

Energy and Fuels

Among the most pressing difficulties facing the republic's economy is a near total lack of energy resources. Moldova's own primary energy sources consist of small hydroelectric power plants on the Nistru River at Dubasari and Camenca (Kamenka in Russian); minor thermal electric power plants at Balti, Rîbnita (Rybnitsa in Russian), Ungheni (Ungeny in Russian), and Chisinau; and firewood, all of which combine to meet only 1 percent of domestic needs. A coal-fired power plant was under construction at Cuciurgan (Kuchurgan in Russian), in Transnistria, in 1995.

Another source of problems is the fact that almost 90 percent of power and 100 percent of power transformers are produced in politically troubled Transnistria. In addition, Transnistria's adversarial "government" has frequently disrupted the flow of fuels into Moldova from Russia and Ukraine.

Moldova has an electric-power production capacity of 3.1 million kilowatts, and it produced 11.1 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity in 1993. By 1994 electricity production had decreased 14 percent in comparison with 1993. Over the same period, thermal electric production decreased 22 percent.

Despite its lack of energy resources, the country continues to export some of the electricity it generates to Romania and Bulgaria. However, these exports have been cut back (the countries receive electricity only to the extent to which they supply fuel). Some electricity shortages have occurred in Moldova, mostly in winter, and have been dealt with by rationing. Much of the country's generating equipment (which is not produced by Moldova) and approximately one-quarter of its transmission and distribution lines are in need of repair.

In the early 1990s, energy shortages were prevalent, and energy availability was sporadic, leading to disruptions in economic activity. Imports of coal, natural gas, diesel fuel, and gasoline declined by an estimated average of 40 percent from 1991 to 1992. In 1994 the picture was somewhat different. Gasoline imports were up 33.6 percent, and coal imports increased 15.4 percent, while imports of diesel fuel, mazut, and natural gas fell 25 percent, 51.5 percent, and 3.1 percent, respectively.

In 1994 Moldova was dependent on Russia for 90 percent of the fuel needed for its electric-power generation plants: diesel oil (88,000 tons), gasoline (65,000 tons), fuel oil (365,000 tons), and natural gas (2.8 billion cubic meters). By March

1995, Moldova owed Russia US\$232 million for fuel, with half of this amount owed by the "Dnestr Republic."

Moldova had started paying off this debt in goods, including agricultural products, but beginning in late 1994 the government instead gave Gazprom, the Russian state-controlled gas company, equity stakes in key Moldovan enterprises. In January 1995, Moldova gave control of Moldovagas, the state-owned gas company, to Gazprom.

Banking and Finance

Moldova's banking system, part of the Soviet system during the communist era, underwent major changes in 1991. The National Bank of Moldova (NBM), established in June 1991 and modeled on the Bank of Romania, is subordinate to Parliament. It has an extensive set of monetary policy instruments (such as maximum lending rates and reserve requirements) and is legally responsible for bank supervision. However, shortages of trained staff and a lack of experience in making and executing monetary policy caused the NBM difficulties in its early years.

In 1995 Moldova's banking system was composed of the NBM and twenty-six private, joint-stock commercial banks, including the Joint Bank for Export and Import (*Banca Mixta Pentru Export si Import*). In 1995 the largest commercial banks were *Moldindconbank*, *Banca de Economii*, *Banca Sociala*, *Agroindbank*, *Victoriabanc*, and *Interprinzbanca*. The banking system also includes four branches of foreign (Romanian and Russian) banks.

After Russia enacted economic reform measures in January 1992, Moldova liberalized prices for most of its commodities (except bread, milk, energy, utilities, and transportation) and raised other prices by 200 to 425 percent. Price controls were eliminated gradually, with none left after May 1994.

In early 1995, the average monthly rate of consumer inflation was estimated at under 5 percent. This represented a major improvement, as the annual inflation rate had been 105 percent in 1994, 415 percent in 1993, and a staggering 1,500 percent in 1992.

In the early years of its independence, Moldova used both the Russian ruble and the Moldovan coupon (issued only to residents of Moldova) as its currencies. The leu (for value of the leu—see Glossary) was introduced in November 1993 to replace these currencies and to escape the inflation in other

former Soviet republics. It has remained reasonably stable against major hard currencies despite the country's high rates of inflation.

Transportation and Telecommunications

In 1995 the main means of transportation in Moldova were railroads (1,150 kilometers) and a highway system (20,100 kilometers overall, including 14,000 kilometers of paved surfaces) (see fig. 21). The major railroad junctions are Chisinau, Tighina, Ungheni, Ocnita (Oknitsa in Russian), Balti, and Basarabasca (Bessarabka in Russian). Primary external rail links connect the republic's network with Odesa (in Ukraine) on the Black Sea and with the Romanian cities of Iasi and Galati; they also lead northward into Ukraine. Highways link Moldova's main cities and provide the chief means of transportation within the country, but roads are in poor repair, and gasoline shortages make interurban motor transportation difficult. The country's major airport is in Chisinau.

Shipping is possible on the lower Prut and Nistru rivers, but water transportation plays only a modest role in the country's transportation system. In 1990 a total of 317 million ton-kilometers of freight were carried on inland waterways as compared with 15,007 million ton-kilometers on railroads and 1,673 million ton-kilometers on roads (see table 13, Appendix A).

The movement of manufactured goods and of passengers on all means of transportation started to decline in 1989. From 1993 to 1994, for example, the total amount of transported goods fell by 31 percent, passenger traffic decreased by 28 percent, and the number of passengers declined by 24 percent. The main causes for these declines are the high cost of transportation, a lack of fuels, and the poor state of Moldova's transportation infrastructure: approximately 20 percent of Moldova's roads are considered in a critical state.

Moldova's telecommunications facilities are poor, but they were being upgraded in 1995. In 1990 Moldova had an average of twelve telephones per 100 inhabitants (heavily concentrated in urban areas), and there were more than 200,000 unfilled orders for telephone installation. In 1994 Moldova installed 23,800 telephone lines, which included public telephones with direct international dialing capabilities. Some 10,000 digital lines in Chisinau were upgraded by a German company. In 1994 a new company in Chisinau, a joint venture with partners

from Greece and Italy, was soon to produce automatic telephone exchanges at the rate of 50,000 lines a year.

Moldova is connected to Ukraine by landline and to countries outside the former Soviet Union via Bucharest rather than via the switching center in Moscow, as was previously the case.

As of 1993, three television channels were widely available in Moldova: Moldova's two national channels (Radioteleviziunea Nationala), Romanian state television (Televiziunea Româna), and Russian state television (Ostankino Television Channel 1). Radioteleviziunea Nationala's daily fifteen hours of broadcasting included five hours of Russian-language broadcasts. Broadcasting in other minority languages was more limited: Ukrainian (three hours per month), Gagauz (three hours per month), Bulgarian (three hours per month), and Hebrew and Yiddish (1.5 hours per month). Televiziunea Româna broadcast fifteen hours per day, and Ostankino Television broadcast nineteen hours per day. In 1995 there was one private television station in Chisinau (whose coverage included most of the republic).

In 1994 nine AM radio stations were reported broadcasting, in four cities: four in Grigoriopol (Grigoriopol' in Russian), three in Chisinau, one in Cahul (Kagul in Russian), and one in Edinet (Yedintsy in Russian). Separatists in the self-proclaimed "Dnestr Republic" had taken over the radio facility in Grigoriopol and broadcast on two of the AM frequencies. The cities of Balti, Cahul, Edinet, Straseni (Strasheny in Russian), and Ungheni each had one FM radio station broadcasting on the same frequencies used when Moldova was part of the Soviet Union. International shortwave radio service was broadcast in English, Russian, Spanish, French, and Romanian. Four private radio stations operated in Moldova in 1994, one of which was funded by an American Christian group. The others broadcast music, mostly for young people.

Foreign Trade

Within the Soviet economy, Moldavia was an importer of industrial raw materials, fossil fuels, and manufactured goods. Its primary exports to other Soviet republics included wine and spirits, processed foods, clothing and textiles, and small amounts of electrical equipment.

Since independence, Moldova has struggled to reorganize its domestic economy and at the same time to reorient its foreign trade, finding new markets for its products and new



Figure 21. Transportation System of Moldova, 1995

sources of the essential imports it traditionally obtained from the Soviet Union. In 1991, however, 73 percent of Moldova's imports and 96 percent of its exports were still directed toward territories of the former Soviet Union. In addition, Moldova had a surplus of 572 million rubles in its trade with the former Soviet republics but a deficit of 875 million rubles in its trade with the rest of the world. This disparity clearly suggested the difficulty Moldova faced in restructuring its trade relationships, given that in 1994 about 73 percent of Moldova's foreign trade was with other members of the CIS and only 27 percent was

with the West. In 1994 exports totaled 2,397 million lei (US\$580 million), up 20 percent from 1993, and imports totaled 2,704 million lei (US\$662 million), down 12 percent from 1993, resulting in a trade deficit of 307 million lei.

By 1992 Moldova had established joint ventures with Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Vietnam, and the United States, and it had signed bilateral trade agreements with China, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Serbia and Montenegro, and ten of the former Soviet republics. In 1995 Moldova's major CIS trading partners were Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, and its major non-CIS trading partners were Romania, Germany, the United States, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Italy. Barter accounted for over 41 percent of Moldova's total volume of foreign trade in 1994.

By the end of 1992, the United States government had signed several agreements with Moldova and had granted Moldova most-favored-nation status (see Glossary). A bilateral investment treaty was signed with the Moldovan government in April 1993. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) had signed a bilateral agreement with Moldova authorizing OPIC to provide loans, loan guarantees, and investment insurance to United States companies investing in Moldova. As of September 1994, 314 joint ventures had been established (partners included more than fifty from Romania, more than thirty from the United States, twenty-five from Germany, and twenty from Bulgaria), but only one-third were operational as of early 1995. Joint ventures account for only 2.3 percent of Moldova's industrial output and substantially less than 1 percent of Moldova's employment.

In 1992 Moldova became a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF—see Glossary) and the World Bank (see Glossary), making it eligible to receive financing for capital infrastructure projects. (The Moldovan government consulted with the IMF on a plan of economic reform that year and immediately implemented a number of reform measures.) Moldova and United States companies investing in Moldova are also eligible to receive loans from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), which emphasizes programs and activities that support privatization, financial reform, industrial restructuring, the creation and strengthening of infrastructure, inflows of foreign investment, and environmental remediation. In addition, the Moldovan government has signed the Group of Seven (see Glossary) exter-

nal debt agreement; its share of the external debt of the former Soviet Union was determined to be US\$1.7 billion. An agreement was signed in 1993 by Moldova and Russia transferring this debt to Russia and renouncing any claims by Moldova on properties of the former Soviet Union. In November 1994, Moldova signed a partnership and cooperation agreement with the European Union (EU—see Glossary).

In 1992 the Moldovan Parliament adopted the Law on Foreign Investment (amended in July 1994). This law was developed in cooperation with representatives of foreign enterprises and the World Bank and is recognized as the best of all such laws in countries belonging to the CIS. Together with changes in the tax law, the Law on Foreign Investment has made Moldova a much easier place for foreign companies to do business.

By 1995 the government of Moldova had relaxed most of its restrictions on the country's foreign trade. Importers and exporters no longer need to be registered, but export licenses are still needed for certain goods, such as grains, energy resources, animal hides, and special products (including arms, precious metals, and chemical products).

Government and Politics

On August 27, 1991, the Republic of Moldova declared its independence from the Soviet Union and became a sovereign state, an act that consummated the process of escalating political self-assertion under way since 1988. Behind this phenomenon were *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the general movement toward reform initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in the second half of the 1980s.

Gorbachev's more permissive approach to political life in the Moldavian SSR enabled Moldovan nationalists to participate in the campaign for election to the Soviet Union's Congress of People's Deputies (see Glossary) in 1989 and to form the Moldovan Popular Front. On February 25, 1990, the first democratic elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR resulted in a Popular Front majority.

In May 1991, the country changed its name from the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova to the Republic of Moldova. The name of the Supreme Soviet was changed to the Moldovan Parliament. It declared Moldova's complete independence on August 27, 1991 (now Independence Day). This pursuit of independence by Moldova's government put it increasingly at odds with Moscow and at the same time led to growing tensions

between the ethnic Romanian majority and the non-Romanian minorities in the republic.

Those tensions led to sporadic violence throughout the first half of 1992, until a cease-fire agreement was negotiated by presidents Snegur and Yeltsin in July. The conditions for withdrawing the Russian 14th Army were negotiated and were dependent on constitutional provisions that were to be made after the parliamentary elections of early 1994.

On February 27, 1994, parliamentary elections were held. In the elections, the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova won a majority, marking a turning point for Moldovan politics. The new Parliament was able to make compromises between ethnic Romanians and ethnic Slavs, thus enabling it to pass legislation and set a more moderate tone for governing the country. Without a majority of Popular Front extreme nationalists in Parliament, a solution to the problem of Transnistria began to be more than just a futile hope.

Governmental System

On July 28, 1994, the Moldovan Parliament approved a new constitution, which went into effect August 27, 1994. Moldova's previous constitution was that of the old Moldavian SSR (1979), with amendments. The new document defines Moldova as an independent, democratic, "single" state and declares the country's permanent neutrality. The Moldovan language written in the Latin alphabet is designated as the official language, but guarantees are made for the use of Russian and other languages. The new constitution includes a ban on the stationing of foreign troops on Moldova's territory.

Parliament

Moldova is a democracy with a unicameral legislature, the Moldovan Parliament (see fig. 22). Following the earlier Soviet model, called the Supreme Soviet, the Moldovan Parliament maintains a Presidium, which performs legislative functions when the larger body is not in session. Parliament has 104 members elected by universal suffrage for a four-year term. Any citizen eligible to vote (eighteen years of age and not prohibited by law) is eligible for election to Parliament. The next parliamentary elections will be held in 1998.

