free to choose by themselves what forces and capabilities they want to contribute.

Cost/benefit Ratio Analysis of Moldovan Participation in UN, NATO, and EU Missions

Regardless of how big the ambitions of a country are to contribute to international missions, the national interests are the ones who dictate the rules of the game. This subchapter examines two aspects of the cost/benefit ratio analysis. The first aspect refers to the financial implications of Moldovan participation in UN, NATO or EU missions.
Meanwhile the second aspect encompasses political and social implications of contributing forces to international engagements.

The economic aspect is relatively easy to calculate by finding out how much the National Army has to invest in order to develop and sustain a credible force to contribute to international engagements and to what extent the investment reimburses itself in the long run. One of the studies executed by the MoD in its struggle to create a retention policy for the enlisted professional soldiers looked at the figures of the cost/benefit ratio.

The working group calculated the cost benefit ratio for a battalion-sized unit (450 soldiers), including three light infantry companies (150 soldiers each) which were supposed to deploy on a rotational basis, one company at time for a one year period. Calculations targeted UN and EU missions. The calculated costs included preparation phase, public information campaign to promote the deployment and damage payments to families in case of casualties. The calculations emphasized that depending on the location and complexity of the international mission, the net benefit for the national budget ranges from $1.5M to $6.71M per year for one company deployed to EU missions, and $3.51M million per year for a company deployed to UN missions\(^7\). As such, it is evident that the ultimate financial benefit is bigger than the combined costs. Table 1 and table 2 shows the exact process of the calculations for EU and UN peacekeeping missions.

Table 4. Participation of the National Army in EU Lead Peacekeeping Operations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Mil. USD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deployment preparation phase (<em>Anexa Calcul inchegare</em>)</td>
<td>-0.0042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deployment phase (minimum option EU) (<em>Anexa Calcule UE</em>)</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deployment phase (maximum option EU) (<em>Anexa Calcule UE</em>)</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public information campaign (in Moldova)</td>
<td>-0.0084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average damage pay per year for casualties to the families</td>
<td>-0.00725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total revenue (minimal option)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total revenue (maximum option)</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.71</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Estimated Reimbursement Calculations for a Light Infantry Company in a UN Mission

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UN standards for a light infantry company</th>
<th>1 pers /month (USD)</th>
<th>150 pers /month (USD)</th>
<th>150 pers /year (USD)</th>
<th>150 pers /year (MDL)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perdium</strong> (maximum option, it varies depending on the theater of operation and security situation)</td>
<td>1.028</td>
<td>154.200</td>
<td>1.850.400</td>
<td>22.889.448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Equipment</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>10.200</td>
<td>122.400</td>
<td>1.514.088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ammunition for training</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>9.000</td>
<td>111.330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Additional costs</strong> (25% specialists from logistic units and 10% staff officers)</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>4.545</td>
<td>54.540</td>
<td>674.660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Personal</td>
<td>169.695</td>
<td>2.036.340</td>
<td>25.189.526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major Equipment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(<strong>armament, maintenance and full logistic support including major repairs for the equipment used: BTR, Jeep, KAMAZ, KRAZ, Ambulance</strong>)</td>
<td>73.824</td>
<td>885.888</td>
<td>10.958.435</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Support and self-sustainment equipment</strong></td>
<td>48.572</td>
<td>582.858</td>
<td>7.209.953</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transportation</strong> (can be provided by another contributing country with or the UN)</td>
<td>48.572</td>
<td>582.858</td>
<td>7.209.953</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total reimbursement calculation</td>
<td>292.091</td>
<td>3.505.086</td>
<td>43.357.914</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The second aspect is the political and social impact. Here I would like to refer again to the interviews. It is worth mentioning that the three interviewees at the time of the interview were located on three different continents, representing three different organizations, but the answers to the question about the cost/benefit ratio are almost the same, with differences just in formulation. The interviewees are the two Moldovan officers–representatives of the National Army at NATO and UN. Additionally, the third
interviewed person is the former Chief of the US Office of Defence Cooperation in Moldova, Lieutenant Colonel (Air Force) Sergio Porres.

