

Debating the European Union: Visegrad 4 Experience

Visegrad4 and Moldova University Students debate
Visegrad reform and integration experience



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M.E.S.A.10, Bratislava, Slovakia



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Visegrad countries (V4) continue to support Moldova in its effort of closer ties with the European Union. In addition to that, they have a wide-reaching experience with reforms and EU integration and are ready to share it with Moldova. The present project aimed at sharing the reform and EU integration experience of V4 with Moldova and strengthening the understanding of reforms needed on its European path via live debates of University students from V4 and Moldova.

From the perspective of Moldova's European integration, 2014 was a successful year. Firstly, from 28 April, 2014 the citizens of Moldova no longer need a visa to travel to the European Union. Secondly, on 27 June 2014 Moldova signed the Association Agreement with the European Union. Its application will gradually integrate Moldova into the internal market of the European Union. And finally, parliamentary elections in November 2014 reconfirmed the support of Moldova's public for European integration.

On the other hand, in 2015 Moldova will continue to face a number of challenges. While it improved its rating in Doing Business, jumping from 82nd place in 2014 to 63rd in 2015, Moldova needs to be more attractive to foreign invest-

ments and to take advantage of trading opportunities through DCFTA implementation. Despite the progress achieved, the influence of corruption must be addressed. Independent judiciary needs to be strengthened and, combined with reforms of central and local public administration, it must generate not only the trust of the public but also more efficient guarantees of individual rights and settlement of commercial claims. In short, the new government of Moldova, formed in February 2015, has to prove its commitment to European integration and to carry the will of the voters from the elections into a realistic, trustworthy, sustainable, and difficult reform path with the aim of modernizing the country. In addition to that, the sensitive issue of Transnistria and the looming questions connected with the shadow of Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014 and its aggression against Ukraine add weight to the difficulty of challenges.

“Debating the European Union: Visegrad 4 Experience” was a MESA10 project supported by the International Visegrad Fund (IVF) and implemented from March 2014 to February 2015 in cooperation with partners from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Moldova. Students from five universities took part in the de-





bates: Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic; Central European University, Budapest, Hungary; Academy of Economic Studies, Chisinau, Moldova; Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland; Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica, Slovakia.

The project connected Moldova University students with their peers from V4. Two rounds of live online debates were organized in 2014: one in the Spring Semester and one in the Fall Semester. During the debates, students from the audiences had a chance to interact with the student teams by posing questions. Debates were preceded by lectures on European integration and reform experience of V4: in the fall semester, students had an opportunity to talk with Eduard Kukan, member of the European Parliament and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia, and with Iulian Groza, State Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of Moldova.

Online debates of student teams were followed by seminars to acquaint students, faculty members and representatives of civil society in Moldova with IVF grants and scholarships. The project also encouraged students to share their thoughts on EU and V4 reform and integration experience. Best students' essays can be read on the project's web site and facebook.





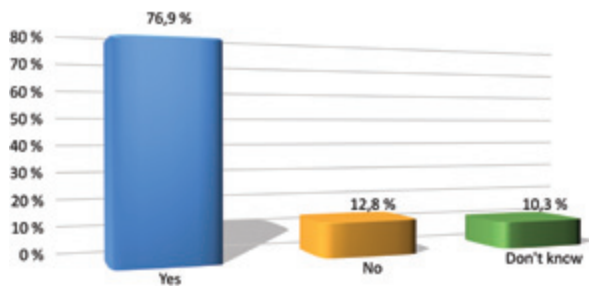
The present handout illustrates the opinions of the students on V4 reform and integration experience as well as EU integration. It is based upon the results of opinion polls taken among the students after the debates. In accordance with them, $\frac{3}{4}$ of students are persuaded that reform and EU integration experience of V4 can be useful to Moldova. A similar number of students believe that reform and integration experience of V4 is useful because Moldova can learn from and use specific reforms of V4. And, above all, more than $\frac{9}{10}$ of students believe that membership in the EU is in the interest of Moldova. Such an unequivocal opinion adds to Moldova's commitment and effort but also strengthens the case of support for Moldova by the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.



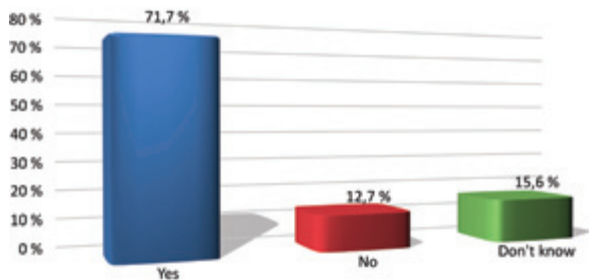
1. Visegrad4 reform and EU integration experience

1.1. Students consider reform and EU integration experience of Visegrad4 useful to Moldova. In the spring semester (1.1.1.), more than ¾ of students (76.9%) considered the reform and EU integration experience of Visegrad4 countries (V4) to be useful to Moldova. In the fall semester (1.1.2.), the figure dropped by 5 points to 71.7%, while the number of those who did not consider that experience useful was at a similar level as in the spring.

1.1.1. Reform and EU integration experience of Visegrad 4 countries can be useful to Moldova

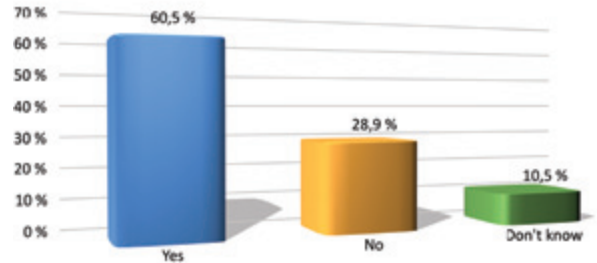


1.1.2. Reform and EU integration experience of Visegrad 4 countries: Can be useful to Moldova



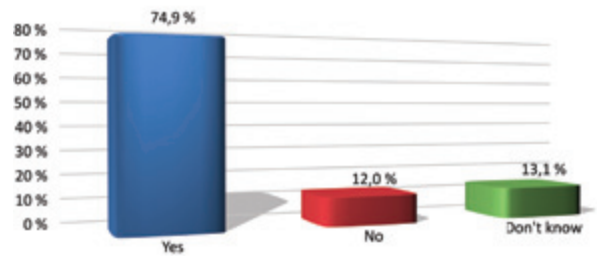
1.2. Students opine on experience of V4 and of the others. In the spring semester, 3/5 of students (60.5%) considered reform and EU integration experience of V4 more important than of the others because V4 traveled the same road as Moldova should.

1.2.1. Experience of V4 is relevant because they traveled the same road as Moldova will



1.3. Students are persuaded about the usefulness of V4 experience. Almost ¾ of students (74.9%) believed that reform and EU integration experience of V4 was useful because Moldova could learn from it and use it.

