DEPARTMENT OF BALKAN, SLAVIC AND ORIENTAL STUDIES

MASTER'S DEGREE IN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF CONTEMPORARY EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

DISSERTATION

CYPRUS AND MOLDOVA: POLITICAL STATUS AND REINTEGRATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

For fifty years every effort for a common European defense policy has failed. The first indication of EU sovereignty will be missions to points of crisis with no U.S. and U.K. forces involved. These points are expected to be countries of the former USSR in the east of the current EU borders. The EUBAM mission on Ukraine-Moldova border proved to have no significant effect thus it cannot serve as a model.[1] However, through the 2005 enlargement EU illustrated alternative patterns of sovereignty, using its political and economic power. As this proved to be catalytic in the Cyprus case, and Greece was directly involved in Cyprus accession, it gives a special weight in Greece as an intermediary in Moldova's accession and the consecutive Transnistria's democratisation.

By intimating the political parties and political system and status that currently dominate in Cyprus and Moldova, this thesis aims to premise an implementation of Cyprus acquaintance into Moldova's subject matter. Two cases are developed in parallel with emphasis given to Moldova, first because this thesis is addressed mainly to Greeks who are in any case familiar with Cyprus, and second because Moldovan party system and politics have been very little explored. Besides, Cyprus is currently advancing to a

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[1] Institute of Diplomacy and Global Affairs, Athens 2009

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positive course that progressively leads to a solution, while Moldova still has to find its way. Thus, latest developments in Cyprus can serve as model for Moldova. The common denominators of the two countries are: the communist factor involved in both governments, the efforts to reintegrate the secession territories, and links with third countries originated from historical vexations.

The script is unfolded from generic to specific. After outlining the countries in brief, basic historical elements are apposed in order to stress out the secession of the territories. Getting into more specific political grounds the constitutions and governments are being analyzed. Extended length is given to election contests analysis in order to highlight relations alliances and general trends of the political parties, politicians and third countries influence. Note that emphasis is given to the problematic electoral procedures in Moldova and Transnistria, since they affect the electorate heavily. Finally, after familiarization with both political landscapes, a premise for Moldova emerges.

Since the political developments used as references for this thesis represent latest political life, there is no relevant literature formatted in books. Hence, extensive mass of papers have been used to cover the gap.

2. HISTORICAL ELEMENTS

2.1 Outline of Cyprus

Cyprus is the Mediterranean's third largest island. A former British colony it became an independent republic in 1960 after an agreement in Zürich and London between the UK, Greece and Turkey, and a member of the Commonwealth in 1961. The Republic of Cyprus is one of the advanced economies in the region, and member of the EU.[2]

Hostilities in 1974 divided the island into two de facto autonomous entities, the internationally recognized Cypriot Government and a Turkish-Cypriot community, causing 210.000 both Turkish and Greek Cypriots to be displaced for over 30 years. The 1.000-strong UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus has served since 1964 and maintains the buffer zone between north and south.

The total population of 573,566 is consisted of the following ethnic groups: Greeks 77%, Turkish 18% and others 5%. Considering religious believes, there are Greek Orthodox 78%, Muslims 18%, others 4%. Official languages are Greek, Turkish and English.

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[2] www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/CY.html

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The election of the new Cypriot president in 2008 served as the impetus for the UN to encourage both the Turkish and Cypriot Governments to reopen unification negotiations. In September 2008, the leaders of the two communities started negotiations under UN auspices aimed at reuniting the island. The entire island entered the EU on May 1, 2004, although the EU acquis applies only to the areas under direct government control, and is suspended in the areas administered by Turkish Cypriots. However, individual Turkish Cypriots able to document their eligibility for Republic of Cyprus citizenship legally enjoy the same rights accorded to other citizens of EU states.

2.2 Outline of Moldova

The Republic of Moldova is a landlocked country in Eastern Europe located between Romania to the west and Ukraine to the north, east and south. The state language is called officially Moldovan as it is mentioned in the Constitution, but in the Declaration of Independence it was called Romanian. The capital and largest city is Chisinau.

Moldova has a long history as a border state between great powers. In the Middle Ages most of the present territory of Moldova was part of the Principality of Moldavia, and in 1792 became part of the Russian Empire under the name of Bessarabia. Upon the dissolution of the Russian Empire in 1917-1918 Bessarabia joined Romania. In 1940 Bessarabia was occupied by the Soviet Union, and in 1944 was split between the Ukrainian SSR and the newly-created Moldavian SSR. Moldova declared its independence from the USSR on August 27, 1991. Despite signing international obligations to withdraw, Russian military forces have been stationed since 1993 in the breakaway territory of Transnistria against the will of the Moldovan Government[3]. The region has been de facto independent after it made a unilateral declaration of

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[3] See Neill Melvin, Russians beyond Russia, London. 1994, Neill Melvin, Forging the New Russian Nation, London, 1995

independence from Moldova and successfully defeated Moldovan forces with Russian assistance.

Having 4,324,250 citizens the ethnic groups of the country are: Moldovan/Romanian 78.2%, Ukrainian 8.4%, Russian 5.8%, Gagauz 4.4%, Bulgarian 1.9%, other 1.3%. As far as religious concerns there are Eastern Orthodox 98%, Jewish 1.5%, Baptist and other 0.5%. Like in all CIS states, Russian is widely spoken and is the native language for 11% of the population, and according to the National Strategy Moldo-Russian bilinguism is the reality to be implemented.

Member state of the UN, WTO, OSCE, GUAM, CIS, BSEC and other international organizations, Moldova currently aspires to join EU[4] and has implemented its first three-year Action Plan within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Unlike Cyprus, Moldova is not a NATO member but participates in NATO's Partnership for Peace program since 1994.[5]

2.3 International Disputes

Cyprus and Moldova have a similar problem in the north of their territory. Russian and Turkish armed forces respectfully are stationed in a breakaway territory against the will of the legal elected government. The unresolved problems remain a source of instability on the EU borders, especially the Moldovan case. The following two sections introduce historical events contributed to disintegration of both countries

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[4] Statement by Moldovan Ambassador to Germany, Nicolae, Tăbăcaru, at the conference „Die Republik Moldau im europäischen und sicherheitspolitischen Kontex", Hamburg, June 18-19, 2001

[5] Congressional Research service, Moldova: Background and U.S. Policy, Steven Woehrel, Specialist in European Affairs, April 14, 2009

3.1 Cyprus: the Sequence to Partition

Enosis (union with Greece) was sought by the Greek majority of Cyprus since the British arrived on the island. They promised annexation of Cyprus if Greece would enter World War I on the side of the Allies. The offer was withdrawn when Greece declined.

In 1931 frustration over British apathy towards their aspirations led Cypriots to demonstrate in Lefkosia and throughout Cyprus. The heavy-handed British response turned the demonstrations into riots with several government buildings burned down.

On January 1950 the Church of Cyprus organized a referendum with over 96% voting for Enosis with Greece.

On April 1955 Cypriots formed the military organization EOKA. It is generally accepted that EOKA had a target of achieving enosis. However, although this ideology reflected in some of its members (and chiefly its military leader Grivas) throughout the armed campaign, it was not of universal acceptance. It was gradually recognized that enosis was politically unfeasible due to the presence of the Turkish community and its increasing assertiveness. The political arm of EOKA took a more compromising approach especially during the later stages of the struggle. The idea of enosis was not immediately abandoned though. During the presidential campaign for the 1968 elections Makarios III said that enosis was "desirable" whereas independence was "possible".

The leadership of AKEL at the time opposed EOKA's military action advocating the Gandhiesque approach of civil disobedience such as workers' strikes and demonstrations. Unlike its predecessor communist party, AKEL was not against Enosis. Instead it supported a gradual process starting with a constitution and self-government while Cyprus would remain a colony, leading to self-determination and Enosis. After the failure of the consultative assembly in 1949 to grant a constitution acceptable to the Cypriot members, AKEL changed line supporting immediate Enosis with no intermediate stages.

In 1957 the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT) came into existence. It was a rival paramilitary organisation serving

Turkish interests. Although infrequent EOKA and TMT targeted each other's members with ferocity revealing its antagonistic will from early days.

Following the treaties of London and Zurich, the Republic of Cyprus was proclaimed in 1960. However independence came with a complex constitution and the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. It was a security arrangement compromising of a three way guarantee ship from Turkey, Greece and Britain that neither would annex the independent republic.

In 1963 the Cypriot president Makarios proposed 13 amendments to the Constitution in order to solve intractable difficulties in filling government posts. Whether this was an attempt to foster increasing unity by dissolving legal boundaries between communities, or to effect domination of the Turkish Cypriots by the majority Greek Cypriots remains controversial. Whatever Makarios's intentions, violence erupted between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the UN developed peacekeeping mission. The Turkish Cypriots are refusing parliamentary participation ever since. Intercommunal tensions and sporadic intercommunal violence continued forcing most Turkish Cypriots into enclaves throughout the island. This led in 1968 to UN-sponsored negotiations to develop institutional arrangements acceptable to both sides.

As Samos and Crete had also gone through a period of independence prior to their unification with the mother country, many Cypriots also hoped that would be the case with them. To date, Enosis in their case has not been achieved. This led to the formation of EOKA-B in 1971. A paramilitary organisation followed a right-wing nationalistic ideology with the ultimate goal of achieving enosis. When Grivas died from heart failure in January 1974 the new leadership of EOKA-B increasingly came under the direct control and influence of the military junta in Athens. On July 15, 1974 EOKA-B with approval of the Greek Dictator Ioannides and the help of the National Guard, launched a military coup overthrowing Makarios and installing Nikos Sampson as the dictator of Cyprus. The Turkish government responded to the change of status quo by invading Cyprus. The result of the events of 1974 was the geographic partition of Cyprus followed by massive population transfers.