To begin with, all three interviewees emphasized that the overall benefits from Moldovan contribution to international operations outweigh all the associated costs. Regarding the political aspect, all three officers emphasized the benefit of being heard in the international community, fulfilling Moldovan international commitments and increasing credibility by becoming a regional and global security provider. On the other hand, the political costs include negative reaction of internal opposition parties to Moldovan deployments, as well as negative reaction of some eastern neighbors that may have economic and political consequences. Everyone emphasized the operational benefits. The possibility to increase interoperability with international partners, to gain operational experience, to establish access to training areas and more international exercises, and to develop an effective and proficient National Army were the main arguments to back up the benefits. Finally, the interviewees pointed out the social benefits. The possibility for the military personnel to increase their income based on the additional pay involved with the deployments. Additionally, reestablishment of attractiveness of the military profession would encourage enlistment into the Army thus creating more jobs, and developing a stronger society.

An important factor to emphasize is that contribution with forces to UN and EU missions involves direct financial reimbursement, but as a general rule, does not involve any other training or force generation process. On the other hand contribution to NATO missions does not involve direct financial reimbursement; however NATO is able to compensate this through the tools it provides for institutional development, training and
force generation such as availability of training areas, military education and training, shooting ranges, etc.

Financial calculation and the estimated political, social and operational impact indicate that the benefits favor Moldovan participation in UN, NATO and EU missions. That is why the National Army struggles so hard to deploy forces to international missions. However, this initiative in many instances was held back by the political leadership of the country, which saw the associated risks being higher than the ultimate benefits.

**DOTMLPF Analysis and Solution Identification**

This sub-chapter is focused on the analysis of the current state of the National Army using the DOTMLPF methodology. The purpose of this sub-chapter is to emphasize the potential shortfalls that present an impediment for interoperability, development of capabilities and forces able to participate in NATO, UN and EU led international operations. The provided information is based on open source information analysis, interviews and my personal knowledge and experience in the National Army. All the information presented in this sub-chapter is unclassified.

**Doctrine**

The current doctrine of the National Army is mainly written in the Armed Forces Military Academy. In some cases for specialized units, such as Special Forces, the draft for the field manuals and regulations are initiated in those units. However, before being approved and edited they must be revised by the specialists form the Military Academy.
The current accreditations of the Academy makes it the only organization able to edit and publish military manuals and regulations.\textsuperscript{79}

A positive thing about National Army doctrine is that officers who are graduates from courses in NATO countries write it. As a result it is very similar to US and NATO doctrine with some adjustments for specific weapons systems, specific units or different mission sets. This solves some problems in terms of interoperability. Another positive thing happened when National Army declared an infantry company available for the OCC E&F process. This gave the National Army access to a large amount of NATO Standardization Agreements (STANAGs). A STANAG is a NATO normative document ratified at national level to implement a single standard\textsuperscript{80} and includes doctrine as well. The STANAGs are used to facilitate the process of writing doctrine.

Several negative aspects need to be mentioned here. First, there is no similar organization such as Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). A lot of manuals and regulations are written without the appropriate level of analysis and research. As result, their quality in some instances is not at the expected level. In some cases, the manuals are just a translated version of US or NATO manuals. Second, because of the fact that many officers receive their education and training in NATO countries, or in US, there is no common agreement what constitutes the basis for the elaboration of the National Army doctrine. Is it the NATO doctrine, or US doctrine? Are we using the Military Decision


Making Process (MDMP) to plan operations or the Operational Planning Process (OPP), or both?

The National Army doctrine is similar to the doctrine of NATO countries, which is a big step to increase interoperability. However, there is still a lot of work to be done to completely adjust the doctrine to the current operational needs. Creation of an organization such as TRADOC would help enormously to elaborate and adjust the doctrine.

Organization

National Army is an organization formed in 1992. During almost 22 years of its existence, it went through continuous transformation and continuous reform. Despite this long reform often without political and financial support the structure of the Army units remained relatively unchanged. We still observe same number of motorized brigades, independent combat support and logistic units, air force and air defence units.

A significant change occurred at the very top of the National Army organization in 2010 with the creation of Land Forces, Air Forces, and Logistic Commands.\textsuperscript{81} The intent was to facilitate the command and control and to reduce the bureaucracy. This change in the organization at the top level did not affect the interoperability and the intention to deploy forces in international operations.

