

*Towards
a Culture of Peace*



NATIONAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT

Republic of Moldova 2000





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of Peace*

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UNITED
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Cu mâine zilele-ți adaogi...

Cu mâine zilele-ți adaogi,
Cu ieri viața ta o scazi
Și ai cu toate astea-n față
De-a pururi ziua cea de azi.

Când unul trece, altul vine
În astă lume a-l urma,
Precum, când soarele apune,
El și răsare undeva.

Se pare cum că alte valuri
Cobor mereu pe-același vad,
Se pare cum că-i altă toamnă,
Ci-n veci aceleași frunze cad.

Naintea nopții noastre împlă
Crăiasa dulcii dimineți;
Chiar moartea însăși e-o părere
Și un visternic de vieți.

Din orice clipă trecătoare
Ăst adevăr îl înțeleg;
Că sprijină vecia-ntregă
Și-nvârte universu-ntreg.

De-aceea zboare anu-acesta
Și se cufunde în trecut,
Tu ai ș-acum comoara-ntregă
Ce-n suflet pururi ai avut.

Cu mâine zilele-ți adaogi,
Cu ieri viața ta o scazi,
Având cu toate astea-n față
De-a purure ziua de azi.

Priveliște sclipitoare,
Ce-n repezi șiruri se diștern:
Repaosă nestrămutate
Sub raza gândului etern.

With life's tomorrow time you grasp...

With life's tomorrow time you grasp,
Its yesterdays you fling away,
And still, in spite of all remains
Its long eternity, today.

When one thing goes, another comes
In this wide world by heaven borne;
And when the sun is setting here
'Tis somewhere else just breaking dawn.

It seems somehow that other waves
Are rolling down the same old stream,
And somehow, though the autumns change,
'Tis but the same leaves fall it seem.

Before our night does ever ride
The queen of mornings rosy skies;
While even death is but a guess,
Of life a notion, a surmise.

Of every moment that goes by
One fact each mortal creature knows;
The universe is poised in time
And whirling round forever goes.

Still, though this year will fly away
And soon but to the bygone add,
Within your soul you ever hold
Each thing of worth you ever had.

With life's tomorrow time you grasp,
Its yesterdays you fling away,
And still, in spite of all remains
Its long eternity, today.

A radiant and brilliant view,
In rapid glimpses may be caught,
Of infinite, unending calm,
Bathed in the rays of timeless thought.

1883

UNESCO declared the year 2000 as the Year of Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889) – poet, philosopher and public figure who made an extraordinary contribution to the spiritual revival of his nation.

Foreword

Entering the 21st century, humanity acknowledged that the only possibility to survive and develop is through the culture of peace. The UN General Assembly proclaimed the year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace. The concept of the "Culture of Peace," expressed for the first time by Federico Mayor, General Secretary of UNESCO, at the International Congress of Yamoussoukro in 1989 as an idea of the new vision of the world, means the art, ability, and culture of living peacefully. Instead of the cynical proverb "If you want peace, prepare for war," people must say: "If we want peace, prepare for peace and try to build it in your daily life."

The Culture of Peace is a dynamic initiative aimed at the transition from the logic of power and fear towards the ethics of non-violence and the logic of reason, towards the search for ways of peacefully resolving all kinds of conflicts, from the problems of family and community to the most difficult situations at the national or international levels.

Construction of the Culture of Peace is a task towards the fulfilment of which all states, big or small, can contribute considerably. The present Report focuses on the culture of peace as an extraordinarily acute problem for the Republic of Moldova. At the national level it is necessary to strengthen actions which foster a Culture of Peace by encouraging democratic participation and education, broadening the role of the civil society, promoting respect for all human rights, ensuring equality between women and men, advancing understanding, tolerance and solidarity, supporting participatory communication and the free flow of information and knowledge.

Among the first measures to be taken are the promotion of sustainable economic development, the reduction of social inequalities, the eradication of poverty within the country, and the protection of the environment. Other actions should include regional conflict prevention and post-conflict peace building, ensuring international cooperation.

All of these problems are vital for the Republic of Moldova. This is why the cultivation of the culture of peace can and should become the dominant concept in the strategy for a flourishing and sustainable development of the country.



Søren Tejnø

Resident Representative, UNDP Moldova

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Introduction

It is a real challenge to focus the *2000 National Human Development Report for the Republic of Moldova* on the Culture of Peace at the current dramatic stage in the development of Moldovan society. The country has to overcome the crisis, the political, economic and cultural effects of the transitional reforms carried out with high social costs.

Traditionally, and for many centuries, there have not been many considerable political, religious or inter-ethnic conflicts on this land. Most of the problems relating to human development that emerged in the '90s in Moldova were due to the weakness of the young state and civil society. As a result of mistakes in socio-economic policy, the transitional reforms led to high levels of poverty with a huge and widening gap between the income of the "new rich" and the "new poor". Reduced state support to the education and health sectors diminished the access of the population to those services. Mass privatization had a low social and economic impact. The shadow economy spread sharply. Yet, a real threat to regional security and human rights was created by the problem of Transnistria.

Why is all of the above so dangerous for Moldova? The experience of other countries shows that in places where there are multiple problems of personal, economic, political and environmental security, there is a risk of the national breakdown.

The international forum entitled "For a Culture of Peace and Dialogue of Civilizations, Against a Culture of War and Violence" (May, 1998) was held in Chisinau and not by chance. The declaration called on all "to multiply and unite our efforts on the threshold of the year 2000, the International Year of the Culture of Peace, the eve of a new century and a new millennium which are directed towards the strengthening of the culture of peace based on the humanistic values of the human civilization." Mr. Federico Mayor mentioned at the Chisinau forum: "The history and culture of Moldova are marked by its position at the crossroads of the Latin, Muslim and Slavonic civilizations. Moldovan national culture with its colorful originality and astonishing musicality, makes a singular contribution to world culture. It is able to do so because it has been open to cultural diversity."

It has now been 10 years since the newly independent Republic of Moldova adopted a course towards transformation of its society, economy and state. The country has encountered a considerable number of difficulties. Most of the positive results are in the area of political and cultural freedoms – openness of the country, democratization of public life (multi-party elections, freedom of religion, mass-media, NGOs, etc.), liberalization of cultural life and international human contacts.

In parallel with that, however, serious social discrepancies have emerged. The dramatic character of the current situation is due to the economic crisis and a reduction of state resources for education and health services with a sharp rise in the discrepancy of incomes, spearheading poverty. In such a situation the transition has brought a great deal of disappointment for the population, and this has contributed to a narrowing social base of support for reforms.

Facing this extraordinary situation, a team of independent experts attempted to analyze the various aspects of providing for a Culture of Peace in the Moldovan society. During the preparation of the Report its content was the subject of intensive discussion. In assessing the situation, the authors suggest a variety of solutions to problems, which have to be resolved by the society. Together with the strengthening of the state institutions, the initiative of intellectuals and social groups is seen as a major force for mobilizing resources to cope with accumulated problems.

We are sure that the future of the Republic of Moldova will be determined by how constructively and responsibly these problems are addressed, and how fully the country as a whole perceives the idea of the Culture of Peace. Our common aim is to establish conditions for that and thereby to attain the highest possible level of well-being and a free and dignified life for all citizens of this country.

Anatol Gudym,
NHDR Team Coordinator

**Geography****Area:**Between 45°28' and 48°28' degrees latitude
33,700 km²**Population:**

4.3 million inhabitants

Frontier countries:

Romania and the Ukraine

Basic data**Country name:**

Moldova

Official name:

Republic of Moldova

Language:

Romanian

Data code:

MD

National capital:

Chișinău

Independence:

27 August 1991

Admitted to the UN:

2 March 1992

Constitution adopted:

29 July 1994

Legislature:Parliament, 101 deputies elected
for 4 years**Last elections:**1998 (legislative) and 1996
(presidential)**Next elections due:**2002 (legislative) and 2000
(presidential)**Type of government:**

Parliamentary

National currency:

Moldovan Leu:

1 US\$ = 12.30 MDL, Nov. 2000

Republic of Moldova

Executive Summary

The *2000 National Human Development Report for the Republic of Moldova* has been dedicated to the Culture of Peace on the initiative of the United Nations. It seeks to point humanity towards new efforts and new beginnings for the new millennium. Tolerance, cultural diversity, the elimination or mitigation of contradictions in political, economic and social spheres, regional post-conflict peace building — all these problems are of the highest priority for the Republic of Moldova. The NHDR focuses attention on “key-points” for the development of the Culture of Peace in Moldova and possible ways of moving towards a society with the observance of human rights, sustainable human development, cultural diversity, and a good degree of moral and psychological comfort. The idea is to look at where Moldova has recently been in order to see where it is going.

Culture of Peace: The United Nations Concept

The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the year 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace. The concept of a culture of peace appears as the only possibility for survival and development, as a necessary counterbalance to hostility, war and human violence. Instead of the cynical proverb: “If you want peace, prepare for war,” people must agree with the proposition: “If you want peace, prepare for peace and try to build it in your daily life.”

The vision of peace for the new millennium — the growth of a Culture of Peace — requires an art, a skill, a culture of living in peace. The culture of peace is the best possible initiative to direct a transition away from a mentality of power and fear to the ethics of non-violence, a mentality of reason.

Learning “how to live together” needs new approaches in conflict resolution, both at the family and community level as well as at the level of the state and inter-state relations. The goal is not to eliminate contradictions in interests and opinions (they are the source of development), but to build a world in which the regulation of conflicts is conducted on the basis of positive, shared human values:

- non-violence towards the society, as well as towards an individual;
- protection and respect of basic human rights and liberties;
- democracy, the rule of law and participation of citizens in governance;
- tolerance in political, national, religious and other issues;
- cultural diversity;
- education in the spirit of humanity and non-violence;
- gender equality;
- the free exchange of information;
- sustainable human development, based on the cohesion of social, economic and environmental factors.

Together the above values create an environment which generates a culture of living in peace and harmony.

The concept of the Culture of Peace, promoted by UNESCO at the end of the 1980's, was further transformed into the “Towards a Culture of Peace” programme, which is implemented through global actions of UNESCO, as well as through national programmes.

A culture of peace is a culture produced by actions and not by chance and generating such a culture provides the possibility of bringing together different aspects of human activity. A masterpiece of culture, e.g., the poetry of Eminescu or a symphony of Bach, is arranged so that the conflicts of the era in which it was produced are “absorbed” in it, transformed into an eternal meaning, opening new times and new tempers to people. A person, entering the aura of this meaning, enters the human community as a loving and

The United Nations emphasizes the link between peace and development and the need for the promotion of the Culture of Peace as a means to ensure respect for all human rights and, thus, the achievement of sustainable human development.

Tolerance, cultural diversity, mitigation of contradictions in the political, economic and social spheres, regional post-conflict peace building — all these problems are of the highest priority for the Republic of Moldova.

responsible member of a family. And vice versa: cultural degradation, as observed in conflict zones, inevitably leads to the violation of human rights, which is reflected in the moral principles of a society. Such degradation actually multiplies the factors of instability.

The promotion of a Culture of Peace is a task which may be resolved through the contributions of any state, large or small.

Relevance of the Culture of Peace for the Republic of Moldova

In the history of humanity, a significant role belongs to the “*contact areas*,” those geographical intersections of various states, religions and cultures. Such zones provide the need and necessity of a dialog.

One of these zones is Southeast Europe, including the Republic of Moldova, the basins of the rivers Nistru and Prut. Centuries ago, at the times of the Great Migration of Nations, a sizable number of people crossed from Central Asia to Europe — the Goths, Visigoths, Bastarns, Alans, Huns, Bulgarians, etc. Moldovans and their ancestors — the Gets and Dacians — were influenced by Hellenistic, Turkish and Slavonic cultures for centuries. After the Roman conquest of this territory in the second and third centuries A.D., the local population was romanized. Further, this hospitable land welcomed German, Polish, Armenian, Jewish, Bulgarian, Turkish (Gagauzian) and other settlers.

Living and working together, the cross-fertilization of cultures of various peoples always benefitted Moldova. Federico Mayor, the Director-General of the UNESCO, addressed the participants of the International Forum held in Chisinau (May 1998), saying: “The history and culture of Moldova are marked by its position at the crossroads of the Latin, Muslim and Slavonic civilizations. Moldovan national culture with its colourful originality and astonishing musicality makes a unique contribution to the world culture. This could be achieved only due to its openness to cultural diversity. It has forged a distinct and distinctive cultural identity, not through isolation, but through the “dialogue of civilizations” which we are here to renew and to revitalize.”

Thus, the Republic of Moldova has a rich historical background and carries within it the preconditions for introducing a culture of peace. At the same time, there are a number of complicating circumstances. Since the independence of the state in 1991, the Republic of Moldova has been at the stage of resolving a complex problems — the strengthening of the state, the reconstruction of its economy according to market principles, and the democratisation of society. During the transition period, the country and its population have encountered a daunting range of social, economic and political challenges, which have been pursued by successive governments.

Early in the transition period, impressive progress was made in opening the society to political pluralism and freedom of the mass media, to implementing measures for macro-economic stabilisation (stability of the national currency, a sharp drop in inflation) and property reforms.

The factors that foster the strengthening of the social order; the development of civilized forms of social solidarity and the creation of a social consciousness in the spirit of a culture of peace are the following:

- the creation in Moldova during its ten years of independence of *constitutional - legal foundation for the development of a democratic state*, civil society, and the guaranteed observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- the construction of a boundary in society’s consciousness, *impeding a return to the principles, ideas and values of a former closed society*, a state-controlled economic system, and a one-party monopoly on ideology and a single world outlook;
- the maintenance of Moldova’s historical *traditions of amicable coexistence*, mutual respect and cooperation among representatives of various ethnic, linguistic and religious groups;

- the accumulation of distinct knowledge, skills and abilities needed for the *adaptation of the population to the new social, economic and political conditions*;
- the existence of a *positive experience of locating and regulating inter-ethnic conflicts*;
- the broad *involvement of the Republic of Moldova in European political processes*, and its increased participation in the continental cultural and economic life.

Along with the positive changes, the situation in Moldovan society remains difficult. Political instability, deep economic crisis, delay in structural reforms, including in the sphere of social protection, undermined the transition to a sustainable development. The problems of unemployment and poverty became aggravated, particularly in rural communities, where most of the population lives and works. According to the official data, about 50% of the population live below the poverty level, about 20% of the population live completely beyond the cash economy. There is the pressure of a high level of corruption and criminality. It is not surprising that in this situation people do not feel empowered to change things.

While the sense of national unity is generally becoming stronger, Moldova continues to suffer from internal conflict in the eastern region of the country (Transnistria). An agreement on the principles for the adjustment of the conflict and the withdrawal of foreign armed forces was reached, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is working to help break the political stalemate; however, there has been little progress.

The Republic of Moldova still remains within the group of countries with a medium level of human development (HDI of 0.700, *2000 HDR*), but the demographic profile and health of the population is drastically worsening, and the educational system is rapidly weakening, limiting access of many groups of the population to educational and cultural services.

The situation has been aggravated by the fact that the values of civil society, the principles of human rights and human development have not become deeply entrenched in society's consciousness, at least not so much as to become a factor influencing social behaviour for the majority of the population.

Inter-ethnic relations remain tense, with a wide discrepancy in the possibilities afforded of the people in rural and urban areas to satisfy their cultural needs. The volume and quality of social and communal services available to inhabitants of various regions have decreased. Certain problems have emerged in the inter-confessional and church-state relations. Moldova's adherence to the international conventions protecting human rights is not always accompanied by real actions intended to protect these rights. The problem of equal rights and possibilities for men and women has been practically underexamined in the process of this society's modernization. All these generate serious difficulties in the creation of a civil society in the Republic of Moldova.

Going through the period of "crystalization", Moldovan society shares different opinions on such questions as: the appropriate social system as a model for Moldova; the real status in society of various ethnic cultures and national languages represented in the country; the principle of social justice and the means of its practical implementation; ways to resolve the Transnistrian problem; the need for constitutional changes with regard to the division of political power in Moldova; the desirability of preserving Moldova's statehood in the future.

Thus, characteristics of the social life for Moldova at present have in many cases a rather contradictory character and do not correspond to the criteria for a culture of peace. For this reason the meeting of these criteria is a critically relevant task for the Republic of Moldova.

The concept of a culture of peace has a considerable creative potential for Moldova. It needs to be used for the normalization of society's life, for the development of activities intended to strengthen processes of integration of society. It can be applied usefully to promote and intensify in the civic consciousness the benefits of the transition to new

Going through the period of transition, the Moldovan society determines its way towards reconciliation and solidarity.

It is very important for the future of the Republic of Moldova as a viable state to implement the National Strategy targeted at the consolidation of the society and the achievement of sustainable human development.

forms of social life based on the principles of democracy, the rule of law, civil society and life without violence.

Problems of Maintaining the Culture of Peace

The totality of problems and contradictions, which are faced today by the state and the population of the Republic of Moldova, can be resolved entirely on the basis of the principles of the culture of peace.

During the year 2000, within the frame of the *National Programme*, the Government, UNESCO, other UN agencies and different NGOs undertake actions to foster a culture of peace through encouraging democratic participation, to broaden the role of civil society, to promote respect for human rights, to ensure equality between women and men, and to advance understanding and tolerance among the people. A number of moral and social issues became aggravated due to economical crises. Given this, the priority is given to the activities intended to stimulate economic growth and increase incomes; to strengthen social protection for the poor and vulnerable. Other actions seek to promote regional conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict peace building in Transnistria.

Moldova continues to have a proactive, positive stance towards its European partners, thereby ensuring collaboration with the international community. It is obvious that all these efforts cannot be confined only to the actions of the Government and within the limits of the year 2000, announced as the Year of the Culture of Peace.

There is a need for a long-term program of actions, which would be oriented towards strengthening civil society, improving the relationship between the State and the people, and increasing public confidence. These goals can be achieved by means of:

- conducting such a state policy that would effectively oppose extremism, facilitate the formation of a tolerant consciousness in the public; by implementing a “social diagnosis” to monitor problems that cause potential dangers to the society;
- developing cooperation among governmental and non-governmental organizations, including people of art and education, parliament and representatives of municipal authorities, of religious communities, as well as women’s and youth organizations;
- using actively the educational and preschool systems with the aim of inculcating civilized concepts of life among the growing generation (special courses on the topics such as a dialog of cultures, tolerance, the psychology of inter-ethnic relations – from conflict to understanding, and etc.);
- mobilising mass media possibilities for enhancing a humane atmosphere in the country and decreasing the level of extremist tendencies in the public consciousness.

On the basis of the concept of the Culture of Peace, the “National Strategy for Building Civil Society” can practically be drafted. It is very important for the future of the Republic of Moldova as a viable state. It is true that a state cannot be considered a civil and democratic society if it is not able to deal with political and other extremism, with ethnic conflicts, and if citizens lose trust in the authorities or they are not able to understand each other.

One would like to see that principles that were peculiar for Moldova over centuries – peaceful coexistence, exceptional hospitality towards people of different nationalities and religious beliefs, tolerance and collaboration, are followed by the majority of today’s people. Here special attention should be paid to the new generation, which is standing in before a rapidly and deeply changing world, where the problems of ethics and culture obtain a great meaning. It is necessary to promote the idea of the culture of peace among young people in a simple and clear language, so that young people get involved in the activity of the United Nations in the Republic of Moldova, the organisation that has emphasised the need to put people at the centre of the development process and give them a voice in the decisions that affect their lives.

The Culture of Peace is peace in action. Finally, whether the 21st century become a century of peace and non-violence in Moldova depends on the beliefs and actions of its people.

Chapter 1

New Beginning for the New Millennium: Contributing to the Culture of Peace

1.1 United Nations for the Culture of Peace: Evolution of a Concept

The maintenance of international peace and security is the most important task of the United Nations. Founded in 1945 in the aftermath of World War II, from its birth the UN placed peace at the centre of its mission. The Preamble of the UN Charter affirms the determination of the peoples of the United Nations “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.” Article I of the Charter states as main purposes of the United Nations “to maintain international peace and security;” “to develop friendly relations among nations;” “to strengthen universal peace” and “to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems [...] and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all.” Chapter VI of the UN Charter is dedicated to the pacific settlement of disputes. In this chapter, Article 33 enjoins “the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security,” first of all to “seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.”

Equally significant is the fact that from the very beginning, and as the Preamble also explicitly indicates, the UN saw peace and security as inseparable from, and as important as, fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, the respect for justice and for the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. The signatories of the UN Charter rightly regarded peace not merely as the absence of war (i.e., what some authors also call “negative peace”), but as a positive, dynamic process in the course of which all human beings would share the results of economic and social progress in greater freedom and justice. This belief was reaffirmed in a variety of ways in numerous declarations and resolutions approved by the UN since its foundation, most notably the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948.

During its activity of more than half a century, the UN has resolved many problems at the international, regional and local levels in the name of peace and cooperation. Its achievements in the direct promotion of peace include the negotiation of a large number of peaceful settlements that have ended regional conflicts, the maintenance of peace and security through the deployment of peace-keeping forces and observer missions, the prevention of imminent wars through the use of quiet diplomacy, the strengthening of international law and the judicial settlement of international disputes.

At the same time, the UN played an important role in the promotion of democracy and development, protection of human rights, prevention of nuclear proliferation, protection of the environment, and in the provision of humanitarian aid to victims of war and natural disasters, helping to reconstruct in the aftermath of such disasters, facilitating trade, economic reform and cultural and academic exchanges. The UN and its agencies have been and continue to be engaged in a vast number of activities that, in one way or another, exercise a positive influence upon the lives of countless people around the world. In this process, greater clarity has emerged as to what is required for achieving the tasks the organisation sees as its primary mission – and, particularly, for the achievement of durable, positive peace.

Despite undeniable achievements, the United Nations found the original promise of the Organisation impossible to fulfill. This was largely due to the severe constraints that it often had to face, and especially to the Cold War and the adversarial system it perpetuated.

*Peace is not the absence
of war; it is a virtue,
a state of mind, and
a disposition
for benevolence,
confidence, and justice.*

Baruch Spinoza, Dutch philosopher
(1632 – 1677)

The last decade
of the XX century
brought about major
changes, which
had historical
consequences for peace
in the world.

As the Secretary-General of the UN put it in his report to the General Assembly, entitled “*An Agenda for Peace*” (1992),¹ “since the creation of the United Nations in 1945, over 100 major conflicts around the world have left some 20 million dead. The United Nations was rendered powerless to deal with many of these crises because of the vetoes – 279 of them – cast in the Security Council, which were a vivid expression of the divisions of that period”.

The last decade of the twentieth century brought with it major changes, which had historic consequences for the state of peace in the world. The most important of these changes include, first, the end of the Cold War and, secondly, a significant increase in the frequency of violent intra-state conflicts. These wars were fuelled by conflict and violence between ethnic, religious, linguistic, cultural and other groups, the rise of extremism, fanaticism and fundamentalism of different kinds, and by terrorism, organised crime and, last but not least, poverty, exclusion and discrimination. This increase was accompanied by a fall in the frequency of inter-state conflicts, in both relative and absolute terms.

The transformation of global power arrangements and the end of the Cold War created an unprecedented opportunity for the United Nations: the vetoes which had once immobilised it came to an end, and the Organisation was flooded with requests for it to play an active role in the resolution of conflicts.

At the same time, as the Secretary-General stressed in “*An Agenda for Peace*”, the increase in the frequency of intra-state conflicts represented a qualitative change that posed new – and almost unprecedented – challenges to the UN. These conflicts have novel characteristics by comparison to inter-state wars: (i) they are usually fought not only by regular armies but also by militias and armed civilians with little discipline; (ii) they are often guerrilla wars without clear front lines; (iii) civilians are the main victims and often the main targets of these wars; (iv) they often cause humanitarian emergencies that the combatants have no capacity to deal with; and (v) they create large numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons. “Another feature of such conflicts is the collapse of state institutions, especially the police and judiciary, with resulting paralysis of governance, a breakdown of law and order, and general banditry and chaos. Not only are the functions of government suspended, its assets are destroyed or looted and experienced officials are killed or flee the country. This is rarely the case in inter-state wars. It means that international intervention must extend beyond military and humanitarian tasks and must include the promotion of national reconciliation and the re-establishment of effective government”². Under such conditions, peace-keeping is far more complex, expensive and dangerous than under more ‘conventional’ circumstances.

In “*An Agenda for Peace*”, the Secretary-General presented four main areas for action that “... taken together, and carried out with the backing of all members, offer a coherent contribution towards securing peace in the spirit of the Charter.” These include preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peace building.

Preventive diplomacy is defined as “action to prevent disputes from arising between parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur”.³ It requires measures to build confidence; it needs early warning systems based on fact-finding and on information gathering; it may also involve preventive deployment and the setting up of demilitarised zones.

Peacemaking is “action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations.” These means include negotiation, mediation and resort to the International Court of Justice. They may also include assistance to ameliorate circumstances that have contributed to the dispute or conflict, and sanctions. They could also include the use of coercion and even of military force, if peaceful attempts to restore peace and security fail.

Peacekeeping is “the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with

¹ UN Document A/47/277 – S/24111. *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the summit meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992. 17 June 1992.

² UN Document A/50/60 – S/1995/1. *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, 3 January 1995.

the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peace-keeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace”.

Finally, the Secretary General defines *post-conflict peace building* as “action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.”

These areas for action are clearly complementary: preventive diplomacy aims at solving disputes before they lead to violent conflict; peace making is needed to stop conflicts when they occur and peace-keeping to preserve the peace once it is reached. Finally, post-conflict peace-building endeavours to prevent the return of violence. This it does through the involvement of the former belligerents in the joint solution of the economic, social and humanitarian problems underlying the conflict and the gradual building up of confidence between them, in order to lay down a lasting foundation for peace.

The concept of post-conflict peace building, which is perhaps the most innovative element of this approach, played an important role in further thinking about peace within the UN system. Again, it reveals the UN’s clear awareness of the close connection between development, social justice, the respect for human rights and durable peace and security. It is therefore not surprising that, soon after the report on an agenda for peace, the Secretary General, at the request of the General Assembly, would have submitted a report on an agenda for development. In the preface to this report, the Secretary General affirms: “Development is a fundamental human right. Development is the most secure basis for peace.” This same theme is echoed in the *Agenda for Development* that was eventually adopted by the General Assembly in June 1997:

“Peace and development are closely interrelated and mutually supportive [...]. Development is indispensable to the achievement and maintenance of peace and security both within and among nations. Without development there can be neither peace nor security. The processes related to the Agenda for Development and the Agenda for Peace are complementary. For peace and stability to endure, national action and effective international co-operation are required to promote a better life for all in larger freedom, a critical element of which is the eradication of poverty.”⁴

Basically similar ideas and values can be found at the core of the concept of *Culture of Peace*, formulated by the UNESCO General Conference, and the promotion of which was adopted with high priority as the medium-term strategy of UNESCO for the period 1996-2002. As conceived by UNESCO,

... a culture of peace is a set of values, attitudes, traditions, modes of behaviour and ways of life that reflect and inspire:

- respect for life and for all human rights;
- rejection of violence in all its forms and commitment to the prevention of violent conflicts by tackling their root causes through dialogue and negotiation;
- commitment to full participation in the process of equitably meeting the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations;
- promotion of the equal rights and opportunities of women and men;
- recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information;
- devotion to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, co-operation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding between nations, between ethnic, religious, cultural and other groups, and between individuals⁵.

³ An Agenda for Peace, p. 4.

⁴ Agenda for Development. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, number 51/240. 15 October 1997.

⁵ UNESCO document 155 EX/49, Preliminary Consolidated Report to the United Nations on a Culture of Peace. 11 August 1998.

Peace and development are closely interrelated. Development provides the most secure basis for peace.

UNESCO formulated the concept of the Culture of Peace and its promotion is a high priority for each country.

In its origins, the UNESCO Culture of Peace Programme was associated with United Nations efforts to resolve the proliferation of armed conflicts that followed the end of the Cold War. The concept of a culture of peace is closely related to the concept of post-conflict peace building. As has already been mentioned, the central idea of peace building is to identify and support structures that will tend to strengthen and consolidate peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Useful and praiseworthy though this is, it immediately raises the rather obvious question: “Why not start peace building *before* conflict has occurred, rather than only after it has taken place?” As the Director-General of UNESCO has written, “Rather than intervening in violent conflicts after they have erupted and then engaging in post-conflict peace building, it is more humane and more efficient to prevent such violence in the first place by addressing its roots – that is the essence of the culture of peace approach”.⁶ The culture of peace involves peace building before, or in the absence of, war.

UNESCO considers that the fundamental task of the United Nations – to save future generations from the scourge of war – “requires transforming not only institutional structures and manifestations of war, but also its deep cultural roots, the culture of violence and war, into a culture of peace”.⁷ It is important to note that the concept of a culture of peace extends peace beyond the strictly political realm since it envisages a transformation of social and psychological values, attitudes and behaviours. In this sense, it is a far more comprehensive concept than any of those discussed above. At the same time, “a culture of peace cannot be imposed from outside. A culture of peace should be elaborated within the process of sustainable, endogenous equitable human development; it should contribute to the strengthening of democratic processes; it requires the learning and use of new techniques for the peaceful management and resolution of conflicts; it needs the mobilisation of all means of education, both formal and non-formal, and of communication.”⁸

Until recently, the Constitution of UNESCO was interpreted as referring mainly to actions at the international level in its recognised fields of competence: education, science, culture and communication. The UNESCO programme did not include practical measures aimed at the promotion of peace and security. The adoption of a strategy based on the active promotion of a culture of peace therefore represents a significant change for the Organisation. On the other hand, however, there is a deep continuity between the concept of “culture of peace” and the Constitution of UNESCO. The Constitution declares:

That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed;

That ignorance of each other’s ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war [...];

That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

These points deserve some reflection. Now more than ever before, wars begin in the minds of men – for it is there that cultural, religious, and ethnic differences, extremism, fundamentalism and fanaticism breed, nourished by ignorance, suspicion and mistrust of others. The mission of “constructing the defenses of peace in the minds of men” thus acquires greater importance than ever before. The promotion of a culture of peace, based upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of humankind, to replace the culture of violence and war, represents a creative response to the new challenges of the environment, while at the same time retaining the necessary continuity with UNESCO’s traditional approach to the promotion of peace, security, human rights and democracy.

The term ‘culture of peace’ was used for the first time in 1989, in a decision taken by UNESCO’s Executive Board. The decision concerned Major Programme VII – UNESCO’s

⁶ UNESCO document 152 EX/50, Contribution by the Director-General to the report of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Transdisciplinary Project Towards a Culture of Peace. 26 August 1997.

⁷ UNESCO document 152 EX/50, Contribution by the Director-General to the report of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Transdisciplinary Project Towards a Culture of Peace. 26 August 1997.

⁸ First International Forum on the Culture of Peace, El Salvador, 1994.

contribution to peace, human rights and the elimination of all forms of discrimination, and it stressed "... its perfect harmony with the constitutional mission of UNESCO and the ethical role it is called upon to play in promoting a 'culture of peace' [...] based on the peaceful solution of conflicts, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and equitable development."⁹ It was taken up again almost immediately in the Yamoussoukro Declaration on Peace in the Minds of Men, approved by the International Congress on Peace in the Minds of Men, Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire, July 1989.

There followed a period of dialogue and consultations during which the idea of a "culture of peace" was developed and fleshed out. The consultations included, in addition to the Yamoussoukro International Congress, the round table of eminent persons on The Agenda for Peace: A Challenge for UNESCO, in 1993; the first international forum on the Culture of Peace, (El Salvador, 1994); the Venice Deliberations, 1994; and the first consultative meeting on the Culture of Peace Programme, also in 1994. Through these and other initiatives, a framework for action gradually evolved and gave rise to an action plan. In 1995 the UNESCO General Conference declared that the transition from the culture of war to a culture of peace was the greatest challenge facing the world at the end of the twentieth century and approved UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy for 1996-2001, emphasizing the need for UNESCO to reinforce its contribution to long-term peace building and dedicating it to the promotion of the culture of peace.

"As a result of a long process of reflection and conceptualisation, the culture of peace emerged, not as an abstract concept, but as a long-term action to be designed as a coherent set of aims, priorities, approaches and methods of action, partnership arrangements, and specific activities, taking into account in each case the historical, political and socio-cultural context for such an action."¹⁰

The 28th session of the General Conference of UNESCO for the first time examined the Organisation's activities presented in the form of a trans-disciplinary project entitled "Towards a Culture of Peace". The implementation of the trans-disciplinary project was finally approved by the General Conference in its 29th session and initiated in 1998-1999.

The project was subdivided into three units, entitled respectively:

Unit 1: Culture of peace: raising awareness and building partnership

Unit 2: Educating for a culture of peace

Unit 3: Culture of peace in action

As the Director General stated, "The project must not be understood as an additional dimension of UNESCO's activities, but as an essential component of the whole action of the Organisation."¹¹

Later, the United Nations took upon itself the challenge of promoting a culture of peace when, in its 53rd session (1997), the General Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming the year 2000 the International Year for the Culture of Peace. The position of this particular year, at the turn of the millennium, confers special symbolic importance upon this decision. In 1998 the General Assembly declared the period 2001 – 2010 the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World.

The Culture of Peace is on its way to becoming a broad movement, which is being joined not only by states, but also by organisations and individuals belonging to national or local governmental institutions, the armed forces, educational institutions and the media, as well as to civil society: women's groups, youth groups, journalists, religious organisations, artists, etc. Many of these members have already undertaken important projects at various levels, aimed at ensuring the transition towards a culture of peace, dialogue, tolerance and solidarity.

Over the past ten years, the idea of the Culture of Peace has come a long way from the concept to the program of actions.

⁹ UNESCO document 131 EX/Decision 4.1 and Decision 4.2, June 1989.

¹⁰ UNESCO document 155 EX/48, Evaluation Report on the Trans-disciplinary Project 'Towards a Culture of Peace', paragraph 85.

¹¹ UNESCO document DG/Note/97/22 of 16 June 1997, paragraph 3.

The Launch of the World Movement for the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence in Moldova

"The year of 2000 must be a new beginning for us all, an opportunity for us together to transform the culture of war and violence into a culture of peace and non-violence."

(Manifesto 2000)

The United Nations has proclaimed the year of 2000 as the International Year for the Culture of Peace (IYCP). This is an extraordinary opportunity to speed up the transition from the culture of war, which prevailed in the last centuries, to the culture of peace. It is only under conditions of peace that the sustainable development of all countries and peoples of the world can be achieved.