After division Makarios secured international recognition of his Greek Cypriot government as the sole legal authority on Cyprus, which has proved to be a very significant strategic advantage for the Greek Cypriots in the decades since. This gave de jure sovereignty over the entire island of Cyprus and its surrounding waters except small portions that are allocated by treaty to the UK as sovereign military bases (Akrotiri and Dhekelia covering about 3% of the island). Negotiations continued in the years after 1974 with varying degrees of regularity and success but none resulted in a full reunification. On November 15, 1983 the Turkish Cypriot North declared independence and the formation of the TRNC, which has been recognized only by Turkey. Both sides publicly call for the resolution of intercommunal differences and creation of a new federal system (Greek Cypriot position) or confederate system (Turkish Cypriot position) of government.

The latest attempt for reuniting the island was the Annan Plan. After Christofias seized power as a president on February 2008, the UN encouraged both the Turkish and Cypriot Governments to reopen unification negotiations, which started on September 2008 under UN auspices. Also, at Apr 17, 2005 Talat replaced Denktash and pledged to work to reunite the island and restart peace talks with Greek Cypriots following a resounding win he labeled "a silent revolution."[6]

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[6] www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/CY.html

2.3.2 Moldova and Transnistria

The history of the republic of Moldova is the history of two different regions that have been joined into one country, but not into one nation: Bessarabia and Transnistria. Bessarabia, the land between the Prut and Nistru rivers is predominantly ethnic Romanian in population and constitutes the eastern half of a region historically known as Moldova.

During the second half of the fifteenth century all of southeastern Europe came under increasing pressure from the Ottomans, and despite significant military victories by Stephen the Great, Moldova succumbed to Ottoman power in 1512 and was a tributary state of the empire for the next 300 years. In 1792 the Treaty of Iasi forced the Ottomans to cede all of its holdings in what is now Transnistria to the Russian Empire. An expanded Bessarabia was annexed by, and incorporated into the Russian Empire following the Russo-Turkish War of 1806-12 according to the terms of the Bucharest Treaty (1812). The Moldovan territory west of the Prut River remained autonomous and in 1859 merged with Walachia. In 1862 Alexandru Ioan Cuza was elected prince of Walachia and the part of Moldova that lay west of the Prut River, laying the foundations of modern Romania. Note that regions were handled as different since that time.

In 1917, during World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution, political leaders in Bessarabia created a National Council which declared Bessarabia the independent Democratic Moldovan Republic federated with Russia. In February 1918 the new republic declared its complete independence from Russia and two months later voted to unite with Romania, thus angering the Russian government.

After the creation of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government moved in 1924 to establish the Moldavian Autonomous Oblast on land east of the Nistru River in the Ukrainian SSR. The capital of the oblast was at Balta, in present-day Ukraine. Seven months later the oblast was upgraded to the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), even though its population was only 30 percent ethnic Romanian. In 1929 the capital moved to Tiraspol.

In 1940 Bessarabia was occupied by Soviet forces as a consequence of a secret protocol attached to the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. On August 1940 the Soviet government

created the Moldavian SSR with its capital at Chisinau, by joining most of Bessarabia with a portion of the Moldavian ASSR (the rest was returned to the Ukrainian SSR). Part of the far northern Moldavian ASSR northern Bukovina and southern Bessarabia (bordering on the Black Sea) were taken from Romania and incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR, leaving the Moldavian SSR landlocked.

In 1941, German and Romanian troops attacked the Moldavian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR. The Nazis gave Romania, their ally, not only Bessarabia and northern Bukovina but also the land between the Nistru and Pivdennyy Buh rivers, north to Bar in Ukraine, which Romania named and administered as Transnistria. This arrangement lasted until 1944 when Soviet forces reoccupied Bessarabia and Transnistria. A 1947 treaty formally returned Bessarabia, northern Bukovina and Transnistria to the Soviet Union, and the previous Soviet administrative divisions and Russian place-names were reimposed.

Stalin's government policy was to Russify the population of the Moldavian SSR and destroy any remaining ties it had with Romania. Secret police struck at nationalist groups, the Cyrillic alphabet was imposed on the "Moldavian" language, and ethnic Russians and Ukrainians were encouraged to immigrate to the Moldavian SSR especially to Transnistria.

Political self-assertion escalated in the Moldavian SSR in 1988. The year 1989 saw the formation of the Moldovan Popular Front, an association of independent cultural and political groups that had finally gained official recognition. It was the belated people's reaction to Stalin's Russification. Large demonstrations by ethnic Romanians led to the designation of Romanian as the official language and the replacement of the head of the CPM. However, opposition was growing to the increasing influence of ethnic Romanians especially in Transnistria where the Unity Intermovement had been formed in 1988 by the Slavic minorities, and in the south where Gagauz People formed in November 1989 came to represent the Gagauz, a Turkic-speaking minority.

The first democratic elections to the Moldavian SSR's Supreme Soviet were held on February 25, 1990. Runoff elections were held in March. The Popular Front won a majority of the votes. After the elections Mircea Snegur, a communist, was elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet. In September he became

president of the republic. The reformist government that took over in May 1990 made many changes that did not please the minorities, including changing the republic's name from the Moldavian SSR to SSR of Moldova and declaring it sovereign. In May 1991 the country's official name changed to the Republic of Moldova. The name of the Supreme Soviet also changed to Moldovan Parliament.[7] It was a gradual process to democratization.

During the 1991 August coup d'état in Moscow, Soviet Military commanders tried to impose a state of emergency in Moldova but they were overruled by the Moldovan government which declared its support for Russian president Boris Yeltsin. Following the coup's collapse Moldova declared its independence from the Soviet Union.

When Moldovan independence came at a price the population on the left bank of the Nistru river with its large share of ethnic Russians and Ukrainians feared that Moldova's independence might be the first step towards unification with Romania. Transnistria already in September 1990 voted for autonomy within Moldova in an unrecognized referendum, and one year later for independence. The Moldovan government refused to recognize Transnistria's aspirations, and fighting broke out in January 1992 causing 300 deaths[8]. By the time of ceasefire in July 1992, the separatists had won control over almost all of the territory on the left bank of the Nistru and the town of Bender on the right bank.[9] Moscow agreed to withdraw its Army if a suitable constitutional provision were made for Transnistria. Transnistria would have a special status within Moldova and would have the right to secede if Moldova decided to reunite with Romania.

In general the conflict between the Transnistrian region and the centre has two main cleavages:
- a linguistic (Russian/Moldovan) one, which was fuelled by different interests as well as by strong symbolism on both sides and which had strong economic implications

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[7] REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA: PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION MARCH 2005 Report by Bjørn T Vagle

[8] Moldova: Background and U.S. Policy, Steven Woehrel, Specialist in European Affairs Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, September 30, 2008

[9] Another potential secession issue was defused in 1994, when the Moldovan parliament adopted a law establishing a "national-territorial autonomous unit" for the Gagauz minority. The region has its own elected legislative and executive authorities and would be entitled to secession from Moldova in the case of Moldova's reunification with Romania.

- an ideological (Soviet Union/Western democracy) one which ran almost parallel to the linguistic conflict[10]

Source: Map Resources. Adapted by CRS. (K.Yancey 12/10/04)

Since 2001 president Voronin has offered to Transnistria fully autonomous status, demanded it accept EU peacekeepers, slapped a blockade on Transnistrian goods, and pitched Moldovan rejection of NATO to the Kremlin in exchange for Moscow pressure to bring Transnistria to negotiations.[11]

On November 18, 2008, NATO Parliamentary Assembly adopted Resolution 371 on the future of NATO-Russia relations, with among other things "urges the government and the parliament of Russia to respect its commitments which were taken at the Istanbul OSCE Summit in 1999[12] and has to withdraw its illegal

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[10] For a more detailed elaboration on these cleavages see Claus Neukirch, Transdniestria and Moldova: Cold Peace at the Dniestr, Helsinki Monitor 2/2001

[11] Infotag 16.04.2001, Russia Was, Is and Will be Moldovas Strategic Partner, Voronin Says. Also: www.topnews.in/moldovas-president-follows-putin-model-out-and-back-2145581

[12] The respective part of point 19 of the Istanbul Summit Declaration from 19 November 1999 reads: "We welcome the commitment by the Russian Federation to complete withdrawal of the Russian forces from the territory of Moldova by the end of 2002."

military presence from the Transnistrian region of Moldova in the nearest future."[13]

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[13] For more background information on the Transdniestrian conflict and the mediation efforts of the OSCE see, Klemens Büscher, The Missions to the Republic of Moldova and the Ukraine: A Double-Entry Balance Sheet, in: Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg/ IFSH (ed.), Stuart J Kaufman, Spiraling to Ethnic war. Elites, Masses and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War, in: International Security 21 (1996), 2, 108-38; Stuart J Kaufman / Stephen R

3. CONSTITUTION AND STRUCTURE

While getting into politics presenting the constitutions is estimated essential. Starting from emancipation and analyzing thorniness and amendments, the current constitutions emerges. The chapter concludes with the current governments proclaim.

3.1.1 Cyprus

The government type of the official state currently is Presidential Republic. The 1960 Constitution provided for a presidential system of government with independent executive, legislative, and judicial branches, as well as a complex system of checks and balances, including a weighted power-sharing ratio designed to protect the interests of the Turkish Cypriots. The executive was headed by a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice president elected by their respective communities for five-year terms and each possessing a right of veto over certain types of legislation and executive decisions. Legislative power rested on the House of Representatives, also elected on the basis of separate voters' rolls.

Note that the president is both the chief of state and head of government. The post of the vice president is currently vacant and reserved for a Turkish Cypriot. The cabinet is constituted by the Council of Ministers which is appointed jointly by the president and vice president.[14]

Currently the House of Representatives has 80 seats. Of these 59 members are elected for a five year term, 56 (70%) are elected by the Greek Cypriot Community by proportional representation and 3 observers representing the Maronite, Latin and Armenian minorities, and 24 (30%) supposed to be elected by the Turkish Cypriot Community, as provided in article 62(2) of the Constitution. The Turkish Cypriot seats in the House remain vacant since 1963. Negotiations to create the basis for a new or revised constitution to govern the island and for better relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots have been held intermittently since the mid-1960s.

