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FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IN THE CONTEXT OF MORAL DIMENSION

Veronica Rotaru – Cristina Morari*

ABSTRACT

In this article foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the context of moral dimension is analysed. It is observed that the well-known categories such as morality have received new attention and treatment due to changing priorities in social and cultural characteristics of the society. Nowadays, an increased influence of morality is felt in all spheres of human activity, especially in interstate relations. In present study an incontestable value of morality is mentioned, especially its impact on the process of solution of the current global problems (e.g. war, intervention, national interest clashes). To avoid these problems it is necessary to observe moral principles in the foreign policy conduct. The future of small state such as the Republic of Moldova is determined to a certain extent by maintenance of moral dimension that should comprehend ideas and moral values to support the statehood. Since regaining of own independence, the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova has been based on high moral principles as peaceful coexistence of states, sovereign equality of the states, fulfilment of international commitments etc., but unfortunately one can notice some negative tendencies of moral character in the Moldovan foreign policy since 2001.

Key words: foreign policy, national interest, morality, values, ethic dimension

Introduction

The issue of foreign policy in the context of moral dimension represents one of the most controversial problems in political theory and international practice. Correlation between these two variables is determined by certain historical conditions. This fact is confirmed also by researchers' views regarding this issue that varies between the Realists and Liberal discussions about the international politics nature, the role of morality in international relations and foreign policy.

Nowadays an increase of moral influence upon foreign policy is an urgent necessity, which could be explained by the dramatic existence of our civilisation

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and the requirement of survival of the mankind in our century. Despite the fact that a range of positive changes have taken place on international arena, there are also some alarming tendencies. The growing military aspect of conflicts, the appearance of different global problems that affect the whole mankind and diverse violations of human rights - all these complicate the implementation of the foreign policy promotion mechanisms through moral dimension and diminish the importance of the morality in international politics.

The tendency to “pragmatise” the morality, depreciation of traditional moral values and infringement of social and human norms in political communication confirm the statement of a range of researches that “the more the level of civilisation increases the more moral sphere divides from the political one” (Kapto, 2002, pp.204). The political pragmatism leads to dissolution of political conscience of a society. It also negatively influences upon individual conscience and citizens’ morality. That is way the mankind should look for other principles of coexistence and approve other methods of interstate conflicts settlement. One of the possibilities to draw out different crisis situations could be the achievement of a high level of morality.

The analysis of the Republic of Moldova’s foreign policy in the context of moral dimension is of current importance and incontestable in both scientific and political domains. The 20th Century has witnessed huge political, social and economic changes in all countries of the world, including the Republic of Moldova. At the present time an increasing importance is paid to the process of a new value system forming caused by a transition from a totalitarian to a democratic system. In these conditions, specifically moral priorities serve as the core of the most important elements of both internal and external political activity.

Today, with the dominance of globalisation trends and democratic order in the world, the Republic of Moldova tries to achieve its objectives of domestic and foreign policy through democratic development, through assimilation and implementation of a new system of values that regards directions of the entire society. Thus, there are radical transformations of democratic nature taking place in all spheres of social life, including the political one. The Republic of Moldova is one of those states that require a correct guidance in its foreign policy from moral point of view in order to avoid conflict situations or misunderstandings with other states. Its performance as international actor should correspond to moral principles already implemented at the international level.

1 Relationship foreign policy - morality in conditions of the Republic of Moldova

In 1991, after declaration of independence the Republic of Moldova launched some essential changes as state consolidation, reorganisation of economy, democratisation of society, all these being realised through morality. Moral dimension of the society substantially influences directions, character and content of political system's development. However, modifications through moral dimension take place very slowly. The new reality tries to replace old value criteria with modern ones, which to a great extent were borrowed from the West. That is why this process could be considered as self-assertion.

Today, under the pressure of global processes, the concept of open society appears. Declaring its independence, the Republic of Moldova, to some extent, became an open state for both economic and informational flows. Foreign policy strategy of the Moldovan state seen in the context of moral dimension comes out from the fact that all nations live according to the principle of independence and sovereignty. Such problems as cultural diversity, tolerance and attenuation of contradictions in all spheres have become a distinct priority for the Republic of Moldova.

Elaboration of the foreign policy concept in the context of moral dimension is a very complicated process conditioned by such factors as:

1. *The problem of international recognition and legal status of the Republic of Moldova.*

A decisive moment in affirming and strengthening of the Republic of Moldova's sovereignty and independence was the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on August 27, 1991, asking all states and governments of the world to recognise the independence of the Republic of Moldova and expressing the will to establish political, economic and cultural relations, as well as other domains of common interest, with European countries, with all states of the world, being ready to establish diplomatic relations with these states according to the rules of international law and existing practice in the world. Primary interests in foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova formulated after the declaration of independence reflected the major problems that our country was facing. Among the most important objectives it is obviously mentioned the international recognition of the Republic of Moldova as a subject of international law. Romania, a first country to recognise our country, opened the path of the Republic of Moldova to international community, vivifying in such way the

process of recognition and affirmation of the Republic of Moldova. (Popescu, 2007).

However, the process of international establishment of the Republic of Moldova independence was a long and toilsome one. This process started with the governmental decrees of Romania and Georgia, after what followed an uncertain period until December 1991 when the Russian Federation was ready to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Moldova, after the former Soviet republics (except the Baltic States) committed themselves to join the Community of Independent States (CIS). This act of the Russian Federation lead to the recognition of the Republic of Moldova by the Western powers, consequently followed by the accession to United Nations Organisation on March 2, 1992, to the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) - on January 30, 1992 and Council of Europe in 1995. In this way the first extremely important stage in the Republic of Moldova's affirmation on international arena was finished.