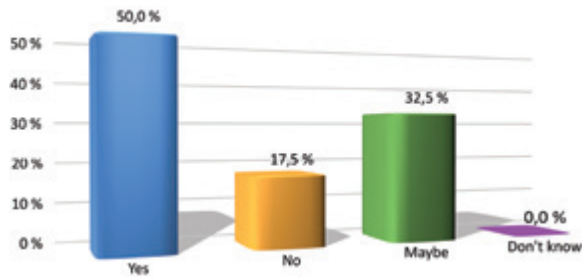
1.3.1. Is important because Moldova can learn from and use specific reforms of V4



2. European Integration

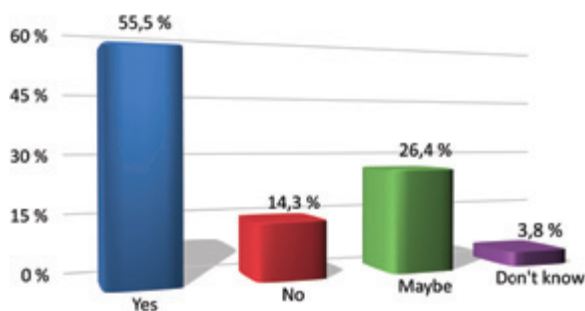
2.1. Students consider EU integration to be their best political and economic option. In the spring semester, majority of students considered EU integration to be the best political and economic option for their countries. An additional 32.5% joined with a maybe. Only 17.5% of students held opposing view.

2.1.1. European integration is our best political and economic option



2.2. Students believe that European Integration was Moldova's best political and economic option. In the fall semester, 55,5% of students were persuaded that EU integration was Moldova's best political and economic option with 26,4% of students joining with a maybe. Only 14,3% of students opposed that view.

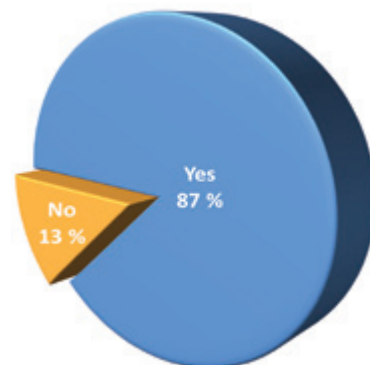
2.2.1. European integration is Moldova's best political and economic option



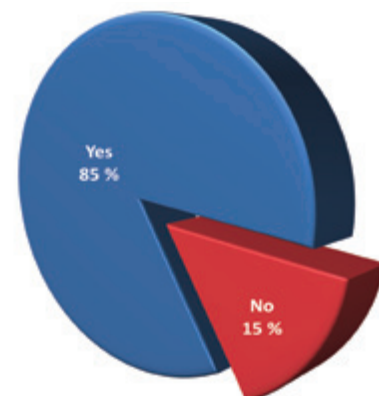
2.3. Students view EU integration as attractive to Moldova's population. Over $\frac{3}{4}$ of students in both semesters believed that EU integration is attractive to Moldova's population. In the spring semester (2.3.1.), the ratio was 87:13, in the fall semester (2.3.2.) it reached 85:15.



2.3.1. EU integration is attractive to the Moldova's population



2.3.2. EU integration is attractive to the Moldova's population

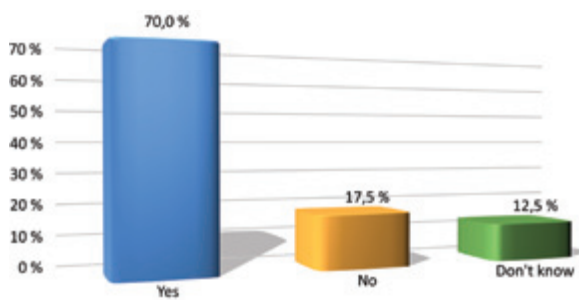




3. EU Values

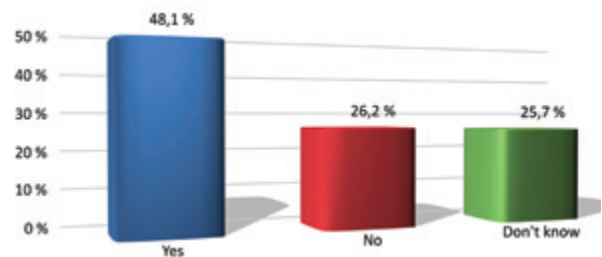
3.1. Students mark EU values as compatible with their values. In the spring semester, 70% of students were of the opinion that EU values were compatible with theirs. Less than 1/5 of students (17.5%) held the opposing view.

3.1.1. The values of the EU are compatible with our values



3.2. Students think that EU values are compatible with Moldova's values. In the fall semester, 48.1 % of students believed that EU values were compatible with Moldova's values. The remaining students were either opposed (26.2%) or did not have an opinion yet (25.7%).

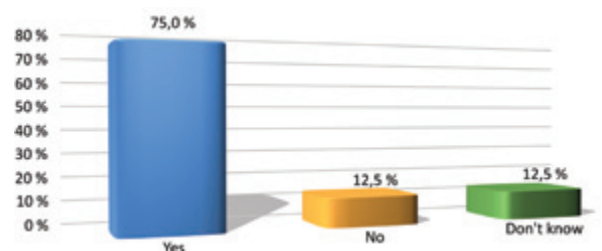
3.2.1. The values of the EU are compatible with Moldova's values



4. Cooperation with the EU

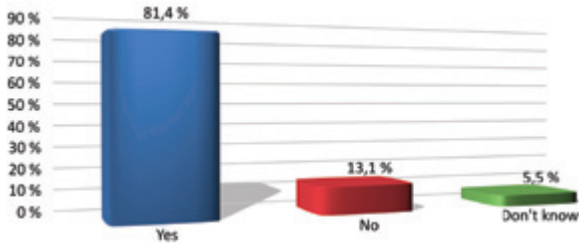
4.1. Students are convinced that cooperation with the EU and EU integration help national economy and prosperity. In the spring semester, ¾ of students (75%) believed that the cooperation with the EU and EU integration helped national economy and prosperity.

4.1.1. Cooperation with the EU and EU integration help national economy and prosperity



4.2. Students are persuaded that cooperation with the EU and EU integration help Moldova's economy and prosperity. In the fall semester, over $\frac{3}{4}$ of students (81.4%) considered cooperation with the EU and EU integration to be helpful to Moldova's economy and prosperity. Less than $\frac{1}{6}$ of students (13.1%) were opposed.

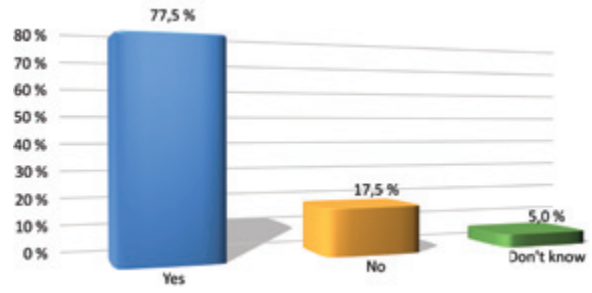
4.2.1. Cooperation with the EU and EU integration help Moldova's economy and prosperity



5. EU membership criteria

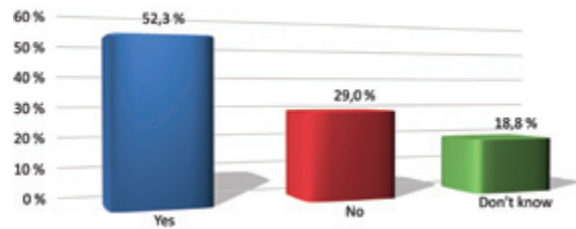
5.1. Students have faith in EU membership criteria. In the spring semester, over $\frac{3}{4}$ of students (77.5%) thought that it was possible to fulfill criteria for EU membership.

5.1.1. It is possible to fulfill criteria for the membership in the EU



5.2. Students are confident that Moldova can fulfill EU membership criteria. In the fall semester, majority of the students (52.3%) were confident that Moldova would be able to fulfill EU membership criteria. Less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the students did not have confidence in Moldova and less than 20% of the students did not form an opinion yet.