One of the biggest changes in the number of the Army units was the creation of the 22nd Peacekeeping Battalion (PK BN) in 1999. An independent unit with the mission to participate in peacekeeping missions in the country and across the globe. Today

members of the 22nd PK BN participate in the NATO mission in Kosovo (KFOR). The structure of the unit was adjusted according to NATO STANAGs to ensure maximum interoperability. The structure of the motorized infantry brigades, independent combat support and logistic units over time remained the same with only changes at the Headquarters level. All the units including the Main Staff of the National Army adopted the NATO HQ nomenclature of the sections (S1/G1/J1, S3/G3/J3, etc.) by that ensuring more interoperability with partner nations and organizations.

One of the current issues related to the organization of military units is the fact that there are only two units completely structured to meet the minimum requirements for deployment to NATO or UN missions, the 22nd PK BN and the Special Forces Battalion. This is a disadvantage, and if the resources are available, the rest of the units should follow the same path.

The National Army from the organizational perspective took many steps forward to ensure maximum interoperability. There are still shortfalls that must be addressed. Overall, with insignificant adjustments Moldovan Army is well suited for international operations.

Training

The training in the National Army was always a significant issue because of the heavy impact on the available resources. However, for the last four years the level of training went up in quality and quantity. This is mainly because of the successful security

cooperation with NATO and US\textsuperscript{83} and is based on the fact that the leadership of the Ministry of Defence and the Main Staff of the National Army beginning with 2009, are graduates of US Command and General Staff College (CGSOC), US War College, Baltic Defence College, and other higher education institutions from NATO countries. Two aspects are analyzed in the next paragraphs: courses and exercises.

Moldova benefits from a large variety of courses offered by US and NATO for training purposes. The courses represent the entire spectrum of military training. The majority of the courses are financed by NATO, and US, which make them accessible for the National Army. Besides the courses abroad, a variety of Mobile Training Teams (MTT) visit Moldova annually to train Moldovan military. A significant impact on the training of the National Army had the “train the trainer courses.” As a result of those courses the National Army was able to develop and conduct training courses on its own, using national instructors. A good example is the NCO courses initiated by representatives from the Baltic countries.\textsuperscript{84} Currently, Moldovan NCOs run the NCO courses on their own, with limited assistance provided by NATO advisers. Another example is the Special Forces Qualification Course set up in Moldova by the officers and


NCOs who graduated from Special Forces Qualification Course and Ranger Course in US.  

The National Army participates in a number of international exercises. The exercises proved to be of extreme value for the Moldovan military. For the last five years, the number of the exercises that Moldova is part of increased significantly. Additionally, after the familiarization visit of Admiral Montgomery in 2011, at the time the Deputy J5 at EUCOM, to Moldova, the Joint Multinational Readiness Centre (JMRC) in Germany accepted Moldovan forces from 22nd PK BN and Special Forces Battalion (SF BN) to use the training area and the facilities. Currently Moldovan units travel to the JMRC training area two times per year for exercises and individual training.

In addition to the international exercises, the National Army organises a series of exercises at home. They are focused on decisive action. Normally, a battalion level exercise includes an offensive operation, a defensive operation and several days of stability operations.

The main issue for the training remains the scarce resources, inadequate and poorly equipped National Training Area, and limited size of the training areas. The National Army is balancing this by participation in international exercises and use of the training area at JMRC, Germany.

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Both the courses and the exercises increased significantly the interoperability of Moldovan units, especially the 22nd PK BN and SF BN. Besides the fact that they mastered the required NATO Standing Operating Procedures (SOPs) approximately 50 percent of the units speak English, which is appreciated a lot by partner nations.

Materiel

Materiel is probably the most affected domain by the economic situation in the country. Since the formation of the national army not a single piece of equipment or weapon system was purchased and fielded using the budget of the MoD. This led to serious shortages of reliable equipment, weapon systems and vehicles.

The majority of the new equipment is coming into the Army using FMF and Excess Defence Articles (EDA) security assistance programs. The equipment obtained through the FMF and EDA programs is mostly personal equipment with few exceptions. It includes helmets, tactical vests, body armor, uniforms, night vision googles, etc. Exception to this was the fact that in several instances through the EDA program were acquired a number of light skin vehicles M-1009 and M-1008, five ton trucks, and civilian vehicles for administrative transportation (cars for the senior commanders, mini vans and busses).87

The existing army equipment, weapons systems, armored personnel carriers (APCs), helicopters and airplanes were produced in the Soviet Union and are outdated. This presents a serious impediment for interoperability. Some of the spare parts are not

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produced anymore and there is no possibility to purchase them. At the same time the MoD does not have the resources to set up in country production of spare parts.