The Republic of Moldova was accepted in the UNO and obtained the membership in the OSCE and in other organisations. Moldova was recognised as a sovereign state by majority of states and established diplomatic relations with these states. Also, a range of embassies and missions of international organisations began their activity in the Republic of Moldova. This is a major process, because the establishment of diplomatic relations at the level of embassies facilitates the collaboration between our country and other states and international entities and leads to the strengthening of the authority and morality of the Republic of Moldova on the international arena. Until now, the Republic of Moldova was recognised by more than 150 states, and it maintains diplomatic relations with most of them. Thus, through the authorised bodies the Republic of Moldova exploited the existing opportunities in accordance with its national interest and standards of international law and morality.

As a result of its international recognition the Republic of Moldova established diplomatic relations with more than 100 states, founded 26 diplomatic missions abroad, obtained the membership of over than 120 international organisations, concluded over 1340 bilateral treaties and agreements and about 586 international treaties and conventions. (Arhiliuc, 2007) International recognition offered to the Republic of Moldova political opportunities which would contribute to the strengthening of Moldovan statehood, to the assurance of a democratic political system, of a developed economic system, of an observed moral and legal order. Therewith,

international recognition represents an important political act for establishment, maintenance and development of peaceful, correct and balanced relations in international interstate system, contributing in this way to affirmation of the Republic of Moldova on international arena and consolidation of its statehood in accordance with requirements of morality.

2. *Lack of experience.*

Formulation of the foreign policy priorities in the period of young state's forming is marked also by the lack of an experienced diplomatic corps. That is why it could be stated that these priorities bore the mark of a conceptual indecision of leadership vis-à-vis the prospects of the Republic of Moldova. Despite the fact that the Republic of Moldova desired for mutually beneficial relations, it failed to formulate a clear vision of inclusion of our country in a system of values that would overcome rapidly and efficiently the difficult transition period through creation of some beneficial external conditions for successful country transformation. At present the process of experience gathering of a diplomatic personnel and determination of its own place in international community is taking place. In this way the conception of foreign policy is being formulated that would correspond to the interests of our country.

Foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova during the period of independence is characterised by subordinating its national interest to external conjunctures without having political, economic and social advantages. The period of existence of the Republic of Moldova until now can be considered as a period of permanent obedience of its national interest to the geopolitical interest of Russia in the region. (Saca, 2010, p.140). It is especially Russia's interest to maintain its influence in this part of Europe, to keep its military contingent in the districts from the left bank of the Dniester River and to drawl its evacuation, to stimulate and support the secessionism and that regime harms the national interest of the Republic of Moldova.

In these conditions it is very hard to activate for Moldovan diplomacy. From moral point of view, in foreign policy, the Republic is guided by the principles of friendship and defence of the national interests'. Practically, foreign policy directions are contradictory and depend on relations of the government of the Republic of Moldova with other states.

3. *European identity.*

Historical conditions of the second half of the 1990s have determined new interests in both domestic and foreign policy. State national interest is in a toilsome process of formulating, looking for its own identity and being tormented by heavy consequences of conflict relations between different political orientations. National liberation movement leaders believed that is enough to get rid of communist chains to become an integral part of Europe, to become a democratic state and to receive financial aid from the West. The practice shattered all romantic illusions about this. In the process of national liberation the tendency of national identification has been highlighted. Through the mechanism of political socialisation the ideas of focusing on Romania were incorporated in mass consciousness, as it was sustained the idea of “entering Europe through Romania”. The practice demonstrates that the problem has a much more complicated character. An illustration of these processes is the appearance of national independence-oriented parties and diminishing of the unionist authorities orientations. Pro-European policy of the Republic of Moldova is dictated firstly by the high standards of living in European countries. The instruments for the achievement of purposed final aim are implementing reforms, intensive collaboration with European structures, transformation of the legislative framework, and attracting the financial funds.

European integration for Moldova is a complicate problem from moral point of view. For instance, according to the data of Public Opinion Barometer, sociological survey of November 2011, at the question which country should be the main strategic partner of the Republic of Moldova, only 23% of the citizens consider that it should be European Union and 60,5% are for the Russian Federation. (Public Opinion Barometer, 2011).

The association of Moldavians with Europe, especially with European Union is quite difficult. From the moral point of view this position has a clear historical explication: the Republic of Moldova was under the Soviet Union influence. Consequently, many generations grew up being educated respectively. Vastly, pro-European positions are shared by young generations that were educated in Moldova as independent state by intellectuals with high education, especially the humanities. Also, pro-European positions are held by the part of the population that has left and worked or is working in European countries. Hence, one of the most relevant and important problems of the Republic of Moldova is the integration with the European Union. This priority results from the fact that the European Union will determine the directions of economic progress and

political stability in Europe. The Republic of Moldova is a European state which is strongly linked to European civilisation and gradual integration in European space. The Republic of Moldova applies major efforts in order to form a common political and economic space and to advance jointly on the path of European integration.

However, the prospects of immediate accession for our country are not taken into consideration, unless truly democratic conditions would be created and considerable economical reforms implemented within the state. On the other hand, for its part the European Union should support Moldova in its efforts to involve in European programs, initiatives and strategies. (Cebotari, Saca, 2007). However, it should be emphasized that collaboration between the Republic of Moldova and European Union is hampered by several factors: low level of state economic development, political instability, a conflict in the country.

4. *Ways and prospects of social development of the independent Moldova.*

Foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova on the international level began to manifest with its detachment from Soviet Empire. Studying the process of the foreign policy evolution, autochthon researcher **S. Cebotari** mentions that even in the early 1990s, with the formation of parties and socio-political organisations, in the Republic of Moldova unlike in other states that gained their independence, these can be divided into three main groups, each of them having its own orientation and political goals: union with Romania; preservation of Soviet Union and adherence to the CIS; the independence of Moldovan state and strengthening of the statehood. (Cebotari, 2002, p. 17)

Partisans of the independent Moldova argue for an effective foreign policy that would strengthen the statehood both internally and externally. It should be mentioned that in present is developed a transition process from national romanticism to political realism, based on economic efficiency. In this case foreign policy through morality relies on reciprocal cooperation with all states, on awareness and perception of national interests. Partisans of immediate union with Romania deny the state legitimacy and vitality. Denial of Moldovan statehood is characteristic for partisans of the Russian Federation orientation as well. These ideas are promoted in unconstitutional entities from the East and South of the Republic. In this case, the foreign policy conception of the Republic of Moldova is assigned to a foreign state. Each of these forces gave their arguments, which are more moral than historical.

