REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA: PARTIES AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE PRESENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

By Gloria Pirzio Ammassari
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Introduction

There’s a wide literature, now, on the different pathways of transition in Eastern Europe. Even if these processes offer many similar characteristics, their outcomes are very different, according to particular historical, religious, economic situations and, above all, according to the different kind of relationships between State and civil society, held in the period before the Communist regimen.

The choice of this subject – the case of Republic of Moldova – comes both from the participation of University “La Sapienza” in an European program Tempus Tacis, that allowed us twice to visit Moldova’s capital city, Chisinau, and from a following project of research, intended for studying in depth some questions arisen from those visits.

With the outbursting of violence in the Balkans, we have a further interesting element to be related with the federalist results of the nationalistic conflict in Moldova, between Gagauzia and Transnistria. This is a context with very fragile balances. Considering that, but before going on with the analysis, it seems necessary to make a preliminary clarification: our conceptual schemes, our definitions seem often to be applied in the abstract to a reality that it’s not comprehensible by those criteria, because they are not suitable to explain it. For example, one among the many possible, how could be defined a situation as that of Moldova’s Republic, in which the Cabinet of Jon Sturza obtained the vote of confidence on 16th of march 1999, after a crisis lasted one month and half, thanks to the decisive vote, sent by lawyers, of Ilie Ilescu, a deputy imprisoned in 1992 in the jails of Tiraspol, capital city of Transnistria, subject as the other prisoners to continuous harassments? How it could be defined in a different way from “paradoxical reality”?

As we can read in the conclusions of an essay about the recent history of Moldavian conflict, the Republic of Moldova offers an interesting example of how could be difficult to construct “a unitary nation state in a multinational context” and shows that, in any case, the political elite has moved to accept a “quasi federal compromise” concerning the use of violence. But it represents, as we said before, a choice made in a very particular context with very particular circumstances.
1. The historical and political context

In order to comprehend the recent facts concerning the Republic of Moldova, from its constitution as an independent republic in the August of 1991, after the collapse of Soviet Empire, up to today, it is necessary to have a look to some data and historical references about the nationalist conflict: in a population of 4,326,000 at 1990, Moldavian people who speaks Rumanian language is the 64%; the 14% is of Ukraines, the 13% of Russians and about the 9% is composed by various ethnical groups, like Gagauzians(3.5%), Bulgarians (2%) and a little percentage of Jews, reduced by persecutions and emigrations.

To this strong ethnical pluralism must be added the traditional dispute among Russia, Ottoman Empire and Rumania in order to determine the borderlines of their conquests. The signs of this dispute we can find in the different names chosen by the conquerors to call the lands on the base of their claims. The construction of a State historically based on a unitary, independent Moldavian identity, must be referred to the sharing with Rumania of cultural roots and characters between reality and legend. These elements make Moldavia and Rumania actually linked in order to construct and identify a myth, that, as says George Schopflin, “seems to replace the lack of historical and political independence”.

As the Ottoman Empire weakened, the northwestern part was annexed to the Asburgical Empire in the 1775, and it became the Province of Bucovina. In 1792, The Russian Empire, after the victory against Turkey, in a war started in 1787, fixed its borders to the Dniester river and founded Tiraspol, the present capital city of Transnistria. In 1812, Russia annexed the territory till the Prut river (present border with Romania) and called it Bessarabia. The process of reunification was going to start. The fight for independence of this area led, through subsequent unifications, to the constitution of the Rumanian State that in 1918, after the collapse of Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russian Empire, could annex Bucovina, Transylvania and Bessarabia. The annexation of this latter, provoked the opposition of Soviet Russia, who favoured in 1924 the constitution, on the left side of Dniester river, of the Autonomous Socialist Soviet Moldova Republic (ASSMR) with Tiraspol as capital city since 1929.

Bessarabia and the Baltic countries returned under Soviet influence thanks to Ribbentrop – Molotov pact. The Socialist Soviet Republic of Moldova was born on the 2nd of August 1940. Its borders were the result of a URSS Supreme Soviet’s decision that assigned to Ukraine the northern part of Bucovina and a southern area, leaving to the newborn Republic what was left of Bessarabia and one third of ASSMR. After a short period (from 1941 to 1944) during which Bessarabia and North Bucovina returned to Rumania, the borders of Socialist Soviet Republic of Moldova remained those of Supreme Soviet’ decision. Behind this territorial division, there was the soviet will to impose a cultural separation of Moldovia from Rumania.