Parliament ordinarily meets in two sessions per year. The first session starts in February and may not go beyond the end

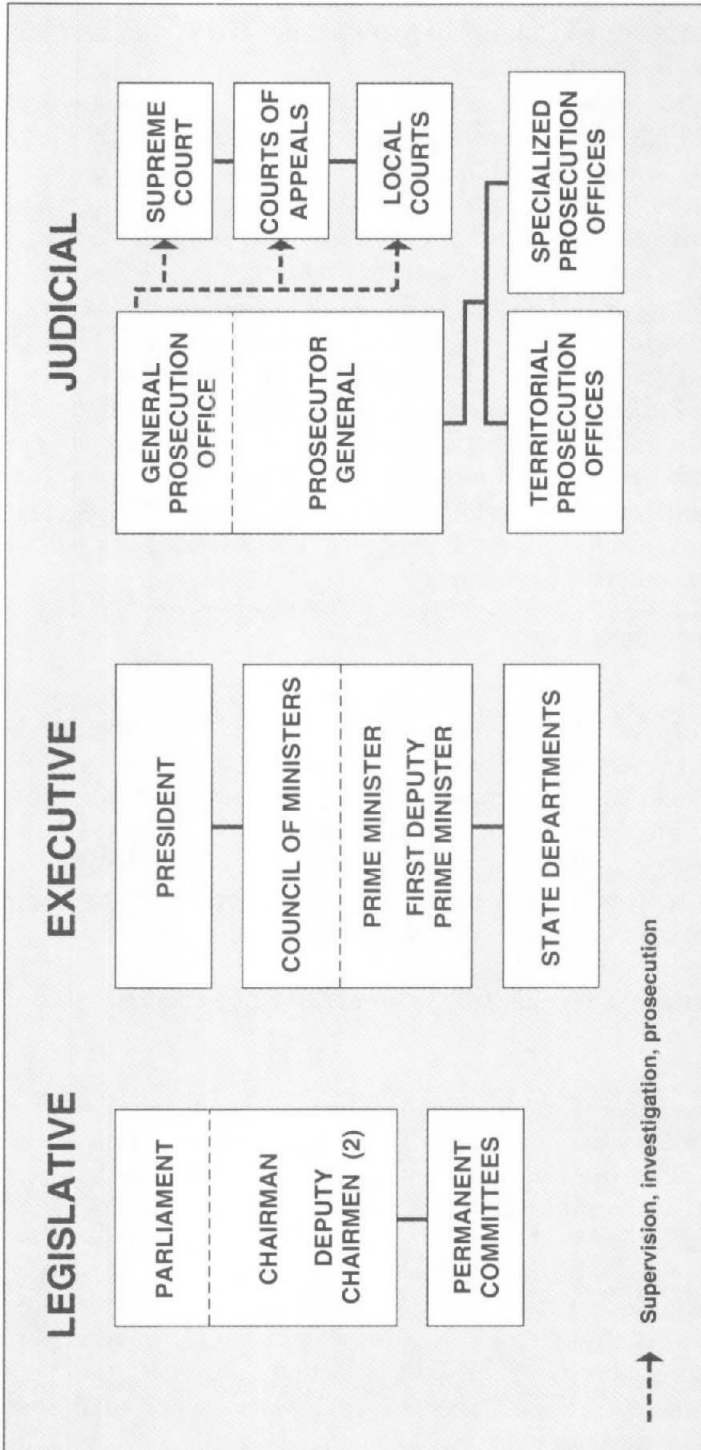


Figure 22. Government Organization of Moldova, 1995

of July. The second session starts in September and may not go beyond the end of December.

Parliamentary leadership consists of a chairman and two deputy chairmen elected by the delegates. The work of Parliament is carried out by fifteen permanent committees, which have purview in the following areas: agriculture and rural social development, crime prevention, culture and religion, ecology, the economy and the budget, foreign affairs, health and social assistance, human rights and relations among nationalities, law, legislative ethics, local administration and the local economy, public relations and the mass media, science and education, state security and military affairs, and women and family issues.

The Presidency

Moldova's head of state is the president of the republic, who shares executive power with the Council of Ministers. Under constitutional arrangements prevailing at the time of the 1990 national elections, the president was elected by members of the Supreme Soviet, but provisions introduced in 1991 called for the president's direct election by all members of the population over eighteen years of age. The president, who must be over thirty-five years old, a resident of Moldova for at least ten years, and a speaker of the state language, is elected to a four-year term of office. The next election is set for December 1995. In mid-1995 the president was Mircea Snegur, named president by the Supreme Soviet in September 1990 and confirmed by popular election in December 1991.

The president's duties include nominating the prime minister and members of the Council of Ministers, taking part in Parliament's proceedings and debates, dissolving Parliament under certain conditions, negotiating and concluding international treaties, serving as commander in chief of the armed forces, granting political asylum, and initiating national referendums.

Council of Ministers

The activities of the government are directed by the cabinet, or Council of Ministers, headed by the prime minister and the first deputy prime minister. In mid-1995 the prime minister was Andrei Sangheli, appointed in July 1992 and reappointed in March 1994. Candidates for the Council of Ministers are nominated by the president (on the prime minister's recommenda-

tion) and must be confirmed by Parliament before taking office. In 1995 there were eighteen ministries: agriculture and food; commercial services and housing; culture; defense; economy; education; finance; foreign affairs; health; industry; information and communication; interior; justice; labor and social and family protection; national security; parliamentary relations; privatization and administration of state property; and transportation and road assistance.

In addition to these ministries, the government has state departments subordinate to the Council of Ministers. In 1995 there were nine state departments: architecture and construction; customs control; energy, energy resources, and fuel; environmental protection; national relations; standards, metrology, and technical assistance; statistics; trade; and youth and sports.

The Judicial System

Independent Moldova's judicial and legal systems are carry-overs from the Soviet period and conform to practices that were standard throughout the former Soviet Union. The most powerful legal institution is the General Prosecution Office, formerly called the Procuracy (see Glossary). Headed by the prosecutor general, the General Prosecution Office directs investigations, orders arrests, and prosecutes criminal cases. It is also charged with administering the judicial system and ensuring the legality of government actions. In the early 1990s, the Procuracy's corruption and political ties to the Communist Party of Moldavia made it the subject of substantial controversy in discussions on constitutional reform. A significant element of political opinion advocated the abolition or radical transformation of the Procuracy.

Moldova's judicial system is based on a network of local courts and higher-level appeals courts, with the highest court being the Supreme Court (Curte Suprema). Judges do not have a tradition of political impartiality and independence, and the role of defense attorneys is limited. The government of Moldova has initiated reform efforts, but corruption and a lack of organization continue to plague the legal system. Many former Soviet-era judges and chief prosecutors were replaced in 1990 and 1991 during a parliamentary review, but an independent judiciary was still not realized. The system was being reviewed in 1995.

Local Government

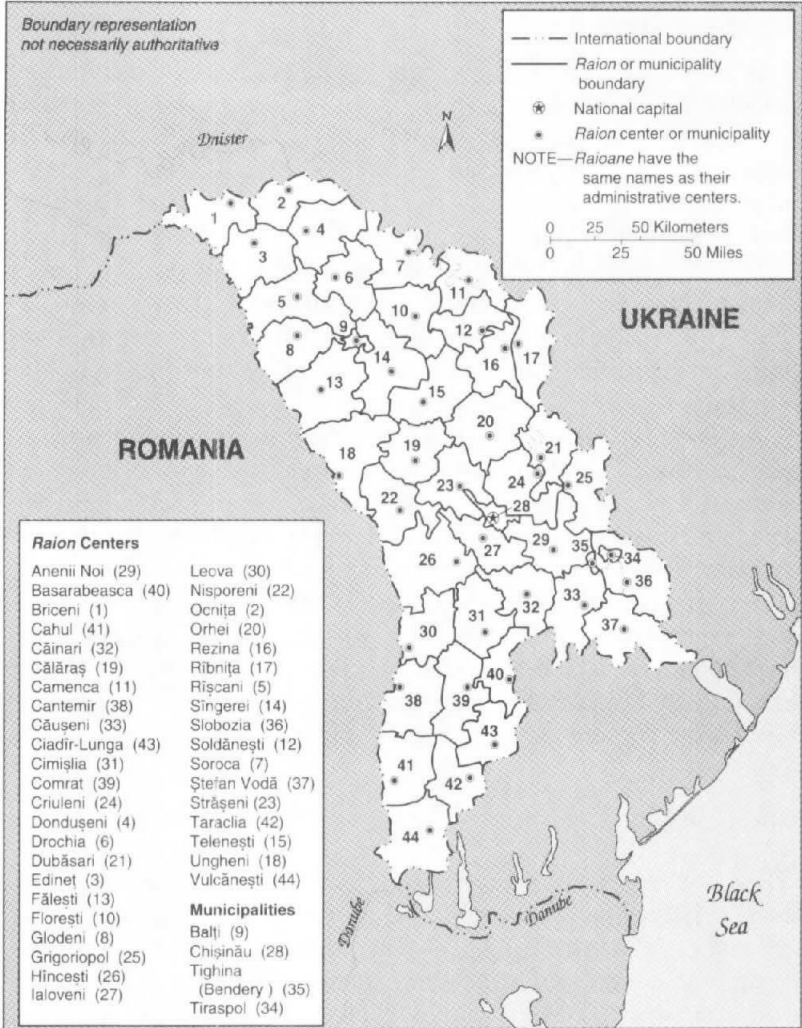
Below the central government, Moldova is divided administratively into forty *raioane* (sing., *raion*; *rayony*/*rayon* in Russian; see Glossary), as in the Soviet period (see fig. 23). Each *raion* is governed by a locally elected council. *Raion* councils elect executive committees from among their members. The heads of these executive committees are the chief executive officers of the *raioane*. City and village governments are organized much like the *raion*-level governments. In addition to the *raioane*, Chişinău (the national capital), Balti, Tighina, and Tiraspol are designated municipalities and are directly subordinate to the national government.

In 1991 the national government began work on an administrative reorganization intended to alter this structure and to reintroduce a system of counties (*judete*), communes, and villages similar to the one that had been in effect during the interwar period, and one that was still in use in Romania. Under the new system, the counties would consolidate functions carried out by the smaller *raioane*, and local executives would be elected directly. However, this effort was stalled by the secession of Transnistria and the declaration of sovereignty by the Gagauz region, and the Parliament elected in 1994 put the matter aside.

Political Parties

In 1993 more than twenty political parties and movements were registered in Moldova. Until 1990 the Communist Party of Moldavia (CPM) was the dominant political force in the republic. It had controlled the administrative, economic, and cultural affairs of the Moldavian SSR from its establishment until 1990. During that period, CPM officials monopolized virtually all politically significant government positions. However, once democratic elections were decided upon, the party's power disintegrated swiftly. The CPM was formally banned in August 1991, following the abortive August coup d'état against Soviet president Gorbachev, but former communists continued to participate actively in politics through their membership in a variety of successor organizations. The CPM was revived as the Moldovan Party of Communists in 1994.

In the wake of the 1990 elections, the Moldovan Popular Front, founded in 1989 and consisting of an association of independent cultural and political groups, moved into a commanding position in the country's political life. It emerged as



Source: Based on information from Soviet Union, Ministerstvo geologii i okhrany neder SSSR, "Po Moldavii, turistskaya karta," Moscow, 1989.

Figure 23. Administrative Divisions of Moldova, 1995

an advocate of increased autonomy from the Soviet Union and of the rights of the Moldavian SSR's ethnic Romanian population. Popular Front delegates were able to dominate proceedings in the Supreme Soviet and to select a government made up of individuals who supported its agenda. The Popular Front was well organized nationally, with its strongest support in the capital and in areas of the country most heavily populated by ethnic Romanians. Once the organization was in power, how-

ever, internal disputes led to a sharp fall in popular support, and it fragmented into several competing factions by early 1993. In February 1993, the Popular Front was re-formed as the Christian Democratic Popular Front (CDPF).

Several other parties, primarily composed of ethnic Romanians, were organized after 1990. The largest and most influential of these ethnically based parties is the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova, which is a coalition of former communists and moderate-to-status-quo supporters of Moldovan statehood and closer economic ties with Russia. The party's support comes mainly from the rural populace, economic conservatives, and ethnic minorities opposed to reunification with Romania. The Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova won a majority of the votes in the 1994 parliamentary election.

A much smaller but still influential political group is the Social Democratic Party of Moldova. Most of the Social Democrats' leaders originally participated in the Popular Front but later formed their own organization in response to what they perceived as the increasingly nationalistic position of that party. The Social Democrats are multiethnic, and their constituency consists mainly of educated professional and managerial groups. Their support is strongest in the republic's capital.

Another independent formation committed to promoting a less nationalistic agenda for the republic, the Democratic Party for the Rebirth and Prosperity of Moldova, was formed in late 1990. The party draws its support primarily from among ethnic Romanian intellectuals and is active primarily in the capital.

At the other extreme of the political spectrum is the National Christian Party (NCP). The NCP is more expressly nationalistic than the Popular Front and its other competitors—the Congress of the Intellectuals (which is a component of the Congress of Peasants and Intellectuals, a bloc in the 1994 elections), the Democratic Party, and the Democratic Labor Party—and it campaigned openly for reunification with Romania during the 1994 elections. Other parties active in the 1994 campaign for Parliament were the Reform Party, the Yedinstvo/Socialist Bloc, the Republican Party, the Democratic Labor Party, the Green Alliance, the Women's Association of Moldova, and the Victims of Totalitarian Repression.

In late 1993, former Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi, along with several other leading members of Parliament unhappy with the direction of policy under the existing government, formed yet another party, the Socialist Workers' Party, in

order to counter what they saw as the excessively conservative influence of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova. Non-Romanian ethnic communities have also formed political organizations representing their interests. In the early transition period, the most influential of these was the Yedinstvo-Unitatea Intermovement. Yedinstvo, whose members include not only Russians but also Ukrainians, Bulgarians, and other Russian-speaking residents of the republic, is politically conservative in its support of the pre-1990 status quo. Based primarily in Transnistria, it is strongly pro-Russian. In Parliament, its positions are represented by the Conciliere legislative club.

Yedinstvo emerged in 1988 from the mobilization of Russian-speaking workers responding to efforts to alter the republic's language laws and demote the status of the Russian language. During the transition period, Yedinstvo was the most effective and influential minority nationalist organization. Its representatives walked out of the first session of the democratically elected Moldavian Supreme Soviet in 1990. In local elections, its adherents won control over local and *raion* governments throughout Transnistria.

Gagauz Halkî (Gagauz People) is a second pivotal minority political group, formed to represent Moldova's population of approximately 153,000 Gagauz. Like the Russian-speaking community in Transnistria, with whom they had been close political allies, Gagauz nationalists gained control over local government (in five *raioane* in the south), where their numbers continue to be concentrated. Like the Transnistrians, the Gagauz declared themselves sovereign in 1990.

