

**UNIVERSITATEA „LUCIAN BLAGA” DIN SIBIU**  
- Laboratorul pentru Analiza Conflictului Transnistrean -

# **ANUARUL**

## **LABORATORULUI PENTRU ANALIZA CONFLICTULUI TRANSNISTREAN**

**(YEARBOOK OF THE LABORATORY  
FOR THE TRANSNISTRIAN CONFLICT  
ANALYSIS)**

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## ARIA TEMATICĂ

Revista noastră publică articole de cercetare științifică destinată, în principal, următoarelor teme relevante pentru înțelegerea și prognozarea conflictului transnistrean:

- Originea și evoluția conflictului;
- Stadiul prezent și perspectivele de soluționare a conflictului;
- Interesele și acțiunile actorilor internaționali implicați;
- Platformele de negociere: arhitectura instituțională și rezultate;
- Dosarele negociate (sub aspect de securitate, politic, economic, al drepturilor omului, dar și dosare cu caracter tehnic);
- Descrierea și înțelegerea organizărilor sociale și instituționale pe malul stâng al Nistrului;
- Politicile Republicii Moldova în gestionarea conflictului.

Pe de altă parte, oferim instrumente de lucru necesare cercetării, publicând analize, interviuri, documente și recenzii care au fost găzduite/diseminate de către Laboratorul pentru Analiza Conflictului Transnistrean în cursul anului precedent.

## TOPICS

*Our journal publish scientific research articles mainly dedicated to the following topics relevant to the understanding and prognosis of the Transnistrian conflict:*

- *The origin and evolution of the conflict;*
- *Present status and perspectives for conflict resolution;*
- *The interests and actions of the international actors involved;*
- *Negotiating platforms: institutional architecture and results;*
- *The files negotiated (in terms of security, political, economic, human rights, as well as technical files);*
- *Description and understanding of social and institutional organizations on the left bank of the Dniester River;*
- *The Republic of Moldova's conflict management policies.*

*On the other hand, we will provide working tools for research, published analyzes, interviews, documents and book reviews that were hosted/disseminated by the Laboratory for the Transnistrian Conflict Analysis during the previous year.*

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# CERCETARE / RESEARCH

## ARTICOLE – PAPERS

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### THE PRINCIPLE "PACTA SUNT SERVANDA" IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION - REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA. THE IMPACT ON TRANSNISTRIAN CONFLICT

<b>Abstract:</b>	<p><i>In the literature, the relations between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation were examined from a triple perspective: political-military, economic and socio-cultural. To the aspect regarding the observance of the provisions stipulated in the Moldovan-Russian inter-state treaties was practically not paid attention.</i></p> <p><i>This article provides a political and legal analysis of the relations between Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova through the observance of the "pacta sunt servanda" principle, and provides an attempt to analyze the principle of observance of the obligations stipulated in the Moldovan-Russian interstate treaties.</i></p>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Treaty; interstate relations; "pacta sunt servanda"; international law principle; provision; Republic of Moldova; Transnistrian conflict</b>
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**RUSSIA AND TRANSNISTRIA  
IN A PATRON-CLIENT RELATIONSHIP**

<b>Abstract:</b>	<p><i>There are two analytical approaches which are usually used to describe the relationship between Russia and de facto states in the post-soviet space.</i></p> <p><i>The first one assumes that they are simply “puppets” of Russian foreign policy and their role could be neglected in general. Within a second approach it is argued that de facto states do have their own interests but these interests are allegedly based exclusively on smuggling activities, blackmailing the international community through creating insecurity.</i></p> <p><i>To deconstruct the relationship between Russia and Transnistria the patron-client relationship model seems to be more suitable and analytically neutral. This model refers to the fact that relations between a patron and a client are usually based on reciprocity, on exchange of benefits they could deliver to each other. The model clearly differs from a concept of dependency because the clients are seen as quite independent subjects.</i></p>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Republic of Moldova; Transnistria; Russian Federation; Transnistrian conflict; patron – client relationship</b>
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**THE EUROPEAN UNION AND TRANSNISTRIAN CONFLICT:  
OLD APPROACHES AND NEW CHALLENGES**

