

## Nation-building in Moldova

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Constructing a nation from what used to be the ethnically and culturally diverse population of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic has proved to be a difficult process, the outcomes of which are still far from certain. This process has taken place simultaneously with other major social transformations involving building state institutions and creating the foundations of a political democracy and a market economy. The difficulties that have accompanied these transformations, such as state building-related secessionist conflicts or economic transition-related increases in poverty levels, exacerbated some of the tensions which are inherent in any attempt at nation building.

This chapter provides an overview of the successes and failures of the Moldovan nation-building project and analyzes some of the strategies adopted to resolve the tensions that have arisen from the particular political circumstances and cultural context that the Moldovan state and societal actors find themselves in. The chapter starts with an analysis of some quantitative and qualitative data which places the Moldovan experience into the general context of nation-building efforts in the post-Soviet space. By examining several indicators of the strength of national identity and some measures of the degree of inter-ethnic cooperation, the chapter highlights the importance of considering societal attitudinal dispositions as proxies for understanding the achievements of a nation-building project. This type of data provides a considerable amount of information about nationalism, when nationalism is understood as a civic nation-building project.<sup>1</sup>

The chapter then turns to a discussion of the content of the ethnic identity of a titular group. The content of this identity is a highly contested issue, which has numerous implications for all aspects of the nationhood project in Moldova. Differences in interpreting core features of this identity give rise to two different types of ethnic majority nationalism, Moldovanism and Romanianism, which could be respectively termed as “state-seeking” and “unification” types of nationalism. The chapter provides a schematic analysis of differences in alternative conceptions of the titular group’s identity, and analyzes some of the strategies adopted by state and societal actors in their attempts to secure a victory for their particular conception of identity of the majority group.

Finally, the chapter analyzes how differences over the titular group’s identity, as well as other ethnic cleavages which arise from the presence of large ethnic minority groups, structure political party competition. The analysis of the impact of ethnic factors on the electoral performance of political parties is followed in this section of the chapter by a discussion of party positioning on key identity and culture-related issues. This discussion is based on the premise that the democratic nature of the political process in Moldova, which is consistently rated better than any other member country of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in terms of democratic performance<sup>2</sup>, makes party politics an important arena for competition over political and policy agendas based on different visions of ethnic and national identities.

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\* The author thanks Leonid Litra, Ion Osoianu and Valentina Rigamonti for research assistance in collecting data for this article.

<sup>1</sup> Nationalism is a social science term which probably has one of the largest number of scholarly meanings attached. For one of the most recent review of various conceptualizations of nationalism see Lowell W. Barrington, “*After Independence Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Post Communist States*”, The University of Michigan Press, USA, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> See Freedom House political rights scores for post-Soviet republics for the 1991-2005 period at [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)

## Strength of National Identity in Moldova

Independent Moldova inherited from the Soviet Union a number of serious challenges rooted in the cultural and ethnic make-up of its population. The very idea of independence was questioned not only by large segments of the minority and titular ethnic groups, which supported the preservation of the Soviet Union, but also by a substantial portion of the titular group's political and cultural elite, which saw unification with Romania as the ultimate goal of Moldova's political transformation. The issue of unification played a major role in structuring the political discourse during the late Soviet period and the early years of independence.<sup>3</sup> This issue, while reflecting the insecurity and contentious nature of the titular groups' identity, also proved to be an important catalyst in the political mobilization of ethnic minorities in the Transnistrian and Gagauzian regions, which resulted in open confrontation between the national center and the minority-dominated regions in the early 1990s.<sup>4</sup> Debates about the value of maintaining national independence, as well as discussions about approaches to solving ethno-territorial conflicts and about strategies for accommodating cultural and ethnic heterogeneity, have continued to occupy prominent places in the country's political agenda throughout the period of independence.

When one considers the persistence of these debates, in combination with other well-known facts, such as, for example, the repeated and profound failures of the economic transition that has earned Moldova the title of the poorest nation in Europe<sup>5</sup>, a skeptical view on the prospects of Moldovans developing a strong loyalty to their newly established country might seem to be justified. In reality, all of these factors have not prevented the citizens of Moldova from fostering a deeply rooted attachments to their country. Moldova's scores on quantitative indicators which measure the strength of national identity – including the strength of national pride, the level of support for independence, and the level of national unity – are similar to the scores of countries that are generally considered to have been more successful in their pursuit of nation-building goals after the fall of communism.

*National Pride.* A strong national identity entails high levels of positive affect toward the nation, and pride is one of the most important dimensions of affect in the sphere of social identity.<sup>6</sup> Table 1 below compares Moldova's score on national pride to the scores of other post-communist countries. A question, "How proud are you to be a citizen of Moldova?" in 2006 elicited the following responses: 12 percent of respondents said they were 'very proud', 56 percent 'proud', 25 percent 'not so proud', 5 percent 'not proud at all', and 2 percent provided no answer.<sup>7</sup> The structure of the response options to this question in surveys conducted by the Moldovan think tank, the Institute for Public Policy (IPP), since 2003 allows the results for Moldova to be compared with responses to a nearly identical question on national pride in the 1999-2000 edition of the European Values Survey conducted in a large number of European countries.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of political mobilization of a titular group and ethnic minorities during transition years see, among others, William Crowther, "Ethnic Politics and the Post-Communist Transition in Moldova", *Nationalities Papers* 26 (1): 147,1998; and Charles King, "The Moldovans: Romania, Russia and the Politics of Culture", Hoover Institution Press, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> On conflicts in Transnistria and Gagauzia see, for example, Jeff Chinn and Steven D. Roper, Territorial Autonomy in Gagauzia, *Nationality Papers*, Vol.26, No.1, 1998, pp. 87 – 101; and Neukirch, Claus, "Autonomy and Conflict-Transformation: The Gagauz Territorial Autonomy in the Republic of Moldova," in Kinga Gal, ed., *Minority Governance in Europe*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Vlad Spanu, "Why is Moldova Poor and Economically Volatile?", in Ann Lewis, "The EU & Moldova. On a Fault-line of Europe", Federal Trust for Education and Research, London, 2004, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Stephen Shulman, "Ukrainian Nation-Building", *Problems of Post-Communism*, September-October 2005, pp. 32-47.

<sup>7</sup> IPP Barometer at <http://www.ipp.md/barometru.php?l=en>

<sup>8</sup> Adopted from Stephen Shulman, "Ukrainian Nation-Building", *Problems of Post-Communism*, September-October 2005, pp. 32-47.

### Table 1 here

As Table 1a indicates, Moldova's score puts the country at the lower end of the list of post-communist nations rated according to the strength of national pride. Yet the Moldovans feel more pride about their country than their Ukrainian neighbors or citizens of two out of the three Baltic states.

The goals of national integration and unity can be achieved only if citizens' affective orientation towards their country is similarly intensive across different ethnic groups. Table 1b provides details on responses by respondents from different ethnic groups. The table provides data on Ukraine for comparative purposes. The poll results suggest that a substantial number of Moldova's ethnic minority communities have developed a strong attachment to the country. 56 percent of ethnic Russian respondents and almost 60 percent of ethnic Ukrainian respondents claimed to be very proud or proud of being a citizen of the Republic of Moldova. These numbers are especially significant if one compares them with the response of ethnic Russians in Ukraine. Only 32 percent of the latter group claimed to feel very proud or proud of being a citizen of Ukraine.