The 1990 Elections

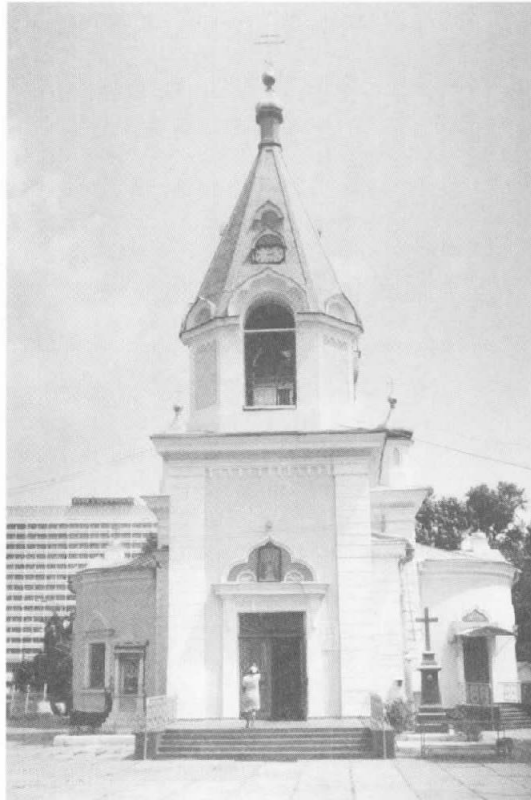
The first democratic elections for the Supreme Soviet were held in February and March 1990. Delegates were elected for terms of four years in 380 single-member electoral districts (by early 1993 this number had decreased to 332 following removals and resignations). Electoral rules called for candidates to be nominated by electoral districts rather than by "social organizations," as had been the practice previously. Meetings of work collectives of 100 persons and residents' meetings of fifty or more persons were empowered to nominate candidates.

In order to be elected, candidates had to receive more than 50 percent of the votes cast in an electoral district. When there was no victor in the first round of elections, the two candidates

*Statue of Stephen the Great
(1457–1504), the
Moldovan king who fought
the Ottoman Empire
Courtesy
Paul E. Michelson*



*Newly renovated Ciuflea
Orthodox church, Chisinau
Courtesy
Ernest H. Latham, Jr.*



with the highest number of votes competed against each other in a second round.

In 1990 the republic was divided by the secession of separatist regions and by the outbreak of widespread fighting in Transnistria. At the same time, economic crisis loomed, a result of the collapse of the economic institutions of the Soviet Union. The Moldovan government pursued reforms to address this crisis, but progress toward a market economy was slow, partly as a result of the government's preoccupation with the conflicts among the ethnic groups and partly because of resistance to reform on the part of those with vested interests in the communist system.

In contrast to the artificial quiescence that characterized previous contests, the 1990 elections had considerable controversy. While national CPM officials, including then-First Secretary Petru Lucinschi, promoted open access to the political process, local communist officials in many areas used traditional means to retain power. Reformers complained that local electoral commissions were controlled by "enemies of restructuring" and that the administrative apparatus was being used to subvert the nominating process.

Just as important as bureaucratic resistance in determining the outcome of the elections, however, was the Popular Front's organizational weakness in many localities outside the capital, especially in comparison with the local strength of the CPM's rural party apparatus. Despite these difficulties, Popular Front-approved candidates were on the ballot in 219 out of Moldova's 380 electoral districts by the February 25 election date. Meanwhile, the CPM, enjoying a rebound in popularity and effectiveness under Lucinschi's direction, accounted for 86 percent of all candidates.

A high degree of cooperation between the Popular Front and reformers within the CPM hierarchy was also evident during the early transition period. On February 11, 1990, the Popular Front, with the support of government authorities, had organized a "Republic's Voters Meeting" in Chisinau. This was attended by more than 100,000 people and was addressed by Lucinschi and other high-level communist officials.

Among the candidates supported by the Popular Front were ranking CPM members such as Mircea Snegur. A Central Committee secretary since 1985, Snegur was appointed chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet by the staunchly antireform CPM leader Simion Grossu in July 1989.

By early 1990, however, Snegur had realigned himself with the Popular Front and its political program.

The results of the first round of elections in February confirmed the main trends that had appeared during the nominating process. Competitive races were held in 373 of the 380 districts, and turnout was 84 percent of the electorate. In the 140 contests decided without a runoff, reformers claimed victory for fifty-nine of the candidates, although 115 of the total elected were CPM members (some of whom were supported by the Popular Front). As during the nominating phase, reformers alleged that significant violations of the election law had occurred, despite the Central Electoral Commission's finding of no major infractions.

The second round of elections, held on March 10, 1990, filled the bulk of positions in the republic's Supreme Soviet and had a decisive impact on the country's political life. A fall in turnout for the second round, to 75 percent of the electorate, appears to have hurt the performance of the Popular Front, which won in only forty-two out of 237 districts, a considerably weaker showing than in the February contest. With the conclusion of the runoff, 305 of the deputies to the new Supreme Soviet were CPM members; 101 of the Supreme Soviet deputies were selected from the list supported by the Popular Front. With the support of deputies sympathetic to its views, however, the Popular Front could control more than half of the votes in the new Supreme Soviet.

Political Developments in the Wake of the 1990 Elections

As the political influence of the Popular Front increased in the wake of the elections, the powerful faction of ethnic Romanian nationalists within the organization became increasingly vocal in the pursuit of their agenda. The nationalists argued that the Popular Front should immediately use its majority in the Supreme Soviet to attain independence from Russian domination, end migration into the republic, and improve the status of ethnic Romanians.

Yedinstvo and its supporters within the Supreme Soviet argued against independence from the Soviet Union, against implementation of the August 1989 Law on State Language (making Moldovan written in the Latin alphabet the country's official language), and for increased autonomy for minority areas. Hence, clashes occurred almost immediately once the new Supreme Soviet began its inaugural session in April 1990.

Popular Front representatives, for example, entered a motion to rename the Supreme Soviet the National Council (Sfatul Tarii, the name of the 1917 legislature), in keeping, they argued, with national tradition. Although this motion failed, it provoked an acerbic public exchange among the deputies, which made subsequent cooperation difficult at best. A second controversial motion, on establishing a Moldovan flag (three equal vertical stripes of bright blue, yellow, and red, like the Romanian flag, but with Moldova's coat of arms in the center), passed in the Supreme Soviet but was widely and conspicuously disregarded by its opponents.

The selection of a new legislative leadership also provoked political confrontation. Those appointed to high-level posts were overwhelmingly ethnic Romanians, a situation that left minority activists little hope that their interests would be effectively represented in deliberations on key issues. Ethnic Romanians accounted for only 70 percent of the Supreme Soviet as a whole but for 83 percent of the leadership. All five of the top positions in the Supreme Soviet were held by ethnic Romanians, as were eighteen of twenty positions in the new Council of Ministers.

Faced with what they considered a concerted effort by ethnic Romanian nationalists to dominate the republic, conservatives and minority activists banded together and began to resist majority initiatives. Organized in the Supreme Soviet as the Soviet Moldavia (Sovetskaya Moldaviya) faction, the antireformers became increasingly inflexible.

As confrontation grew among legislative leaders, initiatives undertaken at the local level drew the republic into worsening interethnic conflict. In the minority regions, local forces actively resisted what they considered to be discriminatory legislation from Chisinau. May Day celebrations in Tiraspol became mass protests against the republic's Supreme Soviet. The Tiraspol, Tighina, and Rîbnita city councils, as well as the Rîbnita *raion* council, each passed measures suspending application of the flag law in their territories.

Deputies from Tiraspol and Tighina, unable to block legislation they considered inimical to their interests, announced their intention of withdrawing from the Supreme Soviet. Pro-Popular Front demonstrators outside the Supreme Soviet responded to what they perceived as the obstructionism of minority legislators by becoming increasingly hostile. Following a series of confrontations in the capital, a leading legislative

*Moldovan parliament
building, Chisinau
Courtesy
Paul E. Michelson*



*Chisinau city government
offices
Courtesy
Ernest H. Latham, Jr.*



representative of Yedinstvo was badly beaten; 100 deputies associated with the Russian-speaking Soviet Moldavia faction withdrew from the Supreme Soviet on May 24, 1990.

A new reformist government, with Mircea Druc as prime minister, took over that same day, after the previous government suffered a vote of no confidence. The many changes wrought by this government included a ban on the CPM, a ban on political parties becoming in effect synonymous with the government, and the outlawing of government censorship. In June 1990, the country changed its name from the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova and declared its sovereignty.

Increasing strain between nationalists and their opponents had become apparent since the opening session of the Supreme Soviet. In the culmination of this trend, delegates to the second congress of the Popular Front passed measures signaling a clear break with the CPM and took an openly nationalistic direction. The Popular Front's new program called for the country to be renamed the Romanian Republic of Moldova, for its citizens to be called "Romanians," and for the Romanian language to be designated the official language of the republic. The program also called for the return of areas inhabited by ethnic Romanians that were transferred to Ukraine when the Moldavian SSR was formed, and for the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

The Popular Front's promotion of this agenda, which was perceived by minority populations to be expressly nationalistic in character, inexorably factionalized the population. Many of Moldova's ethnic Romanians also perceived the Popular Front as extremist, excessively pro-Romanian, and ineffectual. The opposition was able to bring the public's general dissatisfaction with the Popular Front into focus and eventually bring about a reversal in the political fortunes of the Popular Front.

Conflict in Transnistria and Gagauzia

As the summer of 1990 advanced, the country's initially inchoate political divisions transformed themselves into competing governmental authorities. Delegates to city and *raion* councils in Transnistria and in the Gagauz region met independently with their Supreme Soviet delegates and called for regional autonomy. Republic-level officials denounced these efforts as separatist and treasonable.

As efforts to reach some form of accord foundered, more decisive measures were taken. On August 21, 1990, the Gagauz announced the formation of the "Gagauz Republic" in the five southern *raioane* where their population was concentrated, separate from the Moldavian SSR and part of the Soviet Union. The Transnistrians followed suit on September 2, proclaiming the formation of the "Dnestr Moldavian Republic," with its capital at Tiraspol, as a part of the Soviet Union.

It was under these circumstances that violence broke out in the fall of 1990. A decision by Gagauz leaders to hold a referendum on the question of local sovereignty was intensely opposed by the republic's government and by the Popular Front. Rival political forces mobilized volunteer detachments to defend their competing interests by force. Adding to the volatility of the conflict between the Gagauz and the ethnic Romanians, militia forces from Transnistria entered the Gagauz region to support the sovereignty movement there.

In the Transnistrian city of Dubasari, the militia seized the city council building as part of its preparations for a referendum on autonomy in the region. When the republic's police sought to retake the building, new forces were mobilized from ethnic Romanian regions as well as from Russian-speaking regions. In the ensuing conflict, three persons were killed and dozens more wounded.

Relations between the separatists and the republic's government were characterized by mutual denunciations and sporadic violence from late 1990 until early 1992, when conditions took a sharp turn for the worse. As efforts among Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, and Romania to mediate the conflict foundered and as the Transnistrian separatists consolidated their position with the support of Russia's 14th Army, pressure built on President Snegur to take decisive action to resolve the conflict.

In late March 1992, Snegur declared a state of emergency across the republic, and soon afterward the government made an effort to disarm the separatists' militia. These efforts were met by armed resistance, which, by May 1992, had escalated into a full-scale civil war as weapons released to the Transnistrians by the 14th Army were used against Moldovan military units.

By the close of the summer, more than 300 people had been killed in the conflict, and more than 1,000 had been wounded. A large part of the city of Tighina, which had become a focal

point of the conflict, had been devastated; thousands of refugees flooded out of the region.

Easing of Tensions

While combat in the civil war remained at a bloody stalemate into mid-1992, the political situation in Moldova changed dramatically, at least partly as a consequence of popular dissatisfaction with the conflict. In the first stage of the realignment, former CPM first secretary Lucinschi was named ambassador to Russia. Lucinschi, the highest-ranking "Moldavian" outside of the country during the communist era, was able to use his connections with the Moscow political elite to promote accommodation.

Soon afterward, in July 1992, Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi (who had replaced Mircea Druc) was replaced by Andrei Sangheli of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova. Sangheli was a former CPM *raion* committee first secretary and member of the Council of Ministers. Sangheli's new government included significantly improved minority representation and promised a more efficient economic reform program, as well as a more moderate approach to the ethnic conflict.

By taking this more flexible approach, Moldova was able to reduce the level of violence involved in the separatist dispute, if not to bring the conflict to an end. But the shift in policy direction precipitated a strong backlash from the more extreme elements of the Popular Front, which felt that it was slipping from power. This and popular dissatisfaction with the failing economy forced a fundamental political reorientation.

In December 1992, President Snegur, who clearly supported the more conciliatory course, touched off a crisis by delivering a speech to Parliament in which he laid out a course of foreign policy based on the pursuit of national independence. Snegur warned against the extremes of either unification with Romania or reintegration into some form of alliance with Russia. His public position against efforts to promote unification further soured relations between himself and the Popular Front and at the same time sharpened divisions between moderates and more extreme nationalists within the Popular Front itself.

Fallout from Snegur's speech was almost immediate. In early January 1993, Alexandru Mosanu, chairman of the Moldovan Parliament, offered his resignation, citing the differences between himself and the president of the republic and com-

plaining about tendencies within the government favoring the previous political system.

If, as some suggest, Mosanu's resignation was intended to rally support in an effort to undermine President Snegur, it failed miserably. Not only was the resignation accepted, but Parliament voted overwhelmingly to replace Mosanu with Petru Lucinschi, a leader of those very forces about which Mosanu had warned.

Political Realignment

Lucinschi's election on February 4, 1993, to the leading position in Parliament marked the peak of a process of political realignment in Moldova. By early 1993, the Popular Front, now named the Christian Democratic Popular Front (CDPF), was in near-total disarray. Moderate intellectuals (such as Mosanu), who had added tremendously to the prestige of the Popular Front during its early years, organized the "Congress of the Intellectuals" to promote a nationalistic, but less extreme, agenda. As a result, they were expelled from the CDPF in mid-May.

As a consequence of factionalism and defection, the CDPF's voting strength in Parliament was reduced to approximately twenty-five deputies. With the CDPF in decline, power shifted to the bloc of Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova deputies (the Viata Satului legislative club), which, with support from independent deputies, was able to play a dominant role in Parliament.

