RELATIONS OF INTERPARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION WITH THE EUROPEAN STATES – A WAY OF PERFORMING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

A remarkable phenomenon of the contemporary age, in the context of the intensification of globalization processes, is the assertion, together with the traditional diplomacy, of parliamentary diplomacy. The experience of the 21st century demonstrates that international parliamentary cooperation must be an organic part of international order, and that parliamentary diplomacy is an essential tool for guiding global processes.

In this context, the integration into the European structures and taking over the experience of the states of the European Union offer the Republic of Moldova a real opportunity to strengthen the national security and to ensure the territorial integrity, thus contributing to the establishment of the political stability in the area.

In contemporary international relations there have been changes that cannot always be explained within the classical paradigms. They differ substantially from the system of permanent links between international actors. Once with the process of the modern world diversification, international life, the emergence of new international actors, the cycles’ acceleration of socio-cultural and political processes, the tendencies of globalization inevitably require other approaches, other paradigms that try to encompass the reality of contemporary international relations. Perhaps the postmodernists are right, noting that the world is more complicated and diverse than the rationalist schemes, though quite convenient, to reduce the analysis and explanation of social phenomena "from a certain point of departure". The universalism of classical rationalism becomes problematic for both the international relations system and the investigation of phenomena in the context of contemporary political development.

The postmodernist paradigm attempts to establish the original correlations between "integrity" and "pluralism", so the practice demonstrates the direct dependence between the
acceleration on the one hand of the expansion of universal democratic principles and values in the world and, on the other, the intensification of the insistence of the new actors (states), in respect of the defense of the right to their own existence, integrity and interests.

On the one hand, the subjects of international relations, of a different institutionalization degree, comply with universal requirements. On the other hand, they use all the mechanisms and levers at hand, defending and promoting their own interests. Namely, democratization processes (not only the Republic of Moldova) have contributed to the contemporary reactivation of parliamentary diplomacy - a phenomenon with enormous political potential, which is growing in scale, but which is theoretically insufficiently valued and analyzed. It may start with the lack of categorical finalization of parliamentary diplomacy and end with a comparative analysis between traditional and parliamentary diplomacy.

The specificity of parliamentary diplomacy as a tool for promoting the national interest lies in the fact that the parliament, a priori, represents a synthesis of the most powerful political forces for a four-year cycle, to which the electorate honored them, but also the obligation to represent their own interests, both domestically and externally. Speaking about the parliamentary dimension in the external activity of the governors, it is necessary to mention the presence in contemporary world life of at least two factors that influence it. This is primarily about the processes of globalization. We will not make a broad analysis of these, but we will see that globalization is broadly changing the economy, commodity markets, the labor market, capital, valuable papers, financial institutions, technologies (HTs), especially information-communicative systems. The listed ones are some of the most dynamic segments of the contemporary world, being at the same time catalysts in the process of establishing a new system of social relations of both internal and external importance. The second factor, mentioned by several analysts, is the increase in the degree of instability, uncertainty and unpredictability of international processes. In the dynamic contemporary world, it is becoming increasingly difficult to control, forecast and predict the consequences of changes.

The presence of these two factors directly affects the contemporary diplomacy, including the parliamentary one, by presenting new requirements. In the first place, there are concrete issues related to economic, commercial and information technologies, which are in contrast to the problems called by professionals as "low diplomacy". Solving these issues requires more operative, flexible mechanisms of reaction, collaboration with various social institutions, and civil society. In this context, parliamentary diplomacy has the function of an ideal liaison mechanism. It is accomplished through the specific set of methods:

- Legislative activity, development and passing laws, ratification of international treaties;
• Collaboration with the media and civil society, direct contacts through international parliamentary forums.

There are two forms of performing the parliamentary diplomacy - delegations of the legislative forum to international parliamentary bodies (PACE, Interparliamentary Union - the oldest one 1898, OSCE PA, GUAM ...); the second form - the friendship groups between the MPs of different states.

The European Union is made up of states that have decided to gradually unite their know-how, resources and destiny. Together, over a 50-year extension period, they have created an area of stability, democracy and sustainable development while preserving cultural diversity, tolerance and individual freedoms. The European Union also pledged to share its achievements and values with countries and peoples beyond its borders.

In this context, taking into account the share of developed countries in the world economy, especially the countries of the seven group, and the role these countries play in international relations, in maintaining peace and security in the world, and the support offered by them, the Republic of Moldova pays special attention to the development of partnerships and cooperation on multiple plans with Romania, Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom.