*Support for Independence.* While a substantial part of the Moldovan political and intellectual elite that rose to prominence in the early 1990s favored unification with Romania, public opinion has consistently and overwhelmingly opposed such a move. The March 1994 referendum on independence, which was designed to counteract ideological messages and policy initiatives advocated by this group of elite<sup>9</sup>, was an important milestone in Moldova's political development. Despite calls from the pro-Romanian camp for a boycott of the referendum, more than 75 percent of voters participated in it. 95 percent of these voters rejected unification with Romania in favor of an independent Republic of Moldova.<sup>10</sup>

Unlike surveys of public opinion before the 1994 referendum<sup>11</sup>, polls conducted after 1994 rarely included direct questions about popular attitudes towards the idea of unification with Romania. This was partly due to the unambiguous nature of results obtained in the 1994 plebiscite. The lack of explicit attention to this issue in polls conducted by national rather than international or foreign institutions might also be a function of the unwillingness of pro-Romanian intellectuals – who, according to the literature, tend to be overrepresented in academic and research institutions<sup>12</sup> – to including in questionnaires an issue that is likely to reveal a great deal of public opposition towards their preferred policy agenda. The continuing unpopularity of the idea of unification, however, can be deduced from the weak electoral performance of pro-unification forces in electoral campaigns throughout the 1990s and early 2000s.<sup>13</sup>

The low level of popular support for unification does not imply that the idea has been fully discarded and is irrelevant in the current political context. The fact that the unification idea remains a salient point of concern and an important mobilizing force for a substantial number of politically active societal groups is illustrated, for example, by Moldovan society's reaction to the July 2006 Basescu's initiative. In July 2006 the Romanian president, Basescu, issued an ambiguously worded appeal to the authorities in Chisinau and the Moldovan people "to join together with Romania the European Union."<sup>14</sup> While the Romanian president did not provide any details on what exactly he meant, his speech caused a major uproar among Moldovan

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<sup>9</sup> Vladimir Socor, *RFE/RL Daily Report*, no. 186, 29 September 1994, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Rudolf A. Mark, "Progress Amid Crisis", *Transition*, 15 February 1995.

<sup>11</sup> Some results on the issue of unification from the pre-1994 opinion polls are analyzed in Vladimir Socor, *RFE/RL Daily Report*, no. 186, 29 September 1994.

<sup>12</sup> Stefan Ihrig, "Romanian vs. Moldovanism-National Identity Negotiated in History Teaching in Moldova", paper delivered at the ASN-Convention, April 2005

<sup>13</sup> C. King. Marking Time in the Middle Ground: Contested Identities and Moldovan Foreign Policy. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 19:60, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Raisa Lozinschi, Mariana Rață, "Unirea se amina," *Jurnal de Chisinau*, nr. 4 July 2006.

politicians and analysts. While some accused the Romanian leader of pursuing the old goals of Romanian foreign policy that are perceived as directed towards the destruction of Moldovan statehood<sup>15</sup>, others moved to establish a public committee in support of the Basescu Initiative.<sup>16</sup> As will be discussed in more detail in the second section of this paper, the idea of unification is an integral part of the belief system in one of two competing versions of the ethnic identity of the titular group. As such, variations on the theme of unification are likely to remain politically salient in Moldovan society.

*National Integration.* The attitudes of representatives of majority and minority groups towards each other and their evaluation of the state of inter-ethnic relations can serve as an important source of information about the extent to which the process of national integration in newly established states is successful. As the discussion of issues of national pride and support for independence in this chapter has already illustrated, a large-scale survey is a useful way to assess group attitudes. It is also the most commonly used method for gathering such information. In one influential study based on such a survey conducted in 1998, the researchers constructed two aggregate indexes based on respondents' answers to a number of related questions. One index summarized the attitudes of titulars and was conceptualized as an aggregate measure of inclusionary attitudes toward minorities. The other used the responses of non-titulars to assess their willingness to be integrated into the titular culture. This study, which was framed as a comparative assessment of attitudes in Moldova and Estonia, found that ethnic Moldovans were more willing to include non-titulars than ethnic Estonians. Non-titulars in Moldova, however, were less willing to be integrated in the national community than non-titulars in Estonia.<sup>17</sup>

Survey data compiled by Moldova's IPP can be used to analyze respondents' assessment of the state of inter-ethnic relations. One indirect measure available from a longitudinal study was derived from providing respondents with a list of options and asking them to select the three issues that they were most concerned about at the time. The results of this survey, which has been conducted on a semi-annual basis since 1998, shows that the number of respondents who indicated that ethnic relations was one of the problems they were concerned about the most, varied between two and five percent throughout the entire period. At the same time, problems of poverty, prices, and unemployment were consistently named as the most important by between 20 and 60 percent of respondents.<sup>18</sup> In a special ethno barometer study commissioned by the IPP in 2005, respondents were also asked whether relations between their ethnic group and other ethnic groups were better or worse than fifteen years ago. Overall, a larger percentage of respondents from Moldova's main minority groups – Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, and Bulgarians – stated that their relations with other ethnic groups, including the titular group, had improved. A slightly higher percentage of representatives of the titular group, on the other hand, believed that their relations with all mentioned minority groups, with the exception of Ukrainians, became worse rather than better.<sup>19</sup>

Ethno-territorial conflicts, which are the legacy of ethno-political mobilization in the early 1990s<sup>20</sup>, constitute the most serious challenge for national integration in Moldova. One of

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<sup>15</sup> On the evolution of official Romanian policy towards Moldova see, for example, European Institute of Romania – Pre-accession impact studies III. Romania and The Republic of Moldova – Between the European Neighborhood Policy and the Prospect of EU Enlargement.

<sup>16</sup> Editorial, "Committee Supporting Joint EU Entry with Romania Set Up in Moldova," <http://www.azi.md/news?ID=40079>, Moldova Azi, 12/07/2006

<sup>17</sup> Pal Kolsto and Hans Olav Melberg "Integration, alienation and conflict in Estonia and Moldova at the societal level : A comparison" in Pal Kolsto, *National Integration and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Societies : the Cases of Estonia and Moldova*, Lanham, MD : Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, pp.31-70.

<sup>18</sup> Various issues of survey reports, Institute of Public Policy (IPP), [www.ipp.md](http://www.ipp.md)

<sup>19</sup> Etnobarometer - Republic of Moldova, October 2005, at <http://www.ipp.md/barometru1.php?l=en&id=26>  
The only exception in the stated pattern of minority groups' attitudes towards other ethnic groups was that 24 ethnic Ukrainians believed that their relations with Moldovans improved over the fifteen year period, while 28 percent believed that they worsened.

