

Social-Liberal Party

The Political Program (adopted at the Congress of May 9, 2001)

I. A new reality, a new program

The Social Liberal Party (SLP) is a center-right political party, based on the social liberalism doctrine. The party expresses the political will and interests of the large categories of the Moldovan society, which militate for the authentic modernization of the country for achieving the aspirations of liberty, democracy, social justice, solidarity, welfare, European and national unity. As a reformatory party of European vocation, SLP is an offspring of the three center-right political parties - Party of Democratic Forces, Christian-Democratic Women's League, and National Youth League, which founded the Social-Liberal Party.

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SLP is founding its social-political measures on a thorough and lucid analysis of the profound changes, which took place in Moldova and Europe after the 1988-91 events, on the current stage of economic reforms in the country and on the imperious necessity for the country to progressively join up the new tendencies of the civilization. The social-liberals consider that the Republic of Moldova, on its way to reforms, must take as a guide a forward thinking, not a backward one. We wish to give a sense to the efforts of national rebuilding, so that the Republic of Moldova could take an active part in the economical and cultural competition of tomorrow.

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In our vision, these years the Republic of Moldova has to take a real historical test. Now, when our country has consumed the experiences and agitation of pseudo-democratic governments of 1991-2001, it faces fundamental choices as to the possible directions of its future development. In this sense, the Moldovan social-liberals shall firmly and non-equivocally opt for the edification of a new democratic state with a competitive market economy shall plead for our national unity and for the plenary integration of the Republic of Moldova in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures.

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The transition has fundamentally modified the coordinates of the political, social and economical systems, social relations, ways of life and values, which pattern human behavior. The society has diversified inside, the social categories redefined their identity, new social groups and forces appeared, which play an active role in different sectors of the economy. There have been great changes in the peoples' social mentalities and a new political and civic culture is springing up. Our program has been elaborated purposely from this very prospect of the new political and economical realities of the Republic of Moldova.

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It is a program of sustainable development, of social-liberal prospect, in conformity with the present requirements of the internal reform, it is also in line with present European and global evolutions. It's a program of modernization and development, aimed to highlight the value of the resources and competencies, we have at our command, in order that the Republic of Moldova could gain the place it deserves in Europe and whole world.

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The experience of developed societies shows us that the orientation to efficiency and profit - an intrinsic concern of the liberalism - has to be coupled with the concern for the social aspect of the progress. The Moldova social-liberals are fully aware of the fact that free market mechanisms themselves are not able to resolve the generated deficiencies and contradictions - that is why the mechanisms must be joined with the social interests and needs of human existence.

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Our program is line with the tendencies of revising the social state, its regulation functions, in agreement with an increased interest for the values of solidarity and social justice. Our desire is to organize the society and economy in the way that would bring a greater welfare and would assure, on this ground, a substantial improvement of living standards, not only for a limited category of people, but for all social categories, for those many people who bear the heavy burden of transition. The idea of social justice will acquire concreteness in our political activity.

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We committed ourselves to build up a system of social-liberal values and join it up to the tendencies, structures and realities, that have arisen from the changes that took place in the Republic of Moldova in the recent years. We militate in favor of an efficient market economy, based on the combination of competitive mechanisms with an active, rationally proportioned role of the state in the orientation of economical and social policies.

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On the basis of the analysis of the current situation and current state of reforms, that have been performed up to the present moment, we consider that, boosting the economic potential and people self-confidence, we can accomplish a change that would gradually reduce the gaps between the Republic of Moldova and other European countries, in order to catch up the "train" of European integration. This is our fundamental issue.

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Such an important objective can't be carried out in a short period of time, but it has to be approached rapidly. That is why, the SLP suggests that the modernization and development of the Republic of Moldova become our national objective, the basis of the new political and social consensus. We hope that all forces and competencies of the Republic of Moldova will unite in the carrying-out of this objective.

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The significance of our program is to establish and carry out a new mechanism of social development that would satisfy the needs and aspirations of the people, improve the living standards, assure the integration of the country in the structures of the developed world. We believe that we can speed up the changes through our own efforts, labor, brain power and good rational organization, by careful management of the resources, in order to assure prosperity and a decent living standard to all our citizens.

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In the face of the difficult problems we confront at the beginning of this millennium, the Social-Liberal

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analyzing realistically the current state of Moldova society and economy, as well as the living standard of the absolute majority of the population, firmly pledging itself, as the main innovating force of the society, characterized by a profound attachment to the fundamental interests of our people, launches to its members and supporters, to all the citizens of the country, this **POLITICAL PROGRAM**, in the spirit of democratization and modernization of the Republic of Moldova, in view of its integration in the family of advanced European countries.

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II. Transition dimensions in the Republic of Moldova

A. Global context of the change

The national Liberation Movement of 1988-91 took us out of the frame of an anachronical world and re-put in the natural way of evolution. In our vision, all the processes, the Moldova society passes through, are part of an ample historical process, that can be defined not only as a transition from the dictatorship to democracy, but also as a transition to a new model of society and civilization.

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But in the fuss, the world passes through today, a deep crisis of values has influenced the modern societies evolution. Simultaneously with the expansion of knowledge and high technologies, developed countries evolve towards the post-industrial society, based on information and re-valuation of the results of science and communication means. The contemporary history created today an integrated world system, in which national economies are integrated in an interdependent network and values exchange, that no country can develop on its own.