Lucinschi's election and the realignment of forces among the deputies brought Parliament into much closer alignment with President Snegur and Prime Minister Sangheli's government on the ethnic conflict. As a consequence, Moldova was better positioned than it had been in the previous two years to end the infighting that had characterized its political life during that time. There was hope that Moldova's leaders would be able to resolve the ongoing civil conflict, which had, of necessity, been the dominant issue in the republic since its inception, and to proceed with the reforms that Moldova so desperately needed.

At the same time, the realignment moved Moldova's government into a more conservative position with respect to economic and political reform, marginalizing legislators who were elected as opposition candidates and vesting more power in the hands of those who were originally elected as representatives of

the CPM. In particular, the realignment gave near-veto power to the bloc of Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova deputies, many of whom were state and collective farm presidents. Although the great majority of these individuals supported democratic politics, the strength of their commitment to the transition to a market economy was questionable.

Despite the powerful combination of government, the presidency, and Lucinschi's parliamentary leadership working in harmony, the hopelessly tangled web of factions and rivalries within Parliament could not be overcome, and legislation ground to a halt. The pro-Romanian faction objected, but a vote was taken to dissolve Parliament and hold early parliamentary elections.

The 1994 Elections and Afterward

Campaigning for the February 27, 1994, parliamentary elections revolved around economic reform, competing strategies for resolving the separatist crises, and relations with both the CIS and Romania. Debate on the issues of moving to a market economy, privatization, land reform, and foreign policy was polarized.

The results of the elections quickly changed the course of Moldovan politics and stood in sharp contrast to the results of the 1990 elections. Nationalist and pro-Romanian forces were rejected overwhelmingly in favor of those backing Moldova's independence and in favor of accommodating ethnic minorities.

Under laws passed in preparation for the February 27, 1994, elections, Parliament was reduced from 380 seats to a more manageable 104. Fifty of these delegates were selected from newly drawn single-member districts, and the remainder were elected from larger multi-member districts on the basis of proportional representation. Candidates were nominated by voters (independent candidates had to submit petitions with at least 1,000 signatures), political parties, or "sociopolitical organizations"; parties had to receive at least 4 percent of the vote to be accorded seats.

The Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova won a majority of fifty-six of the 104 seats, followed by the Yedinstvo/Socialist Bloc with twenty-eight seats. Two pro-Romanian unification parties did not do well: the Congress of Peasants and Intellectuals won eleven seats, and the CDPF won nine seats. A number



*Demonstration in front of Casa Guvernului, Chisinau
Courtesy Charles King*

of other parties did not get a high enough percentage of the popular vote to be represented in the new Parliament.

In March the chairman of Parliament, Petru Lucinschi, was re-elected to his post, and the prime minister, Andrei Sangheli, was reappointed to his position. In April Parliament approved a new Council of Ministers, Moldova's membership in the CIS, and Moldova's signing of a CIS charter on economic union (although the country would not participate in political or military integration within the CIS). A public opinion poll on March 6, 1994, confirmed the country's course of political independence for the future: the Moldovan electorate voted overwhelmingly for Moldova to maintain its territorial integrity.

Once the legislative logjam was broken, Parliament was able to work on a new constitution, which it ratified on July 28 and implemented August 27, 1994. The new constitution granted

substantial autonomy to Transnistria and the "Gagauz Republic" while reasserting Moldovan national identity and sovereignty. Gagauzia (in Romanian; Gagauz-Yeri in Gagauz) would have cultural, administrative, and economic (but not territorial) autonomy and would elect a regional legislative assembly, which in turn would elect a *gubernator* (in Romanian; *baskan* in Gagauz), who would also be a member of the Moldovan government. This was ratified by Parliament in January 1995.

Members of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova held a cautious attitude toward marketization and privatization, leading experts to believe that progress in economic reform would be slow but would be more consistent and better implemented than previously. The hard-line nationalists and the former communists could not vote as a majority to block progress.

Human Rights

The adoption of Moldova's constitution on August 27, 1994, codified certain basic human rights (including the rights to private property, individual freedom and personal security, freedom of movement, privacy of correspondence, freedom of opinion and expression, and freedom of assembly), which were observed more in the breach during the Soviet era. However, the constitution still contains language that could limit the activities of political parties and the press.

Although there is no government censorship of Moldova's independent periodicals and its radio stations and cable television stations, journalists complain that editors encourage them to soften their criticisms of government officials for fear of confrontation and possible retribution. This seems to be a well-grounded fear in Transnistria, where the authorities have cut off funding for two newspapers for occasionally criticizing some government policies and have physically attacked a cable television station for broadcasting reports critical of the authorities.

In 1994 Parliament considered a new law on the press, which journalists criticized strongly because it limited their right to criticize government policies. After reviewing recommendations from the Council of Europe (see Glossary) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Parliament liberalized the law but left some restrictions that appeared to be aimed at writings favoring reunification with Romania and those questioning Moldova's right to exist.

The Moldovan Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of National Security were investigated on several occasions in 1994 to determine whether they had exceeded their legislated authority. They were accused of monitoring political opposition members and using unauthorized wiretaps. There were also claims of interference with opposition activities during the campaign preceding the 1994 elections, but there was no public investigation of those charges. The police, subordinate to the Ministry of Interior, are known to have used beatings in their dealings with some detainees and prisoners.

Reform of the judiciary (to bring it more into line with Western practices) was approved, but Parliament had not passed the laws needed to implement it by the end of 1994. For example, prosecutors rather than judges issue search and arrest warrants, there is no judicial review of search warrants, and courts do not exclude evidence obtained illegally. There are also reports that local prosecutors have brought unjustified charges against individuals in retaliation for accusations of official corruption or for political reasons.

Trials in Moldova are generally open to the public, and the accused has the right to appeal. Bail does not exist, but release usually may be arranged by obtaining a written guarantee by a friend or family member that the accused will appear in court.

Because the security forces and the government of the "Dnestr Republic" are so closely connected, human rights abuses in Transnistria are more flagrant. The worst of the abuses in Transnistria occurred in 1992, during the height of the fighting. There were reports of beatings, ill treatment, abduction, torture, and even the murder of civilians by members of the police and the Republic Guard. Requests for visits by Amnesty International and the International Committee of the Red Cross were routinely refused.

In Transnistria four of the six ethnic Romanians of the "Tiraspol Six" remained in prison as of mid-1995, following their conviction in 1993 for allegedly assassinating two Transnistrian officials. The fairness of the trial was seriously questioned by international human rights groups, and there were allegations that the defendants were prosecuted solely because of their membership in the CDPF.

Moldova has several local human rights groups, which maintain contacts with international organizations, including Helsinki Watch and Helsinki Citizens Assembly. The government does not interfere with human rights groups' operations.

The Media

The main daily newspaper in the republic, *Moldova Suverana*, is published by the government. *Sfatul tarii* is published by Parliament, which also publishes the daily *Nezavisimaya Moldova* in Russian. Other principal newspapers include *Rabochiy Tiraspol'* (in Russian, the main newspaper of the Slavs in Transnistria), *Tara*, *Tineretul Moldovei/Molodëzh Moldovy* (in Romanian and Russian), and *Viata satului* (published by the government). The main cultural publication in Moldova is the weekly journal *Literatura si arta*, published by the Union of Writers of Moldova. Other major periodicals include *Basarabia* (also published by the writers' union), *Chiparus*, *Alunelul*, *Femeie Moldovei*, *Lanternă Magica*, *Moldova*, *Noi*, and *Sud-Est*. *Kishinëvskiyе novosti*, *Kodry*, and *Russkoye slovo* are Russian-language periodicals. Other minority-language periodicals include *Prosvita* and *Homin* in Ukrainian, *Ana sözu* and *Cîrlangaci* in Gagauz, *Rodno slovo* in Bulgarian, and *Undzer col/Nash golos* in Yiddish and Russian. In all, 240 newspapers (ninety-seven in Romanian) and sixty-eight magazines (thirty-five in Romanian) were being published in the republic in 1990. Basa Press, an independent news service, was established in November 1992.

Foreign Relations

In the wake of its proclamation of sovereignty in 1990, Moldova's main diplomatic efforts were directed toward establishing new relationships with the Soviet Union's successor states, establishing diplomatic links with other national governments and international bodies, gaining international recognition, and enlisting international support to resolve the conflict in Transnistria. Although substantial gains have been made in each of these areas, Moldova's foreign policy efforts have been complicated by its geographic position, its history, and the ongoing ethnic conflict within its borders.

After it declared independence, Moldova made significant progress in international relations in a relatively short period of time. The first state to recognize Moldova's independence was neighboring Romania. By early 1995, Moldova had been recognized by more than 170 states, including the United States (which extended recognition on December 25, 1991), although the foreign diplomatic presence in Chisinau remains limited.



*View of downtown Chisinau
Courtesy Charles King*

As of early 1995, Moldova had been admitted to several international organizations, including the CSCE (renamed the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, or OSCE, in January 1995), the United Nations (UN), the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, and the Community of Riparian Countries of the Black Sea. It also had observer status at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), the successor to GATT.

By mid-1994 Moldova had accepted all relevant arms control obligations of the former Soviet Union. It had ratified the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE Treaty—see Glossary), with its comprehensive limits on key categories of conventional military equipment. Even though Moldova had not acceded to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, it had indicated that it intended to do so.

Commonwealth of Independent States

The domestic political ramifications of Moldova's civil conflict in Transnistria were matched by its effect on foreign relations. Domestic sentiments limited the foreign policy flexibility of the government in dealing with the former Soviet Union. Although President Snegur signed the Minsk Agreement (which created the CIS; see Appendix B) on December 8, 1991, and the Alma-Ata Declaration (which expanded the membership of the CIS; see Appendix C) on December 21, 1991, Moldova's Parliament, strongly influenced by the Popular Front bloc of delegates, refused to ratify the agreements.

Further, along with Ukraine and Turkmenistan, Moldova refused to sign a January 1993 agreement that would have strengthened political and economic integration among CIS members. It thus embarked upon a difficult course of independence, maneuvering between Russia and Romania, both of which have strong interests in the region and both of which are more powerful than the young republic. It was only in April 1994 that the new Parliament finally approved Moldova's membership in the CIS and signed a CIS charter on economic union.

Romania

The relationship between Moldova and Romania, while generally good, is far from trouble free. Although Romania was the

first state to recognize Moldova and has provided substantial support to the new republic in relation to Bucharest's means, ties between the two Romanian-speaking states are fraught with political difficulties for both countries.

The relationship between Romania and Moldova began to deteriorate shortly after Moldova's independence. Because of their different histories, with Moldova part of the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union, Moldovans and Romanians have different attitudes about basic social and political issues, such as the extent of social payments (i.e., welfare). Many Romanians see the Moldovans as "Russified" and hold the condescending view that they are in need of assistance to overcome their cultural disabilities. This has been a source of growing resentment among the majority of Moldovans.

For his part, Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, has worked consistently to maintain a positive relationship with Russia. On the one hand, moves on his part that could be seen as destabilizing the interethnic balance in Moldova and tipping it toward civil war would be potentially disastrous for his country—both in the limited sense of setting back Russian-Romanian relations and in the more serious sense of potentially drawing Russia into a regional conflict. On the other hand, any precipitous move on the part of Moldova in the direction of Romania would immediately raise fears of imminent unification with Romania among the Russian-speaking population and among the Gagauz and would feed interethnic hostility in the republic. The March 6, 1994, public opinion poll confirmed to all interested parties, in no uncertain terms, that the populace of Moldova is not in favor of reuniting with any country.

In late 1994, President Iliescu made comments questioning Moldova's independent status. Although relations between the two countries remain cordial, these comments reflected the Romanian nationalistic parties' greater influence in national politics and in the parliament in Romania.

Russia

In the case of Russia, interethnic conflict in Moldova produced results similar to those that followed outbreaks of violence in other former republics of the Soviet Union soon after they had proclaimed their independence. Intrinsicly, Moldova was probably of little interest to Moscow, but the presence of an ethnic Russian minority in Moldova altered Moscow's perspective. Moldova's ethnic Russians found the prospect of

Moldova's reunification with Romania alarming, because it would alter their status from that of a large and politically powerful force to that of a small and politically powerless minority. Moldova was geographically important to both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union because it formed part of the border of each. In this way, it formed a barrier between Russia itself (in both cases, the ruling entity) and the outside world.

Although officially neutral, the Russian 14th Army (stationed in Transnistria) played a vital role in the conflict between the government of Moldova and the "Dnestr Republic." Its commanders permitted the transfer of weapons from their stockpiles in Moldova to the Transnistrian militia and volunteered the services of "Cossack" (see Glossary) forces that entered the region once fighting broke out (there were approximately 1,000 "Cossacks" in Transnistria in 1994). Furthermore, strong indications suggested that elements of the 14th Army actively intervened on the side of the separatists during the fighting, using their heavy weapons to turn the tide in the fighting when necessary.

Eventually, however, it became evident that the Transnistria conflict was not about ethnic issues (especially once implementation of the language law of 1989 was delayed, and the Popular Front extremists lost much of their power) but about political systems. The Transnistrian leadership wanted to return to the days of the Soviet Union and was wary of the Yeltsin government (it never repudiated its support of the August 1991 coup d'état) and the reformists.

In July 1992, an agreement negotiated by presidents Snegur and Yeltsin established a cease-fire in Transnistria, which brought an end to the worst of the fighting in Moldova. Transnistria was given special status within Moldova and was granted the right to determine its future should Moldova reunite with Romania. Russian, Transnistrian, and Moldovan peacekeeping troops subsequently were introduced into Transnistria.

Maintaining the agreement was complicated by the instability of Russia's central government and by the implications of the 14th Army's involvement for Russia's domestic politics. The 14th Army's commander, Lieutenant General Aleksandr V. Lebed', was politically very conservative and, despite repeated warnings from his superiors to restrain himself, had stated publicly that he would not "abandon" Transnistria's ethnic Russians. Like Lebed', Russia's conservatives generally considered abandonment of the ethnic Russian minority to be an anath-



Window display on Russian hostilities in Transnistria, Chisinau

Courtesy Paul E. Michelson

People waiting in line for bread, Chisinau

Courtesy Matt Webb

ema. In 1995 nationalists in Russia (whose strength was growing) were ready to protect the "rights" of Russians in the "near abroad" and would, no doubt, politically attack moderates who might be willing to end the conflict through compromise.

By 1994, however, relations between the Transnistrian leadership and the 14th Army had deteriorated to the point that both sides were accusing each other of corruption (including arms trafficking, drug running, and money laundering) and political provocation. General Lebed' also saw many in the Transnistrian leadership as not cooperating with Russian efforts to mediate the conflict and as actively hampering the peace process.