<sup>20</sup> See Chinn, Jeff, and Steven D. Roper. 1998. "Territorial Autonomy in Gagauzia". *Nationalities Papers* 26 (1): 87-101; William Crowther, "Ethnic Politics and the Post-Communist Transition in Moldova", *Nationalities Papers* 26

those conflicts – involving the Gagauz minority in the republic’s south – has been relatively successfully managed. While the 1994 constitutional autonomy arrangement, which was adopted to accommodate the Gagauz’ claims for self-determination, generates a considerable amount of tension between the national centre and the autonomous region due to the ambiguity of the document’s provisions on the separation of powers, the functioning of autonomy is generally considered to be a successful case of conflict management.<sup>21</sup> In contrast, the Transnistrian conflict remains frozen. A substantial portion of Moldova’s territory has the status of a de-facto independent state and the prospects for reintegration of the Transnistrian region into Moldova remain rather grim due to repeated failures of different rounds of conflict negotiation talks to generate agreement on conflict settlement.<sup>22</sup>

The semi-authoritarian nature of the Transnistrian regime makes assessing public attitudes in the region, especially on the issue of reintegration, very problematic. With the exception of data reported in the study by Kolsto and Melberg<sup>23</sup>, all other types of attitudinal data cited above do not include information on opinions held by respondents from the Transnistrian region. While there is significant evidence pointing to the existence of a substantial degree of genuine popular support for the current regime in Transnistria, it is also obvious that the regime uses its oppressive capabilities to manufacture consent and to limit the ability of pro-integration politicians and civil society leaders to articulate a vision which is different from the Transnistrian authorities’ goals of achieving independence and eventual integration into the Russian Federation.<sup>24</sup> The results of the last of several referendums held in Transnistria on the issue of independence indicated again the existence of a very high level of public support for independence. According to the Transnistrian central electoral commission, 78.6 percent of eligible voters took part in the September 2006 referendum and 97.2 percent cast their vote in support of independence and subsequent joining of the Russian Federation.<sup>25</sup>

Given the level of harassment that Transnistrian opposition leaders face, the scope of restrictions on open democratic contestation, and the degree of penetration of the regime’s security services into civil society, it is difficult to qualify any election or plebiscite held in Transnistria as free and fair. Under a democratic system, chances of obtaining results similar to those reported in the 2006 referendum would be rather low given that pluralism would allow people with alternative view of the future for Transnistria communicate their ideas to public. The existence of a high level of unanimity on the issue of independence in Transnistria is also problematic if one takes into consideration the heterogeneity of the Transnistrian population and the alleged discontent of the largely rural and underrepresented ethnic Moldovan population. Even according to the official Transnistrian statistics, which critics say under represents the actual number of ethnic Moldovans, the latter constitutes the largest ethnic group in the region. The bottom right column in Appendix I reports the official results of the 2004 Transnistrian census, according to which 31.9 percent of the population are Moldovans, 30.3 percent are Russians, 28.8 percent are Ukrainians, with the remainder being from smaller ethnic groups.

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(1): 147,1998; and Charles King, “*The Moldovans: Romania, Russia and the Politics of Culture*”, Hoover Institution Press, 2000.

<sup>21</sup>Neukirch, Claus, “Autonomy and Conflict-Transformation: The Gagauz Territorial Autonomy in the Republic of Moldova,” in Kinga Gal, ed., *Minority Governance in Europe*. Budapest: Open Society Institute, 2002; and John A. Webster, “*Model for Europe? An Evaluation of Moldova’s Autonomy for the Gagauz*”, April 2005.

<sup>22</sup>Oleh Protsyk, “Democratisation as a Means of Conflict Resolution in Moldova”, in *European Yearbook of Minority Issues, Vol.4, 2004/5*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Leiden, Boston, 2006, pp. 723-737; Oleh Protsyk, “Moldova’s Dilemmas in Democratizing and Reintegrating Transnistria” *Problems of Post-Communism*, July-August 2006 ; Steven D. Roper, “Federalization and Constitution-Making as an Instrument of Conflict Resolution”, *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 12, n.4, Fall 2004; and Wim van Meurs, “Moldova ante portas: the EU Agendas of Conflict Management and Wider Europe”, *Internationale et Strategique*, n. 54, Summer 2004.

<sup>23</sup>Kolsto and Melberg, *Ibid*.

<sup>24</sup>Oleh Protsyk, “Moldova’s Dilemmas in Democratizing and Reintegrating Transnistria” *Problems of Post-Communism*, July-August 2006

<sup>25</sup>Igor Botan, “Democracy and governing in Moldova,” *Adept E-journal*, year IV, issue 81, 16-30 September 2006.

Overall, the relatively high degree of tolerance and acceptance that exists at the inter-personal level between members of different ethnic groups both on the right bank of Moldova and in Transnistria provides some hope for the reintegration process. This is the case even if differences in attitudes between members of the same ethnic group from different banks of the Nistru river, which are reported, for example, in Kolsto and Melberg's study, are taken into consideration.<sup>26</sup> Relations between members of major ethnic groups in the case of the Transnistrian conflict seem to be much less antagonistic than, for example, relations between ethnic groups especially in more recent years in the case of ethno-territorial conflicts in Georgia<sup>27</sup>.

### **Contested nature of the titular group's ethnic identity**

While pointing to conceptual ambiguities and the problematic utility of ethnic-civic typologies of nationalism, some recent studies also highlight the importance of what is usually conceptualized as a set of ethnic characteristics for the success of any nation-building project.<sup>28</sup> Popular support of state institutions and shared political values and principles are often seen as being insufficient for constructing a nation. Ethnic characteristics based on a belief of common descent and/or shared historical, linguistic, and religious experiences are thus essential for creating a sense of a 'natural' political community. When there is a high degree of disagreement about the content of the ethnic identity of a titular group, as is the case in Moldova, nation building projects face some additional challenges.

Moldovanism and Romanianism are two competing visions of the titular group's ethnic identity in Moldova. Both are comprised of well elaborated sets of values and beliefs that serve as a basis for political mobilization and provide coherence for policy agendas and political goals articulated in the public domain. Borrowing some insights from social anthropology literature, Table 2 below provides a simplified schematic representation of the major features of the rival ethnic identity complexes.

#### **Table 2 here**

For Moldovanists, the essential unifying features of their identity complex are history, culture, religion, and language, all of which are claimed as being distinct and different from Romanian. The advocates of Romanianism question the distinctiveness of these characteristics and see them, at most, as regional variations of a common Romanian history and pan-Romanian culture. Thus Moldovan and Romanian identities are seen by Romanianists as complimentary, while for Moldovanists they are competitive. Adherence to a different set of beliefs about the titular group's identity entails different preferences about domestic and foreign policy. Moldovanism calls for the promotion of a Moldovan version of culture, history, and symbols, and, at least in its classical version, for a multi-vector foreign policy orientation. Romanianism advocates placing culture, history, and symbols in a pan-Romanian context and has an unequivocal Western orientation in terms of foreign policy.

This schematized presentation of the core features of the different identity complexes does not capture the nuances and dynamics of the internal evolution in belief systems associated with each of these complexes. The resurgence of ethnic sentiment in the late Soviet period, and the acquisition of statehood status after the Soviet breakdown, precipitated a surge of interest in identity-related matters. These matters also became the subject of inquiry for scholars from

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<sup>26</sup> Kolsto and Melberg's study found, among other things, that the perception of the state of inter-ethnic relations in Moldova differs among the members of the same ethnic group depending on place of residence. For example, ethnic Russians from Transnistria considered inter-ethnic relations in Moldova to be much worse than ethnic Russians from right bank Moldova. See Kolsto and Melberg in Kolsto, *Ibid*.

<sup>27</sup> Jonathan Wheatley. *Georgia from National Awakening to Rose Revolution: Delayed Transition in the Former Soviet Union*, Ashgate Publishing, 2005.

