

MODERNIZATION OF THE MOLDOVA'S SECURITY SYSTEM IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EASTERN PARTNERSHIP: ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROBLEMS

Natalia STERCUL

Ph.D. in Political Science, Associate Professor, State University of Moldova, Chisinau, Republic of Moldova

e-mail: naliast@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8807-6429>

The article analyses the national security system as an integral part of the state, which is exposed to modernization processes. The security sector reform paradigm is based on the principles of democratic control, transparency and good governance. The process of modernization of the Moldova's security system aims to create secure environment, prevent security risks that treats and rule of law. The last decade the Republic of Moldova in the framework of the Eastern Partnership has been working to achieve progress in security sector reform – a review of security legislation and national defense; institutional reform; consultations with EU on Common Security Defense Policy; cooperation with Europol, the European Center for Monitoring Drugs, the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO); elaboration measures in the context of reintegration process to put the Transnistrian region in the legal field of the Republic of Moldova. The geopolitical factor has strong influence to the modernization process and reforms in the Republic of Moldova. The contradictions of geopolitical interests create additional difficulties and hinder the security sector reform.

Keywords: modernization of the security system, security sector reform, defense, conflict resolution, geopolitical contradictions.

MODERNIZAREA SISTEMULUI DE SECURITATE AL MOLDOVEI ÎN CADRUL PARTENERIATULUI ESTIC: REALIZĂRI ȘI PROBLEME

Prezentul articol analizează sistemul de securitate națională ca parte integrantă a statului, supus proceselor de modernizare. Paradigma reformei sectorului de securitate se bazează pe principiile supravegherii democratice, transparenței și buneii guvernări. Procesul de modernizare a sistemului de securitate al Republicii Moldova vizează crearea unui mediu de securitate, prevenirea riscurilor și amenințărilor de securitate și respectarea principiilor statului de drept. În ultimul deceniu, Republica Moldova, în cadrul Parteneriatului Estic, a lucrat pentru a realiza progrese în reforma sectorului de securitate - revizuirea legislației în domeniul securității și apărării naționale; reforma instituțională; consultări cu UE cu privire la o politică comună de securitate și apărare; cooperarea cu Europol, Centrul European de Control al Narcoticeilor, Cooperarea Structurată Permanentă (PESCO); elaborarea de măsuri în contextul reintegrării regiunii transnistrene în domeniul juridic al Republicii Moldova. Factorul geopolitic are o puternică influență asupra procesului de modernizare și reformă din Republica Moldova. Interese geopolitice conflictuale creează dificultăți suplimentare și împiedică reforma sectorului de securitate.

Cuvinte-cheie: modernizarea sistemului de securitate, reforma sectorului de securitate, apărare, soluționarea conflictelor, contradicții geopolitice.

MODERNISATION DU SYSTÈME DE SÉCURITÉ DE MOLDOVA DANS LE CADRE DU PARTENARIAT ORIENTAL: RÉALISATIONS ET PROBLÈMES

Cet article analyse le système de sécurité nationale en tant que partie intégrante de l'État, en cours de modernisation. Le paradigme de la réforme du secteur de la sécurité repose sur les principes du contrôle démocratique, de la transparence et de la bonne gouvernance. Le processus de modernisation du système de sécurité de la République de Moldova vise à créer un environnement de sécurité, à prévenir les risques et les menaces pour la sécurité et à respecter les principes de l'état de droit. Au cours de la dernière décennie, la République de Moldova, dans le cadre du Partenariat oriental, des travaux visant à progresser dans la réforme du secteur de la sécurité - un examen de la législation dans le domaine de la sécurité nationale et de la défense; réforme institutionnelle; les consultations avec l'UE sur une politique commune de coopération en matière de sécurité et de défense avec Europol, l'agence européenne de Contrôle des stupéfiants, la Coopération structurée Permanente (PESCO); le développement de mesures dans le contexte de la réintégration et du retour dans la région de transnistrie, dans le domaine juridique de la République de Moldova. Le facteur géopolitique a une forte influence sur le processus de modernisation et de réforme en République de Moldova. Des intérêts géopolitiques contradictoires créent des difficultés supplémentaires et entravent la réforme du secteur de la sécurité.

Mots-clés: modernisation du système de sécurité, réforme du secteur de la sécurité, défense, résolution des conflits, contradictions géopolitiques.