2 Priorities of foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the context of moral dimension

The document "Foreign Policy Conception", adopted on February 8, 1995 by the Parliament and elaborated according to the European standards approached the direction of foreign policy from the perspective of the place of the Republic of Moldova within international community (Foreign Policy Conception of the Republic of Moldova, 1995). In present, Foreign Policy Conception of the Republic of Moldova through moral dimension is crystallised determining the following aims, priorities and fundamental directions:

- Collaboration with states that are in the area of geopolitical interests of the Republic of Moldova and assure the balance and affirmation of interests in nearby area.

- Collaboration with states in which national minorities of the Republic of Moldova have kinship, national, historical and cultural ties; establishment of collaboration with states where the language has the same origins, i.e. francophone countries.

- Collaboration with western developed countries, with the OSCE state members on the base of reciprocal beneficial principle, restoring and enlargement of economic cooperation with countries of East and Central Europe, inclusion in economic and cultural structures of the CIS on the base of common economic interests, mentality, cultural policy, historical destiny and the same problems.

- Nonparticipation in different military blocks, collaboration with international organisations. Great powers serve as guarantee of international security. So, foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova should be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence with all states of the world regardless of their nature, on the non-intervention in domestic affairs of other states, on the neutrality, on the supremacy of the general human principles and, of course, on the creation of a common society of a civilised mankind.

- Contribution to the socio-economic reforms promotion needed for transition to the market economy, inclusion in international relations, edification of population welfare.

- Edification of constitutional state in which will be guaranteed and brought to international standards the rights and fundamental freedoms of people and persons that belong to national minorities.

So, the accomplishment of state foreign policy is made on the base of

following principles that answer the requirements of morality:

- Non-use of force or threat of force; regulation of international disputes through peaceful means; non-intervention in domestic affairs of other states; international cooperation; equality in rights of nations and their right to decide their own fate; sovereign equality of states; fulfilment in good faith of commitments; inviolability of borders; observation of human rights and fundamental freedoms; territorial integrity of states.

The Republic of Moldova supports the conclusion and observation of treaties in the domain of nuclear weapons non-proliferation, arms control, supports the efforts of disarmament and détente of tension. In relations with other states the Republic of Moldova does not accept hegemonic policy of dictate, political and economic constraint, division of spheres of influence, taking into consideration inalienable rights of every people, sovereign equality of states and free option of development. In diplomacy a wide array of means from the international practice is used, observing in such way the partners rights and interests, i.e. foreign policy promotion according to principles of morality: peace, humanity, justice, equality, and non-violence.

We should mention, however, that in vision of many political analysts from Chisinau foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova is an incoherent and unpredictable one and its credibility is often questioned by main external partners as Moldova's neighbours Ukraine and Romania, as well as by the USA, the EU and even the Russian Federation. But this reality does not have its beginning with Communist party coming to power. Lack of coherence, predictability and credibility was characteristic for foreign policy of Chisinau, of course, to a various degrees, in the time of democratic government, in period of 1991-2001, as well. However, it should be recognised that namely beginning with 2001 year and till today these negative tendencies of state foreign policy have become more pronounced.

Lack of capacity to promote a domestic rational and consequent policy focused strictly on democratic components has led to inconsistency in foreign policy. Thus, we had a relatively passive, delayed and dragged out foreign policy. If even there had appeared an active element in external activity (for instance reorientation of leadership towards European structures, towards European integration) it was not stable and did not offer Western partners' confidence in Moldova. During the Communist government this element had in a great measure an extreme character, a negative connotation of "slyness" towards neighbours, of unfounded imputations (especially towards Romania), of

rapprochement with East to the disadvantage of West or vice versa. National interest of the state has suffered because of that. The interest is deprived of creativity in development, of transformation and promotion, of bearers who will orientate themselves adequately in time and in the complexity of current international relations.

National interest approach in relation to foreign policy is not sufficient neither in the Constitution of country, or in legislative acts related to foreign activity. In these documents the foreign policy priorities are outlined in the way that is to assure the edification of the independent and unitary state in accordance with national interests of the country, but without being defined as these interests. The main problem regards the conceptualisation of foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, better to say, the lack of any conceptualisation. As it was mentioned above, in our country, conceptual document by which the foreign policy is guided is the Foreign Policy Conception of the Republic of Moldova, approved by the Parliament yet in 1995. We believe that this Conception is outdated considering current domestic, regional and international realities; despite the above-mentioned it is still in force. The necessity of elaboration of a new Foreign Policy Conception that would correspond to the Republic of Moldova's European integration aspirations is acknowledged by both ruling politicians as well as those of the opposition; however, there is still no progress in the matter.

In 2002 a new project of Foreign Policy Conception¹ was elaborated, but

¹ The draft of the Foreign Policy Conception of 2002 is a more complex document compared to the Conception of 1995. In the draft document, as in the previous document, one can find such fundamental priorities of the Republic of Moldova as the consolidation of the Republic of Moldova's independence and sovereignty; assuring territorial integrity; supporting social and economic reforms; improvement of population's welfare; building of the state of law; etc. The main difference between these two documents is the foreign policy means: in the Conception of 1995 the foreign policy goals were to be achieved by means of integration into the CIS, while in the document of 2002 – they are to be achieved by the means of integration of the Republic of Moldova to the European Union. Thus, one can state that the European integration goal is a central idea of the Republic of Moldova's foreign policy. It is worth mentioning that a new chapter entitled "Economic diplomacy" was included in the draft of 2002. At the same time multilateral relations within the CIS as well relations with the Russian Federation were revised. Relations of the Republic of Moldova with the neighbouring countries were analysed in terms of common goals and interests as well problems which need the joint approach and solution. The draft document is a strategic document indicating the main directions of the foreign policy and the adequate mechanism for its fulfilment. But events of the world politics are changing so rapidly that Moldovan authorities often fail to react in an adequate way to the new conditions and development.

