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Research Report 3: A Fieldwork in Military Institutions of Lithuania

The Lithuanian Case

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Research Project „The Image of the Democratic Soldier: Tensions Between the Organisation of Armed Forces and the Principles of Democracy in European Comparison“

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1. Introduction

The analysis of Lithuania's strategic security and defense documents and of other forms of Lithuania's political culture and military training that was presented in the first two reports, led to the conclusion that Lithuania's political culture features two normative models of the soldier: the soldier as a defender of the Motherland (modern) and the soldier as a professional fighting battles in foreign lands (postmodern). The image of the soldier as the valiant fighter for the Motherland and the idea of total defense is a reflection of Lithuania's orientation towards the modern nation state. In official discourse the orientation was predominant till about 2000-2001. The other model is related to Lithuania's turn to the postmodern society and its membership in NATO and the EU and to the accompanying modifications made in strategic documents, bringing them in line with changes in the NATO conception of security and defense. As argued in some previous studies¹, since Lithuania joined ES and NATO the Lithuanian state has acquired ever more features of a postmodern state. And yet the construction of the country's political identity has followed the vision of a modern state. In the report I'll try to relate the images and socialization of the military and results of empirical research to the blend of the modern/postmodern normative stances in Lithuania's political discourse.

The Guide for the interviews of the project is focused on four issues:

- 1) Personal motivation, self image and ideals of soldiers;
- 2) The image of the soldier and acceptance of the armed forces in society; perception of public controversies regarding the place of the armed forces in democracy;
- 3) Democratic ways of organizing the military;
- 4) Attitudes towards out-of area missions.

In order to put these issues in a wider perspective and to exploit the data of recent empirical research I have set myself the following directions of analysis:

1. An analysis of previous sociological research related to the project.
2. An analysis of the answers to the questionnaire by the cadets of the Lithuanian Military Academy and an interview with the deputy commandant of the Academy.
3. An analysis of interviews with soldiers. There are 12 interviews with navy soldiers.
4. An analysis of the answers to the questionnaire by soldiers (355 respondents).

¹ Miniotaite G., "The Baltic States: In Search of Security and Identity" in Krupnick Ch.,ed., *Almost NATO: Par¹ See tners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*, Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, p. 261-296.

2. An analysis of previous sociological research

Since 2004 the Strategic Research center of the Lithuanian Military Academy have carried on comprehensive sociological research (leaded by Professor Jurate Novagrockiene) on the Lithuanian military. Some issues of the research cover questions raised in the project. See tables 1,2,3.

Table 1: Why did you choose a military profession? (2005, officers, percent)

1. I like army	61
2. Prospects of career making	36
3. Social assurances	33
4. It's my avocation	28
5. Fair wage	27
6. Family tradition	13
7. Unemployment	5
8. was invited to join army after compulsory service	4
9. Financial problems	3

Table 2.: Motives to join international missions

	2005 %	20 06 %
1. To have a meaningful personal experience	72	96
2. To earn some extra money	55	94
3. To know new countries	41	74
4. To apply theoretical knowledge in practice	21	2
5. To satisfy desire for adventure	11	9

Table 3: Personal motivation, self-image and ideals (percent)

1. Help in emergency situations	90
2. Defend the country from foreign enemies	86
3. Education of patriotism of young people	82
4. To foster national and civil values	73
5. participation in solving international security issues	73

The results of the research show that military officers consider the soldier's profession as an exceptional one. The motives of their professional choice are mainly those of devotion to, and love for, the army. Answering the question "Why did you choose the military profession?" (Table 1) 61 percent of the respondents said they liked the army, 28 percent said it was their avocation. Unemployment and financial problems were the reasons for only 5 and 3 percent, respectively. Concerning the reasons for participation in international missions (Table 2) there are some changes in attitudes from the year 2005 to the year 2006. Both in 2005 and in 2006 the majority of the respondents said the main reason was "to have a meaningful personal experience". However, there is a noticeable increase of the motivation "to earn some extra money". In 2005 this reason was acknowledged by 55 percent, while in 2006 it was acknowledged by 94 percent of the respondents.

