GOOD GOVERNANCE

SAGA OF CREATION OF THE ACUM - PSRM ALLIANCE

Following the elections of 24 February 2019, the Party of Socialists (PSRM) with 35 mandates, the Democratic Party of Moldova (DPM) with 30 mandates, the electoral Block ACUM with 26 mandates, the Political Party “Shor” with seven mandates and independent candidates Ion GROZA, Alexandru OLEINIC and Viorel MELNIC entered the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova. On 9 March 2019 the Constitutional Court (CCM) validated the election results.

Under the Constitution, the Parliament should be dissolved, if it does not pass laws within three months, i.e until 9 June 2019. Since no one had the majority in the Parliament, the only solution to avoid early elections was to create a governing coalition. The first sitting of the Parliament was held on 21 March 2019 and lasted for less than an hour. The Socialist Eduard SMIRNOV, who chaired the sitting as the oldest Member of the Parliament (MP), postponed it, because the parliamentary majority had not been constituted. The Block ACUM declared from the outset that it will in no case form a coalition with the DPM. On 12 April 2019 the political bureau of the PSRM took the decision to start negotiations with the Block ACUM. Despite several statements of the Block ACUM and the PSRM regarding their openness for discussions, no real negotiations between two political actors took place until the end of May. Neither the plenary session of the Parliament was convened. On 31 May 2019, the DPM issued an invitation to the PSRM for creation of a governing coalition. The PSRM declared that a decision on this proposal will be taken by the political bureau of the party by 8 June 2019.

On 3 June 2019, the European Commissioner Johannes HAHN, the Director of the East European Affairs Office at the U.S. State Department, Bradley FREDEN and the Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Dmitri KOZAK, arrived to Chişinău. They had meetings with the leadership of the PSRM, DPM, and the Block ACUM. They made reserved statements about the settlement of the political crisis in Chişinău. On 4 June 2019 the negotiations between the PSRM and the Block ACUM took place. The PSRM called them “inefficient”.

On 7 June 2019, the informal leader of the PSRM, the President Igor DODON, went to the DPM headquarters to meet with the DPM leadership. Around 17.00, the CCM published a decision according to which the three-month’s term for the dissolution of the Parliament expires on the evening of 7 June 2019, even though three calendar months from the validation of the election results were expiring on 9 June 2019. After the meeting with the DPM leadership and the meeting of the political bureau of the PSRM, at about 18.00, Mr. Dodon declared for the press that the most appropriate solution
would be early elections. At 20.00, the DPM announced that early elections will be held.

In the meantime, the Block ACUM was waiting for the PSRM for negotiations in the building of the Parliament. The building of the Parliament was surrounded by the police, while in front of the building, since 15.00, the DPM supporters were protesting. The latter called for the creation of the PSRM-DPM governing coalition. Around 21.00, some of the MPs of the PSRM wanted to enter the building of the Parliament. The policemen restricted their passage, invoking an alleged bomb alert, even though the MPs from the Block ACUM were in the building of the Parliament. Finally, the PSRM MPs entered the building and started negotiations with the Block ACUM. Around 22.30, the MPs from the PSRM and the Block ACUM left the building of the Parliament and announced that negotiations will continue on Saturday, 8 June 2019.

In the morning of 8 June 2019 the MPs of the Block ACUM and the PSRM came to the building of the Parliament. They took their seats in the hall where the plenary sessions of the Parliament take place, but the electricity had been switched off. The Secretary General of the Parliament announced his resignation, on the grounds that political pressure had been exerted on him. Later, he left the building of the Parliament. The Parliamentary Apparatus did not ensure the proceedings of the session. The sound in the meeting hall was provided by speakers and microphones brought by the MPs. Alongside with the MPs, the head of the European Union Delegation to Chișinău, the Ambassador of the Russian Federation and the Deputy Ambassador of the United States of America, who were initially not allowed to enter the building by the security personnel, were also present. Later on, the President of the country also came to the building of the Parliament.

The MPs of the Block ACUM and the PSRM signed a document entitled “Temporary political agreement” on the deoligarchisation of the state. Mrs. Zinaida GRECEANII (PSRM) was elected as Speaker of the Parliament, while the ACUM leader, Mrs. Maia SANDU (PAS), was appointed as Prime Minister. The new Government was voted and sworn in on the same day. Meanwhile, at the request of the DPM, the MPs of the same day, the CCM cancelled the decisions regarding the election of the Speaker of the Parliament, the appointment of the Prime Minister and the swearing in of the Government. The CCM has stated that, after 7 June 2019, the Parliament has no power to adopt any act and has to be dissolved. The MPs of the parliamentary majority accused the CCM judges of coup d'état attempt and adopted a declaration regarding the captive nature of the state. In the declaration, the DPM was accused of coup d'état, politicizing public institutions, creating parallel structures that undermined state institutions, using the security, defence and law enforcement agencies as the political bat, creating the majority at the level of central and local administration through blackmail, etc.

The leader of the DPM, Vlad PLAHOTNIUC, declared that the DPM does not recognize the actions of the parliamentary majority of 8 June 2019 and that the DPM will do everything possible not to admit taking over of the power, in order to avoid a bigger crisis. The acting Prime Minister, Pavel FILIP, also stated that he does not accept the new Government and does not intend to give up the office to the new ministers. In the evening of 8 June 2019, the DPM supporters set up tents in front of the main public institutions in Chișinău, including the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), the Prosecutor General’s Office and the CCM. All tents were identical. Later it was found that the tents belonged to the Inspectorate for Emergency Situations of the MIA.

In the morning of 9 June 2019, between 8.00 and 10.30, the CCM adopted two documents. The first one stated that there is ground to suspend the President of the country from office in order to request the dissolution of the Parliament and empowered the acting Prime Minister, Pavel FILIP, to request the dissolution of the Parliament. By the second document, the request of Pavel FILIP to dissolve the Parliament and to organize the parliamentary elections was accepted. On the same day, at 11.00, Mr. Filip already signed the decree on the dissolution of the Parliament and call of the early parliamentary elections on 6 September 2019.