diplomats' efforts to have a new document were not supported by the ruling elites at that time. Elaboration of a new Conception is vital, because it would be intended for formulating long-term strategic national interests and objectives, obtaining the consensus of the majority of political parties. In the absence of this consensus the credibility of foreign policy risks to be questioned both within and outside the country. In this context, it should be mentioned that in 2006, in accordance with presidential decree No. 374-IV of December 22, 2005 and No. 414-IV of January 16, 2006, the country's leadership decided to elaborate a new version of Conception that was going to define the main directions and objectives of foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova. (Boțan, 2006)

In general, basic priorities of the Republic of Moldova do not differ substantially from those of 1995; the main difference, however, is that those priorities were going to be realised by promotion of an integration within the broader realm of the CIS foreign policy. Foreign Policy Conception from 1995 laid out primary directions reflecting the circumstances and necessities of the period, but nowadays the absence of a clear defined Conception of foreign policy harms the country's image, which in turn directly affects the perception of the Republic of Moldova as stable actor and reliable partner on the international arena.

Following global transformations of cultural, spiritual, social and moral values it an erosion of public confidence in power may be observed; more than a half of population of the Republic of Moldova shows little interest in policy, especially when it comes to foreign policy priorities, and the rest of population is not interested at all. In the process of global transformations the moral and value foundations suffer most of all, in particular the labour status. Moral principles of the Liberalism confirm the new attitude towards the work – not only as life standard, but also as a guarantee of personal independence and dignity. Liberalisation of social life equates correlations between morality and politics in terms of their harmonisation in the conditions of a democratic society and their connection on positive principles. (Political power and social cohesion in the Republic of Moldova..., 2010, p.165).

However, the implementation of such "survival" social policy at official level has questioned the place and role of labour in the material and spiritual sustenance of a human individual. This process has enhanced the illegal migration of population that gravely hit labour value base, urging people in the absence of a decent remuneration to commit illicit actions to ensure their material sustenance. In these conditions the primary purpose of the state

should be the necessary value contest returning to all social life domains. In the recent years, however, only little effort has been made in the Republic of Moldova towards spiritual and moral rebirth of the state, and towards the preservation of the country's human capital. It is about the dramatic decrease of "cultural potential" linked to emigration of persons with intellectual potential such as diplomats, professors, engineers etc. from the country.

Workforce migration generates not only grave moral and social problems, but also has a negative impact upon relations between Moldova and host countries. Migration leads to multiple problems concerning human rights violations of our citizens abroad, illegal entrance of foreigners, illegal transition on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, human trafficking and aggravation of crime and violence. Migration processes influence the social, economic and demographic situation of the Republic of Moldova, as well as state's stability and security. (Munteanu, 2002)

All these factors seriously affect the image and foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the context of moral dimension. Reasons for this are following:

- Existence of disintegration processes in society that create barriers in the foreign policy line;
- As a young independent state, the Republic of Moldova lacks substantial behaviour experience in foreign policy.

In every state the way of living consists of a system of principles and rules aiming at the preservation of people's health; at the prevention of criminality and at prolonging the life expectancy of the population. Highly developed countries have formed a way of living that was imposed to the developing countries and expected them to accept it. This does not mean we should not have our living standard that might remove the life disadvantages in social, economic and political spheres. Today in the Republic of Moldova the problem of work quality, the lack of effective labour and deterioration of labour qualification system are all quite obvious. For most citizens work has a high moral value, but on the other hand it means punishment and humiliation.

At the same time, we find that in order to anticipate the risks imposed by the massive workforce emigration the Republic of Moldova is looking for solutions to prevent crises in the prospect of the return of migrants. In this respect reforms are carried out; exchange of experience is being made, and bilateral labour agreements are concluded between the Republic of Moldova and other states. In 1990s bilateral agreements on the principle of territoriality were concluded with several states from ex-soviet space – the Russian Federation, Belarus,

Ukraine, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan. (Vladicescu, Cantarji, 2011, pp.19). The non-use of territoriality principle has conditioned the Republic of Moldova in the process of the revision of these agreements, directed towards the shift to the contributing principle.

In line with the above-mentioned, the Government approved the intergovernmental Agreement on Social Security Domain (Government decision No. 1170 of 29 October 2007), elaborated on the base of European Convention of Social Security in accordance with general rules established within European Parliament Regulation No. 883 of April 29, 2004, regarding coordination of social security systems. Government decision No. 1170 of October 29, 2007 summarizes 25 states with which it was intended to initiate negotiations on the draft of intergovernmental Agreements on Social Security Domain, among which were included the main destinations of migrants in the European Union - Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Czech Republic.

In the period of 2008-2010 bilateral agreements with the following states were concluded: Bulgaria, signed on December 5, 2008 in Sofia, in effect since September 1, 2009; Portugal, signed on February 11, 2009 in Lisbon, in effect since December 1, 2010; Romania, signed on April 27, 2010 in Bucharest, ratified by the Republic of Moldova Law no. 235-XVIII and in effect since September 24, 2010; Luxemburg, signed on June 14, 2010. In 2011, this kind of bilateral agreement was signed with Portugal (October 26, 2011); Czech Republic (November 29, 2011); Austria (September 5, 2011) and Republic of Estonia (October 19, 2011). In order to regulate the migration flows of workforce a number of states have, however, expressed their disposition to initiate negotiations with the Republic of Moldova in this domain. (Grecu, 2011, p.8)

National identity problem remains the most relevant one. Relations of the Republic of Moldova with European countries made Moldovan citizens to be aware that they are part of Europe. So, according to **S. Busuioc**, the national identity problem is seen in the relation to the European consciousness. Relationship between national identity and European consciousness can be analysed by the way how solidarities are forming and acting. These always offer a base for establishment of a national identity and a more enlarged identity, as the European one. In the Moldovan case, one of the keys that open the access to understanding of contradictions in the contemporary society is the legacy of Communism (an imposed regime that repressed political life and transformed political art into an enrichment) and transition that has taken place very rapidly towards a system of solidarity based on political value. (Busuioc,

2001) From moral point of view it is a dangerous beginning to try to find connections between the national identity and other state or regional identities. In this respect it may be said that the Republic of Moldova has a lot to perform in terms of national identity and from ethical and moral point of view the chaos of values within the Moldovan society will only complicate this process of the identification of national identity.