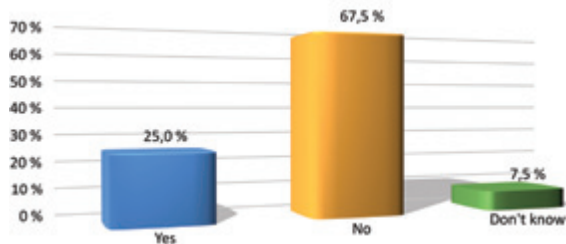
5.2.1. Moldova will be able to fulfill criteria for the membership in the EU



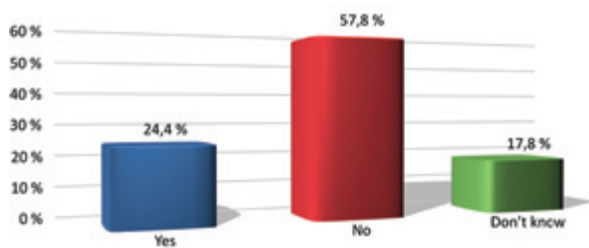
6. Moldova should not stay off EU

6.1. Students do not accept the argument that Moldova's EU membership damages its economy and creates unemployment. In the spring semester (6.1.1.), over 2/3 of students (67.5%) did not share the opinion that Moldova's membership in the EU would damage its economy and create unemployment. In the fall semester (6.1.2.), 57.8% of students expressed the same view.

6.1.1. The membership in the EU damages national economy and creates unemployment

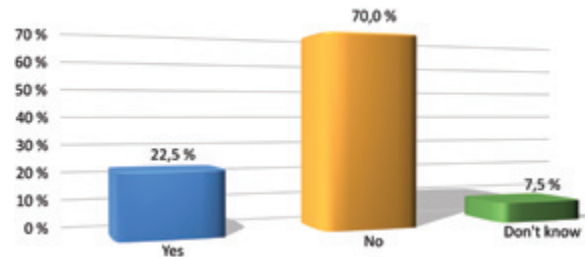


6.1.2. Moldova's membership in the EU damages its economy and create unemployment



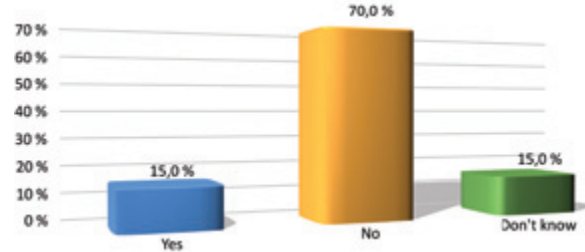
6.2. Students refuse the argument that Moldova should stay outside the EU because its values are not compatible with those of the EU. In the spring semester, only 22.5% of students believed that staying outside the EU was good for Moldova because its values were not compatible with those of the EU. 70% of students did not share that opinion.

6.2.1. Staying out of EU is good for Moldova because EU and Moldova's values are not compatible



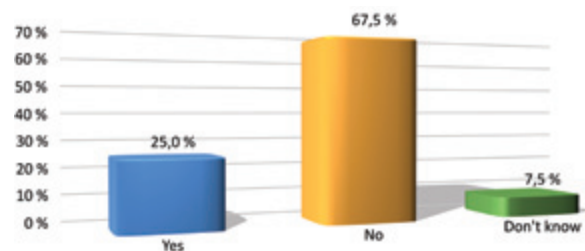
6.3. Students do not believe that staying outside the EU has a positive impact on national economy. In the spring semester, 70% of students refused the argument that staying outside the EU had a positive impact on national economy. Only 15% of students agreed with the notion.

6.3.1. Staying out of EU has a positive impact on national economy



6.4. Students do not think that staying outside the EU has a positive impact on business opportunities and employment. In the spring semester, only 1/4 of students (25%) thought that staying outside the EU had a positive impact on business opportunities and employment. 67.5% of students opposed that view.

6.4.1. Staying out of EU has positive impact on business opportunities and employment

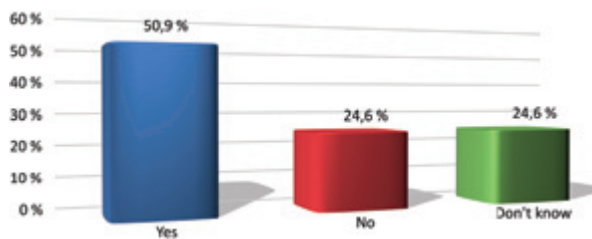




7. The results of Moldova's policies to join the EU (fall semester only)

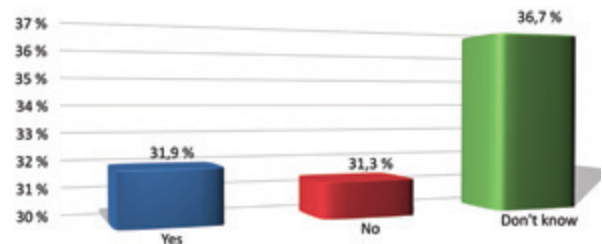
7.1. Students see positive results in Moldova's policies to join the EU. Majority of students (50.9%) believed that the results of Moldova's policies to join the EU were mostly positive so far. The remaining students were equally divided among those with an opposing view and those without an opinion (24.6%).

7.1.1. Results of Moldova's policies to join the EU are mostly positive so far



7.2. Students are not negative about the results of Moldova's policies to join the EU, but signal a need for additional information. Less than 1/3 of students (31.9%) believed that the results of Moldova's policies to join the EU weakened its economy, were detrimental to people and business. Quite a sizeable share of students (36.7%) did not have an opinion on the subject.

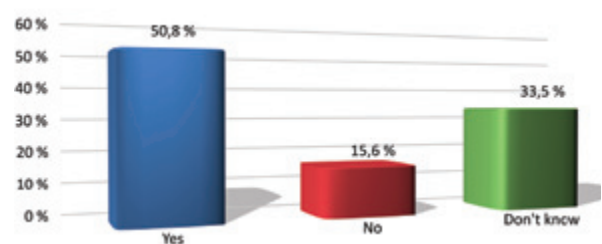
7.2.1. EU Results of Moldova's policies to join the EU weakened its economy, were detrimental to people and business



8. Moldova's November 2014 elections (fall semester only)

8.1. Students are optimistic about the formation of a pro-European government. Majority of students (50.8%) thought that a pro-European government would be formed after the elections.

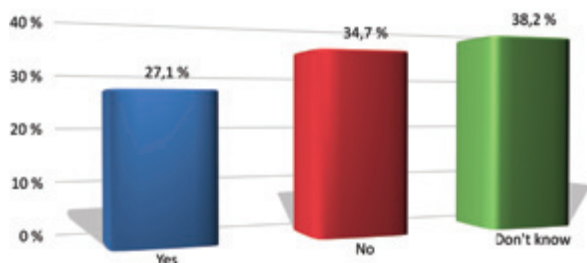
8.1.1. A pro-European and reform government will be formed after the elections





8.2. Students refuse to connect the election results with a slow-down in the EU integration. Less than 1/3 of students (27.1%) were of the opinion that the election results would slow down the integration with the EU. 38.2% of students did not form an opinion on this issue.