МОДЕРНИЗАЦИЯ СИСТЕМЫ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ МОЛДОВЫ В РАМКАХ ВОСТОЧНОГО ПАРТНЕРСТВА: ДОСТИЖЕНИЯ И ПРОБЛЕМЫ

В данной статье анализируется система национальной безопасности как неотъемлемая часть государства, подверженная процессам модернизации. Парадигма реформы сектора безопасности основана на принципах демократического контроля, транспарентности и рационального управления. Процесс модернизации системы безопасности Молдовы направлен на создание среды безопасности, предотвращение рисков и угроз, а также соблюдение принципов верховенства права. В последнее десятилетие Республика Молдова в рамках Восточного партнерства работает над достижением прогресса в реформе сектора безопасности – пересмотром законодательства в области безопасности и национальной обороны; проведением институциональной реформы; консультациями с ЕС по общей политике в области безопасности и обороны; сотрудничеством с Европоллом, Европейским центром по контролю за оборотом наркотических средств, Постоянным структурированным сотрудничеством (PESCO); выработкой мер в контексте реинтеграции Приднестровского региона в правовое поле Республики Молдова. Геополитический фактор оказывает сильное влияние на процесс модернизации и реформ в Республике Молдова. Противоречия геополитических интересов создают дополнительные трудности и препятствуют реформе сектора безопасности.

Ключевые слова: модернизация системы безопасности, реформа сектора безопасности, оборона, урегулирование конфликтов, геополитические противоречия.

Introduction

For the last ten years the Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries have been working together to build a common area of democracy, prosperity and stability. The EU's interest is clearly formulated: stable, secure and prosperity neighbors. Over the last decade the context of regional security was changed. New threats and challenges require new approaches

to the general framework of the foreign policy of the EaP states. The main problem is a question about conflicts resolution. Frozen and armed conflicts continue to prevent development and create instability in the EaP countries.

European Union supports the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of all its partners. In contemporary conditions is important to renew ef-

forts, to promote the peaceful settlement of unresolved conflicts and reinforce EaP cooperation in the field of security. In this context is important to mention the radically polar foreign policy courses for different partner states. On the one hand there is the EU and on the other hand – countries with a completely different degree of interests towards EU. There is also such player as Russia, which has an impact on each of the EaP countries, but also to varying degrees. EaP countries are too different from each other, including their relations with Russia. Each of these six countries (Armenia Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Ukraine and Republic of Moldova) has its own «Russian question». In spite of the fact that EU doesn't take measures against any third countries and Russia in particular, the EaP project in Russia's perception is as a geopolitical competition between Russia and EU, invasion of the Russia sphere of influence. As a result EU faces competition from an alternative Russian integrated model. This fact should be taken into account in elaboration pragmatic measures and multilateral dimension of the EaP future initiatives in conflict prevention and security field in general.

The main ideas of the research

The security issues associated with the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict remain unresolved. The same applies to the question of the withdrawal of the Russian troops, located in Transnistria, and to the disposal of ammunition stored in Colbasna warehouses. The lack of clarity in the selection of the conflict settlement mechanism leads to further difficulties and to divergent opinions of the population of the two banks of the Dniester. Speculations on the topic of federalization increase the internal conflicts. As a result, it is important to concentrate efforts on defining a clear stance on the appropriate conflict settlement mechanism.

The problem of this research is to identify the main achievements and difficulties in the context on

the modernization of the Moldova's security system in the framework of its participation in the Eastern Partnership program.

The main purpose of the article is to analyze the need of profound reform of the Moldova's security sector and modernization of the security system in the framework of the eastern Partnership, highlighting the key issues that remain unresolved.

Security sector reform is a relatively recent concept in state transformation, development and post-conflict peace-building. Notions of democratizing societies, good governance with transparency and accountability, peaceful transformation of societies have recently made inroads in security thinking. *The overview and analyzes of scientific researches* highlights considerable mass of the papers in this field. Among the authors are D.Hendrickson [6], L.Douglas [7, p.7-25], H.Wulf [14], N.Ball, M.Brzoska [1], P.Jackson [7, p.1803-1822], E.Gordon [3] and others.

Security sector reform addresses security problems and tries to improve the situation through institutional reforms. The emerging security sector reform paradigm instead is based on broad principles such as democratic control and accountability, public participation and transparency, good governance and public expenditure management. Security sector reform initiatives address four broad areas: the political dimension: democratic, civilian oversight of the security sector forces; the economic dimension; the social dimension - the actual guarantee of the security of the citizens; the institutional dimension: the structure of the security sector and the institutional separation of the various forces and institutions [5, p.11-12].

