

The Foreign Policy of the Republic of Moldova from the point of view of the political parties – PLDM, PDM and AMN

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Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Good day. I am Corneliu Rusnac and as usual I invite you at this hour to a broadcast of discussions on topics of foreign policy, produced with the support of the "Foreign Policy Association" and financed by "Friedrich Ebert" Foundation.

Today we are going to discuss the way in which the nowadays foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is seen by the representatives of the political parties.

We have invited in the studio Mr. Iurie Leancă from the Liberal Democrat Party (PLDM), Mr. Igor Corman from the Democrat Party (PDM) and Mr. Victor Guzun from Alliance Our Moldova (AMN). Mr. Leancă, Mr.Corman and Mr. Guzun are candidates on the lists of the three parties for the anticipated elections on the 29th of July.

To begin with, I would like to ask you how we should qualify the nowadays foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova. Mr. Leancă, please.

1. The Current State of Affairs of the Moldovan Foreign Policy

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM (Former First Deputy Minister of the Moldovan MFA: 1999 – 2001): Foreign Policy, just as the whole state policy from 2001 onwards, when Communist Party came to power, may be described, to regret, as a failure.



Foreign policy is a very sensitive field, particularly for small countries like Republic of Moldova, when any evolution, debate, change along border lines, regionally, has immediate repercussions upon political, economical and social situation in the Republic of Moldova, its policy must obviously be a constant one, that would represent the national interests and one that would have clearly defined objectives. Foreign policy should have in the case of the Republic of Moldova an active, professional diplomacy, based on professional criteria, as I said, and not on criteria of political affiliation or family relations, as it happens these days.

Thus, I said regretfully that from 2001 onwards foreign policy was a failure, one that did not serve the national interests of the Republic of Moldova, one that did not contribute to the economic and social development of the Republic of Moldova, did not contribute to the protection of interests of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this machinery, this instrument for promoting and implementing the foreign policy of our country, was unfortunately brought, to say it metaphorically, to a wooden hoe.

One way or another, from 2001 onwards, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has undergone a cleaning off professionals, if you will. The best have left in order to express the disagreement with the ways the foreign policy was conceived and promoted, or have been forced to leave.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Mr. Guzun, how does the Alliance Our Moldova perceive the nowadays foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova?

Victor GUZUN, AMN: Foreign policy can not be cut out of the context. Foreign policy is a part of the policies promoted by a state. Therefore, the things should be looked at in a complex way.

I agree with the previous speaker. The foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is a policy that does not defend the interests of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to my deepest regret, has been transformed into a branch, into a subdivision of the Communist Party, one that carries out only the commands and orders coming from the Communist Party, the most recent case being the establishment, if you wish, of the visa regime with Romania, declaring Mr. Filip Teodorescu persona non-grata, despite the lack of any evidence that would prove the implication of Romania in the events on April the 7th, we all know that this was just the formal motivation.

The foreign policy has to serve the citizens, just like any other policies. We have to acknowledge regretfully that today the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is not oriented towards the interests of the citizens and it needs to be changed. And we hope that on the 29th (of July - n.r.), the citizens will understand this fact, in order to feel like masters in their own homes and to make the foreign policy right, just like all the other policies, so that they work to the interest of the man, to the interest of the citizen.

APE Panorama No. 03, 27.07.2009



Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Mr. Corman, how does the Democrat Party qualify the nowadays foreign policy promoted by the authorities?

Igor CORMAN, PDM (Former Moldovan Ambassador to Germany: 2004 – 2009): It is a well known fact: that there can be no good foreign policy, in the conditions of a bad government within the country.

Myself as a former diplomat, former ambassador to Germany during the last five years, from my own experience I can tell you that this whole European orientation, which has been promoted just at a declarative level during the last five years, in fact has nothing to do with the process of European integration. There are just slogans; declarations while outside we are, obviously, being judged according to concrete actions.