However, the Republic of Moldova alongside the majority of countries in the world copes with a range of phenomena and contradicting tendencies generated by diverse and rapid forms that transformation has brought about in all domains of individual and social existence. Some of these tendencies are intensification of commercial, investment and technological exchanges between different regions, facilitation of interpersonal contacts and familiarisation with culture of other nations. Alongside this development, countries such as the Republic of Moldova face a number of dangers of regional or even global character: environmental and technological disasters, transnational crime, international terrorism, etc. Moreover, uncontrolled expansion of some ethical and moral models of questionable quality damage national and cultural traditions of nations, threatening their originality and leading to institutional crisis of the entire value system of the state.

Harsh reality we live, however, has already confirmed that in foreign policy states are rarely guided by morality, especially those with necessary means, which are reflected in economic development level, contributing in this way to the increase of inequalities at both internal and external levels. The old conflict between rich North and poor South is now being replaced by a new labour division. As for the Republic of Moldova, economic situation indicates a very low level of national competitiveness, this being influenced by a number of tendencies in social, economic and political evolution of the country. All this initiates a period of permanent confusion and general disorientation within society, especially in those societies in transition to which these new value dimensions are imposed, such as the Republic of Moldova currently is. Since people from Moldova have lived in a society with a certain type of behaviour and stereotypes, aspiring for other values, this process is strange for them and it is difficult to conform to it. Such kind of fundamental transformation supposes changes beginning with language, rules of addressing, behaviour, thinking, and verbal and non-verbal action patterns.

The population was educated on the base of collective lifestyle, especially in former Soviet space; on the base of social security, and now should accept such

individual values as moral autonomy sometimes overestimated to the point of individualism and egoism, and competition that has degraded to mutual ignorance and other things. Accustomed to homogeneity, uniformity and egalitarianism, a human educated within a totalitarian society hardly gets accustomed to the democratic values.

From the perspective of a democratic society within which dominates a set of values distinctive from other regimes it is necessary to study the democratic behaviour code which cannot easily be learned. It is not surprising that the number of fundamentalist and integrative currents is increasing as response to this equalisation which denies an abstract conception on up-to-dateness, and asks for a return to origins and traditions. From human development perspective finding of excusatory answers to these questions in moral aspect and viable in political one, represents the main challenge that current democratic government faces. The Republic of Moldova has in recent years realised some very important things both for the present and especially for the future. Country emerged from a decade of economic decline and established the basis of economic growth and improvement of living conditions. Moldova is aiming at achieving such objectives as Sustainable and Social Development directed to European integration, which denotes cooperative character of state behaviour in accomplishment of these long- term objectives.

Hence, state foreign policy should contribute to democratic development of the country, civil society, human rights and fundamental freedoms, peaceful coexistence between nations and, first of all, resolution of domestic problems. Also, foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova should contribute to the assurance of country unification processes, sovereignty protection and territorial integrity.

In the context of moral dimension there are several fundamental priorities of the foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova to be discerned which, however, do not contradict country's national interests. These can be identified as follows:

- Conservation and protection of population and territory, state reintegration;
- Economic, cultural and scientific multilateral development that contribute to social progress;
- Rational use of country's human potential and both natural and human resources;

- Building of an effective political system of administration, capable to collaborate with society in resolution of development problems;
- Establishment and maintenance of friendly relations with the whole world that would contribute to resolution of domestic development problems;
- Foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova should be active, should have a multilateral character, and should be directed to achieve development of partnership and mutual beneficial connections with all states of the world.

However, in this process of continuous change it is obvious that political priorities of state are changing and fluctuating between such individual values of state as independence, sovereignty and, on the other hand integration or adherence to international organisations. For the Republic of Moldova integration in such structures means building of institutionalisation mechanisms of future projects that aims to assure harmonic development of the state, impossible to achieve without observation of certain global values. Values as democracy, freedom, equality, human rights, a viable economy functioning within the state, political system transparency and national security are the elements that in great measure favour the adherence of the country to such organisations in order to ensure the state participation at the process of global governance.

Therefore, we can assert that moral factor in the context of foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova becomes necessary in:

- Overcoming transition period in which the Republic of Moldova still is;
- Mentality and national consciousness re-stylisation;
- Consolidation of democracy;
- Accomplishment of state interests;
- Active presence of the state within integrative processes inclusive within globalisation;
- Fighting global problems (terrorism, nuclear disasters, ecological problems etc.);
- A civil society formation;
- National identity consolidation;
- Resolution of disputes and misunderstandings in respect of the situation of ethnic minorities;

- Formation of a “political man” educated from moral point of view;
- Consolidation of a state with perspectives of an internationally ambitious but responsible actor.

For successful achievement of the foreign policy priorities of the Republic of Moldova in the context of moral dimension the following suggestions may be formulated:

- Connecting of the Republic of Moldova’s foreign policy principles to international moral norms;
- Gaining experience by the Moldovan political elites on the base of international policies and actions at global level;
- Spiritual and moral rebuilding, national consciousness reconstruction and affirmation of European vocation of people from the Republic of Moldova;
- Reforming political and economic situation in accordance with philosophical compendiums that dictate the contemporaneous moral imperative;
- Creating favourable conditions for viability of a democratic society that would contribute to ensure of a higher level of morality taking into account the context and realities of the Republic of Moldova;
- Affirming historical and cultural traditions and moral values of a state in the international context;
- Observing the values of freedom and tolerance, guaranteeing human rights, manifestation of an open character for dialogue and cooperation, gaining credibility on the international arena as confident partner and security provider as defined by national interests and in accordance with moral requirements.