<sup>28</sup> See Brubaker Rogers, "The Manichean Myth: Rethinking the Distinction between 'Civic' and 'Ethnic' Nationalism", in Hanspeter Kriesi *et al.* (eds.), *Nation and National Identity: the European Experience in Perspective*, Chur: Ruediger, 1999.

various academic disciplines. A very substantial literature has developed that analyzes historical, linguistic, and cultural debates over the meanings of the two rival versions of the titular group's identity in Moldova.<sup>29</sup>

What follows here is a short review of how differences on identity matters were represented in elites' competition over the right to formulate identity-related policies and to speak on behalf of the titular group. Debates over Moldovanism and Romanianism provided the strongest inspiration for political action in the early 1990s. The Romanist orientation of key leaders in the Popular Front, a mass political movement that dominated political life in Moldova at the beginning of the 1990s, explains the political salience of a policy agenda associated with a Romanian identity complex. The passage of a language law that proclaimed the titular group's language as the state language of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, the switch from the Cyrillic to Latin alphabet, the adoption of the Romanian anthem *Desteapata-te Roman* (Arise, Romanian!), and the introduction of the history of Romanians into the educational curricula, can all be regarded as outcomes of the pursuit of policies articulated by the proponents of Romanism.

The rapid decline of the Popular Front's popularity and its organizational disintegration dramatically decreased the political clout of groups and organizations associated with Romanism, but did not mean that political battles over the symbols associated with different identity complexes ceased. At the same time, Moldovanists, whose political victory over competitors from the ranks of the Popular Front was solidified by the results of the 1994 parliamentary elections, chose to focus on only some of the potential conflicts over identity-rooted policy issues with the proponents of Romanianism.

The 1994 referendum on independence was one of these battles. Initiated by the Moldovan president Snegur, who is often credited with providing programmatic coherence to Moldovanism in his public speeches<sup>30</sup>, the referendum marked, at least temporally, a closing of the window of opportunity for the active pursuit of the unification agenda. The referendum results, which were easily forecasted both by referendum supporters and opponents, had a demobilizing effect on the Romanianist camp and took the unification issue off the active political agenda.

Among the battles with Romanianists that Moldovanists choose not to take up in the early days was the question of teaching history. Starting in the early 1990s the "History of Romanians" became the official version of history taught in Moldovan schools. Textbooks on the "History of Romanians" used the term "Romanian" to describe Moldova's titular group and its language. The textbooks also typically presented a narrative that encompassed all the Romanian lands and devoted much space to the history of the other Romanian political units, such as Transylvania, Bucovina, as well as the old kingdom.<sup>31</sup> Hesitation on the part of successive Moldovanist governments to change the teaching of history, which undermines the very legitimacy of the Moldovanist discourse, is attributed to the predominance and

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<sup>29</sup> Stefan Ihrig, "Romanian vs. Moldovanism-National Identity Negotiated in History Teaching in Moldova", paper delivered at the ASN-Convention, April 2005; Stefan Ihrig, "Welche Nation in welcher Geschichte? Eigen- und Fremdbilder der nationalen Diskurse in der Historiographie und den Geshchtsschulbuchern in der Republik Moldova, 1991-2005", Series Post-Soviet Society and Politics, Stuttgart/Hannover, forthcoming 2007; Nicholas Dima, "Moldova and the Transdnestr Republic", East European Monographs, Boulder, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 2001; Donald L. Dyer, "Studies in Moldovan: The History, Culture, Language and Contemporary Politics of the People of Moldova", East European Monographs, Boulder, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 2002; Vladimir Solonari, "Narrative, Identity, State: History Teaching in Moldova", *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 16, n.2. Spring 2002, pp. 414-446; Charles King, "The Moldovans: Romania, Russia and the Politics of Culture", Hoover Institution Press, 2000; and William Crowther "Ethnic Politics and the Post-Communist Transition in Moldova", *Nationalities Papers*, Vol.26, n.1, March 1998; Luke March "From Moldovanism to Europeanization ? Moldova's Communists and Nation-Building," *Nationalities Papers*, forthcoming.

<sup>30</sup> Stefan Ihrig, "Romanian vs. Moldovanism-National Identity Negotiated in History Teaching in Moldova", paper delivered at the ASN-Convention, April 2005

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

entrenchment of Romanianism-oriented intellectuals and artists in educational and cultural institutions, as well as to the ability of Romanianists to mobilize a significant number of people for staging public protests against plans to reform the teaching of history.<sup>32</sup> The situation with history textbooks was probably perceived by the Moldovanist governments during the 1990s as less threatening for their political future than the perpetuation of ambiguity about the prospects for unification, which they effectively minimized by holding the 1994 referendum on independence.

Recently, however, the government has succeeded in changing the teaching of history. In doing so it relied on a different tactic than its predecessors in the middle of the 1990s. Securing support from the Council of Europe for replacing the “History of Romanians” with the “World History: Integrated History” curriculum was essential for the peaceful start of government-sponsored education reform in 2003-2004. The new curriculum proposes to defuse some of the tensions over history by teaching the development of the Moldovan state within the context of European history. However, the critics of the new curriculum are still strong and they point out that the Council of Europe has not made expert conclusions on the “Integrated History” approach yet, but only on the method of introducing this course into the school system.<sup>33</sup>

The priorities of Moldovanists were also reflected in the Nationality Concept, a law passed by the parliament in December 2003<sup>34</sup>. The law embodies key values of Moldovanism and, while outlining numerous aspects and goals of nationality policy in Moldova, pays special attention to key concerns of advocates of Moldovanism. For example, the law stipulates that the tasks of nationality policy include neutralizing recurrent attempts to ‘demoldovanize’ the titular group and to negate the existence of the ‘Moldovan nation’. The law reaffirms the use of the term ‘Moldovan’ for the name of the titular group and for the name of the titular group’s language. It also outlines some of the key similarities and differences between the Moldovan and Romanian ‘people’ and their respective languages.<sup>35</sup> As the discussion of the provisions of the law by the authors of the draft and supporters of the law indicate, strengthening Moldvanist identity and highlighting the value of Moldovan statehood were seen as important objectives of the bill.<sup>36</sup>

The results of the 2004 census further underscored the successes of the Moldovanist project. The choice of ethnic self-identification in the census was highly politicized due to the presence of ‘Moldovan’ and ‘Romanian’ answer options in the census question that asked about ethnic affiliation. As the census results reported in the bottom left column of Appendix I indicate, only 2.2 percent of citizens chose to identify themselves as Romanians, while 75.8 percent stated that they were Moldovans.<sup>37</sup> There were numerous allegations, somewhat supported by the Council of Europe observers, that ethnic affiliation numbers were rigged.<sup>38</sup> Although the matter was further complicated by the census’ finding that 18.8 percent of citizens that identified themselves as Moldovans declared Romanian to be their native language, Moldovanists claimed that the census results support their version of the ethnic identification of the titular group.

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid

<sup>33</sup>Moldova Azi, 02/10/2006, <http://www.azi.md/news?ID=41236>

<sup>34</sup>Luke March, Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Концепция национальной политики Республики Молдова, Мониторул Официал ал Р. Молдова, N.1 –5/24, 01.01.2004.