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In a very short period of time, the political picture of the modern world and the world geopolitical relations has undergone radical changes. The most significant aspect of this, after the end of the cold war, is the transition from confrontation and rivalry to partnership, from the policy of global bipolar rivalry to the configuration of a polarized world.

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At the same time, in the context of globalization, we witness deepening world discrepancies and a more and more acute polarization between the rich and the poor, both in some countries and in the whole world system structure. Besides, problems of social nature - local conflicts, especially those of interethnic and inter-confessional nature, present a considerable risk factor to the development and stability.

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Facing the negative consequences of a system oriented only by market and profit generating mechanisms, in societies of all types exists a real demand for a model of sustainable development, that would harmonize economical efficiency, social justice, environment protection and human progress.

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We can conceive the development of the Republic of Moldova only in strong connection with the development of the whole world. We must synchronize our country transition with the pan-European transition to the post-industrial society, a highly informed society and culturally intensive one. In these conditions, right now it is vital to opt for the model, which will dominate in Europe of tomorrow, and not to repeat models and experiences superannuated by the developed countries.

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B. Challenges of transition

The major difficulty that the European post-communist societies, including the Republic of Moldova, have to surmount, consists in the fact that these countries must simultaneously get through multiple solicitations:

- to operate a change of the political and social systems, i.e. a difficult and complex internal transition, aimed to strengthen the new democratic institutions, to adapt to the requirements of the free market economy and, at the same time, modernize all the structural aspects of the society;
- to retrieve, by very sustained efforts and high costs, economic, technological and civilization delays, accumulated during many decades and centuries of dependent development - in the conditions of a sharp competition on the world market;
- to adjust the country internal structures - beginning with institutional structures and ending with the profoundest ones - so that they would become compatible with the present European structures, fulfilling in this way the criteria and standards required for their competitive integration in these structures;
- to re-establish good-neighboring relations with its nearby states - sometimes putting apart historical dramas and injustice - and to participate in the edification of a new system of collective security on the continent, without discriminations and artificial divisions.

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These are the challenges we have to cope with and to which our development projects should be referred. 000

SLP considers that the transformation, the Republic of Moldova gets over, implies a number of levels and horizons that cover the fundamental processes of medium and long duration. 601
The transition process refers to the whole aggregate of changes that take place in the society configuration, thus, being multidimensional. 601
The change comprises all the society components and dimensions - political and economic systems, institutions, social relations, 601
civil society organizations, the forms of organizing, ways of life and mentalities.

The most difficult problem is the necessity of these components' simultaneous transformation. 408
Inevitably, there have appeared asymmetry and contradictions in the speed and profoundness of changes of different spheres. 408
De-synchronization between political and economical changes became the source of the most important and severe social tensions. 408
The people found out that the extension of political liberties, guaranteed by the new institutions of democracy, are reduced in the conditions of new economical restraints. 408
Social expectations, very amplified in the first phases of transition, came in conflict with the practical results of the economic pseudo-reforms, carried out by the compromised governments of 1991-2001. 408

In order to cope with the new challenges of the history, the Republic of Moldova has to change all the structures of the national economic system, to establish new functional correlation between them and orient them towards efficiency, modernization and opening towards values of the contemporary Europe. 601

C. Establishment of the state of law and structural reform of the moldovan society

Even after ten years of transition, the Republic of Moldova didn't manage to become a real state of law, with mature and consolidated democratic institutions. 202
The way to the new political structure was characterized by crises, tensions and severe errors. 202
The Republic of Moldova began this great historical transition without the creation of necessary conditions, programs and preparatory forms. 305
The changes were performed chaotically; and the legislative vacuum, crisis of public administration institutions, chaos in the economical life and voluntarism of some decisions of the executive power - constituted permanent threats for the transition and national security. 305

The most complex process of transition - economical reform - remains the turntable of the systemic changes, we are involved in. 408
From the former USSR we inherited a rigid economic system, with many lacks of balance and many obstructions. 408
The transformation of a centralized planned economy into a modern competitive market economy is a process of long duration, much more complex in comparison with the changing of the political and institutional systems. 408
That is why, in time terms, the transition from dictatorship to democracy can not coincide with the overcoming of the inherited economical crisis, to which new difficulties and restraints, determined by such a complex structural change, are being added. 408
The inner difficulties were amplified by the conflicts in the Eastern and Southern parts of the Republic of Moldova, as well as by external unfavorable conditions, created by disintegration of regional markets and the world recession. 408

From the very first phases of transition, in the sphere of economic reforms have been made many serious mistakes. 305
Certain political parties and currents sub-estimated the objective difficulties of the reform, promoted improvised and inadequate solutions, which produced disorder and non-recoverable losses. 305
In this way, the Republic of Moldova became a country of "counter-performance", characterized by a much lower position in comparison with the

economical level of the majority of countries in transition of the central and south-eastern part of Europe. Even today the Moldova industrial system comprises many non-efficient enterprises, with a very high consumption of resources and energy, and a very low efficiency. The internal market is still highly dominated by monopolies, as well as by a still insufficiently consolidated institutional frame. The investments in the reconstruction of the infrastructure and re-equipment of the industries were sporadic and insufficient, and the service sector - quite weak and undeveloped.