Republic of Moldova has essentially changed over the past decade, having achieved successes. But the available potential has not been exhausted yet. The Security Sector Reform in the Republic of Moldova aims to create a secure environment that is

conductive to development, poverty reduction, good governance and rule of law. The need of profound reform of the security sector is based on the external as well as on the internal factors. The security problem in the Republic of Moldova are described such Moldovan's authors as Gh.Caldare [2, p.99-106], V.Sacovici, Gh.Rusnac [10, p.185-194], I.Manole [8, p.36-41], S.Plop, S.Cebotari [13, p.176-193] and others.

In the process of modernization of the Moldova's security system we can mentioned a review of security legislation and national defense, including the development of policy documents (National Security Strategy, National Defense Strategy, Cyber security Strategy and the revision the law of Intelligence and Security, Law of National Defense, military legislation package).

In Military Strategy and Action plan on its implementation for 2018-2022 is formulated the main aim of national Army – security and National Defense by preventing combating the military aggression or other military threats including hybrid threats for national security [12]. Among the threats and vulnerability of National Security are mentioned the Transnistrian conflict and foreign military presence on the territory of the Republic of Moldova. All these legislative initiatives clearly documented Moldavian intention to integrate into Europe security space through modernization of the Moldova's security system.

In 2014 Republic of Moldova launched the Moldova – EU consultations on Common Security Defense Policy with the aim to intensify the modernization and reforms in security sector. The Common Security and Defense Policy, which is directing to take a leading role in peace-keeping operations, conflict prevention and in the strengthening of the international security, must be more concentrated on the elaboration if the result-oriented measures in areas of security and defense in EaP partners. It

is important to build resilience of the partner countries to security treats, including hybrid threats, which reflect significant change in the nature of the regional and international security. The Moldova's participation in CSDR mission is an important aspect for the development of bilateral political relations with EU. In line with the national Security Strategy, participation to global regional stability and security, including through cooperation and participation in CSDP missions is a priority for the Republic of Moldova.

Republic of Moldova improved its cooperation with the Europol, the European Center for Monitoring Drugs, the Permanent Structured Cooperation and other European security structures. Better ability to combat organized crime among partner-states strengthens their domestic security and their institutional ability. Republic of Moldova participation in the EU crisis management operations strengthens cooperation with the EU in political and security dimension. The EU has also suggested the EaP countries to hold joint training for military units take part in the EU missions and armed units that would make them better prepared for preventing conflicts and resolving crises.

Participation of the Republic of Moldova in Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in area of security and defense policy was established in 2017 [9]. It is important to develop capacity for responding to possible natural failures and military crisis. According general criteria, the EaP countries can participate in PESCO on the base on availability commitment. The Republic of Moldova is interested in cooperation with EU for development and consolidation defense capabilities. This can be done through the adaptation of the strategic frame on the governmental level, where will be mentioned that our country is interested to increase the number of staff involved in EU missions. From the EU part is important to provide assistance in the process of de-

velopment defense instruments and mechanisms and to intensify dialog with EAP countries in this field. It will be in line with NATO projects and programmes aimed to reform National Armed forces the EaP countries.

In this context is important to emphasize that at the NATO Summit in Wales in 2014 NATO's leader offered to strengthen support, advice and assistance to Moldova through the new Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative. NATO assists Moldova by providing support for the training of public information, specialists within the country's armed forces. Building capabilities and interoperability NATO provides:

- support for Moldova's defense reform and modernization efforts through the Partnership for Peace Planning and Review process and since 2015, with the assistance under the defense related Security Capacity Building Initiative;

- advice on how to build, develop and reform educational institutions to help Moldova to build a professional military education system with university degrees and specialized courses offered by Moldova's Military Academy and its Training Center;

- cooperation under the Science for Peace and security Programme focuses on defense against chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear agents, as well as activities on cyber defense, counter-terrorism and border security.

In 2016, during the NATO Warsaw Summit, the final declaration was adopted, which included special tasks about the need to provide assistance to the Republic of Moldova in its process of strengthening the defense capabilities. In 2017 on the level of defense Ministers of NATO was adopted decision to strengthen the NATO presence in the Black Sea Region. NATO plans to expand trainings, joint operations and raise the coordination level of the forces in the region.

At the same time, NATO has no direct role in the conflict resolution process in the region of Transnis-

tria. However, the NATO support developments in the region and fully expects Russia to respect its international obligations, including respecting the territorial integrity of neighborhood countries and their right to choose their own security agreements.