In this framework, a gala was held to launch the world movement for the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence on May 23, 2000 in the National Theatre "Mihai Eminescu". It was organized under the auspices of Mr. Petru Lucinschi, President of the Republic of Moldova, and on the initiative of the UN House in Moldova and the National Commission for UNESCO. The festivity started with an Anthem to Peace, with lyrics written by Soren Tejno, UN Resident Coordinator in Moldova, and music composed by Constantin Rusnac, General Secretary of the National Commission for UNESCO in Moldova.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Tejno highlighted that "peace is not the absence of conflicts, but it is an attitude towards resolving them." He also stressed that "the UN in Moldova is committed to promoting the culture of peace, in particular to the peaceful settlement of existing conflicts."

President Lucinschi mentioned that only two years after the International Forum in Chisinau (May 1998), the events which occurred in south eastern Europe demonstrated the crucial importance of peace and stability in each country and in the world.

DECLARATION

We, participants in the launching of the World Movement for the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence in Moldova, gathered in Chisinau, the capital of the Republic of Moldova on May 23, 2000, under the auspices of His Excellency Petru Lucinschi, President of the Republic of Moldova, and on the initiative of the United Nations and the National Commission for UNESCO:

remembering that the UN Charter proclaims: "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, ...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of the nations large and small, ...to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, ...to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors...,"

taking into consideration the fact that the Charter of UNESCO states that "given that wars are born in the mind of humanity, peace has to be built in the same mind; that peace based only on economic and political agreements of governments cannot ensure the unanimous, sustainable and sincere unity of peoples and, therefore, peace should be established at the foundation of the intellectual and moral solidarity of humankind...,"

convinced that civil society represents the ideal field for the exchange of ideas and dialogue and can make radical changes in ways of thinking, *aware* that in the new millennium everyone's contribution is crucial to ensure a new world aimed at the achievement of the culture of peace with real impact on daily life.

welcome resolution 52/15 of the United Nations General Assembly, adopted on November 20, 1997, on the initiative of UNESCO, which proclaims the year 2000 the International Year for the Culture of Peace, as well as resolution 53/25 of the UN General Assembly of November 1998 which proclaims the decade of 2000-2010 the International Decade for the Promotion of the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the World's Children.

ardently support the 2000 Manifesto for the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence, drawn up by laureates of the Nobel Peace Prize and officially presented to the public during an international press conference on March 4, 1999 in Paris, which is aimed at increasing the adherence of people worldwide to the implementation of the values of the culture of peace,

support the Declaration adopted by the participants of the International Forum "Towards the Culture of Peace and Dialogue of Civilizations Against the Culture of War and Violence" which took place in Chisinau on May 16-18, 1998,

launch an appeal to all individuals, social institutions and organizations of civil society to unite our efforts toward establishing the culture of peace during this International Year for the Culture of Peace. Let us not miss the opportunity to tell the world that we want and we can take it back to the beginning, starting by signing the 2000 Manifesto "For a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence" which reflects the commitments of each of us to the values of tolerance, solidarity, reconciliation and dialogue.

According to President Luchinschi, Moldova will reaffirm its will to support and promote the culture of peace and of dialogue for the good of each nation and all of humankind.

The National Commission for UNESCO in cooperation with UN Theme Group "Culture for Development," with the financial support of the UN Resident Coordinator Office, drew up several publications for use within the framework of the movement. These publications were "Participant's Guide to the World Movement of Peace and Non-Violence", "Manifesto 2000" and a postal card with the movement's logo. These materials were handed out to all the participants present at the inaugural event who committed themselves "to make this world movement popular around us as well as to contribute to its extension." Since Manifesto 2000 provides the collection of the signatures of the movement's adherents, the participants in the event solemnly signed it, after which a musical program began. Attendees included representatives of the Presidency, Parliament, Government, civil society and private sector, UN Agencies in Moldova, ambassadors and politicians.

There is good reason to consider Moldova among the active supporters of the Movement on the world scale. The 1998 International Forum, organized under the auspices of President Lucinschi, and former General Director of UNESCO, Mr. Federico Mayor, greatly promoted the idea of a culture of peace. The works of the Forum, "For the Culture of Peace and a Dialogue of Civilizations Against the Culture of War and Violence" were promoted by the agency UNESCOMPRESS all over the world. The Declaration and the Action Plan adopted in Chisinau are being carried out, remaining valid for future generations as well. A textbook entitled "Introduction to the Culture of Peace" was also edited on the occasion of the Forum. This book was distributed free of charge to all schools and libraries of the country. According to the information at our disposal, Moldova is among the first countries to have printed such a book.

The National Commission for UNESCO, designated as the national antenna of this movement, will do everything possible to assist adherents to the Movement, considering that the efforts of every participant will become a bridge between our concerns and those of other parts of the world. The positive things we propose will be taken up by the world community, just as happened with those adopted by the Declaration of Chisinau at the end of the Forum in May 1998. Every person, regardless of social position, inclinations, preparation and aspirations, can make a contribution to the movement.

Larisa Olaru-Vartosu,
Program Assistant to the UN Theme Group
"Culture for Development"

1.2 Promoting the Culture of Peace

The problems of peace, peace building and the culture of peace are complex and multi-faceted. Part of their difficulty has to do with the ambiguity of the concept of peace. We may define peace simply as the absence of violence. Understood according to this so-called *negative* concept (peace as the absence of war), peace may coexist with structural violence (e.g., oppression), or the threat of violence. This is very different from the concept of *positive* peace, which is normally seen as a dynamic equilibrium, and according to which:

... peace is a just and non-violent solution of conflicts. It generates an equilibrium in social interactions, so that all members of society can live in harmonious relations with each other. Peace is good for society. Where there is violence, there is no peace. Where there is injustice and the absence of liberty, there is no peace. In order for there to be an equilibrium in the dynamic of social interactions, peace must be founded on justice and liberty.¹²

The very idea of a culture of peace is meaningful only if we adopt a positive view of peace, since it is incompatible with structural violence, oppression, discrimination and the threat of violence. Making, keeping and especially building such a peace are complex tasks.

Peace building is a complex multi-disciplinary activity with political, social, economic, ideological and psychological, as well as practical dimensions. It aims at providing a durable foundation for peace through activities such as the restoration or maintenance of law and order and of civil society; the re-establishment of local administrations and government utilities; the promotion and protection of human rights; the elimination of oppression, discrimination, domination and injustice, and activities of reconstruction and development. Unlike the more conventional peacemaking and peacekeeping, which basically require high-level political agreement, peace building goes well beyond purely political agreement at the top. The activities of peace building target large segments of the community and aim at generating trust, confidence and well being among people. Peace building is a long-term process that cannot be hurried without risking failure.

The culture of peace adds two crucial dimensions to post-conflict peace building. First, it introduces an element of prevention, since it is not limited to post-conflict situations. The culture of peace is in fact a preventive approach to situations of actual or potential violent conflict, at all levels. Secondly, the culture of peace aims to go deeper, and implies deeper changes, than peace building. The culture of peace is concerned with changing not just structures but also attitudes, behaviours, individual conceptions and perceptions. It therefore has the potential to influence all interactions between human beings. Since the culture of violence is reproduced through processes that include socialisation in the household and in the local community, and interactions with the media, the transition to a culture of peace ultimately requires changes in such processes and interactions, through education and other forms of action. These are deep changes, which concern some of the most basic units of society. The realisation of a culture of peace is indeed a battle for the minds of men, and will take many generations to win.

It seems worthwhile to reflect, even if very briefly, on some of the fundamental ethical principles which underlie the concept of a culture of peace, as defined in the preceding section. A convenient way of doing this is by means of a discussion of various aspects of the UNESCO definition, already quoted.

“... a culture of peace is the set of values, attitudes, traditions, modes of behaviour and ways of life...” The use of the term “culture” and the reference to values, attitudes, etc., in that definition are deliberate, and used to stress the objective of introducing a deep change in society. This change should take place not only at the level of institutional structures but at a much deeper level, that of the cultural roots of violence and war. The main idea of a culture of peace is to reject violence, to erase it in people’s minds as well as in intra- and inter-state relations, so that it will become, if not unthinkable, at least not easily and immediately thought about.

“There is no human civilization equally accessible for all the nations, but every nation has its own civilization, although it embraces a multitude of common elements of other nations.”

Mihai Eminescu (1850-1889),
Romanian poet and philosopher

¹² UNI David Adams, UNESCO and a Culture of Peace: Promoting a Global Movement. Paris, 1997: UNESCO Publishing, p. 91.

**The problems
of the Culture
of Peace are complex
and multifaceted.**

“Respect for life and for all human rights.” The principle of respect for life and for human rights stems from the founding documents of the United Nations and UNESCO, most notably the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. War and violence invariably entail the subordination of the lives and the rights of human beings to a variety of so-called “higher values and higher interests.” It is, also, no accident that it is often the rich, the powerful, and the privileged that determine what these “higher” values are at each moment. The respect for life and for human rights emanates from the recognition of the dignity and worth of the human person (as set out for instance in the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and stems from the same source as our own self-respect. The affirmation of this respect, especially when placed first among the values defining a culture of peace, places human beings, their lives and their fundamental rights, squarely at the centre of our value system, as ends rather than means, making it very difficult to use them as tools for purposes which they have not chosen, or to impose violence and war upon them.

“Rejection of violence in all its forms and commitment to the prevention of violent conflicts by tackling their root causes through dialogue and negotiation.” As long as human beings remain human, as long as they are alive, conflict will be inevitable. Conflict arises whenever the principles, interests or desires of different individuals or groups clash, and has a variety of different causes: economic, political, ideological or other. It is neither conceivable nor desirable that such clashes – which reflect the richness and diversity of the human species and of the world we live in – may someday disappear. What can, however, disappear, and what the culture of peace aims at eliminating, is violent conflict. Negotiation and dialogue are here put forward as alternatives to violent conflict. They imply an acknowledgement of the dignity of the other and a recognition of the other’s right to his or her own position, and they replace the attempt to impose a decision or point of view with a joint search for a solution to the differences.

The rejection of violence in all its forms is closely related with the positive concept of peace already mentioned. Injustice, oppression and exploitation are forms of violence, which is why there is no peace while they exist. Tyranny and oppression, the absence of justice and liberty, imply that, even if no violent conflict is openly visible, human beings are engaged in violence toward other human beings every day. It is indeed significant that the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights sees tyranny and oppression as conditions under which man may be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to (presumably violent) rebellion.

“Commitment to full participation in the process of equitably meeting the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.” Equitable and sustainable development, aimed at achieving a higher quality of life for all people, is one of the main priorities of the United Nations. As has already been stressed above, development is seen both as an objective worthy of pursuing in its own right and one of the most important requisites for peace and security. In the sentence quoted above, the concept of equity is applied along two separate dimensions: equity among the members of the present generation and equity in the relations between the present and future generations – a central element in the concept of sustainable development.

“Promotion of the equal rights and opportunities of women and men.” Once again, this principle stems from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other documents and resolutions of the United Nations (most notably the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*), and of UNESCO. Discrimination on any grounds is not only an injustice towards those whom it targets, although that is bad enough: by affecting the effectiveness with which human resources are used, it also has serious negative economic consequences.

“Recognition of the rights of everyone to freedom of expression, opinion and information.” Freedom starts in the mind and, as totalitarian regimes have known throughout the ages only too well, one of the most effective ways of perpetuating oppression

is to restrict freedom of expression, opinion and information. A culture of peace has no meaning without freedom of choice, and freedom of choice in turn requires freedom of expression, opinion and information.

“Devotion to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, co-operation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding between nations, between ethnic, religious, cultural and other groups, and between individuals.” These principles reiterate and further specify those already mentioned and discussed above. This is, however, not a mere repetition: the references for instance to democracy, pluralism, solidarity and tolerance throw useful – and, in some cases, much needed – light upon the ways in which the culture of peace is to be realised.

An important question at this point concerns the ways and means to build a culture of peace. UNESCO’s Medium-Term Strategy for 1996-2001 states that the culture of peace implies

... the creation of an environment for living that is consistent with human dignity, in which all those who are excluded, isolated or marginalised would find an opportunity for genuinely becoming part of society. It implies the elimination of poverty and its attendant ills, more equitable sharing of both prosperity and knowledge, and the possibility for everyone to receive an education or to return to education. It also implies the consolidation of democratic processes, because only democracy can ensure the right to the rule of law and the respect of rights.¹³

This statement has in fact become the broad objective that UNESCO pursues under the Medium-Term Strategy, in all its fields of competence.

Methodological aspects of the problem of culture of peace. The principle “Culture of Peace” implemented by the United Nations Organisation has been *conceptually well publicized*. The concept of peace is analysed in the UN documents from multiple angles and views – “it is not only lack of conflicts, but rather a positive and dynamic process based on mass participation” (Declaration and Action Programme in the field of culture of peace).

One may say that the idea of the culture of peace cannot fit the “negative” concept of peace as non-existence of war. It is a “positive” peace, envisaging peace without war, based on mutual understanding, tolerance, economic and cultural development, justice and democracy. Thus, the goal is not to liquidate conflicts per se (which would be unrealistic and would imperil the development of society) but to promote actions that would create a social situation, wherein specific values are cherished, conditions are created to avoid cruel conflicts and to resolve the misunderstandings and problems created with peaceful means.

The declaration adopted by the UN General Assembly defines the culture of peace as a set of *values, worldviews, behaviours*, based on:

Respect of life, prevention of violence and adoption of the principle of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation in the society;

Full support and acceptance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Acceptance of responsibility to resolve conflict situations only with peaceful means;

Readiness to respect and support the observance of the right to development;

Intention to ensure the realisation of the principle of equality of rights of men and women;

Respect and assistance in the observance of the right of every individual to freedom of expression and opinion and free access to information;

Loyalty to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and mutual understanding in all spheres of society’s

The Culture of Peace has no meaning without a dialogue and understanding between nations, between cultural, religious and other groups, and between individuals.

¹³ UNESCO document 28 C/4, Medium-Term Strategy for 1996-2001, paragraph 61.

**The Culture of Peace
is peace in action.
Introducing such
a culture is a long
-term process.**

life and among peoples. It is also believed that the establishment of the culture of peace is strongly related to the existence of factors, conditions and concrete social mechanisms, that would:

- encourage peaceful resolution of conflicts, mutual respect and understanding in the society, as well as international cooperation;
- ensure the fulfillment of international commitments, related to a country's membership in the UN, other world and regional organisations;
- support democracy, encourage the observance of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- offer possibilities for all people from various groups to develop the skills of dialogue in the negotiation process, consensus, peaceful resolution of disagreements;
- strengthen democratic institutions;
- eradicate poverty and illiteracy, decrease the inequality within countries and among them;
- encourage sustainable economic and social development;
- liquidate all forms of discrimination against women by enlarging their rights and possibilities and ensuring equal representation at all stages of the decision-making process;
- ensure the respect, encouragement and protection of children's rights;
- motivate the free flow of information at all levels and easy access to information;
- increase the transparency and accountability of the administration;
- liquidate all forms of racism, racial discriminations, xenophobia and intolerance related to it;
- promote the ideals of mutual understanding, tolerance and solidarity among all civilisations, people and cultures, including representatives of ethnic, religious and language minorities;
- observe the right of all nations to self-determination, including nations under colonial or other forms of foreign rule or occupancy.

The programme of the culture of peace also envisages the increased role of *the international and national institutional structures* in the liquidation of the precondition triggering aggressive behaviour, violence, and armed conflicts between states, social groups, and individuals. The concept of the culture of peace, implemented by the UN, establishes a methodology, which gives us the productive possibility to view and resolve a specific problem *at the national level*. Obviously, the assessment of the culture of peace in the society presupposes an examination of several aspects of life:

First: we need to find the general characteristics of the humanistic potential of that form of life, that model of social structure that could be established in a particular society. We also need to ascertain the preconditions created by the particular model for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, sustainable development of society, support and strengthening of social integration, citizen solidarity, peace and stability. We need to understand that the most benign conditions for the realisation of the idea of the culture of peace are created in a society, in which the principles of democracy, social justice and freedom are consistently respected. These conditions are either completely absent or very limited in a society burdened by totalitarian forms of social organisation.

Second: we need to assess the prevalence of confrontational-conflict processes, entrenched in the society's consciousness and adhered to in real life, determine their character and analyse the possible development trends.

Third: it is important to identify the correctness (alignment with the criteria of the culture of peace) and the existence of mechanisms that would enable a particular society to achieve stability and to prevent, regulate and resolve conflicts.

Thus, the establishment of the culture of peace supposes the identification of positive and negative factors influencing the development of this culture and imposes certain actions to support the former and neutralise the latter.

Taking into account the above mentioned, the culture of peace is a characteristic of a society with social mechanisms and principles which foster social integration, peace and stability, the observance of human rights, sustainable human development, and moral and psychological comfort and ensure the settlement of a confrontational-conflict situation in a democratic and non-violent way. The culture of peace can be built only in the presence of certain mechanisms, which would make public internal tensions and conflicts emerging in the society and propose them for public discussions and rationalisation. The consensus alternatives and principles would be developed and then proposed as political programmes with their consequent transformation into legal-judicial decisions. The promotion of the culture of peace facilitates the recognition of the possibility of living in peace as a fundamental human right, “whose observance can be demanded from people, including from governing authorities, and which can be secured only with the agreed efforts of the leaders of the society – the government, individuals, public and private organisations” (Federico Mayor).

The problem of the culture of peace is closely related to the questions of social integration and citizen solidarity. Its settlement requires the infiltration of the generally recognised moral principles in the society, as well as the creation of an appropriate normative base.

The necessary level of a culture of peace can be achieved only with the exploration of the human potential accumulated in a particular country and humanity in general. We should pay attention to the important role assigned by the UN to *religion*, as a sphere of social life, through which we can actively foster development of the culture of peace. In this contest it is worth mentioning the *Declaration on the Role of Religion in the Promotion of the Culture of Peace*, adopted at the meeting of UNESCO with the Centre on UNESCO affairs in Catalonia (Italy, December 1994). The participants in this event showed their unanimous willingness to pass the message of peace to each individual of the modern society “flooded by violence.”

One of the most efficient means to achieve this end is *education*. It is not accidental that the International Conference on Education, organised by UNESCO (1994), adopted the Declaration that stated the huge role paid by educational establishments in the realisation of the idea and principles of sustainable development and establishment of the culture of peace. It is essential that the final goal of the UNESCO mid-term strategy (1996-2001) is to create a versatile system of “training and education on peace, human rights and democracy,” addressing all groups of the population and encompassing all educational levels, both official and unofficial ones.

The Culture of Peace is a way of being, doing and living in the society that can be taught, developed and most importantly, improved.

Box 1.2

United Nations Millennium Declaration

“We, heads of State and Government ..., believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world’s people. For while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognize that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalization be made fully inclusive and equitable. These efforts must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.”

Petru Lucinschi, President of the Republic of Moldova:

“All United Nations Member States have a key role to play in meeting the challenges of environmental degradation, climate change, industrial disasters and the nuclear threat. But realistically, the security of this century depends on how the big States understand and cooperate with each other and the degree to which their interests are harmonized – while respecting small States’ legitimate interests ... As a small State facing the problems of transition and threats to its territorial integrity, Moldova sees in the United Nations hope, support and the guarantee of every country’s development.”

Source: UN General Assembly, 6-8 Sept., 2000

Chapter 2

**Relevance of the Culture of Peace
for the Republic of Moldova****2.1 The Culture of Peace – a Top Priority for Moldova**

The proclamation of independence by the Republic of Moldova intensified the multi-sided problem of modernization in this young state. The collapse of the totalitarian regime, the denial of the command administration in the transition to a free market economy, the reformation of the state's authority in accordance with the principle of the division of powers, the development of the mechanism of a real democracy, the creation of the necessary conditions for the emergence of a civil society and the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms – these tasks have been considered top priorities for Moldova. Their resolution, as well, will create the basis for ascertaining the culture of peace in this country.

The dramatic events in the Republic of Moldova at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the '90s also triggered the appearance of new factors which may further the integration of society, social cohesion and citizen solidarity. Still, the possibilities created by these factors have not been fully utilized. Moreover, under the conditions of economic depression and the impoverishment of the population, of severe political confrontation and an ongoing crisis of political power, negative tendencies are given additional impetus, thus creating conflict, threatening the integration of society and causing a further detour from the path of civilized development.

The situation has been aggravated by the fact that the values of civil society, the principles of human rights and human development have not become deeply entrenched in society's consciousness, at least not so much as to become a factor influencing social behavior in the majority of the population. As a result, the mechanisms of legal regulation and democratic procedures have not been sufficiently supported in the public mentality. In this respect, the measures at hand have not been sufficiently effective in preventing violation of laws, in fighting these violations, and in ensuring the participation of various strata of the population in the decision-making process at the national, regional and local levels.

In general the situation can be described as follows: the forms of social life characteristic for Moldova at present have in many cases a rather contradictory character and do not correspond to the criteria for a culture of peace. For this reason the meeting of the criteria is a critically relevant task for the Republic of Moldova. The culture of peace becomes, by its

*“Where there is mind,
there is also luck.”*

Moldovan proverb

Box 2.1**At the crossroads of civilizations****Federico Mayor, UNESCO:**

“Moldova, I am sure, will remain a crossroads of civilizations. It has not only produced talented musicians and composers, painters and writers, philosophers and statesmen. It has also offered refuge and inspiration to many writers and poets born in other climes who have found a new home here.”

Harlampie Corbu, Member of the Academy of Science of Moldova:

“Located on the geographical and geopolitical territory between the Prut and the Nistru rivers, and now an independent state, the Republic of Moldova has demonstrated and is demonstrating the great value of the cultural traditions and experience gained through being “born and raised” at the crossroads of history and at the juncture of various cultures and civilizations. Having originated at the overlap of such cultures as the Latin, Greek, Muslim, and Slavic, our ancestors' culture has certain benefits. The democratic and humanistic traditions of the national culture can be traced to a variety of both major and everyday manifestations of the socio-political and cultural-spiritual life of the region. The peace and stability which exist today, though quite fragile in a multi-ethnic country (minorities constitute approximately 35%), is an argument in favor of stability. Although it is premature to speak of some coherent harmony of cultural interests and forms, the cultures of the ethnic minorities Gagauz, Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, and Jewish coexist and productively communicate among themselves alongside the majority ethnic culture in the Republic of Moldova.”

Source: *The International Forum “For a Culture of Peace and Dialogue of Civilizations, Against a Culture of War and Violence”. Reports. Chisinau, May 1998.*

Box 2.2

Early History

Historians believe the ancestors of Moldovans to be the Thracian tribes of the Gets and Dacians. Numerous archeological traces have been discovered — including defense works, burial places and religious cult constructions between the Nistru and the Prut rivers, dating back to as early as the 4th century B.C. The Hellenistic influence can also be traced in the material culture of the Gets and Dacians.

Later, at the time of the Great Migration of Nations, tribes of Kimmerians, Scythians, Sarmacians, and, finally, the Huns, passed through that land known as “The Gate” between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. After the Roman conquest of this territory in the second and third centuries A.D, the local population was Romanized. Nevertheless, this contact area allowed the nomadic East (the Pecheneg, Polovets and Tatar-Mongol tribes) to meet the settled Western peoples with their organized agriculture.

The first document referring to the “Land of Moldova” dates back to 1560 A.D. In 1391 A.D. the ethnic group “Moldovans” was mentioned for the first time and, by the year 1402 A.D. written statements about “Moldovan Lands” appeared.

The peak time in the formation of the medieval Moldovan state – situated between the Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea - was the rule of Stefan the Great (1457-1504) A.D., who defended the sovereignty of Moldova in battles with the Turkish Janissaries, Hungarian and Polish royal troops and the Crimean Khans.

In the 16th century, the Moldovan state was conquered by the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish yoke lasted for almost 300 years. Turkish fortresses stand to this day in Cetatea Alba, present day Belgorod Dnestrovsk, Bender and Hotin and along the Nistru River, the border of Moldova at that time. As a result of the Russo-Turkish wars, Moldovan land bordered by the Prut and Nistru and the lower reaches of the Danube and the Black Sea (known as Bessarabia) became part of the Russian Empire.

Following the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, the Moldovan Democratic Republic was proclaimed. From 1918-1940, the territories on the right bank of the Nistru formed part of the Romanian Kingdom. Beginning in 1924, the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established on the left bank of the Nistru as a part of the Soviet Ukraine, USSR.

According to the notorious Molotov – von Ribbentrop Pact and its secret appendices that created “spheres of influence” for Germany and the USSR, the region between the Prut and the Nistru was incorporated into the USSR. In August 1940, the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic was declared a member of the Soviet Union. For several years during World War II, the territory of the republic formed part of Romania.

A major event in the spiritual life of the country was the proclamation of the Moldovan language as the official language on August 31, 1989. On August 27, 1991, the Republic of Moldova gained its independence and became a sovereign state.

Source: Moldova: Open to the World. Government of the Republic of Moldova, Chisinau, 1995

nature, an integral indicator of social health and a generalized measure of a society’s level of civilization. It is very important that in the process of modernization a focus on these criteria supports the adoption of a complex approach to the analysis of processes of social life and the planning of social activities. This focus presupposes a comprehensive consideration of objective and subjective aspects of society’s life and the particularities of relationships. It should be noted that this approach is not fully used within the methodology guiding the reformation of Moldovan society in the '90s.

The factors that do foster the strengthening of the social order, the development of civilized forms of social solidarity and the creation of a social consciousness in the spirit of a culture of peace in the Moldovan context are as follows:

The creation in Moldova during its ten years of independence of a *constitutional – legal foundation for the development of a democratic state* of law, a civil society, and the guaranteed observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

The maintenance of Moldova’s historical *traditions of amicable communal living*; mutual respect and cooperation among representatives from various ethnic, linguistic and religious groups;

The broad *involvement of the Republic of Moldova in European political processes*, and its increased participation in continental economic and cultural processes;

The existence of a *positive experience of locating and regulating inter-regional conflicts*;

The constitutional approval of Moldova’s *neutrality*, as well as the prohibition of armed forces of other states on its territory;

The accumulation during the years of independence of certain knowledge, skills and abilities needed for the *productive adaptation of the population to the new social, economic and political conditions*;

The construction of a boundary in society’s consciousness, *impeding a return to the principles, ideas and values of a state-controlled economic system, a closed society, and a state-party monopoly on ideology and a single world outlook*;

**The concept
of the Culture
of Peace
has a considerable
potential for
the Republic
of Moldova.**

**Contradictory
processes are still
present in many
spheres of life
in Moldova.**

Finally, one should mention the relatively *high level of education* and the cultural expectations of the population.

At the same time, in spite of the above-mentioned factors, the situation in Moldovan society remains difficult. Even if there is no possibility of returning to all the negative aspects of social life linked to the past worldviews and standards, the new values are not sufficiently entrenched in society's consciousness, and people do not clearly see the future and those aspects of life which could present positive expectations. This is to a large degree related to the difficulties faced by the country in the last years — difficulties that have been worsened by objective circumstances:

First of all, there is a deep social-economic crisis, the impoverishment of many groups of the population and increased social contrasts;

Secondly, there is the presence of a very high level of criminality, a growing Mafia involvement in crime, and corruption;

Third, the demographic profile and health of the population is drastically worsening;

Fourth, the democratic educational system is rapidly weakening, limiting access of many groups in the population to educational services and especially that of poorer groups;

Fifth, increased use is made of mechanisms intended to manipulate society's consciousness with curtailed spheres of influence among independent and free mass media sources.

Inter-ethnic relations remain tense in the country, with a wide discrepancy in the possibilities of inhabitants of rural and urban areas to satisfy their cultural needs. The volume and quality of communal services available to inhabitants of various regions have decreased. Certain problems have emerged in the inter-confessional and church-state relations. Moldova's adherence to international conventions protecting human rights is not always accompanied by real actions intended to protect these rights. All this generates serious difficulties in the creation of a civil society in the Republic of Moldova. The problem of equal rights and possibilities for men and women has been underexamined in the process of this society's modernization.

An analysis is needed of the application of neo-ideologies to humanitarian research, to arts education, and, in particular, to the study of history. The state of these disciplines makes it difficult for the educational system to fulfill its enlightening function, to contribute to the formation of a spiritually independent and responsible personality, and to develop and strengthen a culture of peace.

All the above-mentioned problems create a situation of semantic anomie, foster a more primitive system of values and contribute to the destruction of individuals' values while weakening the legal and moral sensibilities of individuals. It becomes easier to rationalize the use of illegal means to satisfy personal requirements and to choose a recourse to violent means in situations of conflict.

Box 2.3

Recent History

August 31, 1989 – The Moldovan Supreme Soviet passes the law on the establishment of the official language of the country and the return to the Latin alphabet.

August 27, 1991 - Republic of Moldova proclaimed a sovereign state.

December 8, 1991 - First presidential elections are held.

March 2, 1992 - Republic of Moldova becomes a member of the United Nations.

February 27, 1994 - First multi-party election of the Parliament take place.

March 6, 1994 - National referendum confirms the sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova.

July 29, 1994 - Parliament passes a new Constitution for the Republic of Moldova.

March 5, 1995 - Local referendum in the south of Moldova secures the administrative and territorial autonomy of Gagauz-Eri, populated mostly by the Gagauz (Christian Turks).

April 16, 1995 - First multi-party elections are held for local, self-governing bodies.

July 13, 1995 - Moldova admitted to the Council of Europe.

December 1, 1996 – Multi-party Presidential elections take place.

March 22, 1998 – National elections, validated by Moldova's Parliament on April 9th, are held.

1999 – Moldova's territory is organized in the traditional form of judets – namely, Bălți, Cahul, Chişinău, Edineţ, Lăpuşna, Orhei, Soroca, Taraclia, Tighina, Ungheni, the territorial unit of Transnistria and the autonomous territorial unit of Gagauzia.

July 5, 2000 – Moldova's Parliament passes amendments to the Constitution that stipulate the election of the President by the Parliament, and the transition to a parliamentary republic.

Conflict and confrontational processes are still present in Moldova in many spheres of life.

In the field of institutional relations there are conflicts between the main branches of state power. Economic activity diverges into a legal and a shadow economy. Disagreements are rife between the financial and the real sectors of the economy. There is, of course, opposition among the most influential political parties and among social and political associations. There are relationships of conflict between the state and public organizations. In the field of regional relationships a series of unresolved problems and regional tensions continue between Chisinau and Tiraspol (the Transnistrian problem), between Chisinau and Comrat (the Gagauz situation), and between Chisinau and Taraclia (Taraclian issue).

Moldovan society shares different opinions on such questions as: the appropriate model of social system for Moldova; the real status in society of various ethnic cultures and national languages represented in the country; the principle of social justice and means for its practical implementation; ways to resolve the Transnistrian problem; the need for constitutional changes with regard to the division of political power in Moldova; the desirability of preserving Moldova's statehood in the future.

In general, the contemporary society's consciousness is not adequate to the tasks assumed by the Republic of Moldova at this state of its development. The general social "mind" is characterized by:

- a low level of *civil responsibility*;
- a widely observable *regression* to a closed world outlook, first of all – ethnocentrism;
- *legal and moral anomie*;
- a weakening of the *semantic parameters of social life*, a retreat to more primitive motivations and values, in particular to hedonistic and consumption-based behaviour;
- a lack of orientation toward "*the common good*," as well as a lack of co-operation and respect for human dignity and human rights.

The situation is worsened by the poor utilization of the mechanisms of legal and democratic regulation supplied at the legislative level.

The concept of a "culture of peace" has, as stated, a considerable methodological potential. It needs to be used for the normalization of society's life, for the development of activities intended to strengthen processes of integration. It can be usefully applied to promote and intensify in the civic consciousness the benefits of the transition to new forms of social life based on the principles of democracy, the rule of law, civil society and life without violence.

The year 2000, declared by the United Nations Organization as the 'Year for the Culture of Peace,' may open to Moldova the considerable possibilities of actively implementing appropriate internal policies and of productively using the potential support of international organizations.

2.2. Political Transformations

Political processes in the Republic of Moldova in the recent decade have been typical of a society proceeding from a totalitarian state. In general, society in the '90s was not aware of the basic concepts of political democracy, the mechanisms of the state of law, the market economy or civil society, etc. The Republic of Moldova, as opposed to the Baltic States, for example, lacked statehood traditions. Only the local population on the right bank of the Nistru had the recollection of living as part of Romania for a period of 22 years (1918 – 1940). The majority of the population of Moldova before independence did not possess a spirit of conscious opposition to the existing political system. Only intellectuals from the arts fields were relatively informed of the historical past of the territory included in the boundaries of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR).

Starting with the '60s, the level of life in the MSSR was relatively high in comparison with that in other republics of the USSR. At the same time, the population experienced an increase

In the Moldovan society exist different opinions on the appropriate social system model for the country.

"Hatred gives birth to hatred."

Moldovan proverb

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in the living standards in comparison with the difficult period in the aftermath of the Second World War. Nonetheless, this social-economic situation was based on the command economic system administered by the USSR, whereas the artificial determination of prices ensured massive endowment of the Moldovan economy. More than 90% of the economy of the MSSR was directed to the Soviet Union's markets; the notions of competition and the competitiveness of goods were absolutely unknown to economic entities. The rural population was mainly employed either on a "kolkhoz" or a "sovkhoz" — that is, on agricultural collectives. The chiefs of collectives held complete control, while members of the "kolkhoz" and employees of the "sovkhoz" had no possibility to participate in the management of the collective. The economic system created a citizen without entrepreneur spirit, initiative, or the capacity to assume responsibility for his/her own decisions when faced with competition.

All these factors induced a slower development of political processes in the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic compared with those occurring in Moscow and in the Baltic States. Still, the pluralism of opinions allowed by Gorbachev provoked the emergence of the first spirit of opposition towards Moscow as the Soviet Unions' center, as well as towards the symbols of power – e.g., the domination of a single party. Ecological problems served as a test. Various opinions were voiced in the mass media, radio and television programs. Society suddenly became interested in mass media. For example, in 1988 the weekly publication of the Union of Writers "Literatura și Arta" published 7 thousand copies; this figure increased to 160 thousand in 1989. This growth was triggered by the problem that shaped the development of subsequent political processes – the population of the MSSR began demanding their national rights, first of all in the linguistic field. The political confrontations of 1988-89 demonstrated the real level of democratization in society and the level of civil culture among the population and the politicians.

At the same time, political confrontations around linguistic problems created the first precedent, whereas a problem, in the Moldovan case the right of the local population to use the Romanian language in all spheres, had to be resolved through the adoption of a law, not through a resolution taken by the Congress of the Communist Party. The Supreme Soviet of the MSSR, which for decades played a symbolic role in the totalitarian political system, became the most important power body as compared to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At the same time, the importance of deputies suddenly increased; in the past their role had been confined to 'unanimous' voting for the decisions taken by the apparatus of the Communist Party.

