

GLOBALIZATION CONTROVERSIES AS AN ANALYTICAL PLATFORM FOR IDENTIFYING THE DEGREE OF CONNECTION OF REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA TO THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS

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Abstract: *The article presents the format of a study that evaluates the dimension of engagement of a state (in the given case, the Republic of Moldova) to the global system, observing a series of quantitative indicators of interconnection. These indicators create data research premises to generate discussions about how to connect to all that global flows and networks mean. In other words, we are discussing the degree of advancement in this approach to the globalization of human activities in order to create visions, try predictions, follow routes to unblock possible processes of stagnation. The interconnection to global processes also highlights possible discussions on the role that the state assumes in this situation to create a radius of influence for its benefit. Neglecting this aspect implies not understanding the opportunities and threats to which we are exposed.*

Keywords: *globalization, extension, intensity, speed, impact*

JEL: F5, F6

1. Introduction

It seems that the tried-and-true metaphor of the "man of the planet" is increasingly becoming a platform of challenge for those who are not adherents of the concept of holistic world organization and a deep test for those who scrutinize the future. Both experiences reveal the need to understand the causes that produce the perception of the faltering of globalization and to what extent they are able to create vectorial deviations from what seemed until recently predictable and indisputable. More importantly, the agenda of the discussed topics cannot be hidden, otherwise we risk paying the salary of the ignorant, in a contemporary setting of triple disruption of pandemic, military and technological origins. We remind you that "The process of globalization concerns all fields: economic, financial, ecological, cultural, military-strategic, which, in turn, lead to a **globalization of threats and risks**" [1, p. 9]. In order to advance this situation,

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we consider it appropriate to identify **the agenda of "planetary" subjects**, the solution of which requires us to understand the costs of the carelessness of not taking them into account. One of the platforms contributing to the promotion of the global agenda is the International Economic Forum in Davos, which starts from the stakeholder theory by promoting ESG (Environmental, Social, corporate Governance) principles. Careful listing of the Forum's agenda and mission determines trends, creates forecasts, provides benchmarks. The report for the year 2021-2022 highlights the directions of activity underlining the centers of major interest and basic functions [2]. Even if the confluence of aspects of human activity in the global construct was recognized by common agreement, the impact of the economic system diminishes or, on the contrary, strengthens the activity of the other systems. And the topics of major interest that guide the attention of the Forum are:

- ✓ **Artificial Intelligence** and the challenge brought along with the **Chat GPT application**, and the statement of Tomas Chamoro- Premuzic, the director of the innovation office at Manpower Group really becomes a challenge "It is the first time in the history of humanity when we have to rethink what it means to be human. It is no longer "I think, therefore I am." The mentioned moment hints at the establishment of **the culture of the metaverse** in which man witnesses his "detachment" from finite reality and the extension into infinite reality through his apparent humanoid double [3], [4]. The result of the presented trends is oriented towards the smart version of the organization of the world (smart houses, smart cities, digital businesses, climate trade).
- ✓ **the climate change** and the collateral effects of this phenomenon is the key issue that unites all global initiatives. Even if steps have already been taken in this direction, we refer to the Paris Agreement negotiated at the UN with provisions for actions to slow growth below +2 degrees Celsius as a result of carbon emissions with a greenhouse effect; and the cultivation of "blue carbon" by aquatic ecosystems, such as giant algae, ends up being in this case a step to promote the de-carbonization strategy until 2050, especially for heavy sectors such as the cement and concrete industry and not only. Therefore, **green technologies** are a particular concern from now on, increasingly creating conceptual openness stakes for the sustainable, inclusive and circular economy and the promotion of the initiative for "Net Zero" technology, promoted in an EU strategic document "The Green Deal Industrial Plan". The collateral document fixes the contiguous areas advancing the idea of vocational changes and the promotion of the "skills first" concept, following this initiative. At the same time, the work of the COP27 Conference, held in Egypt 2022, for the aspect of climate change once

again invoked the common demand of the participating countries for clean technologies [5], [6], [7].

✓ **the disruption of economic activity implicitly felt also through the effects of social polarization**, following two consecutive shocks, the Covid-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine, their experiences determined the unprecedented dynamics of the technological framework. Economic recovery is possible in the opinion of experts, stimulating mobility and opportunities to expand the workforce. In turn, the idea of economic recovery, at the suggestion of experts, in the absence of retraining with the aim of adjusting to the situational needs of the labor market is impossible. The "Skills gap analysis" method supports the economic recovery strategy.

✓ **the subject of security versus cybercrime** is being debated in an alert regime, because it addresses the issue from "identity theft" to the trading of information with the aim of dominating a person's field of choice. In other words, we are talking about a "technological and cybernetic ethics", which must set the limits of human behavior outside the visible space, therefore difficult to detect easily and to manipulate. The resonance of this moment is found in "Digital Justice" policies [8].

✓ **the modernization of the education and training systems** is seen rather as a response to non-conformities with the labor market that would ensure professional growth and social insertion. At the same time, education is reshaping its increasingly articulated purpose in the direction of the sustainability of the necessary skills for today's young people, a moment confirmed by the engagement of emerging technologies such as: machine learning, quantum computing, robotization of automated processes, virtual reality, augmented reality, the Internet of Things (IOT), the blockchain [9]. The evolutionary segment calls for a brainstorming regarding the hypothesis of the "fortification" of the 4th industrial revolution with a stake in the transition to the 5th, in the view of some experts.