The situation is better with the aviation equipment. Currently a number of Moldovan transportation helicopters are serving under the UN mission in Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{88} This allows the use of the funds which are received from UN and pay for the maintenance and spare parts, which are coming mainly from Ukrainian and Russian factories. However, this is a temporary solution. Eventually, the National Army will need to acquire new helicopters to meet its operational needs.

The latest attempt for the Minister of Defence to convince the political leadership of the country to purchase military airplanes and helicopters took place in 2012. On February 17, 2012 the parliament approved the project to purchase eight military airplanes and eight helicopters with the purpose to protect the national airspace. The project should be implemented by 2015.\textsuperscript{89}

The main issue for this domain is the lack of resources to support acquisition, fielding and maintenance of Army materiel. It is impossible to accomplish major changes in army materiel without the proper amount of resources. Additionally, the political will becomes an issue as well. If there is political will to acquire new materiel for the National Army, then the financial resources become available. Another issue is the lack of a

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systemic analysis and research that would identify the needed military equipment and would take a scientific approach to acquire (produce) and field it.

The positive thing is that National Army does not intend to deploy large contingents for international operations. As such, the deployed forces (platoon sized elements) are issued new personal equipment that is obtained from the security cooperation programs. The problem with the vehicles is solved by using the military vehicles available in the theatre.

Leadership and Education

Leadership and education domain in the National Army is one of the most developed today. Based on the security cooperation programs with US and NATO this domain achieved significant progress. The following paragraphs analyze the current state of leadership and education in the National Army.

Officers who attended Professional Military Education (PME) in the US or NATO countries (particularly Romania, Germany, Baltic States and Greece) represent the current senior leadership of the National Army for the main part. This includes the senior officers and civilians from the MoD, Main Staff of the National Army, unit commanders and in many instances the executive officers (XOs). This allows the National Army to follow the leadership model of western partners. The middle level leaders such as staff officers and company commanders represent a mixture of officers educated in Moldova and officers educated abroad. Due to the IMET and other relevant programs that allow Moldovan officers to follow their PME abroad, the number of officers educated abroad is quite significant and this influences the leadership style of local officers. The officers who graduate from the local Military Academy represent the junior leaders. Once they
reach the units, they fall under the influence of their commanders who normally promote
the leadership style learned in US or NATO countries. One has to understand that this is a
general trend and there are instances that do not follow the described model.

During the last five years the PME registered significant steps forward. The
Armed Forces Academy currently is the one who conducts all the PME for the National
Army in Moldova. The Academy was accredited to conduct initial, intermediate and
advanced level military education.\textsuperscript{90} The courses include:

1. Basic course for officers (four years of initial PME, the graduates are
commissioned as second lieutenants);
2. Advanced course (3 to 4 months, equivalent of US Captain’s Career Course);
3. Staff officer course (3 to 4 months, prepares officers for staff positions at
battalion level);
4. Graduate degree studies (18 months, equivalent of CGSOC);
5. Post-graduate studies (3 to 4 months, equivalent of US War College);
6. PhD program (3 to 4 years, first program will begin in September 2014).

The positive evolution of PME in the country complemented with career course
offered by US and other NATO countries provides the opportunity to have trained
officers at all hierarchical levels. The fact that Moldovan PME was built based on the
US/NATO model ensures a significant level of interoperability with NATO partners.

\textsuperscript{90}Ministerul Apărării al Republicii Moldova, “Cautare,” http://www.army.md/
?action=show&cat=70&cx=partner-pub-7148515289373786%3Avk47kzrvqcl&
cof=FORID%3A10&ie=windows-1251&q=Academia+militara (accessed April 26,
2014).
Several issues will require improvement. First, the intermediate level education and the advanced level education are very new. This will require time to reach the quality level of US/NATO education institutions. Second, scarce financial resources do not allow acquisition of adequate technological assets to support the educational process. Third, it will take some more time to adjust the careers of 100 percent of the officers with the new education system in place. Fourth, the Non-commissioned officers’ (NCOs) PME is still in the development phase.

Overall the Leadership and Training domain is developed at a quite high level. Several identified issues do not present serious impediments for interoperability with international partners. Moreover, this domain creates strong premises to achieve a high level of interoperability for the deployed Moldovan forces.

Personnel

The availability of qualified personnel in the National Army depends on more than one factor. First, the economic situation of the country and other external factors. Second, the social package available to the military and civilian personnel. And third, the retention policy of the MoD.