The liberalization of the totalitarian regime allowed the emergence of new political entities in the second half of the '80s. These organizations were created and registered in October 1989 as 'public movements' and their membership was based exclusively on ethnic criteria. The Popular Front of Moldova (PFM) represented the local Romanian speaking population, while the Movement "Unitatea-Edinstvo" represented the Russian speakers. Two other political organizations were created in the south of Moldova — "Gagauz Halkı" (The Gagauz People) and "Vozrojdenie" (Rebirth), which represented the Gagauz and the Bulgarians residents there. Neither the Popular Front, nor the "Unitate-Edinstvo" succeeded in establishing itself in Transnistria. The political organization called the Unified Council of Labour Collectives (UCLC) created a total monopoly on this territory. All the above-mentioned political organizations, with the exception of the PFM, categorically opposed the transformation of the MSSR into a sovereign state. The Communist Party of Moldova took a passive stance and entered a phase of total erosion. Members of the Communist Party were openly involved in the activity of the newly created political organizations. No political organization in Moldova developed clear strategies for the transformation of the society from a province of the USSR into a state of law, with a national economy based on market principles, competition and active participation in the globalization process. In fact, a certain white and black political spectrum was created in the society, which reflected only the extreme positions held by the society.

The political events that characterized the beginning of the democratization process have demonstrated that in a post-totalitarian society the mentality of the population and its cultural level are deeply affected by its totalitarian past. Political confrontations involved the majority of the population. It should be mentioned that the sudden increase in civic activity was based on a simplistic idea, expressed in most cases in a populist, aggressive and primitive manner. Problems related to irrational emotions linked to the collapse of the old political system were intensely discussed in that period of time. Still, after the emotions related to the collapse of the USSR disappeared and the first symptoms of a social-economic crisis began to emerge, the exaggerated activism was replaced by apathy and total passivity in the majority of the population. The first experience of freedom demonstrated that Moldovan society was capable of consolidating around simplistic, emotionally felt and often irrational ideas, but was unable to cope with the problems created after the collapse of the USSR and the transformation of the MSSR into an independent state.

The Popular Front of Moldova (PFM), a political force associated with dramatic changes in the society, focused on ethnic problems. It promoted attention to these specific problems without contributing to the consolidation of the society. The achievement of a political goal in that period was associated, as a rule, with the notion “defeat your enemy.” Any hint of the need for dialogue or reasonable compromise was interpreted as treason and rejected from the start. It should be noted that the ideological machine of the totalitarian system in the USSR purposely nurtured the “image of the enemy” (either internal or external) in the minds of the population for many years. The situation became exacerbated because the PFM, which was associated with all the changes, never took a categorical attitude towards displays of extremism on the streets, etc. As a consequence, all manifestations of political or national extremism were associated by the Russian-speaking population with the PFM. At the same time, even at the peak of its power the Popular Front failed to obtain a clear political victory.

The weakness of the PFM was demonstrated at the first democratic elections in the Supreme Soviet (consequently the Parliament) organized in February – March 1990. The elections were organized in 380 constituencies according to the majority principle. The advocates of the PFM won in approximately 120-130 constituencies. The leaders of the Communist Party were keen to declare that 87% of those elected were members of the Communist Party. Still, membership in the Communist Party was without value in 1990 and nobody even tried to organize the elected deputies according to these criteria. Insufficient preparedness of the Moldovan society for self-governance influenced the activity of the first Government, created immediately after the 1990 elections. This Government caused the situation to worsen even further when tensions rose in the separatist regions. The next Government, advocating the PFM position, was unable and did not even try to promote a policy that would calm the hysteria by reorienting individuals' private interests towards social-economic problems, etc. In an attempt to avoid illegal elections, armed actions were taken both in the region populated by Gagauz and on the left bank of Nistru. As a consequence, the first victims were registered at the beginning of November 1990 and any dialogue between the central authorities and the population in the separatist regions became impossibility. For a period of time the “Party of War” with new leaders and democratic slogans became the only party in the political life of the new state. The failure of the new political leaders to face the new requirements induced the PFM to become more radical and to turn away from the democratic values initially declared by the party.

Unable to appreciate the real situation and to guide the creation of a new state, PFM activists began promoting political union of the Republic of Moldova with Romania. The PFM charter identifies the party as a “national liberation movement of Romanians living on occupied territories.” In parallel, the idea of union with Romania was exploited to the maximum by the advocates of Transnistrian separatism with the intention of consolidating around them the population affected by Romanophobia. This contributed decisively to the formalization of attitudes and the consolidation of one part of the population on the basis of aggressive and radical separatism. As a consequence, the state structures of the Republic of

**In the late '80s,
political
confrontations
embraced the
majority of the
population.**

Formation of a young state was accompanied by the political tension and conflicts culminating in the armed conflict in Transnistria. But year after year, Moldovan society moved ahead along the way of democratization.

Moldova were liquidated in the majority of localities on the left bank of the Nistru, and through the use of force. At the same time, the vulgar approach to the idea of union of Moldova with Romania employed on the left bank of the Nistru river prepared the grounds for a mass return to power via the parliamentary elections of 1994 of some political organizations representing the former Communist Party.

The freedom obtained as a result of liberalizing the totalitarian political system offered new instruments of self-governance and problem solving. At the same time, the new political leaders, elected by the population and Government, were faced with the need to resolve several extremely complicated problems at the same time. First of all, they were called upon to transform a segment of the national economy of the former USSR (the MSSR) into an economic foundation for a new, sovereign state. At the same time, it was obvious that this economic foundation of the new state could be created only on the basis of the principles and values of a market economy. As a result, there was a need for the simultaneous and radical transformation of ownership relations. Secondly, the population of the former MSSR had to be consolidated on the basis of the idea of citizenship in a new state. Thirdly, the state itself had to be created with all its institutions.

Any change in a democratic society is based on the clearly expressed will of its citizens. In the case of the Republic of Moldova, this was lacking in 1991. The Republic of Moldova became an independent state as the result of the events (the collapse of the USSR) outside of Moldovan society and not because this was the expressed will of the majority of the population. As a consequence, this situation led to frustration, insecurity, and aggressive attitudes in a considerable part of the population. The way the problems before the country were handled by the new political forces demonstrated the absolutely unsatisfactory level of political and civic culture, the culture of peace of the society in general. The new elite did not focus on the main task – the consolidation of the population of Moldova on the basis of a reasonable compromise and a common strategy intended to create a new independent state. At the same time there was no other alternative for the Republic of Moldova. When the totalitarian political system and the USSR disappeared, Moldova was “condemned” to become an independent state and to undertake cardinal transformations in all fields, and it was starting with the level of preparedness inherited from its totalitarian past.

Today, in the year 2000 it is obvious that Moldovan society has changed radically during the last ten years. And these changes have generated both positive and negative results. The false unanimity of the totalitarian society was replaced by violent and destructive political confrontations, which led to a profound division in the society, to massive violations of human rights, to the armed conflict of 1991-1992 in the eastern region of the Republic of Moldova, etc. The positive aspects of the political process registered in the last decade are those that led to the emergence and consolidation of the values of the culture of peace in the post-totalitarian society. In the light of the topic here examined, contradictions will be considered those aspects of the political process, which block the consolidation of the state of law and civil society and amplify and conserve the manifestations of a culture counter to peace in the society.

The notion of negative peace during the decade from 1990 to 2000 is related to the processes which appeared as a consequence of the conflict between a ‘homo sovieticus’ mentality and the new political, economic and social realities and which imperiled the democratisation of society and even contributed to the eruption of violent conflicts.

The new realities, such as freedom of opinion, freedom of press, etc, have eradicated the false unanimity, whose image was carefully created and maintained in the totalitarian system. As a consequence, the heterogeneous society was faced with a rather new, completely unknown reality, first of all a political one. The rhythm of changes was extremely fast. This created a situation in which a considerable part of the society understood those changes as a direct infringement of their rights and personal security. The society no longer cherished common values, without which it cannot ensure its integrity, civic consensus, dialogue, rational resolution of problems, etc.

The reality has shown that the majority of the Russian speaking population was deeply distressed by the politically extreme manifestations of 1988-1992 and by the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a consequence, society was split into two communities which continue living to the present in parallel and lack dialogue. Although more than ten years have passed since the linguistic problem was first discussed, the state and civil society have failed to resolve the integration of national minorities. Twelve years after the beginning of political confrontations around the language problem, only an insignificant number of children from "Russian" families know the Romanian language at an appropriate level. Although at the end of the '80s this problem generated powerful convulsions, society continues to reproduce the problem. It would be wrong to suppose that this split was caused only by political and national extremism. Although no sociological studies have been conducted in this field, we can suppose that the majority of the Russian population in Moldova supported or accepted the democratisation of the USSR, but were categorically against its collapse. In that period the entire population of Moldova was guided by irrational arguments in taking a political stance. Such an irrational argument was and remains nostalgia for the stability and security of an ordinary individual ensured by the totalitarian system. In the political sphere nostalgia and mutual mistrust were manifested during the electoral campaigns. Those political parties, which came to power as a result of manipulating nostalgia and mistrust, were usually unable to resolve the real problems of the society. As a consequence, the social and economic crisis continued to deepen. The precedent was registered only in 1998, when the ethnic representation (18% of the participants in the poll) of a political organisation ("The Movement for a Democratic and Prosperous Moldova") coincided approximately with the ethnic structure of society in general. Thus, it may be assumed that those 18% of voters overcame the irrational attitudes exhibited at the beginning of the democratisation process.

Once political tensions related to the collapse of the USSR were mitigated and ameliorated, they were replaced by other contradictory phenomena. The focus was transferred from the political field to the social-economic one. Social contrasts had been well disguised by ideological considerations in the centralized economic system but the constraints engendered attitudes that would be dysfunctional in dealing with future situations of conflict. When the cult of Stalin's personality was condemned in the USSR and the victims of the political repressions were rehabilitated, the totalitarian regime had to deviate a little from the rigidity it exhibited in the 1930s. As a consequence, society established a *modus vivendi*, wherein the majority of the population was aware of the fact that the system was based on false values. At the same time nobody, with the exception of some dissenters, dared to criticise openly the system. Conformist and double morality became a social norm. In the conditions of an equalitarian economic system and the dominance of state-owned property, the capacity to generate additional income by stealing "from the state" also became a norm. At the same time, the lack of private ownership of the means of production, the lack of competition as well as the official lack of unemployment contributed to the education of a citizen completely unprepared to face the requirements of the transition to a market economy. However, the rules of the game changed suddenly. The liberalisation of the economy, privatisation, and the emergence of the private sector have offered citizens the possibility to prove themselves through their own initiative. The first activities in this field began when the society had only some proximate ideas about a market economy. Legislation regulating the new economic relations was practically lacking. Institutions, intended to assure the observance of legislation in this new field, had not been created.

During the last decade the way the mechanisms of political democracy have functioned has been affected by a basic inbred regard for paternalism. As a consequence, a considerable number of voters have repeatedly voted uncritically for those with power. In their opinion, only those who present electoral campaigns as "the big bosses" are worth electing. These voters, not few in number, are incapable of pursuing rational arguments and seeking an alternative to the current disposition of power, even if they hate it. All these years the Moldovan state has functioned as an administrative system without feedback and today

By the middle of the 90s, the attention of the Moldovan society was refocused from the politics to the socio-economic problems.

In the '90s, pluralism gained a strong foothold in the Moldovan society and the monopoly of a single political party disappeared.

cannot be considered a state of law in which the community of citizens administers itself based on the majority's will, expressed freely and consciously. All these contradictions, accumulating during one decade, have created a benign terrain for manifestations of violence (e.g., the demonstrations of students in May 2000 in Chisinau) and stimulate extremist political attitudes. A series of similar contradictions could be highlighted. However, it must be noted that beginning in 1999 a systemic crisis in the Republic of Moldova has prevailed. It is obvious that the mechanisms of the state of law, political democracy and a market economy cannot function when society in general has not overcome a 'homo sovieticus' mentality.

In the '90s for the first time Moldovan society started talking openly about real problems and about its historical past. The population obtained the possibility of confronting various opinions; conditions were created for critical thinking. It is obvious that this pluralism of opinion was represented at first mainly by extreme opinions, sometimes in an aggressive and demagogical manner. Still, this was an inevitable phase for a post-totalitarian society and after it passed the society became more receptive to more moderate and rational opinions.

Pluralism of opinion has contributed to the disappearance of the monopoly of one party over 'truth' and implicitly to the appearance of the notion of many political parties, with the result that, in fact, more political parties have appeared. In a post-totalitarian society the motivation for creating political parties is completely different than the motivation in societies in which a multiparty system appeared as a result of a lengthy process. The classical political doctrines from various value systems are closely correlated to the social structure. In a post-totalitarian society, in a situation in which citizens are living throughout a process of collapse and the future is unclear, the political spectrum is more closely linked to irrational parameters, among which important roles are played by national feelings, phobias, nostalgia, etc. In the course of the disappearance of totalitarian "unanimity" and the first experience of freedom, the political spectrum contains, as a rule, political forces with antagonistic positions. Both extremes exhibit aggressiveness and an orientation towards the achievement of unrealistic goals by "any means". The centre, represented by new political organisations and oriented towards the achievement of realistic, rational goals, is as a rule ignored by public opinion. The governance of extremes and the infinite confrontations among them, etc., tire the society which, after clarifying the perspective of its situation (from USSR to independence), gradually reorients itself to rational problems and values. In consequence, the share of extremist political forces decreases, some of them disappear after electoral failure, and others use political mimicry. The political spectrum became more balanced with the emergence of centrist political forces. This phase of multiparty development was reached in Moldova in 1998 when the political forces at the center of the spectrum began playing a stabilizing role. It can be seen that excessive fragmentation of the political spectrum has a negative influence. Moreover, even with all the justified objections to the activities of parties (corruption, amorality, incompetence, etc.), the multiparty system has begun to "function" in Moldova and has become a positive factor in the country's social life.

An extremely important positive factor has been the establishment of the values of the state of law. A decisive step in this respect was the adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of Moldova (1994). One can speak now about the separation of the three branches of power in Moldova, with an increasing role being played by the Constitutional Court as a supreme arbiter. Political fights have moved from the streets to the Parliament, to the Constitutional Court, the press, and so on. It is important to note that beginning in 1998 political power in Moldova concentrated around the problem of constitutional modification. Although political confrontations continue to suffer from diseases typical of a post-totalitarian society, the effort is being made to stay within the limits and the framework of the constitution. Society is becoming aware of the importance of the Constitution and of laws. Thus, the conditions exist for the mechanisms of political democracy and the state of law and, it is hoped, will ensure the gradual increase of the components of the culture of peace.

Freedom of the press should be mentioned. As with the multiparty system, the quality of

the press and mass media in general reflect the level of civic and political culture as well as the existence or lack of dialogue in a society. A completely new factor for a post-totalitarian society has been the emergence of apolitical non-governmental organisations (NGO). Hundreds of them have been registered and it is important to highlight the fact that young people are the most active in this field.

Another extremely important factor for civic development is the openness of Moldova towards the international community, its participation in the activities of various international structures: the UN, the European Council, OSCE, the Partnership for Peace programme, the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe and others). On the one hand, participation in these organizations brings the positive experience of democratic societies to Moldova and, on the other hand, imposes certain obligations on politicians to align to international standards in various fields. In conflict situations, such as confrontations around the problems of constitutional modification, international structures play the role of an arbiter, not allowing political confrontations to stray from the principles of the state of law.

The 20th century has provided enough examples to show that the concepts of democracy, civil society and the culture of peace engender real values not only in societies with a functioning market economy based on private ownership and the free initiative of citizens. Although the transition from a state-controlled to a market economy has carried huge social costs for the population of Moldova, private ownership has already become a stabilising factor in political life and contributes to the gradual reorientation of society to rational values.

The political year 2000 is extremely important for the future of Moldova. It has accumulated a dangerous burden of repulsion towards the current power structures. The society has had to pay an extremely high price for the amorality of the political elite and its own limited capacity for self-governance via mechanisms of the state of law. The society is deeply affected by all possible vices. After ten years of “democracy” and “reforms”, norms have become corruption, organised crime, the impoverishment of the population and large scale unemployment which causes the exodus of thousand of citizens in search of the means for existence. The society has begun to realise that both options (corrupted life here or work abroad) constitute a mistake. It is not excluded that in the best case scenario citizens will start searching for an alternative in the form of non-compromised political forces. The experience of the 20th century has demonstrated that these conditions induce the emergence of nostalgia for a “strong hand” and increase the risk of an authoritarian political regime.

2.3 Ethno-Political Tensions and Post-Conflict Peace Building

The existence of regional contradictions, which lead to large scale violent acts, is an eloquent indication of the level of civic culture in the society and of the assimilation of the values of the culture of peace by the citizens of the state. Unfortunately, the Republic of Moldova became partially known in the international arena because of the armed conflict in the eastern region of the country in 1992, which brought about human victims and the loss of control by the central government in Chisinau over a part (12%) of the territory of the state.

The regional conflicts in the early '90s were caused by a series of factors. Their roots can be found in the history of the country. As an independent state the Republic of Moldova was created within the boundaries of the former Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic. The territory of the MSSR, proclaimed in 1940 by Moscow, comprises two regions with a very different historical past. The territory between the Prut and the Nistru rivers, historically named Basarabia, was part of Romania for a period of 22 years, starting with 1918. The Soviet Union did not recognise the legitimacy of Basarabia's unification with the Romanian State on March 27, 1918 and created in 1924 the Autonomous Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (AMSSR) in the framework of the Ukrainian Republic. Initially the city of Balta was chosen as the capital of the AMSSR; later on – the city of Tiraspol. Later, a part of the territory of AMSSR was included in the MSSR. This territory, named later Transnistria, be-

*“It is easy to forgive, but
it is difficult to forget.”*

Moldovan proverb

**The armed conflict
in Transnistria (1992)
was a result of extrem-
ism and political
ambitions.**

came the setting for the implementation of a set of stereotypes. First of all, a negative image for everything linked to the idea “Romanian” was infiltrated in every possible way into the minds of the population. At the same time, the theory of two different languages was insistently promoted; it was said that there was the Moldovan language of Slavic origin, and the Romanian language of Latin origin. The idea of two different peoples – the Moldovan and the Romanian – was also implemented for decades with the same insistence.

The fate of other parts of the MSSR and Basarabia was decided in August 1939, with the conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact and the secret additional protocol (The Molotov-von Ribbentrop Pact). As a consequence, in June 1940 the Soviet Union prepared to use military force and presented Romania with two ultimatums in which it demanded the “return” of Basarabia. Thus, a policy similar to that in Transnistria was applied in Basarabia. Combined with gradual deportation in which the majority of intellectuals preferred to take refuge in Romania, and the liquidation by the repressive Stalinist machine of most of those who remained, the anti-Romanian stereotypes became rooted in Basarabia as well. In order to preserve these stereotypes, for decades the authorities in Moscow promoted a policy of maximum isolation of the MSSR from Romania. Unlike in other republics in the Soviet Union, subscription to publications from Romania was prohibited in Moldova. It was practically impossible for the population of the MSSR and Romania to maintain interpersonal and familial contacts. The official ideology presented the period of Basarabia’s existence as part of Romania as a “bourgeois-landowners’ regime of occupation.” Any attempts to discuss the historical past were prohibited and persecuted. As a result, the majority of the population was not informed about the real historical past of Moldova and bore negative stereotypes and even irrational fears related to it.

During the last decade the political confrontations in the Republic of Moldova have manipulated ethnic factors. Although the Russification policy was applied in Basarabia as well, there is an obvious contrast between Basarabia and Transnistria as regards the ethnic composition of the population. The Moldovan population in Basarabia was in the majority with more than 65%. The linguistic confrontations in various republics of the Soviet Union in 1988-1989 led to the appearance of the notion “Russophone”, a term applied to that part of the population which does not know the language of the local population and can communicate only in Russian. It should be clarified that the notion of “Russophone” is not confined to only ethnic Russians; it also includes the representatives of other national minorities, which accounted for 35% of the total population of Moldova. This figure reached 60% in Transnistria, thereby creating a political situation entirely different from that on the right bank of the Nistru. The linguistic factor became a very clear demarcation line in the political sphere among the inhabitants of Moldova and in the relations between both banks of the Nistru. The Russian-speaking population, as a rule, supported the maintenance of the Soviet Union and was shocked by an eventual transformation of the MSSR into a sovereign state.

Ethnic structure as well as the mentality of the population in Transnistria was shaped over many decades by factors which were absent in Basarabia. For example, industrial enterprises were concentrated more in the twin cities Tiraspol-Bender. The attitudes of the population in these industrial centers were completely different from those on the right bank. The percentage of people who came in the past to the MSSR from other Union republics, especially from the Russian Federation, was much higher in the cities of Transnistria. With the rising tension in Moldova, the population, with a specific mentality and united in big collectives, consolidated in the political sphere as well. When the Communist Party lost the initiative, working collectives of Transnistrian industrial enterprises created the political organisation named the Unified Council of Labour Collectives (UCLC). The first test of the UCLC came with the political confrontations related to the voting on a language law in the Supreme Soviet of the MSSR on August 31, 1989. That law declared the Moldovan language the official one and substituted the Cyrillic script with the Latin alphabet for the orthography of the newly official language. In reaction, in August 1989, industrial enterprises from Tiraspol organised a preventive strike under the guidance of UCLC.

Box 2.4

Integrating Processes and Civic Solidarity

“Optimization of the integrating processes in the Republic of Moldova is a sine qua non of the development of statehood and sovereignty, actively drawing in the culture of peace and bringing the Republic of Moldova into the European community.

We suppose that the main factors which check the processes of integration in Moldavian society are the socio-economic crisis, the absence of a pan-national development strategy, the unsolved Transnistrian problem, and differences between the ideological orientations of social groups, and contradictions in the field of ethno-cultural interactions.

We are convinced that the Republic of Moldova possesses the potential to preserve stability and to consolidate civic solidarity: this includes the historical traditions of joint amicable living on the territory of Moldova of persons with different ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds; the existence of a legal basis for the functioning of democratic juridical mechanisms, the formation of civil society and the protection of the human rights; a positive experience in solving regional conflicts; and wide collaboration with the international organizations.

The main directions to be taken in order to consolidate civil solidarity include:

- Intensifying the social purposefulness of state economic policy to help eliminate the marginalization and polarization of social groups;
- Fostering civil education and broadening knowledge about human rights;
- Solving the Transnistria status problem as a way to eliminate regional contradictions, to consolidate the territorial integrity of Moldova and its statehood;
- Optimizing support for the policy on the use of the state language and for the use of languages of ethnic minorities; and strengthening intercultural interaction as a way of consolidating society;
- Widening NGO participation in the solution of problems of both national and local scale as a means of raising the level of civic activity on the part of the country’s population.”

*Source: Resolution of the International Conference
“The Integrational Processes in Moldova: Drafting of the National Strategy,” Chisinau, March 2000.*

The situation in Transnistria was also influenced by the fact that the troops of the Soviet 14th Army had been located on the territory of Transnistria for decades. As a consequence, a considerable part of the population was former officers in the Soviet Army. Both the employees of industrial enterprises and the former officers of the Soviet Army proved to be extremely active and well organised in the political life. Their representatives denied categorically the claims of the local population as regards national emancipation and did not accept the transformation of the MSSR into an independent state. The local population of Transnistria for the most part did not support demonstrations for separatism. But the population was also more dispersed in rural areas and had few possibilities to consolidate politically and to influence the evolution of political processes in the region.

Nevertheless, the first political confrontations in the MSSR demonstrated that the society was not prepared to resolve the problems inherited from the totalitarian past in a democratic way, on the basis of a sincere, constructive and permanent dialogue. Membership in new political organisations was based on ethnic criteria. This relates first of all to the Popular Front and the movement “Gagauz Halci” (The Gagauz People). At the same time, it should be noted that the idea of separatism was supported in Transnistria not only by the Russophone population. This can be explained by the fact that the idea of the political union of the Republic of Moldova with Romania was frequently voiced at the meetings organised in Chisinau, especially after the collapse of the Ceaucescu regime in December 1989.

This fact was exploited in Transnistria to the maximum extent by the ideologists of separatism. At the same time, the new political processes in the MSSR, the collapse of the USSR, the transformation of the MSSR into an independent state and the prospect of becoming an ethnic minority in a new state constituted a real stress for the Russophone population. This stress shaped to a large extent the political behaviour of this part of the population. In a situation in which anti-Romanian phobia had been implemented for decades, support for Transnistrian separatism came from some ethnic Moldovans as well. It is clear that the main contradictions that worsened the regional conflicts in the Republic of Moldova were political in nature.

**Separatism
is unproductive
as it divided the
country and
embittered its
people.**

Lessons of the political confrontations of 1988-1989 should make the Moldovan society search for reasonable compromises.

The Soviet period, especially in the 1960s, was characterised by a massive attack of the ideological machine on religion. Hundreds of churches and monasteries were closed and even destroyed. With the liberalisation of the Soviet system the Orthodox Church began re-establishing its role. Starting in 1988, more than 600 churches were reopened and restored within two years. Still, the Orthodox Church failed to become a consolidating factor in society. Thus, neither the church itself nor the teaching of Christian values constituted a real factor in helping avoid the escalation of violence in political confrontations. Neither did mass media play a positive role in avoiding an escalation of conflict nor did it contribute to the consolidation of the society on the basis of rational values on both banks of the Nistru. Rather it nurtured political extremism.

The political confrontations of 1988-1992 proved that three ethno-political poles were created in the Republic of Moldova with their centres in Chisinau, Tiraspol and Comrat. Moldovan society proved incapable of joining together the citizens of the new state on the basis of a reasonable compromise. The values, mentioned in the Declaration of the UN General Assembly, which define the culture of peace, proved to be absolutely unattainable by the Moldovan society of that period. In the initial phase of the transformation of the Republic of Moldova into a sovereign state, Moldovan society was dominated by a totalitarian mentality and lacked the elements of a civil society and civic culture, which is a basic element of the culture of peace – a pluralist culture based on consensus, dialogue, pluralism, tolerance and diversity, which allows and encourages change, moderating it and imposing certain necessary and beneficial limits. This quality of the society, in conditions of intentional aggravation of the situation from the outside, conditioned the evolution of a violent conflict in 1992, which was transformed into a large scale armed conflict with the implication of the Russian troops.

As a result of the armed conflict the central power in Chisinau lost administrative control of Transnistria. The separatist leaders started consolidating the “state” structures in the controlled zone, which they named the “Transnistrian Moldovan Republic” (TMR). For ten years the region created many of such structures, starting with its own financial system and ending with the ministry of “state security”. On December 25, 1995 the Constitution of Transnistria was adopted and proclaimed the republic a “democratic, sovereign, independent state of law.” The reality, however, is different.

The fact that the “TMR” was created through violent methods by persons struggling for the conservation of the old political system determined other qualities of the political systems instated in Transnistria. First of all, the leaders of the separatist regime continue to foster all the fears that contributed to the escalation of violence in 1990-1992, and an enemy image of the Republic of Moldova continues to be promoted in the media. Any political activity questioning the “statehood” of Transnistria is prohibited. There are no political parties in Transnistria. The UCLC continues to monopolise political life. In order to maintain power, the secessionist region’s administration consciously violates human rights and consciously blocks all the attempts of non-governmental organisations from Moldova to organize actions that are intended to reintegrate the society in the field of popular diplomacy.

At the same time, during the past years the Transnistrian zone has become an efficient conduit for enrichment through illegal economic activities, above all, smuggling. According to the estimates of experts in the field, the losses to the national economy of Moldova due to illegal economic activities in the Transnistrian region are comparable with the entire volume of financial assistance obtained by the Moldovan State from international financial structures.

In the current situation a majority of the population has a conformist attitude towards the separatist regime, which has controlled the situation in the zone for ten years now. While Chisinau officials are not able to influence the situation in the zone, the majority of people are passive and preoccupied with the problems of biological survival in the conditions of the extreme social-economic crisis.

Failure to resolve the Transnistrian conflict compromises the idea of the statehood of the Republic of Moldova in the opinion of its citizens. In the year 2000 around 200,000 citizens

of the Republic of Moldova have obtained, contrary to the existing legislation, the Romanian citizenship. Around 60,000 have obtained citizenship in the Russian Federation. It is obvious that the pursuit of the Romanian citizenship is conditioned by the adherence of Romania to the European Union at the time when the Republic of Moldova is in an acute social and economic depression, accompanied by the ongoing political instability of the last years.

Some success in the observance of the rights of national minorities in the Republic of Moldova can serve as a positive factor in overcoming secessionist interests. The notion of a Russophone population is no longer homogeneous. The re-establishment of a national identity and the identification of minorities other than the Russian one have begun in Moldova. The Moldovan state, with its very reduced possibilities due to the social-economic crisis, has provided some modest assistance in this field. Schools and classes, lyceums and colleges with studies in the Ukrainian, Gagauz, Bulgarian and Polish languages have been opened on the right bank of the Nistru. Educational establishments with studies in the Russian language, including institutions of higher education, have been preserved to the extent necessary. Although the problem of knowledge of the Romanian language among the Russophone population remains unresolved, there is an obvious reorientation of the attention of the population in general, regardless of their ethnic origin, towards common social and economic problems.

Simultaneously, hard and long negotiations are being conducted with the participation of the OSCE and guarantor countries on the legal status of Transnistria within a “*common state*”. At the European summit in Istanbul (December 1999) an agreement was reached providing for the withdrawal of huge stockpiles of Russian weaponry (about 40 thousand tons) from that zone by the end of 2002. An important step in supporting the Republic of Moldova in settling the conflict in Transnistria in a civilized manner will be its inclusion into the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe. The common will of the population on the both banks of the Nistru is to reach a peaceful life in the conditions of mutual understanding and prosperity.

2.4 Creating Constructive Inter-Ethnic Relations

On the eve of the third millennium, the Republic of Moldova was involved in the implementation of the Program of Actions commemorating the International Year of the Culture of Peace. Universal by nature, the culture of peace in Moldova is based on the solid platform of its centuries old history and traditions of living peacefully with many nations. Moldova has always been a multiethnic state. It has been and continues to be a society in which the diversities of ethnic origin, belief, language, traditions and culture represented by 120 ethnic groups do not separate but rather draw people together. 64.5% of Moldova’s population draws on the ethnic background of the Romanian nation and 35.5% are representative of other nations in various minority proportions (13.8% - Ukrainian; 13% - Russian; 3.5%-Gagauz; 2% - Bulgarian, 1.5% - Jewish). Much smaller in number are peoples from the following national groups: Belorussian, Pole, German, and Roma.

In the acts adopted immediately after the proclamation of the sovereign state, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova created the foundation for a functioning legal state everywhere on the national territory, by adopting the Constitution and promulgating other legislative acts which express fundamental rights and guarantee citizens’ freedom. In Moldova’s Declaration of Independence, unanimously adopted on August 27, 1991, Parliament guaranteed the implementation of social, economic and cultural rights and political freedom to every Moldovan citizen. These guarantees extend to persons belonging to national, ethnic, linguistic and religious groups, according to the stipulations of the Helsinki Final Act and documents adopted later in the frameworks of the Paris Charter for the new Europe.

Currently Moldova is a signatory of 44 international documents within the framework of the United Nations, the European Council, OSCE, etc., concerning human rights, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the United Nations Declaration on National and

**The common wish
of the population
on the both banks
of the Nistru is to
lead a peaceful life
in the conditions
of mutual
understanding
and prosperity.**

***“To suit each other
as bread and salt.”***

Moldovan proverb

Legal premises
for the formation
of constructive inter-
ethnic relations have
been created
in Moldova.

Ethnic Minorities' Rights, Religions and Linguistic Diversity of December 18, 1992 and a number of other decisions on the protection of national minorities, including the Convention on the Protection of National Minorities ratified by the Parliament of Moldova on October 22, 1996.

The Moldovan Government and central and local public authorities made many efforts in the '90s to harmonize inter-ethnic relations. In 1989 a new law on language was adopted, according to which the Moldavian language, identical to Romanian, was proclaimed the official state language with the Latin orthography. At the same time, the law on languages spoken on the territory of Moldova "guarantees the use of the following languages: Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Roma — and languages of other ethnic groups resident in Moldova to satisfy their national-cultural needs." It opened large possibilities for the affirmation and development of the ethnic identity of every ethnic group both by restoring the state language and by initiating the process of national integration. Other acts in this sphere include the creation of the State Department of National Relations and Languages Functioning (October 1990) and the adoption of resolutions by the governmental body specialized in solving inter-ethnic relations; these resolutions have provided for concrete steps towards the development of the culture of the national minorities (Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Jewish, etc.).

The resolution creating the Gagauz Administrative Unit was positively received in Europe. Under the totalitarian regime the Gagauz people did not have national schools, their language was neglected, and little was done for the cultural development of the Gagauz. This situation caused a revolt against the authorities. It was the basis of the conflict, which flared in 1991 and provoked some separatist tendencies. The conflict was settled by giving special legal status to Gagauz-Yeri/Territorial Autonomous Unit of Gagauzia), and by providing large measures of political, administrative and cultural autonomy. Gagauzia can point to a number of successes in its national-cultural development during the last years. Gagauzia now has a university, its dramatic theatre, 24 troupes of amateur artists, a pedagogical college, and arts school, vocational schools, etc.). Gagauzia still has to solve important economic, educational, cultural and social problems.

Other sources of conflict have been addressed through the recent administrative-territorial reorganization of the Republic (November, 1998) in which the former regions were united into larger administrative units—counties (judetses). The consolidation of regions led to changes in ethnic proportion within the population, and especially to the detriment of approximately 50 thousand inhabitants of the Bulgarian origin from the former Taraclia district. The protests of Bulgarians were taken into consideration when a new reform was worked out. Before the reform their ratio constituted 40 % of the inhabitants of the former Taraclia district and after the reform the ratio of Bulgarian inhabitants in the Cahul District constituted 17%. Misunderstandings related to the new situation found a rational solution and one which corresponds to the state's interests. On October 22, 1999 the Taraclia district was created under new legislation.

Guaranteeing territorial and administrative unity and integrity is the most important problem of Moldova. A separatist policy prevails in the so-called Transnistrian self-proclaimed republic, which controls the territory on the left bank of the Nistru and Bender city. The Government of Moldova is engaged in solving the conflict through negotiations and has offered Tiraspol a large measure of political, administrative and cultural autonomy in exchange for recognition of the territorial consolidation and integration of Moldova as a united, democratic and independent state.