Also, the Republic of Moldova will expand and deepen its relations with the countries of Central and Western Europe, which is very important due to its geographic position, economic potential, international prestige and the role of these states in maintaining and consolidating peace, stability and security on the continent. It is also due to the support given to the Republic of Moldova in promoting social and economic reforms, strengthening its independence and integrating into European and world structures.

Another important direction is the establishment and development of bilateral relations with the countries of Eastern Europe. The experience of these countries in reforming the political system, building the democratic and democratic status, the transition to the market economy is of particular interest to the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, our country has common interests with the Eastern European states in order to integrate into the international structures and to strengthen security on the continent.

A special place in the relations with the countries of Europe refer to the Baltic states with which we have much in common in the past, interests and similar issues, which is a natural platform for the coordination of some aspects of foreign policy.

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1 Klipii I. Consolidarea capacităților Parlamentului Republicii Moldova în procesul de armonizare a legislației naționale cu legislația UE. Proiectul Twinning MD 13 ENPI OT 02 17 (MD/28). http://www.parlament.md/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=LChsP8ZFiXk%3D&tabid=261&language=ro-RO (visited 20.01.2019)
A new impetus will gain relations with the Scandinavian countries, primarily on the economic and commercial level\(^2\).

Romania was the first country who recognized the Republic of Moldova after the proclamation of its independence on 27 August 1991. Referring to diplomatic relations, we mention that the Embassy of Romania was the first diplomatic representation opened in the capital of the Republic of Moldova, Chisinau, on January 20, 1992\(^3\). Referring to the Moldovan-Romanian political relations, we can state that the main directions are set out in the following basic documents: The Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Moldova in 1995 and the Program "Foreign Policy and Promotion of the Real Image of Romania"; Declaration on the Establishment of a Strategic Partnership between Romania and the Republic of Moldova for the European Integration of the Republic of Moldova (2010), and the Action Plan for the Implementation of the Declaration (2012)\(^4\).

We also mention that the harmonization of legislation between the Republic of Moldova and Romania was reaffirmed through the Joint Commission for European Integration of the Parliaments of Romania and the Republic of Moldova who adopted the final Declaration. In the document, its members committed themselves to the implementation of a number of objectives in the field of education, media, communications, culture, transport, public administration, labor, tourism, economy, energy and environment until the next meeting. Of particular importance was the November 1, 2017 visit of the deputies’ delegation and senators from the Parliament of Romania. These visits only highlighted the strategic importance of the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova and the substantial positive impact of the projects carried out with the support of Romania\(^5\).

Referring to the Romania-Czech Republic-Moldova interparliamentary friendship group, then we can state that it was set up at the level of the Chamber of Deputies in Prague on 14 November 2014. Previously, Romania and the Republic of Moldova were part of a wider friendship group that included countries such as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and the Republic of Macedonia. The established group represents a new cooperation instrument

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on the line of parliamentary diplomacy between Bucharest and Prague, on the one hand, and between Chisinau and Prague, on the other. At the same time, the new trilateral format opens new opportunities for collaboration between the three capitals in favor of the European aspirations of the Republic of Moldova.

Analyzing the political dimension of the Moldovan-French relations, it is worth mentioning that the first official contacts between states were established in 1992, shortly after the Republic of Moldova obtained its independence and its recognition as a subject of international law. Moldovan-French political relations were fortified by the appointment in 1992 of the first French ambassador to Moldova. The bilateral legal framework between the Republic of Moldova and France consists of 14 bilateral documents regulating the following areas of cooperation: commercial-economic, technical-scientific, defense, mutual protection of investments, agriculture and rural development, international road transport, freight transport, etc.; as well as other treaties and agreements signed between France and the Republic of Moldova.

The Moldovan-French collaboration was legally institutionalized by signing the Protocol on Establishing Diplomatic Relations between France and the Republic of Moldova on 12 March 1992 in Paris. Another document underlying the Moldovan-French cooperation is the Treaty of friendship, understanding and co-operation between the Republic of Moldova and France which was signed on 29 January 1993 and entered into force on 1 December 1995. These documents mark the relations of friendship, cultural and civilization proximity between the French and Moldovan people. Thus, it is to be noted that bilateral dialogue derives from the need to strengthen European solidarity through a rapprochement between states based on respect for the universal values of freedom, democracy and solidarity, as well as respect for human rights. Through this Treaty, France and the Republic of Moldova are committed to developing trust and cooperation relations in all areas.

