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NEWSLETTER

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Synthesis and Foreign Policy Debates

The materials are realized by Lina Grau, foreign policy expert and programme coordinator with APE.

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The last period has been marked by a series of important events for the Republic of Moldova.



The American company Kroll specializing in financial intelligence and investigation of money laundering schemes, won the tender to perform an audit at the Savings Bank, Social Bank and Unibank. As a result of fraudulent schemes, through these Moldovan banks there was removed over 17 billion lei, which accounts for almost 60 percent of the state budget for 2014. According to the governor of the Moldovan National Bank, Dragutanu, the investigation will last for four weeks and the company will analyse the suspicious transactions, persons involved, and establish where the financial flows have been transferred and how they can be retrieved.



The Transnistrian region is facing serious economic problems. The revenues of the region fell four times compared to the last year, while the revenues from foreign trade reduced by 13 times. Under these conditions, the fees for the transport services have increased and the Tiraspol administration has announced delays in the wages and pensions payment. Moreover, Moscow did not transfer the money for the \$15 supplement to pension. The Transnistrian leader, Yevgeny Shevchuk, was in Moscow to seek resumption of the financial aid, but the media reported that his request had been rejected.



One of the major investors in Transnistria, the Russian oligarch Alisher Usmanov, the owner of Metalloinvest company, which held 30% of shares in the Metallurgical Plant from Râbnîța and one of the largest contributors to the Transnistrian budget, withdrew from the breakaway region. The controlling share package of the Metallurgical Plant was purchased by the Tiraspol administration.

The head of the EU Delegation to Moldova, Pirkka Tapiola, announced that the European funds for the justice reform could be further reduced if Moldova doesn't deliver concrete results in this area. The initial budget of EUR 60 million has already been reduced - the second instalment paid in 2014 was reduced from 15 to 13,2 mln Euro. The European diplomat expressed disappointment over the failure to reform the Prosecutor's office and the fact that the institution remains under political influence. He criticized the violation of the random distribution of cases and the precarious system of judges' selection.



Minority coalition in Chisinau - solution or failure after two months of negotiations?



The parties that entered the parliament following the elections from November 30th, 2014, have continued during January the negotiations over the formation of the governing coalition. Even if during the first days after the elections the Liberal Democratic Party (PLDM), the Democratic Party (PDM) and the Liberal Party (PL), which together have 55 seats out of 101, have announced their willingness to enter a coalition, the three parties failed to reach a consensus.

The representatives of the three largest European political families paid on January 20, a few hours visit to Chisinau, where they met with the leaders of the parliamentary parties- PLDM, PDM and LP- in an attempt to find solutions to eliminate animosities. The German EPP representative, the chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the European Parliament, Elmar Brok, the German Social Democrat Knut Fleckenstein and the British Liberal

Democrat Graham Watson have met with Vlad Filat (PLDM), Marian Lupu (PDM) and Mihai Ghimpu (PL). Although significant progress has been reported after the meeting with the Europeans, the following day, the politicians stated that the dissensions had not been overcome.

The Liberal Party accused PLDM and PDM of unwillingness to establish a transparent governance, by giving in to PL certain functions and leverages, at the same time demanding to appoint a EU professional as Prosecutor General. The liberal leader Ghimpu accused the two parties of having concluded a deal with the Communists before the elections on the formation of an informal coalition and that the negotiations with the Liberals had been purely formal just from the beginning.

In their turn, PLDM and PDM have accused the liberals of inflexibility and denied any deal with the Communists, saying PCRM will not hold positions in the new executive.

Accordingly, on January 23, PLDM (with 23 seats) and the Democratic Party (with 19 seats) signed an agreement on a minority coalition -the Alliance for European Moldova (42 seats out of 101).

On January 28, President Nicolae Timofti nominated Leanca as prime minister. The latter has 15 days to come up with the list of ministers and the government program.

The Communist Party (21 seats) said it would not vote for a Leanca government II, while PL (13 seats) has not decided yet if to support Leanca. The Socialist Party (23 seats), led by Igor Dodon, has declared itself from the start in the opposition towards any pro-European coalition, advocating closer ties with Russia.

Victor Chirilă: A minority government can be blackmailed and is at the mercy of the opposition party



Victor Chirila, the executive director of the Foreign Policy Association, is of the opinion that a minority government is not a viable solution for the Republic of Moldova and this makes the pro-European parties dependent on the communist opposition when it comes to important decisions such as the election of the president or continuation of the European course and implementation of reforms.