The “russification” of the country was particularly effective in Gagauzia, because of its lack of linguistic and cultural “protection”. There, the Russian was the language of public communication and the key of access to education, widely
spoken by young generations, too. This consideration explains the alliance between Gagauzia and Transnistria and the separatist conflict broke out on the 31st of August 1989, at the same time of the proclaiming of Rumanian as official language of Moldova. From that moment, all the civil servants were obliged to learn and apply it in all the public documents.

The first period of the reconquered independence represented the climax of Rumanian nationalism, signed by the winning alliance at the elections of 1990 between the new born Popular Front and part of the old communist officials, recycled on the themes of nationalism. This situation put in evidence also the fight for power inside the party itself, between the Rumanian ethnic group and the Russians coming from Transnistria who detained economic and political power, and were close to military power, because of the permanence in the area controlled by the 14th soviet army.

On June 1991, the “Socialist Soviet Republic of Moldova” was officially proclaimed sovereign state and turned its name into “Republic of Moldova”. Without an Army at that moment, but only with police forces, it had quickly to cope with separatist rebellions in Gagauzia and Transnistria. In Gagauzia, the political and local leaders, met in Comrat, strongly opposed the law about official language – as we said before – and proclaimed the newborn Independent Socialist Soviet Republic of Gagauzia, in which the official language was Russian. The independent Socialist Soviet Republic of Transnistria had been proclaimed in September 1990.

The climax of conflict was reached in the 1992, in concomitance with the Republic of Moldova’s joining to OUN. The mediation of Russia, the following political changes and a realistic compromise slowed down the violence of conflict and stopped any further terrible result. According to that compromise the State of Moldova preserved its territorial extension, but it accepted to negotiate the autonomy of nationalistic minorities and recognized the cultural affinities with Rumania, but non the political ones.

On march 1994 a referendum, passed by a large majority, kept up the Republic of Moldova as an independent State and the new Constitution, voted on July 1994, attributed a special status of autonomy to the two secessionist regions. The following laws, recognizing a state of fact, granted to those regions a very large autonomy, included the right of secession in case of changing of Moldovia’s international status – that is to say in case of a unlikely reunification with Rumania. The analysis of this situation put in evidence on one hand, how the unresolved problems, as the fiscal ones, risked to generate instability and on the other hand, how political leadership has turned its nationalism into federalism, through mutual recognition and compromise. But we must remember that in this context all the documents signed are to be considered “necessary pretences”, whereas in western thought all the documents signed (rules, contracts, transactions and so on) are considered true and corresponding to reality. By the way, the compromise seemed to Moldova the sole possible chance, because of the collapsing of its economy, that was integrant part of soviet system, and because of the international background, characterized by its adhesion to ISC, the stationing on its territory of the 14th Russian Army and the ambiguous relationships with Rumania.
So, Rumanian nationalism was progressively moderated by the pitiful conditions of Rumania, the Iliescu’s government caution, the Moldavians’ fear of returning to be “second class citizens” and the fear of new born political leadership to give away to Rumanians the power conquered at home against the ruling class of Russian origin.

From the point of view of international relationship, we said, the way of compromise seemed the sole possible in that context. But from a sociological point of view, we must remember that the rational action toward a purpose is only one of the ways of social acting. Other experiences, indeed, has showed that, when the virus of nationalism spreads all over the communities, it can become an absolute value to which there aren’t either transactions or “ethic of responsibility”. So, the meaning of Moldavian compromise should be found also in the specificities of Rumanian cultural identity. One of them is “transnationality”, as Razran Theodorescu remembered in the course of an interview, that is to say an historical attitude of Rumania to be an isle of Latinity, among three empires: Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman ones. A situation in which Rumania used to confront itself with other national powers, preserving its different identity.

Latinity is proudly claimed – in comparison to Slav people – by politics, intellectuals, cultural leaders and so on. Its historical importance is actually evident. But according to some non-Rumanian observers, this Latinity is not more than a linguistic heritage, whereas the national identity, constructed as a myth, is the result of Greek and Byzantine heritage and the Orthodox Church’s influence.