Table 3 shows the results of a public opinion poll concerning the role and mission of the military in society. Large majority of the respondents considered the mission as that of "defending the country from foreign enemies" (85 percent) and "the fostering of patriotism of young people (82 percent). "Participation in solving international security issues" was considered much less important than national defense. On the whole, both the questionnaires of the military and public opinion polls show that the modern conception of the army and the soldier remains the dominant one. However, the postmodern conception of the soldier as defender of the values of democracy beyond the borders of the national state slowly gains in acceptance.

3. An analysis of the answers to the questionnaire by the cadets of the Lithuanian Military Academy

In November 2008 the 17 cadets of the Military Academy were polled. Previously an analysis of the official documents has shown that on the issues of defense, the functions of the military and its relations with the larger society we can differ two main trends in Lithuania's political discourse – the modern and the postmodern one. I would like to show how these trends find their expression in a cadets' questionnaire made up by using the guidelines of the project.

- Personal motivation, self-image and ideals

The first group of answers (Personal motivation, self-image and ideals) – is dominated by the stance that is typical of the modern military with its Spartan image of the soldier's virtues. In choosing the soldier's profession the future officers see themselves as defenders of the homeland and the family, as patriots and as members of a noble class. No one among the cadets mentioned any goal of a more general character as affecting his choice.

In characterizing the good soldier they are particularly inventive with the epithets: Upbeat, just, impartial, strong character, tough, inventive, physically strong, courageous, skilled, resourceful, honest, upright, fair, responsible, well-educated, self-reliant, self-educating, ambitious, innovative, rational, self-possessed, patriotic. Interestingly, no one mentioned discipline. This indicates that the characteristics of the good soldier blend the modern and the postmodern ideas of the ideal soldier. They consider the following as the exclusive qualities of the professional soldier: solidarity; honesty; devotion to the task; courage in the face of danger (1 response); obedience and subordination (1 response).

Most of the polled cadets do not relate themselves to any military tradition. Two cadets cited the British tradition as exemplary; one cited the Scandinavian. This is an indirect indication that the officially promoted continuity of Lithuania's military with the interwar tradition makes little impression on the cadets. Concerning the style of good leadership they clearly favor cooperation based on mutual understanding and respect rather than on command.

- The image of the soldier and acceptance of the armed forces in society

In answering the second group of questions (The image of the soldier and acceptance of the armed forces in society) the cadets pointed out that there was a gap between the military and the larger society, that the society has some negative stereotypes of the soldier ("only the losers join the army", "the army is a prison, is boring"); besides, the public is skeptical of the need for the army ("waste of money", "would not be able to defend us, anyway").

- Democratic ways of organizing the military

In answering the questions on "Democratic ways of organizing the military" the cadets pointed out that conflicts were dealt with under closed doors ("conflicts not resolved but stifled"). It seems that they are not very happy with an impressive system described in the report 2. The question "Are your individual rights and freedoms respected?" was answered in the affirmative by most of the cadets, though a few complained their rights were "not always" respected. Interestingly, the answers given by male and female differed notably. All the female taking part in the questionnaire said

their rights were not guaranteed. The cadets are unanimously of the opinion that a soldier should be interested in politics; they also consider civilian education necessary for those in the military. Training in psychology, management and pedagogy is considered of most practical use. Somewhat surprising is the cadets' attitude towards the training of leaders. Though stressing fairness, tolerance, courage, decisiveness, trustworthiness, and strong will as the qualities of a good leader, most of them are of the opinion that "leaders are born, not made".

- Relation to out-of-area missions

In assessing the "out-of-area missions" most of the cadets expressed their doubts about the politicians' competence in decision-making on the issue of the missions; they are also in doubt whether participation in the mission is always in the interest of Lithuania ("the missions should be confined to those serving the interests of Lithuania and NATO states"). Acquired experience is considered the positive aspect of participation in the missions. In comparing Lithuania's army with the armies of other countries they consider Lithuanian troops doing excellent job in their missions, being steadfast and well prepared. Among the weak points of Lithuania's military, inflexibility, conservatism, poor weaponry and machinery, are mentioned as part of Soviet heritage. As for the transition to the professional military, half of the cadets are in favor, while the other half are skeptical about its good effects ("all the citizens should be prepared for defense"). Most of the polled cadets think that the transition does neither guarantee nor help increase Lithuania's security. The answers show that the cadets are mostly indifferent to collective defense; they consider the defense of homeland their main task and mission. One can thus say that the normative model of the modern army and the soldier is the dominant one among the cadets.