■ **Victor Chirilă:** A minority government means high risks of instability in Moldova as such a government will not have parliamentary majority for approval of important laws, especially in the area of the judicial reform, Prosecutor's office, economic reforms, or of the investigation of corruption cases like that of the Savings Bank from which over 10 billion Lei has disappeared. Now they are talking about new figures –more than 17 billion lei missing, including at the Social Bank and Unibank.

A minority government means it will have to negotiate everything with the Communist Party in order to get their

support for the approval of laws, and these negotiations will involve a certain compromise that could be met with criticism by the pro-European electorate. It seems already that the Communist Party is making it conditional to the Liberal Democratic Party requiring to renounce the candidacy of Leanca for Prime Minister. Or, we know that a good part of the PLDM voters opted for this particular solution. If this happens, the voters will turn away from this party, which may be penalized in the next local elections, while the credibility of the party leader and the party as a whole will fall tremendously.

■ **Lina Grău:** The signing of the coalition agreement between the Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova and the Democratic Party has been met with criticism, and namely for the reason that the two parties are actually going to make a coalition with the Communist Party. And that is exactly what the Moldovan society hoped to change in April 2009.

■ **Victor Chirilă:** There is obviously need for collaboration with the opposition, and in this case I mean the Communist Party, which has been rather moderate both

in actions and its statements regarding the Association Agreement, showing willingness to cooperate in a realistic and pragmatic way with the Western partners, primarily with the EU. But the European parties should discuss and cooperate from firm positions with the Communist Party. If the latter senses the weakness of the pro-European parties and of the minority government, it may ask for high prices in exchange for the support of law and reform packages.

Now, after having signed the agreement between the PLDM and PDM for the creation of the Alliance for European Moldova, we can say that these parties have shown their inability to reach a compromise even among the European parties as the big disagreement did not lie in principles or objectives. The divergence as indicated by the negotiations was about partition of functions. It is unacceptable for the pro-European parties and leaders not to be able to reach a compromise on this particular chapter. Such barriers should not exist. However, their inability is a proof of their weakness. And this is what is going to play tricks in the coming months and into next year.

Lina Grău: Another concern is related to the capacity of Moldova to continue along the European course, especially given the rather complicated external situation. Moreover, there are some opportunities this year related to the advancement towards European integration that Moldova can miss. How do you see these developments?

Victor Chirilă: There exist already signals that came from the European Parliament. The EU seems to be concerned about what is happening here. The EU wants constructive cooperation with the opposition - the Communist Party- but at the same time it wants a strong pro-European government that can assume full responsibility for implementing reforms and fighting against corruption. While a minority government cannot do this because it can be subjected to blackmail and it is at the mercy of the opposition party which is aware of this and will

require enormous concessions in the context of the upcoming local elections and the elections of the President of the Republic of Moldova in 2016.

There are unofficial signals also from Washington. The latter is dissatisfied with the creation of a minority government and the inability of pro-European parties to form a strong alliance, the inability of politicians to reach a compromise, to renounce their ambitions and to act in line with the national interests.

Lina Grău: A third aspect with regard to the minority government, is the ability of this coalition to fight against corruption and advance the reform of the judiciary since the people who run these parties are considered to be the biggest oligarchs in Moldova.

Victor Chirilă: The impression is that the minority government which is going to be created will become the expression of large business interests in Moldova and this is what really worries our partners in the EU and USA. This may also have consequences for the assistance provided by these partners.

We already have reservations as to how this assistance is going to be delivered. Messages have been conveyed by the Head of the EU Delegation to Moldova that this assistance is going to be reduced, particularly the funding earmarked for the reform of the judiciary and of the Public Prosecutor's office for the reason that not all the commitments were fulfilled. Moreover, the defiant case of the Savings Bank has become known recently which will make the European partners be more attentive as to the way the public money and the foreign financial assistance is spent. And as long as there is no clarity as to what happened to the money and how such cases should be avoided in the future, I fear that the EU assistance will not be fully delivered to our country soon.

Lina Grău: There have been almost two months since the parliamentary elections until the governing coalition was formed without participation of the Liberal Party.

What messages did the political parties convey to the Moldovan society through their inability to reach an early coalition agreement?

Victor Chirilă: They have sent bad and discouraging messages for the European voters. The European electorate is distancing itself more and more from the pro-European parties and there exists in the society an increasing disgust towards them. I fear these parties could be seriously penalized in the local elections this year.