On the other hand, I believe that in the context when we talk about the European integration and the slogan of the government party before the election on April the 5th was - "Let's build Europe together", in fact, it has been completely discredited because of the evolutions that have taken place recently, of course, worsening relations with Romania, imposing visa regime onto Romania and then asking the European Union to liberalize visa regime for Moldovan citizens, only in case the visa regime with Romania is abolished, or these declarations that, presumably, there has been raised an iron curtain on the Prut, in the circumstances when this very curtain is, in fact, raised on this bank, thus on the left of the Prut – all these recent actions are meant only to confirm the fact that the discussion with the European Union takes place in a totally abnormal manner.

It is normal, we should ask ourselves who we are, with whom we discuss and what we discuss? On the other hand, relations with the other neighboring country, with Ukraine, or relations with Russian Federation I also consider that are relations built in a way that they should not be, and I believe that these relations are to a great extent determined by the context of the elections, and bear only an electoral character.

Regarding the quality of our diplomacy, again, it is an obvious fact, regretfully, the best and the most valuable diplomats, who have ones worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, are no longer there, they either left, or have been made to leave, or had no clout. Consequently, the quality of the Moldovan foreign policy leaves much to be desired and needs some cardinal reforms.

2. Relations of the Republic of Moldova with Romania

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Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: To what extent did the deterioration of the relations with Romania, by the way, one of the main markets for the Moldovan goods, influence upon the relations of Chişinău with the European Union and NATO, because Romania is part of both the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization, but also with USA, which is one of the main donors for the Republic of Moldova? Mr. Leancă?

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: First of all, it would be good for me to provide an explanatory note. Romania, according to the statistics, was not one of the largest export markets for the year 2008. It was the largest export market.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Exactly.

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: And at the moment when the political crisis came to the Republic of Moldova, even the communists realized, after the 5th of April, that we are in the middle of a political crisis of large proportions, generated not only by the evolutions on the regional and global levels, but generated by the lack of capacity to govern this country during the last eight years.

To strike into the country that is the main export market is, if you will, a crime. It is an act oriented, first of all, against Moldovan producers. Even the Minister Dodon has recently recognized that the visa regime imposed on Romania has damaged the bilateral relations, actually, brought economic disadvantages for of the Republic of Moldova.

Thus, during an economic crisis to undertake such steps, such actions, to the detriment of your country and of your citizens, I believe that our radio listeners should rate such actions.

Regarding the impact upon our relations with Washington and Bruxelles, obviously there is a direct one. If we take a look at the conclusions of the foreign ministers of the European Union from the 16th of June, where it is being categorically asked, but again, the party in power pretends not to understand, promotes this ostrich like policy, which digs its head into the sand and does not notice anything, it was clearly stated in the decision of the foreign ministers that all European citizens should be treated in a non-discriminatory manner, and they were making reference, of course, to this visa regime imposed upon Romania.

About the role of Romania in the so-called European integration of the Republic of Moldova, which in fact is a mimicry and nothing happens at the real level, has been told a lot. I do not know if the epithet still matters that: can Romania be the champion, or can it be the locomotive and so on. For me matters the certain role that Romania should and can play in promoting our European integration objective, for



the simple reason that it is our neighbor to the west, it is the gate, if you wish, of the European Union and of NATO.

Thus, naturally, that this deterioration of relations with Romania has negatively affected our relation as a whole with Bruxelles. Instead of having the total and sincere support of Bucharest, we ended up in a situation when the world does not understand: how is it possible to bring your relations with a neighbor to such a state, to such a low level? And, of course, that the image of the Republic of Moldova was also affected. The image is, on the one hand, something difficult to quantify, but still we see these categorical declarations coming from Bruxelles, from Washington regarding the quality of democracy, regarding the quality of bilateral relations, and we see that the image and credibility of the Republic of Moldova are being damaged. Consequently, the interest of the citizen of the Republic of Moldova is being harmed as well.