3.1. Interview with the deputy of the commandant of the Lithuanian Military Academy

The deputy commandant of the Lithuanian Military Academy (LMA) for studies and science, colonel Pranas Jankauskas, 63 years old, was also interviewed. He holds the office since the very establishment of the LMA and is thus a most valuable witness and participant in the development of the conception of the soldier in Lithuania. Probably, this circumstance accounts for the fact that his responses were mostly in line with the rest of the respondents. Responding to the questions of the first part (personal motivation, self-image and ideals of soldiers), he stressed such features of the good soldier as conscientiousness, modesty and professionalism. The most prominent feature of the profession, he told, was "to do the duty, whatever the circumstances." Responding to the question as to what military tradition Lithuania's army was oriented, he said that the tradition was being restored on the model of interwar Lithuania's army, though also heeding the British, German and French experience. As for the ideals to be served by the

soldier, Jankauskas spoke about homeland and national history. (Noticeably, the issue of ideals was a moot issue in both the military and other respondents).

Responding to the next part of the questionnaire (image of the soldier and acceptance of the armed forces in society), Jankauskas complained that the media was reluctant to deal with the issues of the soldier and the army. In his view, because of the commercialization of the media the issues of national concern get ever more sidelined. The agenda, on his view, is the creation of the professional army as well as boosting of the role of volunteers and riflemen in the country's defense. Among the negative stereotypes of the army he was mostly worried about those of "waste of money; impotence of defense; NATO should defend us". Those in the military were also concerned about these stereotypes. Yet he also noticed that the public at large was in favor of having an army. In his responses to the third part of the questionnaire (Democratic ways of organizing the military) Jankauskas said that the specificity of the armed forces in the context of internal conflicts was that of submitting to statutory principles of submission and command, not those of soldiers' individual rights and liberties. Besides being trained in military matters the soldiers should get a humanitarian education; they should be well versed in politics, though not meddling in it; controversial issues of politics should not be discussed in the army. In assessing the leadership program of the Military Academy, he noted that, as something originating in the West, the program did not quite fit Lithuania's cultural setting. It is better, in his view, to use the word "commander", connoting such traits as stamina, professionalism, courage, fairness and honesty.

In the fourth part of the interview (Attitudes to out-of-area missions) Jankauskas pointed out that Lithuania's participation in foreign missions had not always been well thought-out nor was it always in the country's true interests. He is critical of Lithuania's involvement in the Iraqi conflict. In his view, the army's structural reforms should not be rigidly tied to the needs of international cooperation on security issues. "The reform should be well thought-out and match the country's human resources and capacities". In comparing Lithuania's soldiers with their counterparts in other states, Jankauskas finds much to commend about the former. They are highly professional, dependable and ambitious; they are versatile: "able to lay a mine, to lift a mine and to blow a mine". Jankauskas is strongly supportive of Lithuania's army becoming professional.

4. An analysis of interviews with soldiers

In 2009 Lithuania abandoned the conscript army in favor of the professional one. The transition was accompanied by the inflow of new people, the professional soldiers, into the armed forces. The image and the quality of Lithuania's army will now depend on the professionalism of these people, on their attitudes towards the vocation of the soldier. Naturally, these new professionals, starting their service in 2008-2009, were selected for the interview. All of them are mariners, former conscripts, 23-28 years of age, coming to the army from civilian professions. They have signed a four years service contract. In all, there were 12 anonymous interviews. The content of the interviews comprised the first three parts of the *Guide for the interviews*; the fourth part, the one concerning international missions, was not directly used. In order to find out "Personal motivation, self-image and ideals of soldiers" the following questions were asked: *What is the distinguishing feature of the soldier's profession, how does it differ from other professions? What is your image of the good soldier? What traits are desirable in the soldier? What has prompted your personal choice of the soldier's profession: attractiveness of the profession, salary, social benefits, good company, prospects of a career, the possibility of traveling to other countries and gaining new experiences?*

Answers to the question "What is the distinguishing feature of the soldier's profession, how does it differ from other professions?" tended to diverge. For some of the soldiers (7 from 12) it was the profession's importance for the society (a highly responsible profession, obligating the soldier to set the standards for others: the soldier is always highly visible, he cannot indulge in casual manners, he is serving the country). For others it was not so much the profession's importance for the society as its attractiveness for the individual that was the primary motive: the profession was said to be interesting, promising career opportunities and social benefits.

