

## DECISION

**on the Report of the Enquiry Committee  
for the elucidation of the de facto and the jure  
circumstances surrounding the interference of the  
Foundation “Otwarty Dialog” (Open Dialogue) and its  
founder Ludmila Kozłowska in the internal affairs of the  
Republic of Moldova and the financing of certain political  
parties in the Republic of Moldova**

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The Parliament adopts this decision.

**Article 1.** – To take note of the Report of the Enquiry Committee for the elucidation of the de facto and de jure circumstances surrounding the interference of the Foundation “Otwarty Dialog” (Open Dialogue) and its founder Ludmila Kozłowska in the internal affairs of the Republic of Moldova and the financing of certain political parties in the Republic of Moldova.

**Article 2.** – Based on the conclusions of the Enquiry Committee, the Parliament notes the following:

1. The Foundations “Otwarty Dialog”, “Open Dialog Foundation” (hereinafter – the ODF) and “Silk Road Biuro Analiz i Informacji” are registered in Poland by Ludmila Kozłowska, born in Sevastopol (part of the Peninsula of Crimea, annexed by the Russian Federation in 2014), holder of dual citizenship – of Ukraine and of the Russian Federation, and her husband, Bartosz Kramek, citizen of Poland.

2. The ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska are financed by:

- a) incomes derived from transactions with military companies from the Russian Federation, against which international sanctions have been applied (including by the European Union and the USA);
- b) delivery of military equipment to states involved in regional conflicts;
- c) off-shore payments with unknown and suspicious route and origin;

d) from the money laundering scheme “Laundromat” in the Republic of Moldova (at least EUR 2.5 million have been identified) and the Azeri “Laundromat” (through off-shore companies “Seabon Limited”, “PR Vert System Ltd” etc., managed by Veaceslav Platon);

e) means derived from the bank fraud occurred in the Republic of Moldova before 2014.

3. The sophisticated mechanism, through which the ODF is being financed, contains all the elements of a money laundering scheme, denoting financial intelligence practices characteristic of special services that go beyond the internationally known practices for financing a simple civil society organisation. This fact brought Ludmila Kozłowska and the ODF to the attention of special services, initially in Poland, and later in Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova.

4. Despite the declared goal of the activities run by Ludmila Kozłowska and the ODF for the protection of human rights and freedoms, democracy and the rule of law in the former Soviet states, in fact, the ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska represent a vehicle of lobbying, of influence in various international institutions, of protecting and promoting the interests of some people with suspicious past, as a rule, with impressive fortune derived from fraud and money laundering, in conflict with the law and often investigated or prosecuted by law enforcement bodies, or even convicted of committed offences, including in international jurisdictions.

5. The ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska have connections and commitments, and are dependent upon a number of intelligence services agents of the Russian Federation, including Piotr Kozłowski and his relationships, Veaceslav Platon, etc., having become a soft power intervention instrument, used by the special services of the Russian Federation in the hybrid war against the states considered as opponents of the Russian Federation’s geopolitical interests in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova.

6. The ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska use the tactics of damaging, at international level, the image of the states, institutions and persons in the area of geo-political interest of the Russian Federation, of worsening the relations of these states with their Western partners, which are in the counterbalance of the interests of the Russian Federation, of dividing the society and the political class of these states, of inciting enmity, but also of undermining the security and the constitutional order of these states (the example of Poland, including in cooperation with the Polish pro-Russian political elements in the person of Mateusz Piskorski). As a matter of fact, Ludmila Kozłowska and her NGOs are a sophisticated strategic weapon, enabling those who control it, to weaken the geostrategic positions of the states against which this weapon is used, to the geopolitical interest of the Russian Federation.

7. The interest of the ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska for the Republic of Moldova appeared in 2016, immediately after the arrest and extradition of Veaceslav Platon from Ukraine to the Republic of Moldova.

8. The ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska have intensively lobbied and promoted the interests of Veaceslav Platon and of the affiliated persons, have acted in agreement with the intelligence services of the Russian Federation against the interests of the Republic of Moldova and have managed to lead to tensions in the relationships between the European institutions and politicians and the institutions and the Government of the Republic of Moldova.

9. The lobby activities of the ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska have resulted in such political acts as:

a) the condemnation of the political situation in the Republic of Moldova, of alleged abuses of the prosecutor's office and the courts against human rights defenders, civic activists, politically motivated cases, etc;

b) the intervention of 25 January 2017 "Moldova: political oppression against civil society and key witnesses" by 23 members of the PACE, by means of which they tried to impose the idea of political persecution of Veaceslav Platon, the alleged key witness in the case of banking fraud, and to transfer the responsibility to other persons;

c) the "Moldova at the crossroads" Conference, of May 2017, within the framework of which the idea of political persecution by the authorities of the Republic of Moldova was imposed;

d) the inclusion on the agenda and the debate in the European Parliament, on 16 May 2017, of false statements concerning the modification of the election system, the fight against corruption, the lack of reforms in the Republic of Moldova and the macro-financial assistance of the European Union, by submitting tendentious and subjective information;

e) the Seminar on "Political persecutions in Ukraine and Moldova: how political corruption undermines the reform efforts", organised on 27 June 2017, within the framework of the PACE plenary session, during which attempts have been undertaken to instil the idea of illegal influence in the judiciary of the Republic of Moldova;

f) the appeals, in December 2017, of a number of MEPs to the authorities of the Republic of Moldova concerning the conviction of the alleged political persecution of Ana Ursachi, Alexei Alexeev, Alexandru Machedon, Sergiu Cebotari, Domnica Manole and Dorin Munteanu (all of Veaceslav Platon's entourage);

g) the negative influence on the opinion of a number of MEPs in respect of the Republic of Moldova and its institutions;

h) the launching by the PACE members, in January 2018, of the Resolution on preserving the civil rights in Poland, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine (the

