POLITICS OF DILEMMA:

TRANSNISTRIA AND EU’ APPROACHES TOWARD TRANSNISTRIA’S BORDER

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Transnistria, also known as Trans-Dniester, Transdniestria Pridnestrovie is a region in Eastern Europe and is located mostly in a strip between the Dniester River and Ukraine.

Since its declaration of independence in 1990 it is governed by the Unrecognized Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (PMR), which claims the left bank of the river Dniestr and the city of Bender within the former Moldavian SSR.
• After the collapse of the USSR tensions between the Moldovan government and the PMR escalated into a military conflict (March 1992 - July 1992).

• Now de Jure Transnistria is a part of Moldova, de facto is an independent state (frozen conflict zone). Declaration of Independence - September 2, 1990. Internationally unrecognized Presidential Republic.


• Official languages: Moldovan (Cyrillic form), Russian, Ukrainian.

• President – Igor Smirnov.

• Recognition by non-recognized states only (such as Nagorno-karabakh, Abkhazia, South Ossetia). The latter two have recognised Transnistria as an independent state and plan to establish "diplomatic relations" in return for Transnistria's recognition of them. No UN member recognizes Transnistria.
ПРИДНЕСТРОВСКАЯ
МОЛДАВСКАЯ
РЕСПУБЛИКА
ЗОНА ТАМОЖЕННОГО КОНТРОЛЯ

CUSTOMS CONTROL ZONE
BORDER OF TRANSNISTRIA

- The total length of the Transnistria border is 851 km:
  - 402 km with the Moldova,
  - 449 km with Ukraine

- There are ? border crossing points
  
  *International* border crossing points

  *Internal* border crossing points
BORDER FOR TRANSNISTRIA

OFFICIAL DISCOURSE of PMR (sources for analysis: data from the official websites of PMR’s state institutions, official speech of the president, and state-supported media)

- Border and state building. ‘Border’ is included into state-building discourse ideologically ➔ ideology of ‘moldavism’ or ‘Transnistrian patriotism’

- Border and security issues

- Border as an instrument of independency recognition

- Border as an instrument to create positive meanings about PMR – beyond “black hole of Europe” image
1ST OF OCTOBER IS THE DAY OF FOUNDATION OF TRANSNISTRIAN CUSTOMS BODIES

 пятница, 30 сентября 2011

1st of October Customs bodies of Transnistrian Moldavian Republic mark 19 years from its foundation. All these years were filled with hard work aimed at creation of modern structure tasked with efficient implementation of customs policy of the Republic under the general guidance of the President of Transnistrian Moldavian Republic and highest bodies of legislative power.

NEW RULES ON DECLARING CASH HAVE COME INTO EFFECT

 четверг, 23 сентября 2011

The amendments to the procedure for declaring cash and foreign currency cheques were introduced by customs bodies of Transnistria within the framework of complex measures carried out by the State Customs Committee of Transnistrian Moldavian Republic with a view to enhance customs control and facilitate border crossing procedure for residents and non-residents of Transnistrian Moldavian Republic.

CUSTOMS OFFICERS BROKE UP ILLEGAL FUEL BUSINESS

 вторник, 20 сентября 2011

Customs bodies of Transnistria have lately reordered the increasing number of administrative infractions on the facts of illegal carrying of diesel fuel across the customs border of Transnistria. Only at the customs check point “The Rybantsa Bridge” in the first half of the year 2011 there were registered several of such cases.
Диаграмма загруженности пассажирского терминала ТПП "Первомайск" автотранспортом с 22.08.2011 по 28.08.2011

22.08.11-28.08.11

Въезд из ПМР на Украину

22.08.11-28.08.11

Въезд из Украины в ПМР
State-supported media reflect situations on the border in order to convince that PMR follows appropriate standards in border management.