As far as the friendship group of the Republic of Moldova with France is concerned, it only strengthens the relations between the two Parliaments. In this context, the emphasis is on initiating a collaboration between the Parliamentary Commissions on the cultural field, in particular by providing support and expertise in the legislative process. In this chapter it was

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emphasized the necessity of training specialists in the historical monuments restoration of art; the establishment of several partnerships between the Moldovan authorities and France; development and consolidation of relations between Women's organizations of Political Parties and taking the experience of the French Commission on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities between Men and Women in the Republic of Moldova’s Parliament.

In the context of bilateral relations, we have a large number of Moldovan citizens in France, about 40,000-60,000, a large part of which are students and highly qualified people employed in the workforce who are fully integrated into French society. In recent years, the Moldovan-French relations continue to intensify, and the meetings between the Moldovan and French groups in the parliaments of the two countries only favor and support the Republic of Moldova in its aspirations for European integration. At the same time, we mention that the Friendship Parliamentary Group with France is one of the largest friendship groups in the Moldovan Parliament, comprising 38 MPs from all parliamentary factions. Taking into account the fundamental security changes in Europe, the Republic of Moldova and France are proposing that, through the Treaty of understanding, friendship and cooperation, there will be developed and deepened military relations. The both parts will also have regular discussions about their views in the given field. This is how the two sides decide to work together in particular at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to maintain peace and strengthen security in Europe, uniting their efforts to establish security relations among all European states.

Italy's position on the European political scene is in favor of the needs and goals that the Republic of Moldova has proposed in the process of European integration. Italy supports Moldova's political and economic reform process, encouraging the country to become a partner and member of the European Community. Italy is among the first states who recognized the independence of the Republic of Moldova, establishing diplomatic relations on February 21, 1992. Once with opening the Italian Embassy in Chisinau in 2008, Moldovan-Italian relations are growing. To date, 38 bilateral treaties have been signed between the Republic of Moldova and Italy, which regulate the following areas of cooperation: political, commercial, economic, cultural-scientific, information technology, health, legal, transport, and migration.

Thus, the Joint Declaration on the Principles of Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Italy, signed in Chisinau on March 20, 1997, in force from March 20, 1997 is among the main documents, which constitute the political and legal basis of the relations between the Republic of Moldova and Italy. According to Declaration, "the parties will consistently guide

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9 Cebotari S., Căldare Gh. Politica externă a Republicii Moldova (Course notes). Chisinau, 2018 CEP USM. p.162-167
their relations with the principles of sovereign equality, inviolability of borders, observance of territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, good faith fulfillment of the assumed obligations, according to international law Article 1). Also of great importance in the Moldovan-Italian relations are the agreements, which represents a good legal foundation that facilitates the political relations between the two countries.

In the context of the Republic of Moldova's participation in the European Neighborhood Policy, the friendship Group between the Republic of Moldova and Italy has guaranteed Moldova's full support for a quick definition of the Association Agreement with the EU. In this respect, it is worth paying attention to the joint decision of states to grant each other mutual assistance in achieving mutual goals and interests. Italy is the state that provides the necessary assistance to carry out the indispensable political, economic and social reforms that Moldova needs.

The Federal Republic of Germany recognized the independence of the Republic of Moldova on 14 December 1991 and diplomatic relations were established on 30 April 1992. The opening of diplomatic missions - the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Chisinau (2 November 1992) and the Embassy of the Republic of Moldova in Bonn (March 28, 1995) - confirmed the interest of both countries in expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation. As it passed, the Moldovan-German relations evolved under the sign of friendship and good understanding. The Republic of Moldova enjoys the support of Germany in international and European organizations, especially in the process of carrying out democratic and economic reforms and integrating the country into European structures. Germany played an important role in the adherence of the Republic of Moldova to the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, to the World Trade Organization and inviting our country to the European Conference as well as to the elaboration and adoption of the Republic of Moldova - European Union Action Plan.

The Protocol on Establishing Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Federal Republic of Germany is the basis of the political and legal framework of the Moldovan-German relations, which was signed in Moscow on 30.04.1992. The Joint Declaration on the Principles of Relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Federal Republic of Germany is another basic document for strengthening the Moldovan-German relations, which was signed in Bonn on 11.10.1995. The parties, according to the document, reaffirmed their attachment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, and the other documents of the

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10 Cebotari Sv., Căldare Gh. Politica externă a Republicii Moldova (Course notes). Chisinau, 2018 CEP USM. p.176-179
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Also, in order to build a united Europe, the signatories reaffirm that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, human values, the rule of law, democracy and legality are fundamental principles in building a new Europe. Among the events existing in the Moldovan-German relations, the Bundestag adopted on 6 May 2004 the parliamentary motion "To support the way to reunification and democratization in Moldova". This motion sets out four cardinal objectives of the German and European policy in relationship with Moldova: consolidation in Moldova of democracy and rule of law, sustainable economic development of the country, settlement of the Transnistrian conflict and consolidation and deepening of relations between Moldova and the EU. So far, 59 bilateral agreements (in force - 57) have been signed, with additional documents covering virtually all areas of cooperation: political, commercial, economic, legal, financial, transport, mutual promotion and protection of investments, technical cooperation, culture and science, etc.\textsuperscript{11}