In answers to the question "What is your image of the good soldier?" the following traits have been pointed out: professionalism, responsibility (8 answers), exemplary public behavior, high motivation, robustness, forcefulness, diligence, tidiness, dutifulness, courage, manliness, obedience (1 answer), good education (1 answer). Evidently, the dominant image is the traditional one of the soldier, the manly defender of homeland. Responding to the question "What has prompted your personal choice of the soldier's profession?" most respondents (7 from 12) referred to vocation as the main motive ("I have long dreamt about it", "there is a soldier's streak in me", "the attraction of the military structure"), 3 of them mentioned "desire for adventure", 4 referred to the profession as "exciting", 3 stressed their family's military tradition. 5 soldiers stressed social benefits, career opportunities and secure remuneration. One soldier was inspired to join the military because of participation in Young Riflemen's activities at school.

The next group of questions (The image of the soldier and acceptance of the armed forces in society) had to reveal the image of the soldier and the army the respondents had before joining the military and how that image changed after several months of professional service. The soldiers were given the following questions: *How do you judge Lithuania's army and has your opinion changed after joining the army? What did you expect from military service? Have your expectations been fulfilled?*

All the interviewees, with the exception of one, already had some experience in the army as conscripts. The image they have of the army is influenced by both personal experience and by the dominant social stereotypes. In response to the second question all of them noted that the army had changed for the better. From a closed institution operating on hardly perspicuous disciplinary codes it became a much more open and democratic structure, oriented towards the soldier's needs ("it was much more strict previously, now it is more liberal", "it is much more professional, human life is most important"). There were, nevertheless, those (3 respondents) who complained about the lack of discipline and challenging tasks. One interviewee complained about the high demands the current army makes on the soldier's learning abilities ("very burdensome, too much information"), though the majority found the work interesting and felt at home with the system. Three respondents were pleasantly surprised by the friendly atmosphere and by the competent leadership of the commanders. One may thus conclude that the army, now professional, has largely progressed in the direction of democratization and greater respect for human rights. The third part of the interview was related to the issue of democratic ways of organizing the military. The soldiers were asked the following questions: *What is good leadership? Do you consider that the orders and requirements of the commanders are invariably just?* In characterizing the good commander, the soldiers focused on such traits as fair even if exacting ("stern, but just"), competent ("adequately explains the tasks", "gives clear and logical commands"), responsive to the particular circumstances of the soldier ("any soldier's request or inquiry is attended to"), unbiased and friendly ("helpful regardless of the soldier's time of service"), capable of organizing cooperative effort and maintaining a healthy atmosphere in the collective, skillful at using the system of incentives operative in the army.

Responses to the question whether the orders and requirements of the commanders are invariably just, have shown a radical divergence. The larger part of the soldiers considered the commander's orders beyond questioning, as the army statute has it ("orders are beyond dispute"). Yet there were some who held that only those orders that do not break the soldier's code of behavior should be complied with. The soldier thus has to know not only his duties, but also his rights. ("Most importantly, one should heed the statute; the order should be just; everyone should know the statute and refuse to comply with an unjust command"). The responses are indicative of a tension in the army between the imperative and the consensual mode of leadership.

5. An analysis of the answers to the questionnaire by soldiers

In June 2009 the Strategic Studies Center of Lithuania's Military Academy did a questionnaire of soldiers. The questionnaire comprised a wide spectrum of questions. Here we shall analyze only those results that are related to the issues of the research project. (see Annex). The questionnaire involved 355 marine and infantry soldiers, who began their service from 1997 to 2009. Predominant were those who began the service in 2008-2009. The questionnaire shows that the backbone of Lithuania's army are men (92.6 percent), with women accounting for 7.4 percent. Those of Lithuanian descent are 89.2 percent, the Poles constitute 6.3 and the Russians, 3.6 percent. Those having secondary education constitute 54.2 percent, those with professional secondary education, 26.8 percent.