3 The impact of morality upon the process of conduct of the foreign policy of Republic of Moldova

At present, the Republic of Moldova like other democratic states formerly belonging to the Soviet sphere is characterised by deep political transformations in politics, economy and value system. If the period of political culture building in a stable political system is linked to moderate conservatism of value development and historical right of their existence then in transition period characteristic for the Moldovan society the change of values inclusive moral one has its specific features. Transition from a totalitarian to a democratic regime,

from a socio-political situation of a dead end towards progressive way of development based on the national idea and national interest, and based on the historical experience of world developed countries at the same time adapted in a creative way to the specifics of our country, represents a key challenge for our society.

In our opinion, foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova nowadays supposes the building of the new and the destruction of old structures and institutions, changing of old mentality in relationship with other states and, thus, institutionalisation of new rules based on democratic principles and values. Starting from this point of view, we state that an important step for our society was the establishment of a new type of political authority different from the previous experience, the initiation of democratisation processes. Next follows the necessity of consolidation of the processes of economical reforms, of social integration and democratic development in the presence of latent internal and external conflicts. Reorganisation of the state and government were the rest of challenges for governance of the new democratic state. (RNDU. RM, 2003, p.34)

This process of value transformation in our society in transition, described by some researches as “revolution of value orientations” was characterised by democratic values allowance and rejection of those totalitarian ones. Theoretically, moral values changed, but in reality, morality remains the same, ideological. According to the **G. Rogovaia**, the society in transition phase, a period with specific living conditions is also a bearer of a distinctive morality, which is characterised by incertitude. It is so because within it the values of past, from which the society emerges, values of present, with which society lives, and values of future, to which society aspires, have “the circularly power.” (Rogovaia, 2008, pp.77)

Talking about the impact of morality upon the process of the implementation of the foreign policy the importance of moral norms which determine the international actors' actions in the international process should be stressed. Such factors as political tradition, specific for every state, and geopolitical conditions contribute to the moral norms' appearance and building. The 20th Century brought about the destruction of moral values which, in turn, contributed to the moral anarchy in international issues, because moral values depreciation means the lack of control in egoist interests' realisation. The imperative that forms an essential condition of stability of foreign policy system has disappeared from moral sphere. Moral norms have lost their importance

and as result the power remained as single factor of conflict regulation. Moral obligations and egoist necessities have become imperceptible.

We consider that relations between states may be built only on the principles of responsibility towards mankind. On international arena the appearance of new leaders, especially of those moral, is necessary. They should be able to approach mankind to the ideals of peace and welfare. In this context, it may be underlined that according to national surveys of Public Opinion Barometer of November 2012, among the most trustworthy politicians are **Vladimir Putin**, the President of the Russian Federation (74,6%), followed by **Angela Merkel**, the Chancellor of Germany (52,0%), **Barack Obama**, the U.S. President (48,9%) and **Traian Băsescu**, the President of Romania (37,8%). (Public Opinion Barometer, 2012)

In our opinion, the popularity of the Russian Federation political leader within the Republic of Moldova population is owed first of all to the excess of informational resources from the Russian Federation, that are characterised by an attempt to promote a positive image of their political leaders. Secondly, in our country the tendencies to idealise Russia persist among the population, substantial part of which nurtures a strong nostalgic sentiment towards Soviet past. Accordingly, 48,6% of the population regrets the dissolution of the Soviet Union believing that at that time it was easier to live (25,3%), they has certainty of having a job (17,0%), there was free movement within countries of the Soviet Union (6,0%) and there was stability (5,4%). Studying the impact of the dissolution of the Soviet Union upon the development of the Republic of Moldova it is underlined that 28,8% of respondents proclaim it as a negative one, and 40,3% would like the reconstruction of social system and of the Soviet Union. (Public Opinion Barometer, 2009)

Researcher **N. Vizitei**, studying the social consciousness in the today Republic of Moldova has accentuated the following “ideological blocks regarding world conception” that influence the implementation of the foreign policy: Soviet and socialist complex; totality of principles corresponding to Liberal idea; value system characteristic to orthodox religious traditions; socio-cultural orientations and principles linked to the idea of development of the ethno-cultural specific. (Визитей, 1998, p.226)

These “blocks” being linked by the world conception and generated by the living conditions specific to transition period also produce certain political and moral values shared by the society. Morality gains a distinctive significance in the transition period when society is “moving to a purpose of a big common

importance.” For the Republic of Moldova such purpose is the obtaining of results by implementing substantial and important changes, which take place at the present time, and especially systematisation and explication of problems that block the modernisation of the Republic of Moldova and its active integration in globalisation processes. However, even if the morality of the contemporary society is perceived negatively or in general, as absent, we should recognise that our society did not fall into a state anarchy or into a mass demoralisation. Moral values of society are changing and not disappearing.

The Republic of Moldova encountered the necessity to elaborate new prerogatives in its foreign policy and to determine its place and role in international processes. Accomplishment of this task would be impossible without re-evaluation and renewal of traditional values of the society. Values of society are formed on the base of political traditions and directly depend on political system features of society. Therewith, we mention that in conditions of radical changes which our society is currently going through, morality has gained a new meaning. The only possibility how to assure the balance in the society, peaceful coexistence and good understanding with external partners, and the observance of international law principles and norms, could be achieved by including moral values in both domestic and foreign policy of state. As a matter of fact, in the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova supreme values of our state are proclaimed (Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, 2011, pp.4), such as: constitutional state, civic peace, democracy, human dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms, free development of human personality, justice and political pluralism. These aspirations, very important by themselves, can be achieved only in accordance with political possibilities.