After the 1994 change in Moldova's government, compromises were made by both the Moldovan and the Russian governments to improve relations over the issue of Transnistria. The status of the 14th Army was scheduled to be reduced to that of an "operational group," General Lebed' was to be released from his position, and the number of officers was to be reduced. The two countries signed an agreement in October on the withdrawal of Russian troops from Transnistria and Tighina within three years. Moldova accepted a linkage between withdrawing Russian troops and achieving a political solution to the conflict in Transnistria. Transnistrian observers, who had feared that the Yeltsin government would strike a deal without their consent, saw the agreement as a blow to their existence as a Russian entity (and also to their illegal money-making activities) and walked out of the negotiations.

However, peace was not to come easily to Transnistria. The October 1994 agreement was a "gentlemen's agreement" that was signed by the two prime ministers and was to be approved by the two governments, but would not be submitted to the countries' parliaments. The Moldovan government approved the agreement immediately, but the Russian government did not, citing the need to submit it to the Russian State Duma (the lower house of the Russian parliament), although it still had not submitted the agreement as of mid-1995.

According to General Lebed', three years was not enough time to withdraw the 14th Army and its matériel (although an American company working in Belarus offered to buy the 14th Army's ordnance and destroy it). Some members of Russia's Duma flatly refused to consider withdrawing the 14th Army. Under these circumstances, there was little hope for the agreement to be implemented.

Ukraine

Moldova's relationship with Ukraine, another important player in the Transnistrian conflict, is also complicated. Areas that were traditionally part of the region of Moldova or Romania (northern Bukovina, Herta, and southern Bessarabia), and that continue to be inhabited in part by ethnic Romanians, were annexed by the Ukrainian SSR when the Moldavian SSR was formed. The potential claims on these territories created tension between the two neighbors in the early years of Moldova's independence, when the Popular Front made public its demands for restitution.

Another potential problem is the presence of a large ethnic Ukrainian minority in Moldova. Ethnic Ukrainians have sided with the local ethnic Russians in the dispute over Moldova's language law, and many ethnic Ukrainians have supported the separatist effort in Transnistria. However, the government of Moldova took significant measures to meet the demands of the Ukrainian minority for cultural autonomy and appears to have met with substantial success in defusing opposition to Moldova's language law.

In 1995 potential problems between Ukraine and Moldova were subordinate to what had emerged as a strong common interest in containing the Transnistrian conflict. Given their own dispute with Russia concerning the status of Crimea, Ukrainians had little interest in supporting the presence of Russian military units outside Russia.

As a more practical question, it was not in Ukraine's interest to have a large and well-equipped Russian military formation based in neighboring Transnistria. The 14th Army could reach Russia only by traversing Ukrainian territory or airspace, so its presence could only be seen as a potential source of danger and instability. Therefore, it is not surprising that Ukrainian president Leonid M. Kravchuk made several statements supporting Moldova's position in the Transnistrian conflict, protested the movement of "Cossack" volunteers across Ukrainian territory to Transnistria, and refused to recognize Transnistrian claims to sovereignty.

Turkey

Politically moderate Gagauz have received support from Turkey, which has urged the leadership of the "Gagauz Republic" to negotiate with the Moldovan government rather than

resort to violence, as had been the case in Transnistria. Turkish president Süleyman Demirel visited the "Gagauz Republic" in mid-1994, urging the Gagauz to accept regional autonomy and to be loyal citizens of Moldova. Turkey pledged to invest US\$35 million in the Gagauz region via Chisinau.

The West

Moldova has pursued cooperation with, and has striven to maintain good relations with, the West. It has joined a number of international organizations and has been responsive to foreign concerns about the pace of its conversion to capitalism. A January 1995 trip by President Snegur to the United States was the setting for an announcement by President William J. Clinton of additional assistance to Moldova for its privatization program and for economic restructuring. Moldova has also signed bilateral treaties with European Union (EU) members.

National Security

In October 1991, President Mircea Snegur announced Moldova's decision to organize its own national armed forces; Moldova had demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops when it declared its independence. The decision not to participate in the joint forces of the CIS was made explicit by Parliament's rejection of the Alma-Ata Declaration of December 21, 1991.

The number, training, and quality of the armed forces and the police have varied greatly since the republic's declaration of independence. In April 1991, Moldova passed legislation that exempted its residents from service in the Soviet armed forces and granted immunity from prosecution to anyone declining to serve. A law on alternative service for conscientious objectors was passed later.

Initially, political leaders intended to keep troop levels low. Moldova's plan for the regular armed forces was to recruit Moldovan citizens to serve in the army and national police and take over positions in Soviet military structures and in the Moldovan Ministry of National Security, which replaced the Committee for State Security (KGB—see Glossary) in Moldova. This program would in effect "republicanize" the armed forces. An eighteen-month draft of eighteen-year-old males was introduced. However, students at institutes of higher education were exempted from all but three months of service, which was



*Moldovan State University, Chisinau
Courtesy Paul E. Michelson
Museum of National History, Chisinau
Courtesy Charles King*

deferred until graduation. Alternative service was available for those with religious objections to military service.

The Armed Forces

A transition to a professional force of 12,000 to 15,000 volunteers was planned at first, but when fighting erupted in 1991 between supporters of the central government in Chisinau and supporters of separatist regions, males between eighteen and forty years of age were mobilized, and the size of Moldova's military was temporarily expanded to meet the demands of the Transnistrian conflict. In 1994 the armed forces (under the Ministry of Defense) totaled some 11,100 volunteers, and there were plans to gradually create a professional army similar to that of the United States.

At the beginning of 1994, the Moldovan army consisted of 9,800 men organized into three motor rifle brigades, one artillery brigade, and one reconnaissance assault battalion. Its equipment consisted of fifty-six ballistic missile defenses; seventy-seven armored personnel carriers and sixty-seven "look-alikes"; eighteen 122mm and fifty-three 152mm towed artillery units; nine 120mm combined guns and mortars; seventy AT-4 Spigot, nineteen AT-5 Spandral, and twenty-seven AT-6 Spiral antitank guided weapons; a 73mm SPG-9 recoilless launcher; forty-five MT-12 100mm antitank guns; and thirty ZU-23 23mm and twelve S-60 57mm air defense guns. Moldova has received some arms from former Soviet stocks maintained on the territory of the republic as well as undetermined quantities of arms from Romania, particularly at the height of the fighting with Transnistria.

In 1994 the Moldovan air force (including air defense) consisted of 1,300 men organized into one fighter regiment, one helicopter squadron, and one missile brigade. Equipment used by the air force included thirty-one MiG-29 aircraft, eight Mi-8 helicopters, five transport aircraft (including an An-72), and twenty-five SA-3/5 surface-to-air missiles.

Other military forces also exist within Moldova. In early 1994, the government of the "Dnestr Republic" had armed forces of about 5,000, which included the Dnestr Battalion of the Republic Guard and some 1,000 "Cossacks." As of early 1994, the Russian 14th Army (about 9,200 troops) consisted of one army headquarters, one motor rifle division, one tank battalion, one artillery regiment, and one anti-aircraft brigade. Their equipment consisted of 120 main battle tanks, 180

armored combat vehicles, and 130 artillery/multiple rocket launchers/mortars. Peacekeepers in Transnistria consisted of six airborne battalions supplied by Russia, three infantry battalions supplied by Moldova, and three airborne battalions supplied by the "Dnestr Republic."

Internal Security

In 1994 the national police of Moldova, modeled on Italy's Carabinieri, were under the direction of the Ministry of Interior and numbered some 10,000. Internal troops were reported to have 2,500 personnel, and the numbers of the OPOP riot police (also known as the "Black Berets") were put at 900. Moldova's Border Guards were under the Ministry of National Security.

The scope and quality of Moldova's state security apparatus were difficult to determine. Like the armed forces, local assets of the former Moldavian KGB were transferred to the new government along with those personnel who wished to enter the service of the new government. These elements now function under the republic's control under the Ministry of National Security.

Crime

Crime in Moldova, as everywhere in former Soviet republics, has risen dramatically since the demise of the Soviet Union. Economic and drug-related crimes, the most visible and predictable results of the deteriorating economic situations in the newly independent countries, have simply overwhelmed the human and financial resources devoted to them. Often, however, the problem is more extensive than what is acknowledged: many crimes are not registered. For example, in early 1995 the Moldovan government stated that overall crime in Moldova had risen by 29 percent over the previous year. However, the number of motorbikes and motor vehicles "being searched for" was thirteen times the number of vehicles listed as "stolen." Illicit cultivation of opium poppies and cannabis is carried out in Moldova, mainly for consumption in CIS countries. In addition, Moldova is a transshipment point for illegal drugs to Western Europe.

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The best historical treatments of Moldova in the pre-Soviet period are still found in general treatments of Romania. Particularly useful works include Vlad Georgescu's *The Romanians*, Robert William Seton-Watson's *A History of the Roumanians*, and Barbara Jelavich's *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Older, yet still useful, works focusing on Bessarabia are Charles Upson Clark's *Bessarabia: Russia and Roumania on the Black Sea* and Andrei Popovici's *The Political Status of Bessarabia*.

Much of the available information on the Soviet period is found in general works on nationalities in the former Soviet Union, such as James H. Bater's *The Soviet Scene: A Geographical Perspective*; Mikhail Bernstam's "The Demography of Soviet Ethnic Groups in World Perspective" in *The Last Empire: Nationality and the Soviet Future*, edited by Robert Conquest; *Social Trends in the Soviet Union from 1950* by Michael Ryan and Richard Prentice; and Viktor Kozlov's *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*. Sherman David Spector's "The Moldavian S.S.R., 1964–1974" in *Nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Europe*, edited by George W. Simmonds, provides more specific information concerning overall conditions in Moldavia. Michael Bruchis's *Nations, Nationalities, People: A Study of the Nationalities Policy of the Communist Party in Soviet Moldavia* is an interesting and useful account of the implementation of the Soviet nationalities policy in Moldavia by an intimate observer of the process. Bruchis describes the politics of language in Moldavia during the Soviet period in *The USSR: Language and Realities: Nations, Leaders, and Scholars* and *One Step Back, Two Steps Forward: On the Language Policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the National Republics*.

The following are useful works on the transition period and current conditions (several also include sections on the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods): William E. Crowther's "Romania and Moldavian Political Dynamics" in *Romania after Tyranny*, edited by Daniel Nelson; Nicholas Dima's *From Moldavia to Moldova: The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute*; "The Politics of Ethnonational Mobilization: Nationalism and Reform in Soviet Moldavia" by William E. Crowther in the *Russian Review*; Nicholas Dima's "The Soviet Political Upheaval of the 1980s: The Case of Moldova" in the *Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*; Nicholas Dima's "Recent Changes in Soviet Moldavia" in the *East European Quarterly*; Darya Fane's "Moldova: Breaking Loose from Moscow" in *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*, edited by Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras; Jonathan Eyal's

"Moldovans" in *The Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union*, edited by Graham Smith; and Charles King's "Moldova and the New Bessarabian Question" in *World Today*. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix A

Table

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Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 m ²)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
.....	1.1	short tons
.....	2,204.0	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade).....	1.8	degrees Fahrenheit
	and add 32	

Table 2. Belarus: Births and Deaths, 1987–90

Year	Live Births		Deaths	
	Number ¹	Number per Thousand Population	Number ¹	Number per Thousand Population
1987	162,900	16.1	99,900	9.9
1988	163,200	16.1	102,700	10.1
1989	153,500	15.0	103,500	10.1
1990	n.a. ²	n.a.	109,600	10.7

¹ Estimated.² n.a.—not available.Source: Based on information from *The Europa World Year Book, 1994*, 1, London, 1994, 492.

Table 3. Belarus: Agricultural Production, 1990-93
(in thousands of tons unless otherwise specified)

Commodity	1990	1991	1992	1993
Eggs	3,657	3,718	3,502	3,516
Flax	52	76	61	57
Grain	7,035	6,296	7,230	7,508
Meat	1,758	1,590	1,442	1,242
Milk	7,457	6,812	5,885	5,584
Potatoes	8,590	8,958	8,984	11,644
Sugar beets	1,479	1,147	1,120	1,569
Live animals (thousands)				
Cattle	6,975	6,577	6,221	5,851
Pigs	5,051	4,703	4,308	4,181
Sheep	403	380	336	271

Source: Based on information from International Monetary Fund, *Belarus*, Washington, 1994, 72.

Table 4. Belarus: Production of Selected Industrial Commodities, 1990-93
(in thousands of tons unless otherwise specified)

Commodity	1990	1991	1992	1993
Timber (millions of cubic meters)	6.9	6.7	6.5	6.2
Plywood (thousands of cubic meters)	192	164	157	133
Mineral fertilizers (millions of tons)	6.0	5.2	4.1	2.5
Cement	2,258	2,402	2,263	1,908
Synthetic fibers	453	443	385	293
Cotton yarn	50.5	50.5	44.9	35.2
Wool yarn	40.2	34.8	30.3	28.2
Linen yarn	30.0	24.4	27.2	20.8
Electricity (billions of kilowatt-hours)	39.5	38.7	37.6	33.4
Steel	1,112	1,123	1,105	946
Tractors (thousands)	100.7	95.5	96.1	82.4
Motorcycles (thousands)	225	214	165	128
Bicycles (thousands)	846	815	724	603
Radios (thousands)	979	932	721	768
Television sets (thousands)	1,302	1,103	798	610
Refrigerators (thousands)	728	743	740	738

Source: Based on information from International Monetary Fund, *Belarus*, Washington, 1994, 79.

Table 5. Belarus: Freight Turnover, 1990–93
(in millions of tons)

	1990	1991	1992	1993
Rail freight	119	111	96	71.5
Truck freight	428	406	304	n.a. ¹

¹ n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from United States, Central Intelligence Agency, *Handbook of International Economic Statistics, 1994*, Washington, 1994, 59; and Paul M. Gregory and Jeffrey S. Glover, "Outlook for Belarus," *Review and Outlook for the Former Soviet Union*, Washington, March 1995, 116.