More than that, the lack of credibility which is becoming more evident and the lack of support from citizens are already diminishing the ability of these parties and of the future Government to implement tough reforms with serious social repercussions for certain categories of the population which are in need of strong support from the society. These reforms may fail because of lack of support from the society and the pro-European parties and the minority government being aware of this might be hesitant to implement these changes.

Lina Grău: To what extent is the Moldovan society able to generate new leaders and political parties that could eventually change the face of the political class in Moldova?

Victor Chirilă: I think there are many people who can become leaders of a new movement in order to continue the European integration process in our country. The problem is that in the current system of authoritarian and undemocratic parties, I fear these people will find it difficult to become true leaders. On the contrary, in the current system which is dominated by business interests, the oligarchs will do their utmost to prevent these leaders from asserting themselves, discrediting and discouraging them from the outset, so that these groups and oligarchs keep quasi-total control over the political system in Moldova.

Cornel Ciurea: The Alliance for European Moldova is a functional solution though not the best



Cornel Ciurea, expert at IDIS Viitorul, is saying that the Alliance for European Moldova, which is a minority coalition, is not the best idea, though functional

■ **Lina Grău:** Is the solution of the minority government suitable for the Republic of Moldova?

■ **Cornel Ciurea:** Out of two solutions the worst one was chosen, though functional. Of course, the best solution would have been to create a broad coalition with the Liberal Party and for this coalition to be supported by the Communists. Ultimately, the political reality dictated PL's exclusion, which weakens the functionality of this coalition. But anyway, in the event of a collaboration between PD, PLDM and PCRM, this coalition can prove its vitality and survive for a term of four years.

So, I think it is a solution that may work, not necessarily threatening early elections. It will depend very much on how the Democratic Party will work with the Communist Party. If there is a rapprochement between the two parties, then the formula will be viable. Of course, what is true is that such a coalition remains pro-European, but it is more leftist, which means that there might be a dialogue with Moscow, which is not necessarily bad. This coalition though is less pro-Romanian as would have been in case of a coalition with the Liberals. The Communist Party has an old history of not so-good discussions with Romania and here I think there might be some problems in the beginning, but I think they can be overcome and the dialogue between the PCRM and Bucharest could improve due to this political formula.

■ **Lina Grău:** The idea of the minority government in which the Communist Party will participate, in one way or another, has been criticized from the very beginning for several reasons. The first is the very coalition with the communists, which is especially uncomfortable for PLDM whose main slogan in the 2009 election campaign was "Moldova without Voronin! Moldova without communists!" The second is related to the continuation of the European course and fight against corruption, given that the two parties in the coalition are strongly influenced by oligarchs.

■ **Cornel Ciurea:** As far as the European criticism is concerned, I have not seen many critical reactions coming from the EU. One critical statement was made by Graham Watson, but he is the leader of the European liberals and it is clearly why he is supporting the Liberal Party. The latter is part of the Liberal European family. There were some comments made by Romanian analysts too, but I understand why Bucharest is not necessarily happy - because it has problems with the Communist Party, which will participate in this coalition.

■ **Lina Grău:** Do you think the continuation of the European course of this coalition, which to some extent includes the communists, is guaranteed?

■ **Cornel Ciurea:** Nobody can give guarantees. But I think it is very clear to everyone that this coalition will continue the European integration process and the implementation of the National Plan on the Association Agreement. There was no statement to question this. I believe that the Communists will still insist on a certain revision of the Association

Agreement, but this could occur after three years. Anyway, the Association Agreement provides for the revision possibility in a three years period. So, I think that the communists will act so as to permit review of the Agreement without putting into question the entire European process. And I can see absolutely no problem with the European integration of Moldova.

As regards the fight against corruption, it is true that the way Europeans put the emphasis, does not meet the aspirations of our politicians yet. The Europeans would like that in Moldova they talk more about fighting against corruption and the judiciary reform, while our politicians are more concerned about security issues. For those who formed the coalition the political stability is more important than fighting against corruption. In this respect, the way the politicians who formed the coalition prioritize things is different from how the Europeans understand the issues. This is where the contradiction lies.

But I think there is room for dialogue. We will continue to explain to the Europeans that what is happening today in our region and the existent threats are still more important than a trivial fight against corruption of the system as it is often the case that the fight against corruption destabilizes the political system. And here we should make a choice. It is even accepted in the European structures that you have to work with people who are not necessarily pure and righteous if the political considerations require this in order to overcome certain stages. And now we are at a stage where the security risks are higher than the risks caused by corruption.