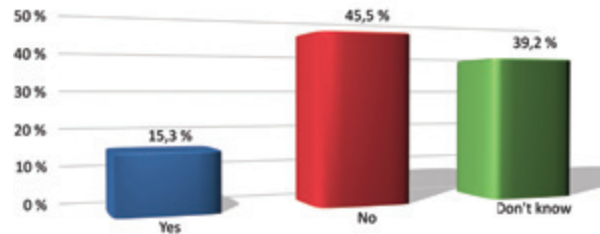
8.2.1. Results will slow down the integration with the EU



8.3. Only 1/6 of students are persuaded that election results will make EU integration impossible. Only 15.3% of students believed that the election results would make European integration impossible and that Moldova would become a member of

Eurasian Customs Union. 39.2% of students, a number similar to that in 8.2. responded with a “don’t know”.

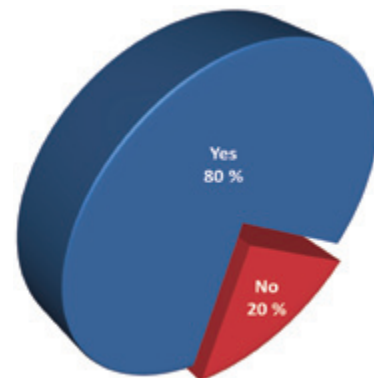
8.3.1. Results will make EU integration impossible, Moldova will be a member of Customs Union



9. The impact of Moldova’s Association Agreement with the EU (fall semester only)

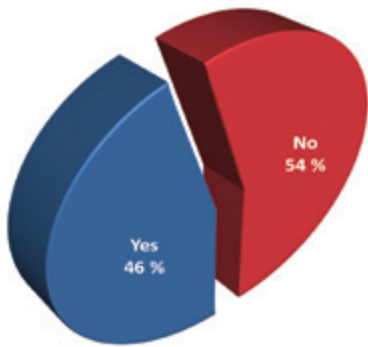
9.1. Students are persuaded that it will help Moldova to be stronger, more competitive. 4/5 of students (80%) were persuaded that Moldova’s association agreement with the EU would help Moldova to be stronger, more competitive and prepared to join the EU.

9.1.1. Help Moldova to be stronger, more competitive and prepared to join the EU



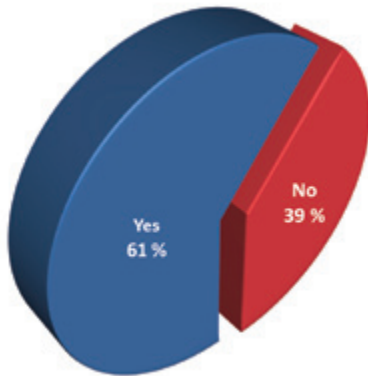
9.2. Students refuse to believe that it will destroy Moldova’s agricultural and textile industry through cheaper imports from the EU. Only 45.5% of students believed that Moldova’s Association Agreement with the EU would destroy its agricultural and textile industry through cheaper imports from the EU.

9.2.1. Destroy Moldova's agricultural and textile sector through cheap imports from the EU



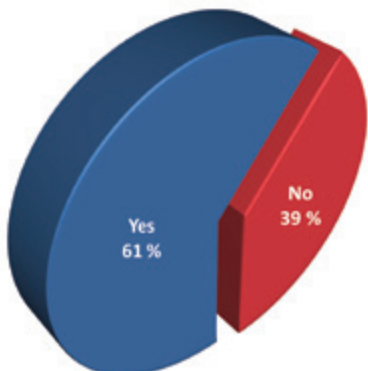
9.3. Students believe that it will increase the price of gas in Moldova. 3/5 of students (60.8%) thought that Moldova's Association Agreement with the EU would increase the price of gas in Moldova.

9.3.1. Increase the price of gas in Moldova



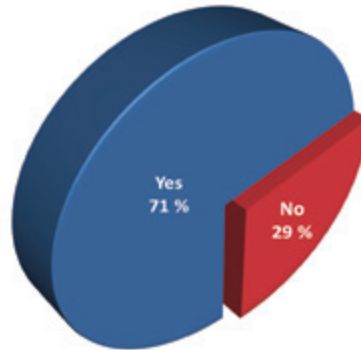
9.4. Students believe that it will limit opportunities of Moldovans working in Russia. 3/5 of students (61.2%) believed that the Moldova's Association Agreement with the EU would limit opportunities of Moldovans working in Russia.

9.4.1. Limit opportunities of Moldovans working in Russia



9.5. Students believe that it will reduce trade with Russia to the detriment of Moldova. 71.4% of students believed that Moldova's Association Agreement with the EU would reduce its trade with Russia to the detriment of Moldova.

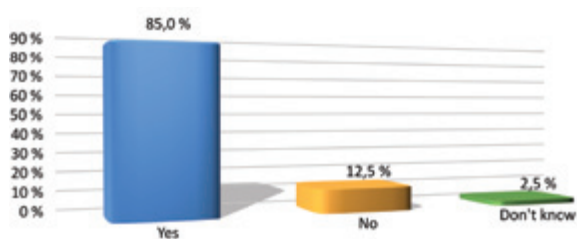
9.5.1. Moldova's Association Agreement with the EU will: Reduce the trade with Russia to the detriment of Moldova



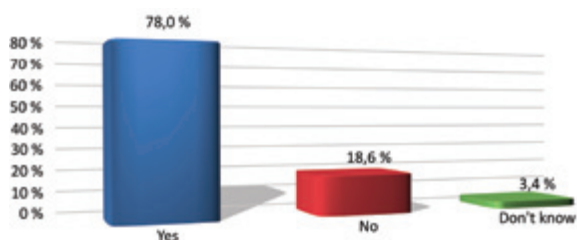
10. EU integration and deep and difficult reforms

10.1. Students connect EU integration with deep and difficult reforms. In the spring semester (10.1.1.), 85% of students were cognizant that the EU integration includes deep and difficult reforms. In the fall semester, 78% of students shared the same opinion (10.1.2.).

10.1.1. Do you agree that the EU integration includes deep and difficult reforms and changes?

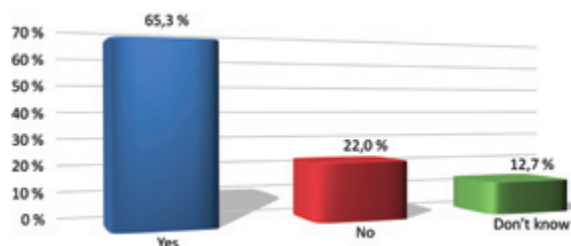


10.1.2. Do you agree that the EU integration includes deep and difficult reforms and changes?



10.2. Students are optimistic about Moldova's will to implement reforms. Almost 2/3 of students (65.3%) believed that Moldova would have the will to implement the reforms and changes connected with EU integration.

10.2.1. Do you believe that Moldova will have the will to implement these reforms and changes?

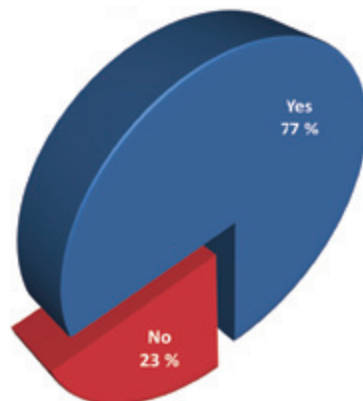




11. Students believe that reforms in Moldova have a chance to succeed if ...(fall semester only):

11.1. ...they are based upon a strong political consensus. 77.1% of students believed that, in order to succeed, the reforms must be based upon a strong political consensus.