The competitive level of the Moldovan products is reduced, and high performance and efficiency is not the managerial behavior's first priority. These severe lacks of balance show us that, despite of constant efforts, we didn't manage to change the internal structure of the economy, its relations with the society and international competitor medium. Thus, in order to competitively integrate in the European Union, we need profound restructure programs, by which we shall be able to eliminate the lasting lack of balance of the economy, as well as the features specific to sub-development. A responsible national approach means taking into account the fact that the Republic of Moldova must integrate in the European economic system, which is dominated today by the competitive market, by tendencies of increasing profits and of controlling Trans-national enterprises and international financial bodies.

Social structure transition also generated dramatic processes, discontinuance, displacements and modifications of the statute of many social categories. Certain social categories have suffered a gradual erode and reduction of incomes, the labour force market is still in formation, quite unstable in tailoring and helping people adjust to the new work opportunities. Inter-human relations have been turned upside down, and civil society structures are not sufficiently consolidated. The diversification of economic interests and social behaviors did not lead either to a coherent joint of social groups, or to the solidarity of some sectors of these; the experience of social partnership is only at its beginning. Unemployment and social polarization presented a real shock of transition, very difficult to be surpassed in the years to come, contradicting expectations, illusions, hopes. The new economic mechanisms haven't been backed by coherent social policies and by an efficient system of social protection, that would have been able to protect those in difficulty.

The most profound phenomenon refers to the transforming the old social classes, grouped on the criterion of working occupation, in new social categories, structured on the criterion of incomes and property. In prospect, a growing differentiation between the farmers and industrial workers, a more pronounced insertion of brain workers (intelligentsia) in activities specific to market economy, a consolidation of new categories of entrepreneurs and businessmen will take place. Besides, inevitably, in medium-term, the Republic of Moldova will experience a severe stratification between pensioners and active labor forces, in parallel with a series of negative demographic processes, that will lead to the reduction and aging of the population.

SLP adapts its political program, anticipating that the evolution of social structures after the process of privatizing, will advance in a massive way. As a consequence of the private sector extinction, the formation of a medium class is visible as a medium and short term tendency. In the concept of SLP, the consolidation of the middle class is a strategic objective of its social policy, as this category will represent the balance structure of the society and the major social force of the changes together with the intelligentsia and youth.

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Changes in the political and socio-economic sphere have been backed by a reconstruction of cultural institutions and of the system of values, of individual and group behavior of education and scientific systems - vital dimensions for entering a new development cycle. 502
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In the prospect of contemporary processes, we have to re-evaluate the role of cultural and human factors in the so-called equation of development. We proceed from the opinion that the performances of a society are determined by the qualification level of the performed work, by the cultural competence and value of human factor, by the way in which this potential is turned to good account. Value orientations, pragmatic dexterity, cultural aspirations and the people qualifications constitute today decisive variables of development. Political participation and social commitment will become more efficient as a new political and civic culture, a new mentality and new value horizon are arising and consolidating. A fundamental concern of our party is the establishing of the European culture traditions, a continuous support to educational institutions, in order to orient the educational process in agreement with the beginning to appear values and reference points of the united Europe. 502
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The quality and efficiency of the society efforts of development depend on its human and intellectual heritage. In our case, these resources are not used in a sufficient way. The Republic of Moldova can not put forward the competitive advantages of its economy, at the same time, its comparative advantages gradually loose their significance. In consequence, we have to turn to good account our abilities and intellectual resources, the technical intelligence stock and good working skills of labor forces, still available trumps of the development competition. 601
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D. Difficulties and restraints on the way of structural reforms

The transition proved to be a more complicated and longer process than we initially imagined. In order to understand the sense of the changes and their prospect for the Republic of Moldova, we need a critic evaluation of the way covered. It is important not to waste what we have gained up to now, to correct our errors and to give a new course to our political and economic life. Moldova society was not exempted from certain obstacles and errors on its way of democratic transformations. The causes include the complexity of this systemic change, the incoherence of certain measures taken by government bodies, as well as social tensions and upheavals, we experienced. The political authorities didn't always find the most appropriate solutions to the difficulties of this or that nature. 601
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The excessive accent of the reform on the ideology in the first ten years of transition required enormous costs, the consequences being felt very badly after the parliamentary elections of February 2001. Politicizing and narrow party interests negatively marked the political life of the Republic of Moldova, with severe influences on the reform programs. Exacerbate confrontations between parties and fragility of the civil society also rendered difficult the social mentality change. Many political and civic structures understood quite late that life truths do not have political color, and future can't be constructed without a forward thinking. 202
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The old enterprises have been destroyed before the creation of new market economy mechanisms, which were put to function very heavily, and without taking into account the structure of the society. Neither the parties, nor the government factors had a concrete and systematic contact with the realities of the country, sufficient enough to know the problems of the people and to propose adequate solutions of remedy. 408
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The agricultural reform led to the fragmentation of the property, to a structural deadlock in this sphere. The industry suffered incoherent reforms, which did not change its structure 703

configuration, but reduced its productive potential almost to zero. The reform programs did not synchronize the evolutions of real economy with policies of financial and monetary macro-stabilization. The legislative and executive institutions did not manage to regulate in time the specific to market economy operations. In these conditions, a series of phenomena, characteristic to "wild" capitalism - spreading of the underground economy, tax dodging, fraudulent privatization, speculation practices, pillage of public property, enrichment of Mafia groups, are taking place. The wave of infringement of the law, illegal deeds and corruption created in the society a feeling of uncertainty and affected its trust in the state institutions and democratic values.