3. Relations of the Republic of Moldova with the European Union

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Do you think it is still possible, after the deterioration of the relations with Bruxelles, to obtain the status of an associate country and the liberalization of visa regime, in the way authorities from Chişinău insist upon? Mr. Guzun?

Victor GUZUN, AMN: Thank you. I want to tell you that after the 5th (of April - n.r.) Pandora's Box was opened. European Union began to understand what is really happening in of the Republic of Moldova, what is happening with the democratic norms, what is happening with the basic liberties, what is happening with the law and order institutions, which instead of protecting the citizens of the Republic of Moldova, proved to be in fact the institutions that are persecuting the citizens.

We consider that after these events, the signals that are coming from Bruxelles and from European Institutions are first of all intended for the citizens of the Republic of Moldova and not for the governing party.

From this perspective, we consider that after the 29th (of July - n.r.), after the parliamentary elections from the 29th of July, it is possible to create a democratic government, a coherent government. European Union does not centre its policies on someone, on a government party, but on the citizens and starting from this point, we believe that together with a new government our chances to deepen our relations of collaboration and association with the European Union will only grow.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: What needs to be done to launch again these relations?



Victor GUZUN, AMN: In order to launch again these relations we need to promote a coherent and clear policy. Not to have one type of a message at Bruxelles, another one in Chisinău and a third one in Moscow. Because one can never succeed as long as it does not clearly say its goals and where it wants, and most importantly, to assume responsibilities that need to be carries out to the end.

4. The Future Prospects of Moldova's Partnership with the European Union

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Mr. Corman, do you think it is still possible today to reset the dialog with the European Union without respecting the conditions that were mentioned in the resolution of the European Parliament, and in the resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe?

Igor CORMAN, PDM: I think that the European Union in very interested so that things go well in the Republic of Moldova. It is normal, we are a neighbor country of the European Union and they are interested in the stability in this whole area, including the Republic of Moldova.

The conditions are very clear; they have been stated in the communiqué of the European Union Luxemburg Council. These conditions need to be fulfilled and then we are going to continue for sure our dialog with the European Union.

I consider that no way, in fact, European Union is going to close the door for Moldova. But it expects to see this understanding in Chisinău as well, and then, in case that the elections which are taking place will be considered as fair, in the case we end up after the elections with a new government, and I want to mention that our external partners are, first of all, interested in the political stability within the country, and it is again obvious, it happens in every country where parliamentary elections take place, presidential elections, but after these elections, as his majesty the electorate decides, everybody needs to sit at one table, taking into account the balance of forces, reaching a certain understanding, they come up with a new government and the country moves forward.

And here is the experience of Germany, the elections from 2005: nobody would have thought that these two big and popular parties, as are the Christian-Democrats and the Social-Democrats, suddenly would form a coalition. But, after the electorate so decided, here we have until the end of this summer, until September, this coalition is in government.

After all, it depends how things evolve here in Chisinău. In the case of such evolutions, as I said, healthy, civilized, normal, in this case, obviously, we have all the chances to accelerate our negotiations with the European Union. There already exists a mandate. There already is the experience of other countries, which have gone through this process.



Of course, we can not say that within a few months we will reach the signing of an association treaty (between the Republic of Moldova and the EU-n.r.). I have to say that there are such statements coming from certain political groups, that it would be enough to send an application request to the European Union. There are sometimes such simplistic views. We need at the same time to understand the complexity of the process and even though we are in an election campaign, we should be honest with the voters, not to feed them with empty promises. But once again, all depends on how the things will develop here at home and we have all the chances to go ahead on this path.

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: I would like to contradict my friend, Igor Corman, in what regards the attitude of the European Union and the West towards what is happening here nowadays. It is true that they want political stability. But most of all what the West wants, by means of the European Union, of the member states, of the United States of America is so that the rules of the game are respected.