2. Research methodology

The deciphered context of the not-so-simple, not-so-predictable globalization challenges us to identify a method that would offer descriptors to determine the degree of advancement of interconnection to global networks and flows. For this purpose, we started from known general principles. The specificity of globalization as a historically constituted phenomenon does not know a linear evolution, as a result its **analysis** substantiates the need for indicators that would facilitate the storage of quantitative data generating **qualitative observations** in relation to the **extension of global networks**, the **intensity** of global interconnection, **the speed** of global flows, **the impact propensity** of global interconnection [10, p 41-51]. Therefore, the data analysis will assess the impact

generated by globalization for this historical stage that accumulates events varied in magnitude and density. For this purpose, we will refer to 2 of the 5 categories of reference gearing indicators in the specialized literature under the aspect of the state's activity and the degree to which it is involved [10, p. 503]. The categories of indicators are:

- **political-legal indicators:** participation in international governmental institutions, the number and types of treaties and arrangements to which the state joins, interaction with regional intergovernmental networks and structures such as the EU,
- **economic indicators:** exports, imports, levels of outward and inward investment, engagement in regional and global markets, dependence on technology and various industrial sectors,
- **military indicators:** the proportion of defense spending and personnel allocated to alliance commitments, the arms trade and the degree to which the military depends on foreign technology and supplies, reliance on foreign operational command and military communications systems,
- **socio-cultural indicators:** the ethnic, linguistic, religious composition of the national population, the levels of post, telephone and international electronic communications, imports and exports of cultural products, dependence on foreign communication systems,
- **ecological indicators:** the degree to which states contribute to the problems of hazardous waste exports, ozone depletion, acid rain, global warming, the degree to which each nation suffers from these ecological threats.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The polemical character of globalization - premise for an analytical framework

Some authors identify 5 aspects of continuous polemical character in the debate on globalization: Conceptualization, Causality, Periodization, Impacts, Global trajectories. The sum of the divergent reactions is explained by the recurring polemic between seeing globalization as a "**fully integrated global market**" alongside the resulting confusion regarding a national economy that is not perfectly competitive, however it can be part of a market or even form a market [10, pp. 35-38]. In addition, globalization does not have a fixed condition, because the trajectory of its evolution is not a linear one, so that it can be analyzed by referring to an ideal state. Subsidiarily, we emphasize that a large part of the specialized literature interprets globalization as an economic and cultural interconnection, which neglects other aspects that are consistent with the concept of globalization. In turn, the question of the causality of the factors driving globalization oscillates between a determinant product (technological change)

and a combined product involving technological change, market forces, ideology and political decisions. The periodization profile of "globalization" brings to the fore a widely accepted view that "the existence of world religions and trade networks in the medieval era encourages a sensitivity to the idea that globalization is a process that has a long history..." and yet, it is a phenomenon specific to the modern age. At the same time, it is believed that among the impacts attributed to globalization are those related to the disappearance of social democracy and the disappearance of the modern welfare state. Such an approach emphasizes a clearer understanding of how the social and political impact of globalization is mediated by internal institutional structures, state strategies, the location of the country in the global hierarchy. As a result, we trace the effects of contestation and resistance by states and people to this phenomenon. Overall, the concept of globalization accumulates non-homogeneous interpretations invoking distinct trajectories of approach. If the *hyperglobalists* interpret globalization in the parameters of a linear course, like an obvious constant of a course of humanity, then the *skeptics* want to identify the distinct time segments developing the idea of the "golden age" of globalization in relation to the contemporary period. *Transformativists* opine differently, emphasizing the idea of an influence on the course of globalization as a result of historical conditions and specific social forces. That is precisely why, in their view, **globalization is contradictory, because it "pushes and pulls societies in opposite directions, fragments as it integrates, generates both cooperation and conflict, universalizes and particularizes. Thus, the trajectory of global change is [...] indeterminate and uncertain"**. In turn, most research in the format of defining globalization starts from the idea of interconnection, which follows an increasing influence in magnitude and contiguity, "transcend(ing) the constituent societies and states of the global order", generating flows and networks. Therefore, the conceptual construct of globalization was analyzed through the prism of space-time indicators, because space highlights **the expansion of flows**, and time insinuates the idea of intensity quantified through the **regularized activities of the created networks**. Both attributes promote another derivative effect, **velocity, speed of spread**. The context of "spatiality" requires a recourse to the demarcation between local, national, regional, trans-regional, international. The differences in spatial terms mark not only the radius of influence that encompasses an action or activity, but also **the exercise of power that manifests itself in terms of the propensity of impact**. The last specificity also creates a route for modeling the type of globalization whose parametric profile we recognize is difficult to operationalize. In turn, in the specialized literature, the indicators that foreshadow an analytical framework of impact propensity are decisional, institutional, distributive, structural. The decisional impact, meets the effects established by the policies carried out and options for political action. Thus, the costs and benefits of the

decision process either individually or organizationally affect societies, being measured in terms of high and low impact. The decisional impact depends on the sensitivity or vulnerability of the "exposure" to globalization. We remind you that sensitivity fixes the costs that a country has to bear to changes in other countries, being in a position to react promptly and with responsibility by connecting internal policies to external effects. Vulnerability foreshadows the situation of some costs of a *sui generis* nature with long-lasting effects on exposure to external events, even if the changes in the deployed policies were foreseen [10, P. 42].