The Turkish Cypriots declared independence in 1983 as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. They created their own constitution and governing bodies and held its first elections. The constitution passed by referendum on May 1985. The UN recognizes the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus over the entire island of Cyprus.[15]

In TRNC the President is head of state and the Prime Minister head of government and of a multi-party system. The presidential election takes place every 5 year. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the Assembly of the Republic.

TRNC leadership refuse to establish the state of affairs before the invasion of Cyprus in their attempt to de jure partition the Republic of Cyprus. This is described in the report of the UN Secretary-General at the time: "The Turkish Cypriot leaders have adhered to a rigid stand against any measures which might involve having members of the two communities live and work together, or which might place Turkish Cypriots in situations where they would have to acknowledge the authority of Government agents. Indeed,

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[14] http://cdsp.sciences-po.fr/fichiers_elections25_ANG/CYPRUS_ANG

[15] www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/CY.html

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since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is committed to physical and geographical separation of the communities as a political goal, it is not likely to encourage activities by Turkish Cypriots which may be interpreted as demonstrating the merits of an alternative policy. The result has been a seemingly deliberate policy of self-segregation by the Turkish Cypriots".[16]

3.1.2 The 1994 Constitution of Moldova

Moldova is a Parliamentary Democratic Republic. The Constitution of Moldova adopted in 1994, sets the framework for the government of the country. A parliamentary majority of at least two thirds is required to amend the constitution which cannot be revised in time of war or national emergency. Amendments to the Constitution affecting the state's sovereignty, independence, or unity can only be made after a majority of voters support the proposal in a referendum. Furthermore, no revision can be made to limit the fundamental rights of people enumerated in the Constitution.

Under the 1994 constitution Moldova was designated as a "presidential-parliamentary republic." However, since the constitution did not adequately define how executive powers were to be shared between the prime minister and the president, there was a constant power struggle within the executive branch. Efforts by President Lucinschi to transform the political system into a pure presidential system, while popular with the population nevertheless failed to gain any traction with members of Parliament. In an effort to derail attempts by Lucinschi to change the constitution, in 1999 Parliament passed an amendment to the constitution that established Moldova as a "parliamentary republic." These changes fundamentally weakened the powers of the presidency and made the chief executive dependent on the legislature's continued support to remain in office. The amendments also eliminated the

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[16] Quotation from March 1999 report submitted by Cyprus in the framework of the Convention for the Protectino of Mational Minorities citing United Nations Secretary General Report S/6426

president's ability to initiate legislation and essentially gave the greatest authority to the majority party or group in the legislature.[17]

The unicameral Moldovan parliament has 101 seats who are elected by popular vote on party lists every four years. The head of state is the President who is elected by Parliament, requiring the support of three fifths of the deputies (61). He can serve no more than two terms, four years each one. The president appoints a prime minister after consulting the Parliament, who functions as the head of government, and who in turn assembles a cabinet. Within 15 days from designation the prime minister must request a vote of confidence from the Parliament regarding his work program and entire cabinet. Legislative power is vested in both the government and parliament.

The position of the break-away republic of Transnistria, relations with Romania and integration into the EU dominate the political agenda.

3.3.1 Government in Cyprus

On February 17, 2008 after a two round election procedure Dimitris Christofias of AKEL outvoted 53.4 % of the constituency and elected President of Cyprus. It was the first electoral victory of AKEL without being part of a wider coalition. Christofias took over government from Tassos Papadopoulos of the Democratic Party who had been in office since February 2003. His Presidency started at February 28, 2008.

In the north part of the island, after "presidential" elections on April 17, 2005 Mehmet Ali Talat became president of the TRNC since April 24, 2005. Ferdi Sabit Soyer is TRNC prime minister and heads the Council of Ministers (cabinet) in coalition with Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Turgay Avci. Talat captured 56% of the vote replacing its 81 year old founder Rauf Denktash.

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[17] Political Instability Task Force (PITF). Polity IV country report 2007: Moldova (the PITF is funded by the Central Intelligence Agency)

He pledged to work to reunite the island and restart peace talks with Greek Cypriots following a resounding win he labeled "silent revolution." In September 2008 the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities actually started negotiations under UN auspices.[18]

3.3.2 Government in Moldova

After elections held on April 5 2009 the parliament failed on twice to elect a president (May 20 and June 3), automatically triggering new parliamentary elections. Those elections, which held in July 29, dramatically changed the political landscape, with the opposition managing to remove the Communists from power, and causing a crisis regarding the presidential election which remains unresolved.

An analysis of the attempts to elect a president follows, in order to highlight the current volatile political scene.

On August 8, four parties agreed to create the Alliance For European Integration, in order to push the Communists into opposition. The Alliance needs to elect a new president, an impossible action without having the support of at least 8 Communist MPs. It has a narrow majority of 53 deputies while the Communists have 48. At least 61 votes are needed to elect the new president.

Thus they managed only to form a government with Michael Ghimpu as Parliament Speaker and Vlad Filat as Prime Minister. They announced that they would nominate Marian Lupu for President. The first Parliament session was boycotted by the communists by challenging the legitimacy of Ghimpu's election on procedural grounds, but the Constitutional Court decided that the election had been valid. Voronin resigned on September 11 and became a simple MP, and Ghimpu took over as acting president

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[18] http://timelines.ws/countries/CYPRUS.HTML

until the election, and Vlad Filat as Prime Minister. The new government is an arduously negotiated power-sharing arrangement among the AEI's four parties.

The Presidential elections meant to take place on October 23 postponed for November 10, because according to the constitution at least two candidates are needed to run for the election.[19] Moldovans amended the procedure to provide that if the first and second rounds of the presidential election fail, repeated elections can be organized. Running for the presidential post can be one more candidates. The Communists described the amendments as non-constitutional and announced intention to appeal to the Constitutional Court.

During the elections, the PCRM faction boycotted the procedure and Lupu got 53 votes by the AIE. Repeated elections were set for December 7 were the communists repeated the same strategy. According to Moldova's constitution, after two failed attempts to elect a president the country now heads for early parliamentary elections. Voronin said his party was looking beyond the vote, to an early parliamentary election in 2010.

This is also why they refused to put forward a candidate in a bid to force parliament to be disbanded, so that they can attempt to gain the three extra seats they need to establish a parliamentary majority. They claim they could not support Lupu, as the ruling coalition is preparing "anti-social policies" and this is a betrayal of the Moldovan working class.

The two unsuccessful attempts to elect the president opened the way for the holding of new parliamentary elections. While Moldova's parliament was last dissolved in July, a new round of (third since April 2009) would likely be possible only in September or October 2010

Following the failed vote in the chamber, the parliament's president Mihai Ghimpu announced that the country will hold early parliamentary elections. In the mean he ordered a national commission to study constitutional amendments to resolve the crisis. Constitutional changes include shifting presidential elections from parliament to a nationwide vote. The constitutional reforms would become effective after a national referendum.

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[19] provisions of the art.78, para. (3) and (4) of the Constitution

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Conclusively, one can say that the political scene became extremely polarized and regionalized to communists and anti-communists. In the past communists were controlling both the government and the presidency. Now they certainly lost the government but retain enough power to block the presidential election procedure. On the other hand, the opposition appears to be more stiff and organized. The shift of the majority to the anti-communist side indicates a new era opening in Moldovan politics.

4. CYPRUS POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND ELECTIONS

Cyprus has a multi-party system with three or four strong parties who generally dominate the political landscape. By scrutinizing four recent election contests we will highlight relations, alliances and general trends of the political parties.

4.1 The May 27, 2001 House of Representatives elections

After this election AKEL's General Secretary Dimitris Christofias was elected President of the House of Representatives until 2006. For first time in the history of Cyprus a communist participated in the government. Besides AKEL, he was supported by EDEK and DIKO.

The coalition of those three parties continued after the election of Christofias as the House President and fell apart at 2007. In the presidential elections in 2003 they achieved the election of the DIKO president, Tassos Papadopoulos as President of Cyprus. Subsequently AKEL became an active part of the Cypriot Government with four ministers.

AKEL is formally speaking a Communist Party but it is very much a Left party with only a core of ideologue Marxists in its midst. It supported entry into the EU with certain reservations and it is considered as moderately euro sceptic. It supports an independent, demilitarized and non-aligned Cyprus, and a federal solution of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. It places particular emphasis on rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots and it has had and still has good relations with Turkish-Cypriot parties.

The election results are listed below:

Parties	Votes	%	Seats
Progressive Party of Working People -AKEL	142,648	34.7	20
Democratic Rally -DISY	139,721	34.0	19
Democratic Party -DIKO	60,986	14.8	9
Movement for Social Democracy United Democratic Union of Centre -EDEK	26,767	6.5	4
New Horizons	12,333	3.0	1
United Democrats	10,635	2.6	1
Fighting Democratic Movement		2.2	1
Ecological and Environmental Movement		2.0	1
Maronite, Roman-Catholic and Armenian minorities			3
Total (turnout 90.5% of 467,543 registered voters)	410,987	100.0	59

4.2 The May 21, 2006 House of Representatives elections

These elections were highly affected from the rejection of the Annan Plan. At the April 2004 referendum, 75.8% of Greek Cypriots rejected the plan, while 64.9% of Turkish Cypriots supported it.[20] The impact has been highly divisive and that its shadow continues to hang over Cypriot politics.

In terms of referendum results abut the Plan, more than 2/3 of traditional DISY voters backed a NO vote in spite of its leadership's contrary opinion. Most AKEL voters followed the last-minute decision to campaign against the Plan. The followers of the President's own party DIKO overwhelmingly voted against the Plan.