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Contrary to expectations, the change created a severe deepening of the social polarization. The social costs of the reform, higher than we could initially estimate, negatively influenced the level of living, especially on the level of living of those remunerated from the budgetary system, workers and vulnerable categories of the people. The diminution of the economic power of the Republic of Moldova reduced the funds necessary for certain social policies, oriented to socially unprotected categories.

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Programs of the future can not ignore the drawbacks of these ten years, caused by near or more distant past, as well as by the present situation. These are the very things we have to concentrate in the nearest future.

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We have the strong belief that the Moldovan social-liberals will be able to very well weigh the state of things and to have a realistic image on the future, taking into account the needs and interests of the people and the real problems of the country, without empty words.

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III. The social-liberal doctrine

The SLP is a young party and a party of the young, a party with a strong belief for the future. By its members and its Program, the SLP declares itself a continuation of the ideals and political aspirations expressed by the National Liberation Movement of 1988-1991.

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As a social-liberal party we will be the exponents of aspirations of liberty, progress and welfare, refusing firmly both the pressure of the forces of the right to involve the Republic of Moldova in the shock therapy, a reform model we reject and consider inadequate for the Moldovan realities, and the pressure of the forces of the left to turn the Moldovan society back to the planned economy and the "omnipotent state".

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The political identity of the SLP is expressed by its social-liberal doctrine, by its conception on transition and the model of society the party proposes to the Republic of Moldova, by the system of values it promotes and by its political activity.

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SLP sees itself as a contemporary social-liberal party, of European vocation. It is anchored to national realities, open to modernization and social development, a firm promoter of democratic liberties and social-economic reforms. The social liberalism represents our doctrinaire foundation, the reference system according to which we have to evaluate the current activities and attitudes, determined by the necessity to adapt to the specific situations of our country. Our ideals and activities are linked to the fundamental principles and values of the social liberalism - liberty and dignity of the person, equality of chances, respect of labor and property, public welfare, social justice, equality of sexes and human solidarity. By these values, the social-liberal doctrine differs from other social-liberal doctrines, on the one hand, and from the socialist one, on the other hand, doctrines that underline either the individual liberty in the detriment of social justice or on the social solidarity and the leveling

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equalitarianism, that suffocates free initiative and depreciates the significance of individual liberties.]

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The SLP is a reformatory party, dedicated to social progress, having the firm conviction that the Moldova economy must be established on a new structure of property that would stimulate the development] to diminish social discrepancies] and to improve the living level of the people.] We reject any dogmatic approach to reform tasks, being receptive and open to the ideas and solutions that lead to modernization and social development, for the welfare of the people.] In the context of post-communist transition, the SLP is individualized on the Moldova political stage by a model of structural reform, adapted to national realities, in a rhythm which would take into account the degree of social supportability.] The social-liberal project of the SLP is of a great current interest, being very adequate to the period of transition, by its virtues capable to balance the relation between the free market mechanisms and the s intervention of the state, for the purpose of regulating the competitive medium, to moderate and correct the drawbacks and contradictions of the social organism.]

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The equality of chances - in the political, economical, social and cultural spheres - represents the essential condition for free development of the person, irrespective of his/her sex, ethnic, religion or social origin.] Equality of rights and equality before law, the institutions serving the citizens and the justice, protection of people against abuses and violence represent the state of law.]

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Human and social solidarity,] based on Christian moral values and on the communitary sense,] is indispensable for the cohesion of the society, of nation and for the promotion of international cooperation.] The competitive medium of the market economy also emphasized certain aggressive individualistic behaviors, race drives for rapid enrichment, altering often social and inter-human relations, diminishing the sense of responsibility and of belonging to community.]

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IV. A social-liberal party of european vocation

European Unity represents the pivot of the program of the Moldovan social-liberals, our whole activity being subordinated to this desideratum.] We consider that only the federalization of Europe] could abolish the frontiers that separate us from our co-nationals from Romania and Ukraine.] Also, the SLP will opt for a better cultural and economic integration with Romania,] for a historic reconciliation and edification of a strategic partnership with Ukraine.]

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As a contemporary party, of European vocation,] detached from any national-extremist visions and attitudes, we militate for a well-balanced of all the regions and localities of the Republic of Moldova,] for its internal cohesion,] for interethnic harmony,] and valuing respect for the European moral and cultural patrimony.] We consider as our task the increasing of the potential of creativity and enriching our identity with values of the European civilization.]

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In the spirit of our European vocation,] we are the supporters of a substantial national policy and attitude, that would promote the national interests of the Republic of Moldova,] and assure the linguistic and confessional minorities all the rights to preserve and affirm their cultural identity,] with the strict observance of the laws and constitutional order,] and affirmation of loyalty to the Moldovan state as an Unitarian and indivisible state.] Being based on these principles, the SLP rejects the theses and positions that aim at breaking up the Republic of

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Moldova and estranging the linguistic communities of the country, as well as other actions that could affect the unity and integrity of the Republic of Moldova. 30 2 803

SLP considers that political and civic liberties are manifested in the social frame and must be protected by the law. The equality of the citizens before law must not be affected by the privileges of wealth, of social position or of any other nature. We wish a society in which the rights and freedoms of every citizen would be correlated with his obligations and responsibilities, with the observance of the laws and public order.

The liberty of ones must not endanger or impede the freedom of the others, being incompatible with anarchical and destructive attitudes.