Table 6. Belarus: Trade with Other Countries of the Former Soviet Union, 1992 and 1993
(in millions of Russian rubles)

Country	1992			1993		
	Exports	Imports	Trade Balance	Exports	Imports	Trade Balance
Armenia	1,071	1,380	-309	5,266	3,952	1,314
Azerbaijan	5,685	2,774	2,911	19,172	13,322	5,850
Estonia	3,242	925	2,317	10,625	4,520	6,105
Georgia	1,696	1,193	503	3,788	4,111	-323
Kazakhstan	19,340	15,165	4,175	149,290	262,559	-113,269
Kyrgyzstan	1,629	1,230	399	5,105	11,473	-6,368
Latvia	8,161	5,164	2,997	56,065	28,325	27,740
Lithuania	8,895	7,955	940	68,308	66,560	1,748
Moldova	9,073	6,356	2,717	107,529	34,509	73,020
Russia	215,833	279,248	-63,415	2,194,852	3,344,168	-1,149,316
Tajikistan	1,597	991	606	15,972	4,614	11,358
Turkmeni- stan	4,188	2,194	1,994	13,043	7,963	5,080
Ukraine	86,576	85,013	1,563	539,987	511,680	28,307
Uzbekistan	12,780	7,492	5,288	52,988	38,627	14,361
TOTAL	379,766	417,080	-37,314	3,241,990	4,336,383	-1,094,393

Source: Based on information from International Monetary Fund, *Belarus*, Washington, 1994, 123.

Table 7. Moldova: Births and Deaths, 1987-92

Year	Live Births		Deaths	
	Number ¹	Number per Thousand Population	Number ¹	Number per Thousand Population
1987	91,800	21.4	40,200	9.4
1988	88,600	20.5	40,900	9.5
1989	82,200	18.9	40,100	9.2
1990	77,100	17.7	42,400	9.7
1991	n.a. ²	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1992	70,100	16.1	44,600	10.2

¹ Estimated.

² n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Moldova, Departamentul de Stat pentru statistica al Republicii Moldova, *Anuar statistic: economia nationala a Republicii Moldova, 1990* (Narodnoye khozyaystvo respublikii Moldova), eds., N. Pasternacov and V. Frunza, Chisinau, 1991, 30; and *The Europa World Year Book, 1994*, 2, London, 1994, 2032.

Table 8. Moldova: Population by Rural-Urban Breakdown, 1959, 1979, and 1991
(in thousands)

	1959		1979		1991	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Rural ...	2,242	78	2,396	61	2,293	53
Urban ...	642	22	1,551	39	2,074	47

Source: Based on information from Nicholas Dima, *From Moldavia to Moldova*, Boulder, Colorado, 1991, 84; and Moldova, Departamentul de Stat pentru statistica al Republicii Moldova, *Anuar statistic: economia nationala a Republicii Moldova, 1990* (Narodnoye khozyaystvo respublikii Moldova), eds., N. Pasternacov and V. Frunza, Chisinau, 1991, 2.

Table 9. Moldova: Marriages and Divorces, 1987–90

Year	Marriages		Divorces	
	Number ¹	Number per Thousand Population	Number ¹	Number per Thousand Population
1987	39,100	9.1	11,600	2.7
1988	39,800	9.2	12,100	2.8
1989	39,900	9.2	12,400	2.9
1990	40,800	9.4	13,100	3.0

¹ Estimated.

Source: Based on information from Moldova, Departamentul de Stat pentru statistica al Republicii Moldova, *Anuar statistic: economia nationala a Republicii Moldova, 1990* (Narodnoye khozyaystvo respublikii Moldova), eds., N. Pasternacov and V. Frunza, Chisinau, 1991, 29.

Table 10. Moldova: Consumer Goods Availability, 1989, 1990,
and 1991
(in units per hundred families)

	1989	1990	1991
Televisions	91	91	98
Tape recorders	38	41	45
Refrigerators	94	94	94
Washing machines	74	77	76
Vacuum cleaners	43	44	46
Sewing machines	47	45	43
Automobiles	14	15	15

Source: Based on information from United States, Central Intelligence Agency, *Handbook of International Economic Statistics, 1994*, Washington, 1994, 61.

Table 11. Moldova: Per Capita Consumption of Selected Foods, 1990–93
(in kilograms unless otherwise specified)

	1990	1991	1992	1993
Meat ¹	58	56	46	42
Milk	303	259	198	232
Eggs (units)	203	195	166	n.a. ²
Fish	12	7	2	n.a.
Sugar	49	41	31	30
Vegetable oil	14	12	8	n.a.
Potatoes	69	69	66	78
Vegetables	112	113	95	n.a.
Grain products ³	171	175	170	n.a.

¹ Includes offals and slaughter fat.

² n.a.—not available.

³ In terms of flour.

Source: Based on information from United States, Central Intelligence Agency, *Handbook of International Economic Statistics, 1994*, Washington, 1994, 61.

Table 12. Moldova: Principal Crops, 1990, 1991, and 1992
(in thousands of tons)

Crop	1990	1991	1992
Wheat	1,130	1,056	924
Corn	885	1,501	632
Potatoes	295	291	310
Sunflower seeds	252	169	197
Vegetables	1,177	989	784
Melons, pumpkins, and squash	480	454	450
Grapes	940	774	819
Other fruits and berries	901	698	506
Sugar beets	2,375	2,262	1,970
Tobacco (leaves)	73	69	51

Source: Based on information from *The Europa World Year Book, 1994*, 2, London, 1994, 2032.

*Table 13. Moldova: Freight Turnover by Mode of Transportation,
1970, 1980, and 1990*
(in millions of ton-kilometers)

Year	Railroads	Trucks	Inland Waterways	Airplanes	Total
1970	10,406	1,036	110	13	11,565
1980	15,171	1,913	299	14	17,397
1990	15,007	1,673	317	19	17,016

Source: Based on information from Moldova, Departamentul de Stat pentru statistica al Republicii Moldova, *Anuar statistic: economia nationala a Republicii Moldova, 1990* (Narodnoye khozyaystvo respublikii Moldova), eds., N. Pasternacov and V. Frunza, Chisinau, 1991, 308.

The Minsk Agreement

Signed by the heads of state of Belarus, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine on December 8, 1991.

Preamble

We, the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Ukraine, as founder states of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), which signed the 1922 Union Treaty, further described as the high contracting parties, conclude that the USSR has ceased to exist as a subject of international law and a geopolitical reality.

Taking as our basis the historic community of our peoples and the ties which have been established between them, taking into account the bilateral treaties concluded between the high contracting parties;

striving to build democratic law-governed states; intending to develop our relations on the basis of mutual recognition and respect for state sovereignty, the inalienable right to self-determination, the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, repudiation of the use of force and of economic or any other methods of coercion, settlement of contentious problems by means of mediation and other generally recognized principles and norms of international law;

considering that further development and strengthening of relations of friendship, good-neighborliness and mutually beneficial co-operation between our states correspond to the vital national interests of their peoples and serve the cause of peace and security;

confirming our adherence to the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe;

and committing ourselves to observe the generally recognized internal norms on human rights and the rights of peoples, we have agreed the following:

Article 1

The high contracting parties form the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Article 2

The high contracting parties guarantee their citizens equal rights and freedoms regardless of nationality or other distinctions. Each of the high contracting parties guarantees the citizens of the other parties, and also persons without citizenship that live on its territory, civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights and freedoms in accordance with generally recognized international norms of human rights, regardless of national allegiance or other distinctions.

Article 3

The high contracting parties, desiring to promote the expression, preservation and development of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious individuality of the national minorities resident on their territories, and that of the unique ethno-cultural regions that have come into being, take them under their protection.

Article 4

The high contracting parties will develop the equal and mutually beneficial co-operation of their peoples and states in the spheres of politics, the economy, culture, education, public health, protection of the environment, science and trade and in the humanitarian and other spheres, will promote the broad exchange of information and will conscientiously and unconditionally observe reciprocal obligations.

The parties consider it a necessity to conclude agreements on co-operation in the above spheres.

Article 5

The high contracting parties recognize and respect one another's territorial integrity and the inviolability of existing borders within the Commonwealth.

They guarantee openness of borders, freedom of movement for citizens and of transmission of information within the Commonwealth.

Article 6

The member-states of the Commonwealth will co-operate in safeguarding international peace and security and in implementing effective measures for reducing weapons and military spending. They seek the elimination of all nuclear weapons and universal total disarmament under strict international control.

The parties will respect one another's aspiration to attain the status of a non-nuclear zone and a neutral state.

The member-states of the community will preserve and maintain under united command a common military-strategic space, including unified control over nuclear weapons, the procedure for implementing which is regulated by a special agreement.

They also jointly guarantee the necessary conditions for the stationing and functioning of and for material and social provision for the strategic armed forces. The parties contract to pursue a harmonized policy on questions of social protection and pension provision for members of the services and their families.

Article 7

The high contracting parties recognize that within the sphere of their activities, implemented on an equal basis through the common coordinating institutions of the Commonwealth, will be the following:

- co-operation in the sphere of foreign policy;
- co-operation in forming and developing the united economic area, the common European and Eurasian markets, in the area of customs policy;
- co-operation in developing transport and communication systems;
- co-operation in preservation of the environment, and participation in creating a comprehensive international system of ecological safety;
- migration policy issues;
- and fighting organized crime.

Article 8

The parties realize the planetary character of the Chernobyl catastrophe and pledge themselves to unite and co-ordinate their efforts in minimizing and overcoming its consequences.

To these ends they have decided to conclude a special agreement which will take consider [sic] the gravity of the consequences of this catastrophe.

Article 9

The disputes regarding interpretation and application of the norms of this agreement are to be solved by way of negotiations between the appropriate bodies, and when necessary, at the level of heads of the governments and states.

Article 10

Each of the high contracting parties reserves the right to suspend the validity of the present agreement or individual articles thereof, after informing the parties to the agreement of this a year in advance.

The clauses of the present agreement may be addedded to or amended with the common consent of the high contracting parties.

Article 11

From the moment that the present agreement is signed, the norms of third states, including the former USSR, are not permitted to be implemented on the territories of the signatory states.

Article 12

The high contracting parties guarantee the fulfillment of the international obligations binding upon them from the treaties and agreements of the former USSR.

Article 13

The present agreement does not affect the obligations of the high contracting parties in regard to third states.

The present agreement is open for all member-states of the former USSR to join, and also for other states which share the goals and principles of the present agreement.

Article 14

The city of Minsk is the official location of the coordinating bodies of the Commonwealth.

The activities of bodies of the former USSR are discontinued on the territories of the member-states of the Commonwealth.

The Alma-Ata Declaration

The Alma-Ata Declaration was signed by 11 heads of state on December 21, 1991.

Preamble

The independent states:

The Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Republic of Turkmenistan, the Republic of Ukraine and the Republic of Uzbekistan;

seeking to build democratic law-governed states, the relations between which will develop on the basis of mutual recognition and respect for state sovereignty and sovereign equality, the inalienable right to self-determination, principles of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs, the rejection of the use of force, the threat of force and economic and any other methods of pressure, a peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for human rights and freedoms, including the rights of national minorities, a conscientious fulfillment of commitments and other generally recognized principles and standards of international law;

recognizing and respecting each other's territorial integrity and the inviolability of the existing borders;

believing that the strengthening of the relations of friendship, good neighborliness and mutually advantageous co-operation, which has deep historic roots, meets the basic interests of nations and promotes the cause of peace and security;

being aware of their responsibility for the preservation of civilian peace and inter-ethnic accord;

being loyal to the objectives and principles of the agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States;

are making the following statement:

The Declaration

Co-operation between members of the Commonwealth will be carried out in accordance with the principle of equality through coordinating institutions formed on a parity basis and

operating in the way established by the agreements between members of the Commonwealth, which is neither a state, nor a super-state structure.

In order to ensure international strategic stability and security, allied command of the military-strategic forces and a single control over nuclear weapons will be preserved, the sides will respect each other's desire to attain the status of a non-nuclear and (or) neutral state.

The Commonwealth of Independent States is open, with the agreement of all its participants, to the states—members of the former USSR, as well as other states—sharing the goals and principles of the Commonwealth.

The allegiance to co-operation in the formation and development of the common economic space, and all-European and Eurasian markets, is being confirmed.

With the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States the USSR ceases to exist. Member states of the Commonwealth guarantee, in accordance with their constitutional procedures, the fulfillment of international obligations, stemming from the treaties and agreements of the former USSR.

Member-states of the Commonwealth pledge to observe strictly the principles of this declaration.

Agreement on Councils of Heads of State and Government

A provisional agreement on the membership and conduct of Councils of Heads of State and Government was concluded between the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States on December 30, 1991.

Preamble

The member-states of this agreement, guided by the aims and principles of the agreement on the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States of 8 December 1991 and the protocol to the agreement of 21 December 1991, taking into consideration the desire of the Commonwealth states to pursue joint activity through the Commonwealth's common coordinating institutions, and deeming it essential to establish, for the consistent implementation of the provisions of the said agreement, the appropriate inter-state and inter-governmental institutions capable of ensuring effective co-ordination, and of promoting the development of equal and mutually advantageous co-operation, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The Council of Heads of State is the supreme body, on which all the member-states of the Commonwealth are represented at the level of head of state, for discussion of fundamental issues connected with coordinating the activity of the Commonwealth states in the sphere of their common interests.

The Council of Heads of State is empowered to discuss issues provided for by the Minsk Agreement on the creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States and other documents for the development of the said Agreement, including the problems of legal succession, which have arisen as a result of ending the existence of the USSR and the abolition of Union structures.

The activities of the Council of Heads of State and of the Council of Heads of Government are pursued on the basis of mutual recognition of and respect for the state sovereignty and sovereign equality of the member-states of the Agreement, their inalienable right to self-determination, the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, the renunciation of the use of force and the threat of force, territorial integrity and the inviolability of existing borders, and the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for human rights and liberties, including the rights of national minorities, conscientious fulfillment of obligations and other commonly accepted principles and norms of international law.

Article 2

The activities of the Council of Heads of State and of the Council Heads of Government are regulated by the Minsk Agreement on setting up the Commonwealth of Independent States, the present agreement and agreements adopted in development of them, and also by the rules of procedure of these institutes.

Each state in the council has one vote. The decisions of the council are taken by common consent.

The official languages of the Councils are the state languages of the Commonwealth states.

The working language is the Russian language.

Article 3

The Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government discuss and where necessary take decisions on the more important domestic and external issues.

Any state may declare its having no interest in a particular issue or issues.

Article 4

The Council of Heads of State convenes for meetings no less than twice a year. The decision on the time for holding and the provisional agenda of each successive meeting of the Council is taken at the routine meeting of the Council, unless the Council agrees otherwise. Extraordinary meetings of the Council of Heads of State are convened on the initiative of the majority of Commonwealth heads of state.