Being the SF BN Commander, which is an independent unit, I had to deal with all three factors described above. The dynamics of the personnel in the unit was very similar to what is happening in the US Army or any other army in the World. Following paragraphs describe these dynamics.

Whenever the economic situation in the country is getting better and good jobs are available, the enlisted personnel try to terminate Army contracts and follow a civilian life. When the situation in the national economy is worse, the influx of personnel into the
unit increases significantly. It is necessary to mention that the quality of personnel also varies depending on the economic factor.\textsuperscript{91}

Significant personnel shifts occurred several times when the social package of the military was reduced. The career path the Moldovan officers follow is very similar to the US Army model. One of the differences is the number of mandatory years to receive the retirement pay. Currently, the National Army officers have to serve 25 years to have their retirement. The length of service from 20 years to 25 changed in 2012.\textsuperscript{92} This will require modifications in the number of years served having a specific rank, which will increase. Modification of retirement timeframe in 2012 caused a significant number of senior officers to retire, in order to avoid loss in retirement pay and obligation to serve five more years.

In order to retain the personnel in the service the MoD proposed a retention policy. One of the three suggested solution to increase the retention of the personnel in the National Army is to increase Moldovan participation in UN and EU missions. The policy presents a cost/benefit analysis, which reflects the satisfaction aspect of participating in an international mission and the financial aspect.\textsuperscript{93} More details about the cost/benefit ratio of contributing to international missions is presented in chapter 5.

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\textsuperscript{93}Ministerul Apărării Al Republicii Moldova, Proiect de Politica Publica, 22.
\end{flushright}
A current issue for the National Army is that the conscript system is still in place. According to the National Army regulations, only professional enlisted personnel can deploy for operations abroad. Even though the professionalization of the Army is in progress, the process is slow. This decreases the number of enlisted personnel that is allowed to deploy for international missions.

A potential solution to the problems mentioned above is the professionalization of the entire Army, and elimination of the conscript system, a process that already began. Additionally, increasing the number of personnel deployed to NATO, UN or EU missions may solve to some extent the retention problem. Lastly, making the social package better by adding certain benefits will increase the number and the quality of the military personnel.

Facilities

The situation with the facilities in the National army remains poor. It is poor mainly because of the low budget the National Army has and the resources are not sufficient to maintain old, or build new facilities. Here I would like to refer to two types of facilities that affect interoperability and have a negative effect on the Army personnel. First, the training facilities for the National Army. Second, housing quarters for the military personnel and their families.

A lack of adequate, well-equipped training areas for the Moldovan Army has been a serious issue for the MoD for the last 10 years. Lack of financial resources prevented the ability to maintain and renovate the main training sites for the Army. Currently the MoD found a solution to renovate the main training centre of the Army using the GPOI program. As mentioned earlier in this chapter GPOI funds became available to the Army,
once Moldova declared its intention to deploy forces to UN missions. The issue with the lack of well-equipped training sites interferes significantly with the readiness of the National Army and subsequently with the ability to prepare at home contingents for deployment to international missions.

The problem with the availability of housing quarters for military families has a negative impact on the National Army as well. Since the formation of the National Army MoD has built just one multi-story building to ensure availability of proper housing for the families. Obviously, this is not enough to ensure the current necessities of the Army. Lack of housing reduces significantly the ability to recruit and retain professional enlisted personnel, NCOs and junior officers.\textsuperscript{94} To solve this problem on February 17, 2014 the MoD launched a pilot project for public partnership with the goal to build 111 additional apartments for the military personnel and their families. The project identified a civilian construction company that won the competition and was awarded the right to build the quarters for the military. On behalf of the military community the project is supported at all levels. The military personnel declaring that this is a huge motivator to continue to serve in the National Army.\textsuperscript{95}

Facilities without any doubt remain one of the most vulnerable domains in the National Army. The negative impact of this domain affects the readiness of the units and the moral of the personnel. In order to solve the problems in this domain besides the


classic solution of allocating more financial resources there is a need of an innovative approach such as public partnerships or other projects that will allow finding of a feasible solution.

Forces and Capabilities Feasible to Develop

The first answer to the question about what forces and capabilities should the National Army develop to be able to NATO, UN, or EU led international missions initially appears to be simple. In this case, the answer is whatever capabilities and forces the UN, NATO and EU require. The analysis in this chapter describes in detail what are the requirements of forces and capabilities of all three organizations. As such, the next question is what forces and capabilities are feasible and acceptable for the National Army to develop in order to contribute to international security?