The harmonization of inter-ethnic relations is a component of the culture of peace. It has been taken into account while forming the Moldovan state policy on the civil consolidation and integration of society. The legislative provision of ethnic minorities' rights and interests reflects Governmental policy in organizational and material assistance to solving ethnic-cultural and educational problems. According to the Law on Education, in Moldova the teaching and learning of the state language serves the purpose of integration and inclusion in

the political and cultural life of the country. At the same time ethnic minorities have their own requirements for the study of their mother languages, as a basis for personality development and for maintaining their national spiritual values and identity.

In Moldova there are 1558 schools (643,131 pupils) of which 1150 are Romanian schools (470,520 pupils), 275 are Russian schools (116,783 pupils). 118 schools are mixed (Romanian and Russian) that embrace 48,788 pupils. 5 are Ukrainian schools (4,010 pupils), 4 are Bulgarian schools (2,665 pupils), 2 are Jewish schools. Besides the schools where pupils study in the State language and in Russian, there are schools, lyceums and gymnasiums where pupils study in Ukrainian, Bulgarian and Gagauzian. Ukrainian as a subject is studied in 71 schools, Gagauzian in 49 schools and Bulgarian in 27 schools. The Russians schools network has been maintained. It has become possible for Jewish and Polish children to obtain a general education in their mother-tongue.

Belorussian, Lithuanian, Greek, Georgian and German children study their mother language and national culture within the framework of Sunday schools of the respective ethnic-cultural societies. In localities where Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Gagauzians prevail conditions have been created for children to attend kindergartens in their mother tongue. Nowadays, pedagogical universities train personnel for kindergartens with ethnic minorities' language education and training.

The data on the higher education is as follows. In 1999-2000 in the Republic of Moldova 43 institutions of higher education functioned. The structure of student enrollment in terms of ethnic origin is as follows: 71% Moldovans, 14% Russians, 9% Ukrainians, 3% Gagauz and 2% Bulgarians. Two thirds of the total number of students study in the state language, 31% in Russian. There are also groups that study in Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Gagauzian. Teachers are also trained in institutions in the Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Romania. At the same time, there are serious gaps for national minorities in higher institutions: the process of official language study in bilingual schools does not meet the necessary standards. There are no conditions for receiving accreditation to teach in the native language: in Ukrainian, Gagauzian or Bulgarian. No mechanism for language study in bilingual schools has been developed and approved.

The *National Institute of Inter-Ethnic Researches* of the Republic of Moldova within the Academy of Science studies national minorities' history and culture. Five sections within the framework of the Institute have specialists in the Ukrainian, Russian, Gagauzian, Bulgarian, and Jewish history and culture. The results of scientific research of the last years have been published in 70 monographs and collections. Specialists from this institute have published more than 400 articles relevant to these minorities.

Within the State company "*Teledio-Moldova*" two editorial offices specialize in ethnic languages programming. Stations in Balti, Edinet and Comrat transmit these programs in the Gagauzian and Bulgarian languages. Local radio and television networks also broadcast in Gagauzian, Bulgarian and the Ukrainian. The national minorities are able to develop their traditional culture and national art through theatrical works. In Moldova there are 13 professional dramatic theaters and 30 popular amateur studios. A specific kind of popular drama comprises numerous plays of historic- legend, religious, and lay content based upon old traditions of the Ukrainian, Gagauzian, Bulgarian, Turkish and Greek folklore and especially upon the Moldovan popular dramaturgy traditions. The process of cross-cultural borrowing is very developed and more than 600 song and dance groups, which play in almost all the localities of the country, promote multicultural ideas. Every year in October Chisinau celebrates the "City Day" with special events and productions. Numerous performances take place in towns and villages throughout the country during church festivals.

NGOs registered in Moldova, including 48 ethnic-cultural organizations, play a very important role in inter-ethnic collaboration. They represent 18 nationalities and are contributing to the rebirth of national traditions, language and culture. They also foster human cooperation between Moldova and the countries that constitute their historical homeland.

State policies and the new system of education take into consideration interests of ethnic minorities.

The integration policy of the state is aimed at ensuring worthy future for all the population.

At the same time they contribute to the enrichment of Moldovans' spiritual storehouse.

Every year traditional national and cultural festivals take place: children celebrate multi-ethnic festivals in January and June. Spring festivals include Martisorul, Maslenita, Topenie Mojani, Novruz Bairam in March. Inter-cultural festivities include the Days of Slavonic Culture and Writing in May and "Limba noastra" (Our Language Day) in August.

To promote state policy in the domain of inter-ethnic relations and ensure the observance of all current legislation, several agencies and commissions have been established. The most important are: the Department of National Relations and Languages Functioning; the Parliamentary Commission for Human Rights, National Minorities and External Communities; the Presidential Commission for Inter-Ethnic Relations; the Inter-Ethnic Relations Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Moldova; and a special service within the framework of the Ministry of Education and Sciences. There is now a specialist for languages and inter-ethnic problems in every county, municipal mayoralty, and council. Only a democratic and stable state can provide to its citizens the conditions for security, training and good relations between the majority nation and ethnic minorities. The integration policy of the state is intended to help the entire population of the Republic of Moldova see their prospects and understand that only through common efforts will the living standard be raised, and that every person is necessary for the common good.

In order to further promote compatible inter-ethnic relations, the following fundamental actions should be undertaken:

In the domain of state policy:

- to elaborate the concept of the state program on social integration, a wide-ranging discussion of this topic should be joined by representatives of all ethnic and social groups in the country;
- the acceleration of the procedures necessary for approval of the Law on National Minorities' Rights in the Republic of Moldova and for the legal statutes governing their organizations;
- the signing and ratification of the European Charter concerning regional and ethnic minorities languages;
- improvement of the mechanism for forming structures at various levels that would facilitate the participation of national minorities in the decision-making process;
- drawing up a program of concrete actions to support Moldovan citizens who live abroad.

In the cultural and information area:

- the application of the principles of cultural pluralism and constitutional fidelity along with a spirit of respect towards the national values of every ethnic group;
- the use of the mass media as an inter-cultural educational instrument, granting special attention to the improvement of TV and radio programs in ethnic minorities languages and bringing their value up to the requirements of the national and international legislation;
- the maintenance of the spiritual storehouse of all national minorities in the Republic of Moldova, and contributing at the same time to the process of integration into the European Union;
- creation of optimal conditions for the official state language, as well as for the other languages spoken in the country, to function.

In the social-economic area:

- the rational use of the country's economic possibilities, including human and natural resources, taking into account the multi-ethnic composition of the population;
- the coordination of inter-ethnic relations policy with economic reforms priorities and social change.

Box 2.5**Sociological Evaluation of Inter-Ethnic Tolerance**

Summarizing the sociological research of ethnic tolerance in the Republic of Moldova (urban area), it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

- Inter-ethnic relations are characterized by a rather high number of differing levels (family, friends, neighborhood, professional community, etc);

- The majority of respondents consider that there are no visible distinctions in the lifestyle of the nation of Moldova and in that of the ethnic groups residing in the Republic;

- According to respondents, all citizens of Moldova are experiencing the same difficulties irrespective of their ethnic origin;

- An absolute majority of the urban residents interviewed consider that inter-marriages are an ordinary phenomenon and thus do not disapprove of them;

- As to whether information on ethnic origin should be fixed in the identification documents of a citizen, Moldovan respondents approve of this practice, while representatives of other ethnic groups mainly oppose it;

- The majority of respondents evaluated inter-ethnic relations as *normal* and *good*, while one third of the respondents consider inter-ethnic relations in this country to be *hostile* and *tense* (One can draw the conclusion that at the point there exist quite tangible social contradictions of mainly latent character; nevertheless, under certain circumstances, these contradictions may provoke aggravation of inter-ethnic relations.);

- An absolute majority of urban residents believe that all ethnic groups should enjoy equal civil rights; at the same time, there is a socially active group, mainly young people under 30, who identify themselves as Romanians with a standpoint that the title nation should receive priority;

- A part of respondents spoke about tense inter-ethnic relations and stated that they witnessed ethnic hostility manifested at different

levels: in private life, in public transport, on the street, and in some governmental organizations;

- There is a definitely positive factor: irrespective of their ethnic origin urban citizens have stated that infringement of a person's national or ethnic identity is intolerable, and they are ready to stand up for the oppressed;

- On analyzing the variety of actions listed in the replies of polled urban residents, one may conclude that in general people display a balanced and non-aggressive approach, but one would evaluate it as a passive position, for the majority of the interviewed stated that though they would rather not participate personally in any human rights actions in Moldova; however, they would provide those actions with moral support;

- As a means for improving the situation, respondents suggested various educational measures that should provide further mutual understanding and cooperation of different ethnic groups residing in the Republic. Only quite a small segment of urban citizens expressed a willingness to participate in drastic actions. Thus, considering all the above-mentioned inter-ethnic contradictions, one can still evaluate the present-day situation in Moldova as mostly peaceful. No doubt that the tendency was considerably shaped by the armed conflict of 1992 resulting from inter-ethnic controversy. With casualties on both sides, there were no winners. With ethnic conflicts in various parts of the world seen every day by Moldovans on TV and described in the printed media, there are many proofs that ethnic conflicts should be settled through peaceful means, including through legislated improvement and changes in the economy.

Moldova's experience and that of other countries causes respondents to focus on fostering a cultured and educated population, encouraging people to respect themselves and their neighbors, and teaching them to listen to their counterparts.

Source: On the Way to the Harmonization of Inter-Ethnic Relations. Youth Helsinki Citizens Assembly of Moldova. Chisinau, 2000

Chapter 3

**Cultural Traditions - The Heritage
of the Country****3.1 Preserving Cultural Traditions and Searching for the Novel**

Moldova is a country with rich and centuries-old traditions, whose positive and constructive potential can be used for the benefit of the culture of peace and of each individual. Moldovan cultural traditions and their deep ties to the cultures of neighbouring countries could have become an antithesis to aggressive inter-national and religious intolerance, could yet oppose the spirit of hostility and violence in the region, which has experienced the pernicious effects of an armed conflict.

Traditions provide a kind of “national university” whose “graduates” have mastered the skills of a complete “course” of moral, ethical, cultural and spiritual norms, as well as have internalised civic qualities. These “schools of traditions” are very strong in Moldova in spite of the destructive pressure of social-economic problems and the expansion of other values and ideals, which have flooded the country as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Factors which encouraged and continue to encourage the preservation of traditional culture are: a high percentage of rural population (54%); a first generation of urban inhabitants who maintain an agrarian mentality; and the cultural ideology obtaining since the beginning of the '90s a “back-to-the-roots” agricultural romanticism.

The structure and components of Moldovan national traditions stand out in their richness, completeness and diversity: customs, rituals, holidays, and ceremonies are based on highly developed material and spiritual expressions of life, work and creativity. Popular architecture, cuisine, dress, music and dance, poetic and fairytale folklore, highly developed popular crafts (embroidery, pottery, leather processing, crocheting, wood and stone carving, knitting from natural fibres, etc.) have been saved from destruction and are in use.

Not only artistic cultural traditions, but also spiritual values and norms need to be utilized in conjunction with the new, dynamic concept of a culture of peace based on the diversity of cultures, on mutual understanding and tolerance, personal and public freedom and justice, and democracy and solidarity. The special role of education in the advancement of the culture of peace is intertwined with the traditions of family education solidly entrenched in Moldovan society (the educational function of traditions noted above). The saying “to have seven years of home breeding” stresses the importance of family traditions in the education of children. It is on these bases that the first moral norms and behaviours are internalised, bases which in turn are derived from popular and universal human moral wisdom. The socialisation of the youth on the basis of civil society’s norms should also be based on the enormous educational possibilities of national traditions, traditions developed for ages by the Moldovan people, filtered through history and integrated throughout in the social and local/ national context (the social-integrational function of traditions).

Traditions regulate relations among people collectively and in society based on the principles of tolerance, solidarity, justice and democracy (the social-regulatory function). Traditions assure the continuity of human generations, transmitting social experience in a distinctive trans-generational collective communicative code (the informative-communicative function). Rituals and holidays are intended to produce positive emotions: to effect a rejoicing in solemnity; to crystallize noble human feelings; to correspond with and satisfy the aesthetic needs, emotions and feelings of individuals, of an ethnic community, and of a society (the aesthetic function).

In spite of centuries-old traditions, the richness of traditional culture and its vitality, the acquisition of a “national identity” remains a severe problem, generating ardent discussion in the Moldovan society, even after the decade of independence. The main reason is the

*“Ars longa, vita brevis/
Art is eternal, life is
short.”*

Anonymous Latin

**Traditions and spiritual
values of the Moldovan
society constitute
a good basis for the
consolidation of the
Culture of Peace
in the country.**

labyrinth of history. In this small parcel of land the declining Roman civilization clashed with nomadic tribes; militant Tatars clashed with peaceful ploughmen, Byzantine with Slav cultures, the Moldovan feudal state with the expansionary Ottoman Port, Austro-Hungary and the Russian Empire. At a relentless crossroads of history, civilizations and cultures, Moldova always had to manoeuvre between the West and the East, between the Christian and Muslim worlds, the Latin nations and the Slavs, in order to preserve its own originality. As a result of this tremendous experience of common co-existence, the nation has developed important qualities such as tolerance, respect for other traditions and cultures, amicability and flexibility.

Much is written and said about Moldova as a country with European cultural traditions, about the southern temperament of Moldovans and their mentality, considered typical for southeastern Europe, and about Moldova as a branch of the Romanian nation and culture. The uniqueness of the language situation – with the native language's allegiance to the Latin family, with everyday bilingualism in practice (Russian as the second language), and Francophone by education – opens favourable prospects for Moldova as a member of the international community.

Multi-ethnic Moldovan society, with its ancient historical roots and deep experience in co-existence, has good prospects of implementing in practice the concept of cultural pluralism, recognised over the past years as the optimal form for multi-ethnic societies in Europe. This concept, apart from its social aspects ("social" defined as the de facto state of the society, comprising different ethnic groups as bearers of various cultures) and its political aspects ("political" defined as a special sort of policy, used in the administration of a society with different ethnic backgrounds), can serve as a normative ideology. It can promote the equality of citizens on the basis of a recognition of differences, both in public expression of national identity and cultural affiliation, and in observance of indivisible Constitutional norms and shared common values in the society.

The multi-ethnic character of a society does not necessarily mean there will be a mechanical harmonious co-existence of cultures. The quality of co-existence always depends on the society's structure and policy and can be both a source of conflict and a source of energy, depending on the level of cultural pluralism and integration. *Different cultures in Basarabia never had an antagonistic, conflicting character:* This may be due to the existence of many mixed components (Roman-Latin, antique-tribal, Byzantine-Greek, Slav - Turk), or to a common religious foundation – Christianity. An exception should be noted regarding the widely known pogrom against Jews in 1903 in Chisinau, which was mainly a political and social provocation rather than an inter-ethnic conflict.

The centuries-old practice of cultural co-existence on the territory of Moldova has developed specific patterns of interaction and mutual influence of cultures, distinguished by its flexibility and tolerance, which in principle denies the segregation model (i.e. isolation), without excluding local assimilation. The dominant tendency towards assimilation at the beginning of the '90s, with a prospect of homogenisation, was changed into a national-separatist tendency. Nevertheless, modern Moldovan society has begun to understand that the revival of national traditions of various ethnic groups should be accompanied by integration, which bypasses cultural separatism, harmonises national relations, and corresponds to the norms of a democratic society. For these reasons Moldova has chosen such a model.

Under the new social and economic conditions there emerges a problem of how to preserve positive traditions. Popular traditions envisage active participation of every member of the society in the joint process of creation, which facilitates not only the socialisation of individuals and society's cell – the family, but also supports the vitality of the entire society. The new models of social structure often follow a negative tendency. The "accompanying" layers of today's reality include the consumerism approach to culture and the related superficial cultural layer of mass culture, triggering the concern of sociologists and culture specialists from all over the world. Having been vaccinated against the pernicious influence of non-spirituality and the contradictions of modern society, and exacerbated by economic

**Relations between
different cultures
in Basarabia
never had
an antagonistic
nature.**

Peace and Tolerance in Medieval Moldova.

For many centuries, Hungarians, Germans, Armenians, Slavs, Jews, Greeks and others settled together with Moldovans in the towns and villages of the present-day Moldova. Particularly “colourful” in terms of ethnic representation was the urban population. In this regard particularly distinguished were the towns of Iasi, Baia, Siret, Cotnari, Bacau, Suceava, and Husi, in the 14th to 17th centuries. In the second half of the 17th century Chisinau was added to this group of towns. In some localities those of foreign origin accounted for even more than half of the population. In medieval Moldova minority ethnics enjoyed the same rights as their Moldovan compatriots. Thus, many of them held important land properties, played a considerable role in the domestic and foreign trade of Moldova and were treated equally by the state authorities and by the ruling prince of the country. Moreover, not a few representatives of ethnic minorities’ distinguished themselves in certain circumstances and in political, diplomatic and even military events, and enjoyed the undiluted attention of the princes of the country.

A Greek named Manoil made a brilliant political and military career in the third to fifth decades of the 15th century, reaching the Sfatul Domnesc (Supreme Council of the Country) and serving as the military commander of the strongest fortress in northern Moldova – Hotin. During the first 10 years of Stefan cel Mare’s reign (1457-1504), the most brilliant monarch of Moldova, the same Greek Manoil advanced to the rank of first-counsellor to the prince.

Also during Stefan cel Mare’s reign a German, named Gherman (in Moldovan Harman), was distinguished by his courage and military ability (being very adept in military techniques, in artillery and the defence of fortresses). Recognizing his merits, the ruler promoted him to the rank of counsellor to the ruler and commander of Cetatea Alba – a large economic, commercial and military center in southern Moldova.

In the second half of the 16th century under the reign of Petru Schiopul (1574-1591), an important role was played in the political life of Moldova by a Roman Catholic of Albanian origin named Bartolomeo Brutti. In those difficult times he saved the life of the ruler from the Turks. Later, Petru, after reaching the Lordly Chair of the domain, invited Bartolomeo Brutti to his country and awarded him the rank of secret counsellor.

Some representatives of the minority ethnic groups in Moldova even reached the Lordly Chair. Among them were the Jacobs Hericlide Despot (1561-1563), of Greek origin, who was a Protestant, Iancu Saul (1579-1582) of German origin, Gaspar Gratsiani (1619-1620) from Dalmatia, and Vasile Lupu (1634-1653) who was considered to be Albanian by origin.

Some of them, particularly the latter, ruled for a rather long period, leaving a deep mark on the history

of the country. Although of foreign birth, Vasile Lupu proved to be a good Moldovan patriot, and his reign was particularly rich in important cultural events. Thus he erected a large number of churches and monasteries, including the church of the monastery “The Three Hierarchs” in Iasi (at that time the capital of Moldova), a masterpiece of the 17th century European architecture, and churches in the towns of Orhei, Chisinau, Chilia, etc. Also, Vasile Lupu with the support of the Kiev Metropolitan Petru Movila, of Moldovan birth, established the first printing house in Iasi, which already in the 1640’s printed the famous samples of typographic arts “The Romanian Book of Teachings” and the law codes of “The Rule of Vasile Lupu” as well as many other books which were widely disseminated throughout the Romanian population. Together with the metropolitans Varlaam of Moldova and Petru Movila from Kiev, in 1640 Vasile Lupu set up in the capital of the country the first Slav-Greek-Latin Academy, considered as the oldest higher education institution on the Moldovan soil. Besides the Moldovan professors at that academy (Metropolitans Varlaam, Eustradie Logofatul, and others), Vasile Lupu invited professors from Kiev, who had been trained at the universities of Vilnius and Cracov, as well as Greek professors trained at Italian universities and Ukrainians such as Sofronie Poceatschi the former rector of the Slav-Greek-Latin Academy from Kiev, Isaia Kozlovski, Iosif Cononovici and Ignatie Ksenivici, the Hungarian Gheorghe Cutnarski, the Greeks Benedict de Vatoped and Paisie Ligarides, the brothers Ioanichie and Sofronie Lihuzi, and others. These professors taught subjects in the cycle “The Seven Liberal Arts”, well known throughout Europe, as well as the Latin, Greek, and Slavonic languages.

Of particular note in this context was the professor of the academy and court secretary of Vasile Lupu – Gheorghe Cutnarski. As recorded by the Roman Catholic missionary Paul Beke, who was in the court of Prince Lupu for a long time “...the gloried Lord Gheorghe Cutnarski from the town of Ciotnari (in Moldova), [is] a pious Catholic (Hungarian by origin) and secretary to the Ruler, whose knowledge raised him from the humble condition of his tradesmen parents to be of the highest regard before the Lord and his entire court.” Although Cutnarski was a Hungarian Catholic, Vasile Lupu appreciated his high intellectual abilities and his good knowledge of Latin. Lupu entrusted him to positions of much responsibility in the royal chancery, and authorised him to improve the letters and documents of the prince in Latin. With his assistance Vasile Lupu used to correspond with representatives of the Western courts and with the Pope.

Thus, one can infer that during many centuries in Moldova there were no inter-ethnic conflicts and that the cohabiting ethnic minorities enjoyed the same rights as the indigenous population. All the ethnic groups in Moldova had favourable conditions for their activity in the economic, political, military and cultural spheres.

Andrei Eșanu,
Historian

problems, the traditional culture has remained opened and unprotected while faced with the pressure of aggressive “global” elements. At the same time, in a sense, the Moldovan culture does not “keep pace” with the rest of the world, in spite of the openness of its society. While the West promotes the slogan “from the passive use of culture to an active participation in the creative process,” one can observe a reverse tendency of adopting the parasitic principles of a consumer society.

The entire world is gathering the splinters of its traditional cultures for their multiform conversion into art (ethno-jazz, stylised motives in clothing, design, ethnographic movies, etc.). Moldova is losing traditional art, without knowing its price and faced with the burden of economic problems. Moldovan ethnographers are increasing public awareness of the mass degradation of cultural life in villages, of the sale of everything with some value in an attempt to provide the elementary means for survival. Thus, at the end of the ‘30s the old hand-made carpet was sold for two factory-made carpets, while now any carpet of the few survived goes for one semi-synthetic imported carpet that is far from being of high quality. Good quality home-made garments are changed for Asian-produced mass consumption goods; ecologically pure traditional ceramic vessels, with a form best suited for national cuisine, has given way to foreign poor-quality and ecologically-suspect plastic ones, etc.

Economic difficulties have influenced tremendously family events, which represent the most important moments of any persons’ life: the birth of a child, baptism, a wedding, and a funeral. Impoverished Moldovan villages are forced to simplify dramatically or cancel completely these major rituals, marking the birth of a new member of the society, the socialisation of a new family and the last rites of the society with one of its members. When peasants venture to celebrate these events, they can rely only on goods grown in their natural garden — given as a gift to a young family or a new born child, as a payment to musicians, to clergymen and other hired workers.

A paradoxical situation is created: no matter what the foreign cultural specialists are fighting for, whether developing special programmes of cultural policy or injecting considerable sums for the creation of infrastructure to support collective creative work, Moldovan society destroys its culture under the pressure of foreign, pseudo-democratic forms of culture. For example, the National Television musical programs for children and youth are propagating the element of show in which participants between 5 and 50 years of age are copying foreign models of behaviour, drawn from satellite programs, generating the envy of friends and the horror of professionals.

Viewing these alarming tendencies, one becomes aware of the special role of culture in building an international image of Moldova and must acknowledge the threat of its vulgarisation. Traditionally, artistic culture was directly involved in a formulation of the external image of the country. One remembers the myth propagated in the Soviet period about Moldova as a “country of sparkling joy, inciting to dance,” an image rooted in the self-image (self-education) of its citizens.

Assessments and the self-assessment of nations and peoples are based on ethnic psychology: how foreigners evaluate Moldovans, how Moldovans assess themselves and what they really are — these parameters for a sociological survey could provide a picture of the image of a nation. This has been done, for example, in neighboring countries — in Hungary, whose administration assigns a special importance to the formation of the modern image of the country. This sort of sociological survey, the results of which could form the base for the development and modification of all state programmes without exclusion — is the future. Presently, there is no systematic promotion of Moldova’s image in the foreign press, which is regularly done in Romania, for example, with the purpose of scientifically assessing conscious influences on the formation of a characteristic and of promoting an adequate image of the country.

In order to get an understanding of self-appreciation, we can quote the local mass media, in particular journalistic writing, as well as literature. Thus, one recently published article described the typical image of Moldova in the traditional spirit of Mioritic space (a specifi-

Globalization and alarming tendencies in the cultural life of the country have a dubious impact.

cally Romanian spiritual universe, associated with the popular ballad “Mioritsa”) with a focus on classical literature: “... the Moldovans are indolent, complaining, soft, do not show opposition, with this testamentary attitude try to blend with the earth, with everything that raises and purifies the soul...”, and this distinguishes them from other Romanians, who “are dynamic, calculating.” Some attractive features of the Moldovan character, cultivated in literature, are: diligence, hospitality, obedience, inborn artistic ability, which includes an extreme sense of beauty and poetry. It is not surprising that culture had an important role in the formation of an image of Moldova among the Soviet republics in the not-so-distant past. “Blooming and singing land,” “the country of sparkling joy, inciting to dance” have become clichés, as have kagor wine, “Belyi aist” cognac, the guys and girls from the ensemble “Joc” dressed in national costumes and dancing obliviously “Moldoveneasca”, which means in the “Moldovan style,” were symbols representing the existing image of Moldova in the post-Soviet period. In spite of a one-sided representation of a country with enormous cultural-historical values and natural richness, these symbols have played a role in the creation of a long lasting image of Moldova in the East.

As strange as it may seem, Moldovan culture is underestimated in the traditional mentality. The habits of living in a heavenly corner of nature, of admiring its beauties and surrounding themselves with extraordinary amenities, have not only shaped the Moldovan character, but also the behavioural stereotype: “We are all singing, and what is your profession?” Hardly nurtured by authorities, the myth of the Soviet period about a dancing and singing Moldova was based on a stilted, not serious and slightly scornful attitude to culture and art as a sphere of pleasant mass entertainment, not demanding significant efforts. Self-appreciation, which is apparent in assessing the current situation of the country, and is apparent in determining and explaining not only human actions, but also their motivation, and the conditioning behaviour of circumstance, helps us understand who we really are. Both the strong and the weak sides of the national character, shaped for centuries in an attempt to survive in

Box 3.2**Hospitality of the Moldovans as Seen by Foreign Travelers in the 16th - 17th Centuries**

The unusual hospitality and good nature of the Moldovans always aroused the amusement of foreigners. But it was their cordiality and total absence of any sense of sordid motives, though invaded and robbed innumerable times, that particularly amused the foreign observers.

The Dalmatian diplomat, Verancsics Anton (1504 – 1573), a secretary of the Polish king and a participant in diplomatic schools in Poland, Venice, England, France and the Vatican who made notes on his impressions about the country and its inhabitants and drew attention to the following trait of the Moldovans: “... the people are very hospitable”. One can find the same opinion in the travel notes of a merchant of Armenian origin who passed through Moldova in 1608. He notes “... the population was very hospitable, with fear of God and loving of their kinds.” These words underline the respect of Moldovans for people irrespective of their nationality. A representative of a Venetian house of commerce, Alberti Tommaso, who traveled through Moldova twice and visited the towns of Galati, Vaslui, Iasi, Stefanesti and Hotin in 1612 and paid attention to the following characteristic of the Moldovans: “If a traveler asks for shelter, any house is supposed to receive him; and is used to give <him> a good reception”. Some foreign travelers find an explanation of this fact in absence of inns and hotels. At the same time they are amused by the special treatment accorded to guests who spoke their language and were received for a night. In this sense, Paul Beke’s witness (1644) is extremely eloquent: “No village or marketplace has an inn but every house *is a place of shelter*; and in this Moldovans merit praise, because they receive guests without fee and treat them generously with the food they eat themselves; and especially those who know the language of the master of the house”.

It is interesting that among many characteristics attributed to Moldovans by foreign travelers none refers to inter-ethnic intolerance. On the contrary, they were glad to receive any traveler, according every one of them due respect and the place meant for the most honored guest. In this sense, a specific historical importance is attached to the work of Marco Bandini (1593 – 1650), the so-called “Codex Bandinus”, preserved to today, in which one finds a comprehensive description of the history of Moldovan traditions. Marco Bandini, of Bosnian origin from Scopje, was archbishop of Marcianopol, and in 1640 was appointed apostolic administrator of the Catholic Church in Moldova by the Congregation. In order to learn about the situation of the Catholic churches, he visited the towns of Iasi, Vaslui, Neamt, Husi, Galati, Tecuci, Baia, Suceava and others. In his work, Bandoni describes in detail the hospitality of Moldovans, distinguishing this habit from those of neighboring peoples: “Moldovans are more hospitable than Muntenii and other Romanians. Only in regions close to the frontier with Poland, have they acquired their neighbors’ traditions, who *do not want to give anything for free to the traveling foreigners*. Otherwise a traveler can walk through Moldova without means for traveling. They gladly give to travelers bread, cheese, onion, milk and other things that are found in their house, if only a foreigner would act peacefully. Otherwise he more easily gets strong fists and cudgels than the food”.

Thus, a rather interesting ethno-psychological portrait of a Moldovan is being drawn. A small people, in a small state in the Southeastern Europe, which not only once during the ages has been subject to numerous foreign invasions, devastation and conquests, has kept its hospitality, good nature, tolerance and kindness. Foreign travelers and missionaries, as representatives of other countries with different conceptions and mentalities, unequivocally appreciated and were amused by traits of the Moldovans. Maybe that is why Moldova always had this kind of inimitable charm, not only as a “piece of heaven,” but as a country of benevolent, nice and cordial people.

Lilia Zabolotnaya,
Historian

the worst historical conditions, became a favourite topic of classical writers. Contemporaries have their own input: “Our way to be; a huge dose of slavery, fear of risk ...of being humiliated, informing on each other, digging our own graves, envious, capricious... not loving work that much, rather liking to comment, waiting for the miracle to happen, for somebody to do it for us.” Lack of desire to take responsibility, inability to work, as a team, the spirit of criticism and demagoguery — aren’t these features of a national character that are causing the present political instability and economic collapse in the Republic? On the other hand, such qualities as sociability, benevolence and hospitality, the skills of living in an ethnically multi-sided environment, a lack of xenophobia can become the guarantees of tolerance. They can also serve as a practical input by Moldova into the crystallisation of the new geophilosophy of peace: the Culture of Peace.

There are objective and subjective difficulties in creating the international image of Moldova. As far as one can judge from separate sources, including foreign ones, up to the middle of the ‘90s the foreign press provided fragmentary and rather scanty information on Moldova and its culture, mainly focusing on power relationships and major political events. A lack of experience and an extremely painful quasi-revolutionary beginning for the young state did not contribute to the creation of an attractive image in Western countries. As noted in the draft campaign for the promotion of Moldova’s image “the West in the East”, there was no clear image of the country in the West, a fact explained by the almost complete unavailability of any information, both current (mass media) and of a more lasting character (encyclopaedia, reference guides, brochures on various spheres of life in foreign languages).

In the middle of the ‘90s the situation changed. Moldova’s cooperation with a series of large international organisations, including those involved with culture *per se*, such as UNESCO, the Council of Europe, etc., contributed to this change. Information on the structure and activities of state organisations and institutions of the Republic in various fields began to be included in international reference publications. For example, starting with 1994 a section on Moldova’s culture was a permanent reference in the Handbook of European Cultural Affairs. In order to intensify the process of creating a positive image of the country abroad, international consultants proposed the model “Switzerland of the East” as an attractive model to be offered in the West, a model which can also be viewed as a realisation of international expectations in regard to our country.

Still, as the years have passed, one can conclude that the factors imperilling the effective creation of an international image of Moldova remain the same. The negative factors (from the cultural field), jeopardising the formation of the external image of Moldova include:

- A lack of foreign publications and mass media agencies accredited in Moldova;
- A lack of representation by foreign cultural institutes, such as the Goethe Institute etc.;
- An absence of visits from the international press, which would report on major cultural events (festivals, contests, exhibitions, etc);
- No informational cultural publications;
- No National Centre for Cultural Information.

The creation of a modern image of Moldova both within and outside its borders should be recognised as a strategic imperative, on which the prospect of economic growth and social stability will depend. Serious systematic work in this direction should be based on the exploration of culture in its largest meaning - the traditions of a patriarchal Christian world, the culture of life, ethnic cultures, etc. - all of which would contribute to social consolidation and the attraction of foreign investors. It is the culture that should become a promoter of Moldova’s interests in international society, capable of establishing and intensifying economic relations among countries. Moreover, due to international cooperation via culture, Moldova could realise its chance to support peaceful, progressive development in the region.

Before analysing the international practice of Moldova’s cultural exchange, those external factors that influence its character to a certain extent should be noted. The new political

Culture is an important component of the positive image of Moldova in the world.

**In the 90s, new forms
of cultural cooperation
and international
cultural contacts
were born.**

and economic realities of Central and East European countries (change of political structures, enlargement of the European Union), as well as the globalisation process (new technologies, growth of the cultural industry) have introduced changes in the process of international cooperation in the cultural field. The character of this transformation in the spirit of the time can be defined as a transition from state guardianship and diplomacy to a more comprehensive democratic cooperation among new public structures (funds, NGOs and other organisations of cultural and art figures), private businesses in this field, and individuals. In addition, new participants in cultural cooperation (including cultural organisations from within and outside the country) have emerged. New instruments and forms of cooperation in the cultural field have emerged (together with bilateral and multi-sided agreements on cultural cooperation, international agreements and protocols).

In the structure of international cultural contacts the “export” of artistic work dominates considerably over “imports.” This is explained by: *a*) high level of art and culture of the Republic; *b*) lack of traditional patronage and sponsorship; *c*) poorly developed infrastructure for sponsorship (lack of state and public funds in support of culture, stimulating tax policy, etc., and delay in its formation due to economic reasons); *d*) lack of economic interest by private entrepreneurs in the creation of cultural agents (with the exception of show business, and even this one limited); and *e*) lost access for creative youth to education in traditional cultural centres for Moldovans — Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Odessa.

In light of these and other reasons the export of “high” and traditional culture from Moldova is characterised by three trends. First of all, emigration of cultural and art figures to work abroad (mainly in the West) has increased, given the difficult economic situation in the Republic. As a rule, these trips are organised via personal contacts due to the lack of state and private agencies. For this very reason, as well as due to the lack of international agreements in this field, these exchanges are becoming an export of a cheap and highly qualified labour force, which can neither bring the expected revenues to the specialists, nor have a direct impact on the formation of a beneficial image of Moldova.