The conclusions from the 16th of June are very relevant in this sense. Because stability... We have had some type of stability during these last eight years. Has this stability, which resembles more to a cemetery as an economist put it, brought us anywhere, has it moved us forward, has it helped us advance on the way of democratic, economic and political reforms and so on? No. I do not think so. We need another kind of stability, a dynamic one, one that brings benefits to the citizens and moves the Republic of Moldova in this space of stability and security.

Thus, they want us, first of all, to respects the rules of the game. And if we really want to establish a new kind of relationship, qualitative and quantitative with the European Union, well, in that case we need to start doing our homework here. What does it mean? It means to respect the same values and the same standards that exist in the European Union. If we talk about the separation of powers, then it should be a separation of powers and not the power of a single individual, who now, as you all know, has usurped, in fact, the whole power in this country, having the highest two positions in the Republic of Moldova all to himself. If we want to move in that direction, thus we need to behave like them, to think like them.

And thus, we think that when we come to power after the 29th of July, we form a democratic coalition, we make order in our own house, behave responsibly internally and externally.

I think there are no exaggeration and no utopist objective to say that in 2011 we can sign a Free Trade Agreement, with no visas for our citizens in the European space.

I consider that in 2012 we are capable of signing this Association Treaty, which would place us into a whole new context in what regards the European Union. And then the political support will come, financial support, not of tens of millions, but of hundreds, billions of Euros which will come into our country.



Then we will be able to benefit from all the rights that a European citizen has, just like we are in fact Europeans by our origin, our present and our future.

Igor CORMAN, PDM: Please, allow me to also contradict a bit Mr. Iurie Leancă. Yes, first of all, I have also talked about the quality of the elections. Thus, we need to make a very clear difference between the final stage of this process, becoming a member of the European Union and starting the negotiations for an Association Treaty. Because only the negotiation of a good treaty and its implementation can move us forward.

Therefore, it is a very complex process, about what you have just discussed. But this needs also a change in the political class in Moldova, which does not happen as we know in one day. This was the first point.

And the second point, in fact what I said I wanted to contradict. I know you have also talked at the launching of your party into this election campaign about that it is possible to have a liberalization of the visa regime for the Moldovan citizens with the European Union in 2011, and in 2012 to get the status of an associate member.

Well, I even ask myself, how is it possible at the practical level? Because we have the experience of the Balkan countries that are for a long time in the process of stabilization and association, they have signed such treaties, but till today, the problem of visa liberalization is a very acute one. Don't you think that we are putting the cart in front of the horses?

Iurie LEANCĂ, **PLDM**: I am sorry that we are monopolizing our discussion...

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Yes, Mr. Leancă and after that, Mr. Guzun.

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: In regards to the necessity for creating new elite, I agree that the elites that we have now, are already to a large extent old-fashioned. The appearance of the Liberal-Democrat Party was a reaction to this very necessity, to this stringent objective: modernization of our society. But the modernization can not take place with old actors; there is a need for new actors. It is important though, that when such new elites appear, its representatives need to be coherent. If they had some values yesterday, it is very important for them to promote the same values today. In the case they understand or recognize that they have made a mistake, it is important they make this publicly, because we all make mistakes. But from the moment you recognize and admit it is much more correct and honest in regards to you, but also in the first place with the citizen of the Republic of Moldova.



Thus, we need to be consequent and coherent. This is extremely important if we want to create a new political class, a responsible one and one that would take the Republic of Moldova forward.

As for our capacity to get where we have planned to get by 2011 and 2012, I have said that our calculations are based upon a large experience in the field of promoting, formulating and implementing national objectives. I was the one who launched in 1998 the objective of European integration, the one who new exactly what it meant, together with my colleagues from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and I still believe today that if we clearly formulate and promote these objectives and these interests, two years is absolutely possible for us, having already more than a million of our citizens working in Spain, Portugal, and so on, thus we are in theory ready for something like this.

All we need is to be consistent, coherent internally, to do our homework, to sign the necessary treaties, to have an independent justice, to know what to do with our eastern border and then, I am telling you once again, what we have said is no fantasy. It is something well calculated and well fixed.