SLP regards the Person, with his/her needs and aspirations, as a beneficiary of the policy, promoted by the party, and the aim of the social development. By the essence of its political demarsh, our party is profoundly attached to the values of democracy, solidarity and social justice, the Person being the center of every political action, the **Political Action** based on the principal " the face turned to the citizen". The party takes the commitment to maintain a direct contact with the citizens, in order to assume their concrete problems and to adapt its political activity to their needs and aspirations.

The SLP will represent the interests of large categories of citizens, indifferently of the their sphere of activity. As a social-liberal party, our message is addressing especially to those who make a living from their work, to the industrial and budgetary employees, peasants (farmers) as well as to the middle class, intelligentsia, young people and private entrepreneurs, all those who side with the principles of the social liberalism.

SLP wishes that every young person could occupy the place in the society, he deserves. We have a strong belief in the youth, in their ability to promote a new civic mentality, to assure to the Republic of Moldova a respectable place in the Europe of the III-rd millennium.

We also wish to contribute to the creation of a climate in which Woman be able to plenary manifest her vital role in the society, as structural part of the intelligence and professionalism of our people. We take the commitment to re-considerate the role of the Woman in the society for guaranteeing an equal and active participation of women in the life of community and society for a social protection of women-mothers.

Moldovan social-liberals put a special accent on the principles of co-management and social partnership, the civil society being called to have an effective participation, by numerous intermediary structures, in the projects and public policies elaboration. Their aspiration is to harmonize the political and economical freedoms, the imperative of economic growth and free initiative with the exigencies of social and human development, the competitive atmosphere of the market economy with the equality of persons' chances to self-affirmation.

At the same time, the State, as a state of law, must be integrated and subjected to the control of the citizens and civil society organizations, while the separation of powers in the state has to be coupled with a large local autonomy. The state pursues the establishment of a general social stability, so that every social group and category could auto-determine itself, on the basis of its specific activity and responsibility. Thus, the state assumes a significant economic and social implication, by the mechanisms specific to a democratic society, and a consolidated and functional market economy.

The essence of the social liberalism consists in the synthesis of the based on the liberalism principles market economy, and a social policy of the guaranteed social minimum. The society, we desire to build in the Republic of Moldova, must assure the economic support of freedom, must guarantee the right to property and welfare, by assuring the right to labor and equitable distribution of the incomes, by non-discriminatory access to culture and education. 408
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It is vital for us that the democracy was not only a principle of political organization, but also an operative factor in the civil society, in the economic and social life. If democracy were limited only to the political sphere, elections and the right of free expression and association of the people that would mean that in the sphere of the economic and social life would act exclusively mechanisms of competition and dictatorship of the money. 202
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The SLP militates for the observance of the people' social rights, of the right to labor and social assurances, education and culture. By the essence of its political acts, the SLP pursues the economic development of the country, attenuation of social polarization and reduction of poverty, assurance of conditions for an active participation of the citizens in the public deeds and social activities. 201
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The social market economy, we want to establish, is a functional and harmonious combination between free initiative and moderate intervention of the state. It is designed to establish a balance between partners, to eliminate the undesirable consequences of the competition and to impose the strict observance of the rules by the actors, implied in competition. The state and the market must be regarded as partners in the process of development. The social market economy is a mixed economy, compatible and competitive with the developed economies. 403
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The concept of the SLP opposes to the exacerbate and suffocating domination of the state, to the concept of socialist configuration, but also regards with reservation the attitudes of radical liberals, who recommend a "minimal state", i.e. a state, retreated from the economic and social life. We consider that those who identify the reform with the retrieval of the state from the economic sphere, mean the centralized and authoritative old state. In our opinion that, instead of administrative means, the regulating role of the state must be effected exclusively by fiscal and budget policies, with the purpose of correcting the lack of balance on the market, of protecting the social rights and establishing social partnership with trade unions and other components of the civil society. In the new reality of the market economy, and especially, in the transition period, the essential role of the state is to establish a legislative, institutional and economic frame, capable to stimulate the development of goods and service markets, of capital markets and labor market, assuring in this way, the balance and efficient resources allocation in economy. 403
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The social-liberal state has the obligation to involve into a series of objectives that visualize the general interests of the society, such as the national defense and public order, education, scientific research, sanitary assistance and environment protection, cultural projects of national level. In the circumstances of social-economic and political transition, the state can't retrieve itself from the sectors that must be protected and supported to the benefit of the whole society. But we think that, as soon as the private property becomes dominant, and institutions of real market economy consolidated, the state will re-model its functions and will renounce to direct interventions in the economic activity. 104
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In the context of economic integration, the role of the state is essential. It has the obligation to render the general national economy compatible with the European Union structures, to apply active commercial, industrial and agricultural policies, orienting national products to export. 403
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and to stimulate foreign investments. The state has to support, by a sustained protection, the formation and consolidation of the autochthonous capital, in correlation with the commercial agreements concluded with external partners. In the context of globalization of economic processes and of participation of the Republic of Moldova in international agreements of the liberalization of the commerce, the programs with the aim to improve the competitive degree of the national economy should be given a special interest.

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V. Republic of Moldova facing millennium three

A. Reducing gaps - the capital problem of the Republic of Moldova

The SLP considers that the main problem of the Republic of Moldova relates the general modernization of the society, reduction of its social-economic gaps, in comparison with the rest of European states, and improvement the living standards.