Between 8 and 14 June 2019, Sandu Government did not have access to the offices of the ministries, while Filip Government, de facto, controlled the activity of the executive. Supporters of the DPM stayed in the tents in front of the state institutions non-stop. However, within a week, Sandu Government was recognized by the European Union and its main Member States. On 14 June 2019, at about 17.30, after several hours of discussions at the political bureau of the DPM and after meeting of the U.S. Ambassador with the party leadership, the DPM announced that it resigned from the Government. The announcement for resignation from the government was made by the deputy president of the DPM, Vladimir CEBOTARI, and not by the President of the DPM, Vlad PLAHOTNIUC. Later, it was found that Mr. Plahotniuc left the country on 14 June 2019 through the Transnistrian region. Few days later he was seen...
in the USA. Later he resigned from the DPM leader position and vacated the seat of the MP.

On 24 June 2019, the Venice Commission published an opinion stating that the documents adopted by the CCM on 7-9 June 2019 could not be explained logically and were not based on the text and spirit of the Constitution. According to it, the crisis and instability were rather caused by the actions undertaken on 7 June 2019 coordinated with the speed of light between the DPM and the CCM.

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT: THE LAW CHANGING THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM CANNOT BE APPLIED TO EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

On 26 April 2019, the Constitutional Court (CCM) examined the application lodged seven days earlier by three independent Members of Parliament (MP). The MPs asked if the electoral system could be amended by a parliament that does not serve its mandate to the end and, if it is possible, can such an amendment be applied to early parliamentary elections. The CCM has decided that the Parliament can amend the electoral system in smaller time intervals than a full term of the legislature, provided that the amendment takes place at least one year before the elections. The CCM also mentioned that the new electoral system cannot be applied to early parliamentary elections, without justifying in any way this decision. According to this interpretation, early parliamentary elections, if they are held until 2023, should be organized according to the mixed electoral system, even if it was already repealed in August 2019.

The CCM mentioned in its decision that the frequent and late amendment of the electoral system disadvantages voters, electoral competitors and parties, with the risk of violating the right to elect and to be elected. However, the CCM did not mention that the mixed electoral system was applied for the first time in the parliamentary elections of February 2019, being adopted contrary to the recommendations of the Venice Commission and OSCE/ODIHR. Both election observation missions of Promo-LEX and OSCE/ODIHR have identified ambiguities of the legal framework, as well as many practical issues in application of the mixed electoral system.

The CCM did not mention in its decision either that the proportional electoral system has been operating in the Republic of Moldova for 25 years, between 1994 and 2019, and that there is more predictability and clarity as regards that electoral system than in the mixed electoral system, applied for the first and only time at the parliamentary elections of 2019.

The decision of the CCM was given in the context of discussions on the need to change the mixed system and negotiations on the creation of the parliamentary majority after the elections of February 2019. Only the Democratic Party of Moldova (DPM) benefited from the change of the electoral system, because it massively used the controlled media and administrative resources. Three out of the six judges of the CCM were appointed at the end of 2018 from among the persons close to the DPM.

JUSTICE

ALL THE JUDGES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT RESIGNED

Between 7-9 June 2019 the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Moldova (CCM) adopted six decisions which led to an unprecedented political crisis in the country. These decisions were used by the Democratic Party of Moldova (DPM) to challenge the legitimacy of the Government sworn in on 8 June 2019, to dissolve the Parliament and to refuse to give up control over the governmental institutions.

The court issued five out of six decisions in non-working days, on Saturday and Sunday, based on the applications lodged by the DPM Members of Parliament (MPs) a day earlier or even on the same day. The Parliament and the Presidency were not informed of these sittings and their opinions were not requested, although they had to be consulted under the law. The CCM has not even announced about those sittings on its web page, contrary to its practice. Only the DPM MPs attended those sittings. For several years, all CCM sittings have been video recorded and posted on the Internet. However, only one out of five meetings that took place on Saturday and Sunday was video recorded and posted on the Internet.
On **15 June 2019**, the CCM annulled the acts adopted by it between 7 and 9 June 2019, invoking that “the reason for annulment was the de facto situation of the Republic of Moldova, particularly the announced transfer of power to the Government of the Prime Minister Maia Sandu and of the coalition created in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova”. The Court also mentioned in the press release announcing the annulment that it “is meant to be a source of social peace, rule of law, democracy, as well as a safeguard of a proper framework of human rights protection, as well as to avoid a political crisis of a greater magnitude”.

On **19 June 2019**, 14 non-governmental organizations and three former judges demanded the resignation of the constitutional judge Veaceslav ZAPOROJAN. The signatories urged Mr. Zaporojan, whose candidacy they supported in 2016, to resign immediately, in order to allow the restoration of confidence into the CCM. Mr. Zaporojan replied to the signatories that he had no reason to resign, trying to justify the above decisions adopted by the CCM.

On **20 June 2019**, Mr. Mihai POALELUNGI resigned from the position of the judge and the President of the CCM. On 24 June 2019, at the request of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, the Venice Commission adopted an opinion on the judgements of the CCM of 7-9 June 2019. The Venice Commission found that the decisions by the CCM were not based on the Constitution and that the crisis and instability were rather caused by the actions coordinated with the speed of light between the DPM and the CCM.