■ **Lina Grâu:** It took almost two months for this minority coalition to be formed. What was the message conveyed by the political class? How credible is the political class in the society and externally?

■ **Cornel Ciurea:** I do not think we can be clear as to the signal sent. To a big extent, I think the Moldovan society will accept the idea of such a coalition and will not be very annoyed. I think the only party that is somewhat uncomfortable in this coalition is the Liberal Democratic Party, which has to explain to its voters why it joined the Communists, even if this coalition is not explicit.

Europeans, too, even if they are dissatisfied with the creation of such a coalition, will not express it – they have no right to do it as manifestation of such complaints would be an example of interference in the internal affairs.

We will be able to understand how the EU responds to the creation of this coalition by the way it will continue funding projects in Moldova. So far, there have been signs that the funding will be reduced. I still hope and I feel that there will be no drastic decrease in the funding and that the Europeans will maintain funding at the level of promised shares.

■ **Lina Grâu:** In the last two months there have been a lot of discussions about the need for a new political class in Moldova. Do you see prerequisites for a new generation of politicians, possibly parties which could change those in power now that have proven that they are moving too slowly?

■ **Cornel Ciurea:** I believe that these very slow processes of creating coalitions and the electoral process have produced a certain de-legitimacy of the political class. Therefore I think there is room for the emergence of new parties and new politicians. For this reason, I would welcome a process of creating new parties, even if the people are critical and say there are enough parties in Moldova. We need a permanent process of reproduction of the political class, because we see that in Moldova de-legitimization and discrediting of politicians occur very quickly.

New leaders should emerge. A process of emergence of leaders is the exist of second-level leaders from established parties - Filat left the Democratic Party and we can admit that Leancă will leave the Liberal Democratic Party –in order to create new political projects. So such processes are like springboards for the politicians with political ambitions.

Other possibilities refer to the emergence of young politicians. We have seen how the entry of Chirtoaca into politics has saved a political party- the Liberal Party- and developed it. This should be a continuous process and new people should appear.

We cannot rule out the third option of creating political elites and that is entering into politics of politicians from abroad. We can observe this process in Ukraine, when politicians from the neighboring countries are “imported”. Some do not exclude that in Moldova there will appear Romanian politicians who will try to play a role in the political life of our country.

Editorial

by Tudor Cojocariu

Together with the creation of the Alliance for European Integration (AIE) in 2009, the expectations of most Moldovans began to rise. The four governmental parties have resumed



AIE or AME or early elections?

more intensely than ever promotion of the European integration idea. Being an emanation of the April protests, no reasonable party would have allowed to neglect the pro-European messages. Unfortunately, however, after eight years of Communist rule and authoritarianism, the European values and practices, were more of an abstract notion both for those who were promoting them and the Moldovan citizens.

Despite the scandals, intrigues and errors, the pro-European governments –AIE I, AIE II, and CPE –were able to generate a huge wave of optimism. It was natural that in the light or reconnection with a space in which each Moldovan had at least one relative could not appear otherwise than happy. On the other hand, the militants of preferential relations with Russia used the same argument. However, beyond this perfectly legitimate argument, there are several striking differences in the people's understanding of the European Union and Russian Federation/ Customs Union. Most popular messages of the political leaders refer to the independence of justice, welfare, free movement, human rights, economic development, education, culture and health care.

The achievements of the government in all these areas that make the difference between the European and Eurasian space should have distinguished between the three pro-European parties and the anti-European ones at the elections from the 30th of November 2014. However, this didn't happen. PLDM, PL and PD have obtained

by four seats less than in 2010, which is 55. The signal that one and a half million of voters gave was that the performance of the pro-European parties had been hardly convincing.

Yet, the pro-European parties obtained most of the votes. The explanation can be found in the messages of the civic activists, experts and analysts, transmitted just before the elections. They assumed then the vote for one of the three ex- governmental parties, urging the others to do the same, not for the sake of the parties, but for the chance, no matter how small, to continue the European integration.

We can say that in the end, the three parties have succeeded in attracting the precious votes of the undecided, relying on *fata morgana* of the electorate, embodied in an eventual AIE 3. In addition, the emergence from nowhere of the Communist Reformist Party and of the Customs Union Block has detoured about 9% of the anti-European electorate, operating as real "black holes" for the pro-Russian vote. It is these 9% that would have ensured a peaceful governance to the communists and socialists.