Following the rejection by the Greek Cypriots, four DISY MPs who had opposed the party line were expelled and a number of members willingly resigned. The expelled MPs formed a party called European Democracy. In 2005 they merged with New Horizons and created the European Party.

The election results are listed below:

Parties	Votes	%	+/–	Seats	+/–
Progressive Party of Working People -AKEL	131,066	31.1	–3.6	18	–2
Democratic Rally -DISY	127,776	30.3	–2.7	18	–1
Democratic Party -DIKO	75,458	17.9	+3.1	11	+2
Movement for Social Democracy-EDEK	37,533	8.9	+2.4	5	+1
European Party -EVROKO	24,196	5.8	+2.8	3	+2
Ecological and Environmental Movement	8,193	2.0	±0.0	1	±0
United Democrats	6,567	1.6	–1.0	0	–1
Other parties	10,298	2.4	+0.4	0	–1
Total	421,087	100.0		56	

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[20] www.ipu.org/parline/reports/2081_E.htm

4.3 The February 16, 2003 Cypriot presidential elections

A candidate to be elected as a president needs more than 50% of the votes validly cast. If none of the candidates attains the required majority the election is repeated on the corresponding day of the following week between the two candidates who received the greater number of votes. The candidate who receives the greatest number of votes at these repeated elections is deemed elected.[21]

On the January 2003 the incumbent President Glafkos Klerides said that he would be standing for re-election in the upcoming presidential election, after previously saying he would not stand again. Klerides, from the DISY had been elected in 1993 and 1998 and called for Cypriots to elect him for a further limited 16 months as President to give him time to try and reach a deal with Turkish Northern Cyprus on reunifying the island. He wanted other candidates to unite behind him and agree to form a national unity government to try and reach a settlement. However this was not agreed by his opponents.

Klerides main opponent was expected to be Papadopoulos of the DIKO. He studied law in London was active in PEKA, the political section of EOKA. He took part in the London Conference in 1959 and was one of the two delegates (besides the AKEL delegates) who voted against the signing of the London and Zurich Agreements. He was also participated at the Constitutional Commission which drafted the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. His long acting political life started at 1970 when he elected as an MP.

Papadopoulos was seen as being more hard line in negotiations with the Turkish Cypriots and had previously accused Klerides of selling out the interests of Greek Cypriots in negotiations. He was backed by AKEL and had been clear favourite in the election until Klerides announced he would stand again.

Klerides campaign was hurt by the decision of his close aide and attorney general Markides to also stand in the election as independent. Markides was standing as he believed Cyprus needed a younger more modern leader than the 83 year old Klerides. His candidacy however was seen as likely to split the

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[21] www.ekloges.pio.gov.cy/english/index.htm

support of centre-right voters and thus assist Papadopoulos in the election.

The results saw Papadopoulos winning over 51% meaning that he was elected in the first round, thanks to the support of his own party but also and most importantly thanks to the additional support of AKEL and EDEK. The Green Party supported the government but did not participate in it.[22]

Papadopoulos campaigned on a platform that he would be able to secure better deal over the Cyprus dispute. As President, he signed the accession of Cyprus to the EU on April 2003. Before the Cyprus reunification referendum 2004 on the Annan plan he urged Greek Cypriots to vote No, declaring "I received a state, I will not deliver a community". His recommendation is considered one of the reasons for the referendum's negative result on the Greek-Cypriot side.

Papadopoulos was born studied law in London. In the late fifties he was active in the political section of EOKA. He took part in the London Conference in 1959 and was one of the two delegates (besides the AKEL delegates) who voted against the signing of the London and Zurich Agreements. He was also one of the four representatives of the Greek Cypriot side at the Constitutional Commission which drafted the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus.

He was elected member of the House of Representatives in 1970 and re-elected in 1976, 1991 and 1996. In 2000 he was elected unopposed President of the Democratic Party during the historic electoral congress at which the founder of the Party Kyprianou, stood down.

The election results are listed below:

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[22] www.seipaz.org/documentos/workingPaperSIP2006May

Candidates and nominating parties	Votes	%
Tassos Papadopoulos - Democratic Party (Dimokratikon Komma)	213,353	51.51
Glafkos Klerides - Democratic Rally (Dimokratikos Sinagermos)	160,724	38.80
Alecos Markides - Independent	27,404	6.62
Nicos Koutsou - New Horizons (Neoi Orizontes)	8,771	2.12
Costas Kyriacou - Independent	1,840	0.44
Andreas Efstratiou - Independent	606	0.15
Adamos Katsantonis - Independent	558	0.13
Christos Iosifides - Independent	391	0.09
Georgios Mavrogenis - Independent	337	0.08
Pantelis Sofokleous - Independent	209	0.05
Total (turnout 90.63% of 476,345 registered votes)	valid: 414,375	100.0

4.4 The February 17, 2008 Cypriot presidential elections

Papadopoulos announced in late July that he would run for re-election. In early July 2007 the ruling coalition (DIKO, AKEL and EDEK) fell apart due to a lack of consensus on a common candidate for the presidential elections. AKEL general secretary Christofias was proposed as a common candidate by AKEL but rejected by DIKO and EDEK, who both supported Papadopoulos' bid for re-election, which AKEL took as a reason to leave the ruling coalition and seek to purchase its political proportion. Thus both Papadopoulos and Christophias contested the election.

Furthermore DISY supported Kasoulidis a former Government Spokesman and foreign minister of Klerides administration. He studied medicine at the in France and geriatrics in London. Themistokleous, a former minister of agriculture and environment also contested the election.

After the first round of the election and the elimination of Papadopoulos, the latter's party DIKO, announced its support for Christofias (maintaining its anti DIDY attitude) although Papadopoulos himself stayed neutral. Christofias had offered three ministerial positions in exchange for DIKO's support, including that of Minister of Foreign Affairs in addition to the post of President of the House of Representatives, while Kasoulidis had offered five. EDEK also backed Christofias on the proposal of its Political Bureau with 109 members of its Central Committee voting in favour of supporting Christofias, five voting against, and two abstaining. The Cypriot Orthodox Church leader Archbishop Chrysostomos II (anticommunist) backed Kasoulidis. Ecological and Environmental Movement supported Christofias. Evroko, ADIK and Matsakis announced that they will support neither of the two candidates. Themistokleous backed Kasoulidis.

Throughout the election campaign Christofias pledged to restart talks with Turkish Cypriots in order to find a solution to the Cyprus dispute and reunify the island. He has also supported the closure of the British military bases on Cyprus.

Christofias became involved in leftist politics early in his youth and held several positions with the youth movement of AKEL. He studied in Moscow and returned to Cyprus and political life. In 1988 he was elected Secretary General of AKEL and served as a member of the House of Representatives of Cyprus since 1991 and as its president between 2001 and 2008.

The election results are listed below:

Candidates and nominating parties	1st round		2nd round	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
Dimitris Christofias	150,016	33.29	240,604	53.37
Ioannis Kasoulidis	150,996	33.51	210,195	46.63
Tassos Papadopoulos	143,249	31.79		
Marios Matsakis	3,460	0.77		
Kostas Kyriacou	1,092	0.24		
Kostas Themistocleous	753	0.17		
Andreas Efstratiou	713	0.16		
Christodoulos Neophytou	243	0.05		
Anastasis Michael	117	0.03		

5. TRNC POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND ELECTIONS

Politics of the TRNC takes place in a framework of a semi-presidential representative democratic republic, whereby the President is head of state and the Prime Minister head of government, and of a multi-party system. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the Assembly of the Republic.

The presidential election takes place every 5 years. In order to secure outright victory in the elections a candidate has to have at least 50% of the votes. Otherwise the two higher voted candidates go to a second round one week later and the winner becomes the president.

The political landscape widely changed when the TRNC held multi-party parliamentary elections in 1993 removing the long-ruling National Unity Party(UBP) in favour of a coalition of the Democratic(DP) and Republican Turkish(CTP) parties. However, in August 1996 a new coalition was formed between the two main rightist parties, UBP and DP, which stayed in power for the next eight years. In 2003 the CTP and DP formed a new government placing CTP leader Talat as the new Prime Minister.

5.1 The February 20, 2005 Assembly of TRNC Elections

The CTP won and became the largest bloc in the assembly. It is a social democratic political party, founded by lawyer Berberoglu in 1970 as an opposition to the Turkish Cypriot leadership of Kücük and Denktash.

In the 1980s CTP's had a pro-Soviet stance. It has a history of rapprochement meetings with AKEL. From 1996 the party was led by Talat until his election as the president in 2005 succeeding Rauf Denktash. After the fall of the communism in Eastern Europe and USSR a natural process of change started. The party's leader today is Soyer and the party is leaning towards the European social-democratic and liberal system. In contrast with the UBP, the CTP is for unification of the island and Talat has begun to undertake weekly meetings with the Greek Cypriot President regarding power sharing, armed forces, land ownership, and other problems that would arise in the event of unification of the island.

The Democratic Party is a center-right conservative political party headed by Serdar Denktash son of the ex-president Rauf Denktash.

The CTP president Talat formed the second CTP-DP coalition serving as Prime Minister until his election as the second TRNC President on April 17, 2005, when he asked CTP Deputy leader Soyer to form a new government.

The election results are listed below:

Parties	%	Seats
Republican Turkish Party - CTP	44.5	25
National Unity Party - UBP	31.7	16
Democratic Party - DP	13.5	5
Peace and Democracy Movement - BDH	5.8	1
Communal Liberation Party	2.4	-
New Party	1.6	-
Independents		3
Total (turnout 80.8 %)		50

5.2 The April 19, 2009 Assembly of TRNC Elections

It was the latest legislative elections and the UBP won 44 %. UBP favours the unity of and close relations between northern Cyprus and Turkey and supports the de facto independence of the former. Hitherto it disagrees and opposes re-unification with the Greek Cypriots.