But the difficult determination of the limits and characteristics of cultural identity is not the object of present analysis. It’s only important to consider the relevance of these cultural specificities in accepting compromises. They are included among those “intangibles and imponderables elements of the transition to democracy”, according to the definition of Piotr Sztompka about the cultural heritage of the communist regimen. Even if we notice some common elements, it’s true that the historical and cultural traditions, the different level of economic growth, the different development of civil societies’ organizations before the communist regimen, has divided this area in transition into two groups: a first group of countries including Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Eastern Germany and Slovenia and an other group including the other countries of Eastern area, as the Republic of Moldova.

The data collected and some interviews to political leaders, to members of trade unions and women’s movements confirm the difficult transition of this little Republic.
2. Parties and movements in the socio-economic context

a) The socio-economic context

The economic context is extremely difficult. All the index of agricultural production has been broken down since the last ‘80s. Moldova is an agricultural country, with the industrial plant, once, an integrated part of soviet economy, mainly settled in Transnistria. This country, after the administrative disintegration and the sudden lack of energy giving and raw materials, lost very soon its points of reference. The privatisation of agricultural sector was carried on by breaking land into very small pieces, without giving to farmers any information about the market opportunities, and by winding up, in the period 1994-96, all the infrastructures for supplying the sector – as a manager of an agricultural farm puts in evidence during an interview. In this agricultural economy, the word “transition” – as remarks the interviewed – shields confusion and incompetence. For example, extremely hard becomes the reckoning with different fiscal and customs systems. The industrial production has been reduced too. Extremely clear are the data included in a publication of Chisinau. Stating 1990 as 100, the industrial production after five years has fallen down of 38.6%. Soviet economy has collapsed, but there’s still alive an “ideology of depending”, an attitude that hardly adapts itself to the new institutions, the “socialist mind” survives to the “real socialism”. This is true in all Eastern Europe, but it’s much true in a country in which “new” means great insecurity about the future, lower way of living for the most, giving up to minimal social security hardly obtained in the past, diffusion of corruption, illegal trade, criminality. New entrepreneurship is threatened by the wide spread feeling of “social envy” that generates new, imponderable obstacles. We are talking about Stompka’s “disinterested envy”: the great egalitarian emphasis, expressed by one of the most famous sentences of socialist era “everybody have the same stomach”, has left an instinctive sense of diffidence and a strong grudge for success and for those who get out of the flock, even if it could mean not a reduction but a growth of possibilities for the others. The same sense of diffidence is directed to foreign entrepreneurs.

The changing of social structure is influenced by the impoverishment, that according to trade unions’ data caused a wage reduction of 20%, but also by a strong pessimism and distrust in changing, as we can read in the above mentioned interview: “Yesterday there was a dull dictatorship that imposed the collectivisation of agriculture, destroying the economic structure, with terrible consequences like hunger and a new status of slavery at Krusciov’s time. All the same today, when the same spirit of political dictatorship is leading to the
destruction of what was actually working in order to secure a new period of
hunger and a new waiting for foreign funds to be happy” 21.

The sole interview that looks optimistically to the reforms, is that of the Minister of
Education and Scientific research 22. It’s also in this context the sign of the politics’
detachment.

As a conclusion, we can say that this socio-economic context can be considered
representative of the problems resumed in other analysis 23 and concerning the
transition of Eastern Europe:

- From privileges of nomeklatura to different market standards
- From security of working class to post communist impoverishment
- Declassing of middle class’ professional sectors
- New sub classes formed by ethnical elements
- Worsening of political and social status of women
- Surviving in various economic circuits

The compromise of nationalities distinguished, since today, the specific case of
Moldova. But on the other hand, we must pay attention to the increasing number
of illegal traffics and particularly the army traffic from Transnistria.

b) Parties and political system

In the political system built up by new parties we can find some features, common
to other experiences of the so called “transition” - as underlined in various studies –
that can be resumed as follows: instability, fragmentation and reaffirmation of ex
communists. First of all the instability, as lack of social roots. It’s a product of a
regimen that went on contrasting, for decades, every structuring of interests 24.

The second feature is the trend called “from polarization to fragmentation” 25,
related to the historical opposition to regimen. At first, it was a unitary opposition,
reinforced by the dissenting intellectuals, but after the “apparent” defeat of
communists, it broke into pieces and originated different political movements.
That’s what happened in the Republic of Moldova. The Popular Front’s party,
composed by a coalition of reformist intellectual groups, won the elections of
1990. But its official political line that wanted an immediate unification with
Rumania caused various conflicts in the party itself and led the party’s leaders to
leave the Popular front and to form other political movements.