- Personal motivation, self-image and ideals of soldiers

Some light on these issues is thrown by responses to the first two questions of the questionnaire. The first question was intended to elicit the soldier's motivation in choosing the military profession. In responding to the question "Do you agree or disagree that these reasons prompted your choice of the military profession?" the soldiers had to choose from 16 possible answers (See Annex, Table 1). The different answers reveal some soldiers' conception of the profession as a highly public one, very important for the state (answers 10, 13, 15), as well as others' orientation to personal well-being (answers 1, 2, 4, 5). The main reason for choosing the profession is "interesting work" (79.8 percent). Next are the answers expressive of the willingness to serve the country. "Doing something good for Lithuania" is the choice of 69.2 percent. "Serving other people" has 65.9 percent, while "honor/prestige of the profession" has 67.3 percent of the respondents. Of some importance is the willingness to travel, to find venues of self-expression abroad (61.8). It is to be noted that the reasons of personal well-being are deemed less important than the social prestige of the profession. Good remuneration was the reason for only 46.9 percent of the respondents.

The second question of the questionnaire had to elicit the image of the military profession. In answering the question "Do you agree or disagree that the soldier's profession is characterized by the following?" the soldiers had to choose from 14 possible answers (See Appendix, Table 2). The answers show that the soldiers consider the profession as service for the country and its people. "Readiness to help others" was pointed out by 75.2 percent, readiness to risk one's life, by 75.2 percent, greater responsibility than in other professions (70.3 percent), patriotism (61.4 percent). They also consider the profession as requiring such traits as endurance and physical fitness (83.9), orderliness and punctuality (87.8), psychological resilience (74.9). Professional

skills, knowledge of weaponry and military technology were also deemed important (71.9), while good education (fluency in languages, etc.) was considered less important (51.6). By and large, the answers to the first two questions of the questionnaire imply that soldiers' motivation in choosing the profession is mostly based on the modernist concept of the soldier as the patriot, the defender of homeland.

- The image of the soldier and acceptance of the armed forces in society

Answers to questions 4-9 of the questionnaire (See Appendix) had to elicit the respondents' attitude towards Lithuania's army and the public stereotypes about the military. On the whole, the respondents have a positive view of Lithuania's army. Only 10.4 percent judged it bad and very bad (See Table 3). Interestingly, though themselves being professionals, the majority of the respondents (53.4) prefer the army of both professionals and conscripts as against the army of professionals only (45.2 percent, Table 5). As the answers to the fourth question show (Table 4), the respondents have the best opinion of Lithuania's army operation on the international scene (cooperation with NATO has a 86.1 percent approval, international missions have a 87.6 percent approval). The army's technological progress was commended by a much lesser percentage (43.2).

Concerning the army's mission in society (Table 6), as many as 98.2 percent of the respondents link it to "defense from possible foreign enemies"; the army is also expected to foster patriotism among the young (90.6) and to assist civilians in crises and natural emergencies (94.4). The respondents are also nearly unanimous about the army's necessary contribution to international security (94.2). Most of the respondents disapprove of the negative stereotypes of the army. Only 16.7 percent agree with the statement that "NATO and EU guarantee us security, so the purpose of Lithuania's army is not clear" (Table 7). The statements "The army has no serious purpose at present" and "Lithuania needs no army" are approved by only 10.0 and 13.3 percent, accordingly (Table 11). A somewhat larger percentage of the respondents agree with the statements that the army suffers from corruption (29.4) and bureaucracy (41.9) (Table 8). 46 percent of the respondents agree with the statement "the army is a closed organization the character of which can only be known to its soldiers" (Table 9). On the whole, the attitudes towards the army show a certain inconsistency. While holding the defense of homeland the army's main mission, the respondents, however, are most positive about the army's achievements abroad: its participation in international missions and cooperation with NATO states.

- Democratic ways of organizing the military

The attitude of the respondents towards democracy in the army is expressed by answers to the 15th question of the questionnaire "Do you agree that there is democracy in Lithuania's army?" Choosing from five possible answers the majority of the respondents

agreed because “soldiers may report on the commanders” (80 percent, Table 15), because “soldiers may sue commanders if allegedly mistreated” (79.3) and because “the soldiers and the commanders are under the same rules” (66.8). However, quite a few of the respondents (46.8 percent) agree with the statement “there can be no democracy in the army, for it is incompatible with discipline and obedience”. Thus though most of the respondents consider Lithuania’s army a democratic institution equally protecting the rights of the rank-and-file and the commanders, nearly half of the respondents consider democracy incompatible with the functioning of the military. This corroborates our previous statement that the contemporary image of Lithuania’s army blends the modern and the postmodern features of the institution.