In accordance with point b of Chapter IV entitled "The main directions of the Republic of Moldova’s foreign policy" of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Moldova (1995), relations with the United Kingdom are a priority. Taking into account the importance and role of developed G7 states in the world economy and their role in international relations, in maintaining global peace and security, the Republic of Moldova will pay special attention to partnership and cooperation relations with European states, including UK. The UK, together with the EU partners, recognized the independence of the Republic of Moldova on December 31, 1991. The British Embassy was opened in Chisinau in 2002 and currently there are developed and maintained relations between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Moldova. To date, 15 bilateral agreements have been signed between the Republic of Moldova and the United Kingdom in various fields, such as political, economic, legislative, security, etc.

An important step in strengthening the Moldovan-British relations were visits from January to February in 2006 and 2008 by Marian Lupu, Speaker of Moldovan Parliament of the XVI legislature, and in February 2017, Andrian Candu's visit, Moldovan Parliament legislature XX. Visits at this level focused on stable and constructive cooperation between the two states within international organizations, mentioning the consistent support of the United Kingdom for the EU's rapprochement with the Republic of Moldova. The main objective of the friendship groups between the Republic of Moldova and the UK remains to be democratization and economic

\textsuperscript{11} Cebotari S., Căldare Gh. Politica externă a Republicii Moldova (Course Notes). Chisinau, 2018 CEP USM. p.192-199

development, a process in which Britain is a partner and supporter of the Republic of Moldova. The Twinning Project also plays an important role in Moldova's interparliamentary cooperation relations with the EU Member States. Twinning Project for Moldova "Strengthening the capacities of Moldovan Parliament in harmonizing national legislation with EU law" is implemented by the Chamber of Deputies Parliament of the Czech Republic, the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian National Assembly, in cooperation with the Moldovan Parliament. The project budget is 1.5 million euros, and the implementation period is 2017-2019. The objective of the project is to facilitate the implementation of the Association Agreement between the European Union and the Republic of Moldova. Project mission is to optimize the role and responsibilities of Parliament, its bodies of activity and the relevant administrative structures to ensure a solid institutional framework for efficient implementation of its legislative attributions, especially in the harmonization process of legislation as a prerequisite for the Association Agreement implementation. At the same time, the project will help to improve the exchange of information between the Parliament and the Government in the context of the law harmonization process. The aim of the project is to strengthen the institutional capacity of the Moldovan Parliament to better understand the process of harmonizing national legislation with EU law, in line with the Association Agenda. Special emphasis is put on modernizing internal structures and procedures, as well as strengthening the capacity of technical staff in Parliament.

The mission of the project is to optimize the role and responsibilities of Parliament, its working bodies and relevant administrative structures to ensure a robust institutional framework in order to effectively carry out legislative tasks, in particular legislative harmonization tasks as a prerequisite for the implementation of the association. At the same time, the project will focus on capacity building activities for both elementary and advanced levels. In total, 60 experts from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Latvia, France and Belgium contribute to the project.

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12 Cebotari S., Căldare Gh. Politica externă a Republicii Moldova (Course notes). Chisinau, 2018 CEP USM. p.217-220

13 Site-ul oficial Parlamentul Republicii Moldova. Comunicat de presă. Consolidarea capacităților Parlamentului Republicii Moldova în procesul de armonizare a legislației naționale cu legislația UE - 13 ENPI OT 02 17 (MD/28).

14 Site-ul oficial Parlamentul Republicii Moldova. Comunicat de presă. Consolidarea capacităților Parlamentului Republicii Moldova în procesul de armonizare a legislației naționale cu legislația UE - 13 ENPI OT 02 17 (MD/28).
implementation of more than 65 different activities in the four components for different purposes: evaluations, round tables, guidelines, recommendations, as well as a consultation document, a study, a roadmap, training activities in different forms (seminars, workshops, mutual evaluations, training of trainers, etc.) and study visits in the EU Member States.\(^{15}\)

The target group is staffed by the Secretariat of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova. The Twinning project consists of the following four components:

*Component 1:* Optimization of internal structures and procedures for effective management of the increased volume of legislative activities following the implementation of the Association Agreement. The main objective of this component is to ensure the optimization of the Moldovan Parliament's structures and internal procedures for efficient management of the increased volume of legislative activities resulting from the implementation of the Association Agreement, as well as support for the improvement of the Parliament's Regulation, the functioning of its working bodies and parliamentary administration in this regard.