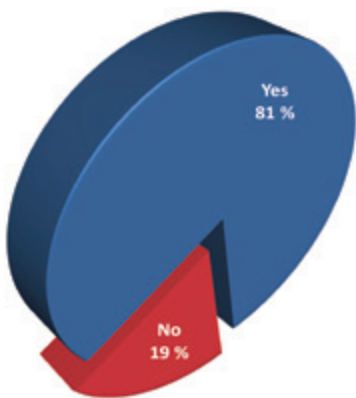
11.1.1. Reforms in Moldova have a chance to succeed and move it ahead, if: They are based upon a strong political consensus





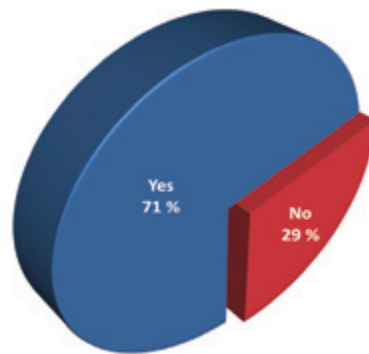
11.2. ...the new government has the will to implement them. More than 4/5 of students (81.3%) were persuaded that the reforms in Moldova could succeed if the new government had the will to implement them.

11.2.1. The new government has the will to implement them



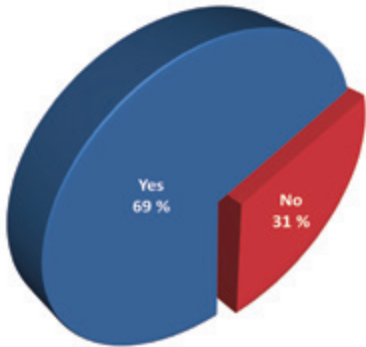
11.3. ...there is a strong coordination at the government level. More than 2/3 of students (71.3 %) believed that the reforms in Moldova could succeed if there would be a strong coordination at the government level.

11.3.1. There is a strong coordination of the reforms at the highest governmental level



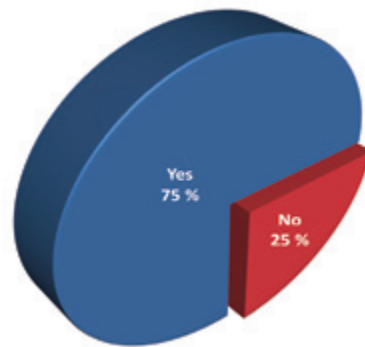
11.4. ...if Moldova's efforts are coupled with an effort to attract FDI. More than 2/3 of students (69%) said that the reforms in Moldova had a chance to succeed if they would be coupled with an effort to attract foreign direct investment.

11.4.1. Moldova's policies are coupled with efforts to attract foreign direct investments



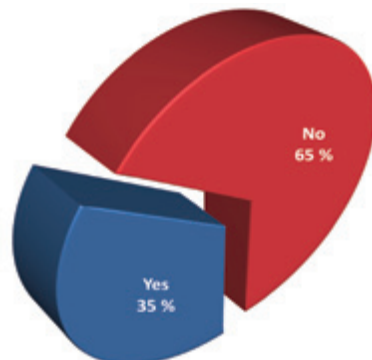
11.5. ...if the reforms are accompanied by an information campaign explaining their benefits to the people. More than 3/4 of students (75.3%) were persuaded that the reforms in Moldova could succeed if they would be accompanied by an information campaign explaining their benefits and challenges to individuals and business.

11.5.1. They are accompanied by an information campaign explaining their benefits and challenges to individuals and business



11.6. Students do not agree with the notion that reforms have no chance to succeed in Moldova because they carry an excessive burden. Only a little more than 1/3 of students (35.3%) were skeptical about the reforms in Moldova, believing that the reforms could not succeed in Moldova because they carry an excessive burden.

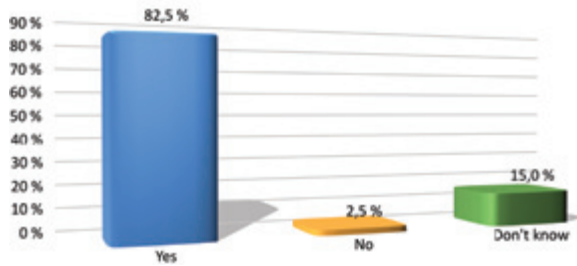
11.6.1. Reforms have no chance to succeed in Moldova, because they carry an excessive burden



12. Perception of EU member states (spring semester only)

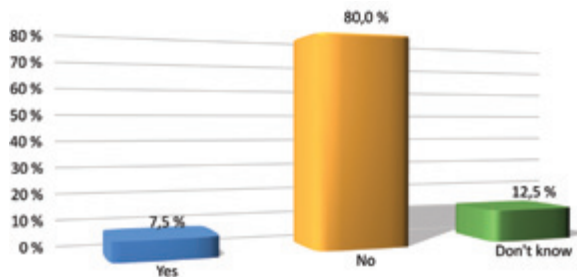
12.1. Students believe that EU member states are their friends. More than 4/5 of students (82.5%) considered the EU member states to be their friends.

12.1.1. EU member states are our friends



12.2. Students do not consider EU member states to be their enemies. Less than 1/13 of the students (7.5%) believed that the EU member states were their enemies.

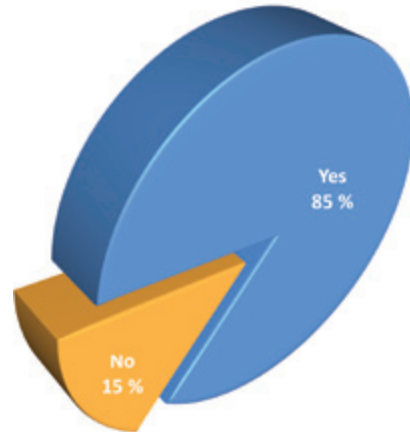
12.2.1. EU member states are our enemies



13. Moldova's friends (spring semester only)

13.1. European Union enjoys the strongest support among the students. More than 3/5 of students (84.6%) thought that the European Union is a friend of Moldova.

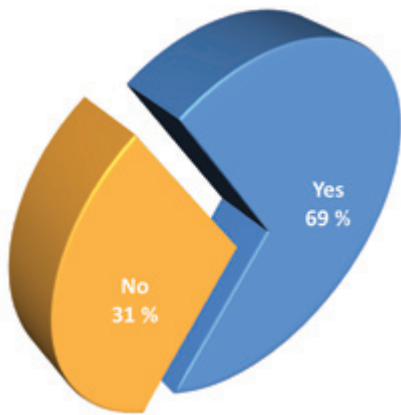
13.1.1. Moldova's main friends EU





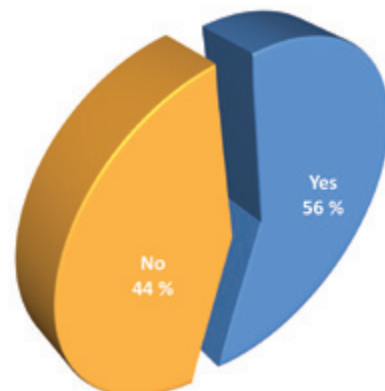
13.2. Romania ranks second among the students. More than 2/3 of students (69.2%) believed that Romania was a friend of Moldova.

13.2.1. Moldova's main friends Romania



13.3. Students believe that NATO is a friend of Moldova. Majority of students (56.4%) believed that NATO was a friend of Moldova.