Special TV Program “Зона таможенного контроля” (Zone of customs control)

Расширение полномочий погранслужбы? Эфир 31.03.2010 г.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JpZThC-Nhbc

Декларировать - обязан. Эфир 03.03.2010 года
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MMWW-UfULo&feature=related

Зона таможенного контроля (вып. №0)
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ue0yRsp-sko
Official discourse reflects first of all

idea of “hard border” in its
- geopolitical and
- institutional dimensions of border ➔

Among “4 functions of border” (Liam O’Dowd’) three its functions are emphasized:
- Border as barriers,
- Border as resources
- Border as symbols of identity
**PUBLIC/POPULAR DISCOURSE** (sources for analysis - data from the discussions in Internet forums, blogs, LJ, Youtube)

Public/Popular discourse reflects “hard border” in its
- practical/ pragmatic and
- institutional dimensions of border

Among “4 functions of border” the functions are emphasized:

- Border as barriers (practical dimensions – how to cross the border)
- Bridge (‘deconstruction’ of border through popular imagination about people and land of Transnistria
- Resources (cross-border ‘small business’)
- Symbols of identity ????
EU’ APPROACHES TOWARD TRANSNISTRIA AND ITS BORDER

*The general context for the EU’ policy regarding Transnistria*

- In the frame of the European Security Strategy (ESS) - one of the main aims ‘securing the neighborhood’
- Conflict resolution (direct influence and actions through the negotiation process “five-sided format” and then “5+2” format)
- the EU cannot ignore Russia’s interest in the region
- Moldova and Ukraine as actors - are viewing not as independent geopolitical actors, but like ‘mediators’ or instrument for EU’ influence in Transnistria
Border as dilemma for the EU: to abolish/ignore or to establish/support

The EU Border Assistance Mission to the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM, 2005) was started as the joint initiative of Ukraine and Moldova, with EU support. The aims of this program are the strengthening of a customs regime and to counter a contraband and illicit trafficking.

ENP program for Moldova and Ukraine (The Action Plan under the ENP for Moldova contains a part for EU-Moldova cooperation for the resolution of the conflict resolution in 7 concrete points.

GUMIRA (a component of the European Commission’s Thematic Program of cooperation on migration and asylum)

http://www.eubam.org/en/
EU has not developed systematic, consistent and coherent politics and policy toward Transnistria and its border

- Since 2002 the EU several times issued visa ban for Transnistrian’s officials /sept. 2011 – avisa for Igor Smirnov to attend the meeting in Germany

- The EU policy toward Transnistria is effected by the internal process of the ‘mediators’ – Ukraine and Moldova

Border Assistance Mission to the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine
- Ukraine: April 2005, President V. Youshchenko presented a settlement plan “Towards a settlement through democracy,” which laid emphasis on organizing internationally observed, free and fair elections, rebuilding a peace-keeping mechanism, and intensifying the involvement of the U.S. and the EU in a conflict settlement process. March 2010, the new president V. Yanukovich was left the future development uncertain as he has not yet officially presented his stance towards the conflict.

- Moldova: political and geopolitical vibrations, difficult economic situation
EU’ APPROACHES AND POLICY TOWARD TRANSNISTRIA’ BORDER

Because of Transnitsria’ specific case as an unrecognized state the EU cannot utilize the same or similar approaches in the border management like it does for other Eastern neighbor–states → **has to acts mostly as non-direct regulation**

- Through other ‘agent’/actors – Ukraine and Moldova (and success of the EU’ policy toward Transnistria is connected with the development of Ukraine and Moldova their-self)

- Through the involvement of Transnitrarians in different initiatives

- EU cannot play freely, not considering the interests of other ‘big players” (and Russia first of all)
the EU’ policy:

- employs the conception of ‘hard border’ toward Transnistria supporting by this claims for Transnistria’ independency.

- ideas of border as a bridge are not presented in the EU’ view of Transnistria’ border, and thus this *a priori* grounds EU’ policy in the frame of threats and security issues, but not in a frame of cooperation and good neighborhood

- Operate with the old stable image of Transnistria as a ‘black hole of Europe’

- underestimates developed Transnistrian identity (based on idea of ‘Transnistrian patriotism’)
Моя Родина—Приднестровье
Приднестровская Молдавская Республика образована 2 сентября 1990 г.
Столица ПМР г. Тирасполь
September 17, 2006: referendum for Transnistrian independence: After 15 years. We remember: We are not Moldova
Dimitrie Cantemir

Pyotr Rumyantsev-Zadunaisky

Alexander Suvorov

Taras Shevchenko

Catherine II the Great

Dimitrie Cantemir
EU politics toward Transnistria: dilemmas–inconsistency
(to keep distance or to move nearer?) ➔

EU’ views on Transnistria border contribute to the stalling out in solving Transnistria’ issue in general