Igor CORMAN, PDM: Just one phrase. For sure, we can not reach a liberalization of the visa regime before we sign the association treaty. It is one thing to start the dialog about the liberalization, but total liberalization is possible only in the long run. Thus, there is a very clear position within the European Union and we have the experience of the Balkan countries.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Let's give a chance to Mr. Guzun to express himself.

Victor GUZUN, AMN: Thank you for the opportunity to say something. Alliance Our Moldova sees the things in a more simple way and I think that right here, right now it is not the moment for profound and theoretical discussions.

Alliance Our Moldova plans for the Republic of Moldova to become an associate member in 2013, but this is not the point I want to stress upon. I would like to point out that European integration is a process in which not only political elites are part of. It is an absolutely complex process, it is a popular process, if you wish, in which every citizen needs to feel what are the topics for the homework, as my colleague has just said and they need to be fulfilled.

In this context, the resolution of the Committee of Ministers of the European Union need not be seen as an exercise of criticism, but as a road map, if you will: the homework that has to be done, the norms that have to be changed, reforms that have to be implemented, not only through legislative initiatives that do not work, but through laws that function to the benefit of the citizens.



As long as we want the European integration and it is the national idea, if you wish, as long as it is sustained by over 70 percent of the population, we need to participate altogether in this process.

From this point, Alliance Our Moldova calls all the voters to feel themselves masters in their own home, to understand, to be responsible for the work we have to undertake together in the following period of time and immediately after the 29th of July to be responsible, to vote responsibly for your own good.

5. East – West Dilemma of the Moldovan Foreign Policy

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: There was a lot of talk about how the Republic of Moldova should benefit from its positions and make its relations with both the West and the East profitable. Still, given the geopolitical conjuncture, how should, from your point of view and from your parties' position, the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova look like?

Victor GUZUN, AMN: The foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova needs to be, first of all, a balanced one. The Republic of Moldova is an actor which needs to promote a smart foreign policy. I am not talking about an oscillatory foreign policy. I am talking about a clear foreign policy, in which there should be absolutely clearly stated the functioning principles of that foreign policy.

I am talking about a strategic partnership with the European Union as a national priority, I am talking about preferential, priority relations with Romania and the Ukraine, they are our neighbors, about very good relations with the United States of America, as for the relations with the Russian Federation, we want some clear bilateral relations, without elements of vassalage and without elements of dependency.

Again, we do not need to invent anything. There are countries that are already implementing such policies. We have no time for experimenting. We must be masters in our own homes and from this position, in order to finalize a balanced, coherent and clear foreign policy, based on principles of equality.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Mr. Corman, or Mr. Leancă?

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: Mr. Corman this time...

Igor CORMAN, PDM: Yes, thank you, Mr. Leancă. The Democrat Party of Moldova considers that the question of where is Moldova heading towards: to the East or to the West, to be a wrong one. The world has changed around us and we have to keep up with the evolutions.



In the circumstances when the European Union is talking about, for instance, a strategic partnership with the Russian Federation, I do not understand why we have sometimes question marks and second thoughts about whether we should nurture this relationship with the Russian Federation and to develop, as well, a strategic partnership?

We believe that there are no contradictions between an efficient European integration and, as I was just previously saying, not only through slogans and words, but through concrete actions, the development of a strategic partnership with the Russian Federation.

If I may also remind about the transnistrean conflict, I think that it is particularly our chance to identify a very good cooperation among the main international actors – all that are engaged in the negotiation process – and we believe that Moldova can and should become indeed a model of cooperation. We also think that it is also in the interest of those who are interested in the stability and prosperity of this region, and it should not become a ground for geopolitical confrontations.

Just as in the framework of the Eastern Partnership, in the framework of the Neighborhood Policy. I am sure, yet again, that the European Union is interested to give a good example in this sense. And why could not Moldova become such a good example?