UBP is a right-wing conservative political party. It was founded by Rauf Denktash in 1975. It stayed in power from its creation until the 2003 elections with the exception of the period from 1994–1996.

UBP favours the unity of and close relations between northern Cyprus and Turkey and supports the de facto independence of the former. Hitherto it disagrees with and opposes re-unification with the Greek Cypriots of the internationally recognised Republic of Cyprus. In contrast President Talat is in favour of reunification of the island.

The election results are listed below:

Parties	Votes	Seats	+/−
National Unity Party - UBP	44.07%	26	+7
Republican Turkish Party - CTP	29.15%	15	−9
Democratic Party - DP	10.65%	5	−1
Communal Democracy Party - TDP	6.87%	2	+1
Freedom and Reform Party - ORP	6.20%	2	+2
United Cyprus Party	2.42%	—	—
Politics for the People Party	0.50%	—	—
Independents	0.14%	—	−3
Totals (turnout 81.42%)	100.00	50	—

5.3 The April 17, 2005 TRNC Presidential Elections

From 1975 to 2005 President of TRNC was Rauf Denktash. He helped found the Turkish Resistance Organization(TMT), formed to resist EOKA's struggle to proclaim Enosis and worked for the partition of Cyprus. In 1958 he attended the U.N. General Assembly on behalf of the Turkish-Cypriots, and advised the Turkish Government on the rights of Turkish Cypriots during the preparation of the Zürich Agreement, and soon after was elected President of the Turkish Communal Chamber. An ardent nationalist, he pursued a policy of trying to gain international recognition of the TRNC. However, this stance proved to be a major stumbling block to reconciliation efforts, and while initially supported by the Turkish Cypriot populace it began to work against him when the Republic of Cyprus joined the EU.

In 2005 Denktash retired from the presidency. Talat won the Presidential Election becoming the TRNC's second President. He resigned as Prime Minister which was taken over by CTP Deputy Leader Soyer. He was Minister of Education and Culture in the first coalition government formed by the RTP-DP alliance after the 1993 elections. He undertook the same post in the second DP-RTP coalition government, and became Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister in the third DP-RTP coalition government. It was the first time that TRNC had a president in favour of reunification.

During the 2004 referendum on the Annan Plan to reunify Cyprus in advance of its entry to the EU, Talat promoted a 'Yes' vote among Turkish Cypriots and the plan received overwhelming endorsement north of the Green Line. However, Papadopoulos, the then President of the Republic of Cyprus opposed the plan and the Greek Cypriot community rejected it by a large majority. As a consequence the plan was dropped. EU declared it would seek to implement trade concessions and other measures designed to alleviate the isolation of Northern Cyprus as a reward for the Turkish Cypriot referendum result. Talat remains publicly committed to reunification.

The election results are listed below:

	Candidate	Votes
Mehmet Ali Talat	Republican Turkish Party	55.6
Derviş Eroğlu	National Unity Party (UBP)	22.73
Mustafa Arabacıoğlu	Democrat Party (DP)	13.22
Nuri Çevikel	New Party (YP)	4.79
Zeki Beşiktepeli	Independent	1.72
Hüseyin Angolemli	Communal Liberation Party (TKP)	1.05
Zehra Cengiz	Cyprus Socialist Party	0.44
Arif Salih Kırdağ	Independent	0.3
Ayhan Kaymak	Independent	0.17

6. MOLDOVAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND ELECTIONS

Moldova is a multi-party republic with a Unicameral System. It is the only CIS member country to have held consistently free and fair elections (with the usual insignificant irregularities) from 1990 to date. Moldova's opposition parties are small and leader-centred. Most of the opposition parties compete against one another for the same segments of the electorate or for overlapping segments.[23]

Right after democratisation parties came and went, constituted alliances and blocs merged and split again. Political parties tended to change names with every election and personal ambitions of and rivalries between leaders have stood in the way of a consolidation of the party landscape.[24] By scrutinizing the last decade election contests we will highlight relations, alliances and general trends of the political parties.

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[23] www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=34733&tx_ttnews[backPid]=7&cHash=527a88cdb2

[24] Republic of Moldova: Parliamentary Election March 2005 Report by Bjørn T Vagle

Most Moldovan party labels were and still are meaningless. The biggest party for instance is communist in name only. It uses that name as an electoral brand attractive to a critical mass of voters. Moldova is the only post-Soviet country to have returned a communist party to power repeatedly. All the parliamentary majority parties and all presidents failed to re-elect until the PCRM managed to do so in 2005. Communists were subjected to restrictions everywhere in post-Soviet elections but the Moldovan Communists competed unrestrictedly. The party gained a plurality of parliamentary seats in 1998 and an absolute majority in 2001 and 2005. It won the 2001 elections on a platform of nostalgia for the Soviet period and the 2005 elections on a pro-Europe platform, having run afoul of Moscow. In 2009 although it preserved its plurality of parliamentary seats, it was not enough to form a government.

Despite the weakness of political parties in Moldova, for much of the post-independence era competition for political power was waged between two rival factions with distinct policy differences regarding the issue of national sovereignty. One faction led by ex-President Lucinschi and ex-Prime Minister Braghis favoured a strongly nationalistic political course. In the opposition camp was a coalition of forces led by PCRM leader Vladimir Voronin who favoured closer ties with Russia. The struggle between the two factions was antagonistic and hostile throughout most of 2000 as neither faction was able to tilt a relative balance of power in its favour during initial attempts to elect a new president. Only after the 2001 parliamentary elections the power balance shifted albeit temporarily in favour of the pro-Russian faction. Efforts by the new president to reintroduce compulsory Russian-language lessons in schools sparked large-scale street protests in 2002. The largely Romanian-speaking population viewed this language policy as a step to bring Moldova into Russia's influence. While the Russian language plan was eventually abandoned, the street protests against the government of President Voronin escalated after the disappearance of the opposition leader Cubreacov. While Voronin threatened the use of force to end these protests the unwillingness of either the military and police to carry out violence, left the government with little control over the political arena.

Recognizing the political liabilities associated with pursuing a pro-Moscow platform, the Communists since 2002 made a complete turnaround and now support greater ties to EU. This

policy compromise weakened the factional division in Moldova, although the fault line between Russian and European supporters remains an important feature of Moldovan politics.[25] Despite the communist's majority status, Moldova could not be termed a "communist-ruled" or "communist-governed" state. Voronin embraced the agenda of European integration in 2004 ahead of his party and must often nudge an uncomprehending or reluctant parliamentary majority to adopt legislation envisaged by the Moldova-EU Action Plan. Many Communist parliamentarians grumble but ultimately marched to the EU's tune. This modus operandi proved relatively effective thanks to Voronin's dual role as head of state and of the PCRM. This turned out to be a basis for stability and incremental changes in a destitute provincial society. However, the transition process ahead will severely test the country's weak political system.

Note that a big portion of Moldova's population wants reunification with Romania and the EU membership it would bring. German reunification is a common topic of conversation. In the 2009 parliamentary elections opposition parties called for closer links, or even a union with Romania.[26]

6.1 Flaw Democracy and Electoral Procedures in Moldova

There is disagreement as to whether elections and politics in Moldova are carried out in a free and democratic climate on the part of certain organizations.

The USA Senate has held committee hearings on election irregularities, including arrests and harassment of opposition candidates, intimidation, suppression and bias of media, in favour

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[25] Political Instability Task Force (PITF). Polity IV country report 2007: Moldova (the PITF is funded by the Central Intelligence Agency)

[26] www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?t=154592

of candidates backed by the PCRM. Other critics have also referred to the former Communist government as being authoritarian.[27]

According to a European Commission comment on the Moldovan election law, the Representation Threshold (6%:single party, 9%:two-party bloc, 12%:blocs digger than three parties)[28] was high by absolute and comparative standards. The system asked voters to endorse a single candidate rather than a party list, and then allocate seats in proportion to the electoral strength of parties.[29] Alliances between political groups were also prohibited prior to an election. EU requested a 3% threshold, a widely used level for European countries that allows smaller parties to actively participate in government. Voronin refused to comply, noting that Russia and Turkey amongst other countries maintain similarly high thresholds.

The EU foreign policy representative Javier Solana stated that "further improvements were required to ensure an electoral process free from undue administrative interference and to increase public confidence."[30]

According to OSCE opinion opposition parties may not have flourished but at least they haven't been subjected to government harassment, and elections over the years have been fair and open.[31] However, PLD leader Filat complained that some parties may be prevented from conducting election campaigns because Moldovan law requires political campaigns to last 60 days minimum. Due to the February 2 announcement, political parties were left with only three days to register if they wished to campaign prior to the April vote.[32]

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[27] More about Moldovan election procedures: on the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights of the Republic of Moldova (MHC), Report on Respect of Human Rights in the Republic of Moldova (including Transnistria), January 2003-January 2004.

[28] Article 86 of Moldovan Constitution

[29] European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission), comments on the election law of the republic of Moldova by Mr Richard Rose (Expert, United Kingdom), Opinion no. 226/2002, Strasbourg December 9, 2002

[30] www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,4159551,00.html

[31] www.topnews.in/moldovas-president-follows-putin-model-out-and-back-2145581

[32] http://moldova.suite101.com/article.cfm/moldova_parliamentary_election_preview_2009

The OSCE Special Co-ordinator Petros Efthymiou, and the Head of the OSCE Mission to Moldova, Ambassador Remler encouraged the Chisinau central authorities and the Tiraspol regional authorities to find an understanding that enables Moldovan citizens in Corjova to exercise their right to vote.[33] Jurisdiction over Corjova is disputed. During the 2005 parliamentary elections Transnistrian blocked attempts to carry out mobile voting for home-bound voters. During the 2007 local elections they prevented voters from entering the polling station. When repeat elections organized, they closed down the polling station by force.