On **25 June 2019**, 21 non-governmental organizations requested the resignation in corpore of the five remaining constitutional judges of the CCM. The signatories reiterated their deep concern about the lack of independence of the CCM that was reported back in December 2018, when three persons affiliated to the DPM were appointed as judges of the CCM. The signatories reiterated that the way the CCM acted on 7-9 June 2019, in an obvious tandem with the DPM MPs, a fact also noted by the Venice Commission, demonstrates obvious political affiliation and lack of impartiality of the CCM judges, a fact that seriously affects the impartiality of the entire institution. The absurd interpretation of the revised judgements by the CCM confirms this once again. By these acts the judges have undermined the credibility of the CCM institution in unprecedented way.

On **26 June 2019**, the remaining five judges of the CCM also resigned and the Parliament, the Government and the Superior Council of Magistracy announced contests for the selection of new judges.

**UNPRECEDENTED - A JUDGE DECLARED THAT HE HAD BEEN INFLUENCED BY SEVERAL COURT PRESIDENTS**

On 25 June 2019, the Superior Council of Magistracy (SCM) examined the complaint of the judge of Chișinău Court (Ciocana District), Mihai MURGULEȚ. The judge declared, including publicly, that between 2018-2019 he was subjected to unjustified attacks, preceded by attempts to interfere with his activity as a judge. The President of Chișinău Court, Radu ȚURCANU, reportedly asked him for the cancellation of an injunction applied in a civil case; the President of the Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ), Ion DRUȚĂ, reportedly asked him to solve a civil case in a certain way; the Vice-president of Chișinău Court, Corneliu GUZUN, reportedly told him that he would take care of him being evaluated, noting that his wedding godfather, Oleg STERNIOALĂ, is the chairperson of the Board for Performance Evaluation of Judges (BPEJ). The Judicial Inspection was also involved. It brought against Mr. Murguleț several disciplinary procedures and applied two disciplinary sanctions.

The SCM adopted a decision requesting the Judicial Inspection to verify the information presented by Mr. Murguleț and suspended from office the President of the SCJ, the President and four Vice-presidents of Chișinău Court. The SCM also suspended from office the chief inspector-judge and dismissed the chairperson of the BPEJ. This is the first decision by the SCM in which several court presidents are referred to in a complaint filed by a judge regarding the attempts to interfere with his judicial activity.

The SCM mentioned that the suspension from the exercise of administrative functions of the president or vice-president of the court during the period of internal investigation is not provided by law. However, such measure is necessary, provisionally, taking into account that the Parliament has determined the captive nature of the state, including of the judiciary, in the Republic of Moldova. The measure was also motivated by the high status held by judges suspended from office, preventing inappropriate influence, and the fairness of the launched investigation. The SCM also referred to the report of the International Commission of Jurists, in which it
was mentioned that the judges said that they feel pressure and live in fear of the application of disciplinary or criminal procedures.

The president of the SCJ and the president of Chişinău district Court have challenged their suspension from office. On 24 July 2019, Chişinău Court of Appeal cancelled the decision of the SCM regarding their suspension from office, declaring it illegal.

On 2 July 2019, the SCM requested the Prosecutor General’s Office to investigate the influence exerted on judge Murguleţ. On 19 July 2019, the Acting Prosecutor General, Igor POPA, rejected the request, because it did not comply with formal requirements set for a criminal complaint and because it did not present sufficient evidence that the offence stipulated by art. 303 of the Criminal Code (Interference in the administration of justice) had been committed. The Prosecutor General’s Office invoked that Judge Murguleţ did not appear before the criminal prosecution body. On 24 July 2019, judge Murguleţ informed the SCM and the Prosecutor General’s Office that he went to the prosecutor’s office to be heard and that he was willing to make statements. On 12 August 2019, the Prosecutor General’s Office announced that it had resumed examining the complaint of the SCM. The examination of the complaint was resumed after the appointment of Mr. Dumitru ROBU as Interim Prosecutor General on 31 July 2019.

FORMER PRIME MINISTER, PAVEL FILIP, INTERFERED IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

On 22 May 2019, Pavel FILIP, the Prime Minister of Moldova at that time, gave instructions to several officials of the law enforcement bodies regarding a case examined in courts. The case concerned a dispute between the owners of three buildings and Banca Socială, which took over the buildings on account of debt repayment for a loan. The bank subsequently sold the buildings to an economic agent. The owners of the buildings claim that Banca Socială took over those three buildings illegally.

On 16 January 2018, Chişinău district Court, Rîşcani office, recognized the ownership for the real estate of the economic agent who bought it from Banca Socială. On 12 December 2018, Chişinău Court of Appeal quashed the judgement of the court of the first instance and dismissed the action. On 22 May 2019, the case was challenged with appeal and was pending before the Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ).

On 14 May 2019, the Governor of the National Bank, Octavian ARMAŞU, sent a letter to the Prime Minister Filip explaining the details of the case, mentioning that the ability of Banca Socială to repay debts to the state depends on the decision of the SCJ. On 22 May 2019, the Prime Minister Filip addressed a letter to several heads of the law enforcement bodies, namely to Mr. Victor MICU, the Chairperson of the SCM, Mr. Ion DRUŢĂ, the President of the SCJ, Mr. Ion PLEŞCA, the President of Chişinău Court of Appeal, Mr. Eduard HARUNJEN, the Prosecutor General, Mrs. Adriana BEŢIŞOR, the Chief Anti-corruption Prosecutor, and Mr. Bogdan ZUMBREANU, the Head of the National Anti-corruption Centre. The letter requires to take “appropriate measures” and provide the necessary support for the recovery of assets. On 3 July 2019, the SCJ admitted the appeal of the Banca Socială, quashed the decision of the Court of Appeal and sent the case for re-examination to the court of appeal. The letter of Mr. Filip represented an interference in the administration of justice, because the Prime Minister addressed the judges on a specific case that was pending at the SCJ.