The heads of state chair the meetings of the Council in turn, according to the Russian alphabetical order of the names of the Commonwealth states.

Sittings of the Council of Heads of State are generally to be held in Minsk. A sitting of the Council may be held in another of the Commonwealth states by agreement among those taking part.

Article 5

The Council of Heads of Government convenes for meetings no less frequently than once every three months. The decision concerning the scheduling of and preliminary agenda for each subsequent sitting is to be made at a routine session of the Council, unless the Council arranges otherwise.

Extraordinary sittings of the Council of Heads of Government may be convened at the initiative of a majority of heads of government of the commonwealth states.

The heads of government chair meetings of the Council in turn, according to the Russian alphabetical order of the names of the Commonwealth states.

Sittings of the Council of Heads of Government are generally to be held in Minsk. A sitting of the Council may be held in another of the Commonwealth states by agreement among the heads of government.

Article 6

The Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth states may hold joint sittings.

Article 7

Working and auxiliary bodies may be set up on both a perma-

ment and interim basis on the decision of the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth states.

These are composed of authorized representatives of the participating states. Experts and consultants may be invited to take part in their sittings.

Agreement on Strategic Forces

The Agreement on Strategic Forces was concluded between the 11 members of the Commonwealth of Independent States on December 30, 1991.

Preamble

Guided by the necessity for a coordinated and organized solution to issues in the sphere of the control of the strategic forces and the single control over nuclear weapons, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Republic of Turkmenistan, the Republic of Ukraine and the Republic of Uzbekistan, subsequently referred to as 'the member-states of the Commonwealth,' have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The term 'strategic forces' means: groupings, formations, units, institutions, the military training institutes for the strategic missile troops, for the air force, for the navy and for the air defenses; the directorates of the Space Command and of the airborne troops, and of strategic and operational intelligence, and the nuclear technical units and also the forces, equipment and other military facilities designed for the control and maintenance of the strategic forces of the former USSR (the schedule is to be determined for each state participating in the Commonwealth in a separate protocol).

Article 2

The member-states of the Commonwealth undertake to observe the international treaties of the former USSR, to pursue a coordinated policy in the area of international security, disarmament and arms control, and to participate in the preparation and implementation of programs for reductions in arms and armed forces. The member-states of the Common-

wealth are immediately entering into negotiations with one another and also with other states which were formerly part of the USSR, but which have not joined the commonwealth, with the aim of ensuring guarantees and developing mechanisms for implementing the aforementioned treaties.

Article 3

The member-states of the Commonwealth recognize the need for joint command of strategic forces and for maintaining unified control of nuclear weapons, and other types of weapons of mass destruction, of the armed forces of the former USSR.

Article 4

Until the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, the decision on the need for their use is taken by the president of the Russian Federation in agreement with the heads of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Ukraine, and in consultation with the heads of the other member-states of the Commonwealth.

Until their destruction in full, nuclear weapons located on the territory of the Republic of Ukraine shall be under the control of the Combined Strategic Forces Command, with the aim that they not be used and be dismantled by the end of 1994, including tactical nuclear weapons by 1 July 1992.

The process of destruction of nuclear weapons located on the territory of the Republic of Belarus and the Republic of Ukraine shall take place with the participation of the Republic of Belarus, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Ukraine under the joint control of the Commonwealth states.

Article 5

The status of strategic forces and the procedure for service in them shall be defined in a special agreement.

Article 6

This agreement shall enter into force from the moment of its signing and shall be terminated by decision of the signatory states or the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth.

This agreement shall cease to apply to a signatory state from whose territory strategic forces or nuclear weapons are withdrawn.

Agreement on Armed Forces and Border Troops

The Agreement on Strategic Forces was concluded between the 11 members of the Commonwealth of Independent States on December 30, 1991.

Preamble

Proceeding from the need for a mutually acceptable settlement of matters of defense and security, including guarding the borders of the Commonwealth member-states, the member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States have agreed the following:

The Agreement

The commonwealth member-states confirm their legitimate right to set up their own armed forces;

jointly with the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, to examine and settle, within two months of the date of this agreement, the issue of the procedure for controlling general purpose forces, taking account of the national legislations of the Commonwealth states and also the issue of the consistent implementation by the Commonwealth states of their right to set up their own armed forces. For the Republic of Ukraine, this will be from 3 January 1991;

to appoint I. Ya. Kalini[n]chenko Commander-in-Chief of Border Troops;

to instruct the Commander-in-Chief of Border Troops to work out, within two months and in conjunction with the leaders of the Commonwealth member-states, a mechanism for the activity of the Border Troops, taking account of the national legislations [sic] of the Commonwealth states, with the exception of states with which a mechanism for the activity of Border Troops has already been agreed.

Note: In addition, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov was confirmed as acting Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Moldova

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA,
constituted after free and democratic elections,

taking into account the millenary history of our people and
its uninterrupted statehood within its historical and ethnic
area of its national making,

considering the acts of dismemberment of its national terri-
tory between 1775 and 1812 as being contradictory to the his-
torical right of its people and the judicial stature of the
principality of Moldova, acts recalled by the entire historical
evolution and the free will of the population of Bassarabia and
Bukovina,

underlining the existence of Moldavians [sic] in Transni-
stria, a component part of the historical and ethnic territory of
our people,

acknowledging that declarations by many parliaments of
many states consider the agreement of August 23, 1939,
between the government of the USSR and the government of
Germany null and void *ab initio* and demand that the political
and judicial consequences of the above be eliminated, a fact
revealed also by the declaration of the international confer-
ence "The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and its consequences for
Bassarabia", adopted on 28 June 1991,

pointing out that, without the prior consultation of the pop-
ulation of Bassarabia, Northern Bukovina and Hertza District,
occupied by force on June 28, 1940, as well as the Moldavian
Soviet Socialist Autonomous Republic (Transnistria) estab-
lished on Oct. 12, 1924, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, by
infringing its constitutional prerogatives, adopted the "Law of
the USSR on the establishment of the Moldavian SSR" on
August 2, 1940, and its Presidium issued "The Decree concern-
ing the frontiers between the Ukrainian SSR and the Molda-
vian SSR", on November 4, 1940, judicial acts whereby, in the
absence of any real legal basis, it was attempted to justify the
dismantlement of those territories and the incorporation of
the new republic into the USSR,

recalling that during the recent years the democratic national liberation movement of the population of the Republic of Moldova reaffirmed its aspirations for freedom, independence and national unity, expressed in final documents of the Great National Reunion of Kishinau [sic] on 27 August, 1989, 16 December, 1990, and 27 August, 1991, laws and decisions of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova concerning the laws reintroducing Romanian as the state language and the Latin alphabet on August 31, 1989, the state flag on 27 April, 1990, the state emblem on November 3, 1990, and the change of the official name of the republic on May 23, 1991,

taking as a basis the declaration concerning State Sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova, adopted by the parliament on June 23, 1990, and the fact that the population of the Republic of Moldova, in its own right as a sovereign people, did not participate at the referendum on the preservation of the USSR, held on March 17, 1991, in spite [sic] of the pressures exercised [sic] by the state organs of the USSR,

taking into account the irreversible processes taking place in Europe and elsewhere in the world calling for democracy, freedom and national unity, for the establishment of a state of law and the transformation towards a free market,

reaffirming the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, as laid down in the UN Charta, the Helsinki Final Act and the norms of international law pertaining to the above,

considering that the time has come for the proclamation of a judicial act, in accordance with the history of our people and moral norms of international law,

PROCLAIMS SOLEMNLY,

in virtue of the right of self-determination of peoples, in the name of the entire population of the Republic of Moldova, and in front of the whole world, that:

THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA IS A SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC STATE, FREE TO DECIDE ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE, WITHOUT ANY EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, KEEPING WITH THE IDEALS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE WITHIN ITS HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC AREA OF ITS NATIONAL MAKING.

In its quality as a SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE, THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA, hereby

requests all states and world governments to recognize the independence of the Republic of Moldova, as proclaimed by the freely elected parliament of the republic and is willing to establish political, economic and cultural relations and any other relations of common interest with European countries and all other countries of the world, and is ready to establish diplomatic relations with the above, in accordance with the norms of international law and common practice on the above matter,

requests the United Nations to admit the Republic of Moldova as a full member of the world organization and its specialized [sic] agencies,

declares that it is ready to adhere to the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charta for a new Europe, equally asking to be admitted to the CSCE and its mechanisms, with equal rights,

requests the USSR to begin negotiations with the government of the Republic of Moldova to terminate the illegal state of occupation and annexation and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its national territory,

decides that no other laws should be respected on its territory but those that are in conformity with the republic's constitution, laws and all other legal acts adopted by the legally constituted organs of the Republic of Moldova,

guarantees the exercise of social, economic, cultural and political rights for all citizens of the Republic of Moldova, including those of national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups, in conformity with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and documents adopted afterwards, as well as the Paris Charta for a new Europe.

SO HELP US GOD!

Adopted in Chisinau, by the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova on this day, the 27th of August, 1991.

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(Various issues of the following periodicals were also used in the preparation of this chapter: British Broadcasting Corporation, *Summary of World Broadcasts* [Caversham Park, Reading, United Kingdom]; and Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia*.)

Glossary

apparatchik—Russian colloquial word for someone who has been engaged full time in the work of the CPSU (*q.v.*) and/or the republic communist parties. Sometimes used in a derogatory sense.

August coup d'état—On August 19, 1991, high-ranking officials of the CPSU (*q.v.*) and the government of the Soviet Union (*q.v.*) announced that they had formed the State Committee for the State of Emergency and had removed Mikhail S. Gorbachev as the head of state. Leaders of most of the Soviet republics and many foreign leaders denounced the coup. Some key military commanders refused to deploy their forces in support of the coup leaders, and by August 22 the coup had collapsed. As a consequence of the failed coup, the CPSU and the Soviet central government were severely discredited, Gorbachev resigned, ten of the fifteen Soviet republics declared or reaffirmed their independence (including Belarus and Moldova), and the Congress of People's Deputies (*q.v.*) dissolved the Soviet Union and itself after transferring state power to a transitional government.

Belarusian ruble—The monetary unit of Belarus, introduced in May 1992. In March 1995, the exchange rate was 11,669 Belarusian rubles per US\$1. The Belarusian ruble is convertible, within limits.

Bessarabia (Basarabia in Romanian)—Former principality, originally composed of lands owned by the Basarab Dynasty of Walachia (*q.v.*), extending inland from the Black Sea coast and bounded on the west by the Prut River and on the east by the Nistru River. In 1812 the name was extended to all the land between the Prut and Nistru rivers by the Russian Empire (*q.v.*), to which Bessarabia was awarded by the Treaty of Bucharest. The bulk of Bessarabia makes up most of the present-day Republic of Moldova.

Bolshevik—A member of the radical group within the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, which, under Vladimir I. Lenin's leadership, staged the Bolshevik Revolution. In March 1918, the Bolsheviks formed the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) and began calling themselves Com-

- munists (*q.v.*). That party was the precursor of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU—*q.v.*).
- Bukovina (Bucovina in Romanian; Bukovyna in Ukrainian)—An area in the eastern foothills of the Carpathian Mountains populated principally by ethnic Ukrainians and Romanians. Over the centuries, Bukovina has belonged to various states, including Kievan Rus', Moldova, and Austria-Hungary. In 1940 the northern half of Bukovina became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, while the southern half remained part of Romania.
- Bund (General Union of Jewish Workers in Russia and Poland)—A Jewish socialist movement founded in Vilnius in 1897 by Jewish workers and intellectuals in the Russian Empire (*q.v.*). The Bund divided into two groups in 1920. The larger group merged with the Bolshevik (*q.v.*) branch of the communist party, while the minority remained independent until it was suppressed by the Bolshevik government.
- chernozem—Russian word meaning black earth. Rich, highly fertile soil.
- collective farm (*kolkhoz* in Russian)—Under the communist (*q.v.*) regime, an agricultural "cooperative" where peasants worked collectively on state-owned land under the direction of party-approved plans and leaders and were paid wages based partly on the success of their harvest.
- collectivization—Joseph V. Stalin's policy of confiscating privately owned agricultural lands and facilities and consolidating them, along with farmers and their families, into large collective farms (*q.v.*) and state farms (*q.v.*).
- Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; sometimes cited as CMEA or CEMA)—A multilateral economic alliance created in 1949, ostensibly to promote economic development of member states through cooperation and specialization, but actually to enforce Soviet economic domination of Eastern Europe. Members shortly before its official demise in January 1991 were Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Vietnam.
- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)—Created on December 8, 1991, with the signing of the Minsk Agreement by Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. The Alma-Ata Declaration, signed by eleven heads of state on December 21,

1991, expanded membership in the CIS to all other former Soviet republics except Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Moldova joined the CIS in April 1994. The CIS is a confederation of former Soviet republics in which "coordinating bodies" oversee common interests in the economy, foreign policy, and defense of its members.

communism/communist—The official ideology of the Soviet Union (*q.v.*), based on Marxism-Leninism, which provided for a system of authoritarian government in which the CPSU (*q.v.*) alone controlled state-owned means of production. It sought to establish a society in which the state withered away and goods and services were distributed equitably. A communist is an adherent or advocate of communism; when capitalized, "Communist" refers to a member of a communist party.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)—Established in 1972, the group in 1994 consisted of fifty-three nations, including all European countries, and sponsored joint sessions and consultations on political issues vital to European security. The Charter of Paris (1990) changed the CSCE from an ad hoc forum to an organization having permanent institutions. In 1992 new CSCE roles in conflict prevention and management were defined, potentially making the CSCE the center of a Europe-based collective security system. In the early 1990s, however, applications of these instruments to conflicts in Yugoslavia and the Caucasus did not have a decisive impact. In January 1995, the organization was renamed the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Congress of People's Deputies—Established in 1988 by constitutional amendment. The highest organ (upper tier) of legislative and executive authority in the Soviet Union (*q.v.*). It elected the Supreme Soviet (*q.v.*) of the Soviet Union but ceased to exist at the demise of the Soviet Union.

Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE Treaty)—An agreement signed in 1990 by the member nations of the Warsaw Pact (*q.v.*) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to establish parity in conventional weapons between the two organizations from the Atlantic to the Urals. The treaty included a strict system of inspection and information exchange and remained in force, although not strictly

observed by all parties, in the mid-1990s.