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Even a short analysis of our history of the last decade shows us the existence of a tendency to a permanent reproduction of gaps in the labor productivity and level of living. Under these circumstances, a huge "exodus" of resources and national wealth, has taken place, and hence has been even broadened due to the wide scale corruption. If it is not stopped by the reorganization of the whole national economic system on a modern basis, this "exodus" risks perpetuate for a long historical epoch. For these reasons, the central point of our platform relates particularly to the stopping of this tendency and to its inversion, on the basis of the modernization of the national economy, in correlation with important transformations in the contemporary society.

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The problems, faced by the Republic of Moldova today, have their roots in the weak performance of the former soviet economy, drawbacks in the efficiency and labor productivity, historically accumulated in diverse spheres. This relates to the precarious state of infrastructures and public services, an energy-consuming industry, missing flexibility, irrationally configured as to internal resources, weak technological equipment of agriculture, deficiencies in the system of sanitary assistance, of transport and communication means. The consumption of resources continues to be extremely high in comparison with the achieved result - new created economic values, i.e., the decisive factor of development and wealth. The Moldova society has to directly approach profound causes that generate these gaps and has to assume an ambitious purpose - namely, the purpose to lead out the country from the nowadays situation, raising it to the level of European developed countries.

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SPL states that the historical stake of the present transition consists exactly in the reduction of these gaps, before they become irrecoverable. Taking into account "the geopolitical capital" we dispose of, SLP states that the Republic of Moldova still has the chance to cope with the challenges of millennium III, in case it reckons on people with new mentality, constitutes necessary state institutions, and invests in education and people formation.

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Now the whole Europe is at a crossroad moment. A new type of economy and society are appearing on the "old continent", with knowledge, information, high technologies, human and cultural potential as decisive development factors. This is our chance, we can not loose it. SLP considers that we have to re-evaluate the content and meaning of our transition from the very prospect of these long-term changes in the European and world maps.

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At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that the new tendencies contain both, the risk to deepen the gaps between the rich and poor countries, and the possibility for the countries-laggards to a more rapid recuperation of technological gaps through investments in the

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researches that will predominate in the world of tomorrow. That is why our sole chance is the transformation of the cultural and intellectual capital, still available - and which we have the obligation to increase - in the main source of development.

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Elimination of the gaps requires sustained efforts, precisely directed strategies and thoroughness in their application. Problems, accumulated during centuries and decades, can be solved only in medium- and long-time terms. We must effect, in a limited period of time, changes that took centuries to other societies. This requires a huge work concerning the reorganization of the society, in all the aspects, in order to enforce a new production system, efficient enterprises and modern technologies that would generate welfare and increase the civilization standard of the country.

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We can not enter the present competition with agriculture of a subsistence level, a low productivity industry and an administration suffocated by bureaucracy and corruption. With the breaking of the national economy system during the first stage of the transition, some retrogressive steps, in comparison with the world economy dominant tendencies, took place. The existing gaps show also the amplitude of the changes we have to perform in the near future. This strategic reorientation of the Moldovan society and economy has to be begun without any delay. We can perform a change of such important proportions, only if we orient with lucidity and insight the country energies and evaluate with responsibility the consequences of our actions.

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This program supposes new economical priorities and objectives, but also a new social solidarity, capable to support the national development efforts. We can not win in this battle if we do not realize a new social climate, a minimal consensus of all political and social forces on the objectives of strategic national interest, in the purpose of modernization of the Republic of Moldova.

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B. Modernization of the Republic of Moldova - the strategical direction of the program of SLP

The central point of the program of SLP is the modernization of national economy, in consensus with radical changes of the contemporary society. The prosperity and welfare of the people depend on the completion of this objective.

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Open to dialogue and negotiation, the SLP reaffirms its values and options, considering its economic and social program a viable alternative of development. On the basis of a thorough analysis of the causes that have determined the present state of things, SLP proposes realistic solutions to the problems of the Republic of Moldova. We need a good way of organizing, hard working, deep thinking, high professionalism and competence in everything we do. Our order rule words shall be the following - economic efficiency and welfare of the people.

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The proposed Program is liable to lead to a new economic structure, a new course of the economical life, a new destiny and place of the Republic of Moldova in future Europe. The essence of our Program is the modernization and development of the Moldovan society. All the measures of the economic policy, proposed by us, are subordinated to this purpose, considered by us the new basis of the political and social consensus in the Republic of Moldova. Only by an insistent promotion of this orientation we will realize an efficient economy, capable to generate resources and offer jobs. It is our strategic objective, for the realization of which we need an integrated program of national level.

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C. Economic guide marks of our society model