At the base of foreign policy of states in transition, inclusive the Republic of Moldova, at first place there is the principle of recognition of values and game rules of states and international organisations. First of all, states in transition, becoming new actors of international relations subscribe to observance of principles and norms of international morality. In this context, the most important aspects are situation and the time of the state in transition, connected to the actors' access to political, economic and technical means for moral purposes realisation and moral values achievement. Inclusion of the Republic of Moldova in international structures at global and regional level is a fundamental element of the consolidation process of good governance. Our state was recognised by the states of the world, it is the member of the UNO and its specialised

agencies, of the Council of Europe, the OSCE, North Atlantic Council of Cooperation, participates actively at the process of regional and sub-regional cooperation. Believing that the international organisations' help is welcomed, citizens of the Republic of Moldova have a relatively good opinion about this.

Thus, the Republic of Moldova became the member of the UNO on March 2, 1992, joining in this way a favourable international framework for strengthening its sovereignty and its territorial integrity, its affirmation and consolidation of statehood. Also, the Republic of Moldova is member of a number of the UNO specialised agencies, among which International Monetary Fund (IMF); International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); World Health Organisation (WHO); International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), etc.

The Republic of Moldova became member of the Council of Europe in July 1995, as well as it became member of other regional and sub-regional organisations. A distinctive importance has the membership of the Republic of Moldova in the CIS since 1994. The Republic of Moldova participates in the Partnership for Peace since May 16, 1994, where it is developing actions and activities within domains of cooperation. Since 2006 it adopted a governmental decision regarding the approval of Individual Partnership Action (IPAP) between the Republic of Moldova and the NATO. Also, the European Union represents a major interest of the Republic of Moldova, and measures and actions are taken regarding the accession to the European Union.

However, besides these dynamic evolutions at external level, persistence of many internal problems that the Republic of Moldova confronts, such as the existence of a secessionist region, political instability that impedes rapid promotion of reforms, economic underdevelopment, low living standards and conditions, make it necessary to implement more active foreign policy in order to ensure the domestic development.

Political dimension of researched issue is confronted with the dilemma - what should be at the base of the problem resolution: moral principles-neutrality, conventions observing, ensuring the peace, human rights observance or, rather the national interests? Indeed, the purposes of international actor in the period of transition should depend on moral position because questions such as who determines the status of moral values, i.e. which of them are the good and bad ones, remain unanswered. Moreover, foreign policy of states in transition should not follow the Machiavellian principle that the end justifies the means. Wrong means may destroy and devalue the aim itself. Thus, it should be taken into

consideration that international actors never can be sure that methods they have chosen can give the necessary results, because they, first of all, should conduct themselves by morality of neutrality in foreign policy that represents valorisation of moral principles of other parts, of other nations. In other words, foreign policy needs from states the refusal of marginalism, of choice of political methods that correlate moral principles that are welcomed for all parties.

Also, the results of national surveys of Public Opinion Barometer, of November 2012, show that 54,3% of citizens of the Republic of Moldova believe that the best solution to ensure our country's security could be the neutrality, a fact stipulated in the article 11 of the Constitution. In our opinion the population preference to ensure the security through neutrality is predictable and welcomed. We think that within geopolitical games of big powers from the region neutrality offers to our state the possibility to "reconcile" with all. Therewith, according to the above survey, it may be observed that population of our country is divided into two parts – some are supporters of Russian politics and others are supporters of Western politics. At the same time we can see that some of them do not accept the rapprochement with either Russia or the West. The majority, however, prefer the friendship with both, Russia and West. That is why the population is for neutrality. The majority of citizens from the Republic of Moldova, opting for West or Russia come out from economic and social considerations – which it will be better to live with. In this case, we believe that guaranteed security is ensured through neutrality that should be seen not as a military security but more as economic and social security.

The Republic of Moldova, as international actor in its declaration was based on moral values in its foreign policy: nonviolence, neutrality, peaceful principles in conflict resolution. In this context, it may be mentioned that good reasons protect us from a bad international policy, but they do not guarantee the morality and success of the initiated policy. If we indeed want to understand the essence of foreign policy, then we should be interested not in the reasons of political governor, but in his capacity to comprehend the background of foreign policy and the ability to implement it in successful political actions. If ethics takes into consideration moral reasons of a human, then in political theory intellect, will and practical actions of human should be taken into account.

Hereinafter, it should be mentioned that post-Communist transition is full of examples of corruption and behaviour without morality. Activity of central public institutions continue to be disturbed by the phenomena of corruption that contribute to the attenuation of democratic mechanism of decision-making

process in the Republic of Moldova and the fight against corruption has a limited character and it is intended to counterbalance the consequences and not the reasons of perpetuation of this phenomena.

According to the Corruption Perception Index of 2011, the Republic of Moldova is on the 112th place among 183 countries included in the list. For comparison, in 2010 our country was on the 108th place of 178 countries. (Transparency International, 2011) During the 2011 the Republic of Moldova has registered some positive changes regarding legal framework of anticorruption. Certain amendments to the Law regarding conflict of interests and Law regarding the Code of Public Servant Behaviour were adopted; the National Anticorruption Strategy for the period of 2011-2015 was adopted; the draft of Strategy of judiciary system reform was elaborated and passed to the Parliament. This dynamic of the Corruption Perception Index demonstrates that the government failed to meet the high expectations of population after a number of events that took place in our country. This is explained by imperfect legislation, political instability and judicial system incapacity, creating not a very good image of the Republic of Moldova.

However, the state representatives should initiate an investigation of authorised bodies in order to reveal the truth. Only in this way the image of power and state integrity would be preserved. For instance, the embassy of the USA in the Republic of Moldova has received several unofficial information like in the Republic of Moldova "hostile assumptions" of profitable business are taking place, informs the electronic publication „The Washington Times”. U.S. State Department announced that business owners are approached by political persons in order to obtain quotas in business. In case of refusal they are threatened that their business would be closed. (The U.S. Embassy in the Republic of Moldova, 2010). In this context, the government should permanently be in fight against corruption, inclusive at the highest level.