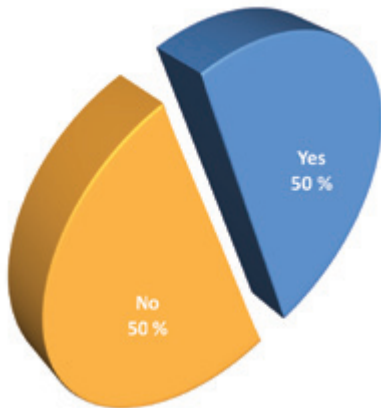
13.3.1. Moldova's main friends NATO





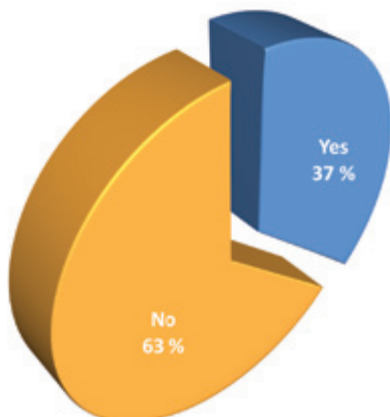
13.4. Students consider the United States equally hot and cold. 50% of students believed that the USA were a friend of Moldova, 50% of students did not believe so.

13.4.1. Moldova's main friends USA



13.5. Students leave Russia in the cold. Only 36.8% of students considered Russia to be a friend of Moldova.

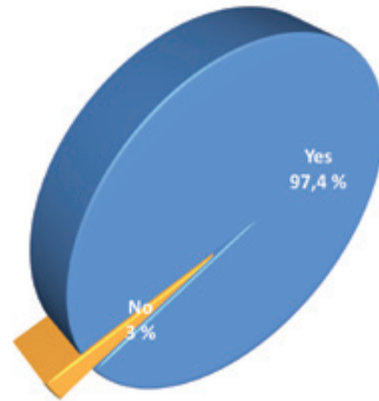
13.5.1. Moldova's main friends Russia



14. Moldova's threats (spring semester only)

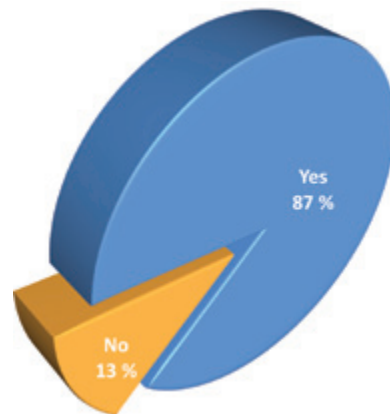
14.1. Students see corruption as the most serious threat to Moldova. More than 9/10 of students (97.4%) considered corruption to be the fiercest threat to Moldova.

14.1.1. Moldova's main threats Corruption



14.2. Students consider the economic crisis a threat to Moldova. More than 3/4 of students (87.2%) thought that the economic crisis was a threat to Moldova.

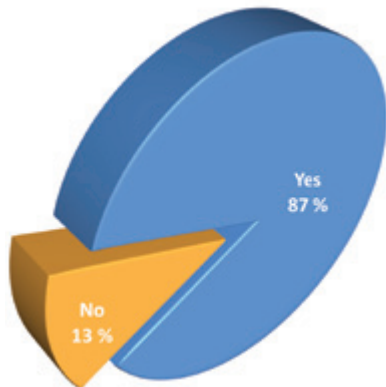
14.2.1. Moldova's main threats Economic crisis





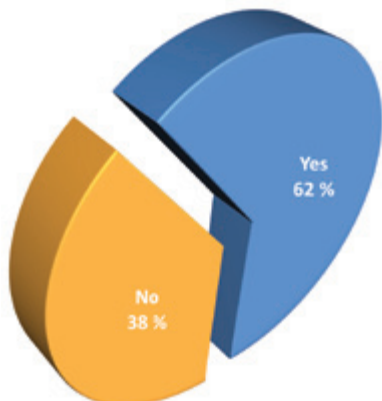
14.3. Students believe that political instability is a threat to Moldova. More than 3/4 of students (87.2%) believed that political instability was a threat to Moldova.

14.3.1. Moldova's main threats Political Instability



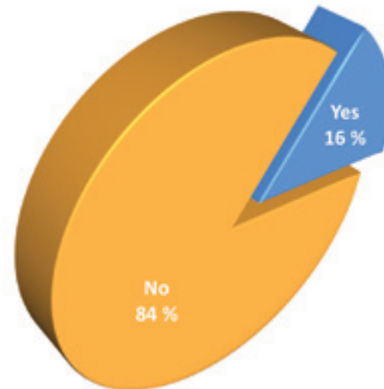
14.4. Almost 2/3 of students consider Russia to be a threat to Moldova. 61.5% of students held the view that Russia was a threat to Moldova.

14.4.1. Moldova's main threats Russia



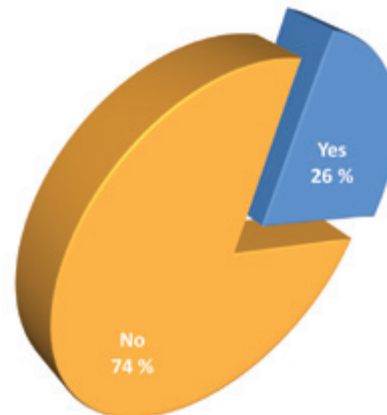
14.5. Students defy seeing Romania as a threat to Moldova. 84.2% of students did not see Romania as a threat to Moldova.

14.5.1. Moldova's main threats Romania



14.6. Students do not consider the USA as a threat to Moldova. Almost 3/4 of students (74.4%) refused to consider the USA as a threat to Moldova. 25.6% of students agreed with the notion.

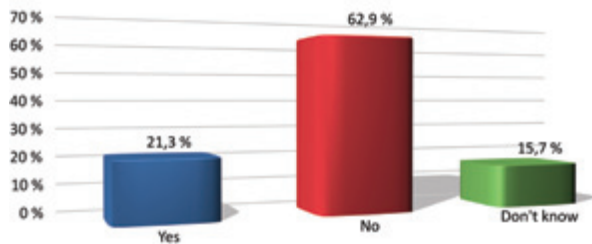
14.6.1. Moldova's main threats USA



15. Moldova's freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity after Crimea

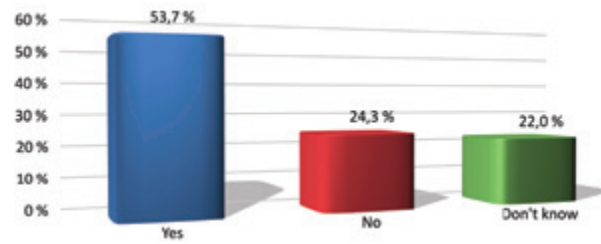
15.1. Students do not connect Moldova's freedom, sovereignty and integrity with Russia. Only 1/5 of students (21.3%) believed that Moldova's freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity were best protected by Russia.