Secondly, various cultural contacts, mainly concerts of the best artists and exhibitions, and more seldom – tours, are organised at the governmental level by the Ministry of Culture, or by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the participation of the Ministry of Culture, by the firm “Intercultura” — a joint firm recently created by the Ministry of Culture, as well as by the booking firm “Inter-arta”. Still, state structures have limited financial resources to support the participation of representatives of Moldovan professional art and traditional crafts in various prestigious exhibitions and festivals. The creation of cultural funds, which would take over the funding of systematic representation of Moldova’s culture and art on the world stage, is delayed due to ineffective legislation on sponsorship and unfavourable tax policy in the field of culture.

A happy exception are the regular tours of the Opera and Ballet Theatre, which, working with local and foreign agencies, has gained an international reputation and contributes considerably to the creation of an adequate image of Moldovan art.

A more difficult situation is observed with the allocations for arts education abroad and the participation of talented children and youth in international contests, given that the sources for this particular expenditure in the state budget for culture is not specified. That is why, in spite of the attractiveness of educational establishments in Western Europe and the USA, without the systematic assistance of foreign funds it is unlikely that cooperation in this field will improve in the near future. Moreover, it is likely that young talents will win prizes in prestigious contests, due to their strong performance and arts education. Such victories were already registered in the past. This would strengthen considerably Moldova’s reputation as a young European country with a high level of cultural traditions and would encourage the exchange of cultural relations. The understanding of this fact pushed the Ministry of Culture to search for private sponsors, which is not always achievable in the current economic situation. The greatest impact has been registered through the co-operation of the Ministry with the charity fund “Brindushele sperantei”, which supported all the costs for the

4-year education of the laureates of national contests of the Musical Academy “Richard Strauss” in Munich, and sponsored the participation of young talents in international master classes.

The third tendency in cultural export from Moldova is the organisational and financial support provided for the realisation of cultural events of Moldova abroad by international organisations and foreign embassies accredited in Chisinau. An analysis of cultural contacts shows that the highest degree of cultural exchange is between the Republic of Moldova and Romania — the closest neighbour. In reality, more joint actions are undertaken because local events (at the district level) have become a tradition already. This is explained not only by the affinity of cultures, but also by the fact that our countries were in political isolation for almost half a century. The drive to participate in the circulation of spiritual ideas seems natural, more so given, that from an administrative point of view these contacts are simplified to the maximum. Still, new political and economic realities (the efforts and intention of Romania to join the European Union and the modification of its economic policy against the background of deepening economic crisis in the Republic of Moldova) are assessed by analysts as possible impediments in the near future.

The modest participation of Moldova in the cultural life of Eastern Europe, in particular in western CIS countries — the traditional cooperation partners has been quite surprising. The reason for this is not only the ignorance of usual ties, in particular with the major cultural nation, Russia, but also decreased interest in a well-known cultural space, the more so, now that trips eastward have become economically expensive.

Moldova has established similar relations with Latin countries close to it linguistically - Italy, France, and Spain. A stable interest to Moldovan opera and ballet is observed in such northern countries as the United Kingdom, Ireland and Holland. On the other hand, it is surprising to see the low interest in Moldovan art found in Israel, with whom no cultural relations are maintained, in spite of frequent visits of Moldova’s professionals to that country.

However, Moldova has yet not established cultural ties with many European countries, not to speak about the “conquest” of southeastern Asia, Latin America and the USA. Based on the experience of the ’90s, one can conclude that the best cultural “ambassadors” of Moldova in Europe are folklore ensembles, which have visited most European countries. This is quite natural given the current world interest in traditional cultures. These groups are followed in interest by music (professional performers) and choreography. This sequence does not exactly reflect the real correlation of Moldova’s cultural forces and could demonstrate the maintenance of the above-mentioned old stereotype of a singing and dancing country. The international presentation of Moldovans as an exclusively musical-choreographic nation, leaves in the shadow the real richness of the traditional and professional culture (opera-theatrical art, museums, crafts, painting, architecture, etc).

The import of culture to Moldova is imperilled by economic factors. Exhibitions are organised and museum specialists, producers, performers are invited mainly on a share basis: with the support of sponsors, foreign organisations, embassies, and the cultural charity of the Moldovan diaspora. Four major international events, with the participation of guests from abroad, have been organised in the Republic: the festival of opera and ballet stars “Maria Bieshu invites” (9 yearly presentations), the art festival “Martisor” (34 presentations), the festival of modern music “The Days of New Music” (9 presentations), and the International Theatre Festival. Economic instability and the low-income level of the population do not favour the flourishing of culture and art in the Republic and decrease the attractiveness of Moldova for foreign artists, in spite of available concert, theatre and exhibition halls.

International cooperation in this particular field for the last decade of the 20th century has shown the high professionalism and competitiveness of Moldovan culture and art in the world arena, increasing the chances for the Republic to become recognized as a respected member of the international society. Still, a more complete and versatile participation of Moldova in international cultural co-operation would be even more effective

**Moldova broadens
the geography
of its cultural
contacts.**

Diversity and open character of the Moldovan national culture strengthens the possibility of a dialogue within the country and its interaction with the world.

if it were based on traditional institutes and instruments. Structures such as national agencies for the support of culture (like “Pro Helvetia”), foreign cultural autonomous or state institutions (Goethe Institutes, Italian institutions, etc), sectoral agencies (e.g., “Cinema Italia”) are still missing in the Republic. The state’s departments of international relations located in two ministries – the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, empowered accordingly to care for the image of the country and to support the national culture in the international arena by signing bilateral or multilateral agreements in this field, cannot encompass all forms of international co-operation.

The “third sector” - NGOs - within the Moldovan culture started to confirm their position on the international arena. Thus, the two major international festivals - the festival of opera and ballet stars and the festival of new music - were organised in Moldova by professional public organisations, by the Union of Music Artists and by the Union of Composers and Musicians of Moldova, respectively, as well as by the Association of Modern Music with the support of the Ministry of Culture. Nonetheless, the sector itself is in the process of creation (there are not cultural funds, foundations and cultural networks). Recently the enlarging Moldovan diaspora has begun to create Moldovan cultural associations abroad. The main impediment to the cultural integration of Moldova into European and other larger structures of an international artistic and intellectual nature is financial rather than a organisational-administrative.

The open character of Moldovan national culture as regards other cultures has always contributed to cultural dialogue, the mutual enrichment of cultures and their peaceful cooperation. Moldova has produced many outstanding cultural personalities and artists, scientists and politicians who have worked in other countries and had an important impact on the development of civilisation. The Bishop of Kiev and Galicia (Petru Movila), the diplomat and scholar Nicolae Milescu-Spataru, who produced the medieval description of China, Dumitru Cantemir — the Sovereign of Moldova and subsequently the Councillor of Peter the Great, who can be compared with Renaissance humanists, are just a few names of persons who have conferred honor on Moldova. The name of the great poet Mihai Eminescu was included in the UNESCO calendar of memorable dates, which comprises outstanding cultural artists from all over the world: the year 2000 was declared by UNESCO the year of Mihai Eminescu. Moldova has hosted the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, whose artistic legacy belongs to the treasure of world culture.

A dialogue of cultures has been recognised as the instrument for building the world culture, that is, the culture of democracy and tolerance, which focuses on the legacy of humankind, a legacy of openness, universal character, a mixture of various civilisations. Moldova, as a crossroads of civilisations and cultures, can and should become the area of cultural dialogue. The road to this is opened by cultural tourism. The Decision no. 152 EX/50 taken at the 152nd session of the UN Executive Committee, containing the “elements of the draft UN temporary action programme on the culture of peace” (1997), par. 107, indicates the need to implement the Convention on World Heritage (UNESCO’s Convention on the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage) and to encourage the preservation and use of cultural monuments, so that the diversity of world heritage, based on diversity of cultures comprised in this heritage, can be seen.

The territory of Moldova, with its singularly rich cultural, historical and artistic objects from various periods and civilisations, beginning with the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods, has preserved the traces of the most important events in the history and culture of humankind. Cultural-historical resources are spread over the entire territory of Moldova. The rich cultural patrimony includes archaeological sites from Palaeolithic to the medieval period, monastic complexes of Christianity in the basin of the rivers Nistru and Raut, fortresses, churches and monasteries in the Codru area, architectural monuments and national, regional and local museums, as well as folklore music traditions, drama and popular dance, and various types of popular crafts. The capital of the country, Chisinau, proposes to its visitors high quality professional art, including concerts of symphonic music, European opera performances and classical and modern ballet, dramatic theatre, circus, and fine arts

exhibitions. The development of cultural tourism, together with its other forms - ecotourism, rural tourism and others will open access to this rich art fund.

The Republic of Moldova, in miniature representing diversity, richness and the multifaceted world, based on centuries-old traditions of peaceful neighbouring, hospitality and amiability, is ready to enter into a permanent cultural dialogue, thus having its input in building the Culture of Peace.

3.2 Religious Practice: Mutual Understanding, Tolerance

Religion is a traditional component of the spiritual life of the peoples of Moldova, and is felt to restore comprehensively. During several decades of state-sponsored “militant atheism” the most drastic methods were used to suppress and prohibit any expression of religious life. There was the forcible destruction of monuments to saints and of religious houses, the liquidation of churches, mass deportation to Siberia of religious people and believers of different confessions. Beginning in the ‘60s, after the so-called “thaw”, a policy of “tolerant atheism” was promoted. It lasted until 1988-1989, when the process of democratization of society and the national renaissance was launched. The policy of repressing religious worship and believers was replaced by an attitude of “peaceful co-existence,” basically referred to the church. Direct control on behalf of the state of religious groups was executed by the apparatus of the Council in charge of religious affairs within the Government — a structure that functioned until 1989. The basic normative act used to regulate the activity of the religious groups, as well as the relation of the state to them, was the Resolution on Religious Communities (1977). In 1981 the Government approved a special resolution through which it sanctioned the formation, within local authorities of public deputies, commissions for the supervision of the then-contemporary religious life, within the adopted normative limits.

Despite the fact that the Soviet system had an official position of recognizing the existence and non-involvement, at least at the declarative level, in the internal activity of the religious groups, by the end of ‘80s Moldova had officially recognized 7 denominations of churches: the traditional Orthodox Church, the Russian Orthodox Church of Old Believers, the Roman Catholic Church, the Christian Evangelical Baptist Church, the Seventh Day Adventist Church, the Seventh Day Adventist “Reformation Movement”, and the Pentecostals. Actually, the restrictions on freedom of thought remained as strict as they had been before, and mostly regarding believers. People were spied on and persecuted, including dismissal from positions and firing from work because of their religious beliefs. The educational system was oriented against religion. The officials, in the best cases, treated expressing a faith in God as a “remnant of the past” which definitely had to be eliminated from society.

The process of democratization and the creation of conditions for the free expression of basic human rights in the Republic of Moldova was launched in early ‘90s and served as a means to accelerate the development and extension of religious life. This tendency was observed within the traditional Orthodox Church, which was the primary religious affiliation for the largest part of the population of the country (approximately 93% of the population of Moldova is baptized in orthodoxy), as well as within other churches, too. In comparison to the Soviet period (according to the data of January 1, 1988), the traditional Orthodox Church counted 330 congregations on the territory of the country, and, for example, the Pentecostal confession (the Union of Churches of Christian Evangelic Religion) numbered 34 congregations. By January 1, 2000, the Orthodox Church of Moldova (the name used for the major church since 1992) included 1017 congregations, 30 monasteries and 7 monastery units. The Pentecostal church included 194 religious congregations.

In comparison with the recent past, freedom of religion in the Republic of Moldova is indicated by the enormous increase in the officially recognized religious groups. *At the beginning of the year 2000, 8 confessions and 12 religious associations* (congregations, organizations) *were officially recognized.* Thus, in addition to the already mentioned Ortho-

*“Crede ut intellegas/
Believe to understand.”*

Anonymous Latin

Since the beginning of the 90s, religious life of the country has been revived. As of to-date, 8 confessions and 12 religious associations have been officially recognized in Moldova.

dox Church of Moldova (approved pursuant to the new democratic legislation on November 13, 1993) and the Pentecostal Church (officially recognized on February 8, 1993), both religious bodies with central administrative structures, the following ones were recognized:

- *Metropolitan of Russian Orthodox Church of Old Believers* (recognized on August 28, 1995) with 16 congregations and 1 monastery;
- *Apostolic Administration of the Roman Catholic Church* (recognized on July 19, 1994) with 10 congregations, 6 branches and 1 community;
- *Union of Christian Evangelical Baptist Churches* (recognized on May 2, 1995) with 350 congregations;
- *Church of the Seventh Day Adventists* (recognized on July 22, 1993) with 127 congregations;
- *Church of Adventists "Reformation Movement" of the Seventh Day Adventists* (recognized on July 19, 1994) with 12 congregations;
- *Federation of Jewish Congregations* (recognized on June 9, 1994) with 7 congregations.

Box 3.3

Religious Tolerance in Moldova in the 15th - 17th Centuries

In the Middle Ages aspirations of Moldova towards the shared values and culture of European civilization became more and more pronounced. The country wanted to approach and incorporate itself into the family of European countries, thereby accepting many bases of the culture and civilization of Europe, *inter alia* the prevailing religious tolerance. In those circumstances the religious tolerance of the country had to be seen within the context of the religions and confessional churches of the cohabitant ethnic minorities. In 1868 the renowned Moldovan writer and historian Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu published an interesting work entitled *The History of Religious Tolerance* in which he convincingly documented the high level of religious tolerance of Moldovans, Wallachs and Romanians from Transylvania as compared to other nations. This tradition of confessional tolerance has been perpetuated and maintained through the modern age. As is well known, Moldovans adhered to the Byzantine Orthodox church rites and practiced a faith that they never attempted to impose on peoples of other religion.

Moldovans always showed an absolute modesty in religious life, accepting in their church saints of other ethnic origin, such as St. Joan from Suceava, St. Paraschiva, St. Piloteia, etc. Bulgarian Greeks and Serbs were accepted as national saints, their coffins and relics installed in the most important ecclesiastic centers in the Metropolitan of Suceava, in the monastery of "The Three Hierarchs" in Iasi and in the Court of Arges.

When the Hussites were persecuted in Bohemia, some took refuge and were treated with much understanding in Moldova, also under the reign of the renowned King Stefan the Great (1457-1504). Though he primarily supported the Orthodox church, Stefan granted Hussites settlement and permitted them to erect houses of worship in which to practice their faith. The Moldovans were so indulgent and tolerant towards the faith of foreigners that they never attempted to convert to orthodoxy Catholics and people of other faith settled in Moldova. At the same time they did not impede those of other practice, such as Catholics or Protestants, from proselytizing among Orthodox believers. Orthodox Moldovans were particularly tolerant not only towards their Orthodox brethren of foreign offspring but also towards other confessions, and during the 14th to 17th centuries the church never experienced any conflicts or dogmatic disputes, nor sectarian secessions, a situation never and nowhere heard of in Western and Eastern Europe.

Usually the Catholic bishoprics, monasteries and churches in Moldova had the same rights to property and assets as the Orthodox ecclesiastic centers. Rather often the Catholic bishoprics from various towns of Moldova obtained from the princes of the country privileges of fiscal immunity, according to which the local and central authorities were not entitled to levy all kinds of taxes. An example in this regard is an act promulgated in 1675 by the Moldovan prince Antohie Ruset, which stipulated that all fiscal authorities were not to collect taxes from the "Hungarian bishop (Catholic) of the Hungarian bishopric from the market-town of Bacau and all his priests and merchants, who adhere to their church..."

During the Middle Ages and until the eve of the modern epoch, Moldova was visited by many envoys from the Pope in Rome, from bishoprics in the Ukraine, Italy, and Poland who moved without impediment and granted assistance to Catholic communities in the area. Often the Papal envoys were received with all honors at the princes' court. Many missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic churches, including from Catholic orders such as the Jesuits, conducted vast activities and confessional missions, remaining on the territory of Moldova even for some years. Such actions did not raise concern on the part of the state authorities and of higher clergy in Moldova. Catholic and Protestant churches in Moldova enjoyed not only absolute religious freedom, but also many exceptional privileges such as independent canonic jurisdiction, fiscal immunities and other prerogatives, which were not provided elsewhere in Europe.

Andrei Eșanu,
Historian

The following list includes religious congregations, organizations, and associations that act in the country:

- *Jehovah's Witnesses* (recognized on July 27, 1994) with 163 congregations;
- *Metropolitan of Armenian Apostolic Church* (recognized on December 5, 1995) with 1 congregation;
- *Krishna Society* (recognized on July 13, 1994) with 1 community and 3 branches;
- *Union of Communities of Moloccan Spiritual Christians* (recognized on August 11, 1995) with 2 communities;
- *Baha'i Cult* (recognized on May 31, 1994) with 6 communities;
- *Presbyterian "Church of Peace"* (recognized on June 9, 1994) with 1 congregation;
- *New-Apostolic Church* (recognized on December 27, 1994) with 8 congregations and 3 branches;
- *Union of Free Christian Churches - Charismatic Cult* (recognized on May 17, 1997) with 8 congregations and 8 branches;
- *Church of the Last Testimony* (recognized on February 24, 1997) with 4 congregations;
- *Bible Church* (recognized on February 24, 1997) with 1 congregation;
- *Union of Congregations of Messianic Jews* (recognized on September 1, 1999) with 3 congregations;
- *Evangelical-Lutheran Church* (recognized on July 5, 1999) with 1 congregation

Additionally, representatives of some unregistered religious movements are becoming active in the country with a lesser number of followers: the Unification Church (followers of Moon) officially counts approximately 30 members; Innocents (followers of Inochentie Levizorul) - about 300 members; the International Church of Christ - around 200 members; Students of the Bible - more than 1000 members.

The government structure in charge of representing the state in relations with confessions and religious associations, as well as of supervising the enforcement of legislation dealing with religious activity, is the State Service for Issues of Religious Practice.

The universal principle of freedom of thought is reflected in the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova. Article 31 guarantees freedom of thought and religious groups' autonomy and their separation from the state. It guarantees their right to get organized according to their own statutes. Also, it stipulates that freedom of thought is to be manifest in the spirit of tolerance and reciprocal respect. Hostile, inimical demonstrations are forbidden in relations among religious groups. In line with the above, Article 35, paragraph 8, of the Constitution envisages that the state is to provide, within the law, freedom of religious education.

The basic normative act that regulates confessional activity and state relations with representatives of religious groups in the Republic of Moldova is the Law on Religious Practice (1992). It was drafted in compliance with the democratic principles of freedom of thought, expression and of religion. The Law stipulates the right for any person to freely express his own religion in any form, individually or in association, to promote this religion, to represent the group publicly or individually as long as the presentation does not contradict the legislation in force (Art. 1). The Law stipulates that nobody can be persecuted for adherence to religion or for lack of religious practice. The activity within a denomination recognized by the state cannot impede anyone from obtaining and exercising civil and political rights (Art. 2). At the same time, by guaranteeing confessional freedom, the Law stipulates that a limit on the practice or non-practice of religion cannot be imposed (Art. 3). For the first time in the history of Moldova, citizens who cannot serve in the army due to confessional reasons have been granted the right to take up alternative service (Art. 5). For a society with representatives of many confessions, a significant importance is attached to Article 4 of the

The Constitution of the Republic of Moldova guarantees the freedom of thought, religious groups' autonomy and their separation from the state.

Traditionally, relations between various confessions in Moldova have been based on the principles of non-intrusion and mutual tolerance. But during the 90s some incidents of conflict were registered. One of them related to the refusal of the Government to register the Basarabian Metropoly under the canonic sway of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Law on Religious Practice, which states that the freedom of thought is to be manifested in a spirit of tolerance and reciprocal respect and that confessional intolerance, manifested through acts which impede the free exercise of any religious group recognized by the state, constitutes a crime and is to be punished according to the legislation.

Historically, relations between representatives of various confessions in Moldova were based on the principles of non-intrusion and mutual tolerance. Having been raised for centuries within Orthodox religious traditions (according to historical data the christianization of Romanians within the Carpathian-Danubian region started earlier than the introduction, a century later, of Christianity in Russia), the indigenous population showed understanding and respect towards those who, by settling in Basarabia, shared other forms of Christianity. The *status-quo* of the majority church, the Orthodox Church, was not impacted by the ethnic factor because the peoples of all the larger national minorities – Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, Bulgarians – having immigrated during the past few centuries to the territory between the Prut and Nistru rivers, also practiced Christianity within the Orthodox church.

The traditional spirit of tolerance and respect of Orthodox Christians towards the believers of other religions has been maintained since independence was declared by the Republic of Moldova. In this period, as at the beginning, there were no major conflicts among various confessions. The State Service for Religious Practice, during 1998-2000, registered some cases of conflict, at the local level, between the believers of the Orthodox Church and members of the Union of Christian Evangelical Baptists and those of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Each time the conflicts were addressed by the State Service for Religious Practice along with the Metropolitan of Moldova (a structure which ranks higher than the Orthodox Church of Moldova), by the administration of the Christian Evangelical Baptists Union, and that of the Jehovah's Witnesses, and with the direct participation of the local public administration. With regard to the one of such conflicts, in Pyrlitsa: it was addressed in a special meeting of the Interconfessional Council – a collegial body created under the State Service for Religious Practice, which comprises representatives of all officially recognized confessions. Resolutions adopted by the Interconfessional Council are regarded as non-binding recommendations and are addressed to both religious organizations and state authorities.

Although relations among the confessions did not encounter any major difficulties at the national level during the respective period, the religious life in the Republic of Moldova suffered from a conflict involving the Metropolitan of Basarabia and the state's refusal to recognize it officially.

In 1992, a group of citizens, including Church officials, made an attempt to reactivate the former Metropolitan of Basarabia that had existed during 1918-1940 when the territory between the rivers Nistru and Prut integrated into the Romanian state. However, in the opinion of the authorities of the Orthodox Church of Moldova, supported by the Government of the Republic of Moldova, the recognition of the former Basarabian Metropolitan would mean, *de jure* and *de facto*, not the emergence of another officially recognized church but rather a schism within the Orthodox Church of Moldova. The result was a conflict involving both the Orthodox Church of Moldova and adherents of the Basarabian Metropolitan in some parts of the country. According to the authorities of the Republic of Moldova, the conflict broadened particularly after the Patriarchy of the Orthodox Church of Romania, through an act promulgated by the Patriarchate and Synod on December 19, 1992, blessed the reactivation of the former Metropolitan by changing the title to the Autonomous Metropolitan of Basarabia (old style) under the canonic sway of the Romanian Orthodox Church.

After almost eight years the Government refuses to register the Metropolitan of Basarabia justifying its position as follows:

According to the Law on Religious Practice (Art. 15), the Government recognizes the status of religious groups and religions. In line with this, the Orthodox Church was recognized officially under the title of the Orthodox Church of Moldova (Metropolitan of Moldova).

In the Government's view the Metropolitan of Basarabia does not represent a distinct church but rather a schismatic group within the already existing church. Recognition by the Government of this group might mean not only the direct support of intervention from abroad in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Moldova, but also a direct interventions by the state in the inner life of the Church, which contradicts the constitutional stipulations on the autonomy of religious groups and their separation from the state. Further, church structures (metropolitans, episcopates, dioceses) are constituted by the church itself, based on the decision of its administrative body, the state being banned from intervening in such matters.

The Government, currently being sued by the Metropolitan of Basarabia at the European Court for Human Rights, continues to make the case that the conflict can be resolved and should be addressed exclusively within the church. On the insistence of the authorities of the Republic of Moldova and the authorities of the Orthodox Church of Moldova, the Moldovan Orthodox Church continues to be under the canonic sway of the Patriarchy of the Orthodox Church of Russia. Some years ago the process of negotiations between the Russian and Romanian churches was begun in order to reach a settlement within the orthodox churches. Four rounds of talks have taken place. During the last one, held in January 1999 in Chisinau, the sides expressed consent to continue consultation so that within the foreseeable future a mutually acceptable model could be found for settling canonic issues pertaining to the orthodox churches on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

Freedom of religion in the Republic of Moldova is present not only in the Constitution and legislation but also in the every day life of the society. Thus, in new conditions, at the beginning of the 21st century the continuity of the country's traditions is maintained alongside religious diversity.

Box 3.4

Basarabia is a Hospitable Land.

Since ancient times Basarabia has always been a hospitable land despite the fact that it is situated at the junction of its neighbors' interests – large states and three religions – Christianity, Judaism and Islam.

Turning to 100-year old statistics. Moldovans, the native inhabitants, which constituted almost one half of the population in Basarabia according to the 1897 census, lived together with Russians and Ukrainians – 26.7%, Jews – 11.8%, Bulgarians and Serbs – 5.3%, Germans – 3.1%, Gagauz – 2.9%, Poles – 0.6%, Gypsies – 0.5%, Greeks, Armenians, Czechs, Albanians, French and others – 1.2%.

Religious confessions were represented in Basarabia as follows: Orthodox – 82.1%, Judaism – 11.7%, Presbyterians and Lutherans – 2.9%, Catholics – 1.0%, Armenian-Gregorian church – 0.13%, Moslems – 0.03% and others – 2.14%. More than 1000 religious houses and monasteries adorned this blessed land.

The multi-ethnic composition of the population enriched Basarabia's life – both in economic practice and in culture.

Thus, *German colonies* (77 settlements and almost 60 thousands inhabitants in 1897) contributed to the settling of southern Basarabia. Grain production, stockbreeding, viticulture and winemaking, production and repair of agricultural machinery were on a high level. German colonists received land, monetary subsidy and tax privileges. They kept their religion and self-administration; their children were taught in their native language.

Also in the south of the country *settlers from the Balkans* (Bulgarians, Gagauz, Serbs, Greeks and Albanians) founded about 100 settlements (including the towns of Bolgrad, Comrat and others) and agricultural colonies. Production of grain and vegetables, cheese, carpets and fabrics, trade were their main occupation. Tight inter-ethnic contacts were ensured by the knowledge of several languages and interplay of cultures.

It is rather interesting that it was in Basarabia where the prototype of Kibbutzim was born in the form of *Jewish agricultural colonies*. There were 16 of them, situated in five out of seven districts of the province with a total number of Jewish farmers of 15,700 persons (1897). The predominant types of activity were the growing of grain (wheat, maize, oats), tobacco, vegetables and grapes; their processing and trade; nurseries of new species of plants. Jewish farmers coming from Podolye and Volyni (the Ukraine) were attracted by Basarabia's "comfortable climate", by the possibility to buy or lease land, and by the commercial and transit benefits, the entrance to the Danube, the Black Sea and the Balkans.

One cannot underestimate the positive role of *Basarabian Roma* in the development of crafts and folklore, music and choreographic art in Moldova.

On the map of the Republic of Moldova the memory of those generations of people for which this land became a second motherland has been preserved in the names of towns and villages (Latin, Slavonic, German, Greek, etc.).

Vladimir Anikin,
Historian

Chapter 4

The Role of the State and Human Rights

4.1 The Role of Legislation in Promoting the Culture of Peace

The consolidation of the principles and norms of the Culture of Peace in each country decisively depends on state institutions. The declaration of independence of the Republic of Moldova (Aug. 1991) has marked a new stage in the development of the statehood of the Republic of Moldova. The new Republic has been oriented towards universal democratic values, establishing new priorities in development and especially creating and consolidating state institutions, guaranteeing a democratic development of society and respecting citizens' rights and liberties. Economic and social reforms have emphasized the foundation of a free, market economy, an orientation towards Europe, and the creation of a modern society that would correspond to European norms and standards, including attaining the living standards found in the developed countries.

The first decade has presented not only a thorny transition towards the freedom but also difficult years invested in creating a new state with an adequate legal framework that would sustain the requirements for a modern European state. A society based upon the principles of a culture of peace and democracy cannot be conceived without juridical order, which entails, first of all, the existence of legal norms, inalienable, efficient and generally compulsive for all physical and juridical entities (a fact that supposes a clear hierarchy of normative acts, including laws and law-subordinated acts, that are brought to the public awareness). Second of all, given the conditions of a lawful state, respect for the rules must be provided through the activity of the institutions of law enforcement and judgment, which must be truly independent to attain and hold the population's respect and trust.

Thus, the transition period in the Republic of Moldova may be conventionally divided into two stages: (1) one involving the modification and adaptation of the already existent legal framework to the requirements of the lawful state and the creation of democratic state institutions during the period prior to the adoption of a new Constitution; and (2) the post-constitutional phase of the society's reform process in which a juridical order proper to a democratic state is established and consolidated.

Despite the numerous criticism of the instability and low quality of the legal framework adopted during the first stage, in a relatively short time the Parliament adopted a series of legislative acts of major importance such as those that refer to the creation of statehood. At the beginning of the '90s, laws "designing" the Republic of Moldova (national flag, emblem and anthem, and the plenary powers of legislative and executive authorities, etc.) were adopted followed by a number of legislative acts "framing" a new democratic culture: the law on parties and other social-political organizations (1991); the law on culture (1992); the law on freedom of the press (1994); the law on the organisation and realisation of public gatherings (1995); and the law on community associations (1996).

The new laws were all the more important since the inherited Soviet legal framework was not based upon law and order. There were no standards for a lawful state under a democratic form of government. There was no hierarchy of juridical norms, opened for analysis and provided by law sanctioning. The multitude of decrees and decisions (most of them secret) in reality took priority in regards to the law norms and, moreover, frequently were in contradiction to them. Courts, especially the local ones, were obedient to the political and Party rule and were not assuredly non-biased in examining civil or criminal cases. Judges were not able to provide citizens with the protection from abuse by highly placed officials. Citizens viewed judicial organs as an appendix of the totalitarian system that protected only state interests and therefore did not trust the judicial organs.

Simultaneously, while strengthening the legal basis of the democratic state, numerous

"Lex prospicit, non respicit/ The law looks ahead, not backwards."

Anonymous Latin

The Republic of Moldova, as a new European state, has oriented itself towards universal democratic values based on the adequate legal framework.

legislative acts were adopted to provide for the development of market-oriented relationships and free competition. In the first years around 700 legislative acts were adopted in order to establish the new budget system, to establish private property, equality in rights for all types of property, the right to own private property, the reform of the banking system, general principles of privatization, new methods of farmer and entrepreneurial activity, the status of joint stock companies, and so on. There were problems though. The adoption of a significant number of normative acts within a relatively short period of time and the lack of appropriate legislative experience was apparent in the quality of the legal foundation.

It took a new Constitution to establish democratic criteria and principles of governance, to introduce the principle of separation of powers, to initiate judicial and territorial - administrative reforms and to protect the fundamental rights and liberties of citizens. Dealt with were life and physical and mental integrity (Art. 24), individual liberty (Art. 25), the right to free movement (Art. 27), the right to be informed (Art. 31), the right to freedom of expression and opinion (Art. 32), the right to obtain information (Art. 35), and a series of political rights – the right to vote and to be elected, freedom of association, freedom of political parties and of other social political organizations, etc. According to the Constitution, oversight of the formation, administration and usage of public finances was established through the Chamber of Accounts. The Constitutional Court was established as a unique authority on constitutional jurisdiction and its objectives have been determined. Principles of local administration were defined: local autonomy, decentralization of public services, the eligibility of authorities to serve in local public administration, consultation of citizens on local matters, etc.

Conceived in the absence of national constitutional traditions, after adoption and during the process of implementation a number of lapses in the Constitution were observed. Thus, the role and activity of the Prosecution have not been addressed properly and still reflect the main features of the Soviet system of prosecution with functions of general control over legislative observance. Some Constitutional norms do not determine clearly the attributes of those two components of the executive power, conceived in a dual form. Norms of the territorial-administrative organization of the country were not distinctly determined, including the special statute of some territories.

These lapses have been dealt with through the modification of the Constitution and make possible many misinterpretations of different articles of the Constitution. The Constitutional Court interpreted the Constitution 26 times in the period 1996 - 1999! A number of proposals for the modification of the Constitution have been submitted to Parliament. Uncertainty regarding constitutional norms has led to the instability of the legislative base in that much law may depend on the way that the Constitution will be interpreted, a fact that generates certain juridical nihilism, even among lawyers.

Within the period of six years after the adoption of the Constitution, a series of legislative acts were adopted to underline the principles of a lawful state, including the Civil Code, which is a kind of “economic constitution” of the country. According to it, the whole body of legislation that regulates economic relations was reorganized. Before that, there were quite a lot of gaps and controversies that quite often led to conflicts and violations of law. Thus, the Law on Property does not guarantee the owner’s right to free management of property, especially regarding real estate. Given the absence of a proper legal framework, with ambiguously formulated norms, few of the landowners decided to make long term investments, preferring activities that bring immediate profit. Another flaw in the laws in force were numerous norms of indexing to normative acts or to regulations through law-subordinating acts, a fact that lead to inefficiency and the instability of legal norms. A series of laws impose such tough conditions (Law on Bankruptcy, Fiscal Code) that non-observance became a rule. There is also a significant gap between the contents of the old Soviet-period laws, still valid, and more recent laws.

Some laws in the economic sphere do not correspond to legislative standards. Others comply only partially, which can be explained through the lack of the necessary means for

The adoption of a considerable number of laws during a relatively short period of time and the lack of appropriate legislative experience was apparent in the quality of the adopted legislation.

The court system reform created more favorable prerequisites for the protection of citizens' rights and liberties. But there are still many deficiencies in the activity of the courts.

their implementation. With the absence of a stable legal basis for resolving disputes within the population, including among entrepreneurs, disputes have become a long-term procedure in the courts. In these conditions the adoption of a new Civil Code is necessary as it would take priority over other legislative acts, and also over the Code of Civil Procedure and of the Execution Code.

Criminal law, as well as civil law, is marked by the existence of two aspects of the judicial and legal reform. There are unfinished reforms, on the one hand, and the implementation of imperfect norms, on the other. At the same time, we can conclude that the active criminal law does contain necessary norms for fighting organized crime and corruption as many modifications were made to the active criminal law, to the criminal code and the code of administrative sanctions. Even with all this, it is necessary to hasten the adoption of the new criminal code, sanctions code and code for criminal procedure.

The act on judicial and legal reform, approved by the Parliament, is the basis for the reorganization of the courts system and for the change in the statute regarding judges. In the Soviet system judging offices were organized into two levels and were supposed to report to a mixture of the parties and local administrations. According to the law on court organization, the system has been rearranged in a four-tiered system: district courts, area tribunals, judging institutions of the second level with the right to appeal, the Appeals Court, a judging body with the right of recourse, and the Supreme Court. Now in the Republic of Moldova there are 58 courts invested with 315 judges. It is worth mentioning that the tribunals' jurisdiction does not coincide with the borders of the territorial-administrative units, another criteria intended to avoid the influence of local administrative authorities over courts. At the same time, legislative acts were adopted that allowed the creation and activity of institutions related to justice, e.g., Notaries Public and a Bar Association.