Accession to the European Union could be seen as an optimistic action that would allow societies in transition, such as society of the Republic of Moldova, to reduce in time the malignant behaviour void of morality. This is explained by the fact that within societies in transition the prospect of joining to the European Union functioned and functions as a catalyst and strong support for attenuation of consequences of social changes. Majority of citizens are disappointed from the results of reforms, while corruption on a large scale and behaviour void of morality irritates the majority of population. Neither population is impressed by the quality of developed initiatives for situation improvement. So, 86,4% of

respondents of Public Opinion Barometer of 2012 declared that they are not satisfied with the level of anti-corruption measures which are being implemented.

We think that with realisation of the European Union first enlargement the benefits will be reflected upon many citizens but it is expected that disappointment would, also, become more intensive. Such developments impose a sincere discussion about the connection between values, morality and dynamic of capitalist society, as well as about what is necessary for this society to become more attractive for the majority of population and last but not least, to review the diverse aspects on international level in both rich and poor countries. An answer in a pessimist note would make a reference to a "way of dependence" and would notice persistence and frequency of corruption, precarious institutions and non-functional markets in the most countries of the world. In the South East Europe the weak state syndrome and fragility of institutions as well as criminalisation of economic life on a large scale could be seen as reasons for deep concern.

Hence, when analysing the impact of morality upon the process of the implementation of the foreign policy it is necessary to mention that not every foreign policy has a rational and objective direction. Personal qualities, prejudices, subjective priorities can provoke deviations from rational course. This is developed especially within democratic regimes where necessity to obtain support from voters can negatively influence upon foreign policy rationality. This problem is encountered in case of the Republic of Moldova as well. In this case, ways of promotion and consolidation of the responsible governance and human development have a primary value for the Republic of Moldova. In order for the governance to be more effective, it asks for involvement of such values as participation, transparency, and accountability. As our state opts for democracy as a polity, political, social and economic priorities-economic growth, institutional reform and human development – should become the main subjects for the dialogue.

From the perspective of a good governance and human development, the current challenges for the consolidation of the Republic of Moldova impose definitive actions in the following domains: democratic institutions consolidation; promotion of absolute human rights observing; intolerance and territorial secessionism diminution; economic reconstruction, ability to function according to market rules; identity crisis and social disintegration overcoming through education and extension of democratic space.

We believe that the analysis of public opinion regarding the governance level has a distinctive importance in this context in order to know in whether and in what measure citizens are satisfied with the reforms that government implements. In general, they know what these reforms are. So, as national surveys of Public Opinion Barometer of November 2012 show, majority of citizens believe that in our country things are going wrong way (72, 1%). As for foreign policy, 66,3% of the Republic of Moldova population is shows dissatisfaction with country's leadership actions in this domain.

Of course, we cannot make some categorical conclusions regarding governance level on the base of some data that may reflect subjective opinions. Moreover, we know that results of initiated reforms are often visible only after a certain period of time has elapsed. But we can state that citizens are alienated from political processes in the Republic of Moldova, which may be interpreted in the following way: the governance in our country still has many deficiencies to eliminate and current situation provides distrust of citizens in future of their own state. That is why one of the primary tasks of the state is creation of connection between citizens and authorities.

The complexity of global problems in the 21st Century and transformation processes require a permanent dialogue between existing civilisations, a mutual exchange of scientific, political, technological, value and cultural information. Globalisation processes generate the opportunity of formation of a model of interaction between communities based on principles of partnership and dialogue. Primary priorities for the Republic of Moldova in foreign policy framework should compound aspects connected to domestic issues, to major social problems with aspects connected to gradual integration to the European and global space.

Thus, achieving its major objectives through foreign policy our country promotes and consolidates such values as territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of the state, peace and ensuring good development of the society. These are fundamental values of the state that it is obliged to ensure and that remain unchangeable.

Conclusions

History confirms that in its critical moments the role of morality in conduct of foreign policy increases. It becomes the base which unites nations separated by ideological, social, economic and cultural differences, in the fight against common evil. It may be stated that if the Republic of Moldova has accepted a certain set of moral values, then it possesses a significant reputation in the world that leads to useful changes in the state at both domestic and external level. Without use and observance of moral values in foreign policy the Republic of Moldova would not achieve its primary aims.

Talking about the conduct of foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova in the context of moral dimension we can make following conclusions: transformation process in the Republic of Moldova can be termed "revolution of value and moral orientations" with purpose to create norms and general human values, which in recent years is changing the character of relations between states. It is passed from confrontation to cooperation and partnership; public opinion appears as an active mechanism of formation and determination of moral values in state.

At the moral level, the Republic of Moldova at present in the realm of its foreign policy propagates a certain assembly of values that claims to be global, absorbing traditional values and diffusing other new ones. Cultural diversity generates a number of important questions and controversial opinions. Superannuation of traditional values is made at community level, having consequences at regional or global level. From the perspective of the above mentioned global phenomena and new order instauration finding answers to these problems which would be justifiable in moral realm and viable in political realm represents the biggest challenge which is our country confronting at the moment.

Thus, for the Republic of Moldova, there will always be the danger of a one-sided decision in determination of foreign policy priorities. Only taking into account the totality of political, economic and cultural connections in relations with other states, the Republic of Moldova will be able to function harmoniously within the international community. The Republic of Moldova, first of all, should have such a foreign policy that would be based on realistic comprehension of world and its tendencies of evolution as well as on evaluation of its own possibilities and interests. At the same time, observing the national interest implementation in determination of foreign policy priorities of the Republic of

Moldova it should be taken into account that these interests must be in accordance with those general human ones, especially the interests of ensuring peace, security and stability on both domestic and international level.

Studying the impact of morality upon the process of conduct of foreign policy of the Republic of Moldova, it should be mentioned that the value system of our country is in a crisis situation, and thus it cannot contribute to the state development in the proper measure. The crisis of the value system is manifested by losing ideals, goals, and through immoral means which utilisation that leads to devaluation of these ideals and goals. In conditions of transit from totalitarianism to democracy values and cultural patterns of totalitarian past have not disappeared, while new values, inclusive those of market economy, should be already accepted.

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