The ability to generate forces and build capabilities is directly related to the available resources. Moldova having a poor economy should first seek to create forces and capabilities that are oriented to the accomplishment of its domestic necessities and if possible, to use the same capabilities and forces for deployments to international missions. In this case, according to Colonel Ene it is suitable to develop the Special Forces capabilities, based on the latest developments in Ukraine. He argues that an open confrontation in a conventional fight with an overwhelmingly strong enemy is not a wise idea. Meanwhile an engagement in unconventional warfare increases the survivability chances of the country. He also asserts that Special Forces capabilities are in high
demand in current operations across the globe. So several Special Forces units augmented with HUMINT and PSYOPS capabilities would constitute a feasible option.\textsuperscript{96}

On the other hand, Lieutenant Colonel Porres considers that peacekeeping capability augmented with niche capabilities such as engineering or medical capability would be useful and feasible to develop. He also points out that the vertical lift capability and contribution with helicopters may become a feasible option as well.\textsuperscript{97}

An interesting approach to the development of feasible capabilities and forces has Lieutenant Colonel Harea, the Moldovan representative at UN. He suggests that for peacekeeping operations Moldova could deploy a battalion-sized infantry unit with a carabinieri company (police unit) instead of one Infantry Company to build in an additional capability of riot control. Also the battalion could be reinforced with an EOD capability and a Special Forces element. To maintain a rotational cycle of the battalion it will be necessary to engage the active reserve as well. By deploying one battalion will give the possibility to maintain the real operational experience of troops, to maintain a pool of active reserve and to facilitate some financial aspects Harea also emphasizes suitability of helicopters as well.

One issue to be considered here is the fact that in order for Moldova to deploy a battalion sized infantry unit on rotational basis, the army requires an infantry brigade ready to generate the battalions. This may be achieved in two ways. The first way is to allocate a significant amount of resources in a short period of time, which is unlikely given the current economic situation of the country. The second way, is to develop it

\textsuperscript{96}Ene Interview.

\textsuperscript{97}LTC Sergio Porres, Interview by author, March 28, 2014.
gradually over an extended period of time, which based on the OCC&EF process takes three to four years to certify a battalion. So it will take about ten to twelve years to have a fully capable infantry brigade. In these conditions a potential short term solution to the problem is to focus the initial contributions to international missions with niche capabilities, because the deployed elements are small in size and the country for the most part has them available and ready to deploy. Good examples are EOD, medical and SOF capabilities. At the same time the long term solution remains the infantry capability that will be developed gradually over time.

In conclusion, chapter 4 represents the main part of the thesis. The structure of the chapter is focused on answering the majority of the secondary and tertiary research questions. The analysis begins with the definition of interoperability and its importance at all hierarchical levels. It continues with the examination of national strategic documents, which emphasize how the interoperability and Moldovan participation in international missions is fostered at the strategic level. Subsequently, the chapter analyzes the expectations of intergovernmental organizations from small countries like Moldova. Additionally, the chapter presents a cost/benefit analysis of Moldovan participation in international missions. Also, it conducts an analysis of the current state of the National Army capabilities using DOTMLPF methodology, with the goal to identify shortfalls that preclude interoperability and constitute obstacles for Moldovan contribution to NATO, UN and EU missions. Finally, the chapter does an analysis of the feasible options for development of capabilities and forces to support missions abroad.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on the analysis presented in chapter 4 of the thesis, chapter 5 summarizes the findings and formulates necessary conclusions. Chapter 5 is divided into two subchapters. The first subchapter refers to the conclusions. The second subchapter addresses the recommendations for further research.

The conclusions summarize the findings based on the research questions addressed in chapter 4. As such, the first conclusion refers to the overall cost/benefit analysis of Moldovan participation in NATO, UN or EU missions. The second conclusion summarizes the NATO, UN, and EU expectations from small countries like Moldova. Third, the conclusions point out the findings on the levels of interoperability and the necessity to pursue interoperability at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. Subsequently, there are several conclusions that emphasize the forces and capabilities that are feasible for Moldova to develop. Next, the sub-chapter lists the conclusions regarding the comprehensive approach to the necessary transformation. Finally, the sub-chapter ends with the conclusion on the discrepancy of the End, Ways, and Means and the necessity to diminish those under the close supervision of the governmental institutions.