To fulfill the act's provisions, and the constitutional norms, in the second half of the '90s a series of laws were adopted that changed the role, statute and structure of judging institutions and have likewise changed radically the selection and appointment procedure for the position of a judge. Thus, appointments, leaves and promotions of judges as well as the application of sanctions is in the competence of the Supreme Council of the Magistrate, created as a self-administrative body of judging. According to the provisions of the law on judges, the appointment, promotion and sanctioning of a judge are not within the competence of any political party or the local administration, as they were previously. These aspects of judges' functioning are only performed according to the proposals of the Supreme Council of the Magistrate through presidential decrees, or, in the case of courts, of the Supreme Court of Justice through the decision of the Parliament. Observance of these democratic standards protects judges from an eventual interference by other state authorities in the fulfillment of their prerogatives. The Constitutional Court has also voted in favor of a real independence of the courts, and through its decisions has reconfirmed the constitutional principle of an independent justice and has declared unconstitutional the procedure of carrying out justice by the executive power.

Thus, the court system reform created more favorable prerequisites for the protection of citizens' rights and liberties. To secure a more full-fledged provision of human rights the position of parliamentary advocates was introduced (1997).

Even though it does not make up part of the system of judging institutions, the role of the Constitutional Court, the unique authority of constitutional jurisdiction, is very important. It exercises control of constitutional validity of acts issued by the supreme legislative and executive bodies, interprets the Constitution, confirms the results of Republican referendums, of presidential and parliamentary elections, etc. The Constitutional Court has already adopted a number of important decisions that have an immediate effect over the protection of democratic principles. Citizens' right to assemble, the right to own private property and the right to free association have been confirmed.

Local self-administration is one of the directions taken towards the democratization of the state and society. A territorial-administrative reform that took place in 1999 – 2000 has consolidated statehood and has promoted constitutional principles of local autonomy, the

decentralization of public services, the eligibility for office of local public administrative authorities and of citizen consultation in matters of local interest. The legal basis for that includes: the law on local public administration, the law on the territorial-administrative organization of the Republic of Moldova, the law on statutes for the local elections and the law on local finances. Territorial-administrative reorganization was carried out on the basis of local elections in 1999 and has allowed the creation of new bodies of local self-administration invested with similar attributes of the same institutions in countries with a developed democracy. The reform is oriented towards a more efficient use of regional resources, human, natural and production resources, and at the same time the conclusion of the agrarian reform will serve as a new incentive to the development of the society.

The process of the state's consolidation and the development of democratic principles in the Republic of Moldova is in full swing. Success and the lack of success have been observed. But it is already obvious that in the Republic of Moldova state institutions are not sufficiently powerful to maintain transition's drive. The state was the initiator of reforms, including the reform of its own institutions and, in the population's opinion, must be responsible for their results. The population itself should support the efforts of the state. There are signs of the formation of civil society and NGO networks that there is a real possibility of involving the population in the process of solving problems most urgent for the consolidation of the culture of peace in the country. This raises hope.

4.2 Protecting Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

The basic principles of the Culture of Peace are: *tolerance, non-violence, dialogue, consent, co-operation*, i.e. such norms and values that exist in a civil society where obedience to the law is the foundation of behavior of each individual and of the society as a whole. The Programme of Actions adopted by the UN General Assembly (November 1998) in its Section for Specific Measures organized to support the development of the Culture of Peace at the national, regional and international levels, highlights the necessity to encourage human rights, including ombudsmen institutions in many countries of Southeastern Europe and the CIS. Developing these institutions can be considered as a beginning of this unification process.

The Center for Human Rights that has been operating in the Republic of Moldova since March 1998, when it was created in accordance with the Law on Ombudsmen. The main objectives of the Center are: to support ombudsmen activities in guaranteeing the observance of constitutional human rights and freedoms by the central and local public authorities, as well as by institutions, organizations and enterprises regardless of the type of property, by social organizations and officials at all levels, as well as in improving the legal framework with respect to human rights protection and enhancing law awareness among the population. Under the circumstances created after Moldova became an independent state, the task of consolidating and modernizing society is closely connected with the problem of ensuring and protecting human rights.

In the context of human rights the great importance of social problems (poverty, unemployment) connected with the ongoing economic crisis cannot be overlooked. The majority of the country's population is concerned not only for their own future but also for the future of their children and grandchildren. Aggravated by issues connected with the economic and social security of the population in Moldova today, the problem of human rights observance acquires a priority status in the activities of state authorities and agencies and requires a closer attention to the people's requests and needs. Bureaucracy, red tape and the infringement of office ethics must be firmly suppressed. Improving governance, the professional level of officials and the inculcation in them of respect for human rights and freedoms is a primary agenda. The strict observance of legal provisions in the sphere of human rights protection must become a basic requirement in the activities of officials at all levels, and first of all of those invested with power. The legal culture of officials ought to be developed and their sense of responsibility for any minor deviation from the law norms ought to be cultivated. Unfortunately, for many of those who are tasked today with upholding the law under the constitution, human rights is an alien concept to their understanding of law.

“Justitia est ars boni et aequi/ Law is the art of goodness and justice.”

Anonymous Latin

Ombudsmen of Moldova

The provision of human rights is a key to stability in social relations. The most critical problem in democratic societies is that of legal guarantees for the protection of the individual against illegitimate actions by state organs and officials. But the existence of laws on human rights protection is not always enough if they are not supported by other legal mechanisms. Therefore, the protection of human rights requires the formation of specific institutions. One of them is the institution of professional lawyers – ombudsmen. In the Republic of Moldova such an institution was formed in conformity with the March 1998 act on parliamentary lawyers and functions. Three parliamentary advocates (ombudsmen) are nominated by the Parliament for the term of 5 years. Equal rights and equal responsibilities are conferred on them while executing their plenary powers in accordance with the Constitution, with the law on parliamentary lawyers, other acts, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and pacts and international treaties as well. Ombudsmen are independent from organs of public authority and state officials.

The activity of the ombudsmen in Moldova is directed towards observing of constitutional rights and freedoms of a person by the central and local public authority organs, institutions and enterprises regardless of property form, social associations, and officials at all levels. Methods of the ombudsmen activity in the resolution of concrete citizens' appeals are quite different, including bringing an action in court institutions, making statements in Parliament and Government, and appealing to the Constitutional Court.

Besides the restoration of violated citizens' rights, the ombudsmen contribute to the improvement of national legislation in the field of human rights protection and the legal enlightenment of the population. They actively collaborate with the mass media institutions and NGOs.

Parliamentary advocates act in the framework of the Center of Human Rights. The Center presents to the Parliament a yearly report on the observation of human rights in Moldova. The report includes information on the most essential violations of rights and freedoms, on the areas of social relations where these violations took place, on what their causes are, and on what actions have been undertaken or must be undertaken in order to eliminate them.

Mihail Sidorov,
Lawyer

When one talks about the issues of ensuring and protecting human rights, one must account for the low legal culture of the citizens themselves. They are not used to defending their own rights, to using legal forms of court protection and petitioning to state agencies. This is largely due to a lack of confidence that any attempts to protect oneself against manifestations of anarchy are realistic, whilst the current state of apathy enables the creation of a favorable ground for legal chaos and the utmost vulnerability of a person and his/her rights. Therefore, the public consciousness must be invested with the idea that any person should be ready to fight for his/her rights as a manifestation of his/her civil duty. Active participation of the majority of citizens in the fight for order based on law is the most important and necessary precondition for creation of a democratic state with the rule of law.

These circumstances enhance the significance of developing the national legal framework to ensure human rights protection. Article 4 of the Moldovan Constitution stipulates the concept of improvement of the national legal framework and bringing it into conformity with the respective international standards. Based on this article, constitutional provisions on human rights and freedoms in Moldova are interpreted and applied in accordance with the UN General Declaration of Human Rights, pacts and other agreements to which Moldova is a party. It is essential that when there are conflicts between the pacts and agreements on the basic human rights, to which Moldova is a signatory, and the internal laws of the Republic, the international norms take precedence.

The basic provisions for human rights and freedoms are stipulated in Section II of the Constitution. The general principles for implementation of laws regulating the observance of human rights and freedoms are universality, equality, and free access to justice, among others. According to these principles, Moldovan citizens benefit from rights and freedoms stipulated in the Constitution and other laws, and have duties foreseen by the same laws. Respect for, and protection of, the individual is the state's primary duty. All citizens are equal before the law and authorities regardless of race, nationality, ethnic origin, language, religion, sex, political beliefs, confession, property status or social origin. Any person has the right to effective rehabilitation of his/her rights by the competent courts should his/her rights, freedoms and lawful interests be violated. There is a most important provision that no law can restrict access to justice. Significant are the provisions of Article 23 of the Constitution, according to which any person has the right to be regarded as a subject of law. The state ensures the right of any person to know his or her rights and duties. For this purpose the state publishes all the laws and other procedural acts and ensures their accessibility.

Nevertheless, one should mention that political and economic instability has a negative

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impact on solutions of problems of ensuring constitutional human rights and their protection. First of all, this instability makes it difficult to uphold the right to social insurance and protection stipulated in Article 47 of the Constitution, the right to work and labor protection (Art. 43), the right to health protection (Art. 36), the right to a favorable environment (Art. 37), the right to information (Art. 34). The state does not duly meet its commitments to protect family and orphans (Art. 49), the interests of mothers, children and youth (Art. 50), persons with physical, mental and psychic handicaps (Art. 51), among others.

An important event in ensuring human rights in Moldova was the ratification by the Parliament (July 1997) of the European Convention on Human Rights and Basic Freedoms. This was preceded by a study of compatibility of the Republican laws and provisions of the Convention. Following a study of the practice of the European Court for Human Rights and the European Committee for Human Rights, it was established that there were a number of inconsistencies between some provisions of the national laws and provisions of the Convention. The Parliament approved the Adjustment Programme of the Moldovan laws to the European Conventions for Human Rights and Basic Freedoms (Jan. 1998), which foresees respective amendments and additions to 22 procedural acts, including to a number of Constitutional Articles.

Moreover, in order to enlarge the lawful basis and ensure effective observance of human rights in certain domains, which are not covered by the active legislation or regulated only through institutional or obsolete procedures, it was suggested to draft such laws that would regulate separate important issues related to the observance of human rights, such as the protection of personal information, matters concerning the right to asylum, etc. To implement the above-mentioned parliamentary Resolution, the Government drafted amendments to Articles 24, 25, 30, 32, 54 and 55 of the Moldovan Constitution. Along with the Decision by the Constitutional Court, the draft constitutional laws were submitted to the Parliament. So far, however, they have not been considered. Nevertheless, in order to adjust the active legislation to the provisions of the Convention, the Law on Amendments and Additions to Certain Legislative Acts was adopted. In particular, the Penal Code was amended with a separate norm defining torture and determining responsibility for committing such acts. It also abolishes responsibility for non-observance of the due order of residence registration, travel and selection of the residence place, infringement of residence permit rules and, namely, the fact of having no such permit. The Penal Procedural Code is completed with a provision stating that expenses for lawyers appointed at stages of inquest, preliminary investigation and court examination are to be assumed by the budget. According to the amendments introduced to the Penal Correctional Code, nubile convicts have the right to marry in conformity with the active legislation. The Code of Marriage and Family is completed with a provision stipulating the possibility for parents deprived of parental rights to see their children. Important provisions have been included in the Law on Cults. These new provisions foresee that realisation of any person's freedom of confession or beliefs can be limited by the law only should it be a necessary measure for a democratic society to ensure social peace, protection of social order, health and morality, or protection of other persons' rights and freedoms. The Law on Religious Practice stipulates that public authorities create the necessary conditions for the availability of religious practice in the army, hospitals, penitentiary institutions and orphanages.

It should be mentioned, however, that some provisions of the Adjustment Programme of the Moldovan Laws to the Convention on Human Rights, which suggest the democratisation of certain institutions of state power and administration, as well as those aimed at the extension of rights of certain groups of people, have not been implemented so far. Among these is, for instance, the introduction to the Penal Correctional legislation of provisions, which foresee transfer to a penalty cell, placement into a punishment cell, transfer of prisoners to a premise of the cell type, solitary cells and the holding of convicted soldiers in strictly isolated premises on the basis of a resolution of the competent court or a judge, made upon a proposal by the administration of a penitentiary institution or another place of imprisonment.

Some provisions of the programme of harmonizing Moldovan laws with the Convention of Human Rights, which envisage the democratization of certain institutions of the state power, as well as those aimed at ensuring rights of certain population groups, have not been implemented so far.

Moldova is one of the first NIS countries that established a new rights-protecting institution – the institution of ombudsman (parliamentary advocate). The Center for Human Rights has been operating in the country since March 1998.

Unfortunately, so far there is no legal background for a very important, from the viewpoint of guaranteeing human rights, proposal to complete the Law on the Constitutional Court with the provisions enabling private individuals to address the Constitutional Court – the only entity of constitutional jurisdiction in the Republic of Moldova. Still unresolved is the issue of the legal status of refugees and displaced persons, although the Centre for Human Rights in Moldova developed the respective draft laws and submitted them to the Parliament (1999).

Serious efforts are required to carry out work aimed at the enhancement of the legal culture of citizens and officials, which will enable the creation of an environment of respect for an individual's dignity in society. This is a cardinal problem in our state, which has seen clear demonstrations of the law negation and a disdainful attitude to the law over the last years. One of the practical steps in this direction could be the development of a national plan of activities in human rights education. As is known, the UN General Assembly declared 1995-2004 a Decade of Human Rights Education and approved the Secretary General's Plan of Actions for this period. This plan is aimed at encouraging and supporting activities and initiatives in this field at the national and regional levels and is based on the idea of partnership between the state authorities, trade unions, non-governmental organisations and broad circles of civil society.

Human rights education must contribute to the mutual understanding, tolerance, real equality of men and women, friendship between peoples, and must help enable all people to actively participate in the life of a free society. It must be focused on the observance of human rights and enable both a reduction in the number of human rights infringements and the construction of a fair and democratic society.

The respective national plan of actions is very important for the Republic of Moldova, and first of all due to the fact that it pursues the purposes of creation and enhancement of national and local institutions and organizations involved in ensuring and protecting human rights. Moldova is one of the first NIS countries that established a new rights-protecting institution – the institution of ombudsmen (parliamentary advocates) – two years ago. The institution is going through a difficult period of development these days and sustaining a lot of problems on its way.

The national plan for Moldova mentioned measures aimed at creating special programmes for the encouragement and protection of human rights, which would correspond to the recommendations of the World Conference on Human Rights (1993), extending possibilities for cooperation between governmental agencies, NGOs and other institutions of civil society in human rights related educational activities.

The first step in developing a national plan of actions must be the creation of a committee for human rights education. This committee must have representatives of the respective governmental institutions and NGOs experienced in solving problems concerning human rights. It should be mentioned that the Center for Human Rights in Moldova submitted a respective proposal to the Government in June 1998 (on the need to establish a Republican Committee and develop a National Plan of Actions for human rights education). Unfortunately, it was not supported because of the lack of funds required to run such an institution. In view of this situation, and taking into account the need to find new ways to solve above discussed problem, the Committee for Human Rights Education may be created within the Center for Human Rights, and be authorized to coordinate activities of the respective public agencies and authorities.

While fulfilling its assumed tasks of propagating legal awareness, the Center for Human Rights does a huge work, organizing training seminars with various groups of population. It has carried out several dozens of such activities with the local public administration officers, teachers, lawyers. A number of seminars on human rights issues will be soon conducted for the officers of the police and penitentiary institutions. Special attention is paid to conducting public awareness events in various regions of the country, in different towns, municipalities and county centers. Famous scholars, lawyers, sociologists, teachers and experts in other humanitarian disciplines, including foreign specialists in human rights protection participate

in them. During the seminars publications on human rights protection are disseminated among the participants; those who wish can get advice on any matter of their interest.

The Center attached particular importance to the work with non-governmental rights protection organizations since they represent that very group of the population which often volunteers to explain laws and citizens' rights and has a significant influence on fostering an attitude of confidence in each other, mutual respect and consent among the citizens. It is very encouraging that young people, students first of all, take the most active part in the activities of NGOs. That is why, the Centre for Human Rights holds annual students' scientific and practical conferences, which help involve the most talented young people in rights-protection activities.

The Culture of Peace in its essence contains a large variety of behavioral types and lifestyles, yet they all reflect as one of the necessary conditions the promotion and protection of human rights. Only a strict observance of rights and freedoms of any citizen can fulfill society's aspiration for the creation of a democratic state with the rule of law, in which a free development of the human personality is considered the highest value and is guaranteed.

4.3 The Rights of Women

The notion of "women in development" appeared in the '70s as an acknowledgement of the important role women play in the human development process. The term "gender in development" crystallized in the '80s as a result of the objective need of equality between men and women in the social, economic and political areas, being a measure of the achievements of the human civilization. In this context, if the role of sexes is marked by biological and universal phenomena, the notion of gender encompasses the cultural, social and political-economic factors, which vary in a very broad area.

In the '90s, the United Nations began a new cycle of programmes. In that framework the major focus was given to the issue of gender equality, to the improvement of the social status of women and the creation of equal opportunities for women and men, the exploration of the individual potential and the achievement of a real equality between representatives of both sexes. These principles constitute the basis of modern society.

The United Nations in its actions proceeds from the fact that two sexes exist in an objective way, which determines their different biosocial valence, realities and needs. This very truth, in turn, requires the compulsory consideration of these differences in case of the elaboration and implementation of the strategies (economic, political, social, cultural and reproductive), which have a crucial impact on the relationship between men and women as

"The morality of a nation depends on the respect to the woman... Women, in fact, are closer to the human ideal than men."

Wilhelm Humboldt (1767 – 1835),
German philosopher

Box 4.2

United Nations Programs "Women in Development" and "Gender in Development".		
	<i>"Women in Development"</i>	<i>"Gender in Development"</i>
Approach	Assisting the integration of women in the development process.	Assisting women in taking decisions at all levels and in the strengthening of the equality between women and men in the society.
Focus of attention	Women	Relationship between women and men
Problems	Exclusion of women from the development process	The relation of unequal forces between women and men that impede the development based on equal rights and active participation of women
Goal	A more efficient and viable development	Fair and sustainable development. Equal premises in rights for women and men in the adoption of decisions.
Strategy	Women's projects. Women's contribution to the integration processes. Integration projects. Increase in the number of women involved in the production and generation of income.	Identification of needs and the improvement of the equal opportunities offered for a long term to both women and men, aimed at achieving their plans.
* Source: <i>Programming through the Lens of Gender, UNDP, "GID", Vilnius-Bratislava, 1998</i>		

Women in Medieval Moldovan Society

According to some older traditions, women in Moldova, starting in the 14th - 15th centuries, enjoyed many of the same rights accorded to men. One fundamental right was the ability to *inherit, master, sell and purchase, transmit as legacy or give various immovable assets* (estates, agrarian land, woods, vineyards, mills, bee gardens, etc.) and mobile ones (cattle, horses, sheep, etc.). This circumstance led to the situation when for many centuries in Moldova, both in the medieval and modern epochs, women have played a rather important role in the social-economic and spiritual-cultural life as compared to that in many other countries where women were deprived of such rights. Thus, for example, if in a family of Moldovan nobles there were children of both sexes, on the occasion of their marriage or the parents' death the wealth was shared amongst all descendants, whereas in other countries heirs could be only the sons.

Because of this right, women in the upper classes of medieval Moldova often sought *education*, so that way they could more easily preserve and manage their property since all the estates mentioned above were confirmed based on written documents. Many of these women possessed and presented manuscripts and printed books. Monasteries and churches were erected and renewed through their patronage.

In certain circumstances, the women were *entitled to divorce*.

Some women, particularly those of the nobility played an important role in the political life of the country. In some cases they influenced the course of events with regard to enthroning or dethroning some princes. Through marriages of princes' daughters with other nobles, international political alliances were concluded, and many foreign alignments were made.

Andrei Eșanu,
Historian

The creation of the state system for the support and promotion of women is now being completed.

indispensable and inherent characters of the social and family life. Such an interpretation of the notion "gender" reflects the fact that after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995), the world moved from the female ideology to that of gender and from conflicts caused by differences in sexes to social partnership.

The Republic of Moldova, by ratifying the Conventions on Women's Political Rights (April 1993) and the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (July 1993), expressed its agreement to the principles included in these documents and has undertaken concrete measures for their realization. Currently, the state system for the support and promotion of women is under finalization, and includes:

- The Commission for the Problems of Women and Family under the President of the Republic of Moldova (May 1999);
- The Sub-Commission for Equal Opportunities within the Commission for Human Rights in the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova (1998);
- The Commission for Women's Problems, a consulting and coordinating body, created under the Government (February 1999);
- The Gender Unit within the Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family (1997);
- Gender focal points in all Ministries, created through the Decision of the Government (April 1999);
- Gender focal points in local administration have to be created according to the Law on Local Public Administration (1998).

Taking into consideration the fact that the recognition and protection of woman's role are crucial for the creation of a political framework in favor of equality, the Action Plan on the improvement of woman's situation and its role in society, approved through the Decision of the Government (Jan. 1998), stipulates as one of its activities "The Institutional System for the Coordination of the Policy on the Promotion of Women in Public Life."

Government and NGOs' networking in their actions proceed from the fact that time dictates new conditions and involves new forms of understanding of the role of woman in the society. The level of civilization of the country is estimated according to the woman's situation in the society, the way woman's rights are promoted, the degree of participation of women in the settlement of the most important political and social problems, their role in governing the state, and the level of the implementation of the rights of women.

The Moldovan Action Plan aims at promoting a policy able to ensure and guarantee the equality of all members of the society and specifies the following major objectives:

- Monitoring of the current situation of women in the society;
- Creation and further development of the institutional system for the coordination of the policy on woman's promotion;
- Ensuring social-economic rights of women;
- Improvement of the social protection system of women;
- Protection of woman's health care and provision of family planning services;
- Prevention and liquidation of violence against women.

Thus, the first steps have been undertaken. But the situation of woman is still uncertain. According to investigations realized by "Socio-Moldova" (1999) 84% of women declared that they had no confidence in the next day, 78% considered that rights of women were not observed in our country, 75% claimed that women of the Republic of Moldova did not occupy a well-deserved position in society, 75% of those interviewed expressed the opinion that representatives of the female sex are not respected. Asked whether the interests of women are protected at the state level, 71.5% of those interviewed answered: "Insufficiently" or "Not protected." Many women rely on the state's support in the creation of their own well being, trusting less their own capability. The political activity of women in the governing structures and their promotion to decision-making positions is limited. In this context, the problem of the elaboration of long-term strategies and social technologies for promoting woman's status in the society and the creation of a gender balance is still a burning issue.

Women and Decision-Making in the Republic of Moldova. Prior to the discussion of the issue of the integration of Moldovan women into the political process, it would be good to examine how women are involved organically in the field traditionally considered for men.

It is known that politics is not limited to power structures and institutions. Any issue pertaining to the social-economic, legal or national interests of the people bears a political character. Politics is formed mainly in the daily life, in norms of social behavior and in the context of the relationship between people and power. Politics penetrates in all the "pores" of the society and is parallel with the informational flow. It takes place where changes in the consciousness and vital conditions of people occur, where opinions are formed, where the will is being crystallized, interests are defended and power is exerted.

In other words, every individual, even one who is not involved in politics per se, is captured by it, taking a certain civic attitude towards various problems. From this viewpoint, everyone takes part in the political life of the society. In this context, the role of woman in politics is an important one.

<i>Table 4.1 The Dynamics of Women's Promotion to the State Posts, %</i>										
Name of the body	Year									
	1980		1985		1990		1996		1999	
The Supreme Soviet of the USSR	30.2		32.6							
The Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan SSR	36.3		36.3		36					
Parliament of the R. Moldova					3.8		4.9		8.9	
Local authorities	49.8		50.4		35		39.2		9.7	
Mayors					13		10.3		8.74	

<i>Table 4.2 Women in the Government and Judiciary</i>										
Post	1980		1990		1994		1996		1999	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Ministers	30	3	13	1	20	-	17	-	15	1
Vice-ministers	78	6	86	6	54	3	55	2	45	8
Heads of departments	48	-	59	1	55	2	10	1	10	2
Supreme judicial bodies	26	11	44	13	36	7	36	7	15	5

Source: Bulletin of the Center of Information and Documentation of the Council of Europe in Moldova, 1999, No. 3-4

About 80% of women state that they have no confidence in the coming day.

**Women are still
insufficiently represented
in the central and local
administrations.**

**Unemployment, poverty
and other social
problems particularly
affect women.**

As can be seen, in the '90s a reduction in the participation of women in the decision-making bodies took place. At the same time, this process had a tendency to decrease in its intensity. If the women's presence in the decisional bodies constituted on average 33.3 % in the elective bodies (not commented upon is the fact that this representation was in the past purely formal and had a propaganda character), then in the '90s this presence reached the minimal share of 3.8 in the Parliament, increasing to 8.9% in 1998. Mass participation of women in the judicial bodies now constitutes 30% of the number of judges of the Supreme Court of Justice. Women are still insufficiently represented in local administrations as indicated by the results of recent local elections (1999): municipal mayors: men – 38, women – 0; mayors of communities: men – 758, women – 93.

Feminization of social problems. The economic depression has affected seriously the entire population of the Republic of Moldova, and in particular, women, children and old people.

The situation of the families in the country from the economic point of view is as follows: rich - 0.7%; well ensured - 10.7%; less ensured - 54.6%; almost poor - 25.6% and very poor - 8.4% (Source: HBS, 1999). Recently, a lot has been said about the "feminization of poverty." The phrase includes the social perception of the fact that women bear the biggest burden of unemployment as compared to men and head greater number of single-parent families, in which the woman is the main source of income. Moldovan women assert that they still look to tradition and share that social mentality in promoting equal opportunities for both men and women: 40.96% of women distribute the family budget; in 41.83% of the families the woman is concerned with children's education; 65.83% of women have to shop for groceries, although they believe that this a commitment of both spouses.

At the same time, 28.88% of women state that their jobs offer them the possibility of promotion; 50% have a chance to receive professional affirmation; 53.26% state that they can have decision-making power. Only 37.44% believe that they have chances to improve professionally.

Traditionally women preferred education in the humanities, pedagogy and linguistics with modern languages prevailing. In recent years an increasing number of young women started to study economics and law, the latter having been traditionally the preferred field of men. However, the gap between the number of men and women in the humanities and natural sciences is one of the reasons for the so-called "feminization" of certain fields. According to the "Opinia" polling service, on average only 1 out of 10 higher-educated female graduates finds a job. Thus, very few of the young educated professionals follow a career, manage companies or institutions, get promoted, etc. Only 4% of the higher-education female graduates are self-described as successful.

Having the same professional training as men, three-quarters of women enter work for which they are well qualified, their salary constituting 70-80% that of men. In fact, the working day of women has a double intensity, sometime triple, if her family duties and the needs for additional income for supporting children and family are also taken in consideration. The majority of women have a smaller pension than men.

Unemployment, poverty and other social vulnerabilities also affect women. According to the ILO estimates (1999), women constitute 40% of the overall number of the unemployed. In reality, this figure is even higher given that statistics reflect only the number of the unemployed registered at the Employment Department. Latent unemployment cannot be taken into account.

A positive aspect of the development of entrepreneurship on the territory of the Republic of Moldova is the process of increasing the number of entrepreneurs among women. Their involvement in entrepreneurial activities represents a special alternative to the unpaid housework and unemployment. This is a historic opportunity for women to manifest their skills and maintain social equality and partnership with men.

According to “Small and Medium Enterprises Baseline Survey” (USAID, CISR, 2000), 45.9% out of the total persons employed in the SME sector (704.7 thou persons) are women. By way of contrast with employment, the share of female-owned enterprises is much smaller: only 29.8% of women own more than a half of the property of an enterprise.

Thus, difficult social consequences of the economic decline impacted both men and women. Despite expectations, the transition to democracy and market economy did not imply that a high share of women would prefer to remain “happy housewives.” The share of women in politics shrinks. Their share in the labor force did not diminish. The situation of women on the labor market is worsening, pushing women out from the job market requiring higher education, skills, and intellectual work.

Prevention of violence. The problem of violence against women is one of the utmost and crucial importance. According to some reports, women in the Republic of Moldova face all types of violence, in particular, the traditional ones: verbal aggression (15%), economic violence (15%), fear (13%), psychological abuse (11%), threats (8%), physical violence (6%). (From the data of the Presidential Commission for the Problems of Women and Family, “Ten Plus”, 1999, No.3).

Women’s rights are an integral part of the fundamental human rights. The Constitution of the Republic of Moldova stipulates explicitly the protection of the individual in accordance with the human rights principles; it guarantees the right to life as well as the right to physical and psychological integration of the individual; stipulates that nobody can be exposed to torture or any cruel, inhuman or debasing punishment and treatment. These constitutional stipulations, as well as those included in the Penal Code, Code of Penal Procedure and other special laws promote the right to protection against any forms of violence, including committed in the family. Unfortunately, despite all efforts, the level of family violence is alarming. It is widespread, being worsened by the social-economic problems encountered by citizens together with any additional personal reasons like stress, alcohol consumption, mental disease, frustration, low level of education and culture.

Trafficking of women is growing under the condition of mass pauperization and the impossibility for many women to earn a living. Prostitution and trafficking is a new problem. This social vice is spreading very rapidly. In 1997 the police registered 151 persons practicing prostitution; in 1998 - 241 persons, and in 1999 – more than 400. But the real state of affairs is much worse. In Turkey alone, according to police information, 670 women from Moldova were detained for practicing prostitution.

In the attempt to prevent and exclude violence against women, as a result of the Beijing Conference, the Government of Moldova stipulated the following objectives in its activity:

- The organization of a complex system for training social employees, the respective staff from the health care system, education and legal bodies on the work with women exposed to violence
Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family; Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport; local public administration.
- Current analysis of the cases pertaining to the violence against women and child
Ministry of Internal Affairs; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family.
- The initiation of a series of programmes and publications on the non-admission of propaganda of violence, pornography, other materials that affect the woman’s dignity.
The State Company “Teleradio-Moldova”, local public administration bodies.

Experience has shown that the struggle to eliminate violence is usually initiated by women’s associations and NGOs. In the Republic of Moldova, there are about 40 women’s NGOs. But

The level of violence against women is alarming. Prostitution and women trafficking constitute a new problem.

**Moldovan women
very actively support
the development of civil
society and the
collaboration between
women organizations and
mass media.**

the Forum of the Women's Associations of the Republic of Moldova includes more than 100 similar local organizations, of which not all are registered legally and some are at the initial stage of their activity. Among the most active, there are the Association of Women from Moldova, "Femeia azi" (Woman Today), "Initiativa civica" (Civic Initiative), "Imperativ", Family Planning Association, etc. The major task of the National Council of Women and its partners is to protect women against violence.

On the Way to Social Partnership. One of the main goals in the process of democratization of Moldovan society is the re-evaluation of national policy on woman's status in society. A good impetus for that was World Women's Conference in Beijing in which participated representatives of Moldovan NGOs, including Democratic-Christian League of Women and Women's Association also took part. Having stressed concrete objectives, the Conference highlighted the importance of the decisive involvement of both NGOs and government structures in their achievement. The collaboration between these two sectors was considered a fundamental condition for the success.

Moldovan society is still dominated by the old stereotype, according to which NGOs have to provide just services. This generated a negative reaction from the power structures towards the new status of NGOs and nostalgia for the paternal coordination of their activity. There is also an increased interest in them only during the election campaigns.

As far as women's NGOs are concerned, the situation is even more complicated given that this type of organization is associated in the idea of feminism, in particular, and with the extremist manifestations of the respective movement. In saying "a woman active in the social field," many people imagine, with a certain irony, the former councils of women from Soviet times. In line with this, many women's organizations have set the following goals: distribution of information about the new status and role of the public sector; increasing public awareness in the legal field, lobbying for the initiatives formulated by women (which are, in fact, general human), discussions on the national legal projects and their expertise from the point of view of gender equality; research in the field of gender, the elaboration and organization of special courses on gender issues.

Moldovan women are very much interested in the promotion of democracy given that they have a limited access to the decision-making processes. Women support very actively the civil society and this is very important for many reasons. In particular, the democratization is not possible without the support of the civil society given that modern nations are based on the three pillars, namely the industrial system, the market and the civil society; since the participation of women in the state and economic structures is limited, an efficient way to take part in the social life and advance in the power hierarchy is in the third sector (the public organizations) in collaboration with the fourth sector - mass media. Should the collaboration between women's organizations and mass media not be successful, that would point out weaknesses related to: the lack of an organizational structure in women's movements in the form of programmes of activities; lack of a systematic education in fighting for women's rights; women's stereotypical way of thinking about their "secondary" role in the society; traditional attitude of the society towards the subordinated role of woman.

Civil society is strengthening the areas of moral education via women's media organizations. They represent not only the associations of free people but also groups who work together for a better future of all people. It is worth mentioning that despite all the difficulties faced by the Republic of Moldova now, the profession of a journalist attracts graduates of lyceums and schools. Currently, the Faculty of Journalism of the State University of Moldova has 526 students, out of which 454 are women and only 72 men. Such proportion has its own explanations. Taking into consideration the fact that the profession of a journalist is less well paid, men prefer professions with greater perspectives from the point of view of remuneration.

neration. While for women it represents an opportunity to provide themselves with more freedom.

Similarly or even better than their male colleagues, women journalists may explain economic, political and social aspects of life as they pertain to women as they may share a deeper understanding of women's issues.

The number of serious publications and programmes on women's issues has not increased nor has their quality improved. The attempts to create new editions of women's movements – "Zercalo", "Cartier", and etc. have failed. The only magazine for women "Femeia Moldovei" (Woman of Moldova) is in a critical situation. There are many reasons, the main one being the economic crisis in the country.

Women's associations and their leaders have taken responsibility for the democratization of the society, crystallizing in people's minds the importance of democratization, explaining the need to reach a higher level of civic activism and to participate in the social life and governance of the state. This is very hard work taking into account the inert character of civic thinking and the obstacles created by those who have not yet given up the old models of authoritarian leadership.

Having participated in regional and international meetings, Moldovan women are learning how to find their way in the labyrinth of the difficult political issues. Given the amorphous political parties in Moldova which often jump from the left to the right and the fact that people have not realized yet that parties should not be created just on the principle of the fight for power by any means but should instead be based on cohesive programmes around a set of ideas, ready to defend their principles and being obliged to, first of all, to aim for the good of the country, the tendency of women in Moldova is to stay away from the political parties and explore their potential in the fields that would influence more effectively state policy rather than the parties of the post-Soviet period. This attitude is fully justified and legal.