*Component 2:* Improving the level of understanding in the Parliament of the acquis communautaire through all relevant policy areas. As a result of the evaluation of knowledge and training needs, this component will focus on different types of training activities in the field of EU legislation, the connection between European, national and Community acquis, including methodologically, but also by addressing some separate policy areas relevant from the perspective of the acquis communautaire. The trainings will be organized for different levels: elementary and advanced.

*Component 3:* Reviewing the final versions of legislative initiatives in the context of regulatory approximation in the light of directives relevant to ensuring compliance with EU law. This component includes the consolidation of legislative skills of the Moldovan Parliament's staff needed to harmonize the legislation by carrying out practical activities. The component will focus on reviewing the final versions of legislative initiatives in the context of legislation approximation through the relevant directives to ensure compliance with EU law. The component also includes the mutual evaluation exercise.

*Component 4:* Consolidation of interinstitutional cooperation between the Parliament and the Government of the Republic of Moldova (in particular with the State Chancellery as a policy coordinator) to better coordinate the process of harmonizing national legislation with EU law. The purpose of this component is to improve the exchange of information between the

Parliament and the Government of the Republic of Moldova in the context of the law approximation process. Under this component, a roadmap will be drawn up, based on studies and workshops in the field of interinstitutional cooperation to carry out the legislative tasks for implementing the Association Agreement\textsuperscript{16}.

The Twinning project and the parliamentary friendship groups favored the cooperation between Parliament's working bodies and the EU institutions during the pre-accession period. It also facilitated the coordination between different parliamentary working bodies in carrying out the tasks of the association process and highlighted the role of Parliament's working bodies in informing the general public about the association process\textsuperscript{17}. At the same time, the roundtables held within the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova facilitated interactive discussions on the proposed amendments to the Regulation of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova as a first step in improving the parliamentary procedures in the process of harmonizing the national legislation with the EU legislation. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to be permanently guaranteed in the Republic of Moldova’s Parliament the existence of a parliamentary committee which is responsible for EU affairs, without necessarily requiring the creation of a new parliamentary commission for this purpose. The Twinning project addresses the role of national parliaments in the EU field from different perspectives, and one of them is inevitable parliamentary diplomacy and cooperation between national parliaments and EU institutions. This is why, the role of parliamentary diplomacy in shaping the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is very important. And the workshops carried out in this respect have demonstrated the need to share the best practices and lessons learned in the field of bilateral and multilateral parliamentary diplomacy as well as in the field of inter-parliamentary cooperation\textsuperscript{18}.

\textsuperscript{16} Klipii I. Consolidarea capacităților Parlamentului Republicii Moldova în procesul de armonizare a legislației naționale cu legislația UE. Proiectul Twinning MD 13 ENPI OT 02 17 (MD/28). http://www.parlament.md/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=LChsP8ZFlXk%3D&tabid=261&language=ro-RO (visited 20.01.2019)


Based on the research of the bilateral interparliamentary cooperation with the European states, as a way to achieve the foreign policy, the following conclusions were reached:

1. Through the achievement of the main directions of the foreign policy, the Republic of Moldova aims to participate in building a new Europe, integrating as an equal partner to the new structures, forming a system of relations with the entire international community, which will ensure the stability and perspective of the Republic of Moldova’s relations with other states.

2. The recognition de facto and de jure of the Republic of Moldova by the states of the world and the establishment of bilateral relations have been a decisive factor in the assertion of the Moldovan statehood.

3. The promotion of bilateral interparliamentary relations is an important element of foreign policy. During the meetings in the country and abroad, the parliamentarians have the opportunity to address the problems related to the bilateral relations of the republic with other countries, identifying the optimal ways to solve them, exchanging experience in the field of legislative activity. At these meetings, parliamentarians address not only issues related to bilateral relations and collaboration between states, but also negotiate forms and methods of cooperation between them in international bodies, often agreeing on concrete actions at the parliamentary level.

4. Over the years, Moldovan parliamentarians have performed bilateral visits to the Russian Federation, the Republic of Belarus and Ukraine, having the opportunity to get acquainted with the structure and activity of the legislative forums in these countries, making an effective exchange of views on performing the legislative process. At the same time, in order to deepen and intensify the bilateral relations, exchange of information and parliamentary experience, bilateral parliamentary visits were hold in Romania, Germany, France, Italy.

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