Thus, the victory of the pro-European parties is due mainly to circumstances rather than obvious merits. To this "false start" adds the clumsiness in the negotiations among the three parties which were non-transparent, delayed and blamed by the whole society. In this context, any destabilization that would lead to early elections would mean return

to the anti-European government from until 2009. Precisely for this reason, a minority government represented by the so-called Alliance for European Moldova (with 42 mandates of the liberal-democrats and democrats from 101), would mean an imminent non-confidence vote. That's because both PL and PCRM have electoral interests to trigger early elections within months. The socialists have stated right after the elections that their number one priority is early elections.

Such an eventual position of the liberals and communists is probable also as the risk of the political instability involves a decline in the confidence of the European partners and implicitly a reduction in funding. The first signals have already been sent. First, the head of the EU delegation, Pirkka Tapiola, has announced that the government did not fulfil its commitments in the area of the justice reform, which has already led to severe financial cuts. Moreover, the official anticipated further cuts. Also, a 100 million Euro loan for agricultural development from Poland was postponed until the creation of the commission responsible for it. The Moldova-EU Association Council has also been delayed. The latter had to report on the implementation of the Association Agreement and plan the following steps in the cooperation with the EU.

The worst, however, appears to be the risk of cancellation of a 700 million euros support from the EU. Meanwhile, there has appeared information which proves the idea of the dissatisfaction of the EU. This is

about embezzlement by the pro-European government of 60% of the funds provided to date. The information, however, remains informal.

From the political point of view, the decision of the Romanian President, Klaus Johannis, to postpone his visit to Chisinau for an indefinite period was the first sign. The second sign was the meeting at the Chisinau airport of the representatives of three European political families with their colleagues from the Moldovan pro-European parties. The third sign is the lack of any reaction by the EU institutions or officials on the creation of the minority coalition. That is

because the results of the elections and the announcement of the three parties regarding the recreation of the pro-European alliance have immediately triggered a wave of positive reactions in the West. The only reactions so far came from the three presidents of the European political families- Graham Watson (European Liberal Democrat Party), Joseph Daul (European Popular Party) and Sergey Stanishev (Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats). If Watson expressed regret over the exclusion of the Liberal Party from the negotiations, Daul and Stanishev have expressed regret that the Liberal Party has "sidestepped its duty and showed lack of flexibility." However, the latter welcomed the

creation of the alliance and urged the two parties to expedite reforms. This rare difference of opinion expressed by European political leaders on the subject of Moldova can mark a new approach of the EU. The lack of unanimity (be it temporary) among the European political families could create delays and hesitations by all parties on the speed and quality of implementation of the Association Agreement. That's because our government remains dependent on the "sticks and carrots" approach and needs to be monitored. And this process will be the main benchmark in the coming years of any government, regardless of its colour.

Viorel Chivriga: The minority government will be subjected to blackmail and incapable of reforms

a minority government is the worst possible solution in this case.

■ **Lina Grâu:** The minority coalition between PLDM and PD has been criticized for several reasons: politically, the alignment of the so-called pro-European parties with the Communist Party was criticized; the ability of the coalition to continue the European vector has been questioned and the fight against corruption in the Republic of Moldova has been put under a big question mark.

■ **Viorel Chivriga:** Well, there should be discussions with the left-wing parties. You should discuss the key issues of the society and a consensus should be reached.

But when it comes to a government program, unless a consensus between the parties that are interested in governing the country is reached, there will be permanent problems. In the case of a right-left government, such as the possible government composed of such parties as PLDM, PD and the Communist Party, we have people with too different visions.

I think that at the first stage there will be no big problems but they will occur when important issues are addressed. Here are some examples of motions that were put forward in the previous parliament- for example, the education reform, which has been extensively discussed. I really



V*iorel Chivriga, associate expert at IDIS Viitorul believes the current political class has discredited itself but remains optimistic that in the coming years a new generation of leaders will appear in Moldova.*

■ **Lina Grâu:** Can a minority government be viable in the Republic of Moldova?

■ **Viorel Chivriga:** This is a first experience in Moldova, but not the best because in an unstable political environment such a government will not have the necessary support to implement the government action program. Secondly, I think the situation will generate a lot of instability that the minority government will not be able to handle. In addition, we will probably

get into a situation of continuous negotiations over vital issues on the functioning of Moldova.