Also, recently the leadership of the autonomous region of Gagauzia became more vocal in its complaints that the Moldovan Government does not respect the region's statutory-enshrined autonomy.[34]

Assertions also came from abroad. Many of those who oppose the Communists are young people who left the country to work abroad, and straiten to track down to vote. Considering that they can only vote in Embassy buildings makes elections hardly accessible to them.[35]

Estonian Socialist MEP Marianne Mikko "noted real improvements in comparison with the 2005 elections" explaining that polling stations officials and voters were fully aware of electoral procedures.[36]

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33 www.osce.org/moldova/item_1_37084.html

34 For the Gagauz conflict in Moldova see, inter alia, Jeff Chinn / Steve Ropers, Territorial Autonomy in Gagauzia, in: Nationalities Papers, 26 (1998), 1, pp. 87-10; Charles King, Gagauz-Yeri and the Dilemmas of Self-Determination, in: Transitions 1 (1995), 19, pp. 21-25; Vladimir Socor, Gagauz Autonomy in Moldova: A Precedent for Eastern Europe?, in: RFE/RL Research Report 3 (1994), 33, pp. 20-28; Vladimir Socor, Gagauz in Moldavia Demand Seperate Republic, in: Report on the USSR 2 (1990), 36, pp. 8-13; Paula Thompson, The Gagauz in Moldova and Their Road to Autonomy, in: Magda Opalski [ed.], Managing Diversity in Plural Societies - Minorities, Migration and Nation-Building in Post-Communist Europe, Ontario 1998, pp. 128-147.

35 www.bethanjenkinsblog.org.uk/moldovan-elections

36 www.europarl.europa.eu/news/public/story_page/030-53410-103-04-16-903-20090403STO53395-2009-13-04-2009/default_en.htm

6.2 The February 25, 2001 Moldovan Parliamentary elections

These elections were conducted in an atmosphere of extreme social and economic hardship.[37] 87%of the electoral stated that their income was hardly enough to cover their minimum expenses.[38] Continuous poverty and disappointment led people to vote for PCRM on a platform of nostalgia for the old good days and the secure communist environment.

Transnistrian authorities discouraged participation in the elections through different means. As a result, only 1% of Transnistrians entitled to vote participated in the elections.[39] At this time the constitution was changed to provide for election of the President through parliament rather than popular vote. The PCRM won and Voronin elected president shortly thereafter by the newly elected parliament. For the next eight years the balance of political power shifted in favor of Russia. Also, it was the first elections carried out using the recently introduced 6% representation threshold.[40]

The high threshold resulted in only three parties winning seats. No independent was able to clear the 6% barrier. The fact that no proportional representation election produces an exactly proportional result is not a justification for maintaining a grossly disproportional election law. If a straight 5% threshold had been applied and all electors had behaved the same, the relative size of parties would have been maintained and the PCRM would still had an absolute majority of seats in Parliament. However, there would have been five rather than three parties in Parliament and the opposition would have had 40 rather than 30 seats, thus enabling it to operate more effectively.[41]

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[37] Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, Claus Neukirch, Moldovan Headaches: The Republic of Moldova 120 days after the 2001 Parliamentary Elections, Working Paper

[38] CSOP – Centrul pentru Studierea Opiniei si Pieþei, Barometrul de opinie publică, Republica Moldova. ianuarie 2001.

[39] OSCE/ODIHR, Republic of Moldova – Parliamentary Elections, 25 February 2001. Final Report. Warsaw, 3 April 2001

[40] In 1994 and 1998 a 4%-threshold applied for all electoral contestants

[41] EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR DEMOCRACY THROUGH LAW (VENICE COMMISSION), Opinion no. 226/2002, COMMENTS ON THE ELECTION LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA, by Mr Richard ROSE (Expert, United Kingdom), Strasbourg, December 9, 2002

On April 4, 2001 Voronin was nominated as President. A Romanian engineer-economist, expert in politics and jurist he was elected President of the PCRM in 1994. Having served in many slots of the Moldavian branch of the CP of the USSR he was Moscow oriented. His allies controlled most if not all of the country's electronic media, most of the profitable wine factories and tobacco plantations and almost all Moldova's top banks, construction firms and commodities exchanges.

On April 19, the parliament approved the new government led by businessman Tarlev, a Bulgarian engineer and political neophyte and not a PCRM member. The PCRM has billed Tarlev's government as a non-partisan government of experts. Only two of its members were communists while six were from the previous center-right reformist government. Nevertheless, the government was entirely dependent on the PCRM's support.[42] In the following years they allocated more resources to social safety net items such as health, education, and increased pensions and salaries, aiming to a social based regime. After 2002 the communists made a turn towards Europe when recognized the political liabilities associated with the pro-Moscow platform. However, they maintained a two vector policy.

The election results are listed below:

Parties and coalitions	Votes%	Seats
Party Communists of the Republic of Moldova -PCRM	50.07	71
Electoral Bloc "Braghis Alliance"	13.36	19
Christian Democratic People's Party - PPCD	8.24	11
Party for Rebirth and Conciliation - PPC	5.79	—
Democratic Party of Moldova - PDM	5.02	—
National Liberal Party - PNL	2.81	—
Social Democratic Party of Moldova - PSDM	2.47	—
Other parties and independents	12.23	—
Total	100%	101
Blank and invalid votes	1.21	—
Total (turnout 67.52%)		

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[42] Congressional Research Service, Report 95-403, Moldova: Basic Facts, Steven Woehrel, Foreign Affairs and National Defence Division

6.3 The March 6, 2005 Moldovan Parliamentary elections

The PCRM gained 56 seats, more than the minimum 51 required forming a government but short of the 61 necessary to elect a president. Voronin was therefore re-elected with support from the Christian Democratic People's Party(PPCD) and from the Democratic(DP) and Social Liberal parties(PSL).

The PCRM campaign motto was more telling in the Russian-language version than in the Romanian one about the party's evolution: "Let us build together a European Moldova", advertising a shift to a more pro-Europe stance. Program goals included negotiating and signing an association agreement with the EU, free access of Moldovan citizens and goods to the EU, and resolving the Transnistria conflict through a negotiated autonomy status on the basis of Moldova's territorial integrity, its continuing neutrality and demilitarization.

The PCRM promised to cooperate with any party that supports independency of an indivisible Moldova within Europe (code words for non-unification with Romania, reunification with Transnistria, and staying out of Russia's orbit). But the party's message payed lip service to partnership with Russia in deference to a sizeable portion of Moldova's and the party's own electorate.

The PPCD was militant anticommunists, but entered into this parliamentary partnership after Voronin's team adopted a European orientation[43] and stood up to Russia. The conditional agreement for re-electing Voronin was based on 10 points proposed by PPCD. These points represented the basic reforms in the Moldavian legislation in order to expand democracy and reduce corruption. Although the PCRM sometimes vacillated on both counts, the PPCD understood the importance of not being isolated and not being forced to depend on Moscow-oriented local allies. However, this partnership was fateful for the PPCD and caused the complete loss of the party's electorate, when Voronin proved to be incongruous to his commitments.

Only three of the 15 parties vying for seats obtained enough votes to enter parliament due to the 6% threshold. Under Moldovan

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[43] The EU-Moldova Action Plan was signed on February 22, 2005

electoral law the remaining 16% of the12 parties vote, redistributed among the three parties that won seats.[44]

Voronin, Parliament Chairman Lupu, and Prime Minister Grecianai took over the first three places on the Communist Party's electoral slate. Top presidential adviser Tcaciuc had been seconded to coordinate the party's electoral campaign, leading an effort to rejuvenate the party in the run-up to the campaign. The effort succeeded in elevating a young group to the party leadership around Voronin. But the rejuvenation stopped half-way when Soviet-era veterans counterbalanced the young element.

When the PCRM seized power, whereas it promised wider democracy, it established an almost dictatorial regime, taking under control all the state institutions (Government, Justice, Media, ect). During 4 years of the Communist government the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, European Parliament and others criticized this government through the adoption of several resolutions. However, it favoured European integration and eventual EU membership.

The election results are listed below:

Parties and coalitions	%	Seats
Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova - PCRM	45.98	56
Party Alliance Our Moldova -PAMN	28.53	22
Democratic Party of Moldova -PDM		8
Social Liberal Party -PSL		4
Christian Democratic People's Party - PCDM	9.07	11
Electoral Bloc Motherland • Socialist Party of Moldova Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova	4.97	0
Social Democratic Party of Moldova	2.92	0
Republican Socio-Political Movement Equality	2.83	0
Party of the Socio-Economic Justice of Moldova	1.66	0
Peasants' Christian Democratic Party of Moldova	1.37	0
Total (turnout 63.7%)		101

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[44] www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/mar/07/1

6.4 The April 5, 2009 Moldovan Parliamentary Elections

In December 2008 President Voronin rejected EU suggestions to change the country's election laws. The constitution required at that time political parties to receive at least 6% of the vote to be represented in Parliament. Alliances between political groups were also prohibited prior to an election.

By April, Moldova's already weak economy was in tatters because of the world financial crisis, and the country's opposition repeatedly hammered the theme that Communist rule was corrupt and ruining the country. In the same time the state-run media provided biased coverage, trumpeting the virtues of the ruling party and selectively airing only negative aspects of the opposition.

When announced the preliminary election results on April 6, which showed the PCRM victorious winning approximately 50% of the votes, the opposition rejected the results accusing the authorities of falsification of votes counting and demanded new elections. Opposition and NGO activists organized protest demonstrations in Chisinau indicating people's anger against the unreliable and corrupted PCRM. Voronin called the Constitutional Court to authorise a recount of the votes as demanded by the protesters.

On both counts the results were the same: 60 votes for Greceanii (poppet president). As 61 seats are required to elect the president at least one dissenting vote from the opposition was required but never obtained. Voronin dissolved the Parliament and early elections were set for July 29.