Thus, today's realities pertaining to the expression: "The world is man's house and the house is woman's world" may have negative repercussions for both men and women. Looking back at the past 10 years of transition and hard times, the stoicism of Moldovan women is worth respect. It is clear that any detail of an individual's socialization can be exposed to gender analysis. Although gender flexibility depends on the place, time and nation, women in the Republic of Moldova try to have an impact on the social life of the country. They have gathered in a number of NGOs, which are being consolidated, and play a considerable role in the social life of the country.

**Moldovan women
are learning how
to find their way
in the labyrinth
of the political life.**

Chapter 5

Socio-Economic Problems and Policies

5.1 Contradictions of the Transition Economy

*“The market opens
the eyes.”*

Moldovan proverb

The culture of peace cannot be ensured without a sound economic basis in the country, one which would guarantee the population their basic rights and freedoms. It has now been ten years since the Republic of Moldova, amongst other Central and East European (CEE) nations and countries of the former Soviet Union (FSU), adopted the course towards the transformation of its political and economic systems. Then — a decade ago — the principal goal of reform efforts was to ensure the transition from an authoritarian political system and centrally planned economy to a democratic state with a market economy and civil society.

The dual transition to democracy and to a market economy has made the situation in Moldova especially complex, particularly regarding economic growth and sustainable development. This ongoing process is guided by and based on respect for human rights, transparent, representative and accountable governance, the rule of law and civil peace. So far, these efforts have produced only partial and mixed success. In the late '90s, only Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia had higher output levels relative to the year 1989 – or the last pre-transition year. On average, CEE countries have recovered at least 90% of their measured output relative to the pre-transition year of 1989, while the corresponding figures for FSU countries are about 60% to 70% (See Table 5.1). Social and economic performance amongst the transition countries of CEE and FSU has varied substantially. But now, ten years later, in all these countries including Moldova questions are being raised on the matters concerning both the transition strategy and the political factors that determine the choice of the economic policy.

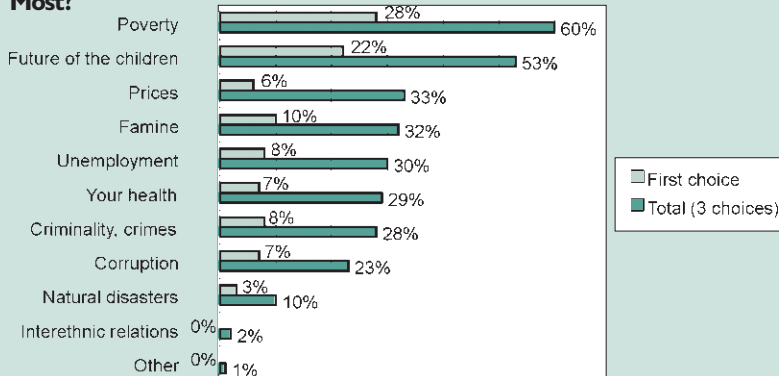
Most of the positive results are in the area of economic and political freedoms – openness of the country, democratization of public life (multi-party elections, freedom of religion, mass-media, NGOs, etc.), liberalization of prices, enterprise operations, internal and external trade, etc. The social costs of the transition, on the other hand, have been dramatic: reduction of the country's resources for education and health services, a sharp rise in the discrepancy between incomes, spread of poverty, growth of corruption and organized crime. In such a situation the transition has brought a great deal of disappointment to the population, and this has contributed but to the narrowing of the social base of support for reforms.

As common sense goes, all reforms are designed for the better. At the beginning of the '90s, economic reforms in the CEE region were aligned with neo-liberal economic

thought and included three main components: economic liberalization (price liberalization and liberalization of trade and enterprise activity), privatization and macro-economic stabilization. Albeit each with individual result depending on the country's background conditions (i.e. level of overall development, structure of the economy, national specifics of life, etc.), practically all countries in transition, including Moldova, had fulfilled these tasks by the mid-90's. Yet, the

Box 5.1

Opinion Poll: What Are the Problems You Are Worried About the Most?



Source: Barometrul de Opinie Publică – 2000, IMAS, Chişinău, 2000

miracle was not to occur. Despite the differences in methods of implementation of the reform strategy based on the neo-liberal approach, they have not brought about significant improvements in the real sector of the economy and seriously affected the living standards in nearly all countries of the region.

Table 5.1. **Transition Economies: Output Performance**

Country	Cumulative output decline (1989=100)	Year in which output was lowest	Cumulative output growth since lowest level	Year in which output was highest	Ratio of output in 1998 to output in 1989
Albania	39.9	1992	43.0	1989	0.96
Armenia	65.1	1993	29.7	1989	0.53
Azerbaijan	63.1	1995	17.8	1989	0.50
Belarus	36.9	1995	24.0	1989	0.81
Bulgaria	36.8	1997	4.0	1989	0.72
Croatia	37.7	1993	30.8	1989	0.82
Czech R.	15.4	1992	12.8	1989	0.97
Estonia	36.4	1994	25.7	1989	0.89
Georgia	74.6	1994	30.6	1989	0.48
Hungary	18.1	1993	16.3	1989	0.95
Kazakhstan	40.0	1998	0.0	1989	0.69
Kyrgyz R.	50.4	1995	20.1	1989	0.66
Latvia	52.8	1993	17.0	1989	0.64
Lithuania	40.8	1994	19.8	1990	0.71
Macedonia, FYR	46.6	1995	7.4	1989	0.57
Moldova	66.3	1998	0.0	1989	0.42
Poland	13.6	1991	42.6	1998	1.23
Romania	26.7	1992	3.4	1989	0.82
Russia	45.1	1998	0.0	1989	0.61
Slovak R.	24.7	1993	32.9	1998	1.00
Slovenia	20.4	1992	25.4	1989	1.00
Tajikistan	74.0	1996	7.1	1989	0.45
Turkmenistan	59.5	1997	4.5	1989	0.45
Ukraine	63.8	1997	0.8	1989	0.42
Uzbekistan	14.4	1995	7.0	1990	0.88
All Transition Countries	41.8	1993	17.0	1989	0.7
All CEE	28.0	1992	21.9	1989	0.9
Baltics	21.6	1994	20.8	1989	0.7
Other FSU countries	37.5	1995	11.8	1989	0.6

Sources: IMF Database incorporating national statistics, World Economic Outlook, 1999.

It should be stated that *during all these years the social aspects of reforms were constantly neglected as a secondary priority.* Efforts in the social sector have customarily been of a fragmentary nature. According to World Bank estimates, the number of people in CEE and FSU countries living on less than 4 dollars per day rose from 14 million in 1989 to 147 million in the mid-1990s. By some estimates, in Moldova, about 66% of the population

After ten years of reforms the Republic of Moldova has come close to democracy in terms of the state institutions, public pluralism and individual liberties. However, the economic results of reforms are, unfortunately, very poor.

The social costs
of transition are
reflected in the country's
indicators of human
development.

lives below the poverty line, while the most affluent enjoy 50.3% of national income and the poorest 20% are left with only 3.4% (1998).

As in the countries of Latin America and Africa, rapidly growing foreign debt has become another common problem for the CEE and FSU countries. By the end of 1999, Moldova's external debt stands at about US \$1 billion – or over 90% of GDP — and the possibility for default may become a reality.

All transition countries employed identical methods of the reform recommended from abroad. Should it not lead to the conclusion that while sharing in the benefits of transition of some countries, Western nations should also take part of the responsibility for failures of the others?

In this respect, the remark made by Mr. James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, is well worth noting: "It is that if you want to have stable growth, then it is important to deal with the social and poverty issues, because if you do not deal with the social and poverty issues and structural issues attendant to it, then you find that your growth is not stable. You have social and other eruption in society."¹⁴

Radical criticism of the neo-liberal model and its social implications for transition countries can be found in the UNDP's 1999 Human Development Report for CCE and CIS countries: "Before the 1990s, countries of Central and Eastern Europe and CIS were notable for providing their population with a high degree of basic security.... The transition period has drastically altered this situation."¹⁵ More criticism is also voiced within the Republic of Moldova concerning the social consequences of transition.¹⁶ Such criticism is well supported by factual evidence. In the past decade, there has been a considerable worsening of all indicators of living conditions. In 1999, the Human Development Index (HDI) for the Republic of Moldova, according to the estimates of the Department of Statistical Analysis and Sociology, was equal to 0.698 (in 1993 it was 0.718). The main components of HDI for Moldova in 1999 are: gross domestic product per capita at purchasing power parity – US\$ 2,033; life expectancy at birth – 67.4 years; adult literacy rate – 96.4%. The Republic of Moldova, in spite of the worsening of HDI in the last years, still remains within the group of states with a "medium level of human development." Among 174 countries included in the UN rating list (Human Development Report 2000), Moldova is situated at the 102nd place, having as neighbors Albania, Tunisia, Algeria, El Salvador, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and other developing countries.

The transition has brought a great deal of disappointment. In Moldova, as in the majority of countries in transition, the social costs of market transformation turned out to be significantly greater than originally assumed by the Moldovan reform designers. This has contributed but to the narrowing of the social base of support for reforms. It appears that yet another attempt (repeated in the same part of the world!) to deliver to the people a 'brighter future' through forceful measures proved ineffective. How does one explain what happened? There exist various explanations. One admits that the theory is viable, but implementation is often weak or erroneous. Another explanation points to differences in nations' backgrounds, people's mentality, etc. However, one of the most plausible explanations of failures of the transition period lies in the weakening of the role of the state, lack of consistency and coordination among different political, economic and legal institutions (or the so-called "institutional weakness"). No matter how paradoxical it may seem, both experts and critics of transition reforms support this explanation. The state and its institutions stepped forward as initiators of reforms. However, most of the transition countries, including Moldova, were in the beginning under the illusion that it was possible to effectively combine, during the transition period, socialist paternalism (statism) with market self-regulation.

The weakness of the state and the low level of political consent in Moldovan society did not permit the required regulatory role of the state in implementing reforms. In particular, state systems, undergoing a deep crisis, proved incapable of initiating timely structural re-

¹⁴ IMF Institute Conference on Second Generation Reforms, Washington, D.C., 1999.

¹⁵ Human Development Report for Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS, UNDP, 1999.

¹⁶ "Transition and Human Security", National Human Development Report, UNDP Moldova, 1999; P. Ronnas, N. Orlova, "Twice Hit – Badly Wounded: The Devastating Cost of an Inadequate Transformation in Moldova", SIDA 1999.

forms, of collecting taxes as needed and of ensuring budgetary support of the poor strata of the population.

Since crises usually aggravate inequality, the Government should have stimulated private sector development to function as a shock absorber for unemployment, should have reorganized the system of social assistance and should have undertaken measures in order to protect the poorest from economic shocks. Thus far this has not happened.

Table 5.2 Main Macroeconomic Indicators for the Republic of Moldova

Population (1999) : 3.6 mil*	Population growth rate (1994-2000): -0.3% p.a.					
PIB(2000 f): 1.28 bln USD	GDP per head at market exchange rates (2000 f) : USD 350					
	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000 f
Real GDP growth (%)	-1.4	-5.9	1.6	-6.5	-4.4	0.0
Unemployment (% of labor force)**	1.4	1.5	1.5	7.7	39.3	31.3
Average inflation rate	30.2	23.5	11.8	7.7	39.3	31.3
Consumption/GDP (%)	82.9	94.3	97.4	100.9	87.8	95.8
Budget deficit/GDP (%)	-6.7	-7.6	-7.8	-3.3	-3.2	-4.1
Broad money change, % (end of year)	66	15.6	34	-9	42.7	39.8
External state debt, USD mil.	825.7	1040.9	1216.7	1360.1	1344.7	1330
External state debt/GDP (%)	57.2	62.5	63.0	80.5	116.0	103.7
Exchange rate average (MDL/USD\$)	4.49	4.59	4.63	5.38	10.52	12.40

* Excluding Transnistria;
 ** Up to 1998 - inregistered unemployment, from 1998 - according to ILO methodology
 Source : Government of Moldova, NBM

According to the "SME Baseline Survey" (NewBiznet/USAID, CISR, 2000), the environment for business in Moldova is unfavorable. It can be observed in the uncomfortable aspect of the legal framework and regulatory methods (regulation, licensing, taxes and inspection), the unfavorable climate for investments, the limited access to bank credits, and weakness of business infrastructure. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of Moldova's SME sector is a part of the "shadow economy."

Disappointment was generated also by the property reform, based on rapid mass-privatization by vouchers, oriented towards granting everybody "equal starting opportunities." In reality, it did little more than turn poor-quality assets over to a large number of poor owners and channel high-quality assets to the "agile and connected."

The populist privatization method and slow pace of reforms in the agro-industrial sector (a key sector of the national economy) did not facilitate the turnover to efficiently working owners or good corporate governance of enterprises, which in its turn had an extremely negative influence on the real sector dynamics, its exporting possibilities and the level of employment. Non-compliance with the laws and decisions of courts has also led to the state's inability to rein in the underground economy, which has greatly expanded (according to the DSAS estimates not less than 35% of GDP in 1999), leading to a vicious circle of corruption, hidden firm activity, reduced public revenues, and a dramatic widening of the population's income inequality. On the macroeconomic front, the efforts to reduce inflation and the state budget deficit were not so sustainable. Much of the success attained by Moldova by the mid-1990s in the area of macroeconomic stability was subsequently, especially after the financial crisis in Russia in 1998, reversed (see Table 5.2.).

The low quality of governance is reflected in the spread of corruption, the incidence of which in Moldova puts the country amongst the 25 most corrupt countries in the world.¹⁷ Corruption and poverty are the two sides of the same coin. Corruption not only causes

**The first steps
of reforms were
encouraging.
But following
the achievement
of macrostabilization,
the expected miracle
of economic growth
did not take place.**

¹⁷ Transparency International Annual Report 2000.

The human costs of reforms are too high. A particularly serious problem is that of poverty. It is necessary to ensure a society-wide consensus on the content and methods of reforms.

severe stress in the everyday lives of the country's people but also stifles private economic initiative and the development of entrepreneurship as a driving force in a market economy and a means of "self rescue" during periods of hardship. The low social efficiency of the reforms, the sharp income discrepancy and drawbacks in distributing the fruits of economic development ("newly rich" against "newly poor", "rural poverty") have led to a deepening and critical shortage of state funds for the support of public services, particularly for primary health care and basic education.

The completion of the transition process and the integration of the Republic of Moldova in the world economy and its effective involvement in the multilateral institutions will have a positive impact. Thus, it is especially important for Moldova to promote effective cooperation in trade, finance, science and technology with developed countries and neighbors in South-Eastern Europe. In order to bring this integration about in a speedy manner, effective international support for reforms in this country is essential both in terms of financial resources and of institutional and know-how expertise.

Looking back on the decade of transition, one could conclude that many social conflicts in the society are emerging from economic reasons. In order to overcome them and to create an environment for the culture of peace in Moldova, at least five conclusions are important for solution modeling for the future:

(i). It is necessary to ensure *a society-wide consensus* with respect to the content of reform and inter-relationships between its different components. Political stability and new economic order can only be sustainable if supported by the population.

(ii). The country requires *a strong and effective governance* that is able to enforce law and to maintain institutions, norms and practices essential for democracy, genuine market economy and sustainable human development. Weakness of governance increases non-compliance with laws and official regulations, tax evasion, etc. Weak government is more likely to be corrupt.

(iii). Breaking the vicious circle of recession is possible only through increased attention to the *real sector of the economy*. This essentially requires creation of an effective system of incentives benefiting both businesses and the state; improvement of corporate management of newly privatized enterprises; effective protection of the rights of investors and ensuring transparency of commercial tenders; support for the SME sector which serves as a basis for the development of the middle class – the main social force behind reforms. Concomitant with these efforts should be the measures aimed at eliminating the gap between the banking and manufacturing sectors of the economy, through reducing the influence of certain lobbies and special interest groups on the decisions concerning import/export transactions, energy sector, privatization, and demands for higher budgetary outlays.

(iv). The human being and his basic needs should be placed in the center of policy makers' attention, and should be considered as a major objective of the reforms. In the course of transition from the centrally planned to a market economy, the state has retained its *social responsibilities*. Management methods in the area of social security, however, need to be changed. Of primary importance for Moldova are now the issues of poverty eradication, reform of social insurance system, health care reform, education and labor market formation. The principal difficulty associated with the social sector reform lies in the need for the new arrangements to be both socially just and economically balanced.

(v). Success of transition is directly related to the extent to which its *political, social and economic components* are effectively combined. The experience of the Republic of Moldova, both positive and negative, demonstrates explicitly the connection between the reforms progress and political stability. Political risks and disordered policies of the state pose a serious obstacle in the way of reforms. A better-informed citizenry will more likely take an active part in political decision-making. Social unrest, strikes and street protests constitute an extreme form of expression of popular will. In this light, it is vital to promote in all possible ways *the transparency of governance* through an effective system of public information dissemination. Equally important is to promote all forms of education, including retraining

and enhancing professional qualifications, legal, medical and ecological education to supply the population with knowledge and skills necessary to guarantee effective social transformations. Thus, conditions will be created for the emergence of a stronger *civil society* capable of solving key political, economic and social problems.

The lessons of the '90s have freed the country from illusions. Both for the government and for the population it has become clear that the way towards well-being and a socially oriented market economy— both for the population and for the state – will not be short. The question has emerged about the need for a new strategy that would better fit the interests of human security now and sustainable development of the Republic of Moldova in the future.

5.2. The Urban-Rural Divide

Poverty alleviation is an urgent problem for Moldova now. Meanwhile, inhabitants from the rural areas have found themselves in the worst shape. *Transformations promoted in the rural area bring more losses than advantages.* Villagers perceive their current situation as a threat to their perceptions regarding behavior and life style, perceptions that have been established over several generations. During the transition decade the level of the rural population's well-being dropped, and the gap between the latter and the urban sector has increased. According to HBS, in 1997 villagers' total monthly net *income* accounted for 64.8% of the income earned by city dwellers, in 1998 it was 60.4%, and in 1999 – 52.1%. Villagers' poverty did not only show up in decreased income, but also in its extremely unfavorable structure. Incomes from savings calculated per member of a rural family are 3.5 times less than in the cities, and make up only 21.0% of the total net incomes, compared with 37.8% in urban areas. Villagers' possibilities to earn current incomes are also very limited. Their main sources are incomes from private agricultural activity (67.2%) and from employment in salary labor (15.3%). For people in cities these incomes are also important but their significance in the income structure is totally different compared to the one of the rural population. At the same time, social payments, just as other transfers, play a more significant role in income creation for urban individuals than they do for villagers. If the amount of pensions, family benefits, scholarships, compensations, material assistance allocated from various sources make up more than 30% from incomes of an average earning townsman, then for a rural based person – only 16% (see Table 5.3.). Extremely unsatisfying is the function of the system of *social assistance* to the rural population; many social assistance programs put townsmen into a more favorable situation. If in the monthly budget of a city dweller, from various sources, transfers are received in the amount of 30.68 Lei, then the villager budget receives only 5.37 Lei.

Table 5.3. Total Net Monthly Income Dynamics, 1999

	Urban	Rural
<i>Total monthly net income (I+II)</i>	272.4	141.8
<i>I. Available income, Lei</i>	169.3	112.1
Including after types of activity, %		
● salary earned income	57.7	15.3
● independent agricultural activity	6.5	67.2
● individual business	5.5	1.4
● property income	0.3	0.3
● social payments	10.3	6.5
● other current payments and transfers	19.4	9.3
<i>II. Savings income, Lei</i>	103.1	29.8
Including, %		
● financial system payments	75.5	99.0
● sale of real estate, used equipment	24.5	1.0

Source: HBS, 1999.

**“Opinca¹ is the prop
of the country.”**

Moldovan proverb

¹Opinca (Romanian) - ancient peasant shoes

**Poverty alleviation
is an urgent problem
for rural areas.
More than 80%
of the “new poor”
are villagers.**

Rural households receive 68.2% of income in barter, which considerably limits villagers' solvency.

The correlation between *the monetary and natural parts of the income* has also formed as unfavorable for the rural population. Agricultural households have received 68.2% of income in barter, whilst city households – 15.6%. This fact seriously limits villagers' solvency. Keeping in mind almost the double amount of total net incomes of the townsmen compared to the villagers level, the monetary part of the city dwellers' income, and thereof, their purchasing power and the possibility to realize monetary accumulations, came out to be 4 times larger than those of the people that live in the village.

The fact that the rural population keeps falling backwards takes place against a background of the worsening of the differentiation of income of the urban dwellers, the level of which is dependent on the size of the city. Big cities create relatively favorable conditions for the realization of the educational and professional potential of the individual; they possess greater possibilities for employment and provide better social assistance. In small towns (that make up the majority of Moldova) poverty is more widespread, unemployment has taken a chronic character, and the lifestyle of the people living in those towns is more like that of the ones in villages. If in 1997 total net incomes of large cities' inhabitants surpassed the amount of incomes of the small urban areas by 1.6 times, then in 1999 – already by 2.3 times. At the same time the disproportion between total net incomes of the small cities' dwellers and of the villagers dropped from 12.9% to 10.5%. Moreover, during the last few years current villagers' income, even though not by much, surpassed available incomes of the small cities' dwellers (see Table 5.4.).

Table 5.4. **Income Dynamics and Population Distribution by Place of Residence, 1999, %**

	Small cities	Large cities	Rural areas
Population – in total, including monthly per capita income:	100.0	100.0	100.0
up to 90.0, MDL	50.5	25.3	51.0
from 90.1 to 198.0	35.7	34.3	37.6
from 198.1 to 270.0	8.0	15.9	6.1
270.1 and more	5.8	24.5	5.3

Source: HBS, 1999.

In such a situation the majority of rural inhabitants become incapable of realizing their rights. They are severely isolated from social goods and professional possibilities. That's why an indispensable condition for the enhancement of the culture of peace in the Republic of Moldova is the protection and respect for the elementary rights of the human being, including the right to a decent life for the rural population.

The limited volume of incomes and the weight of in-kind income had a negative effect on the consumption possibilities of different social facilities of rural population. In 1999 the current expenses of rural households constituted 62.3% compared with the volume of means allocated for town families. Moreover, an alarming tendency was a decrease of the share of cash means in the total volume of current expenses. If in a city household it remained stable and constituted almost 86.0%, in villages – it decreased to 35.5%.

In the structure of rural *household expenses*, food produce expenses occupy the main position – 73%. The rural population is not assured a balanced nourishment, a great share of which is low nutritive value products like bread and potatoes. The disproportionate decrease in the food expense ratio may lead to negative results with regard to the intake of albumin, fat, carbohydrates, vitamins and macro elements. This tendency is not so pressing for townsmen.

Table 5.5 Household Current Expenses Structure per Capita, 1999, %

	Urban	Rural
Total current expenses, inclusively for:	100.0	100.0
food	55.6	73.3
alcohol and tobacco	2.9	5.5
cloths and shoes	7.8	5.6
house and facilities	13.3	5.6
housekeeping	2.6	2.3
health	4.7	2.8
transport	4.6	2.1
communication	1.8	0.3
entertainment	2.5	0.5
education	0.4	0.4
public alimentation, hotels	0.7	0.0
other services and accommodations	3.1	1.6

Source: HBS, 1999

The differences between the urban and rural endowment are not limited only by discrepancies in revenue and quality of nourishment. The low solvency of rural households made difficult the replacement of TV sets, refrigerators, washing machines and other old equipment that have been already used. This “preserved” the situation in the area of rural population provisioning with household technology which had been bought in the '80s.

Communal infrastructure of the rural locality that creates an environment of comfort for the population in conditions of the crisis temporarily remains intact. In general the provision of the rural population with dwellings is satisfactory. There are problems — an insufficient level of communal arrangement. If all rural households have electricity then half of them have natural gas; only 1% have piped water supply (aqueduct) and 17.5% have telephones. (See Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Household Structure of Dwellings with Conveniences, 1999, %

Households that have:	Total	Urban	Rural
Electricity	99.0	99.5	98.7
Water:			
Aqueduct	31.1	76.1	0.9
Pump	6.0	9.6	3.5
Well	62.9	14.3	95.5
Spring	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sewage	31.1	76.1	0.9
Bath or shower inside	28.9	71.9	0.2
Natural gas:			
Central network	28.5	63.9	4.8
Gas-containers	42.4	25.5	53.8
Heating			
Central	32.3	75.8	3.1
Local	67.7	24.2	96.9
Telephone	36.8	65.5	17.5

In the structure of the rural household expenses, food takes 73%.

98.7% of all rural households have electricity, 53.8% - gas-containers, 17.5% - telephone.

The expenses of an urban family member for education are 3.9 times higher than the respective expenses of a rural family member. Thus, children from villages and towns have a different starting point in life.

Source: HBS, 1999

The importance of *education* for the human capital enrichment with a person enters into the labor market and for the development of the personality is so high that the access to education is recognized by the UN as a primary human right. In Moldova the access of children from villages to public education is harmed by several considerations. First of all, rural localities have a poor technical-material basis. The village schools do not compare with the urban ones concerning their endowment with computers; if 72.5% of urban schools have computers then in rural areas the percentage of such schools is only 48.7%. A lot of village schools need major overhauls. The staff level of rural school systems is lower than in other places. The share of teachers without higher pedagogical education and teachers of pension age is very high; low salaries and their delay for several months do not encourage young people to remain in rural localities.

Pupils spend a lot of time taking part in agricultural works and in housekeeping. Extra schoolwork has a negative impact when discussing home tasks and school programs at all. The low nutrition level of pupils, albumin energy insufficiency, the deficit of some microelements, especially iron and iodine, have an extremely negative effect on the development of children's abilities.

In 1999 the expenses of an urban family member for education were 3.9 times higher than the ones of a rural family member. The influence of all these negative circumstances has created serious obstacles for the rural families' children in getting qualified educational services. In the country, the number of children who abandoned school constitutes 4.7 thou, of which 79% of children are from the rural areas.

The result of a disproportion between the welfare of urban and rural families represents the increase of differences between the starting position of children from towns and villages at the very beginning of their lives. The competitive capacity of rural school graduates is lower than of the urban ones at the same age. Expansion of the paid system of education at the post-gymnasium level and at the post-lyceum level led to the fact that every second student studies on the tuition basis, and in 1999 their number increased by 21%. The reduction in the financing of the state higher education and the reservation of 50% of the places for the rural entrants by the budget financing do not allow them equal possibilities for enrolment in the higher institutions. Living out of their families, unsuitable living conditions during the period of studies (only 37% of students get stipends and 65% are provided with hostels), high transport expenses, few scholarships – all these factors have a negative impact on rural entrants.

The aim of the consolidation of the culture of peace requires multilateral actions in the sphere of education which should not depend on the living location. In Moldova it is necessary to formulate a "second education" – a knowledge of common living - alongside with the creation of a culture of peace, which is implanted with the "first education" and provided by the general culture. Therefore, a total orientation to education constitutes the basis for the realization of the culture of peace.

Health protection of the population is an integral part and important characteristic of the culture of peace. In Moldova the sphere of health protection is very problematic. The rural population is in the worst situation – as a result of fundamental changes the rural mortality exceeds urban mortality in 1.5 times per one thousand people.

The destruction of the general system of public health protection transferred responsibility for the health of citizens to them. Introduction of the paid services, which were with reductions or free in the previous years, became sensitive first of all for the poor families, the majority of whom cannot permit supplementary expenses for medical services. Expenses for health maintenance for one member of an urban family constituted on average 8.21 lei per month, but for one rural family member – 3.15 lei, or 2.6 times lower.

The reorganization of the network of medical institutions caused their consolidation, closing a lot of "medical points" and forcing the rural population to address the district centers for medical assistance. The poverty of the rural population and high transport costs led in a lot of

cases to the impossibility of receiving qualified medical treatment because of its inaccessibility.

Thus, the majority of rural inhabitants have no possibility of making use of their principle social rights and their poverty has a versatile nature. If one takes into consideration that villagers constitute more than half of the total population of the country and an overwhelming part of them is of the majority nationality, then bringing the countryside and cities closer by living conditions is already a national problem, the solution of which must become an important task of the state social policy.

The culture of Moldova's people, including the economic one, developed over a long historical process, preserving certain stability, constancy and uniqueness throughout changes in the political and economic order. A set of its characteristics is very important from the point of view of preserving a peculiar socio-cultural environment and training for tolerance, which reduces considerably the possibility of conflicts in the country. In the Moldovan society labor precepts are strong and that fact is linked to the age-old agricultural traditions and to respect for agricultural labor as a main source of the means of subsistence.

Manifestations of economic independence and initiative are strong, dependant precepts are weak. The population is inclined to solve independently a part of its financial problems, displaying characteristics of self-preservation. Characteristic is the aspiration for a certain independence from the social economy and politics of the authorities, for self-provisioning of the minimal requirements for existence. Even in better times many managed personal subsidiary holding and worked at small gardening plots. Now this activity has become a mass phenomenon, a means of survival for many families, including urban ones. Though during the last years a large part of the able-bodied citizenry lost their jobs, appealing to the state labor agencies did not become a traditional norm of behavior for the unemployed. They try to find places of work by themselves, including work outside the country's frontiers.

Due to the country's traditions and the population's mentality, society shows so little assertiveness that, to a certain extent, an explanation maybe sought in a slight spread of dependent psychology as well as in the precept to rely on one's own powers. At the same time, the population is not indifferent to what is happening in the country, and comprehends very personally the economic difficulties of the state, crisis phenomena in the society and the dire situations of the poorest strata. Understanding and sympathy for the hard fate of villagers is characteristic of the urban population too, a large part of whom are natives of the countryside and are only the first or second generation of city dwellers.

5.3 Crime as a Reflection of Social Tensions

The transformations undertaken by the Republic of Moldova in '90s led to diverse and controversial changes in social life. Under these circumstances, the social activity of people has increased considerably. New moral criteria for behavior underlie this activity and, to a large extent, these criteria have not been agreed on yet. People's behavior is oriented towards adapting to new realities and processes in the society. Diversification of social activity has determined the existence of a multitude of new social norms and, consequently, a variety of forms of peoples' behavior within people's relations. People began to act according to personal motivation and interests, according to their individual capacities, and to their individual goals.

In this new social environment, often marked by a legislative vacuum and by a weakness of public institutions, a number of citizens confuse liberty with the right to ignore legal norms. Poverty also motivates the respective behavior. The society faces an expansion of criminal phenomena which are also determined by the unsettling of the system of values and social relations.

Without doubt, the society lives in the conditions peculiar to the societies "shaken" by significant social crises. The phenomena of deviancy, delinquency and failure to adapt are generators of discomfort. Social conflicts, reflected in the insecurity of the citizen and the society, are also determined by an explosive manifestation of criminality. Through these negative social relations, citizens manifest an attitude of negation of the dominant current

Private initiative and self-employment have become the main factor of economic security for the people in rural areas.

"It is better less but righteous, than more but unfair."

Moldovan proverb

A significant increase in crime represents one of the most dangerous tendencies in the transition society.

reality in society, which demonstrates the presence of a state of a permanent conflict.

The current social relations are characteristic of periods of historic turbulence and are manifested through boundless distrust, intrigue and deliberate lie, political self-seeking and a constant fight for exclusively personal interests. A significant increase in criminality represents one of the most telling and alarming tendencies in society.

A simple presentation of the data, which reflects the state of criminality in '90s, demonstrates an obvious increase in the level of criminality and serves as a sample of the conflicted state of society. In the last five years, more than 188 thousand crimes were registered in the country. In the year 1999, approximately 39 thousand crimes were committed, thus the level of criminality reached the number of 103.7 crimes per 10 000 citizens - the highest criminality index in the last nine years. The structure of the crimes (1999) shows that more than 9,000 out of the total number of crimes included serious crimes, which mark an increase in aggression and violent manifestations known as social convulsions. The amplification of this antisocial attitude is witnessed by a rise in criminal acts above the total registered for the previous years.

Criminal phenomena of this period have evolved with an increased share of violent criminal acts, in unjustifiably large proportions. In the last seven years, 2,749 murders and attempted murders were committed. The number of rapes, attempted rapes and robberies is high, too.

Under the negative conditions of the transition period, society quite often remained unprotected from the new forms of crime: from organized economic crimes, from fiscal evasion, customs frauds, unfair competition, from smuggling and illicit reports circulated among economic entities with state capital and private companies, and all other mechanisms that support the underground economy. Through various means, a considerable amount and value of public property was passed to the benefit of some mafia or criminal groups. The dangerous level of criminality does not statistically reflect the growth of the underground economy, where illegal funds are found and which results in acts of fiscal evasion, corruption and smuggling, illegal exploitation of labor force and trafficking of humans.

Unfortunately, a concept predominates in the transition society that the only way to

Box 5.2

Corruption and Poverty

The UN family in the Republic of Moldova comprises the agencies - UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, UNHCR and UNESCO. There is a series of specialized U.N. agencies, which are not represented directly in Moldova, but their activities are coordinated through the UNDP. *The primary goal of these activities is the human development.*

At present, all UN agencies in Moldova are involved in a process of identifying priorities for development in Moldova, and then every agency does what it is designed to do. Until this year, the UNDP had three primary fields of activity in Moldova: governance, promotion of women and protection of the environment. Now it is concerned with the initiation of a new project concerning the eradication of poverty.

Every agency has its role. We cooperate closely with the Moldovan government in the effort to draft strategies that would take into account international laws and standards. At the same time, we are fully aware of the fact that *we cannot initiate a poverty eradication programme without a parallel fight against corruption.* Therefore, we are doing both. We also do it because the data of the Centre for Strategic Studies and Reforms indicate that the underground economy in Moldova amounts to 65 percent of the entire economy. I cannot accept giving a dollar to a farmer so that 65 cents go into an obscure channel.

On the other hand, we realize that one of the reasons for corruption is poverty. There are two aspects which must be taken into consideration: the need for money to survive and the greed. Those who want to become rich in an illegal way must be treated differently from the poor who only want a decent living. It is not about non-indulgence, but concrete sanctions. Corruption, which is generated by greed, must be controlled by a corresponding law. *There's a need for restructuring civil society, which would exert a greater influence on the state apparatus.* When poverty is eradicated, corruption is reduced to minimum. Nevertheless, there are countries that get on well and still face a high level of corruption, a fact showing that a strong democratic control is needed.

Democracy is not just the presence of formal elements, such as the constitution. Democracy also means a way of thinking, which derives from traditions; not only at the level of the political class, but at the level of the ordinary citizen, too. Moldova has a very small political elite. It needs a middle-sized political class, which, we must admit, for the time being does not exist. Such a situation produces even a greater gap between the political class and the common people.