Returning to the determinants of the specificity of globalization, **the institutional impact** designates the ways of carrying out decision-making agendas. **Distributive impact** emphasizes the extent to which social forces within and between societies shape people's choices. And social, political and economic behavior conditions the **internal structural impact** that can be interpreted in terms such as the degree of adaptation to mediation, administration, resistance, contestation in relation to the globalization of states and societies. **The space-temporal dimensions** listed in a conjugation with the organizational dimensions will facilitate the creation of a more accurate profile of contemporary globalization. **Organizational dimensions** include: both physical and symbolic infrastructures; the institutionalization of flows, networks, global relations, to create the possibility of their regularity; the exercise of power seen as a relational capacity, so not apart from the exercise of its potency to influence by shaping a social and cultural model. In other words, **power** becomes a structural phenomenon because it generates the impetus for change and influence as a whole. The context of what was discussed inculcates a valuable observation such as that **Globalization transforms the organization, distribution, game of power**, which reveals the idea that, depending on its magnitude, it produces inhomogeneous versus homogeneous structure and hierarchy as well as equality versus disparity, a mechanism of relations and global control. As a result, we trace distinct **stratification** patterns of globalization in different historical time periods. The exercise of power, in turn, calls for different **modes of inter-action**: coercive or imperial, cooperative, competitive, conflictual, and **instruments of power**: economic versus military.

Table 1. Forms of globalization, their modeling according to parameters/variables

Type 1	Thick globalization (high extension, high intensity, high velocity, high impact)	Type 3	Expansive globalization (high extension, low intensity, low velocity, high impact)
Type 2	Diffuse globalization	Type 4	Thin Globalization

	(high extension, high intensity, high velocity, low impact)		(high extension, low intensity, low velocity, low impact)
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Source: Developed by the author after Held D., McGrew A., Goldblatt D., Perraton J. (2004). Global Transformations .Politics, economy, culture. Bucharest: Polirom Publishing House, [10, p. 45-49].

The parameters listed for the space-temporal dimension and the organizational dimension offer, in our view, a methodical and analytical platform for researching the way of manifestation and the form/type of globalization in the national territory of the Republic of Moldova. At the same time, the method offers the simple description of four forms of composition that can be modeled, through the prism of the valences of extension, intensity, velocity and the impact they generate. So, we know four typologies.

3.2. Globalization phenomenon, process, strategy

The globalization process is defined by Adrian Gorun and Eric Hobsbawm primarily in terms of the reconfiguration of the state following decisional, institutional, distributional, structural impacts, which restores the need for renegotiation of the cumulative effects [11], [12]. At the same time, the attempt to identify the causality of its dynamics cannot coincide with a scientific study of deductive research, because the complex processes of historical changes cannot be ignored. The relevance of those invoked refers to different dominant forms of globalization established historically. If in the pre-modern period of globalization the spreading tendencies were generated by military expansion, religious/cultural expansionism, migratory movements, the modern period comes to display the primacy of the economic one alongside the political and military one. It is important to emphasize that each time globalization has been stimulated by technical progress in communications and transport, as a result the emergence of global infrastructure has increased people's ability to interact. **An increasingly extensive and intense interaction in speed and extension power creates cumulative consequences, the most obvious being the distribution of power.** Power, as a factor promoting a strategic vision, increasingly acts in concert, thus recognizing the global framework as being dominated by political, military, economic, migration, cultural, ecological confluences. The last clarification reveals another specificity of globalization related to "systemic dynamics", i.e. the ability to gather under the dome of "its activity" in a certain rhythmicity that self-reproduces the link between interconnections, flows, networks and global interactions. As a result, the announced specificity inevitably presupposes a structural change in the organization of activities in a general understanding of human life, generating a priori changes in the exercise of power [10, p.486].

In turn, the above remark deflates the conviction with reference to the globalization process increasingly interpreted in terms of the magnitude of **the institutionalization of global regulatory policies** with the aim of connecting the initiatives and actions to promote some state policies to the policies of coexistence in a global system. So, the space-temporal dimensions of globalization intertwine with the organizational dimensions. Organizational dimensions primarily imply an infrastructure of globalization that manifests itself through the institutionalization of global networks and the exercise of power.

Table 2. List of international institutions, of which the Republic of Moldova is a member

EXTENSION / INTENSITY
International Institutions
The Republic of Moldova joined the UN on March 2, 1992 UN activity brings together over 24 UN Agencies, Funds, Programs in the Republic of Moldova.
1. UN Development Program (UNDP); RM signs Standard Basic Assistance Agreement, 02.10.1992. 1092 (Project Actions), 344 (completed projects)/ 1065 (assets), (thematic areas) 19. Country program document for the Republic of Moldova (2023-2027) with 4 priorities: 1) Fair and inclusive institutions and equal opportunities for human development 2) Participatory governance and social cohesion 3) Sustainable economy 4) Green development, mitigation and adaptation to climate change.
2. The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF); The Republic of Moldova has acceded to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1993. 4 development programs: Health, Early Child Development, Child Protection, Education .
3. The UN Population Fund (UNFPA); 4 programs: Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, Adolescent and Youth Empowerment, Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, Population and Development.
4. World Health Organization (WHO); RM member WHO 04.05.1992.
5. International Labor Organization (ILO); RM active in IOM since 2005. 2 active projects, 2021-2024, 13 completed, with a total budget of 1 mln. USD.
6. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN WOMEN); approximately 370 actions, period 2017-2023.
7. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); The Republic of Moldova joined the FAO in May 1995.), 8 active projects, in progress 2021-2025, total budget 3.855 billion. USD; 15 projects worth about 2 million dollars., period 2021-2023.
8. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); RM beneficiary since 1999.), 7 programs, beneficiaries 135 thousand people from rural areas.
9. UN Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS); following the connection of the GD legislative initiatives of 18.06. 2001. Presents a continuation of the National Program 2016-2020.
10. International Organization for Migration (IOM); RM became a member in 2003. 47 foreign donors; completed projects 5 in (Immigration and border management), 4 (Migration and development), 2 (Prevention and protection), 2 (Migration and Health).
11. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); The Republic of Moldova joined on May 27, 1992, 4 key areas (Education, Science, Culture, Communication and Information). RM - 39 participation programs, 4 fields.