Before the dissolution of the parliament the electoral threshold was lowered from 6% to 5% and the minimum participation rate was lowered from half the electorate to a third. A poll from mid-July gave the PCRM only 29.7%, with the combined opposition (including the DP now led by PCRM defector Lupu) at over 40%. Voronin did not rule out seeking to enter into a coalition with the opposition parties if the election results were inconclusive, but nobody wanted to cooperate with him any more.

The election results are listed below:

Parties and coalitions	Final results			
	Votes	Votes %	Seats	Seats %
Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova	760,551	49.48	60	59.41
Liberal Party	201,879	13.13	15	14.85
Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova	191,113	12.43	15	14.85
Party Alliance Our Moldova	150,155	9.77	11	10.89
Social Democratic Party	56,866	3.70	—	—
Christian Democratic People's Party	46,654	3.04	—	—
Democratic Party of Moldova	45,698	2.97	—	—
Centrist Union of Moldova	42,211	2.75	—	—
Social-Political Movement	15,481	1.01	—	—
Conservative Party	4,399	0.29	—	—
United Moldova	3,357	0.22	—	—
Republican Party of Moldova	1,436	0.09	—	—
Independents	17,277	1.12	—	—
Total (turnout 57.55%)	1,537,087	100%	101	100%

6.5 The July 29, 2009 Moldovan Parliamentary Elections

These elections dramatically changed the political landscape. The opposition managed to remove the Communists from power and formed a majority government. The parliament became extremely polarized having corrupted communists to one side, and anger democrats to the other.

The change started on August 8, 2009 when four parties (Liberal Democratic Party, Liberal Party, Democratic Party, and Our Moldova Alliance) agreed to create a governing coalition that will push the Communists into opposition. The coalition was named "Alliance for European Integration". The party's leaders (Filat, Ghimpu, Lupu, Urechean) signed a 22-point declaration in a press conference.

The Alliance joint foreign policy is based on a three-point principle. First: European integration, second: resuming good

relations Ukraine and Romania, third: strategic partnership with Russia.

The PCRM gained around 45% of the vote whilst the other four parties which won seats each gained from around 7% to 16%. However, combined the opposition parties to the Communists secured a greater percentage. Also, it was the first time after almost a decade that the PCRM lost its plurality of parliament seats. This led some commentators to declare the election a loss for the Communists. Lupu played a major role when defected to the DP lifted up 13 seats in the new assembly. He emerged as the preponderant politician of the elections playing a master role in both poles. He represents the centre-left and hopes his political standing will attract some more traditional communist supporters.

Eight parties participated in the elections: Four had won seats in the April elections (PCRM, PL, PLDM, PAMN), three parties had won 3 to 4% (PSD, PPCD, PDM) and the Ecologist Party "Green Alliance", which had not participated in the April elections.

The results of the July election indicate a consolidation of the vote with fewer parties standing. In April, 15.19% of voters supported minor parties below the then 7% threshold. In July only 4.16% of voters supported minor parties who fell below the 5% threshold.

The election results are listed below:

Parties and coalitions	Votes	%	+/−	Seats
Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova	706,732	44.69	−4.79	48
Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova	262,028	16.57	+4.14	18
Liberal Party	232,108	14.68	+1.55	15
Democratic Party of Moldova	198,268	12.54	+9.57	13
Party Alliance Our Moldova	116,194	7.35	−2.42	7
Christian Democratic People's Party	30,236	1.91	−1.79	—
Social Democratic Party	29,434	1.86	−1.18	—
Ecologist Party of Moldova "Green Alliance"	6,517	0.41	+0.41	—
Total (turnout 58.77%)	1,581,517	100.00	—	101

7. TRANSNISTRIAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND ELECTIONS

Officially Transnistria is a parliamentary republic with a unicameral 43-seat legislature known as the Transnistrian Supreme Soviet, although internal politics are heavily dominated by the presidency.[45] Originally there were two chambers until President Smirnov abolished one in 2002 increasing his power to "full presidentialism", while serving as "President" and "Prime Minister" at the expense of legislative power. The political regime can be described as "super-presidentialism". The president is elected to a five year term by popular vote.

Two so-called civic political movements which could be seen as prototypes of political parties were organized prior to the 2005 elections: Republic(Respublica) and Renewal(Obnovleniye). They dominate the parliamentary campaign and represent different groups within the ruling elite but are largely united on the core issue of independence.

In general, politics in Transnistria are determined by the imperative of its elites to retain power. These elites benefit politically and economically from the status quo.[46]

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[45] Minority Rights Group International, World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Transnistria (unrecognised state), Overview, 2007

[46] Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels. Nicu Popescu, International Policy Fellow, Democracy in Secessionism: Transnistria and Abkhazia's domestic policies, Final research paper, August 2006

Respublica and Obnovleniye represent competing economic interests of the two most powerful clans in Transnistria: the Smirnov dynasty and the Sheriff (name of company) conglomerate. Smirnov's power comes mainly from gas money and Sheriff's from lucrative retail and production export. Smirnov owns the regional bank Gasprombank (run by his son and wife). Sheriff owns supermarkets, petrol stations, and a number of newly privatized enterprises including Transnistria's largest textile plant, with 70% of export oriented to the EU.

There is a debate regarding the position of Obnovlenie in regards to Smirnov. Most analysts point to the party's opposition status noting that it is not allied with Smirnov, whose party Respublica lost several seats to Obnovlenie in the latest parliamentary election. However, others claim that the interests of the Smirnov clan are represented in all political movements of Transnistria including Obnovlenie.

Sheriff has mainly financial not political power. This is changing though with Obnovlenie in power. It is Sheriff's political vehicle for legitimizing and realizing its economic interests. Obnovlenie and its young appealing Parliamentary Speaker and Chairman Shevchuk are supported and controlled by the Sheriff Corporation. Sheriff wants market reform within Transnistria. Although Obnovlenie publicly renounced reunification with right bank Moldova (at Smirnov's insistence some say), Sheriff needs a conflict compromise (reunification) in order to realize its business goals.

Smirnov would like to change through parliamentary vote or referendum the electoral system from single constituencies to a proportional representation system because he is bracing himself for a budgetary crisis. His preemptive strategy is to weaken any possible threat of opposition and to deflect socio-economic problems onto it.

A party-list system requires real difference between parties and their platforms. It requires a real debate of issues. This is where Respublica is strong and Obnovlenie weak. Smirnov is popular for his pro-independence stance and pro-Russian foreign policy. Obnovlenie would have to develop a platform on foreign policy issues which it currently doesn't have. Moreover,

Obnovlenie's main goal of market reform is largely unappealing to a population accustomed to high pensions and social welfare.

According to the 2006 referendum carried out by the Transnistrian government, the population voted in favour of "independence from Moldova and free association with Russia." However, in 2007 the registration of a Social Democratic Party was allowed. This party led by former separatist leader and member of PMR government Safonov is allegedly in favour of a union with Moldova.

Elections in the PMR have not been monitored by any inter-governmental organization with the exception of the CIS, and they have been accompanied by numerous allegations of irregularities in favour of the incumbent president. In the latest presidential election the registration of Safonov was delayed until a few days before the vote, so that he had little time to conduct an election campaign. Some sources consider election results suspicious. In 2001, in one region it was reported that Smirnov outvoted 103.6%.

After almost 15 years of non-existence of political parties, in a few weeks in July and August 2006 a number of virtual parties and political movements were suddenly registered.[47] The aim was to set a fake multi-party political system while maintaining the authoritarian nature of the regime.[48]

The ethnic composition of the Transnistrian parliament reveals that Moldovans were under-represented in all terms. The two other largest ethnic groups (Russians and Ukrainians) were on average over-represented. Less than a third of deputies were born in Transnistria.[49]

Average Transnistrian citizens do not make political party distinctions and electoral choices based on ideology (as in Russia, see Colton 1998), but according to other frameworks. The line between factory and politics is a blurred one. Most major private

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[47] Vladimir Socor, Russian Political Campaign for a second Kalinigrad, Eurasia Daily Monitor, 11 August 2006

[48] On how post soviet states build façade democracies see Andrew Wilson's Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World, Yale University Press 2005

[49] European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Representation and Democracy in Eurasia's Unrecognized States: The Case of Transnistria, Oleh Protsyk, ECMI Working Paper #40, June 2008

enterprises are owned or operated by a state or municipal politician. The workplace and unions are important sites of election campaigning and vote winning. Choices are frequently made through collective, unanimous voting in workplaces. Campaign practices like gift-giving to constituents are common. Instead of being considered manipulative or undemocratic, everyday persons regard such practices as ways of remoralizing and domesticating an abstract quasi-state. Campaign politics also distinguishes people between left and right bank in wider Moldova.[50]

7.1   The December 10, 2000 Transnistrian Parliamentary Elections

Most of seats were won by independent candidates. Grigore Maracuta was elected for a third term as speaker having the support of 39 out of 41 representatives present at his election.

The election results are listed below:

Votes	%	Seats
Unity (Yedinstvo)	.	9
Renewal (Obnovleniy)	.	7
Power to the People (Vlast Narodu)	.	1
Independents	.	25
Vacant		1
Total (turnout 183,381 – 45.1%)		43

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[50] Chamberlain-Creanga, Rebecca. "Elections without a "State": Politics, Factories and Statecraft in Secessionist Transnistria" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA's 49th ANNUAL CONVENTION, BRIDGING MULTIPLE DIVIDES, Hilton San Francisco, SAN FRANCISCO, CA, USA, Mar 26, 2008

7.2 The December 11, 2005 Transnistrian Parliamentary elections

Since the 2005 parliamentary elections the Supreme Soviet has been controlled by Obnovlenie. With Ukrainian/Russian business interests involved, Obnovlenie is considered a formidable challenger to Smirnov and his party Respublica. However, this challenge failed when it became clear that Smirnov was firmly in control of the levers of influence over politics and the economic groups behind Obnovlenie. Control of the intelligence services and support from Russia were the key factors which allowed Smirnov to reassert his power in the presidency.[51] However, Shevchuk became Parliamentary Speaker, a position equivalent to prime minister one step down from the president of the republic.