Conclusions

The cost/benefit analysis described in chapter 4 clearly shows that the benefits of Moldova participating in NATO, UN, or EU international operations outweigh the related
costs. This refer to all the aspects; financial, political, and social. The financial benefits are more evident when participating in UN or EU missions. Meanwhile, participation in NATO missions provides more opportunities in terms of availability of relevant training, education, doctrine and institutional development. On the other hand participation in NATO missions has more negative political implications than contribution to UN or EU missions. It may be interpreted by internal political parties as well as by Russia as a violation of the neutrality status of Moldova. And may ultimately have potential economic implications. However, even with Moldova’s current participation in KFOR mission, this did not affect any of the above mentioned aspects. I consider that all three organizations present equal opportunity when referred to cost/benefit analysis.

The UN, NATO and EU expectations from small countries like Moldova are very similar. They heavily emphasize interoperability issues. Besides this NATO, has a tendency to achieve maximum political representation in order to increase its credibility across the globe. Overall, I consider that the expectations are broad enough to allow a country to decide and pick for itself what capabilities and forces to contribute. In this regard the UN is more prescriptive, while NATO and EU are more flexible. I recommend focusing on one of them because of the fact that the economic resources of the country are scarce and this will prevent to develop quality forces and capabilities to support the missions of all three organizations.

In order to effectively and wisely use the scarce resources Moldova can initially deploy small contingents representing niche capabilities. This will mitigate the time consumption and availability of resources, requested to develop large infantry units. Once larger units are trained and ready to deploy the National Army can continue by deploying
infantry units up to an independent battalion. This will also contribute to the force
generation process.

The main conclusion with regard to interoperability is that interoperability needs
to be achieved at all levels beginning with the strategic and ending with the tactical. As
such, I conclude that at the strategic level the national legislation and the strategic
documents support interoperability. At the operational and tactical levels the
interoperability is affected by the availability of necessary resources. This encompasses
all the domains of the DOTMLPF, some of them more than others. The recommendation
here is to adopt a comprehensive approach and foster interoperability at all the levels and
across all the domains of DOTMLPF simultaneously.

Based on the analysis presented in chapter 4 the forces and capabilities that must
be developed in order to contribute to international missions have to correspond to the
needs of NATO, UN and EU. At the same time these forces and capabilities must be
feasible to develop in country. The key here is to balance between the internal needs of
the country and external contributions. In conclusion, the National Army should design
its forces and capabilities in accordance with its operational requirements at home, and
utilize those capabilities and forces to contribute to international security. In this regard
an emphasis on the development of Special Forces units is very suitable. Additionally,
the National Army should focus on the development of niche capabilities such as EOD,
C-IED, Medical, Counter Insurgency, Unconventional Warfare, HUMINT, PSYOPS and
vertical lift capabilities. Moreover, in order to increase capabilities for UN missions an
infantry unit may be complemented with a riot control police element.
The following set of conclusions refers to the comprehensive approach the National Army and the Republic of Moldova should take in order to succeed with the transformation.

First, the National Army must develop a system similar to US Joint Capabilities Integration Development System (JCIDS), or NATO Capabilities Development Process in order to have a systemic and scientific approach to identify capability gaps and implement solutions. This will help with the development of the necessary capabilities without wasting resources. Lack of a systemic and scientific approach to identification of capability gaps and implementation of solutions might lead to wrong decisions and wasting of funds.

Second, the DOTMLPF analysis in chapter 4 unveiled numerous operational and administrative gaps across all the DOTMLPF domains of the National Army. Each domain of the DOTMLPF in and of itself may constitute a good research topic. Each domain could be overwhelmed with recommendations and solutions to solve the issues. The key is that the solutions must be implemented taking into consideration all the domains of the DOTMLPF. Only a comprehensive approach to solution implementation will have a positive effect on further Army transformation and create the premises to become a capable and interoperable force.

Finally, the most important conclusion for the research is related to the Ends, Ways and Means paradigm. The analysis in chapter 4 emphasized a perfect alignment of the elements on paper, but a complete discrepancy in reality. Unless this gap between the Ends, Ways and the Means is closed, and what the strategic documents describe is implemented in reality, the National Army transformation will be impossible. This must
happen under the close supervision and with the support of the political leadership of the country. Otherwise, the National Army will never be able to effectively contribute to and sustain its contribution to NATO, UN and EU international operations.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

The last subchapter focuses on recommendations for further research. It identifies several areas that may constitute potential research topics and be more specific about the National Army transformation. The subchapter emphasizes three potential areas for further research.