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12. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO); established on June 21, 1985, the Republic of Moldova joined on June 1, 1993, 3 objectives: sustainable supply chains, limiting climate failures, fighting hunger.
13. UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); created October 2002
14. UN Environment Program (UNEP); The Republic of Moldova joined in 2013: workshops, seminars, meetings -21, period 2013-2021.
15. UN Commission for Europe (UNECE); The Republic of Moldova joined on 03.12.2008. 4269 program actions, meetings, seminars, projects in total, period 2008-2023.
16. UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); created 30.12.1964.
17. The World Trade Organization (WTO); The Republic of Moldova joined on July 26, 2001. The Republic of Moldova signed The Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), on 19.12.2006, 27.06.2005 regarding the application of the system of generalized tariff preferences (GSP + System) provides free access for all products on the EU market, (about 7200 product groups out of 11000 possible).
18. Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR); 5 objectives the online platform monitor.drepturi.md, launched in 2018, will collect the data and present the data in a biannual report, for 15 thematic groups; 18 studies-reports.
19. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); ANRANR joined the IAEA Statute on 17.07.1997.
20. World Bank (WB); World Bank Group (IBRD, AID, IFC, MIGA ISCID).
IBRD on August 12, 1992. Currently Strategic Partnership Framework for the period 2023-2027 (SPF) International Finance Corporation (IFC) on March 10, 1995; International Investment Dispute Settlement Center (ICSID) June 4, 2011 .RM, and June 9, 1993 member of the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). It is important to emphasize the history of these relations since 1992, which during 30 years, almost 2 billion US dollars were allocated for more than 120 projects in the country. Currently, the BM portfolio includes 12 active projects with a commitment of 650 mln. USA
21. International Monetary Fund (IMF); RM August 12, 1992. The share distributed 172.5 mln. /overdue purchases and loans 494.77 mln. on 31.03.2023, voting share 0.06% of the total.

Source: Data processed by the author based on the information provided by the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova as well as the websites of the agencies in the current list.

Table 2. presents the magnitude of the state's connection to the most important globalization networks, represented by international institutions, as well as the sustained dynamics of these relationships that are manifested through participation in various actions, workshops, programs, projects.

3.3. The extent and intensity of globalization

The Republic of Moldova became a subject in international relations in 1991, with the declaration of independence through which the State manifested the assumption of the power of political decisions. With this fact began the growth of communication and interconnection of the state to processes of global resonance. This is precisely why the extension of government policies merged with the processes that ensured the "exit" to the outside alongside the "open door" policy, a proof supported by those who created a convincing political discourse.

The proof of the employment request in this process was to begin with the institutionalization process which in the vanguard produced the extension effect. A fundamental proof in the process of internationalization of relations is (Table 2) which demonstrates the reality of what was said regarding the membership status of the Republic of Moldova within the most representative international organizations such as the UN (United Nations Organization), IMF (International Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank), WTO (World Trade Organization), EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development), EC (Council of Europe) and OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe). The integration of the Republic of Moldova into the global dimension of multilateral cooperation was completed after 1991 by outlining the regional dimension with participation in [13]:

- **Central European Initiative (CEI)**, a flexible form of regional cooperation with 17 states. The initiative was created in 1989 with the aim of promoting political, economic, cultural cooperation between member states, supporting reforms in countries in transition, increasing cohesion in Europe.
- **Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe** a long-term conflict prevention strategy with an emphasis on economic recovery, political development and social security. The Republic of Moldova joined on June 6, 2001.
- **Cooperation Process in South-Eastern Europe** represents a non-institutionalized regional cooperation structure, created in 1996, which groups 9 states. Its defining element is the fact that it represents the only forum in Europe created and managed exclusively by the participating states in accordance with the "regional ownership" principle, with the aim of favoring political dialogue and consultation in the process of integrating the area into European and Euro – atlantic, Moldova has observer status and its most important objective is integration on the regional energy market, which also represents one of the two major initiatives of the Process, along with the action plan for regional economic cooperation.
- **Cooperation Initiative in South-Eastern Europe.** The initiative was launched in December 1996 by US Ambassador Richard Schifter, after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, with the aim of developing a viable economic and environmental strategy in the region. The initiative currently brings together 12 states.
- **Danube Cooperation Process.** Launched in Vienna on May 27, 2002, the Danube Cooperation Process is a non-institutionalized structure, a political framework for cooperation and promotion of the common concerns and interests of the states in the Danube region: economic development, navigation and sustainable transport, environmental and river basin management, tourism, cultural and subregional cooperation. In the activity of the Danube Cooperation Process participate 13 states.
- **Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC)** (was launched as a consultation forum and flexible political coordination mechanism on June 25, 1992, the OCEMN has 15 working groups, the most important being those regarding cooperation in the fields of transport, energy and combat organized crime. With observer status are: Austria, Egypt, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Poland and Tunisia. After the "Charter for

Black Sea Economic Cooperation" entered into force on April 30, 1999, CEMN became a regional organization with an international identity - the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC). In the same year, following the adoption of Resolution A/54/5, BSEC acquired observer status at the UN.