<sup>36</sup> Grek, I. and A. Negutsa, “Kontsepsiya gosudarstvennoj national’noj politiki I ee protivniki,” *Nezavisimaya Moldova*, 7.10.03; Shornikov, P. “Kontsepsiya nadezhdy,” *Nezavisimaya Moldova*, 23.10.03

<sup>37</sup> Attempts to agree with Transnistrian authorities on conducting census work in the Transnistrian region failed and Moldovan census workers were not able to collect data in the Transnistrian region. The region’s authorities conducted their own census, results of which are reported in the bottom right column of Appendix I.

<sup>38</sup> John Kelly, the head of Council of Europe’s group of observers stated that 7 out of 10 observer groups reported a significant number of cases when census-takers recommended respondents to declare themselves Moldovans rather than Romanians. Rusnac Corneliu ‘2 milioane vorbesc ‘moldovenește’, 500 de mii româna’, BBC Romanian.com, 10.04.2006, at

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/romanian/news/story/2006/04/printable/060410\\_moldova\\_recensamant\\_limba.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/romanian/news/story/2006/04/printable/060410_moldova_recensamant_limba.shtml)

Most of the Moldovanist victories listed above are directly linked to the dominance of the Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM) on the country's political scene starting from the late 1990s. This fact calls for a more detailed look into how the party system responded to identity challenges and how it processed diverse ethnic claims raised by different segments of society.

### **Ethnic diversity and party system institutionalization**

The contested identity of the titular group is not the only source of ethnic diversity in Moldova. The republic started the post-communist transition as the country with the second largest share of minority population among the republics of the former Soviet Union.<sup>39</sup> About 35.5 percent of the population of the Moldavian SSR at the time of the 1989 census belonged to different minority groups. Appendix I provides details on the ethnic breakdown of Moldova's population and traces changes in ethnic composition over time. Appendix II gives details on the geographic distribution of the ethnic minority population in the country.

Ethnic identity influenced the voting behavior of the population throughout the post-communist period.<sup>40</sup> Parties, however, only rarely formulated their appeals to voters in predominantly ethnic terms. Neither party membership nor constituency support was exclusively defined by ethnic affiliations. As a number of analysts pointed out, parties trying to capture the minority vote usually combined ethnic appeals with a leftist ideological agenda<sup>41</sup>. The Socialist Bloc (the Socialist Party and Edinstvo) was especially successful in attracting minority support in the 1994 parliamentary elections. The Party of Communists of the PCRM enjoyed a disproportionately high level of minority support in the 1998 and 2001 parliamentary elections.<sup>42</sup>

Due to its electoral weight and political prominence, the evolution of the ideological position of the communist party is especially important for understanding both the general structuring of the Moldovan political system and the main parties' positioning on minority-related issues. Paying special attention to the role played by the communist party is warranted by the fact that, as Appendix III indicates, communists have been the largest parliamentary party since 1998. After the 2001 elections, the communists became a government party and enjoyed, first, a constitutional majority status, and, then, after the 2005 parliamentary elections, a simple majority status in the Moldovan legislature. The party program on which the communists ran in the 2001 elections included pledges to obtain the status of a second state language for Russian, to make Moldova's relations with the CIS a priority in foreign policy, and to consider joining the Russian-Belorussian Union.

The communists delivered on neither of these promises although their control of the parliament and the presidency, especially during the 2001-2005 term, could have allowed them to introduce these policy changes, which were especially popular among ethnic minority groups, without any need to secure support for these initiatives from other parliamentary groups. What happened instead was a substantial change of policy position by the communists on these issues.

The situation with the Russian language is telling in this respect. The communists faced ambivalent public opinion on the issue of the introduction of Russian as the second state language. One IPP survey conducted approximately a year after the communists assumed power indicated that 46 percent of respondents favored having two state languages while 45 percent supported the status of Moldovan/Romanian as the only state language.<sup>43</sup> Such distribution of

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<sup>39</sup> On ethnic composition of post-Soviet republics see, for example, Pan, Christoph, and Beate Sibylle Pfeil (2003). *National Minorities in Europe*. (Ethnos, 63). Vienna: Braumüller

<sup>40</sup> William Crowther and Yuri Josanu. Moldova. In: *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, edited by Sten Berglund, Joakim Ekman, and Frank H. Aarebrot, Cheltenham, UK:Edward Elgar, 2004, p. 549-593

<sup>41</sup> Igor Botan, 'Entropijnyj character razvitiya mnogopartijnosti v Respublike Moldova,' unpublished manuscript, Chisinau, 2006.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> IPP Barometer, November 2002, at <http://www.ipp.md/barometru.php?l=en>

popular preferences clearly gave room for the communists to try to implement their preferred language policy. While the Russian language was again mentioned as a language of “interethnic communication” in the communists-advocated Nationality Concept, the ruling party refrained from taking practical steps to raise the status of the Russian language. Moreover, the Moldovan President declared that no new attempts would be made to upgrade the status of the Russian language.<sup>44</sup>

Fear of protests on the part of pro-Romanian groups that were traditionally the most successful in political mobilization efforts in Moldova could be one potential explanation of the communists’ decision not to follow up on this electoral promise. Yet, pro-Romanian forces were equally vocal in protesting changes to the history teaching curricula but these protests did not deter the ruling party from gradually implementing changes to education curricula. The difference in communists’ willingness to pursue specific policies in these two distinct areas is probably rooted in the nature of the issues at stake. Changes to history teaching curricula were essential for strengthening Moldovanism, which is a main priority for the communists in the realm of identitarian politics. Introducing Russian as the second state language, on the other hand, was not as essential to the communists’ core beliefs as introducing changes to how history is interpreted and presented in educational establishments.

Even more dramatic changes characterized the communists’ foreign policy. Graph 1a illustrates the extent of this change by drawing on a survey of experts. Party positions are represented by the average scores assigned to each party by a group of experts. Experts were asked to identify party positions on a 10-point Likert-type scale where end-points indicate alternative policy positions that a party might take on each specific policy issue. Graph 1a thus describes experts’ collective opinion about the position of individual parties on the issue of foreign policy orientation.

### **Graph 1 here**

As Graph 1a indicates, there was a profound change in the communists’ position on foreign policy orientation between 2001 and 2006. The party moved to the pro-EU pole and its current position is similar to positions occupied on this issue by the majority of main Moldovan political parties.<sup>45</sup> The extent of the change in the communists’ position is especially dramatic if one considers that there were only minor adjustments in the positions of other relevant parties between 2001 and 2006. As is clear from the graph, none of the parties who enjoy representation in the current parliament – the PCRM, PAMN, PPCD, DPM, and SLP – supports the pro-CIS orientation.

Party bloc Patria-Rodina-Ravnopraviye (PRR) is the only important political force that occupies the pro-CIS position. Although parties that recently started the process of merging into the PRR received almost 8% of the votes in the 2005 parliamentary elections, they were not able to gain representation in parliament due to their inability to cross electoral thresholds that the current legislation envisions for individual parties and party blocks. During the 2005 elections these parties directly appealed to the minority electorate and were using similar slogans on foreign policy and culture-related issues to those used by the communists during the 2001 parliamentary campaign.

The fact that these parties were only partially successful in mobilizing the electorate and winning over minority votes from the communists testifies to the communists’ ability to maintain the trust of voters despite reneging on some of their key electoral promises made in 2001. Voters from minority groups, as well as voters from the ethnic majority, stayed with the communists because of the communists’ record on socio-economic issues. In particular, analysts

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<sup>44</sup> Luke March, “From Moldovanism to Europeanization? Moldova’s Communists and Nation-Building”, *Nationalities Papers*, forthcoming.