The bilateral cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and NATO are based on the support of the Alliance in Moldovan security reform processes, upgrading its defense capabilities, and in offering technical and advisory assistance in the framework of the Defense and Related Security Capacity Building Initiative. The Defense Education Enhancement Programme NATO also played a significant role in reforming the military education institutions. In addition, Moldova is part of the Interoperability Platform.

The EU and its eastern partners have set key targets to be achieved by next year – «20 Deliverables for 2020» [15], which include:

- Cross-cutting deliverables

The EaP citizen's positive perception of the EU is increasing. According to the dates of the Barometr of Public Opinion of the Republic of Moldova – 67% of respondents consider that relations between the Republic of Moldova and EU are good. 56,5% of respondents think that they are sufficiently informed about EU.

- Stronger governance

The effort in the area of strengthening institutions and good governance is a top priority for the EU in the EaP countries, where challenges remain. In particular, more efforts need to be done in the rule of law, implementing key judicial reforms and the fight against corruption. It is important to strengthen the security cooperation, effort to prevent organized crime, support conflict resolution and protect against new threats and cyber security.

- Stronger economy

Economically Moldova has become more dependent on the EU market than was a decade ago,

with The Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) was opening new trade opportunities. The major risks factors of economic origin are generated by the unilateral dependency of local electric and energy systems as well as gas distribution networks on foreign monopolies in the field. This dependence constitutes the internal vulnerability of the state. Gradual integration of the Republic of Moldova's energy system in South-East European Energy community will increase integration in Pan-European energy system.

The geopolitical factor has strong influence to the modernization processes and reforms transformations in the Republic of Moldova. The Russian influence and contradictions of geopolitical interests between East and West make the internal situation extremely difficult. Struggle between pro-Russian and pro-European interest will be continue. Main problems in this field are low level of democracy, high level of corruption in strategic spheres of government and low level of political culture.

In Europe there is a very concrete understanding that fighting disinformation and taking stronger action against the spread of fake news they need to invest in media journalism, in media pluralism and media literacy. The representatives of the European Parliament denounced the increase of disinformation. According to Eurobarometer survey 37% of Europeans, who took part in it, stated that they read or see fake news almost every day. The bright examples are recent election campaigns in US, France, Germany, Spain and other states. Fake news and propaganda are the real threats to the European liberal-democratic society. In order to counter interferences in the electoral campaigns for the May 2019 in European Parliament elections the European Commission is strengthening its battle against the circulation of fake news. Several million euros were allocated to this struggle and main attention and efforts were focused on internet platforms.

The EU announced it would devote more money and resources to its East Stratcom Task Force, which works to combat fake news [11]. The Task Force develops communication products and campaigns focused on better explaining EU policies in the EaP countries. The main aim is to strengthen the media environment in the eastern Neighborhood and in the EU member-states including support of media freedom and strengthening independent media. It is the obvious necessity to support the independent media in region and the EaP countries capacity to respond to disinformation activities. Moldovan authorities are willing to limit Russian propaganda only sporadically according their personal political interests.

The EU should pay more attention to security challenges not only by "soft power" mechanisms, but also expand their reach and role in the settlement of the Russia-sponsored conflicts in the EaP states. The security challenges that affect the entire region demand more vision and direct engagement from the EU in terms of strengthening the cooperation across the security and defense sectors.

Conclusions

As a result, from 2014 to 2020, the Republic of Moldova received comprehensive support in the security area from the Euro-Atlantic partners and in the framework of the Eastern Partnership, who have repeatedly voiced the importance of cooperation in ensuring stability, security and prosperity of the Republic of Moldova. In summary, among main priorities of the Republic of Moldova in the security field are structures and strengthened security dialog with EU; strengthening resilience-initiating pilot projects to increase the resilience of Republic of Moldova combating hybrid and cyber threats and external risks; strategic communication need to be improved; capacity building of relevant institutions in the field of security.

The Republic of Moldova suffers from a number of political, economic and social problems that affect

the functioning and well-being of the state and the civil population. The situation requires that foreign donors need to meet with the Moldovan recipients to look closely at what needs to be done in the long-term perspective. EaP has positive influence on the Republic of Moldova.

For the new post 2020 package of deliverables are important to elaborate complementary and alternative models of engagement with EaP countries on the base of the principles of differentiation taking into account the level of engagement in EaP and foreign policy vectors of their development; interaction, integration and interdependence between EaP and EU, including response to the changing landscape in the Eastern Neighborhood and elaboration of the multilateral dimension of the EaP initiative.

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