- **GUAM/ GUUAM** (acronym for Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova), established in 1997. Two years later, Uzbekistan became a member, its attitude towards this structure, which wanted an alternative to the CIS, proving ambiguous by -over time.
- **Council of Europe (EC)** has a major impact in the development of regional cooperation, even though it is an international organization. Moldova became a member of the Council of Europe on July 13, 1995
- **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**. The Republic of Moldova joined in 1994, largely due to pressure from Russia, and only has the status of a participating state (it has not ratified the status). Until now, regional cooperation has been marginal in this organization, because the Republic of Moldova refuses action in the direction of political cooperation that would involve supranational structures. This explains why, although its economic interests with the CIS member states are major, Moldova does not participate in the Single Economic Space.

➤ **Cooperation between the Republic of Moldova and NATO**. On January 6, 1994, on the occasion of the high-level meeting of the North Atlantic Alliance, at which the American initiative "Partnership for Peace" was examined, the Republic of Moldova expressed its interest in joining this Program. On March 16, 1994, at the NATO Headquarters in Brussels, the first meeting of the President of the Republic of Moldova with the Secretary General of NATO took place, followed by the signing of the Framework Document of the "Partnership for Peace" Program. In order to coordinate activities on the NATO line as effectively as possible, on December 16, 1997, the Mission of the Republic of Moldova to NATO was established. The position of head of the Mission is exercised by the ambassador of the Republic of Moldova in the Kingdom of Belgium.

Multilateral cooperation is a solution for the political management of such a vast ensemble, operating in a system of concentric circles with variable geography, and the adoption of the functionalist method of integration of neighboring countries through the economic dimension, on the pillar of the common market, in a model of cooperation that allows the accentuation of interdependencies and the development of solidarity, based on a cumulative logic of integration, will strengthen the long-term success of this objective. We remind you that the documents, which attest to the increase in the number of organizations, international agencies, forums to which we joined, talk about the request of the state to create connections with the most powerful international platforms in the act of organizing a global order [12], [13]. The data in Table 2 presents the list of the most genuine **actors of globalization** who at the same time contributed to **the intensity of connections** through cooperation alliances supported logically, infrastructurally, financially, etc. In fact, among the most well -versed actors of globalization that generate the impetus for training and

versatility in external processes, creating a section to activate mobility in this sense, are considered: **governments, international economic institutions, multinational / transnational corporations, civil society** [1, p.145-152].

For the "civilization" of relations with foreign states, the Republic of Moldova, traditionally, delegates responsibility to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (original name: August 1991 - July 2005), the institution in charge of the state's foreign policy. As of today, the competent ministry - MAEIE, delegates the share of responsibility for external relations to ministries, agencies and departments, a moment that further demonstrates the increase in international connections in various fields. The nominated ministry, on April 19, 2005, was renamed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, thus emphasizing the idea of a political decision to join the EU. Following the assumed political commitment, on June 27, 2014 in Brussels, Belgium, **the Association Agreement** was signed between the Republic of Moldova and the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and their member states. The RM-EU Association Agreement establishes a new legal framework for the advancement of relations towards a qualitatively higher level related to a political association and economic integration with the EU. The Association Agreement is based on an innovative and ambitious approach through the creation of a Complex and Comprehensive Free Trade Area - DCFT. We can see the reasoning behind the steps forward on this path on March 4, 2022, when the Republic of Moldova officially submitted its application for accession to the European Union, in response, on June 23, 2022, the EU Council granted the Republic of Moldova the status of a candidate country, a moment considered the point turning point of the Republic of Moldova in the direction of approach policies for this route. These actions had **the resonance of a high decision-making** impact with the participation of decision-makers at summits, conferences, international forums, therefore moments interpreted as steps to advance connectivity to the most important platforms for the dissemination of global policies. A conclusive example in this sense is the participation of the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mrs. Maia Sandu, at the World Economic Forum in Davos, January 17-19, 2023, with **a dense agenda of meetings with clear stakes for the future**. Thus, within the Forum, the head of state had a meeting with the president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) to discuss the continuation of pro-business programs in the key of the new country strategy for the years 2023-2028, reinforcing his political message with the president of the Bank European Investment Bank (EIB), in the context of investments that would facilitate overcoming economic and energy crises, alongside the crisis related to refugees from Ukraine.

At the same time, the presented events substantially color the state's interest in building a **strategy of opening up to the outside** in order to align with

the most important international development trends. The proof is the elaboration of the "**European Moldova 2030**" National Development Strategy, by promoting 10 objectives around the 4 priorities, approved by the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on 17.11.2022, aiming for a sustainable and inclusive economy, human capital and socially robust, honest and efficient institutions, healthy environment. Returning to the topic of future stakes, the reverse side of the government's policies is collaterally determined by the degree of "receptivity" of the agents promoting foreign relations between countries. Well, the American Chamber of Commerce from Moldova, with 157 members, presents 9 axes of activity, meaningfully called "priorities", among which [14]:

1. Guaranteeing the fundamental premises for sustainable economic growth and the well-being of society,
2. Strengthening the business climate favorable to investments,
3. Consolidation of a business system favorable to investments,
4. Ensuring a regulatory framework of the labor market,
5. Streamlining cross-border trade and increasing market access,
6. Increasing the degree of use of financial services,
7. Ensuring the transition to a green economy,
8. Stimulating the development of regulated sectors,
9. Advancement in the field of digital transformation.