THE SCM DOES NOT PUBLISH REASONED DECISIONS CONSENTING THE INITIATION OF THE CRIMINAL PROCEEDURES AGAINST JUDGES

In 2018, the Superior Council of Magistracy (SCM) examined 14 notifications of the Prosecutor General regarding the authorisation to initiate criminal investigations against judges. They targeted nine judges. Out of those 14 complaints, the SCM admitted 12 and two complaints were rejected. The SCM published only the operative part of its decisions, contrary to art. 19 para. 41 of the Law on the Status of the Judge, which provides that these decisions must be reasoned and published on the website of the Council, with anonymization of the judge’s identity.

On 5 April 2019, the SCM sent to the Legal Resources Centre from Moldova a reply explaining why it does not publish reasoned decisions. According to the answer, the SCM decisions regarding the authorisation of the criminal investigation contain confidential information about the magistrates concerned and other persons, and their disclosure could create impediments for the criminal proceedings in question.
THE PROSECUTOR GENERAL COULD ALSO BE SELECTED FROM ABROAD, AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE SCP WILL BE SUPPLEMENTED WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CIVIL SOCIETY

On 14 April 2019, the Members of Parliament (MPs) of the Block ACUM registered in the Parliament a draft to amend the Law on the Prosecutor’s Office. On 11 June 2019, the Parliament voted the draft in first reading by votes of the MPs from the Block ACUM and PSRM.

The draft provides for the exclusion of the requirement for candidates for the position of the Prosecutor General to be a Moldovan citizen. The draft also excludes the condition that the future candidate for the position of the Prosecutor General shall have a previous experience in a position of prosecutor of at least five years. This amendment will allow the selection of a candidate from non-prosecutors. The body responsible for selecting the new Prosecutor General, the Superior Council of Prosecutors, could be supplemented by seven new members appointed by the academic environment, the Bar association, the Government and the President of the country. According to the authors of the initiative, the amendment would reduce the corporatism of prosecutors. Future candidates for the position of a prosecutor will no longer be subjected to polygraph testing. According to the minutes of the Parliament sitting, polygraph testing is an inefficient tool, the results of this test being used rather to remove uncomfortable candidates from the competition.

The draft law was the subject of several reserved opinions. According to the Government, several amendments need to be reconsidered or reassessed. According to the anti-corruption expertise, the new draft contains risk factors and risks of corruption, generated by the deficiency of some provisions related to the appointment of the interim Prosecutor General, exclusion of the requirement to be a Moldovan citizen and of the requirement to have 5 years of experience as a prosecutor, but also those regarding the exclusion of polygraph testing of the candidates.

96% OF PROSECUTORS SIGNED A DECLARATION AGAINST THE DRAFT LAW

On 14 June 2019, 612 prosecutors from a total of 637 prosecutors signed a declaration condemning the initiative to amend the Law on the Prosecutor’s Office. According to the declaration, the draft law represents a political interference in the activity of prosecutors. On 11 July 2019, the Prosecutor General, Eduard HARUNJEN, resigned from office, invoking health reasons, but also pressure exerted by politicians. His resignation was previously requested by the President Igor DODON and by the Prime Minister Maia SANDU.

ANTI-CORRUPTION AND INTEGRITY

THE “ENIGMAS” SURROUNDING THE RESIGNATION OF THE CHIEF ANTI-CORRUPTION PROSECUTOR

On 26 April 2019, the Chief Anti-corruption Prosecutor, Viorel MORARI, submitted a request for resignation. On the same day, by the order of the Prosecutor General, he was dismissed from the position of Chief Prosecutor of the Anti-corruption Prosecutor’s Office (AP) and transferred as Prosecutor to the Prosecutor General’s Office. Immediately after that, Mr. Morari went on leave for a few months.

Although Mr. Morari’s request for resignation was accepted on 26 April 2019, the Prosecutor General’s Office released this information only on 2 May 2019, after the media requested to confirm this fact. The stated reason for the resignation was an anonymous letter that appeared in the press, according to which the head of the AP, together with several intermediaries, was involved in cases of corruption, blackmail and raider attacks. On 25 April 2019, the Prosecution Office for Combating Organized Crime and Special Cases arrested the businessman Andrei TRANGA under the accusation of blackmail. Several people, who were mentioned together with Mr. Morari in the anonymous letter, were arrested alongside with him.

On 26 April 2019, the AP issued a press release stating that the purpose of that information was to denigrate the image of the institution. Viorel MORARI sent letters to the Prosecutor General’s Office and the National Integrity Authority requesting the verification of the facts invoked in the anonymous letter. The Prosecutor General’s Office did not respond to this request in any way.

On 14 June 2019, Viorel MORARI requested the Prosecutor...
On 22 October 2013, the Superior Council of Magistracy acquitted Gheorghe POPA, on the grounds that the judge was not elected the Member to the new Parliament.

On the other hand, on 18 June 2019, 20 AP prosecutors sent a letter to the Prosecutor General and the Superior Council of Prosecutors claiming mismanagement of the situation created after Mr. Morari’s resignation. The signatories noted that the Prosecutor General’s Office did not inform the public properly about the circumstances of the dismissal of the Chief Prosecutor of the AP, as his involvement or non-involvement in illegal actions was not clear.

On 11 July 2019, the Prosecutor General announced that the criminal case initiated against Andrei TRANGA will be sent to the court, but, as far as Viorel MORARI is concerned, there is no evidence to prove his guilt. Viorel MORARI led the AP since 26 April 2016. In July 2019, he also applied for the position of the interim Prosecutor General, but without success.