As long as in other situations, the continuous forming, transforming and dissolving of
parties, movements and political groups characterize this political life 26. On
February 1994, after the dissolving of Parliament in the autumn of 1993, there were
called the elections for 104 seats with a proportional system. 13 parties and 20
independent candidates took part at this round, but only four coalitions exceeded
the barrier of 4% of valid votes.

The third feature is the reaffirmation of ex communists. This “return” was favoured
by their experiences of training and supporting organizations, because they are
the largest part of technocratic elite and because they have been able to recycle themselves to the nationalistic purpose.

Looking at the curricula of deputes in Moldova we notice that the largest part of them is graduated. 26 on 104 have a PhD. But it’s a ruling class passed through the selection and the training of socialist method. It’s a political class coming from the cultural and technocratic elite, quite homogeneous, not sided on the political dimension right or left. It’s the mirror of its time, in which the political dimension of class relations have been cancelled by a common heritage and where it has no roots in the intermediate structures because of the weakness of civil society.

c) The Trade Unions’ movement

We must remember that the communist conception of trade unions’ representation is not as the western one. During the regimen, the socialist soviet trade union was not an autonomous organization for the workers’ representation in case of conflict or contractual agreements. Actually it was, according to Lenin’s conception, a “belt of transmission between the State-party and the workers, on the base of a presumed sharing of interests”28. To become a western kind of trade union, it needed a contractual and technical training, it needed to share a feeling of association and solidarity and to build up itself as an autonomous organization living by the contribute of associated. The autonomy of western trade unions, in fact, is the result of a long historical process.

The national Conference “Trade Unions of Moldova: past, present and future” held in Chisinau on December 1996, as a part of a Tacis program, put in evidence the pressing problems of these organizations: the lack of financial resources and the problems of sharing the little contributions received by the Confederation; the problem of assuring a remuneration for the trade unions’ employers; the need of training programmes financed by International Labour Organization, Council of Europe, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Sometimes, even in emergency cases, it could seem that’s there’s a sort of barter between this reality and the western countries: “we accept your values, your models but you send us your money!” Sometimes it could seem that nobody believes in the realization of these programs (an heritage, perhaps, of the Real Socialism), or, on the other hand, that everybody pretends to believe in them, but only if they are considered means for obtaining funds: it’s an other way of “living in pretences”.

The situation is extended to the main activity of trade unions: workers’ protection and general agreements. Owing to the weakness of labour market, the relation with political system, through the method of planned negotiating, becomes a priority. The ways of influencing political system could be the trade unions’ parliamentary representative29 and the restoring of legislative initiative. The main issues of this kind of trade unions are: attention to poverty and young peoples’ unemployment, school abandoning, and social protection of women and young workers. Whereas a western kind of trade union deals mainly with the
role of negotiating in sector diversification, levels of agreement, subjects of contracting, firms’ representations and so on. The president of a petrochemical industry’s trade union, in an interview, puts in evidence the lack of a specific training, both in employers and in employees, to the “work” of trade union’s negotiating. He says that this lack of juridical, managing and organizing knowledge is the cause of various conflicts that could be avoided. In this interview, we found an interesting consideration about the role of trade union. In the very first period of transition - he said - it was not able, for managing incapability, to make the most of the regimen’s heritage. In the regimen in collapse, “trade unions have detained in every organizations a certain authority and their decisions were considered as law, while in firms and industries there were people who couldn’t and wouldn’t contrast their claims”. Trade unions didn’t undertake “the necessary measures to turn a formal defence of workers’ interests into a real protection of them”. Little by little, those who learnt, from the market economy countries, how to contrast trade unions’ claims, have occupied this space. Now, the problem is how the trade union can abandon the past role (as integrant part of the bureaucratic structure) and can undertake a new role.

**d) Women’s movements**

The getting worse of political and social status of women is a characteristic of all the East-European countries – as various analyses have showed. In the Soviet regimen, the Party reserved quite high “female quotes” in the Government, but it was only a formal participation. In the new Parliaments, after the fall of Berlin’s wall, the presence of women has been hardly reduced. The data on the political presence of women in Republic of Moldova and in Rumania are not so different: from a 33,3% in the Supreme Soviet of SSRM till a 4,8% in the Parliament of 1994, that is to say 5 women and 99 men. There are different reasons that try to explain this situation: the drastic downfall of welfare, the impoverishment of families, the day-to-day fight for surviving - women, in fact, were the first to loose their job during the processes of restructuration and privatisation. To these factors we can add that women detained a role of low profile in a patriarchal and agricultural society, of orthodox religion. In this context, various associations were brought to light. As the case of women’s associations promoted by trade unions, even in this case the main purpose of the organisations was the research of funds. A research about the women’s associations legally registered divides them into three groups.