ODF announced that this Resolution was the result of the activities of the ODF in the PACE);

i) the appeal, in February 2018, of the Chairman of the OSCE PA General Committee for Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Jose Ignacio Sanchez Amor, addressed to the Republic of Moldova and the Republic of Kazakhstan, on insinuated problems that affect the persons under criminal prosecution by law enforcement authorities, such as Ana Ursachi, Eduard Rudenco, Domnica Manole, Dorin Munteanu;

j) the appeals of two MEPs, of March 2018, addressed to the Minister of Justice and the General Prosecutor of the Republic of Moldova with erroneous statements on the persecution of Ana Ursachi and Alexandru Machedon;

k) the lobbying of the suspension of macro-financial assistance to the Republic of Moldova by the European Union;

l) the approval by the European Parliament, on 14 November 2018, of the Resolution on adopting an even tougher position on the Republic of Moldova and its institutions.

10. The ODF and Ludmila Kozłowska continue lobbying for:

a) the extension of financial sanctions in the form of the refusal to grant macro-financial assistance to the Republic of Moldova by the EU;

b) the revision of the Association Agreement between the Republic of Moldova and the EU;

c) the immediate cessation of allegedly politically motivated criminal prosecutions (including, the alleged “Veaceslav Platon case”);

d) the introduction of personal sanctions for the political decision-makers of the Republic of Moldova.

11. Some political actors from the Republic of Moldova have been attracted and enrolled in diversionary activities organised by Ludmila Kozłowska and the ODF, orchestrated and financed by foreign special services, against the Republic of Moldova.

12. The Party Action and Solidarity, the Political Party Dignity and Truth, and their leaders have benefited from ODF’s illegal financing without declaring it in the proper way.

13. A more growing involvement of both foreign and local public associations with foreign financing is being noted in the direct and indirect financing activities of the political parties, with a view to influencing the political options, actions that violate in a flagrant manner the legislation in force.

14. Practical problems have been noted with respect to the enforcement by a number of political parties from the Republic of Moldova of the legal framework

that regulates the assistance, material support, training provided by different non-governmental organisations, documentation and reporting thereon in the periods between electoral campaigns.

15. A thorough analysis is necessary of both the legal framework in force and the institutional capacities of the state authorities responsible for overseeing the financing of political parties, in order to clarify the needs of improving the funding mechanism.

16. The legislation in force on the financial transparency of non-commercial organisations, especially of those with foreign financing, is insufficient for preventing and counteracting the direct or indirect involvement in the financing of political parties, which is to be thoroughly analysed to eliminate the gaps in the relevant legal framework.

**Article 3.** – Taking note of the conclusions of the Enquiry Committee, the Parliament will reassess all legislative initiatives and draft laws subject to the legislative procedure that concern the activity and financing of political parties and public associations, in order to eliminate the risks to the security of the state.

**Article 4.** – The Government shall submit to the Parliament proposals to improve the legislation on the financing of political parties and non-commercial organisations in order to ensure a veritable financial transparency and eliminate gaps that allow the illegal financing of political parties.

**Article 5.** – It is recommended that the Central Electoral Commission, jointly with other state authorities, verify the financial management of the political parties and take necessary legal measures to prevent the violation of the legal provisions related to it.

**Article 6.** – It is recommended that the Central Electoral Commission carry out a broad analysis of institutional processes and capacities and propose to the Parliament measures to improve the oversight and financial management mechanism of political parties.

**Article 7.** – The Report of the Enquiry Committee shall be forwarded to the General Prosecutor's Office, the Security and Intelligence Service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs for thorough analysis and investigation of the materials and the conclusions of the Enquiry Committee and implementation of necessary measures according to the legislation in force.

**Article 8.** It is recommended that the General Prosecutor's Office examine the findings of the Enquiry Committee's Report in the context of the legal qualification

and classification of the involvement of the ODF and affiliated persons, etc. in actions that threaten the national security of the Republic of Moldova.

**Article 9.** – The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration shall bring to the attention of the diplomatic corps and international organisations working in the Republic of Moldova, the legal provisions setting out imperative restrictions on direct and indirect financing of political parties, including through non-commercial organisations.

**Art. 10.** – The Report of the Enquiry Committee shall be brought to the attention of the Council of Europe, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the European Parliament, the European Commission, the United States of America and other interested parties, in accordance with legal procedures.

**Article 11.** – The leadership of the Parliament, the Legal Committee on Appointments and Immunities, and the Committee on National Security, Defence and Public Order of the Parliament shall be asked to find the legal way, jointly with the competent authorities, to make public the Report of the Enquiry Committee.

**Article 12.** – This decision shall enter into force on the date of its adoption.

## **CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENT**

**ANDRIAN CANDU**

**Chişinău, 16 November 2018.**

**No. 251.**