During the election campaign local candidates gave gifts to people and organizations in an effort to win their votes. Opposition leaders claim Obnovlenie's strategy only worked because of the current electoral system. Parliamentary election is currently based on a majority system and single constituencies (single-member district electoral system). Under such a system individual charisma and financial power in constituency areas are important for winning (Mosher 2001). In other words Obnovlenie rose to power owing to its wealth and the electoral system.

The election results are listed below:

Parties	Seats
Renewal (Obnovleniye)	23
Republic (Respublika)	13
Allies of Renewal	6
Non-partisans	1
Total (turnout 56.3%)	43

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[51] Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels. Nicu Popescu, International Policy Fellow, Final research paper, August 2006 Democracy in Secessionism: Transnistria and Abkhazia's domestic policies

7.3 The December 9, 2001 Transnistrian Presidential elections

They were won by the incumbent president Smirnov who ruled Transnistria since 1991. The other candidates were Zenovich mayor of Bender, the second largest city in the country, and Radchenko of the Power to the People party which advocated reunion with Moldova.

Smirnov was born in the USSR and displayed a great enthusiasm for Soviet life. He served the Red Army, joined the Communist Party and served as a Komsomol organizer after returning to civilian life. He served as an assistant director and director in factories. There he organized strikes for the self-determination of Transnistria and got workers of other to. He emerged as a leader when Transnistrian politicians and activists worked towards sovereignty from the Moldovan SSR in1990.

He entered into politics when he won two seats in the 1990 Moldovan elections. After a congress that proclaimed the creation of the Pridnestrovian Moldavian SSR he was elected chairman of the Provisional Supreme Soviet.

The election results are listed below:

Candidate	Vice-pressident candidate	Party	Votes	%
Igor Smirnov	Sergei Leontiev		208,617	81.85
Tom Zenovich	Vladimir Kuznetsov		17,018	6.68
Alexander Radchenko	Alexander Yavorsky	Power to the People	11,853	4.65
None of the above, blank or invalid			17,348	6.82
Total (turnout 62.89%)			254,863	100.0%

7.4 The December 10, 2006 Transnistrian Presidential elections

Incumbent President Smirnov won despite opposition having stiffened during the final weeks campaign. Three candidates registered to run besides Smirnov: for Obnolveniye - Tomaily, Pridnestrovie Communist Party - Bondarenko and journalist Safonov.

Just a year ago more than half of the electorate voted for Obnovleniye. When Smirnov outvoted 82,4% questions for the election validness roused.

Safonov's candidacy was at first rejected on the basis of insufficient and allegedly fraudulent signatures, but on November 30, the Tiraspol law court accepted it. Despite the court ruling, at the Electoral Commission meeting on November 27, Safonov's registration was declined with some members claiming that the court decision needed to be challenged at a higher instance. The Commission finally allowed the candidacy on December 5.

Starting on December 7, early voting was allowed for those persons for whom it was impossible to come to the polls on December 10.

The election results are listed below:

Candidate	Vice-pressident candidate	Party	Votes	%
Igor Smirnov	Aleksandr Korolev	Respublika	212,384	82.4
Nadezhda Bondarenko	Anatoliy Bazhen	KPP and PKP	20,902	8.1
Andrey Safonov	Grigoriy Volov	independent	10,162	3.9
Peter Tomaily	Aleksandr Korshunov	independent, MP for Obnovleniye	5,480	2.1
None of the above	—	—	4,216	1.6
Blank/Invalied	—	—	4,638	1.9
Total			257,782	100.0%

CONCLUSIONS

Although the two sides of the Cyprus political map have been separated for 35 years, they have never been closer to being reunited than they are today. Substantial progress is observed on the issues of governance and power sharing. The main reason is the ousting of the hard-line Greek Cypriot President Papadopoulos in 2008 and the subsequent election of Christofias, who is a moderate and is in favour of reunification and gave the process a huge boost. He is also on very friendly terms with the North Cyprus leader Mehmet Ali Talat which has enabled negotiations to be conducted in a very civilised and polite manner. Both leaders have committed to a partnership that will compromise a federal government with a single international identity for the benefit of Cyprus politics.

Obviously it is the Turk-Cypriot side that is moving towards the Greek-Cypriot. Among many there are three distinguishable key-factors through the Cyprus depository:

- After division Makarios secured international recognition of his Greek Cypriot government as the sole legal authority on Cyprus. This gave de jure sovereignty over the entire island

and its surrounding waters. In contrast TRNC is only recognized by Turkey.

- The entire island entered the EU in 2004, but the EU aquis applies only to the areas under direct government control. However, individual Turkish Cypriots able to document their eligibility for Republic of Cyprus citizenship legally enjoy the EU rights.
- Christofias, a leftist non-nationalist Greek Cypriot President seized power. He is originated from AKEL which always had good relations with the Turkish Cypriots.

While holding solid arms there was no need for Cyprus to succumb to the Annan Plan, causing further decay to Rauf Denktash and UBP. Finally in 2005 Denktash resigned and UBP sank in the Parliamentary elections. For the first time TRNC was in favor of reintegration.

Questioning Moldova in parallel to Cyprus one can distinguish significant similarities. In both cases there were and still are links with third countries originated from historical vexations. Russian and Turkish armed forces respectfully are stationed in a breakaway territory against the will of the legal elected government. Both territories are colonized. Religious cleavages played no significant part in secession. When independency was finally achieved after long efforts, the sequence to partition together started.

Besides the above mentioned there are three distinguishable key-factors through the Moldovan matters:

- The history of the republic of Moldova is the history of two different regions that have been joined into one country, but not into one nation, while Cyprus is the history of two regions and nations always consolidated in one, and have recently disintegrated.
- Although Transnistria like TRNC is not internationally recognized, Voronin offered a fully autonomous status since 2001, demanding certain returns.
- Recognizing the political liabilities associated with pursuing a pro-Moscow platform, since 2002 Moldovan Communists made a complete turnaround supporting greater ties with EU. Since the EU-Moldova action Plan was signed (2005)

Moldova marches towards EU. The Parliamentary majority and the current government have the will to advance further to EU integration, while Voronin and PCRM seemed to be reluctant.

Moldovan problems can be solved undoubtedly through co-operation with the West under the condition that the country strengthen its efforts to play according to the rules and to fight nepotism and corruption. The biggest goal is to democratize Transnistria. This has become the new Euro-Atlantic strategy for ending the status quo and settling the Transnistrian conflict. The idea is to affect change from within through increased citizen participation, civil/political rights, and political competition.[52]

Moldova already aspires to EU integration. If Moldova joins EU, first democracy will consolidate and second the Transnistrian status will undoubtedly be affected in the mode of TRNC. Considering Moldovan political status we may say that now is the right time for this perspective. EU ıin contrary seems to be reluctant for further enlargement for the forthcoming years. I claim that a long approximate access plan is enough to serve this project.

That would make the Moldovan political scene looking rather normal, with the (mildly pro-Russian) Democrats on the left and the (mildly pro-Romanian) liberal bloc on the right alternating in government. In terms of foreign policy will continue the tightrope walking between the EU and Russia. However, there will be more cooperation with the EU avoiding the same time conflict with Russia. Relations with Romania will be normalized and Transnistria will continue its life as de facto independent state most likely federated with Moldova.

This stick and carrot policy is already implemented by financial actors. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Council of Europe will tip the new Moldovan authorities with US$1.5 billion. Representatives of the financial organizations already expressed their readiness to render financial assistance to Moldova after their meeting with the leaders of the democratic coalition. The promised financial resources can not only cover the budget deficit but make big investments in the infrastructure.

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[52] Rebecca A. Chamberlain-Creangă, London School of Economics, PhD candidate, Anthropology, AAASS 2007 New Orleans: Politics without a "state": electoral reform and political party formation in secessionist Transnistria – and its implications for conflict resolution

Moldova's party system is mature enough now for such a change. For much of the post-independence era competition for political power was waged between two rival factions with distinct policy differences regarding the issue of national sovereignty: Nationalistic against closer ties with Russia, also representing democratic against authoritarian rule. Since the 2002 turnaround of communists towards EU, this factional division has weakened, although the fault line between Russian and European supporters remains an important feature of Moldovan political participation. We may say that Moldovan party system in general, and particular after the last year events, shifted to the right to more neo-liberal perspectives.

Moldovan citizens have also changed and claim their rights in a more glazed way. They realized their political power. This can be justified by the uprising after the April 5 elections. Instead, the Russian influence in Transnistria left no room for political claims and maturity. It is an undeniable fact that the majority of people are not aware of politics and electoral procedures, making them prey to furtive politicians will. Also, improvements are required to ensure the electoral process free from undue administrative interference and to increase public confidence. These are key-factors to mobilize Transnistrians against authoritarian communists. Sententiously, the question here is whether Transnistrian citizens are able to conceptualize and exploit an eventual EU and Moldovian opening.

Although Moldova is a small country with minor strategic significance today, it is important to follow events there and to take them seriously. It is one of the frontlines of "battlefield" of interest spheres between EU and Russia, between U.S. and Russia and between future energy political deals.[53] It is also a test for international law, conflict management and territorial sovereignty. Russia has tested strategies there, which it later used in other countries and might do so in the future. Transnistria in particular is sometimes compared with other post-Soviet frozen conflict zones such as Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia. A continued lack of interest in the country would also make it easier

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[53] Bowers, Transnational Dimensions of the Transnistrian Conflict, in: Nationlites Papers vol. 26 (1998), no. 1, pp.129-146

for Russia to consolidate its control over the country and to increase the pressure on Ukraine to follow the same pattern.

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