- A first group composed by three associations – that are also political parties – joined by 8.000/9.000 associated. The first women’s organisation, born after the collapse of Communist regimen in 1990, was the Christian - Democratic League of Moldovia’s women. Its aim was to follow the steps of the Cultural
League of Rumanians women, active in Bessarabia from 1918 to 1940 and cancelled by the Communist government. In the elections of 1994, two representatives of the League of Moldovia have been elected and a largest success was reached in the local election of 1995. The other two organisations are the National Association of Moldovia’s women, born in 1992 and the movement Moldovian woman, registered in 1995. All these movements, acting in the socio-economic context described above, represent a sort of network for social aid and cooperation. Then we have those women’s movements born within trade unions with the claimed purpose to adopting western models and obtaining funds – as the case of “Hope”, the women’s organization of the buildings’ trade unions.

- The second group, a mirror of the country’s ethnic differences, is composed by: the Community of Ukraines women of Moldovia, the association of Gagauzian women of Moldovia, the League of Polish women of Moldovia. Joined by fewer members than the organisations above mentioned (from dozens to hundreds), their purpose is the support to cultural initiatives and aids.

- The third group includes various associations and clubs for professional supporting, generally composed by few members and aimed to concrete programs of aids.

After the IV world-conference of women in Peking, all the women’s organisations legally registered constituted the “Beying group”, a forum, in Moldovia, composed by the representatives of women’s ONG. This pluralism in associations could make us remember the mutual aids of XIX century, the first form of supporting organisations in Western Europe. But, even if their purpose is often declared as “instrumental”, we can find in these associations a spirit of entrepreneurship, dialogue and solidarity that doesn’t belong to the political system.

Finally, it’s interesting to notice how trade unions and women’s organisations share some elements of the process of participation. In the period of soviet regimen, we have a numerous, even if formal, presence of these organisations. Then we pass through a first period of valorisation of women. At the moment of this research, on the contrary, we have a situation of exclusion of these organisations from the decision-making processes.

It’s very difficult to make the civil society’s organisations grow in the socio-economic context of Moldavian Republic.

**Final considerations**

In the weakness of civil society, we have what Ralph Dahrendorf called “the three clock’s dilemma” that is to say the different times taken by the real social transformations: in “the time of legislator”, the constitutional and legal changes can take six months; in “the time of economist” the effects of reconstruction can bee seen in six years at least; but for “the time of citizen”, Dahrendorf is
really pessimistic, because the civil reconstruction could take even 60 years\textsuperscript{41}. Beyond every schema, we can say that it’s almost impossible to estimate how much time those social events would take, but undoubtedly the three clocks really exist, and the times of the third one, are a consequence of the historical, social religious events.

The different development of civil society in Eastern Europe countries has been influenced, on one hand, by some pre-soviet experiences of market economy in certain areas, and on the other hand, by the historical religious divisions that have had a different impact on the relation man/society and religious/political power.

The East, dominated at first by the Byzantines and then by Ottoman Empire, has developed a monistic conception of power\textsuperscript{42}, so that some analysts make a distinction between the orthodox South-East Europe and the Centre-East Europe, catholic and protestant, characterized by the conflict Reformation/Counter – Reformation and by the following social innovations, the different relation man/society and religious/political power\textsuperscript{43}.

The historical tradition has determined a different way of considering the property right as the basis not only of market economy but also of autonomy and freedom: “The Byzantine power is patrimonial, that is to say, it turns bureaucracy, military system, financial funds, in a word “the public sector” and those who belong to it, in proprieties and slaves of Basileus. In this logic it’s impossible to develop a conception of real private propriety, especially the case of land property”\textsuperscript{44}.

This tradition of property rights, individual values and monistic conception of power get to the coactive model that C. Tilly\textsuperscript{45} finds out in the poverty of mercantile capital, in the scarce development of urban centres and in the diffusion of coercive means. All these factors has been real obstacles to the growing both of an urban middle class and of a skilled working class, the core part in the first trade unions, whose history in very different in Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary from that of Balkan Region and Carpazia’s one.