To what extent these priorities agree with government policies, we will observe through the 5th level of activity. Therefore, the American Chamber of Commerce in Moldova is committed to promoting international trade policies by advancing trade relations with EFTA countries by concluding free trade agreements that were signed on 23.06.23, as well as identifying new opportunities to conclude free trade agreements with other countries , in the hope that in this way it will be possible to overcome the current unsustainable economic model based predominantly on remittances and consumption rather than investment and export, which fuels emigration and is counterproductive to economic development. And the share of foreign direct investment in the national gross domestic product is among the lowest in the region. For the year 2022, the figure of foreign investments (US dollars) reached Serbia 4.646 million US, Albania 1.434 million, Armenia 998 million, the Republic of Moldova 587 million, a clear suggestion of the country's level of competitiveness as a destination for direct investments in relation to the countries in the region (compared to Armenia, Albania) in the conditions when we have competitive advantages such as **investment platforms**: 7 Free Economic Zones, 8 Industrial Parks, 16 Multifunctional Industrial Platforms, Moldova IT Park; Advanced ICT infrastructure: 6th place for the lowest broadband costs, 100% mobile penetration, 98.2% fiber optic network coverage, 6th place in the world Gigabit Internet; Favorable tax system: profit tax 12% (7% farmers, 6% ZEL, 3% PLG), VAT 20%,

insurance contributions 23%, single tax 7% for Moldova IT Park; 44 Free trade agreements [15], [16]. It should be emphasized that *Free Trade Agreements and Free Economic Zones* have a pragmatic value as **instruments of globalization**, seen by some as platforms for cooperation, and by others as cuffs to constrain the power of the status. The figures, however, become an encouraging pretext especially since they form a very eloquent framework of economic power for the only 22 companies from 15 countries that make up the Foreign Investors Association (FIA) with a value of 13% contribution to the gross national product with a total investment of 1 billion 400 million euros, in all spheres of activity carried out in the country. Enterprises with foreign direct investments (FDI) represent only 7.5% of the total number of enterprises in the Republic of Moldova, while they contribute significantly to the formation of the budget of the Republic of Moldova - enterprises with FDI contribute 29.4% of all income taxes accumulated to budget: We also have moments of attention at the same time because we record a 0.7 percent decrease in foreign direct investments between 2010 and 2019 [17], [18], [19]. **Moldova remains significantly behind many countries in the region in terms of attracting foreign direct investment.** Hard conclusions come from experts who observe, based on several international and local studies, that there is a directly proportional relationship between the economic and social indicators of a country and the foreign investments attracted. The framework of the discussion related to the presence of foreign companies favors a discussion about combating the strategy of multinationals to avoid increasingly dense taxation in the international public space. The Republic of Moldova has not yet declared its intention to be part of the BEPS (Base Erosion and Profit Shifting) project, to which 140 countries have already joined. **The Republic of Moldova regarding the engagement in this long-term project will have to review its capital escalation in the face of possible dangers.** We want to emphasize that **there is a distinct connection between the shaping and organization of the political decision-making infrastructure and the creation of socio-economic infrastructures.** The graph below reconfirms what was invoked. Statistical data come to dismantle the axiom of economic advancement only as a result of the establishment of diplomatic relations, demonstrating that diplomacy is becoming increasingly focused on the strategy of economic growth.

The example of the countries with which diplomatic relations were established immediately after the Declaration of Independence did not ensure an evolving dynamic of the volume of commercial exchanges, on the contrary, the lack of a dynamic fixes the non-utilization of the potential for diplomatic extension of these bilateral relations.

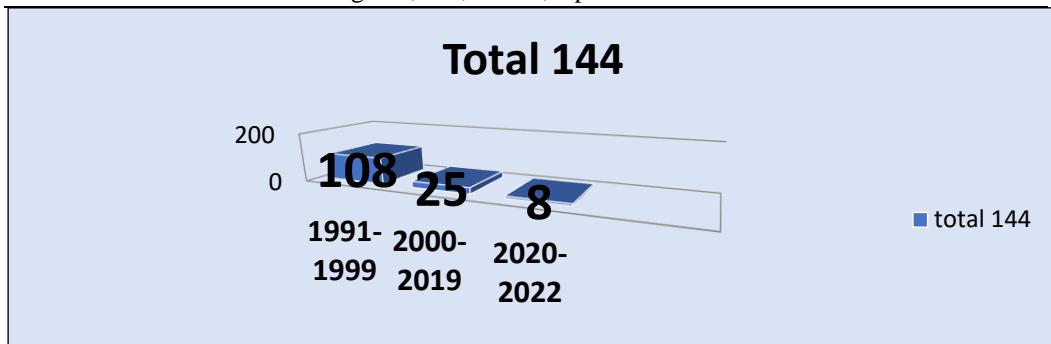


Figure1. The countries with which the Republic of Moldova has bilateral cooperation relations, over time periods

Source: Prepared by the author based on the data provided by the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova.

In other words, the extension does not necessarily project an intensity. To what extent the Republic of Moldova capitalizes on the potential of cooperative relations on the diplomatic line, the numbers speak for themselves.