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The society, we aspire for, supposes a really democratic political system, decentralized and efficient, with well consolidated structures, laws and institutions, with an authority high enough to be able to organize national development efforts. Our options are directed to a model of sustainable and well-balanced development, based on the state of law virtues, on the market economy dynamism and on social democracy, carrying out principles of social justice.	303
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Our project pursues the consolidation of the social market economy in the Republic of Moldova, a system that combines the orientation to efficiency with the concern of assuring citizens equal chances of affirmation and a real protection to disadvantaged layers of the people. We consider that the sense of the reform is to establish and make functional a new mechanism of social development, able to satisfy the needs and aspirations of the people to competitively integrate in the structures of the contemporary world. In our conception, the reform must change its center of gravity to real economy. Simultaneously with the spreading out of the process of privatizing, the reform enters its intensive phase of acquiring profoundness, efficiency, good economical rationality and prospect.	403
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Its priority must become the criteria of economic efficiency, but not political slogans. Any reform project has to be considered from the point of view of its economical efficiency. This efficiency has to be a social one as well, with positive results for the people's lives and public benefit, not for some narrow privileged groups only. The coherence and continuity of the changes are obligatory conditions of development. We need a national strategy of reform, specialized bodies of economic-social prognosis to design the medium- and long-term correlation between objectives, resources and means, especially in the post-privatization phase, to establish a hierarchy of priorities and a connection between structural factors of development.	408
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The decisive factor of development is our own effort. The place of the Republic of Moldova in the new geopolitical picture of Europe, nowadays in the process of its configuration, will be determined by the results of our own development efforts, by the results of the economic entrepreneurs activity, by an efficient management of resources. We consider our own efforts to be the fundamental source of economic recovery in the context of an ample economic and cultural integration characteristic to the contemporary world.	601
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Development will offer a sustainable support to national security. The stability of the country must be consolidated and turned to good account for the benefit of the reform, national security having its very first support in the economical development of the country.	104
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The Republic of Moldova of tomorrow will be organically integrated in the European structures, achieving a new synthesis between its peculiarities and the civilization of European level, thus, a competitive partner with a well-expressed identity.	601
D. Priority objectives of the following years	
The model of society, the SLP militates for, presumes a series of policies and actions to assure an increase of the citizens level of living, on the basis of a sustainable social and human development. For the achievement of this objective we must reorganize the whole system of national production according to the rules of modern market economy, this presumes a well established mechanism with modern infrastructures and flexible interior and exterior circuits, economic agents of high performance, receptive and adaptable to the hostilities of the market and competition.	503
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We will support the consolidation of the bank and financial systems, the development of the capital market, improvement of financial discipline in real economy circuits, development of commodity exchange, to confer functionality to the market economy, in order to attract and mobilize available resources for the development of an ample investment program.

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In the fiscal policy we shall militate for the simplification of the tax system, for gradual reduction, on the basis of well-differentiated criteria, of taxes on salaries and profits in order to facilitate investments and lessen the fiscal burden, especially for the categories with small incomes, young people and numerous families. As the tax basis becomes larger, the diminishing of taxes on salaries and profit will be correlated with the introduction of global income taxes for physical persons.

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We shall sustain initiatives regarding the introduction of fiscal reductions and credits with accessible interests for the economic agents, who re-invest part of their profit in technical re-equipment and creation of new jobs. To our opinion, the vitality of the economy now depends on the re-launching out of investments - for the technical re-equipment and modernizing of infrastructures - and on orienting the production towards export, directions that have to become national priorities.

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We will sustain the attraction of foreign capital, especially of firms with direct capital investments, a fundament condition for the technical re-equipment of the enterprises and increasing of the Moldovan export products competitiveness. We will militate for the simplification of legislation procedures, for the elimination of bureaucratic impediments.

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In the conception of SPL, the privatization is not a scope in itself, but a necessary process for the basic restructuring of the society, a means of an increasing efficiency of utilized resources and stimulation of economic competition and performance. The extension of free initiative and consolidation of the private sector would determine a significant re-establish of the economic life. In the prospect of the following years, the private sector will comprise about 75-80 % of the general domestic product and the public sector will have to adapt itself to the competitive system.

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We consider that privatization must not lead to the breaking up of the Moldovan economy, to the destroying of units of national industry system. The speed of privatization process can not be established arbitrarily, there should be put into account the capital, available on the internal market, and the quality of foreign investments. The SLP considers that this process must be carried on with the strict observance of the law, full transparency in every single case, avoiding thus fraudulent privatization.

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E. Re-establishing of agriculture and renewal of moldovan village

SLP states that agriculture is a branch of major national importance, able, by its material and human potential, to assure the alimentary security of the population and the export of significant quantities of products. The governments of 1991-2001 pursued an irresponsible policy in the agricultural sphere, showing no interest for the producers.

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Moldovan farmers have the chance to regain their identity and economical force, together with the reorganization of agriculture on a new basis and, in this way, to become a category of people joining the life of the contemporary civilization. In order to re-establish the agriculture production, a series of prior consistent measures should be followed:

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- re-establish of a well-thought-out system of subventions, bonuses and allocations for agricultural producers, the system being able to compete both, as mechanism and level, with the bonuses practiced in the member countries of the European Union; 703 108
- support of agricultural producers by diverse forms of low interest short-term credits, as well as long-term credits for the purchasing of agricultural technical equipment; We have the obligation to act in the direction of protecting those, who produce agricultural products, and to eliminate the intermediary agents who artificially increase the price of the products; 703 703
- support of large modern agricultural units creation, of the type existing in the developed societies, by free association of farmers or on lease basis, with the maintenance of the individual property of the land; We consider that the excessive fragmentation of the agricultural land impedes the obtaining of a profitable agriculture; 703 703
- association of producers in agricultural societies or family farms represents a solution, imposed by the nowadays tendency to integration, both in favor of an intensive exploitation of large agricultural land areas, and for a more dynamic connection between the agricultural production and market. 703

We consider as necessary the integration of agricultural products in the national market circuit, by the establishment of agricultural and industrial societies, of holdings, assuring of agricultural supplies and agricultural products commercializing, development of the zootechnics' modern basis and creation of agricultural processing centers. 703 703 703

SLP will apply a national program of revival and improvement of civilization degree of the Moldovan village that will include the following measures: 301