For what concerns the development of national cultures, we can say that even in this case we have different historical traditions, especially in the process of languages codifications, where the most important influence is that of clergy’s\textsuperscript{46}. The Orthodox Church in fact, put the cultural basis for the diffusion of micro nationalism in the areas ruled by Austrian, Russian and Ottoman Empire\textsuperscript{47}. Naturally, these cultural bases were very different from the present nationalistic conflicts, burned out after the collapsing of Soviet Empire. These conflicts seem to have taken by surprise all those considered nationalism a ghost of ancient times. But it’s a trend, something always happened in case of Empires’ collapsing, as the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian’s one. Empires “use to favour the mixing of different people through migrations, but the territorial reductions and modifications, consequences of their collapse, bring to favour the
separation of those ethnic groups". More, in the case of countries under soviet influence, we have also an unintentional consequence: the soviet politic, even with its internationalist ideology, institutionalised “the status of territorial nation and the ethnic nationality as basilar social categories”.

This system, after the elimination of the class-differences, made the ethnic differences the real social categories. At the moment of ancient regimen’s fall, it opened a political space for power’s legitimisation in the name of nationalism. In fact, because of the drastic contraction of this political space, as long as the Soviet Regimen fell, about 25 millions of people ethnically Russians, whose nationality was culturally and politically favoured in all the Soviet Union, have been turned into a minority with a precarious status, with a contested national belonging, an uncertain identity, spread all over the countries, growing as not Russians.

This sentence brings us back to the case of Republic of Moldova and the conflict with Transnistria and Gagauzia. In this border region, we find many ethnic and linguistic differences in a limited territory, in a situation of economic crisis, fight for surviving, nationalism of “survival” against the opening to market competition, that has showed, by now, its hardest characteristics, as the impoverishment of many and the illegal enrichment of few.

The defence of identity, culture and traditions is linked to the fear of being colonized by economical powers and being captured in their robbery investments. The same powers seem to destroy the national economies that cannot bear free competition. But the real problem of Republic of Moldova, as can see even a visitor in a short period there, is not the most evident nationalistic conflict, but the enlarging of crime and corruption, the sceptical but resigned adoption of the so called “transition” models.
Note


3. The text of message in Rumanian and English has been published in a special edition of April 1999 of the Review Asociatiei culturale pro Besarabia si Bucovina. There you can find the English version: “To the Parliament of Republic Moldova, To Mr. Dumitru Diacov from deputy Theie Theascu I, the undersigned, unable due to objective reasons to participate in the assemblies of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, as I am a political prisoner of the illegal regimen in Tiraspol. I declare my vote in favour of the ruling programme and the structure of Jon Sturza’s Government of the Republic of Moldova, which will be submitted to vote on the 12th of March 1999. I hereby ask the Parliament to take into consideration my vote. March 1999. Tiraspol cell number 13. Ilie Ilescu”


5. Ibidem


7. See the data in: Judy Batt “Federalism versus Nationalism in Post -Communist State Building: the case of Moldova” op. cit, p. 37

8. Judy Batt “Federalism versus Nationalism” op. cit. pagg.44-45

9. Razan Theodorescu, member of Rumanian Academy, General Secretary of the international association for the studies on South-East Europe. See in the present volume, Interview in Bucharest of 10 - 6 – 1999

10. See Arianna Montanari in this volume, par. “Myths and models in the construction of Rumanian national identity.

11. Piotr Sztompka Intangibles and imponderables of the transition to democracy paper presented at the Conference of Amalfi in 1991

12. The sudden lack of energy, (once a time provided by Soviet system) for industrial system but also for day –to-day life, made us fell astonished and uneasy, in a situation, compared to our way of living, typical of a country is state of war. Our first coming to Chisinau is an example: freezing rooms in hotel, no warm water, computer, sent there at the project’s expenses, not working because of the lack of the net, a strong attention to the state of food, in case the freezer wouldn’t have worked... and so on. At the beginning of winter at University, in which we have to hold lessons, there was not more than 6 – 10 degree (temperature).