<sup>45</sup> The graph represents positions of all political parties that received more than 2 percent of popular vote in the last parliamentary elections. Source: European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) Survey, Chisinau, February 2006.

point to the communists' ability to address the plight of pensioners, which constitute a large and politically active group of electorate. Although improvements in the situation of pensioners were often achieved at the expense of other social groups, the former group's electoral clout was sufficient to provide the communists with a second parliamentary majority in 2005.<sup>46</sup>

As Appendix III indicates, the communists share of the vote in 2005 was only about 4 percent smaller than in 2001. Detailed analysis of voting results suggests that only in one ethnic minority-dominated region, Gagauzia, did the communists lose a very substantial number of votes in the 2005 parliamentary elections in comparison with the 2001 elections. Yet even in Gagauzia the communists managed to obtain about 30 percent share of vote in the 2005 elections. The persistent electoral success of the communists among minority voters suggests that the existence of ethnic cleavages in Moldovan society is not likely to lead to politicized ethnic minority mobilization in the foreseeable future.

Changes in the foreign policy orientation of the communists can have important implications for their identity building project. It might force party ideologues to rethink their conceptualization of 'the other' and 'the same' roles that the West and Russia are currently assigned to. At the same time, the extent of the communists' commitment to European integration is far from certain. The analysts question both the extent and character of this commitment.<sup>47</sup> There is also a substantial resistance of rank and file members to the new course of party leaders. If change in the communists' foreign policy orientation, however, is sustained, the bigger question will be whether the communists are able to bring their voters to share their vision of Moldova's evolution.

The issue on which the communists did not change their position between 2001 and 2006 is their support for the particular vision of unifying features of the titular group's identity. This vision, which is summarized in the term ethnic Moldovanism, serves as an ideological foundation that provides, in the view of the communist ideologues, legitimacy for the idea of Moldovan statehood.<sup>48</sup> Graph 1b gives details on parties' positions on the issue of Moldovanism, which is understood here as a set of policies aimed at fostering Moldovan cultural distinctiveness.

As the graph indicates, the communists, in the experts' view, remained the most consistent supporters of Moldovanism throughout their consecutive terms in government. The PPCD, a party that can claim direct lineage to Moldova's Popular Front of the early 1990s, occupies the most radical and opposite position to the communists' on this issue. Most of the other major political parties positioned themselves as middle-of-the-road or pro-Romanianist political forces. A survey of party functionaries that was conducted simultaneously with the experts' survey revealed that party functionaries from parties other than the PCRM and the P-R-R perceive their own parties' positions on this issue as even more pro-Romanianist than the expert's survey suggests.<sup>49</sup>

Such a distribution of policy preferences among the major political parties in Moldova indicates that the intense contestation over the exact content of the titular group's identity is likely to remain an important feature of political competition in Moldova. The communists' policies directed at instilling the values of Moldovanism in different spheres of public life have so far produced some significant successes. The real test of the vitality of these policies will, however, come only when the electoral fortunes of the communists, the only major political backer of these policies, diminishes.

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<sup>46</sup> Igor Botan, 'Entropijnyj character razvitiya mnogopartijnosti v Respublike Moldova,' unpublished manuscript, Chisinau, 2006.

<sup>47</sup> Botan, Ibid ; March, Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> See on this a monograph by one of the main ideologues of the communist party, Victor Stepaniuc, *Statalitatea poporului moldovenesc*, Chisinau, 2005.

<sup>49</sup> Data from European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) Survey, Chisinau, February 2006.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter reviewed successes and challenges of what can be termed as state-building nationalism in Moldova. It demonstrated that even states whose performance in socio-economic and territorial integrity terms almost puts them into the category of failed states are able to command a considerable level of support for nation-building activities from their citizens. It also highlighted that it is important for studies of nationalism to consider the political implications of uncertainties and ambiguities of the ethnic identity of a titular group. Especially in the context of societies where the identity of the ethnic majority is insecure – and Moldovan society certainly qualifies as such a society – politicization of ethnic differences might proceed along the cultural lines that demarcate different visions of the titular group's identity. In terms of the power of identity issues to structure the political process, inter-ethnic divisions might thus become secondary to the divisions articulated inside the majority group.

The chapter's discussion pointed to the importance of agency in shaping popular attitudes and choosing policy priorities in the cultural realm. The role of the Moldovan communist party in strengthening the dominance of Moldovanism is a case in point. The communists' ability to do this relied heavily on the party's success in alleviating the most extreme forms of economic hardship, which reminds us of the importance of considering the complex linkages between identitarian politics and other ideological realms of political competition.

The outcomes of party competition in a democratic polity are usually uncertain. Voters might choose not to punish their agents - political parties - for not delivering on cultural promises if economic issues are more salient at the moment and parties address economic concerns of the voters. In the long run, such patterns of voting behavior can contribute to the strengthening of socio-economic rather than cultural cleavages in society.

The chapter's presentation also provided support for arguments stressing the role of external factors in shaping identity politics. The role of external factors is ubiquitous. The Moldovan case suggests that, on the one hand, a major shift in foreign policy orientation of the dominant party can have multiple implications for how the goals and priorities of domestic policy in the cultural realm are formulated. On the other hand, the role that Romanian foreign policy plays in Moldova's domestic politics illustrates how vulnerable and inconclusive an identity project might be in the absence of full external validation of such a project.

**Table 1(a): National Pride in Post-Communist European Countries**

<b>Population</b>	<b>Very Proud or Proud (%)</b>
Poland	97
Slovenia	91
Hungary	89
Croatia	87
Romania	86
Latvia	81
Czech Republic	81
Slovakia	77
Belarus	73
Russia	71
Bulgaria	71
Moldova	69
Estonia	67
Ukraine	61
Lithuania	59

**Sources:** The European Values Survey, 1999-2000, for Central and Eastern European Countries and The Institute for Public Policies (IPP), Chisinau, Moldova, April 2003, for Moldova.

**Table 1(b): National Pride in Moldova and Ukraine: Very Proud or Proud (%) Responses, by Ethnicity of Respondents**

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Moldova</b>	<b>Ukraine</b>
Titular Group	71.8	68.5
Russians	56.1	32
Ukrainians (only for Moldova)	59.7	
Others	47.4	N/a