- Attitudes to out-of-area missions

Attitudes towards international missions are expressed by answers to questions 10, 12-14 of the questionnaire (See Appendix). 80 percent of the respondents expressed their willingness to participate in international missions. The respondents know most about Lithuania’s engagement in Iraq (49.2) and Afghanistan (57.1) (Table 12). The missions are justified by the soldiers as Lithuania’s carrying out of the obligations to NATO, EU, OSCE and UN (92.6 percent) (Table 13) and dealing with the menace of international terrorism (85.1). In responding to the provocative question “why Lithuania’s army *should not* participate in international missions?” most respondents reject all the arguments in favor of non-participation (See Table 14). Least approved is the statement “participation in such missions only lessens Lithuania’s security” (18.6). However, the statement that the missions are “dangerous for Lithuania’s soldiers’ life and health” is accepted by nearly half of the respondents (49 percent). Similarly, the argument that “of primary concern should be domestic economic and social problems” is approved by 48.7 percent of the respondents. The answers make it clear that the participation of Lithuania’s army in international missions is considered an important part of the soldier’s avocation.

6. Conclusions

The analysis of the results of the empirical research (13 interviews and the questionnaire done with 17 cadets and 355 soldiers) confirms the conclusion of the analysis of the basic strategic documents and military institutions, namely, that contemporary Lithuanian army is in a transitory stage from value assumptions of a modern nation state to the political discourse of a postmodern society based on common civic values. In choosing the soldier's profession the predominant image is that of the soldier as the defender of homeland, embodied in the masculine figure of a strong, disciplined and responsible man. Along with this image there is emerging a new image of the soldier – of an educated person, aware of his/her rights, relating Lithuania's defense to common dangers facing EU and NATO.

The attitudes towards the army as revealed by the interview and the questionnaire are characterized by a certain inconsistency. On the one hand, the respondents consider homeland defense from foreign enemies the main mission of the army, and yet, on the other hand, they consider Lithuania's army involvement abroad – in international missions and cooperation with NATO states – its greatest achievement.

The research has shown that the majority of the respondents consider Lithuania's army a democratic institution with rank-and-file enjoying equal rights with the superiors. And yet nearly a half of the respondents consider democracy incompatible with the institution of the military. This corroborates the conclusion of our earlier research that the contemporary image of Lithuania's army blends the modern and postmodern features of the institution. Most expressive of the change in value orientations of Lithuania's soldiers is their attitude towards out-of-area missions. The majority of the officers, cadets and soldiers involved in the research consider participation in international missions an important part of the army's mission and of the soldier's image. As many as 80 percent of the respondents link their carrier prospects to participation in international missions.

Annex: Responses to the questionnaire (percent)

June 2009 Table 1

1. DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE THAT THESE REASONS PROMPTED YOUR CHOICE OF THE MILITARY PROFESSION? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EVERY LINE) %

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
1. Attractive social privileges (social benefits, health care)	33,6	46,6	19,8
2. Good salary	46,9	37,9	15,3
3. Desire for leisure	3,4	11,0	85,6
4. Job security	66,3	25,2	8,5
5. Interesting work	79,8	15,1	5,1
6. Lack of opportunities in other professions	9,9	26,4	63,6
7. Opportunity to work with advanced technology	32,5	43,2	24,3
8. Inducement by friends, family	22	31,6	46,3
9. Opportunity of getting knowledge and training useful for other occupations	53,4	28,5	8,1
10. Doing something good for Lithuania	69,2	27,7	3,1
11. Facing challenges, dealing with extreme situations	63,2	31,4	5,4
12. Good companions (team, team-work, team loyalty)	60,5	31,5	8,0
13. Honor/prestige of the profession	67,3	29,02	3,7
14. Traveling to other countries, taking part in international operations	61,8	32,0	6,2
15. Serving other people	65,9	31,7	2,4
16. Other (fill in)			