3.4. Velocity and impact

We can judge about the strategy of the Republic of Moldova in enhancing bilateral cooperation, starting with the area of coverage of the countries with which the state has established diplomatic relations in total 144 out of the 195 existing countries on the globe, which means 73.84%. Of the number of countries with which the Republic of Moldova has established diplomatic relations, 75% return for the period 1991-1999, the remaining 17.36% for the period 2000-2019, and another 5.55% return for the period 2020-2022. In other words, the **velocity** with which diplomatic relations were agreed for both parties involved was in the period after the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Moldova, 1991, with an average of 12 countries/year, otherwise the most dynamic period compared to the period 2000- 2020, on average 0.76 protocol units of establishing a diplomatic relationship. At the same time, **choosing geographical targets** as destinations of strategic interest in promoting bilateral cooperation, for the period of 2000-2019, diplomatic relations were established with 12 countries in South and Central America, 6 countries in Africa, 3 in Europe (Montenegro, Liechtenstein, Monaco), 1 Pacific Ocean, 2 Indian Ocean, 1 Southwest Asia. In turn, we can follow **Table 3** below about the expansion of the scope of promoting bilateral cooperation for the period 2020-2022

Table 3. List of countries with which the Republic of Moldova has bilateral cooperation relations, period 2020-2022

Country	Type	Continent	Population	Export/import (\$)
1. Barbados	Island country	North America	281.200 thousands	- / -
2. Republic of Djibouti	Mainland country	Africa	1,106 million	- / -
3. Dominican Republic	Island country	North America	11,12 million	62, 6 th. / 147, 2 th.
4. Republic of Senegal	Mainland country	Africa	16,88 million	363, 13 th.//21,52th.
5. Republic of Palau	Island country	Pacific Ocean	18.024 thousands	- / -
6. Republic of Uganda	Mainland country	Africa	45,85 million	- / 88, 51 th.
7 Saint Lucia	Island country	Central America	178,696 thousands	- /
8 Belize	Island country	North America	400.031 thousands	- / -

Source: Prepared by the author based on information from the web pages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration and the web of the National Bureau of Statistics

The data presented indicate that more than half of the states of the world with which we have established a protocol of bilateral cooperation in the period 2020-2022 are island countries, with which until now we have no commercial exchange, with the other three countries the trade volume is only in a single case produces an economic return taking into account a positive trade balance 365, 13 thousand US dollars. It is the Republic of Senegal with a potential consumer market of 16.88 million population. Deciphering the data in the table reveals a low degree of capitalization of cooperative relations, largely unexploited, especially we have consumer markets such as Uganda with a population of 45.85 million, at the same time with a negative trade balance in the case of the Republic of Moldova for the year 2021. **The extension**, therefore, will demonstrate the rationality of its **decision-making impact** by **intensifying relations**, the speed can be determined by the ratio between the number of official visits and the agreements concluded, an indisputable proof of the state's negotiation style in achieving some strategic objectives. In this context, we note that there are countries with which, in the absence of commercial exchange agreements, an economic relationship has been generated or, on the contrary, there are countries with which we have cooperation agreements without being capitalized on by concrete commercial activities. At the same time, we notify a list of countries with

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which diplomatic relations do not exceed a minimum protocol of their agreement, the potential of cooperation not being exploited. **The analyzed data creates a working hypothesis regarding the causal link between the number of official visits and concluded agreements and the volume of commercial exchange.** We follow this correspondence in Table 4, by selecting the list of countries with which we have concluded at least 5 agreements (or treaties, memoranda).

Table 4. Countries with which the Republic of Moldova carries out bilateral cooperation, (2022)

Country	Official visits	Agreements	Export(\$), thousands	Import (\$), thousands
1.Bosnia and Herzegovina	7	9	2 060,66	8 331,95
2 United Arab Emirates	16	6	6.850,91	8.493,60
3.Russian Federation	92	150	190 090,61	1 145 272,23
4 Georgia	33	30	19,5 mil.	4 mil.
5 Japan (on the 3rd don.)	18	40	2,8 mil.	73,,9 mil.
6 Kingdom of Belgium	32	32	17 851,27	52 747,37
7 Spain	10	9	42 925,48	105 527,10
8 Netherlands	13	21	33 mil	67 mil
9 Armenia	7	14	3 311,42	2 320,66
10 Austria	20	16	21 281,17	82.667,01
11 Azerbaijan	19	50	4 862,16	11 256,02
12 Great Britain	18	15	----	62 005,76
13 Albania	10	14	1 858,35	1 782,87
14 Belarus	30	100	81 160,67	95 263,56
15 Bulgaria	40	44	142 130,83	147 522,74
16 Czech Republic	42	34	104 112,41	138 269,04
17 Hellenic Republic	20	25	33 041,69	165 862,39
18 Estonia	28	27	3 971,13	5 764,35
19 Cyprus	11	11	18 901,60	720,93
20 Croatia	29	18	---	10 220,58
21 Sri Lanka	5	5	35,35	1.635,36
22 Germany	32	83	230 789,26	578 097,04
23 USA	116	89	9,87 mil.	29,19 mil
24 Ukraine	42	160	720 033,45	853 786,24
25 Hungary	29	64	41.8 mil.	121.6 mil
26 State of Israel	30	28	8.005,09	34.066,51
27 State of Kuwait	7	8	133,78	10,42
28 Romania	105	180	1 240 798,38	1 647 484,96

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 online conference for young researchers, PhD Students and Post-Doctoral Researchers
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29 Uzbekistan	4	40	7,5 mil.	12,6 mil.
30 Turkey	46	68	304 925,16	661 241,94
31 Poland	68	43	122 380,45	302 837,27
32 China	23	61+5	9 773,33	947 163,85
33 Italia	26	43	331 143,47	438 304,65
34 Kazakhstan	15	35	28 542,69	38 132,93
35 Kyrgyzstan	13	30	4 917,21	7 030,66
36 Latvia	39	30	6 866,45	19 059,66
37 Lithuania	53	49	16 645,93	17 600,01
38 Macedonia	9	11	1.18 mil	961 th.
41 Finland	15	7	446,31	20 481,41
42 France	28	15	37 930,45	177 616,01
43 Iran	10	13	51.848,51	4.388,33