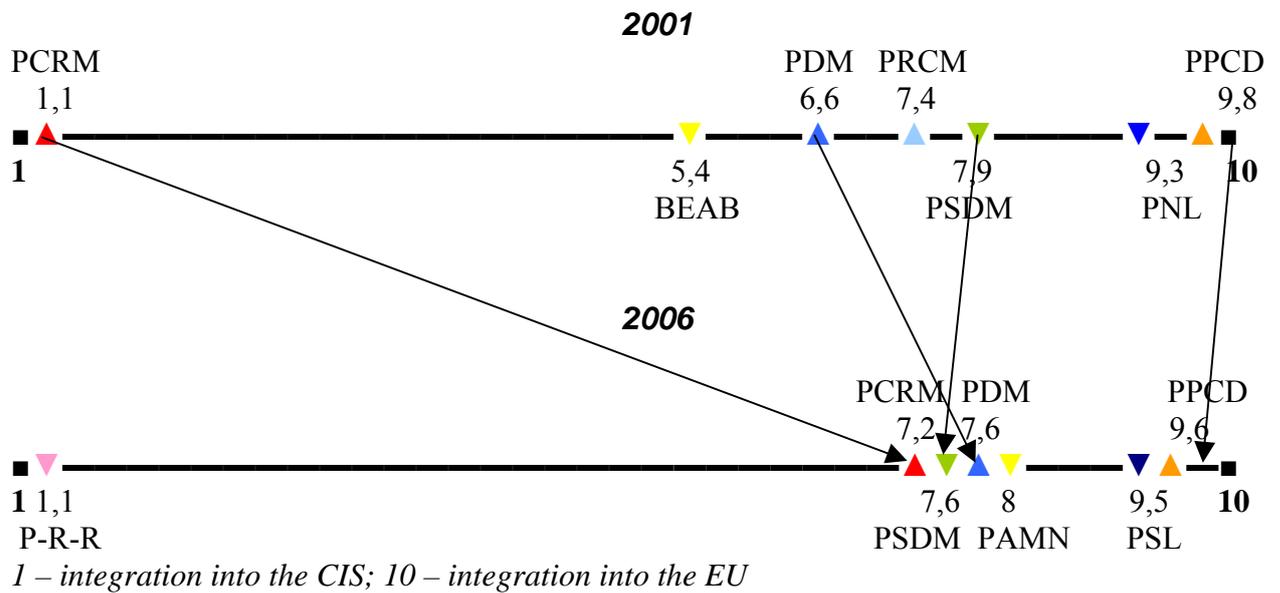
**Sources:** The Institute for Public Policies (IPP), Chisinau, Moldova, 2006 and The Ukrainian Center for Economic and Political Studies (Razumkov Center), Kyiv, Ukraine, 2001.

**Table 2. Alternative Identity Complexes of the Titular Ethnic Group in Moldova**

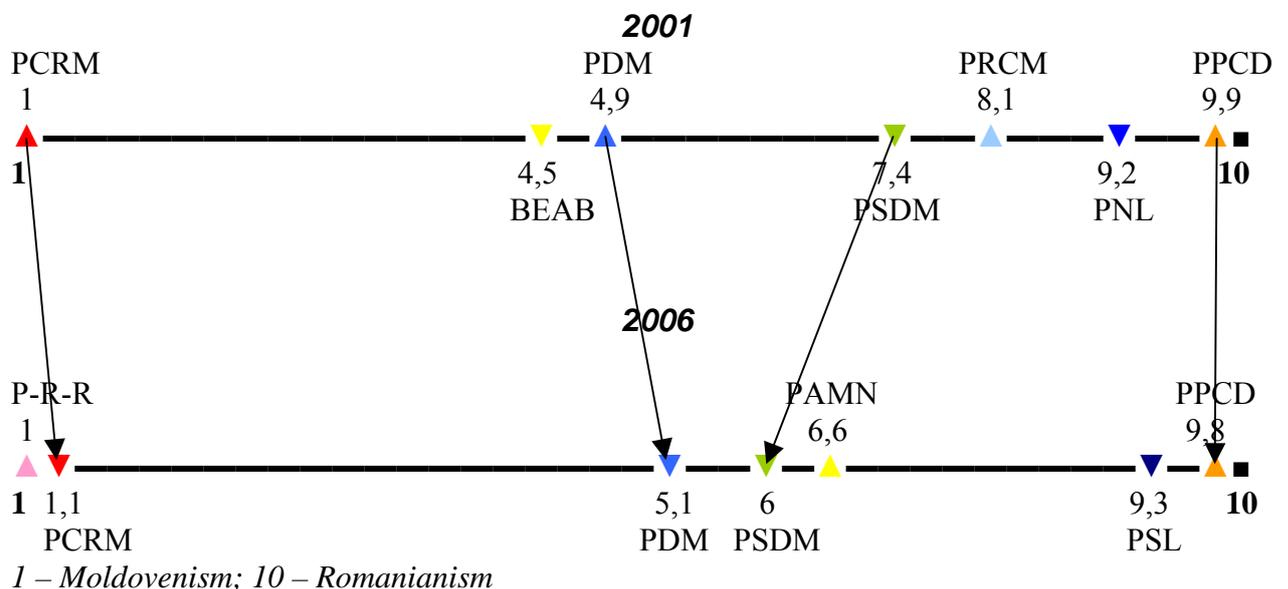
<b>Component</b>	<b>Moldovan Identity</b>	<b>Romanian Identity</b>
<b><i>Basic unifying features</i></b>	Moldovan history Ethnic Moldovan culture Moldovan Orthodox Church Moldovan language	History of Romanians Pan-Romanian culture Romanian Orthodox church Romanian language
<b><i>Basic distinguishing features</i></b>		
Moldovan and Romanian history	Basically dissimilar	Basically similar
Moldovan and Romanian culture	Basically dissimilar	Basically similar
Moldovan and European culture	Basically dissimilar	Basically similar
<b><i>Compatibility of multiple ethnic identities</i></b>		
Moldovan and Romanian identities/loyalties	Competitive	Complementary
<b><i>Domestic Policy</i></b>		
	Preference for Moldovan language, culture, history, symbols.	Preference for Pan-Romanian language, culture, history, symbols.
<b><i>Foreign Policy</i></b>		
	Eastern (multi-vector) orientation	Western orientation

**Graph 1. Spatial Representation of Policy Positions of Moldovan Political Parties** (survey of experts, party positions as averages of respondents' scores)

**1a. Foreign policy orientation: integration into the CIS *versus* integration into the EU**



**1b. Identitarian Politics: Moldovenism versus Romanianism**



**Legend:** PCRM - Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova; PAMN - Party "Our Moldova Alliance"; PPCD - Christians Democratic People's Party; DPM - Democratic Party of Moldova; SLP - Social-Liberal Party; SDPM - Social-Democratic Party of Moldova; P-R-R - Patria-Rodina-Ravnopravie; BEAB - Electoral Bloc "Braghiș' Alliance"; PRCM - Party of Renaissance and Conciliation of Moldova; NLP - National Liberal Party.

**Source:** European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) Survey, Chisinau, February 2006.

## Appendix I. Census results for Moldova, 1959 - 2004

<u>Moldova 2004*</u>			<u>Moldova 1989</u>		
Nationality	In 1000s	In %	Nationality	In 1000s	In %
Moldovans	2.741,770	70	Moldovans	2.790,7	64.4
Ukrainians	444,183	11,28	Ukrainians	560,4	13.8
Russians	367,933	9,34	Russians	599,7	12.9
Gagauz	152,755	3,88	Gagauz	152,7	3.5
Bulgarians	78,170	1,98	Bulgarians	87,7	2
Others	140,485	3,57	Jews	65,6	1.5
No answers	13,533	0,34	Others	78,1	1.8

<u>Moldova 1979</u>			<u>Moldova 1970</u>		
Nationality	In 1000s	In %	Nationality	In 1000s	In %
Moldovans	2.525,6	63.9	Moldovans	2.303,9	64.5
Ukrainians	505,7	14.2	Ukrainians	506,5	14.1
Russians	560,6	12.8	Russians	414,4	11.6
Gagauz	138	3.4	Gagauz	124,9	3.4
Bulgarians	80,6	2	Bulgarians	73,7	2
Jews	80,1	2	Jews	98	2.7
Others	58,8	1.4	Others	47,2	1.7