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: I agree with Mr. Corman that Moldova should move neither to the East nor to the West. Moldova is there where it is situated geographically.

Igor CORMAN, PDM: I was talking about orientation not movement, because it remains there.

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: I have something to disagree about in what regards the way we should construct our foreign policy. If I understood correctly from the previous speaker, we should be a positive model of cooperation between East and West.

In fact, this is nothing but the reanimation of an older thesis according to which we should be the connection bridge between the East and the West. And we are not here for an academic debate, it is true, but I would like to ask, like a colleague another colleague, we both worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, both were involved in diplomacy, what does it mean a strategic partnership with Russia, because I always had problems in defining what this term meant?

Igor CORMAN, PDM: A Privileged partnership.

Iurie LEANCĂ, **PLDM**: You said, Igor, strategic. Privileged yes, then it is something better. I ask you, because some western diplomats once told me that when a small country and a large country establish or



formulate a relationship in one way or another and there is no clear definition, we should better run from such definitions.

We need a pragmatic, mutually beneficial relationship with Russia. What the Communist Party has been doing from 2001 onwards has terribly damaged not only our relationship on the western vector, but also our political, economic and trade relations with the Russian Federation.

Just have a look, everyone remembers very well when in 2001 they came to power, they came on the wave of integration, union with Russia-Belarus, and there was a total openness, as if some type of love. After 2003-2004, from love, as you know, there is one step to, I do not know how to say it, hatred or..., in fact from 2004 till 2007 if I am not mistaken, as a matter of fact, there was no political dialog between Chisinau and Moscow, while in the trade area the interests of Moldovan producers have been terribly affected. Because you know, after not signing of the respective Memorandum (Kozak Memorandum from November 2003, the Russian plan to solve the transnistrean conflict through the federalization of the Republic of Moldova – n. r.) all kinds of sanctions were imposed.

I do not want to say that the Communists should have signed the memorandum. Categorically not. What I want to say is that Russia is a large country and every large and powerful country wants to be respected. Thus, if we engage in something with Russia we have to respect our engagement. But before we engage in anything, I want to say, it is important that we think ten times. What are going to be the consequences for the Republic of Moldova?

These oscillations that we had with the Russian Federation, as I said, have caused us major damage in sphere of trade, economy and so on. We lost a very, very large market.

The positioning between East and West, I agree, is wrong one. We need to know exactly what we want. We want to become members of the European Union. Becoming members of the European Union, I am convinced; we will thus be able to also solve the transnistrean conflict. And if we are going to discuss this subject later, I will be more explicit.

Igor CORMAN, PDM: There is a question if we can solve the conflict after we become a member of the European Union and whether there is no condition first to solve the conflict and then ...

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: Well, we can also discuss this subject as well... **Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia:** Let's give a chance to Mr. Guzun too...

Victor GUZUN, AMN: Yes, thank you, thank you. Alliance Our Moldova sees the things in a more simple way, more exactly: when we are setting for a strategic partnership or even privileged, we should



analyze what are the conditions or what are the values that we want to accept, or what are the directions for strategic partnerships or even privileged ones.

Alliance Our Moldova sees the European values as the values upon which the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is going to be based. Once again, I probably repeat myself, but with the Russian Federation we should have bilateral relations based on clear principles, while the foreign policy priority should be the European Union.

6. Transnistrean Conflict: propsects of resolutin

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: And now, one final question. How do your parties see the solution of the transnistrean conflict? We have also come to the transnistrean subjects. Mr. Leancă?

Iurie LEANCĂ, PLDM: I was just saying that from the moment we are truly integrated in the European Union, especially from the moment we get the status of an associate country, because from the moment a country reaches this status of an associate country to the European Union, the attitude, the approach of Bruxelles towards you changes cardinally. They prepare you to reach their level, their standards; they help you to solve your internal and external problems that you are facing.