15.1.1. Moldova's freedom is best protected by Russia



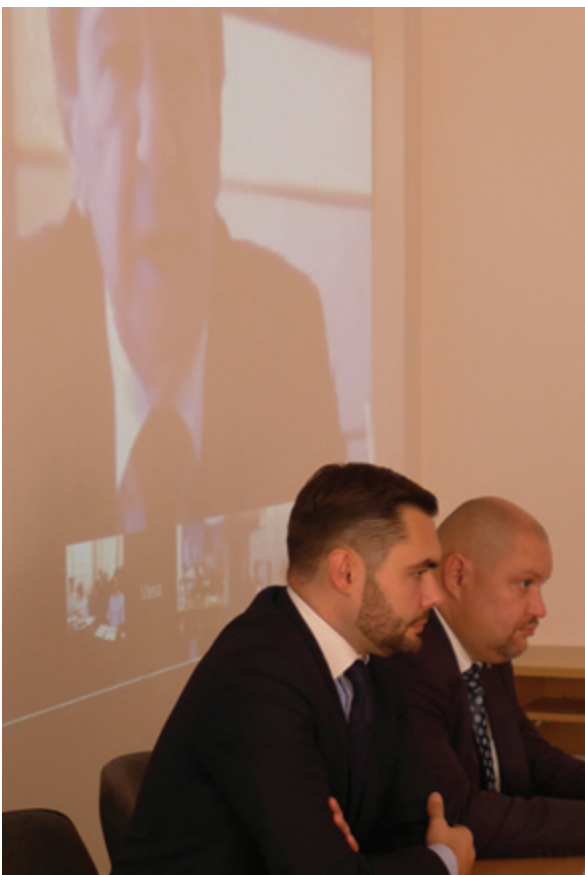
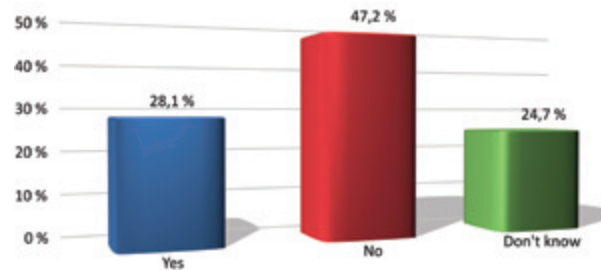
15.2. Students connect Moldova's freedom, sovereignty and integrity with European and Euro-Atlantic integration. Majority of students (53.7%) believed that Moldova's freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity were best protected by European and Euro-Atlantic integration.

15.2.1. Are connected with European and Euro-Atlantic integration



15.3. Students are not supportive of a third alternative to Moldova's security. Less than 1/3 of students (28.1%) believed that Moldova needs neither Russia nor EU/NATO to be secure.

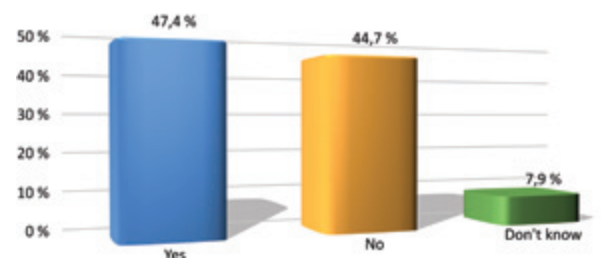
15.3.1. Moldova needs neither Russia or EU/NATO to be secure



16. Are EU integration and good relations with Russia incompatible?

16.1.1. Students are unsure whether the EU integration and good relations with Russia are compatible. In the spring semester, a slightly greater number of students (47.4%) responded that EU integration and good relations with Russia were incompatible, while 44.7% rejected the notion and 7.9% of students did not have an opinion.

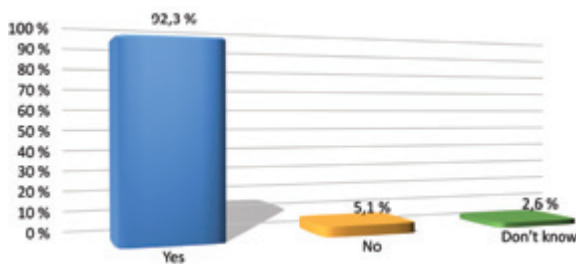
16.1.1. EU integration and good political and economic relations with Russia are incompatible



17. Membership in the EU, NATO and Customs Union (spring semester only)

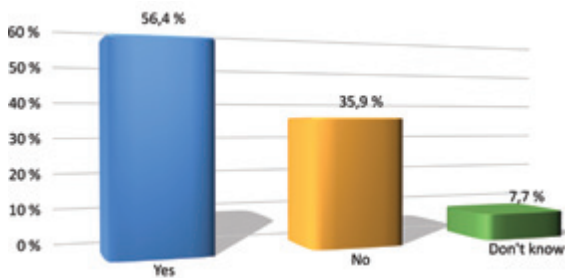
17.1. Students are persuaded that Moldova should be a member of the European Union. More than 9/10 of students (92.3%) were persuaded that membership in the EU was in the interest of Moldova. Only 5.1% of students were against Moldova's EU membership.

17.1.1. Membership in EU is in the interest of Moldova



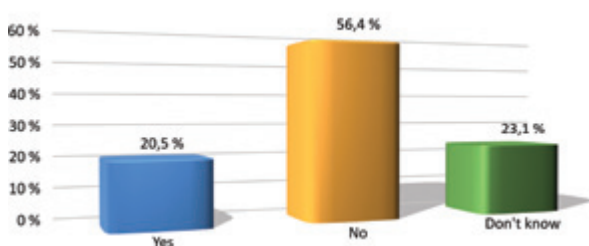
17.2. Students believe that Moldova should be a member of NATO. Majority of students (56.4%) believed that Moldova should be a member of NATO. 35.9% of students opposed Moldova's membership in NATO and 7.7% did not have an opinion.

17.2.1. Membership in NATO is in the interest of Moldova



17.3. Students refuse Eurasian Customs Union. Only 1/5 of students (20.5%) held the opinion that Moldova should be a member of the Eurasian Customs Union, not of the European Union.

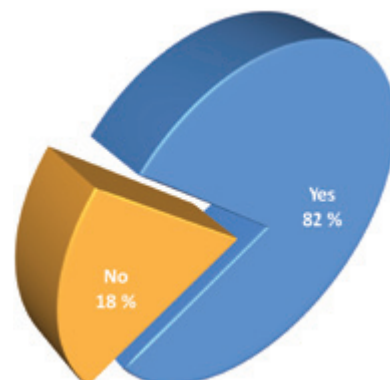
17.3.1. Moldova should be a member of the Eurasian Customs Union only, not of the EU



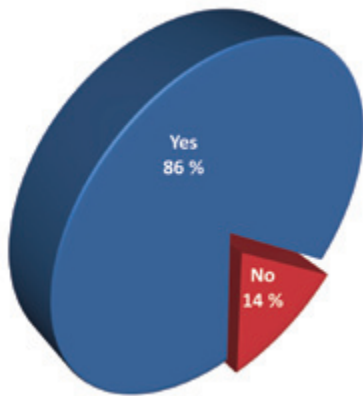
18. Student's interest in European Integration and debates

18.1. Students have appetite for more information about European Integration. In the spring semester (18.1.1.), 81.6% of students indicated that they wanted more information about European integration. In the fall semester (18.1.2.), that number rose to 86.1%.

18.1.1. I am interested in more information about European integration



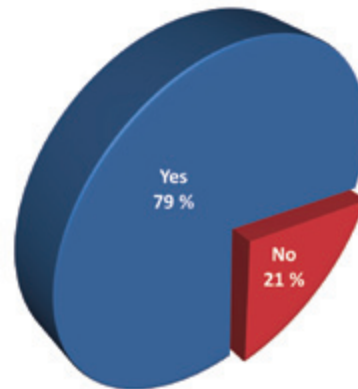
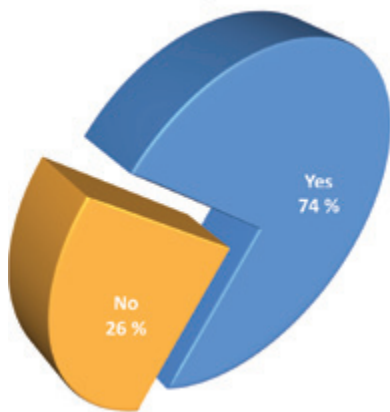
18.1.2. I am interested in more information about European integration



18.2.2. I am interested to work more in the area of European integration

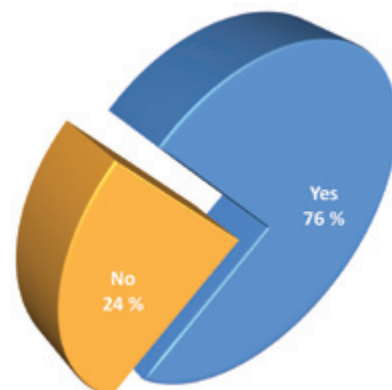
18.2. Students show interest to work in the area of European Integration. 73.7% of students in the spring semester (18.2.1.) and 78.6% of students in the fall semester (18.2.2.) said that they were interested to work in the area of European Integration.