The first recommendation for further research is tightly related to the current strategic environment. One of the assumptions made in the beginning of this research was that the “frozen” Transdniestrian conflict will maintain its current status. The latest development of the situation in Ukraine and the Russian Federation’s annexation of Crimea makes this assumption tenuous. Consequently, in the created strategic environment where Russian Federation is trying to re-gain its role of a regional and global superpower, a relevant research topic becomes the necessary transformation of the National Army to face external aggression and possibility to changing the neutral status of the country prescribed by the Constitution of Moldova.

A second recommendation for further research is to focus it on strictly internal needs, and look at the necessary transformation of the National Army from a perspective of a neutral country, which sees neutrality as its main tool to preserve independence and sovereignty. The research should emphasize the issues with the assumption that the collective security concept is not a possibility for Moldova, and the country is on its own to face the security challenges. The outcome of the research could be compared to the
current research and emphasize the positive and negative aspects of Moldova maintaining its neutrality status.

The third recommendation is related to the identification of operational and administrative needs of the National Army, capability gaps and solution implementation. As such, DOTMLPF domains constitute potential topics that will take this research a step forward and investigate in more detail the transformation of the National Army. As it was mentioned earlier in this chapter, each of the domains of DOTMLPF is so important for the development of the Moldovan Army that it needs further in depth investigation and identification of viable and feasible solutions.

Chapter 5 summarized the information reflected in the research and focused on the formulation of conclusions. The conclusions emphasized that the benefits of contributing forces and capabilities to international missions outweighs the costs. Also, the National Army should not develop specific set of forces solely for contribution to UN, NATO and EU missions but balance between the internal needs and international engagements. The transformation of the National Army to achieve interoperability and capability to contribute to international missions should be a comprehensive one and encompass all the DOTMLPF domains. Moreover, the political leadership of the country must support this transformation and provide adequate resources to achieve the established objectives. Additionally, the chapter identified three recommendations for further research. First, further investigation of the DOTMLPF domains in the National Army. Second, development of forces and capabilities solely for internal needs. Third, a cost/benefit analysis and the consequences of maintaining the neutrality status of the country in the current strategic environment.
APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM

This represents the consent agreement form that the interviewees signed before getting interviewed.

CONSENT AND USE AGREEMENT FOR INTERVIEW MATERIALS

You have the right to choose whether or not you will participate in this interview, and once you begin you may cease participating at any time without penalty. The anticipated risk to you in participating is negligible and no direct personal benefit has been offered for your participation. If you have questions about this research study, please contact the student at: (913) 250-6161 or Dr. Robert F. Baumann, Director of Graduate Degree Programs, at (913) 684-2742.

To: Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Room 4508, Lewis & Clark Center
U.S. Army Command and General Staff College

1. I, _________________, participated in an interview conducted by
LTC Radu Burduja, a graduate student in the Master of Military Art and Science Degree Program, on the following date [s]: ________ concerning the following topic:
Recommended transformations of the National Army of the Republic of Moldova in order to achieve better interoperability in UN, NATO and EU led military operations.

2. I understand that the recording [s] and any transcript resulting from this interview will belong to the U.S. Government to be used in any manner deemed in the best interests of the Command and General Staff College or the U.S. Army, in accordance with guidelines posted by the Director, Graduate Degree Programs. I also understand that subject to security classification restrictions I will be provided with a copy of the recording for my professional records. In addition, prior to the publication of any complete edited transcript of this interview, I will be afforded an opportunity to verify its accuracy.

3. I hereby expressly and voluntarily relinquish all rights and interests in the recording [s] with the following caveat:

_____ None  _____ Other:

_________________________________
I understand that my participation in this interview is voluntary and I may stop participating at any time without explanation or penalty. I understand that the tapes and transcripts resulting from this interview may be subject to the Freedom of Information Act, and therefore, may be releasable to the public contrary to my wishes. I further understand that, within the limits of the law, the U.S. Army will attempt to honor the restrictions I have requested to be placed on these materials.

________
Name of Interviewee   Signature   Date

________
Accepted on Behalf of the Army by   Date
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