13. Ibidem, question n.5

14. Vasthee Scutaru, manager of the agricultural firm “Briceni”


16. “It might have been expected that once the institutional structures of “real socialism” are torn down, the “socialist mind will disappear as well- Unfortunately it is not the case” Piotr Sztompka Intangibles and imponderables ... op. cit page. 12 (paper)

17. Interview n.3 a Jurie Bors head manager of the enterprise “Mobila”, question n.1

18. P. Sztompka op. cit. page. 12

19. Interview 4, question 5.


21. Interview 4, answer to question n. 6
Interview n.5, question n.4. He optimistically believe in the construction of a “new society”, carried on through the deep changes in its member’s way of thinking, even if it’s not possible to avoid some “feeling of returning to past”


23 For the same concept, see in example Krzysztof Jasiewicz Structures of representation in developments in East European Politics cit. pp. 8-146 who in the conclusions states: “The parties are blamed for not articulating groups interests, but there are hardly any interests that can be articulated and aggregated as happens in stable democracy” p. 145. See also W. Wesolowski “Alcuni problemi della rappresentanza politica nella Polonia contemporanea” in C. Mongardini, G. Pirzio Ammassari Crisi e trasformazioni della rappresentanza nell’Europa moderna Euroma, Rome 1994, pp 125-145.

24 Pietro Grilli di Cortona: op. cit, page 8

25 The parties legally registered in a chronological order from 18-10-1991 to 11-06-1997, as the results of a research, are the followings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of registration</th>
<th>Name of the party</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18.10.91</td>
<td>National League of Moldavian Youth</td>
<td>(9.700)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.11.91</td>
<td>Democratic Agriculture Party of Moldova</td>
<td>(8.928)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.11.91</td>
<td>Union of Moldavian Youth</td>
<td>(11.200)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.02.92</td>
<td>Associations of ex political prisoners, Association of belonging to Rumanian army in the Second World War, Association of the victims of repression in Moldova</td>
<td>(300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.02.92</td>
<td>Association of Moldavian Women</td>
<td>(18.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.03.92</td>
<td>National Christian Party of Moldova</td>
<td>(3.450)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.03.92</td>
<td>Democratic movement “Demianetea” (Dignity)</td>
<td>(370)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.03.92</td>
<td>Christian Democratic Popular Front</td>
<td>(18.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.03.92</td>
<td>Christian Democratic League of Moldavian Women</td>
<td>(1.500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09.04.92</td>
<td>The ecological party “Green Alliance” of Moldova</td>
<td>(790)</td>
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<tr>
<td>09.04.92</td>
<td>The Republican movement for equality and law “United Union”</td>
<td>(340)</td>
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<td>09.04.92</td>
<td>Social-Democratic Party of Moldova</td>
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<td>11.08.92</td>
<td>Socialist Party of Moldova</td>
<td>(310)</td>
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<td>02.09.92</td>
<td>Organization of Christian Democratic Moldavian Youth</td>
<td>(310)</td>
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<td>26.03.93</td>
<td>Organization of Radical Democratic Moldavian Youth</td>
<td>(355)</td>
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<td>28.04.93</td>
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<td>(357)</td>
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<td>18.06.93</td>
<td>Democratic Party of Moldova</td>
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<td>Party of Gagauzians</td>
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<td>National Party of Moldavian peasants</td>
<td>(1034)</td>
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<td>National-liberal Party of Moldova</td>
<td>(338)</td>
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<td>Party of the Reform in Moldova</td>
<td>(470)</td>
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<td>11.11.93</td>
<td>League of pedagogues in Moldova</td>
<td>(1.105)</td>
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<td>14.01.94</td>
<td>The pacifist movement of Moldova</td>
<td>(582)</td>
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<td>08.04.94</td>
<td>Communist Party of Moldova</td>
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<td>20.05.94</td>
<td>Christian Democratic Party of Moldavian peasants</td>
<td>(399)</td>
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<td>27.01.95</td>
<td>Centre Democratic Party for the Renaissance of Moldova</td>
<td>(315)</td>
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<td>09.02.95</td>
<td>Alliance of Democratic Youth of Moldova</td>
<td>(322)</td>
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<td>Progressive Party of Moldova</td>
<td>(335)</td>
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<td>Party for the Renaissance and the Conciliation of Moldova</td>
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<td>30.04.96</td>
<td>The social political movement “the woman of Moldova”</td>
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<td>29.07.96</td>
<td>Social assistants pensioners and unemployed Party</td>
<td>(300)</td>
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<td>29.07.96</td>
<td>Republican organization for the consolidation of Moldovian Youth</td>
<td>(318)</td>
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<td>09.02.96</td>
<td>The movement “Civic Union”</td>
<td>(321)</td>
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<tr>
<td>03.03.97</td>
<td>The social political movement “For a democratic and proletarian Moldovia”</td>
<td>(3.309)</td>
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<td>15.04.97</td>
<td>United Social-Democratic Party of Moldova</td>
<td>(339)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>United Party of the Work</td>
<td>(324)</td>
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<td>24.04.97</td>
<td>Demo-Popular Party of Moldova</td>
<td>(930)</td>
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<td>30.04.97</td>
<td>The movement of professionals “Hope - Nadejda”</td>
<td>(930)</td>
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Parlamentiel Republic of Moldova, editura, Chisinau 1996