Source: Prepared by the author based on information from the web pages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration and the web of the National Bureau of Statistics

The analysis of the data in Table 4 projects the following surface observations: the statistics of official visits on the diplomatic line are relevant through the conclusion of bilateral cooperation agreements. The density of the bilateral cooperation relationship can be confirmed by referring to the number of agreements reached. There are clear examples when the number of agreements generates a higher trade volume between the Republic of Moldova and the partner country (Romania, Russian Federation, China, USA, Germany, Belarus, Ukraine, etc.) compared to cases when the cooperation dialogue is not prolific, respectively, it decreases the volume of economic exchange. At the same time, cases of negative trade balance must be analyzed through the prism of other indicators such as: assistance, investments, donor status, etc.

Returning to the idea of globalization, the presence of civil society is considered a propensity factor that exerts a distributive impact, it inclines people's attention towards social problems. The effect of unblocking their activity demonstrates that civil society has a growing influence and asserts its right to censor the actions of the government, to defend the interests of citizens. We follow a short history that presents the dynamics of the organized social movement together with Parliament's decision no. 267 of 11.12.2008 which was the basis for the launch of the Civil Society Development Strategy 2009-2011, which stipulated an Action Plan aimed at increasing the involvement of citizens in the decision-making act, being resumed later. Thus, in 2012, 8200 CSOs were registered in the Republic of Moldova, which corresponds to the figure of 65% located in Chisinau, a clear suggestion of the lack of representativeness of all localities as well as the ratio per 1000 inhabitants which reaches 1.9 (Croatia-9.6) [20]. Since the mid-2010s, CSO coalitions and platforms have become more involved in the act of governance.

An example of this is the Urban Civic Network – a horizontal network of activists, urban initiatives and CSOs, which appeared in 2015. However, according to CSO Meter 2020, only 29% of Moldovans trust CSOs. It is a significantly lower number compared to the one reported, for example, in the rate of trust in the church (65%), however somewhat higher than the rate of trust in political parties [21]. And in 2022, according to the data from the State Register on non-commercial organizations, over 10,962 public associations are registered [22]. Another document stipulates the figure of 961 [23]. Finally, we would like to specify that **the activity of civil society has a distributive impact through the force of spreading some desired global convenience. To what extent civil society assumes the drifts for their promotion remains to be analyzed.**

A relevant analysis provides the data of the Public Opinion Barometer, for the year 2022, carried out on a sample of 1132 people, in a time segment October 29-November 10 [24]. We specify that to the question "Do you think that in our country things are going in a good direction or are they going in a wrong direction?", 21.3% answered "in a good direction", 65.8% answered "in a wrong direction". Regarding "How do you rate the current relations of the Republic of Moldova with the following organizations?", the relationship with the EU is scaled by the respondents in the following way "very bad" -3.7%, "bad" -8.5%, "good" -58.0%, "very good" -13.7%. We also have the perception of interpretation blockages in the case when we project an explanation between the percentage ratio above and the answer to the question "In your opinion, how quickly can the Republic of Moldova become a full member of the EU?", "never" - 28.7%, "did not answer" - 16.3%, in the coming years 2020-2025" - 15.5%, "in the next 10 years" - 20.4% decreasing years "5" - 11.20 %.

Data insinuates perceptions, exposes threats, establishes preferences as well as identifies certain cracks in the mechanism of globalization. In the given case, the European Union is associated with a propensity agent of the globalization strategy. Detaining the population is a moment that requires taking into account multiple factors. A sociological study carried out by CBS-Research (repeatedly carried out in January, then April 2023, on a sample of 1015 people) reports the following figures: EU accession - 53.5% versus Eurasian Economic Union UEEA - 23.8% (January); EU accession - 58.8% versus Eurasian Economic Union UEEA - 22.9% (April). The above data in relation to the latter show an apparently positive dynamic with a trend of maintaining Euroscepticism (we refer to the share of those who opt for the UEEA).

4. Conclusion

The framework of these new trends requires the refinement of some observations that stimulate the understanding of a characteristic approach of contemporary globalization and presented through the whole collage of events,

data, information, which ultimately contribute to determining the degree of involvement of the Republic of Moldova in the globalization process. Therefore, the strategy of globalization related to the activities that maximize the interconnections of the state to global networks and flows is in action, because it attests both indicators of **high extension** and **intensity** proven by the level of connection to global governance institutions and by the area of expansion of networks and flows. At the same time, we reach a high level of **velocity** through competitiveness indicators for rapid technological changes and low costs for communication services. The map of the activities listed underlines that there is an interest in achieving standards of national economic efficiency, by leveraging the way of coordinating commercial activity in a global competitiveness framework, so as to stimulate the internationalization of activities that would maximize the national competitive advantage. It should be noted, however, that the societal environment interprets the phenomenon of globalization, by referring to the actors of globalization still largely equivocally, with caution. **The distributive and structural impact of globalization is still low. The findings above indicate that the level of involvement of the Republic of Moldova in the globalization process is of the Diffuse Globalization type**, a moment confirmed by the globalization index of the Republic of Moldova being 65.2 (62nd place out of 158 states in the ranking).

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