Table 2

2. DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE THAT THE SOLDIER'S PROFESSION IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE FOLLOWING? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EVERY LINE)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
1. Drill and discipline	73,6	21,2	5,2
2. Obedience to the superiors	88,0	10,6	1,4
3. Non-statutory relations	9,2	28,1	62,8
4. Orderliness and punctuality	87,8	11,0	1,2
5. Good knowledge of weaponry and military technology	71,1	22,8	6,1
6. Endurance and physical fitness	83,9	14,1	2,0
7. Patriotism	61,4	29,1	9,5
8. Psychological resilience	74,9	21,9	3,2
9. More demanding conditions of work than in civilian professions	49,6	41,4	9,0
10. Greater responsibility than in other professions	70,3	24,8	4,8
11. Readiness to risk one's life	75,2	19,6	5,2
12. Good education (fluency in languages, erudition, having a hobby)	51,6	39,8	8,6
13. Readiness to help others	75,2	22,5	2,3

Table 3

3. HOW DO YOU RATE LITHUANIA'S ARMY?

1	Very good	6,1
2	Good	60,2
3.	Neither good, nor bad	28,7
4.	Bad	4,4
5.	Very bad	6

Table 4

4. HOW DO RATE LITHUANIA'S ARMY ON THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS?
(MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EVERY LINE)

	Very good	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Very bad
1. The army's achievements in Lithuania	17,7	56,6	24,9	1,2	3,0
2. The army's achievements in international missions	23,4	64,2	12,4		
3. The army's cooperation with NATO countries	22,7	63,4	13,4	3,0	3,0
4. Behavior of Lithuania's soldiers in Lithuania and abroad	13,3	62,9	22,0	1,4	3,0
5. Behavior of foreign soldiers in Lithuania	18,7	53,0	34,8	3,5	
6. Military preparedness of Lithuania's soldiers	14,2	62,8	19,5	3,2	3,0
7. Technological equipment of Lithuania's army	6,1	37,12	38,3	14,5	4,1
8. The army's assistance to civilian authorities	7,8	57,1	31,9	2,34	9,0

Table 5

5. WHAT KIND OF ARMY IS NEEDED FOR LITHUANIA? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1.	Comprising both professionals and conscripts	53,4
2.	Comprising only professionals and reservists	45,2
3.	Lithuania needs no army	1,5

Table 6

6. DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE MISSION OF THE ARMY IN A MODERN SOCIETY? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EVERY LINE)

	Yes	No
1. The army should defend us from possible foreign enemies	98,2	1,8
2. The army should help foster patriotism among the young	90,6	9,4
3. The army should help civilians in crises and natural emergencies	94,4	5,6
4. The army should contribute to international security (should participate in international missions)	94,2	5,8

Table 7

7. DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT THE ARMY (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EVERY LINE)

	Complete ly agree	Agree	Dis agree	Compl etely dis agree
1. The army is needed only for the defense of our borders	9,6	25,2	55,7	9,6
2. The army should only have the ceremonial role in greeting foreign officials	10,6	23,6	46,9	18,7
3. The army's role in modern society is vague	6,6	16,2	57,2	19,9
4. NATO and EU guarantee us security, so the purpose of Lithuania's army is not clear	4,6	12,1	51,7	31,5
5. The army has no serious purpose at present	3,3	6,7	50,0	40,0

Table 8

8. DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT LITHUANIA'S ARMY? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EVERY LINE)

	Complete ly agree	Agree	Dis agree	Complete ly disagree
1. Lithuania's army fears criticism	17,2	27,5	58,0	7,2
2. Our army excellently represents Lithuania to the world	21,7	68,5	9,2	6,0
3. Lithuania's army is characterized by corruption	16,2	23,2	58,9	11,7
4. Lithuania's army is completely different from former Soviet army	33,8	56,9	8,1	1,2
5. Lithuania's army is technologically well equipped	5,2	30,3	50,6	13,9
6. Lithuania's army is suffering from bureaucracy	10,9	31,0	54,6	3,5
7. Lithuania's army is very secretive, people find it difficult to see what purpose does it serve	8,1	22,3	61,8	7,8
8. Lithuanian soldiers are well trained	15,7	64,6	17,7	4

Table 9

9. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CHARACTERIZATIONS OF THE ARMY YOU FIND MOST ACCURATE? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER):

- The army is an employer providing professional training, remuneration and sense of security (17,1%)
- The army is a closed organization the character of which can only be known to its soldiers (46%)
- The army is part of society related to it by people serving in the army (36,9 %)