18.2.1. I am interested to work more in the area of European integration

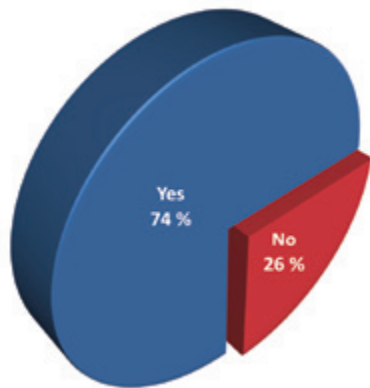


18.3. Students show interest to work on joint EU projects. 76.3 % of students in the spring semester (18.3.1.) and 74.2% of students in the fall semester (18.3.2.) indicated that they were interested to work on joint EU projects with students from Visegrad 4 countries.

18.3.1. I am interested to work on joint EU projects with students from V4 countries

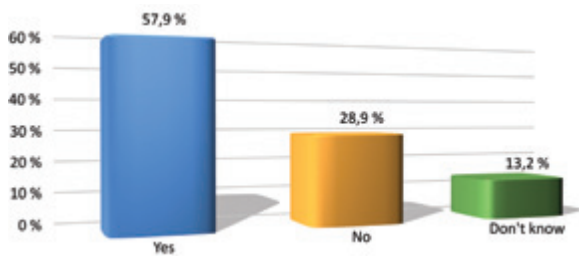


18.3.2. I am interested to work on joint EU projects with students from V4 countries and Moldova

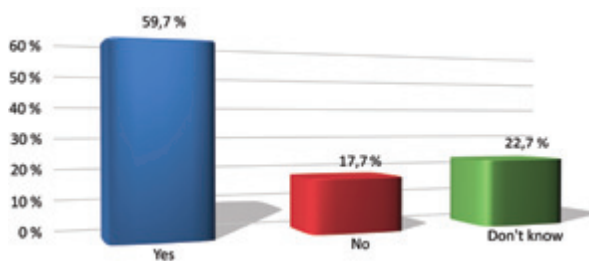


18.4. Students show interest to participate in debates in the future. 57.9% of students in the spring semester (18.4.1.) and 59.7% of students in the fall semester (18.4.2.) showed their interest to be a part of a debate team in the future.

18.4.1. I am interested in being a part of the debate team in the future



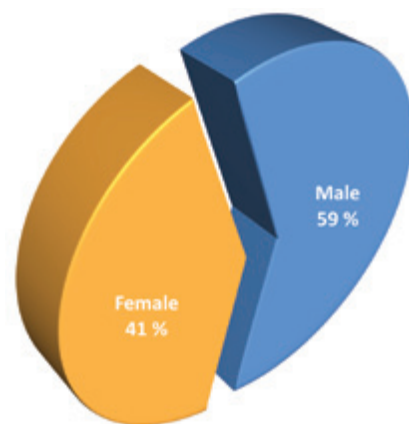
18.4.2. I am interested in being a part of the debate team in the future



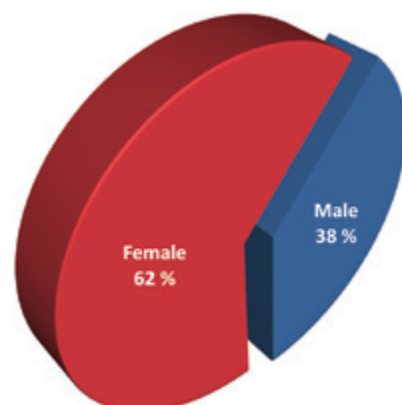
19. Participants

19.1. Participation of male and female students in debates. In the spring semester (19.1.1.), 59% of participants of debates were male students and 41% were female students. In the fall semester (19.1.2.), the share of female students grew to 61.9% and the share of male students decreased to 38.1%.

19.1.1. Sex

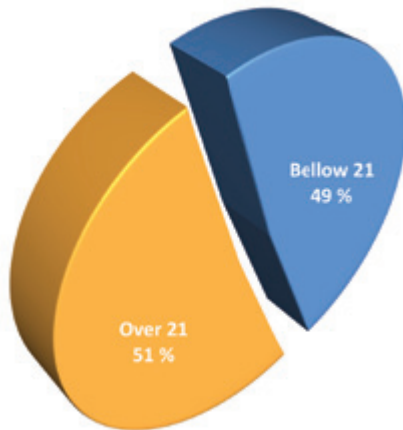


19.1.2. Sex

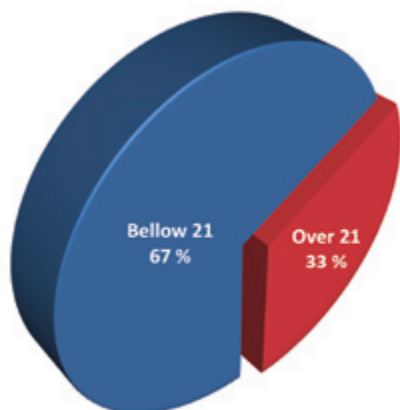


19.2. Seniority of participants. In the spring semester (19.2.1), 48.7% of students were under 21 years and 51.3% were over 21 years. In the fall semester (19.2.2), the number of junior students rose to 67.2% and the share of students over 21 years fell to 32.8%.

19.2.1. Age



19.2.2. Age



In the course of the project, students were encouraged to write essays on the relevance of V4 reform and integration experience for Moldova's European Integration. Five students were awarded for their essays.

Lenka Fořtová, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

„The V4 since their accession try to make most of all these benefits EU offers, even though each country with varying success. The same awaits for Moldova.“



Mihail Popsoi, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

“...the only way forward for Moldova and its people is building a culture of respect for the law and each other. V4 countries can lend us a friendly hand, but it is the Moldovans who have to do the heavy lifting and, once and for all, stop looking back.”

Augustin Ignatov, Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova, Chisinau, Moldova

“In my opinion, the only opportunity for us is the European Union, but to join it we must work much more than we could even imagine, but being based on Visegrad countries example we could achieve good results in optimal terms.”

Jairo Molina Guerrero, Collegium Civitas, Warsaw, Poland

„we could summarize that V4 member states and the Visegrad Fund, should support Moldovan authorities helping them with policies aimed to develop their democratic institutions, giving aids to modernize their economy and backing the Moldovan authorities when it comes to the European integration and the process of reforms related to it.“

Samuel Goda, Matej Bel University, Banska Bystrica, Slovakia

„Countries from the V4 region are well equipped to assist Moldovans on their euro-integration path. Each V4 country should identify its strength or field of expertise which could be afterwards transferred to Moldova. Finding common V4 strategy towards Moldova could be a first step.“

To read more, go to:

<http://mesa10.org/visegrad4moldova/>



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