<b>Abstract:</b>	<p><i>In 2017, 12 years have passed since the official participation of the European Union in the negotiation process between Moldova and Transnistria. The decision on the inclusion of official representatives of the European Union was taken at a meeting of the mediators from Ukraine, the Russian Federation and the OSCE with representatives of the Republic of Moldova and Transnistria (Odessa, September 26-27, 2005)</i></p> <p><i>The EU's participation in the settlement of regional, ethnopolitical conflicts is an integral part of foreign policy, as well as the overall security policy of Brussels.</i></p> <p><i>Undoubtedly, the approaches of Brussels in the settlement of conflicts in each specific case are of an individual character. At the same time, one cannot help but notice the lack of a consolidated approach by the EU countries on such issues as the development of military capabilities for conducting EU operations, their own vision of the development of the situation by each country that is a member of the European Union. These and a number of other factors, in many respects do not allow Brussels to effectively influence the conflicts, using the whole arsenal of military-political methods.</i></p> <p><i>In this regard, the natural question arises, how successful were the measures taken by the EU in the settlement of the Moldovan-Transnistrian conflict? Is Brussels able to act as an effective mediator of the conflict, in which the interests of not only the conflict parties but also the global players are colliding?</i></p> <p><i>The answers to these questions will at least make intermediate conclusions about the effectiveness of Brussels' policy in the settlement of the Moldovan-Transnistrian conflict and the need for its modernization.</i></p>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>The moldovan-transnistrian conflict; negotiation process; regional security; peacekeeping operation; new security threats</b>
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**PERICOLUL FEDERALIZĂRII SAU „TRANSNISTRIZĂRII”  
REPUBLICII MOLDOVA**

<b>Title:</b>	THE DANGER OF THE FEDERALIZATION OR "TRANSNISTRIZATION" OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
<b>Abstract:</b>	<p><i>The main purpose of the present analysis is to explain the federalization of the Republic of Moldova (RM) in the concept of the Russian Federation and what consequences it would possibly have for the RM. Also, to examine whether the federalization project is still possible at the moment and what are the positions towards it both of the RM and of the Russian Federation.</i></p> <p><i>We have in mind that the current president could reactivate the federalization file if he obtains the parliamentary majority in the 2018 elections. We point out that the federalization that is required for the RM is not the same as federalization in other European states such as Germany, Austria or Switzerland. The credibility of adopting this model in the case of the RM is doubtful given the conditions in which it was conceived from the very beginning.</i></p> <p><i>Federalization can not be a solution either to solve conflicts or to combat separatist tendencies, because it is only a form of state organization and nothing more.</i></p>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Republic of Moldova; Transnistria; Transnistrian conflict; federalization</b>
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**TRANSNISTRIAN CONFLICT IN THE CONTEXT OF RUSSIA –  
WEST CONTRADICTIONS**

<b>Abstract:</b>	<i>The domestic vulnerabilities first maintain unresolved the Transnistrian conflict since 1992 until now. The lack of effective governance (the stolen \$ billion from National Bank) has made the Moldovan state not attractive for the population from Transnistrian area. However, external factors play also an important role. Lately, changes have taken place in regional and global security environment: amplification of the Russian factor, re-shaping of the role of EU after Brexit, changes in US approach to security issues after D. Trump's election. Experts in Transnistrian conflict analysis should take all these elements, together with the internal ones, into account.</i>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Transnistrian Conflict, Security Environment, Republic of Moldova, External Factors, Russian Federation, European Union, Romania.</b>
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**ЭКОНОМИКА ПРИДНЕСТРОВЬЯ – ПОТЕНЦИАЛ И ЦИФРЫ  
ЗА ЯНВАРЬ – СЕНТЯБРИ 2017 ГОДА**

<b>Title:</b>	<b>ECONOMY OF TRANSNISTRIA - POTENTIAL AND FIGURES DURING JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 2017</b>
<b>Abstract:</b>	<i>Accumulation of geopolitical conflicts in Europe has updated the public attention on Transnistria, and as a result of the widening of the political and economic influence of the EU (namely by the signing by the Republic of Moldova of the Association Agreement</i>

	<p><i>in 2014 and by Ukraine of a similar agreement 2017) Transnistria was placed in an economically difficult situation, regarding the international commodity exchange system and the migration of citizens.</i></p> <p><i>Under these circumstances should be understood the economic potential of Transnistria and its evolution between January and September 2017 . The evolution of the economy is an important part of the problem of solving the Transnistrian conflict and has become a topical issue after the two-month stopping delivery of electricity from Transnistria to R. Moldova, and after the establishment of Moldovan-Ukrainian border control on the Transnistrian segment.</i></p>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Republic of Moldova; Transnistria; the Transnistrian conflict; economic crisis; economic development</b>
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**EU-MD DCFTA AGREEMENT- IMPACT AND IMPLICATIONS ON  
TRANSNISTRIA'S RELATION WITH MOLDOVA AND  
MOLDOVA-EU RELATIONS**

<b>Abstract:</b>	<p><i>The purpose of the research is to show the benefits of the implementation of the DCFTA in Moldova and in Transnistria and the way it improves the relation between Transnistria, Moldova and the EU. This has been done by examining economic indicators and comparing them based on two periods of time, before and after the implementation of the DCFTA Agreement.</i></p> <p><i>Upon the examination of these, it becomes clear that the DCFTA enhances economic development on the territory of Moldova through the opportunities it offers and the application of necessary reforms in the economic sector.</i></p> <p><i>The research highlights the importance of economic development and economic benefits as a reconciliation tool for conflicts,</i></p>
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	<i>precisely the Transnistrian frozen conflict.</i>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area Agreement; Autonomous Trade Preferences regime; European Union; Transnistria; Moldova</b>
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## НЕКОТОРЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ В ПРИДНЕСТРОВЬЕ