For a theoretic excursion, see Gloria Pirzio Ammassari Teorie del sindacalismo e delle relazioni industriali Naples, Ligouri 1979. For a recently and brief overview on the role of trade union in the transition, see the Dossier "Percorsi della transizione/3" in Industria e sindacato luglio-agosto 1996 by Ottorino Cappelli, Nicoletta Amadio, Mario Lithieana Sorrentino, particularly on the cases of Russia, Hungary and Czech Republic, pp. 25-43.

"At present when Trade Unions do not have their faction in the Parliament of the Republic, many of our proposal are not paid much attention to", ibidem pp. 72-73.

Interview n.2, question 1
Interview n.2, question 4
Interview n.2, question 4
Interview n.2, question 5

C. Corin: “People and Politics” in Development in East European Politics op. cit, page. 199.

On women’s condition in the agricultural societies of Balkans, Rumania and Moldavia See: Paul Henri Stahl Terra, società, mili nei Balcani, Rubettino ed., Messina 1993. The text describes accurately a situation of simple subordination, even if better in Romania and Moldavia than Albania and slavian world: “La donna deve lavorare: comincia a farlo dall’infanzia e lo farà per tutta la vita, svegliandosi prima del marito, coricandosi per ultima. Serve tutti e resta in piedi mentre gli altri mangiano o si riposano”, ibidem, page. 144.

See Annex C
Interview n.1, question 2
Interview n.1, question 1

"Formally in the soviet period in the Parliament there were a largest number of women. But it was not more than a matter of numbers, without being interested by the problems of a decisional level. They were workers of the firms or peasants and came to the parliament meeting only as a formality. They were elected thanks to the party’s indications. They didn’t know how could do with the Parliament. And the same thing happens in the others institutions.” Interview n.1, question 6.

"Two years ago, supported by the President, we had some women as vice-minister. Today it’s different. Women are moved away from decisional processes”, in Interview n.1, question 3.

Ralf Dahrendorf Reflection on the Revolution in Europe, London 1990, Chatto and Windus, pag.93. This concept is also in the essay of Piotr Sztompka Intangibles and Imponderables op. cit, in which he considers the problem of civil society reconstruction as the most important shift and the real and definitive victory on the communist revolution.

"The East preserves its imperial conception of power, a monistic conception by Imperator Constantine in 337, according to it, the religious authority of patriarchs is subject to political one of the Imperator, who becomes almighty. Confirmed in 532 by Giustiniano, this imperial order considers the jus sacrum, the Church’s law, subject to the jus publicum, the State’s law, and so, reduces the patriarch of Constantinople to the range of Imperator’s chaplain and at the same time subordinates to his will the theology itself.” Guy Hermet Nazioni e nazionalismi in Europa, The Mulino ed. 1997, pag.22 (Historie des nations et du nationalisme en Europe Paris Editions du Seuthe 1996).


Guy Hermet Nazioni e nazionalismi in Europa op cit, page 22
C. Tilly The formation of National States in Western Europe, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975; (L’Oro e la spada. Capitale, guerra e potere nella formazione degli Stati Europei, Firenze 1990, Ponte alle Grazie p. 19
Guy Hermet, Nazioni e nazionalismi in Europa op cit. page. 150
Ibidem page 151

“The regimen made that in two different ways. On one hand divided Soviet State into more than fifty national territories, every one of them considered as a patria of a specific ethnic group and only for the group itself. National territories of first range – the present independent successor States – were named quasi-nation States, with their own territory, name, constitution, law, administrative system, cultural and scientific institutions and so on. On the other hand, the regimen divided population into more than one hundred ethnic nationalities, everyone of them mutually exclusive”.

Rogers Brubaker I nazionalismi nell’Europa contemporanea op. cit. pp. 23-24

Rogers Brubaken op. cit. pag.

Interview n.6, question 4

Guy Hermet, op cit. page.286.