- re-establishing of infrastructures and development of the public services, vital for rural communities, such as roads, supply of goods, post offices, medical dispensaries, schools, village libraries, club-houses, water supplies, connections to gas conduit networks, telephone extensions etc.; 411 504 506 502 411
- diversifying of economical and industrial activities that turn to good account local resources, beginning with small industry to the ecological tourism, with the purpose of bringing additional sources of incomes to agricultural workers; 703
- facilities to attract and preserve the village intelligentsia in villages (teachers, medical staff, specialists in agriculture etc.); 704
- revival of handicrafts and traditional artisan workings, conservation of the spiritual patrimony of the Moldovan village. 601

VI. Social-Liberal Party - a party for the young generation

A. Education, culture and science - national priorities

The SLP considers that the Republic of Moldova should firmly undertake the direction of contemporary Europe. All European nations, including the most developed, are today in a historical transition that will take a few decades and through which, the Europe of Nations will become Europe of Regions, a transition from the industrial type civilization to the post-industrial society, an informational, intensive-intellectual and cultural society. The Republic of Moldova has to respond simultaneously to the challenges of the internal reform and to challenges, implied by its adjusting to the new tendencies of the continental geopolitics. 108 108 301 502 601

The Republic of Moldova enters the historical competition for technological development with a relatively small cultural, scientific and human potential. That is why, the Moldovan social-liberals consider that, indifferently of how difficult the economic situation is, the Republic of Moldova should give a sustainable support to culture, health, education and science. Only in this way, the Republic of Moldova can correspond to the new European and global tendencies. 601
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SLP programs of development are based on the creative force of the intelligentsia, its role in the transition to a new model of society is essential. The outcomes of the future will incorporate an ever-growing intellectual component, of thought and creation, in agreement with the exigencies of the informational society. Investments in education and formation of people is, in long term, the most advantageous for the development of a society. That is why, the education and instruction institutions, as well as those of scientific research, must be seen as strategic institutions for our national destiny. 704
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SLP proceeds from the idea that our performance will be determined, first of all, by the competence and professionalism of the people, by their working abilities, by the capacity of institutional structures to turn to good account this potential. Education is the strategic factor of the future development, and the multidimensional and anticipative modeling of the human factor depends on it. 501
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One of the major resources of the Republic of Moldova would be the human potential. In the development competition, the most favorable positions will belong to the societies investing in the spiritual formation of the people, in the future oriented education. The reform of the educational system will bring effects in all the components of the society, being the key factor of the transition to a new type of society. There must be a calling to a permanent study, the people have to learn that they have to improve their standards of living with their own forces and have the ability to daringly and clearly project their future. 506
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In order to be enlisted in the new horizon of the post-industrial civilization, we have to reactivate the available potential of creativity, the intellectual forces and moral resources of the society, the will of self-affirmation and spirit of initiative of the youth, the educational system and all human factor qualities. 601
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The SLP states the educational system as a national priority of a special attention in our long-term policy of development. In the view of its corresponding to the contemporary requirements, we will act for: 506

- the continuation of the education system reform, with an accent on modernizing and designing modern education programs, on assuring the material and technological basis of the education system, in agreement with the requirements of the informational society, stimulating the people motivations for a high quality education; 506
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- assuring of an adequate level of salaries to teachers, in order to re-establish their social respect and dignity in a society wishing to study and give a good preparation to its people, in order to cope with the requirements of the future; 506
- restoring of the social prestige of school, improvement of discipline in educational units, prevention of severe dangers as a result of penetration into school of anarchical behavior and drugs consumption. 506

B. Let's offer a chance to the young

SLP endorses a concrete program of schooling for the future, the program addresses the whole country population, the youth being in the forefront. Applying of the program emphasizes at least four fundamental aspects of education: 506

- Learning the programming languages. This program, referring to the new "alphabetizing" of the population, represents the entrance door to the civilization world of tomorrow. 506
- creation of conditions, first of all, for the young generation, of learning and fluent use of two languages of international usage. It is an indispensable condition for an efficient communication in Europe of today and for the access to information; 506
- adopting a contemporary mentality, tolerant and moral, capable to definitively eliminate from the society the scourge of some severe social -political vices, as xenophobia, ethnical, religious intolerance or anti-Semitism; 607 802
- deepening of the process of learning the official state language of the Republic of Moldova as a fundamental element for the plenary and harmonious integration of the linguistic minorities in the Moldavian society. 608 803

Besides the four upper-mentioned, there are some additional important education aspects, such as religious education, family and social environment education, ecological, civic and economic education. This program, harmoniously integrated in a long-term social and economic strategy, must make common cause with the political forces, with the young generation and intelligentsia of the Republic of Moldova, with the whole society. Countries that wish to reduce the gaps of productivity, as it is the case of the Republic of Moldova, have to perseveringly promote the values specific to an economy, in which the culture and information become the determining sphere of activity. 603
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The contemporary economic and technological progress is determined, in a decisive way, by the society capacity of intellectual creativity. At present we can't conceive the development of the society only on the basis of natural resources or traditional industries. New technologies have revolutionized the world. We can not talk about development if we do not undertake new forces of civilization. We need highways for automobiles, but also we need highways for information, for the circulation of ideas and knowledge. Our belief is that the Republic of Moldova can and must participate in this crucial change of the civilization. Taking into account the globalization of change processes and the fact, that we face a spectacular leap of the civilization, the Republic of Moldova must enroll even now in the movement for the new type of society, in order to build its future in agreement with the requirements of tomorrow. 411
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