<b>Title:</b>	<b>SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL POLICIES IN TRANSNISTRIA</b>
<b>Abstract:</b>	<i>One of the most urgent and vital issues of the state's domestic policy is social policy, which indicates the state in which people live, the security factor is high, the state itself is stable and whether it has a future.</i> <i>Social policy in Transnistria is understood as a system of measures aimed at implementing social programs, supporting income, living standards of the population, providing employment, supporting the social sphere, preventing social conflicts, and providing life support to the population as a whole.</i> <i>A social state is a state that seeks to create for every citizen decent living conditions, and ideally about the same life chances, opportunities for self-realization of the individual, ensuring social security. The activities of such a state are aimed at establishing social justice in the society.</i>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Social policy of Transnistria; Health; Social rights of citizens; Reform proposals; Education</b>
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**UNEXPECTED BREAKTHROUGH:  
"SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN MORE THAN A DECADE"  
IN THE TRANSNISTRIAN SETTLEMENT PROCESS**

<b>Abstract:</b>	<i>The author presents the results of the brand new round of negotiations around Transnistria, breakaway region of Moldova. The meeting in 5+2 format took place in Vienna, while the two sides signed a number of protocol agreements dealing with humanitarian issues, transport, and infrastructure. The decisions are supposed to improve the life of ordinary citizens, including the University diplomas apostille, fixed and mobile telecommunications, arable land cultivation, and Romanian-language high schools in Transnistria. One of the most important achievements was opening of a bridge over the Dniester (Nistru) river.</i>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Transnistria; 5+2 format; negotiation; protocol agreement</b>
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## OPȚIUNILE PARTIDELOR POLITICE DIN REPUBLICA MOLDOVA ÎN PROBLEMA TRANSNISTREANĂ – O ANALIZĂ COMPARATIVĂ REALIZATĂ DE EUGEN STRĂUȚIU, NICOLETA MUNTEANU ȘI MARIUS ȘPECHEA

<b>Title:</b>	THE OPTIONS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA ON THE TRANSNISTRIAN PROBLEM - A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS BY EUGEN STRĂUȚIU, NICOLETA MUNTEANU AND MARIUS ȘPECHEA
<b>Abstract:</b>	<p><i>The researchers Eugen Străuțiu, Nicoleta Munteanu and Marius Șpechea have proposed (and succeeded, over 160 pages) to provide us with a comparative analysis of the political parties' programs in the Republic of Moldova, with the purpose of putting into circulation solutions and models on parliamentary and extra-parliamentary alliances, following a comprehensive solution to the Transnistrian conflict.</i></p> <p><i>Following a combined application of criteria to determine the relevance of the parties to the Transnistrian issue, the authors consider the following parliamentary parties to be relevant for the Transnistrian issue: Partidul Democrat din Moldova; Partidul Socialiștilor din Republica Moldova; Partidul Popular European din Moldova; Partidul Liberal; Partidul Comuniștilor din Republica Moldova; Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova. Among the non-parliamentary parties, in order: Partidul Acțiune și Solidaritate; Partidul Nostru; Partidul Politic Platforma Demnitate și Adevăr.</i></p> <p><i>The programmatic positions of the two categories of parties are analyzed separately, comparatively (leading to the conclusions that appear in the tables that compares criteria and solutions), in the chapters "Official Programs of the Political Parties in the Transnistrian Issue - a Comparative Analysis", respectively "The Presence in Media of the Political Parties regarding the Transnistrian Issue - a Comparative Analysis".</i></p>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Republic of Moldova; political party; political program; Transnistria</b>
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## ФАЙЛЫ ПРИДНЕСТРОВСКОГО КОНФЛИКТА

<b>Title:</b>	<b>THE TRANSNISTRIAN CONFLICT FILES</b>
<b>Abstract:</b>	<i>Under the title "The Transnistrian Conflict Files", a scientific volume was edited and printed by the Techno Media Publishing House in Sibiu in 2017.</i> <i>This volume appears as the final product of the project developed by the Laboratory for the Transnistrian Conflict Analysis (research unit of the Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu), during the period 2016-2017, entitled "The Transnistrian Files - solutions for society development on both sides of the Dniester River", and funded by the Romanian Development Cooperation Program (RoAid). The project was implemented with the support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).</i>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>The Republic of Moldova; Transnistria; the Transnistrian Conflict; The negotiation platforms; The security file; The politic file; The economic file; The human rights file</b>
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