And here we do not have good examples. Let us just remember that after the elections of November 30, the parliamentary parties have negotiated for two months. Can you imagine what it means to negotiate a reform measure that has supporters and opponents by the people who are now in Parliament?

I believe that we are entering a period of motions and that the Government will be permanently under the pressure of the parliamentary parties. We have a government that will be blackmailed and won't be in a position to implement the government programme. In my opinion,



can't imagine how this reform can be implemented when the people who have to promote it have completely different views. The same would refer to several other reform measures in the economic and justice sectors.

We are entering a period when each component of the Parliament will have different reform objectives and I think that a government can act efficiently when it has political support and when all political entities have consensus on the solutions. Given that each has different solutions, things may not work out that well. It will happen like in Donici's fable "The crayfish, the swan and the pike" – some may want the reform to look one way, the others- in a different way and some will prefer to have no reforms at all.

Lina Grâu: Aren't we risking losing the last train to the EU with the creation of this informal coalition with the Communist Party? We have already observed a change in the rhetoric of the Democratic Party, whose leader said that it is pointless for Moldova to apply for the EU membership as the application will be rejected anyway...

Viorel Chivriga: I think the risk is imminent even if at the declarative level, each party said repeatedly that the European vector is the only possible way for Moldova. It is valid for the Communist Party which had many good initiatives starting with 2005, as well as for the right-wing parties. But one thing is to say and another is to do. In our case, we have reached a decisive stage - the implementation of the Association Agreement. We must understand that initialling, signature, and ratification are very important steps while at the implementation stage the highest risk is related to the existence of political will to make changes. And often these changes will be torpedoed even by important actors of the coalition as these changes will get into contradiction with the interests of certain people or groups of people.

Take the example of the justice. Justice cannot be reformed without making a fundamental order among judges. And I assure you that there is practically no judge who would want the judiciary to be reformed. In the economic field, take the example of the monopolies. There are people and interest groups within the coalition that don't want these monopolies to be eliminated. In the health care system there also exist big interest groups. A good part of those who are connected to this system and profit from it will in no way want the system to be reformed.

Lina Grâu: The negotiations over the signing of the minority coalition agreement between the PLDM and PDM have lasted for nearly two months and the Moldovan society is extremely dissatisfied with the performance of the political class. What was actually the signal sent by the political class through this delay?

Viorel Chivriga: It is a very bad signal, simply because we learned that those parties which have governed and asked for the people's vote for another term, did not actually have an acceptable strategy for the period after the elections.

The negotiations that lasted more than two months have shown that the political parties simply lack responsibility. In Moldova it's already axiomatic that politicians say one thing and do another.

There have been all prerequisites for a coalition to be created very quickly after the elections as the electoral programmes had very much in common, the parties had already the experience of governing together, there was clarity on the big differences that existed until now and which have been resolved over the last four years. At the same time, there is a government programme that even if not totally fulfilled, could serve as a starting point in the discussions.

At the same time, we have the Association Agreement - a document that provides some responsibilities and commitments to the development partners. This Agreement could have been put on the table as a base document for the future government program and could have united around it all pro-European parties. Basically, everything was in place, including clear benchmarks, in order to have a government program so as to have a positive start of the election cycle right from the beginning. But what happened is that the politicians stepped off on the wrong foot.

Lina Grâu: People are indeed very disappointed by the current political class. Can the Moldovan society generate new parties and leaders that could change the face of the political class?

Viorel Chivriga: Moldova is completely different than it used to be in the early 90s. Moldova has changed. We have well-trained people who want a change in the country. But if we talk about political elite, we don't have such. The political elite must be educated and protected until it matures.

If we talk about political parties, the issue is not about them. It is about the leaders who are running the parties and the groups that gain benefits from the political parties. These are economic groups which are not interested in ample changes in the country.

Yet, we have a young generation of people educated abroad who think differently from the current politicians. And perhaps they will create a nucleus for political parties and movements that will really reform the country. But this will take some time. Probably even during the mandate of the current Parliament such movements and parties will appear on the political scene of the country. We just have to wait a bit and the change will occur.

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Foreign Policy Association (APE) is a non-governmental organization committed to supporting the integration of the Republic of Moldova into the European Union and facilitating the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict in the context of the country Europeanization. APE was established in fall 2003 by a group of well-known experts, public personalities and former senior officials and diplomats, all of them reunited by their commitment to contribute with their expertise and experience to formulating and promoting by the Republic of Moldova of a coherent, credible and efficient foreign policy.



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