On 11 April 2019, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) adopted the Resolution “Laundromats: responding to new challenges in the international fight against organised crime, corruption and money laundering”. The resolution mentions that the Global/Russian Laundromat through which USD 21 billion was laundered (the actual amount could reach USD 80 billion) was possible also due to corruption in the judiciary and banking system of the Republic of Moldova. The resolution contains several general recommendations. Some states received specific recommendations. Moldova received five recommendations. The first recommendation is to pursue the investigation of the Global Laundromat fully and effectively and punish all those involved. The second recommendation is to adopt laws preventing persons charged or convicted of serious offences, including corruption and money laundering, from taking or exercising public office. The third recommendation of the PACE for Moldova was to pursue investigations and prosecutions of candidates for public office and public officials, including elected officials, expeditiously. The last two recommendations concerned repealing of the fiscal amnesty legislation was amended - the tax was increased from 3% to 6% and the list of persons who do not fit into that amnesty was expanded, moreover, the amnesty period had been already over. Mr. Ghițețchi also referred to the issue of Moldovan citizenship obtained for investments, noting that only one person had received it until then and that the MPs were confident that the security services would check each applicant. Mr. Ghițețchi was the chairperson of the faction of the European People’s Party of Moldova, vice-president of the Parliament, and ran as an independent candidate in the parliamentary elections of February 2019 in the constituency no. 51 - USA and Canada. He was not elected the Member to the new Parliament.

On 11 October 2013, the judge of the Telenesti district Court, Gheorghe POPA, was arrested for taking bribe from a lawyer in the amount of USD 200 (for details see Newsletter no. 12). On 22 October 2013, the Superior Council of Magistracy suspended the judge from office. On 8 April 2014, Chișinău Court (Buiucani District) sentenced him to 7 years of imprisonment. On 8 December 2016, Chișinău Court of Appeal acquitted Gheorghe POPA, on the grounds that the judge was
provoked to take the money, and the crime would not have been committed without the provocation. On 4 July 2017, the Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ) rejected the prosecutor’s cassation and upheld the sentence of acquittal of Mr. Popa. On 9 November 2017, the SCJ also rejected the extraordinary appeal of the Deputy Prosecutor General. The SCJ concluded that there was a reasonable suspicion that the litigation that Judge Popa was examining in 2013 was a set-up involving the agents of the state (National Anti-corruption Centre and Anti-corruption Prosecutor’s Office).

In July 2018, Judge Popa requested at the court instance to be paid the salary and other payments for the period of his suspension from the position of a judge. On 26 October 2018, Chişinău district Court (Buiucani office) admitted the action and ordered the amount of MDL 776,866 to be paid to the judge at the state expense. On 5 February 2019, Chişinău Court of Appeal reduced the compensation to MDL 750,175. On 5 June 2019, the SCJ rejected the appeal of the Prosecutor General’s Office, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Finance. Consequently, the state should pay to Mr. Popa MDL 750,175.

**NOTORIOUS CASES**

**SHOR CASE IN 2019: DELAYS, ESCAPE AND INTERNATIONAL SEARCH**

On 21 July 2017, Ilan Shor was sentenced by the court of the first instance to seven and a half years of imprisonment in the “billion theft” case. The sentence was appealed both by the prosecutor and by the lawyer. The case reached Chişinău Court of Appeal only six months later. In February 2018 it was transferred to Cahul Court of Appeal (Cahul CA).

The last 2018 sitting on the case was held on 17 December 2019. It was postponed because the financial and accounting expert report ordered on 12 September 2018 had not yet been finalized (more details on the evolution of this case can be found in Newsletter no. 18). On 21 January 2019, Cahul CA again postponed the examination of Shor case for the same reason. On 20 February 2019, the hearing was postponed again, at the request of Mr. Ilan SHOR’s lawyers, because their client was involved in the election campaign. At the parliamentary elections of 24 February 2019, Ilan SHOR was elected as Member of Parliament. The hearing planned for 3 April 2019 was also postponed due to the absence of judges. On 20 May 2019, more than eight months after the expert report was ordered, Cahul CA found that Mr. Shor did not submit all the necessary documents for the hearing and obliged him to submit them.

On 8 June 2019, a new parliamentary majority was constituted and a new Government was sworn in. On 26 June 2019, the court hearing was postponed on the grounds that Ilan SHOR did not attend it. According to the prosecutor, Mr. Shor left the Republic of Moldova although he was under judicial control and had no right to leave the country. The prosecutor demanded the arrest of Mr. Shor and his announcement as wanted. Cahul CA judges did not rule on the prosecutor’s requests and postponed the hearing, because neither Ilan SHOR nor his lawyers were present at the hearing. On the same day, the prosecutors seized several of his assets. It is unclear why the seizure was applied only now, several years after the criminal investigation began. According to a journalistic investigation, Ilan SHOR managed to sell many of his assets in the meantime.

On 19 July 2019, the hearing was again postponed due to the illness of a judge. On 25 July 2019, Cahul CA ordered the arrest of Ilan SHOR. On 30 July 2019, he was announced in an international search as wanted. On 25 July 2019, Vadim BANARU, Mr. Shor’s lawyer, requested the transfer of the case from Cahul CA, on the grounds that there is a “media and political pressure” on the judges of Cahul CA. On 2 August 2019, the Supreme Court of Justice rejected the lawyer’s request as inadmissible.

At present, it is not exactly known where Mr. Shor is. According to the Prosecutor General’s Office, he left the country through Chişinău International Airport, as a passenger of a charter flight, circumventing customs and border control. A criminal case was initiated on this fact.

The case of Ilan SHOR is examined at Cahul CA in camera. 14 hearings were held on this case by the end of July 2019, of which 10 were postponed.
ECtHR - TURKISH TEACHERS WERE DETAINED AND EXPELLED FROM MOLDOVA ILLEGALLY

On 11 June 2019, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) delivered its judgement on the case of Ozdil and others v. Moldova. The case concerns five teachers of "Orizont" lyceums, detained and taken to Turkey on 6 September 2018 (for more details, see Newsletter no. 19).

The plaintiffs complained that their arrest and detention was not legal, and taking them to Turkey was contrary to their right to private and family life.