<u>Moldova 1959</u>		
Nationality	In 1000s	In %
Moldovans	1.887,5	65.4
Ukrainians	420,8	14.6
Russians	292,9	10.2
Gagauz	95,8	3.3
Bulgarians	61,6	2.1
Jews	95,1	3.3
Others	25,5	1.1

<u>Moldova Right Bank 2004</u>			<u>Transnistria 2004</u>		
Nationality	In 1000s	In %	Nationality	In 1000s	In %
Moldovans	2.564,565	75.8	Moldovans	177,204	31.9
Ukrainians	284,199	8.4	Ukrainians	159,984	28.8
Russians	199,616	5.9	Russians	168,316	30.3
Gagauz	148,866	4.4	Bulgarians	13,887	2.5
Romanians	74,433	2.2	Gagauz	3,888	0.7
Bulgarians	64,283	1.9	Belorussian	3,888	0.7
Others	33,833	1	Germans	2,222	0.4
No answers	13,533	0.4	Others	26,109	4.7

\*Combined data from separate censuses conducted by the authorities of Republic of Moldova (5-12 October 2004) and authorities of Transnistria (11-18 November 2004).

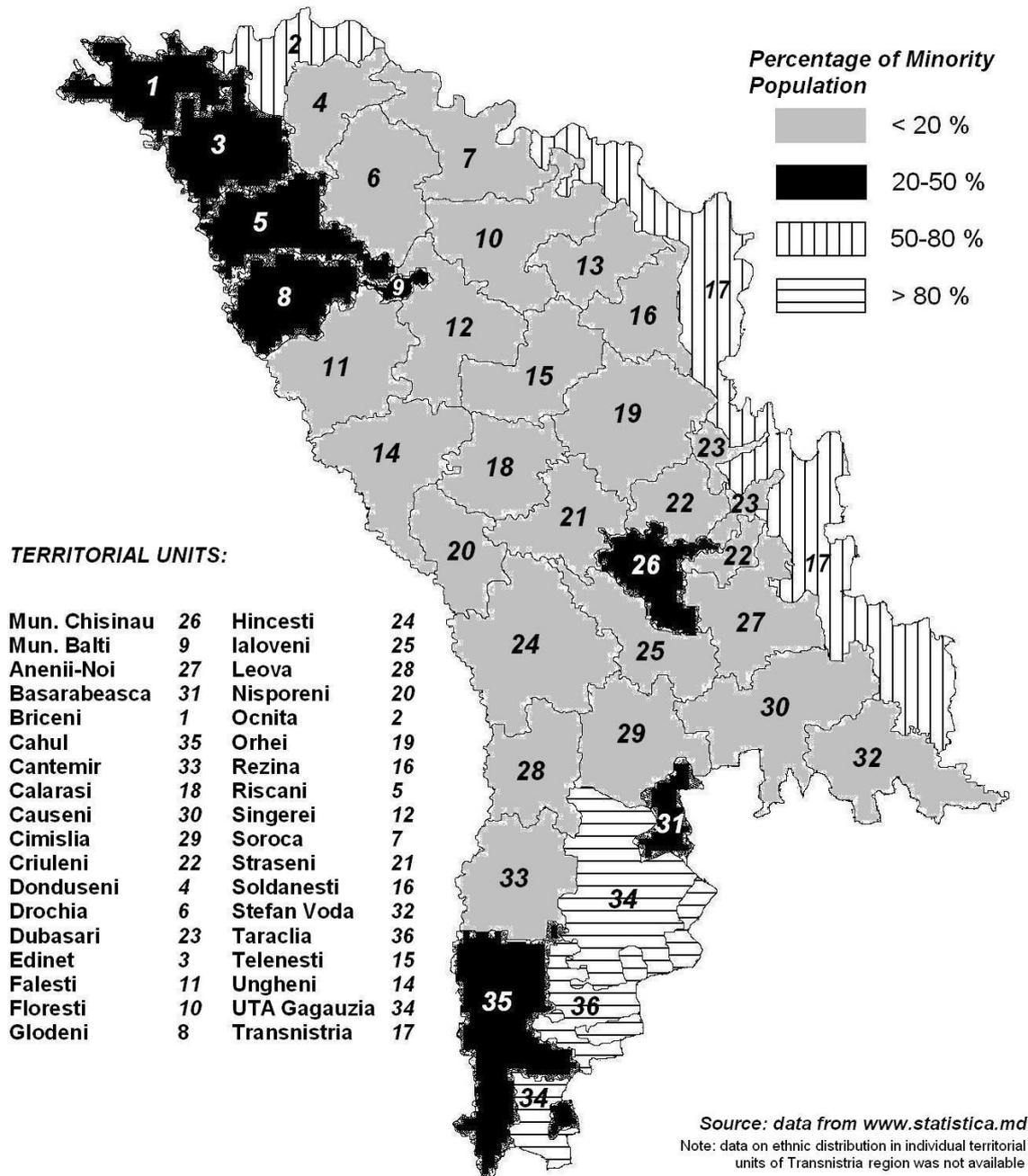
### Sources:

For Moldovan Census 1959-1970-1979 and 1989 see Airat R. Aklaev "Democratisation and Ethnic Peace. Patterns of Ethnopolitical Crisis Management in Post-Soviet Settings", Ashgate Publishing Company, Vermont, USA, 1999.

For Moldovan census 2004 see <http://www.statistica.md/recensamint.php>.

For Transnistrian census 2004 see <http://www.olvia.idknet.com/ol37-09-05.htm> and [www.languages-study.com/demography/pridnestrovie.html](http://www.languages-study.com/demography/pridnestrovie.html)

Appendix II. *Geographic Distribution of Minority Population in Moldova, 2006*



**Appendix. III Election Results in Moldova** (results for parties represented in parliament)

Political Parties	2005			2001			1998			1994		
	Votes	Percentage	Seats									
Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM)	716.336	45.98%	56	794.808	50.07%	71	487.002	30.01%	40			
Christian Democratic Peoples (PPCD)	141.341	9.07%	11	130.810	8.24%	19						
Electoral Bloc "Moldova Democrats" (BMD)	444.377	28.53%	34									
Electoral Bloc "Braghis Allianc" (BEAB)				212.071	13.36%	11						
Electoral Bloc Democratic (CDM)							315.206	19.42%	26			
Electoral Bloc for a Democratic and Prosperous Moldova (PMDP)							294.691	18.16%	24			
Party of Democratic Forces (PFD)							143.428	8.84%	11			
Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova (PDAM)										766.589	43.18%	56
Socialist Party and "Unitate-Edinstvo" Movement Bloc (PSMU)										390.584	22%	28
Peasants' and Intellectuals' Bloc (BTI)										163.513	9.21%	11
Alliance of the Popular Christian Democratic Front (AFPCD)										133.606	7.53%	9
<b>Total Seats</b>			<b>101</b>			<b>101</b>			<b>101</b>			<b>104</b>

**Sources :** For elections 2005 see [www.elections2005.md/results/total/](http://www.elections2005.md/results/total/) (Adept). For elections in 2001, 1998, 1994 see S.Berglund, J.Ekman and F.H.Aarebrot, "The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe", Second Edition, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, 2004