Table 10

10. ARE YOU WILLING TO TAKE PART IN INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS?

1.	Yes	80
2.	No	4
3.	Don't know	16

Table 11

11. DO YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ABOUT LITHUANIA'S ARMY? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH LINE)

	Complete ly agree	Rath er agree	Rather dis agree	Com pletely disagree
1. Lithuania's army is highly skilled and modern	12,2	52,8	30,3	4,7
2. Lithuania's army is totally different from the Soviet army	36,4	56	6,4	1,2
3. I am proud of Lithuania's army and its soldiers	27,9	59,2	12,3	6,0
4. Lithuania's army is a symbol of national unity	21,8	64,3	13,3	6,0
5. Lithuania's army is able to provide the country's security	15,3	45,1	32,7	6,8
6. Lithuania's army should be professional (conscription should be abolished)	24,3	30,1	30,1	15,5
7. Lithuania needs no army	6,5	6,8	21,9	64,8
8. Young people learn discipline and patriotism in Lithuania's army	41,1	48,7	8,5	1,7
9. Lithuania's soldiers should participate in the international peace keeping mission in Iraq	39,4	46,4	10,2	4,1
10. Lithuania and its army should take part in the reconstruction of the Gore province in Afghanistan	36,5	47,4	11,4	4,7

Table 12

12. HOW MUCH DO YOU KNOW ABOUT LITHUANIA'S INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS IN THESE COUNTRIES? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH LINE)

	Know a lot	Know enough	Heard something, know little	Know nothing
1. Kosovo	9,5	27,8	54,1	8,6
2. Bosnia and Herzegovina	5,1	16,2	51,8	26,9
3. Afghanistan	15,00	42,1	39,4	3,5
4. Georgia	5,4	17,4	46,1	30,8
5. Iraq	12,1	37,1	45,3	5,6
6. Other countries	2,8	11,9	48,6	35,1

Table 13

13. DO YOU AGREE WITH THESE REASONS WHY LITHUANIA'S ARMY **SHOULD** PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH LINE)

	Completely agree	Agree	Disagree	Completely disagree
1. As a member of NATO, EU, OSCE and UN Lithuania should honor its obligations	39,8	52,8	6,2	9,0
2. Because international terrorism is a menace to the whole democratic world	36,5	52,1	10,3	9,0
3. Because all events in contemporary world have repercussions for even such small countries as Lithuania	23,2	60,6	14,7	1,2
4. Because Lithuania should support USA initiatives	9,2	36,7	46,4	7,1
5. Because Lithuania's army gets demoralized if its soldiers lack battle experience	10,3	41,9	44,0	3,2

Table 14

14. DO YOU AGREE WITH THESE REASONS WHY LITHUANIA'S ARMY **SHOULD NOT** PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS?

	Completely agree	Agree	Disagree	Completely disagree
1. Because of primary concern should be domestic economic and social problems	14,1	34,6	47,5	3,8
2. Because participation in such missions only lessens Lithuania's security	4,1	14,5	66,7	14,7
3. Because participation in such missions increase the risk of terrorist attacks in Lithuania	5,3	24,0	62,1	8,6
4. Because in this way we support the policies useful for the rich nations	5,6	26,2	61,2	8,6
5. Because this is dangerous for Lithuania's soldiers' life and health	9,4	39,6	46,6	4,4
6. Because our military forces are not strong enough to assist others	7,3	23,8	59,5	9,4

Table 15

15. DO YOU AGREE THAT THERE IS DEMOCRACY IN LITHUANIA'S ARMY? (MARK ONLY ONE ANSWER IN EACH LINE)

	Completely agree	Agree	Disagree	Completely disagree
1. There can be no democracy in the army, for it is incompatible with discipline and obedience	12,8	34,0	48,3	4,9
2. There is democracy in the army, for soldiers may report on the commanders	11,1	69,1	16,3	3,5
3. There is democracy in the army, for the commanders are highly respectful of the soldiers	10,0	60,5	25,1	4,4
4. There is democracy in the army, for soldiers may sue commanders if allegedly mistreated	12,3	67,0	18,4	2,3
5. There is democracy in the army, for both the soldiers and the commanders are under the same rules	15,2	51,6	23,5	9,7