The Government stated before the ECtHR that the national authorities were unaware that the applicants were afraid to travel to Turkey. The ECtHR did not accept this argument, because previously the applicants had applied for asylum in the Republic of Moldova and had expressly declared this fear. The ECtHR noted the coordinated nature of the actions of the Moldovan authorities, which showed that the extradition operation had been prepared in advance, the applicants being transported to Turkey by a charter aeroplane shortly after their arrest. The court noted that, although investigating the terrorist acts of which the applicants were suspected is a serious issue, the authorities cannot have a carte blanche for deprivation of liberty without effective judicial control. The court concluded that the detention of Turkish citizens was neither legal nor necessary.

Regarding the violation of privacy, the Court noted that the applicants had been living in Moldova for long periods of time, some of them for over twenty years. They had employment and families in the Republic of Moldova. Their exclusion from the territory of Moldova radically disrupted their private and family lives. Although the national law provides clear regulations governing the procedure of expulsion or extradition, the applicants were removed from the Republic of Moldova by way of an extra-legal transfer. The decision declaring them undesirable was taken on the basis of formalistic grounds and was not disclosed to them. Moreover, the plaintiffs' lawyers did not know their whereabouts. They were expelled from the country immediately, with no real possibility of challenging the expulsion. The court concluded that the applicants did not enjoy the minimum degree of protection against arbitrariness and that the legal provisions existing in the Republic of Moldova were violated.

The claimants were compensated with EUR 25,000 each, in respect of non-pecuniary damage. The case of the Turkish teachers was examined by the ECtHR with priority, the decision in this case being issued just nine months after the application was submitted. All the applicants are currently in detention in Turkey. According to their relatives, several applicants have already been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

It seems that the extradition of Turkish teachers took place for political reasons, at the request of the President of Turkey, on the grounds of their affiliation with the Gullen Movement persecuted in Turkey. In October 2018, the President of Turkey paid a two-day visit to the Republic of Moldova. In 2017-2018, Turkey also covered the expenses of repairing the Presidency building. The Parliamentary Committee for National Security, Defence and Public Order has set up an inquiry commission to investigate the legality of actions taken by the competent authorities regarding Turkish citizens. The results of the investigation are to be made public.

CONVERSATIONS OF SEVERAL JOURNALISTS, REPRESENTATIVES OF OPPOSITION AND NGOS WERE WIRE-TAPPED

According to a RISE Moldova investigation, 51 people were subjected to wire-tapping within the framework of three criminal cases in 2016-2017. The criminal cases were initiated based on Facebook messages or statements made at press conferences. Among the intercepted people there are opposition politicians, representatives of civil society and journalists. Eight persons, mainly leaders of the Platform Dignity and Truth (PDA), were intercepted in all three criminal cases. Nine others were intercepted in two cases. In addition to wire-tapping, some people were visually tracked and monitored by means of installing microphones and video cameras in their homes.

The three criminal cases were initiated under art. 285 of the Criminal Code - mass disorder. The first criminal case was initiated after several members of the PDA organized a press conference on 31 March 2016 and called people to a protest in the Great National Assembly Square. Prosecutors have motivated the need for wire-tapping by the fact that the protest will end with a coup d'etat. 23 persons were subjected to wire-tapping in this case, among them the PDA representatives Andrei NĂSTASE, Chiril MOTPAN and Ruslan VERBIŢCHI, and the journalist Alexandru COZER.
The second case was initiated on 11 January 2017, following the decision of the Trade Union Federation of Workers in Education and Science to protest in front of the Government and the Parliament buildings in connection with poor material situation of the employees in the field of education and research. The prosecutors found out about this decision from the social networks. In this case 25 persons were subjected to wire-tapping, among them Sergiu TOFILAT, the member of the Association WatchDog.md, and the journalist Vladimir SOLOVIOV, the owner of the news portal NewsMaker.

The third criminal case was initiated on 14 July 2017, in connection with the protest against the change of the electoral system organized by civil society organizations. 29 persons were subjected to wire-tapping in this case, among them the following representatives of non-governmental organizations: Vladislav GRIBINCEA, the Executive Director of the Legal Resources Centre from Moldova, Arcadie BARBĂROŞIE, director of the Institute for Public Policy, Sergiu TOFILAT, politicians: Andrei NĂSTASE, Alexandru SLUSARI, Dinu PLÂNGĂU and Chiril MOŢPAN, leaders of the PDA, and Dan PERCIUN, vice-president of the Party Action and Solidarity. Audio and video devices were installed in Mr. Perciun’s apartment on the grounds that meetings of the persons „involved in the possible criminal activity” take place there.

It is clear from the published documents that the criminal prosecution in those three cases was suspended and the afore-mentioned persons were not informed that they were subjected to wire-tapping. Among the published documents, which appear to have been leaked from the prosecutor’s office, there is also a draft court judgement, which does not contain the name of the judge and the number of the court case. This suggests that the draft judgement was prepared by the prosecutor and the judge just signed it later. This fact could confirm that a genuine judicial control of the necessity of the wire-tapping did not take place in those cases.

A CIVIC ACTIVIST ACCUSED OF HITTING A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AFFILIATED TO THE GOVERNMENT WAS ARRESTED FOR THREE MONTHS

On 21 March 2019, the activist Pavel GRIGORCIUC was detained, being suspected of repeatedly committed hooliganism. Grigorciuc is accused of hitting the Member of Parliament (MP) from the Democratic Party (DP), Sergiu SÎRBU, following a conflict aroused between them in a venue in the centre of the capital. The DP was then the ruling party. Grigorciuc acknowledged that he had slapped Sîrbu on the face because the MP had insulted him. The latter mentioned that the blow caused a concussion and led to his hospitalization. Experts qualified the injuries as minor.