Cossacks—Originally peasants (primarily Ukrainian and Russian) who fled from oppression to the lower Dnepr and Don river regions to settle in the frontier areas separating fifteenth-century Muscovy, Poland, and the lands occupied by the Tatars. They later organized themselves into military formations to resist Tatar raids. Renowned as horsemen, they were absorbed into the army of the Russian Empire (*q.v.*) by the late eighteenth century. In the early 1990s, there were attempts to reestablish a Cossack military tradition in Ukraine. The "Cossacks" in Transnistria were mostly Russian mercenaries, ultranationalists, and military veterans.

Council of Europe—Founded in 1949, the Council of Europe is an organization overseeing intergovernmental cooperation in designated areas such as environmental planning, finance, sports, crime, migration, and legal matters. In 1994 the council had thirty-three members.

CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)—Since 1952 the official name of the communist party in the Soviet Union (*q.v.*). After the August coup d'état (*q.v.*), in which the party played a prominent role, Russian president Boris N. Yeltsin banned the party in Russia and ordered its property turned over to the government. The Communist Party of Belarus was banned in Belarus in August 1991, as was the Communist Party of Moldova in Moldova.

Cyrillic alphabet—An alphabet based on Greek characters that was created in the ninth century to serve as a medium for writing Orthodox texts translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic (*q.v.*). Named for Cyril, the leader of the first religious mission from Constantinople to the Slavic peoples, Cyrillic is used by modern Russian, Belarusian, "Moldavian" (*q.v.*), and several other languages, both Slavic and non-Slavic.

"Dnestr Moldavian Republic"—An extralegal political entity, located on the east bank of the Nistru River, that declared its independence in September 1990. Established by Russian-speaking conservatives who wished to remain part of the Soviet Union. In 1995 the territory of the "Dnestr Republic" (as it was commonly known) consisted of all Moldovan land east of the Nistru River, with the exception of two enclaves bordering the river, one around Cosnita (northeast of Chisinau), and the other between Dubasari

and Malovata to its northwest. In addition, the "Dnestr Republic" included territory on the west bank of the Nistru: the city of Tighina and an area to the southeast of the city that bordered on the river.

enterprise—A production establishment, such as a plant or a factory, in the communist (*q.v.*) era; not to be confused with a privately owned, Western-style business.

eparchy—An administrative district of the Orthodox and Uniate (*q.v.*) churches, usually headed by a bishop. Equivalent to a diocese in the Roman Catholic Church. A group of eparchies constitutes a metropolitan see.

ethnic Belarusian/Belorussian—Person whose ethnic heritage is East Slavic and whose native language is Belarusian/Belorussian.

ethnic Bulgarian—Person whose ethnic heritage is South Slavic and whose native language is Bulgarian.

ethnic Pole—Person whose ethnic heritage is West Slavic and whose native language is Polish.

ethnic Romanian—Person whose ethnic heritage is Latin and whose native language is Romanian.

ethnic Russian—Person whose ethnic heritage is East Slavic and whose native language is Russian.

ethnic Ukrainian—Person whose ethnic heritage is East Slavic and whose native language is Ukrainian.

European Union (EU)—Successor organization to the European Community, officially established by ratification of the Maastricht Treaty of November 1993. The goal of the EU is closer economic unification of Western Europe, leading to a single monetary system and closer cooperation in matters of justice and foreign and security policies. In 1995 members consisted of Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden.

exarchate—An independent church within the Orthodox Church. The exarch, head of the exarchate, is an Eastern rite bishop who ranks below a patriarch and above a metropolitan.

fiscal year (FY)—A one-year period for financial accounting purposes, which can coincide with the calendar year. In both Belarus and Moldova, it coincides with the calendar year.

glasnost—Russian word meaning openness. Public discussion of

- issues; accessibility of information so that the public can become familiar with it and discuss it. Mikhail S. Gorbachev's policy of using the media to make information available on some controversial issues in order to provoke public discussion, challenge government and party bureaucrats, and mobilize greater support for his policy of *perestroika* (*q.v.*).
- gross domestic product (GDP)—A measure of the total value of goods and services produced by the domestic economy of a country during a given period, usually one year. Obtained by adding the value contributed by each sector of the economy in the form of profits, compensation to employees, and depreciation (consumption of capital). Only domestic production is included, not income arising from investments and possessions owned abroad, hence the use of the word "domestic" to distinguish GDP from gross "national" product (GNP—*q.v.*).
- gross national product (GNP)—The total market value of final goods and services produced by a country's economy during a year. Obtained by adding the gross domestic product (GDP—*q.v.*) and the income received from abroad by residents and by subtracting payments remitted abroad to nonresidents.
- Group of Seven—The seven major noncommunist economic powers: Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States.
- International Monetary Fund (IMF)—Established along with the World Bank (*q.v.*) in 1945, the IMF is a specialized agency affiliated with the United Nations and responsible for stabilizing international exchange rates and payments. Its main function is to provide loans to its members (including industrialized and developing countries) when they experience balance of payments difficulties. These loans frequently have conditions that require substantial internal economic adjustments by the recipients, most of which are developing countries. Belarus and Moldova both became members of the IMF in 1992.
- KGB (Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti in Russian)—Committee for State Security. The predominant Soviet security police organization since its establishment in 1954 as the successor to the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs; Ministerstvo vnutrennykh del, in Russian). In October 1991, when Mikhail S. Gorbachev decreed that the KGB be

disbanded because of its involvement in the August coup d'état (*q.v.*), the assets and willing personnel of the KGB in Moldova were transferred to the new republic's government, to the Ministry of National Security. In Belarus the new government took control of the KGB but did not change its name.

leu (pl., lei)—The monetary unit of Moldova, introduced in November 1993. The exchange rate was 4.27 lei per US\$1 at the beginning of 1995. The leu is convertible.

Menshevik—A member of a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party before and during the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Unlike the Bolsheviks (*q.v.*), the Mensheviks believed in the gradual achievement of socialism by parliamentary methods.

"Moldavian" (*moldavskiy* in Russian)—Term used by the Soviet government to describe the language and nationality of the ethnic Romanians (*q.v.*) in Bessarabia (*q.v.*). Joseph V. Stalin claimed that their language and nationality were different and distinct from the language and nationality of the ethnic Romanians in Romania as a justification for creating the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1940. In actuality, the "Moldavian language" is a dialect of Romanian. Under the Soviet regime, "Moldavia" was used as the short form for the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Moldova—Former principality, one of two major historical regions inhabited by a Romanian-speaking population (along with Walachia, *q.v.*). Moldovan territory east of the Prut River was added to the original Bessarabia (*q.v.*), and the entire region was called Bessarabia when it was annexed by the Russian Empire (*q.v.*) in 1812. Also the name of a region in modern Romania.

most-favored-nation status—Under the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), when one country accords another most-favored-nation status, it agrees to extend to that country the same trade concessions, such as lower tariffs or reduced nontariff barriers, that it grants to any other recipient having most-favored-nation status. The United States granted Moldova most-favored-nation status in 1992. Belarus was granted that status in 1993.

Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact—Agreement signed by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union (*q.v.*) on August 23, 1939, immediately preceding the German invasion of Poland,

- which began World War II. A secret protocol divided Poland between the two powers and gave Bessarabia (*q.v.*), Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and the eastern part of Poland to the Soviet Union. Also known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.
- net material product (NMP)—The official measure of the value of goods and services produced in countries having a planned economy during a given period, usually a year. It approximates the term "gross national product" (GNP—*q.v.*) used by economists in the United States and in other countries having a market economy.
- New Economic Policy (Novaya ekonomicheskaya politika in Russian—NEP)—Instituted in 1921, it let peasants sell produce on an open market and permitted small enterprises (*q.v.*) to be privately owned and operated. The NEP declined with forced collectivization (*q.v.*) of farms and was officially ended by Stalin in December 1929.
- Old Believers—A sect of the Russian Orthodox Church that rejected the changes made by Patriarch Nikon in the mid-seventeenth century.
- Old Church Slavonic—Also called Church Slavonic. The liturgical language of the Orthodox and Uniate (*q.v.*) churches in Slavic lands.
- perestroika*—Russian word meaning restructuring. Mikhail S. Gorbachev's campaign to revitalize the economy, communist party, and society by adjusting economic, political, and social mechanisms. Announced at the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress of the CPSU (*q.v.*) in August 1986.
- Polonize/Polonization—The process of changing the national identity of non-Poles to one culturally similar to that of the Poles.
- Procuracy—The agency responsible for the investigation and prosecution of lawbreakers. The Procuracy was subject to the authority of the CPSU (*q.v.*) and had limited purview over political matters. In Moldova the Procuracy (and its successor organization, the General Prosecution Office) was the subject of substantial controversy in discussions on constitutional reform in the early 1990s.
- raion* (pl., *raioane* in Romanian; *rayon/rayony* in Belarusian and Russian)—A low-level territorial and administrative subdivision, roughly equivalent to a county in the United States in terms of function. Originally used by the Soviet Union.
- rayon*—See *raion*.

- Russian Empire**—Formally proclaimed by Tsar Peter the Great in 1721 and significantly expanded during the reign of Catherine II, becoming a major multinational state. It collapsed during the revolutions of 1917.
- Russianization**—The policy of several Soviet regimes promoting Russian as the national language of the Soviet Union. Russian was given equal and official status with local languages in most non-Russian republics; it was made the official language of the Soviet Union in state and diplomatic affairs, in the armed forces, and on postage stamps, currency, and military and civilian decorations.
- Russify/Russification**—A process of changing the national identity of non-Russians to one culturally similar to that of the Russians. An official policy of the Russian Empire (*q.v.*) although not of any Soviet regime. However, such assimilation often resulted from the policy of Russianization (*q.v.*), particularly in the case of ethnic Ukrainians, Belarusians, and non-Russian educated elites.
- Soviet Union (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—USSR)**—Founded December 1922; dissolved in December 1991. The Soviet Union included the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (originally called the Moldavian Autonomous Oblast) from 1924 until 1940, at which time the Soviet government created the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic on somewhat different territory until 1941. In 1947 the Soviet Union regained control until Moldova declared its independence in August 1991. The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was established in 1919 and remained a part of the Soviet Union until it declared its independence in August 1991.
- state farm (*sovkhos* in Russian)**—Under the communist regime, a government-owned and government-managed agricultural enterprise (*q.v.*) in which workers were paid salaries.
- steppe**—The vast, semiarid, grass-covered plain in the southeastern portion of Europe, extending into Asia.
- Supreme Soviet**—Under the communist regime, served as the highest organ of state power between sittings of the Congress of People's Deputies (*q.v.*). The Moldovan Supreme Soviet changed its name to the Moldovan Parliament in May 1991 and declared the country sovereign one month later. The name of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet remained unchanged after Belarus declared its independence in August 1991.

- Transnistria (Transdnestria in English)—From 1941 to 1944, a Romanian *judet* (province) encompassing the land between the Nistru and Pivdenny Buh rivers in the German-occupied Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Currently, the region between the Nistru River and Moldova's eastern border. In September 1990, Slavs in Transnistria proclaimed it the "Dnestr Moldavian Republic" (*q.v.*).
- Uniate Church—An Eastern Christian Church that preserves the Eastern rite and discipline but submits to papal authority. The Uniate Church was established in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (which included Ukraine and Belarus) in 1596 at the Union of Brest.
- Walachia—Former principality; a region in present-day southern Romania.
- Warsaw Pact—Informal name for Warsaw Treaty Organization, a mutual defense organization founded in 1955, which included the Soviet Union, Albania (which withdrew in 1968), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland, and Romania. The Warsaw Pact enabled the Soviet Union to station troops in the countries to its west to oppose the forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The pact was the basis of the invasions of Hungary (1956) and of Czechoslovakia (1968); it was disbanded in July 1991.
- World Bank—Informal name used to designate a group of four affiliated international institutions—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). The IBRD provides loans to developing countries for productive projects. The IDA furnishes credits to the poorest developing countries on much easier terms than those of conventional IBRD loans. The IFC supplements the activities of the IBRD through loans and assistance designed to encourage the growth of productive private enterprises in the less developed countries. The MIGA insures private foreign investment in developing countries against such noncommercial risks as expropriation, civil strife, and inconvertibility of currency. To participate in the World Bank group, member states must first belong to the International Monetary Fund (IMF—*q.v.*).

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Contributors

William E. Crowther is Assistant Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, North Carolina.

Helen Fedor is a Senior Research Specialist for Central Europe and Central Eurasia with the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.

Jan Zaprudnik is a former commentator on Soviet and international politics with Radio Liberty.

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550-20	Brazil	550-82	Guyana and Belize
550-168	Bulgaria	550-151	Honduras
550-61	Burma	550-165	Hungary
550-50	Cambodia	550-21	India
550-166	Cameroon	550-154	Indian Ocean
550-159	Chad	550-39	Indonesia
550-77	Chile	550-68	Iran
550-60	China	550-31	Iraq
550-26	Colombia	550-25	Israel
550-33	Commonwealth Carib- bean, Islands of the	550-182	Italy
550-91	Congo	550-30	Japan
		550-34	Jordan
550-90	Costa Rica	550-56	Kenya
550-69	Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	550-81	Korea, North
		550-41	Korea, South
550-152	Cuba	550-58	Laos
550-22	Cyprus	550-24	Lebanon
550-158	Czechoslovakia	550-38	Liberia

550-85	Libya	550-184	Singapore
550-172	Malawi	550-86	Somalia
550-45	Malaysia	550-93	South Africa
550-161	Mauritania	550-95	Soviet Union
550-79	Mexico	550-179	Spain
550-76	Mongolia	550-96	Sri Lanka
550-49	Morocco	550-27	Sudan
550-64	Mozambique	550-47	Syria
550-35	Nepal and Bhutan	550-62	Tanzania
550-88	Nicaragua	550-53	Thailand
550-157	Nigeria	550-89	Tunisia
550-94	Oceania	550-80	Turkey
550-48	Pakistan	550-74	Uganda
550-46	Panama	550-97	Uruguay
550-156	Paraguay	550-71	Venezuela
550-185	Persian Gulf States	550-32	Vietnam
550-42	Peru	550-183	Yemens, The
550-72	Philippines	550-99	Yugoslavia
550-162	Poland	550-67	Zaire
550-181	Portugal	550-75	Zambia
550-160	Romania	550-171	Zimbabwe
550-37	Rwanda and Burundi		
550-51	Saudi Arabia		
550-70	Senegal		
550-180	Sierra Leone		