Thus, in this sense I was saying that the point is not to join the European Union and afterwards to solve the transnistrean conflict. The point is to move at the same time.

In general, what regards the transnistrean conflict: my opinion is that those who say that the resolution of the transnistrean conflict is a problem of immediate prospective, almost-almost, as we have been fed all these eight years, just a little more and we will solve the respective problem, is a contra productive thing.

Today, the Republic of Moldova, as a result of the improvident policies of the last eight years, is so vulnerable, so weak politically, economically, we have no state institutions that work well, thus, I am afraid, any immediate solution of the transnistrean problem might instead of contributing to the consolidation of Moldovan statehood, it will make it more vulnerable, more dependent on other capitals or other forces outside the country.

Due to this, I think that it is more important to realize and thus approach the respective conflict so that it is much more realistic to solve it in the interest of the Republic of Moldova in the medium term.

Until then, we should make everything possible for the Republic of Moldova to become, at least the part under the control of Chisinău government, a stable one, economically prosperous, with functioning



institutions and as close as possible to the European Union. And then, as I said, the European Union is going to help us differently, it is going to get engaged totally differently in the solving of this conflict.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Mr. Guzun?

Victor GUZUN, AMN: We believe that a quick and sustainable solution for the transnistrean conflict, after a very long period of hesitation and after an absolutely incoherent policy and the trials to solve the conflict, is impossible. Therefore, any attempt to solve it quickly, by signing some documents – it was tried several times and we have had the impression recently that they are still trying – we consider it to be contra productive.

The solution of the transnistrean conflict is tightly linked to all the other processes going on in the Republic of Moldova, the democratization of the society, the attractiveness of the Republic of Moldova in comparison with the transnistrean region. Because the population who lives in Transnistrea, in inverted commas, thus, wants to see a prosperous Republic of Moldova, one that would be economically and socially attractive, but also in what regards the Human Rights and basic liberties.

Therefore, we see the solution of the transnistrean conflict strongly related to the democratic, economic and social reforms, all that is related to Human Rights, that will be implemented in the Republic of Moldova in order for it to become attractive for the citizens of the left bank of the river Nistru in parallel with all the necessary reforms, it needs to be implemented after the 29th of July and we hope that this is going to happen.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Mr. Corman?

Igor CORMAN, PDM: Yes, I agree that attractiveness plays a very important role, but this attractiveness may appear only if Moldova moves on the ways towards European integration. Only with the support of our European partners can we achieve a standard of living that would be attractive for the other part of the country.

Of course, I agree, truly democratic reforms, European values can be a very powerful stimulus. But I think there is another very important element. The transnistrean conflict is a geopolitical conflict. Therefore, once again I come to the idea that only those involved, which have clout in international politics, we all know those actors and the European Union...

Thus, the European Union only can not help us solve the conflict, even though it wants to do so. There needs to be a very clear support from the side of the United States of America, as I said, the role of the Ukraine is important in the process, and I repeat once more that the Russian Federation has to reach the



point when it will understand that a solution of the conflict is also in the interest of the Russian Federation, which as well needs good relations of privileged partnership, as I said, with the European Union.

And in this context, I believe that the policy of neutrality is the right one, I think it is correct to remain neutral, which does not mean that we should not have good cooperation with NATO for instance, and there is a mechanism, IPAP, Individual Action Plan needs to be exploited to a maximum degree.

But I think that it is important in this context that all partners engaged in this process should not have any suspicions and come to the understanding of the fact that the solution of the conflict is in everybody's interest. I think that this is where our chance lies.

Corneliu RUSNAC, Imedia: Mr. Corman, Mr. Guzun, Mr. Leancă, I thank you very much for your presence at this radio show.

Dear listeners, I, Corneliu Rusnac, remind you that you have been listening to discussion on topics of foreign policy, produced with the support of the "Foreign Policy Association" and financed by "Friedrich Ebert" Foundation.

Here is where I say goodbye to you and I will be waiting you next week with a new program. See you soon.