On 23 March 2019, Chişinău district Court, in a closed session, ordered the arrest of Pavel GRIGORCIUC for a period of 30 days. On 16 April 2019, the preventive measure was extended for 30 days. The application and subsequent extension of the arrest were challenged by the activist's lawyer, but Chişinău Court of Appeal upheld the preventive measure. On 15 May 2019, Chişinău district Court extended the arrest for the third time until 19 June 2019. On 3 May 2019, the Prosecutor’s Office informed that the criminal prosecution had been completed and that indictment charge against Pavel GRIGORCIUC had been sent to the trial court. The defendant risks a fine or imprisonment for up to 5 years.

On 17 June 2019, a few days after the change of government in Chişinău, Pavel GRIGORCIUC was placed under house arrest, and, on 9 July 2019, Chişinău Court replaced the preventive measure of house arrest with the provisional release under judicial control. It is forbidden to the activist to leave Chişinău municipality.

HUMAN RIGHTS

THE PARLIAMENT HELD HEARINGS ON COMPLIANCE WITH THE LAW ON SPECIAL INVESTIGATION ACTIVITY

On 3 July 2019, the Parliamentary Committee for National Security, Defense and Public Order organized hearings regarding the compliance with the Law on Special Investigation Activity. The main topic addressed was the wire-tapping of telephone calls. The representatives of the civil society pointed out that, according to the official statistical data (p. 36),
the court investigators grant 97-98% of motions for wire-tapping and that, within the period of 2014-2018, the number of motions for wire-tapping increased twofold. They also pointed out that three different institutions – Information and Security Service, the Prosecutor General’s Office and the Agency for Courts Administration (ACA) - offer different data on the number of wire-tapping cases. According to the statistical data of the ACA, in the Republic of Moldova about 450 cases of wire-tapping per 100,000 inhabitants are authorized. This number is six times higher than in Italy in 2004, the country with the highest rate of wire-tapping in the European Union. In the USA, a state with an increased risk of terrorism, for the purpose of criminal prosecution, only 0.5 persons per 100,000 inhabitants are subjected to wire-tapping.

THE CASE OF “7 APRIL 2009” - STILL WAITING FOR JUSTICE

On 7 April 2009, several civil society organizations (CSOs) commemorated 10 years since the tragic events of April 2009. Between 7 and 10 April 2009, more than 600 people were detained by the police after the violent incidents that took place in Chişinău, and some people died in suspicious circumstances.

The CSOs found that after 10 years from those events, effective investigation and sanctioning of those responsible failed. Law enforcement bodies continue to apply force disproportionately, apply tear gas without any justification, avoid wearing identifiers on uniforms, while policy-makers and politicians remain reserved to implement deep reforms to reduce unjustified detention and police brutality.

CIVIL SOCIETY

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS HAVE MADE PUBLIC THEIR ATTITUDE AND EXPECTATIONS FROM THE NEW GOVERNMENT

On 20 June 2019, 31 civil society organizations (CSOs) signed a public appeal requesting the new parliamentary majority and the new Government to create necessary conditions for the development of civil society. The appeal comes in the context where the former government has significantly reduced the involvement of the genuine civil society in the decision-making process, sabotaged the efforts of the CSOs by launching attacks against uncomfortable CSOs and even trying to limit the external funding of the non-commercial sector.

On 24 July 2019, the Parliamentary Committee published its decision following the hearings. The Committee recommended to the Ministry of Justice to ensure the finalization of the draft law on the amendment of the legislation regarding the special investigation activity, and to the institutions responsible for these activities to organize trainings for the involved staff, as well as to provide financial and logistical support for special investigation activity. The Committee did not mention in its decision the issues raised by the representatives of civil society, such as very big number of wire-tapping cases, confusing methodology of keeping the statistics of the wire-tapping and practice of avoiding to inform the persons subjected to wire-tapping. These issues result from a faulty practice and cannot be solved only by amendments to the legislation.

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED TO
ENSURE FINANCIAL AND LOGISTICAL
SUPPORT OF THE
SPECIAL INVESTIGATION
ACTIVITY, BUT DID
NOT RECOMMEND ANY
MEASURES TO COMBAT
ABUSIVE WIRE-TAPPING

On 7 April 2019, several civil society organizations (CSOs) commemorated 10 years since the tragic events of April 2009. Between 7 and 10 April 2009, more than 600 people were detained by the police after the violent incidents that took place in Chişinău, and some people died in suspicious circumstances.

The last public information of the Prosecutor General’s Office on the statistics and management of cases regarding the events of April 2009 dates back to April 2017. Out of the total number of complaints, criminal cases were initiated in 71 cases (42 - torture, 19 - excess of power or excess of official authority, 10 - other categories of crimes). 28 cases, concerning 47 police officers, were completed and sent to court. In the rest of the cases, the criminal prosecution was either terminated due to the absence of evidence or was suspended on the grounds that it was not possible to identify the perpetrator. By 31 December 2018, no cases related to the April 2009 events were pending investigation, and there were two criminal cases pending before the courts.

The organizations have expressed hope that the new government will intensify the collaboration with the CSOs, which are open to cooperate in their areas of expertise. The signatories, however, stressed that they will continue to closely monitor the policies promoted by the government and will react, including publicly, to any deviation from the commitments made and democratic and good governance standards. The signatories requested the authorities, among other things, to ensure effective implementation of the Civil
Society Development Strategy for 2018-2020, to increase transparency in the decision-making process, to increase the involvement of the CSOs in the elaboration of the main policy documents, as well as to exclude previous faulty practice of adopting draft laws and other normative acts without ensuring public consultations with all stakeholders. On 25 June 2019, these requests were reiterated at the meeting of the CSOs with the Prime Minister Maia Sandu.

**ACTIONS ON DENIGRATION AND SABOTAGE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVITY CONTINUED**

Up to June 2019, a large number of independent civil society organizations (CSOs) were target of numerous discrediting and denigrating actions after they had expressed their dissenting position with the government.

On 4 April 2019, articles with critical content regarding several CSOs were posted on the web pages of several media institutions that publish supportive materials to the Democratic Party. The authors accuse some CSOs from the country, but also the opposition leader, Maia Sandu, that during 2014-2016, they mismanaged large amounts of money granted within a project implemented by Soros-Moldova Foundation in partnership with the Ministry of Education.

The articles contain opinions without presenting a reaction of the persons or organizations concerned. The authors of the articles used labels such as “NGOs fed by Maia Sandu” and “grant-eaters” in order to influence the public opinion by presenting the activity of non-profit organizations in a negative way. Taken together, these articles aim to discredit the CSOs in question.

The Legal Resources Centre from Moldova, alongside with other CSOs, continues to document and analyse the attempts to deteriorate the environment for the activity of the CSOs in the Republic of Moldova. The aforementioned articles are to be included in the “Radiography of attacks on non-governmental organizations”, in order to draw attention to the danger of orchestrated attacks on the operation of the CSOs and to determine public authorities, private institutions and individuals supporting those attacks to stop them and allow the CSOs to act freely.

**IN BRIEF**

In April 2019, the Ministry of Justice published for public consultations the draft Strategy for the development of the justice sector for the years 2019-2022. The Legal Resources Centre from Moldova (LRCM) considers that it requires a strategic review. In the context of the consultations regarding the Government Action Plan for 2019-2020, the LRCM proposed to adopt the new strategy by the end of 2019 after a new round of public consultations. The strategy should focus on the most important priorities, respond to real current needs, have clear goals and measurable indicators set up.

On 2 April 2019, the Prosecutor General’s Office informed about the submission to the court of the case concerning “bribes for judges”. A prosecutor, a lawyer, three judges from Chișinău Court of Appeal, two judges from Chișinău district Court (Central office), a judicial assistant and two other individuals are accused in this case. All of them were arrested in October 2018 (for details see Newsletter no. 20). The first hearing on this case was held on 10 April 2019 and three judges did not appear, declaring that they were ill.

On 12 April 2019, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) adopted a Resolution on social networks and misinformation. The PACE noted that, despite the huge potential benefits of social media for individuals and for our societies, their misuse is also triggering numerous harmful consequences for our individual rights and well-being, for the functioning of democratic institutions and for the development of our societies. It also mentioned such issues as hate speech and incitement to violence and discrimination, disinformation and manipulation of public opinion, and undue influence on political – including electoral – processes. The resolution contains several recommendations for the member states of the Council of Europe, for the European Union and for companies managing social networks. The PACE called for better verification of facts and moderation of content on social networks, identification and warning of users regarding inaccurate or false content and blocking of material in the most serious cases. The PACE added that robot-generated content should be excluded and there should be developed tools to provide feedback for the community on the accuracy and quality of posted content.

On 16 April 2019, Bălți Court of Appeal rejected the appeal of the judge of Drochia District Court, Valeriu Ghedrețan, against a judgement by which he was criminally convicted for passive corruption. He was sentenced by the court of the first instance to seven years of imprisonment and a fine. In 2010 he received over EUR 6,000 for a judgement in favour of a person. Judge Ghedrețan will be at large until final sentence in this case is issued.
On 19 April 2019, the Ombudsman’s Office presented the report regarding the respect of the human rights in the Republic of Moldova in 2018. The Ombudsman found that the situation in the field of human rights did not improve, while in some areas it deteriorated. Access to justice, freedom of expression, respect of the rights of detainees, of the right to elect and be elected, the right to health care have been declining. The pre-trial arrest continued to be applied excessively. The 2018 was marked by hate speech in the public space, by attacks on the media and by the lack of adequate reactions from the state institutions, by restrictions of the journalists’ access to events and some information of public interest.

The 10th anniversary of the Eastern Partnership (EaP) was celebrated in 2019. On this occasion, the High Level Conference was held in Brussels within the period of 13-14 May 2019. It brought together representatives of the EU Member States and Eastern partners, as well as civil society. The evolution of the partnership, its future and its priorities for the next period has been discussed at the meeting. The progress made with regard to those 20 Results for 2020, set up at the Summit from November 2017, was analysed based on four priorities: stronger economy, stronger governance, stronger connectivity and stronger society (see for details Newsletter No. 16). The most important achievements of the EaP in the last 10 years are: visa liberalization for Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova; support offered to young people for skills development and youth exchanges; developing energy efficiency by reducing energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions, as well as by increasing the share of renewable energy. Still there are challenges for the EaP to focus its efforts on, such as: carrying out reforms to strengthen the rule of law, the judiciary and the fight against corruption; environmental protection; combating hybrid threats and misinformation; strengthening the environment for civil society and free media; improving the lives of citizens affected by conflicts in the region.

On 23 May 2019, in Brussels, the fifth meeting of the Civil Society Platform EU-the Republic of Moldova took place. During the meeting, there was a debate on the evaluation of the implementation of the EU Association Agreement with Moldova and the reports on the public integrity framework in Moldova were discussed. The implementation of the declarations adopted between 2016 and 2019 was also discussed. As a result, there was adopted a joint Declaration on the progress of the implementation of the Association Agreement, the integrity in the public system and the fight against corruption, the selection and career of judges, the results of the parliamentary elections of February 2019, the need to change the electoral legislation and so on.

On 11 June 2019, Tatiana Paşcovschi, the representative of the civil society within the Integrity Council (IC), submitted a request for resignation. Earlier, the members of the IC found that their colleague had to be removed from office because of her absences from sittings. Under art. 12 para. 5 of the Law on the National Integrity Authority, the IC member may be revoked if s/he is absent without justification from three consecutive sittings or from six sittings during one year. Out of 19 sittings held by IC in 2018, Mrs. Paşcovschi was present only at five. In 2019 she was absent at all seven sittings. Under the legislation, the Ministry of Justice has to announce a public contest to elect another member of the IC.