Source: BASA-Press, Interview with Søren Tejnø, UNDP Resident Representative in Moldova, August 2000

accumulate private capital is by theft, lying, abuse, falsification and corruption. More than 70% of registered crimes constituted those dealing with property, including 51% of thefts of personal property (1999). Unfortunately, so far, only few people are convinced that a society based on a market economy offers sufficient grounds for honest behavior and social stability. The many that do not share that attitude generate negative attitudes that, very often, take a form of criminality. Tolerance towards abuses and illegality is manifested not only by political operatives, but also by the bodies in charge of law enforcement. It is a wrong-headed reality, from a “deformed” perception of the above-mentioned bodies, of the post-socialist society.

Society is facing changes in rules and common norms of living. Intolerance, aggression and ignorance of the law, when dominant, lead to chaos. In this situation, criminal and uncommon behavior come to the fore. In 1999 more than 4,000 major economic-financial crimes were registered, a considerable increase in comparison to the 2,000 registered for 1994. At the same time 113 financial-banking crimes were registered. It is obvious that the picture of economic-financial criminality involves corruption, an extremely harmful phenomenon with roots deep in the social structure, a real cancer damaging the central nerves of the social body.

It is evident that the aggression against the public economy, whether taken as complex or viewed as large thefts, is a form of economic gangsterism. Abuse and thefts committed by organized groups of criminals, through skilful methods, basically entail different forms of corruption. Bribery occurs basically in public structures. In 1999 there were 117 cases of bribes registered, of these 17 police functionaries were accused, 14 functionaries of the Department of Customs Control, 3 fiscal inspectors, 10 judges, prosecutors and attorneys, 9 others were functionaries of public bodies. Simple statistical data do not reflect the whole dimension of the phenomenon of corruption. In reality, the number of cases is much greater. At present, there is practically no sphere of economic-social life in which such activities would not take place.

Criminality within the family remains an alarming situation. Murders and attempts at murder may follow excessive consumption of alcohol, as well as the existence and amplification of other conflict situations within the family.

The organization of a stable network of drug consumption has become more evident. The number of teenagers and young people integrated in the crime networks increases rapidly. They are mostly used in trading the drugs, executing theft orders and practicing prostitution in and out of the country. The number of cases of involving criminals in the drug business increased from 122 in 1992, to 2101 in 1999. According to some estimates, the real number of such crimes might be ten times higher than the official one. A proof for the above-mentioned facts may be that in 1999 the majority of thefts were committed in public places. A more alarming situation is in Chisinau where 62.2% of such crimes were committed in public. There is a marked and increasing dynamic of teenagers brought to trial for committing crimes. In 1999, there were 15 murders, 35 thefts, 105 drug-related crimes, and 1,515 thefts of personal property committed by teenagers or with their participation.

An unstable state of society, the existence of legislative obstacles, disorder in some sectors, inconsistency or passivity of institutions towards the wave of crimes and organized criminality — all these are profitable for underground economic forces and degrade the social environment. In 1999, of the identified criminals, 89.8% committed crimes for the first time. This constitutes an increase of 4.4% compared to the year 1998. The reforms taking place in all spheres of the Republic of Moldova during the last years could not fail to be taken advantage of by representatives of the criminal world. But an alarming fact is that professionals and intellectuals join the criminal world and the structures of the organized crime. Thus, an increasing number of crimes committed by people with higher education grew from 13% in 1993 to 19.2% in 1999. Another fact is that the role of the state has been decreased in the economy. This factor affected growing unemployment and poverty that directly influence the level of criminality. It should be stated that in 1993 the percentage of crimes committed by unemployed persons constituted 21% of the total number of disclosed crimes. In 1999

More than 70% of registered crimes constituted those related to property, including 51% of the thefts of personal property.

Official statistics do not fully reflect the dimensions of corruption.

The number of teenagers integrated in crime networks is rapidly increasing.

The situation in Transnistria favored the use of this territory by criminal groups involved in smuggling, fiscal evasion, and people and weapon trafficking.

this category of citizens committed more than 51% of the total number of crimes.

Antisocial behavior is seen in the explosion of existing social tensions and violent demonstrations by a large number of citizens. The demonstrations have involved the destruction of some property and the promotion of a climate emphasizing disobedience to law and the norms of social coexistence.

First among these is the military conflict in Transnistria (1992). As a result of this, the Republic of Moldova lost juridical and administrative control over 12% of its territory. Today, the internal bodies of the Republic of Moldova have practically no influence on the real level of criminality in the region on the left bank of the Nistru River. This was discussed at the conference "Organized Crime and Shadow Economy in the Republic of Moldova" (Feb. 1999), which was organized by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Academy of Police, and the Independent Association of Criminology. The Transnistrian conflict, the territorial split of the country in which constitutional legal bodies lost control of the situation in the eastern region of the country, favored the use of the territory by criminal groups and organizations involved in weapons and explosives traffic, in smuggling, fiscal evasion, etc. That loss of control weakens the efficacy of actions intended to reduce the degree of criminality and encourages the use of that territory by representatives of the criminal world. This also contributes to the maintenance of tension in society.

In summary, Moldavian society endures the "hard times". Criminality has become a permanent component of many aspects of society's resources, bringing disintegration into the life of people. Criminality may incur danger to the equilibrium and stability of the society, seriously affecting the future stability and democracy in the Republic of Moldova. Understanding this, the Government and the society orient themselves in their actions towards the improvement of the situation. In order to achieve that, coordinated actions are necessary regarding: poverty alleviation and the reduction of unemployment, which are the principal sources of increase of criminality; reduction of the shadow economy; fight against corruption; solution to the problem of the legal status of Transnistria; fight against drug addiction, which increases the level of criminality; the definition of a national strategy for crime prevention; development of international collaboration on crime prevention; amendments to the legislation in force; adoption of the Code on Criminal Procedure, Criminal Code, Minor Offence Code, the Law on Organized Crime Prevention. The totality of these efforts is included into the Anti-Criminal Action Plan of the Government (adopted in November 1999).

Thus, the fight against criminality constitutes a fundamental interest of the society and has a moral and human aim. Actions in that direction will enforce an immune mechanism in the social body and will be an important component of the culture of peace in the country.

Chapter 6

Education and the Nation's Health

6.1 Through Education Towards the Culture of Peace

Further development of the country depends on future generations. For them, obtaining an education is an indisputable human right and an important impetus for the eventual socio-economic improvement. The state is the main entity responsible for ensuring equitable access to this social good — education.

The UN calculates the Human Development Index (HDI) as a synthesis of three indicators, one of which is calculated on the basis of two education-related indices – the literacy rate and the education enrollment ratio. This reflects the importance attached to education in the context of human development. Currently, on the eve of a new millennium, the UN General Assembly has spotlighted the role of education in its declaration on the International Year of the Culture of Peace. Education is of primary importance as a means for re-shaping the social conscience and is intrinsic to other challenges, as well.

Over the past years, the Republic of Moldova adhered to various international acts dealing education, such as: (i) the Convention Against Discrimination in Education, (Paris, December 1960), through the Resolution of Parliament No. 707-XII dated 10.09.1992 (enforced in the RM since July, 1993), (ii) the Convention on Recognizing Qualifications with Regard to Studies in the European Region, (Lisbon, 1997), and (iii) the European Convention on Equalizing Diplomas for Entering Universities, (Paris, December. 1953), both of them ratified in the RM in 1999.

The Republic of Moldova possesses an educational system which comprises the following levels: pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary level comprises grades 1-4, the secondary level – gymnasium (lower secondary), grades 5-9, and lyceum (upper-secondary), grades 10-12. The primary and gymnasium levels are mandatory, the lyceum level being optional. Attending a lyceum provides the possibility of obtaining a profession. Colleges are a segment of the tertiary level. The intention has been to provide an intermediary link between the mandatory secondary education and the university level, as well as to train specialists with a secondary professional background. Yet, a college degree is less in demand given that the baccalaureate degree can be obtained both after the 3rd year of college and after the 12th grade of the lyceum. The baccalaureate is a “runway” to enter a university more easily but it is also necessary to raise need money from household sources to pay for education (Fig. 6.1.).

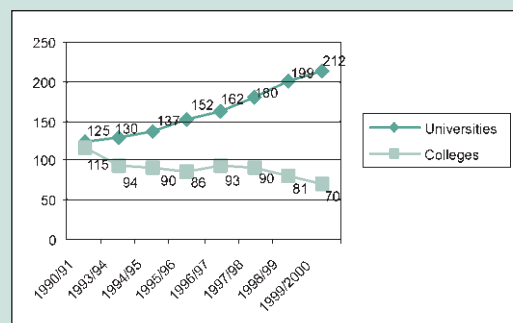
All the above takes place in a situation when the Moldovan GDP per capita is worth only \$ 323 (\$ 2.033 in terms of purchasing power parity, 1999). The differentiation of incomes in the society permits a very unequal access of various social strata to education.

The problems and social burdens that have emerged in the country, as well as the financial situation of the educational system in general (only 83.5% of the approved 1999 budget was granted to that sector and only 40% of the minimal estimated needs were met), does not inhibit the growing number of universities. In 1999 alone their number rose by 5

*“A man without
education is like a land
without watering.”*

Moldovan proverb

**Fig. 6.1 Number of Students
per 10 Thousand Inhabitants Enrolled
at Universities and Colleges.**



Source: DSAS.

units, four of them being private. The number of higher education graduates increased by 25%. The considerable growth of students of higher education institutions is not related to a growing demand for specialists but rather to the hope of parents that it will provide their children with certain insurance for the future. Problematic is still the fact that there are no estimates of the number of specialists in various fields needed by the national economy on a yearly basis. Human resources and problems related to their preparation are not approached as a production factor of primary importance. This gap causes considerable distortions in the labor market due to the exaggerated number of colleges and university graduates – more than needed in the labor market. In 1998 of the total number of university degrees (7732) awarded in 30 fields at that level, the economics degree was attained by 21.9% of the graduates, whereas graduates in the 4 most popular field (economics, law, medicine and philology) accounted for 53% of the overall number of graduates.

The process of deterioration of human resources continues, mainly due to “brain drain.” Trends show that compared to 1998 a shrinking of the total population by 0.1% was registered; of the economically active population by 7%; yet a greater decline was registered in the population employed in the national economy (by 9%). The number of wage earners registered a worrisome decline – of 17.2%.

According to the data from the Security and Information Service of the Republic of Moldova, in 1999 over 600,000 citizens – or about one-third of the economically active population were working abroad illegally. During only one year, 2378 teachers left Moldova. During the last decade about 415 research fellows have departed for the USA, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, New Zealand, Romania, Russia and the Ukraine. In 1999, there were about 1400 scholarship recipients abroad from Chisinau alone. Moldova is assisted in its intention to restore the required human potential by Romania, European community countries, the USA and Japan.

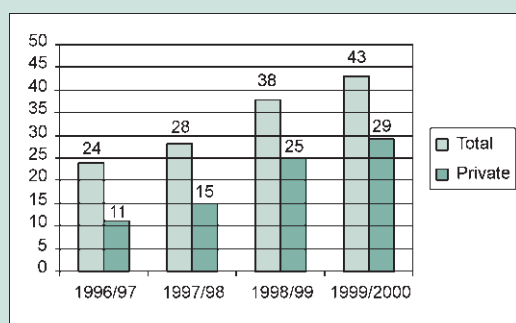
On the other hand, although in 1998 the number of emigrants was bigger than that of immigrants by 16.5%, only 18% of the immigrants had higher education.

Will the country be in a position to address difficult challenges without paying due attention on its way to a sustainable development to the human factor as the prime factor for consolidating the culture of peace? Education can provide the so-called “social immunity” against eventual improper actions by individuals, communities and nations. Even in the difficult conditions of the Republic of Moldova, the individuals with higher education have incomes at least 2-fold higher than those with lower education; of the total number of unemployed registered at the Labour Force Offices, only 6.8% had university degrees.

The Constitution of the Republic of Moldova (Art. 35. I) states: “The right to education shall be ensured through mandatory secondary education, through lyceum and professional education, through higher education as well as through other ways of training and raising the levels of skills.” The Constitution also states that the education is provided for free.

Of course, the educational system needs to be reformed. However, political differences and state budget problems have kept the educational sphere in a difficult situation. The exodus of teachers’ from schools led to unbalanced teacher/student ratio. Although in Moldova this indicator was rather high as compared to other countries (1/15 at the secondary educational level) and there was a clear need for restructuring, the fact that no state programs were initiated in the skill conversion of the former teachers in order to re-employ

Fig. 6.2. Number of Universities.



Source: DSAS.

them in other fields of socio-economic activities and to avoid human potential deterioration is another proof of incorrect policies with regard to social security (regardless of the fact that serious discussions on the need to produce the "Law on Education" had begun long before 1995, when the law was actually passed).

Constitutional declarations such as: "No ideology can be instituted as the official ideology of the state," as well as references to "the conditions of political pluralism" (Article 5.1 Constitution), have led to a situation in which the official abandonment of any ideology has not led to the replacement of one with another, perhaps better suited, shift to Western values. Due to the lack of a new focus on a well-defined national idea, a favorable environment was created for the unofficial coexistence of various ideologies among the political class, including the admission of violence as a means of reaching certain goals. Though accepted as a reflection of the aggregate society, the result has been confusion in terms of defining the country's path of development and the existence of an environment conducive to ignoring certain important issues, such as the name of the official language of the state ("Moldovan" or "Romanian"?) and some historical facts. The educational system is in the state of uncertainty as well.

The changes that have occurred in the educational sector are not an outcome of systematic measures undertaken at the state level, but rather of a combination of some circumstances and incidents. As a result, the educational system has become one of the most disadvantageous fields of employment in the country, this fact being proved by the mass deflux of the teaching staff. In Moldova, employees in the educational system have the lowest salaries. In 1999, the average monthly salary of teachers was MDL 193 (\$18), which is 50% less than the average salary in the national economy. In 1998, of 2,700 young graduates of the pedagogical universities 2,000 were assigned to work. Of them only 31% reached their work places. In 1999 1,000 young teachers graduated, of whom only 23% arrived at the assigned educational institution for employment.

A continuous growth of educational institutions is notable. The number of schools, gymnasia and lyceums grew from 1556 in 1998 to 1565 in 1999 that of colleges increased by one (from 56 to 57). However, the decline in the "school population" at the secondary level (from 653,200 to 645,200) and in college enrollment (from 29,700 to 25,400) proves that considerable changes are taking place, mainly due to the shift to providing educational services on a commercial basis. In 1999, compared to 1998, the number of higher education institutions increased from 38 to 43 (by 11.6%) and the number of students respectively from 72,700 to 77,300 (by 6%). In 1998, 46% of students and in 1999 each second student (or 52%) at the university level studied for a fee (based on a contract). Considerable growth was recorded by vocational schools – from 80 in 1998 to 87 in 1999, the number of their graduates having increased, though, from 14,300 to 24,200.

The old educational paradigm could not be very susceptible to reforms. After the declaration of independence, the socio-economic reform should have been started with a massive informational campaign and an emphasis on *social education*. The discussions should have focused on the changes that were to follow, including the ones related to a market economy, new social value systems, etc. One of reasons for the economic failures might have been the exaggerated focus on macro-economic issues and the omission of the educational sector as a primary segment of the social economy.

The emergence of private educational institutions has had a double effect. On the one hand, educational institutions have become independent from the state control, with greater costs being born by the parents and alternatives emerging for choosing the field of study. Yet, on the other hand, the problem of access to education, particularly for the young from the rural area has aggravated. The major impediment in terms of access to for people to pay for education can be seen in the structure of incomes that make possible paid tuition. In 1999, urban in-kind income accounted for 15.6% of the total income whereas in rural areas it made up 68.2%.

The average monthly salary of teachers in Moldova constitutes less than 50% of the average salary in the national economy.

Training of Highly Qualified Specialists

The state's inability to invest in science, particularly in university and post-graduate education, has led to breaks in continuity and in sustainable effort in many fields, thus affecting the reproduction of domestic scientific programs and personnel. The "brain drain" has reached alarming proportions in the Republic of Moldova and highly qualified personnel is leaving science for other fields of activity. Despite these negative tendencies, the number of those who will receive scientific and teaching degrees is increasing. This fact is due to the activity of 57 specialized scientific councils, entitled to organize and hear the defense of doctoral theses and award doctoral degrees in 136 fields. These councils have a sound intellectual potential to prepare doctors and university professors who will then evaluate the scientific and applicative value of scientific works.

Studies in the social sciences and the humanities have increased considerably in comparison with other fields of research. This can be explained by the fact that during the totalitarian regime those fields suffered the most. Due to the previously dominant ideology, the suppressed freedom of researchers and the impossibility of exchanging scientific ideas, many deviations from the scientific truth were registered. The personnel of research institutions was subjected to a rigorous ideological selection, whereas the results of their scientific work were strictly regulated. Changes in the Moldovan society in the '90s have led to the different interpretation of the events that have been taking place and are still ongoing. This fact has been a determining factor in the decision of large numbers of candidates for academic degrees when choosing to write their thesis in one of the humanities or the social sciences.

Table 1. **The trend in the number of specialists with a doctor degree in social sciences and the humanities, conferred by the Superior Certifying Commission of the Republic of Moldova**

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Total
Economics	6	5	11	9	14	23	26	94
Pedagogy	-	5	1	4	10	11	19	50
History	2	1	3	1	5	12	5	29
Philology	-	1	3	7	7	4	8	30
Philosophy	1	4	4	1	4	1	-	15
Sociology	-	-	1	2	1	1	2	7
Psychology	-	-	1	1	6	3	2	13
Political science	-	-	2	1	2	3	7	15
Arts studies	1	3	-	3	1	5	2	15
Law	-	-	-	3	1	9	10	23
Total	10	19	26	32	51	72	81	291

Table 2. **Number of specialists holding the title of Doctor Habilitat, conferred by the Superior Certifying Commission of the Republic of Moldova**

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	Total
Physics/ math	2	6	2	3	2	3	2	20
Chemistry	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	5
Biology	3	5	1	3	5	4	4	25
Geology and Mineralogy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technical	-	5	7	-	2	2	1	17
Agrarian	1	2	3	-	-	2	-	8
History	-	2	-	1	-	2	1	6
Economics	-	-	-	2	3	-	5	10
Philosophy	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Philological	-	1	3	2	1	4	-	11
Geography	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pedagogy	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	3
Medical	2	13	5	4	8	9	5	46
Veterinary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arts studies	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Pharmaceutical	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
Political	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	4
Psychology	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1

The process of training highly qualified specialists needs support and might determine reforms in a given field, based on programs for all levels of training. Operating without financial support for training through the M.B.A., doctoral and post-doctoral degree levels as a result of the economic crisis and delayed reforms entails the risk of blocking efforts that are undertaken to ameliorate the situation in training highly qualified specialists.

Tatiana Spătaru, Sociologist

Another indicator that demonstrates there is still much work to be done in terms of promoting policies favorable to shaping the culture of peace in the RM is the crime rate. During the last year all basic indicators related to crime and a criminal environment worsened (See Section 5.3. “*Crime as a Reflection of Social Tensions*”). Of special concern is the increasing trend in morbidity due to drug addiction and drug abuse, in 1999 which registered an increase of 8.0%.

The precarious economic situation as well as the inequity between rural and urban areas considerably affects peoples’ possibility to participate in the social-education events. In 1999, as compared to the previous year, visits to professional theatres shrank by 36.5% and to cinemas by 31.1%. The public libraries’ collections of books and magazines decreased from 20,800 to 19,900 thousand respectively (by 4.3%).

The Law on Education stipulates: “In order to provide for professional training and for the creation and consolidation of the technical-material base [of educational institutions], both state and private enterprises, apart from the means necessary for training their own personnel, shall allocate to the state budget not less than 2% of the payroll fund.” (Art. 21.7) Such decisions do not get enforced by themselves. The Ministry of Education is assigned with responsibilities that it cannot accomplish without the due support of all state bodies. Such an attitude places the Ministry at a considerable disadvantage in forms of decision making.

An additional problem root in the Law on Education: it stipulates that the costs for learning the official language in all educational institutions shall be born by the Ministry of Education. Yet the majority of state structures lack a proper mechanism of control over the use of the official language, thus, creating a discouraging environment for its broad use and the need to learn it. Likewise is the fact that in 1999 the share of newspapers published in the official language accounted for only 40% of the total number of magazines and other daily papers for only 26%, was in a way, discriminating as well.

The use of the official language should have no other direction than towards its broadening. In this context welcome would be mutual understanding and tolerance to pass through a stage of bilingual social relations between the indigenous population and the Russian-speaking minorities. Such common acceptance might ensure more favorable environment for the Russian speaking people, who are learning the official language of the Republic of Moldova.

The problem of sustainable human development as an incontestable element of the culture of peace is not fully and seriously approached in the Republic. During the 90s, the natural growth of the population turned into the depopulation. This social burden aggravates the human potential of the country. In the county of Ungheni, for example, the ratio of workers to pensioners is already 0.8/1. Additionally there is a relatively high “brain drain” from the country. (Fig. 6.3.)

The resulting discrepancy between *de jure* and *de facto* reality in the Republic of Moldova creates considerable prejudice and strife directly affecting the stability and harmony in the country. Cultivating tolerance towards a democratically elected parliament among the population as a whole, and among the political class in particular, is an incontestable value without which many accomplishments will be illusory, artificial and perishable. This fundamental goal can be reached only through major educational efforts by the state.

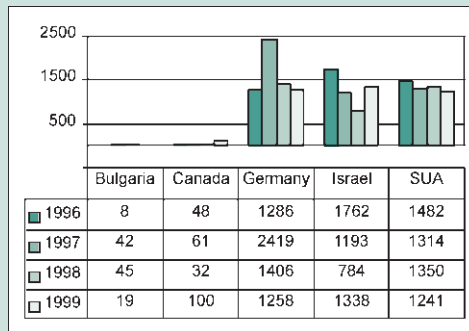
On the basis of what was said above, the following *conclusions* might help in the future:

- Growing inequality limits educational opportunities for some population groups;
- The Ministry of Education of the Republic of Moldova successfully produced the “State Program for Education Development during 1999-2005.” Yet without the assistance of other state bodies, the efforts of the Ministry may be doomed to failure;
- Together with other measurement of poverty in Moldova (e. g. high mortality rate, including high infant mortality, a short life expectancy, low consumption), it can be

Expenditures on education decreased from 10.0% in 1997 to only 4.7% of GDP in 1999.

measured by the insufficient school enrollment. Poverty generates poverty through: the limited access to education, a knowledge gap and the lack of awareness of fundamental human rights and the importance of these rights for reaching optimal living standards; the lack of awareness of the means and behaviors that can protect those rights.

Fig. 6.3. Number of Individuals Who Left Abroad for Permanent Residence.



Source: DSAS.

An improper approach to the solution of problems in the field of education considerably delay consolidation of the middle class, recognized as a primary pillar of the socio-economic stability.

Based on the above conclusions, the following *recommendations* can be made:

The Republic of Moldova has the requisite ability to adjust to the general global values – to democracy, parliamentary governance, human rights protection, etc. However, in order to realize these values, key decision-makers need to refocus Government efforts in order to place the educational sector at least at the same level with other sectors of the national economy. Investments and technical assistance need to be attracted and encouraged. The vacuum in this regard has been created artificially.

In order to avoid further waste of time, it is necessary to re-view, to reconfigure educational work from a qualitatively new angle for Moldova – i.e., to base the formation of human capital on a concept of *educational economy*, through encouraging investments and estimating the benefits of this economy over the long term.

Educational policy needs to focus on making the vast majority of the population aware that it is important to know about and deeply internalize the values of human rights in order to build up “social immunity” against eventual attempts at their violation. Important also is a public choice and involvement in the direction and manner of national evolution after the elections at both the national and local levels.

The state must contribute to the rehabilitation of both vocational education and the social education system by establishing a network of information and consulting centers at the county and sub-county levels (in the former raion centers or in the largest communes). Such centers should be very accessible for farmers and rural entrepreneurs. This kind of rehabilitation would also be fostered eventually through training courses at evening schools, the publication of brochures and magazines on various topics pertaining to elementary economics, sales management, labor organization, relations with customers, production management, competition, and the like topics. All of the above could lead to increasing welfare and implicitly to building up an environment favorable for the culture of peace.

Highly beneficial would be the creation of a fund to stimulate innovation, the main purpose of which might be to ensure a solid financial basis for the development of science and technology, oriented first of all towards structural adjustments and enhancing the competitive capacities of the country.

Any initiative, particularly such as a launch of the world movement for the culture of peace as well as the UN General Assembly’s proclamation of the decade 2000-2010 the International Decade for the Promotion of the Culture of Peace and Non-Violence to the Benefit of the Children in the World implies the need to choose the proper manner and instruments of implementation, particularly in the international arena. It is very important that these initiatives do not become solely the subjects for discussions. In order to effectively

Statistics-wise Moldovan literacy and education rates are satisfactory.

However, the main problem is to ensure the proper quality of education as a means to build up the capacity of the population to promptly react to new challenges.

promote the culture of peace, there is no instrument alternative to education in the complex sense of the word, education focused on both educational policies and on the need to reshape the system of social values in compliance with those internalized in the life of the European democracies with a high level of social and economic achievements.

6.2 The Nation's Health – a Pledge for Its Future

The health of the population is an important element in the harmonious development of a society and in the achievement of human security.

The crisis that hit the social sphere and economy of the Republic of Moldova created a threat for the population's health as well. The first symptoms could be noticed at the end of the '80s but revealed themselves more completely ten years later, at the end of the '90s, when a positive population growth rate was replaced by depopulation (1997 – 1.5%, 1998 – 0.5%, 1999 – 0.2%). The birth rate and the average length of a human life have decreased as well (1999 – 67.8 years). The quality of the population's health causes misgivings, too: chronic diseases and an increasing number of disabilities (both among adults and children), congenital pathologies, non-adapting syndromes, and other subtle indices characterizing the negative development of the population. All the above-mentioned processes became extremely evident during the last 10 years and led to the fact that in terms of public health in Moldova ranked among the worst countries in Europe. Data from the yearbook "Public Health in Moldova" confirms the fact that *not more than 1/3 % of the next generation will be capable of work.*

The causes of this situation include the decreasing living standards (2/3 of population is below the poverty line), increasing number of nutritional and infectious diseases, financial problems of the population and the inefficiency of the state system of health protection having its origin in the Soviet model, which wasn't transformed into one that would use more efficiently the modest budget resources.

Another negative aspect of the current situation is a very high level of emigration of the young generation. This process can be a decisive factor for the demographic, economic and political spheres. Consequently, qualitative and quantitative parameters of the population's health do not comply with the interests of the state in the health protection system. Neither a quantitative increase in the population, nor qualitative improvements can be expected in the near future.

The aggravation of qualitative and quantitative parameters of the population is caused not only by the inefficient activity of some state departments which, within the limits of their information and competence, can only account for some aspects of human and demographic crisis (expressed by the decrease of the population potential). It is obvious that continuous decline of public health undermines the national security doctrine, if there is any; and if there is, it requires a reconsideration in terms of evaluating measures that could, at least partially, stop the most dangerous tendencies.

The programs of reforms in Moldova should proceed from strategic priorities of the state, which would imply not only preventive measures or treatment of some diseases, but also the recovery of the reproductive potential of the Moldovan people and its maintenance on the European continent in the future.

In line with that, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that the respective processes are characterized by a great inertness, which could have destructive consequences, including the loss of social immunity (social apathy), reproductive and life instincts by the whole generations. Country needs a clear and long-term national health policy that can lead to positive changes. This policy should foresee protective measures for the next one or two generations. It is necessary to evaluate strategic problems crucial for the survival of the nation and ways of their solution by means of concrete programs, financed by the state budget. It should be admitted that in the state institutions an opinion exists that the health of

*"Non est census super
censum salutis corporis/
There's nothing more
precious than health."*

Anonymous Latin

Over the transition period, the government health expenditures decreased from 6.0% of GDP in 1997 to just 2.9% in 1999.

the population is either the problem of the Ministry of Health (MoH) or of each individual and is not a global problem of the state. But at present, the health problem of the population has become so serious that any improvement is impossible without common efforts.

Thus, *the main purpose of Moldova's strategy regarding public health is the creation and realization of a healthy way of living and the establishment of the health care system, which implies unlimited access for the whole population to high quality primary medical services.* For this strategy to be accepted, it is necessary to recognize that *health is the most important resource of a state.* In order to achieve some positive results, there is a need for integral planning, the realization of a set of coherent activities, and also a critical re-evaluation actions already taken at the central and sub-national levels. The criteria of a social policy efficiency should be: life expectancy, death rate, death rate within the age group of people able to work, death rate by gender; and dynamics of the following indices: pregnancy pathology, number of abortions (including among teenagers), maternal mortality, health of new-born children and their mortality, morbidity of work and industrial and traffic traumas; the level and structure of drug addiction, toxic mania, alcoholism (by age and gender), etc.

The Government of Moldova expressed its commitment to develop the National Health Policy (NHP) in 1997, having asked WHO to include relevant activities in the program. In August 1998, a conference "National Health Policy: a Challenge for Sustainable Development" took place in Chisinau and was attended by the President, Chairman of the Parliament, representatives of the Government, MoH and other relevant ministries and departments, and representatives of trade unions, professional associations and the mass media. The participants agreed to cooperate in the development of a national health policy document and adopted the conference Statement and preliminary Action Plan. Due to the economic crisis underway in the country some of the planned activities are already behind schedule, which puts into question the feasibility of adopting the NHP document before 2001.

Having embarked on a major reform of its health sector, the country places emphasis on the development of the primary health care, restructuring of the health care services based on sound financing, introduction of new forms of management such as the Social Health Insurance, effective intersectoral action and public participation, decentralization and ensuring the adequate quality of health care services. These principles were postulated in the "Strategy for Health Care System Reform and Development in the Republic of Moldova for 1997–2003" adopted by the Government in July 1997. The health care system reform is perceived as the top priority for the MoH's strategic plans and ongoing activities.

As mentioned in the Strategy, the future health care system will:

- Be based on sound financing, management and delivery of services able to ensure necessary, accessible and cost-efficient care;
- Be oriented towards primary health care (PHC) and effectively coordinated between primary, secondary and tertiary services;
- Focus on the quality of the delivered services, use progressive technologies and be clearly targeted at the improvement of the health situation;
- Imply that patients pay in various forms for the provided care. At the same time, it will preserve universal access to the basic package of health services for all citizens free of charge;
- Rely on the personal responsibility of an individual for his/her own health;

- Take due account of the citizens' voice, encourage their most active participation in its functioning, and will give them freedom to choose providers and services;
- Function on a multi-sectoral basis be actively supported by decision makers, executive authorities, communities, other relevant organizations;
- Ensure that health workers possess the necessary competency and skills, respect professional ethics, provide appropriate care, are socially secure and adequately remunerated based on the amount and quality of their work.

Several initiatives have been accomplished to meet the above objectives. The basic Law on Health Care was adopted in 1995, declaring the need for reforms and the introduction of other than existing forms of financing and administration of the health care system (e.g. private and insurance-based services). A number of laws, decisions and regulatory acts have been adopted in different areas of public health (e.g. sanitary and epidemiological services).

Box 6.2**Health: Ranking of CEE Transition Economies**

Country	Performance		Life expectancy at birth (years)		Percentage of population aged 60+ years*
	On level of health	Overall health system performance	Males	Females	
Albania	64	55	65.1	72.7	9.0
Belarus	116	72	62.4	74.8	19.1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	70	90	71.2	75.0	14.7
Bulgaria	92	102	67.4	74.7	21.2
Croatia	57	43	69.3	77.3	20.5
Czech Republic	81	48	71.3	78.2	18.0
Estonia	115	77	64.4	75.3	19.4
FYR Macedonia	69	89	69.8	74.1	14.4
Hungary	105	66	66.3	75.1	19.7
Latvia	121	105	63.6	74.6	20.0
Lithuania	93	73	67.0	77.0	18.3
Moldova	106	101	64.8	71.9	14.1
Poland	89	50	67.9	76.6	16.3
Romania	111	99	65.1	73.5	18.6
Russian Federation	127	130	62.7	74.0	18.3
Slovakia	88	62	68.9	76.7	15.3
Slovenia	62	38	71.6	79.5	18.8
Ukraine	101	79	64.4	74.4	20.7
Yugoslavia	47	106	71.8	76.4	18.4

* As measured in 1999

Source: World Health Organization Report 2000

The structure and functions of the MoH have been constantly undergoing changes to strengthen its capacity to deal with the reform, e.g., creation of the new Department of the Health Care Reform (1997).

In 1997, the National Center for Public Health and Health Management was established by the MoH to provide advocacy and legislative support for decision-making in the health sector and its reform.

National Program on Primary Health Care (1997) stating the need for the priority development of the primary care sector, including shifting resources from in-patient care and introduction of general/family practice.

The human resources policies have been reviewed to realign them with the present needs, including changing curricula of the Medical University (with bigger attention being paid to General Practitioner training) and nursing colleges.

Law on the Mandatory Health Insurance (February 1998) envisaging step-by-step introduction of the insurance system through state National Health Insurance Company with territorial branches.

The MoH care developed a basic package of services to be guaranteed by the state to all citizens (currently this package is being negotiated with other governmental structures to be implemented).

MoH has been successful in negotiating changing of some of the existing inadequate mechanisms of health care system administration. For instance, as of 1999 the old principle of resources allocation according to bed-days and number of outpatient visits was replaced by a consolidated budget for hospitals and per-capita allocation in primary care.

A number of other specific laws, government decisions, regulations and national programs have been developed and approved over the recent years to alleviate the worsening health situation in the country.

However, the progress of implementation of the reforms is hampered by several negative factors, primarily the worsening economic situation and further cuts in the health care budget. According to the decision of the Government, the real-value health care budget for 1999 was reduced by around 40% compared to 1998. Such a situation endangers the success of the measures that have been developed (postponing of the introduction of health insurance has already been considered) and calls for temporary, often palliative, steps such as the introduction of "cashier offices" at the hospitals to receive direct payments from patients for services. Also obvious is the lack of consensus among decision-makers (including parliamentarians) on major reform directions and weak inter-sectoral cooperation.

The efforts listed above are intended to raise awareness and understanding in the society, first and foremost among decision-making bodies, about the importance of the health problems and the need for coordinated and reliable actions to tackle them. However, in most cases, implementation of the respective decisions is insufficient. Immunization serves as a case in point. During recent years, the needs for an effective immunization program were covered by 70% or more by external donations of vaccines. In 1998, the Government committed itself to providing all necessary funds for vaccinations as a priority health activity. However, the fulfillment of these obligations was insufficient and resulted in a critical shortage of vaccines stocks by autumn. Moreover, the health care budget reduction for 1999 caused the MoH to launch once again appeals to the international donor community to help the country with vaccines to ensure adequate immunization next year.

A number of international agencies (United Nations family, intergovernmental organizations, bilateral donors, NGOs) are actively involved in the health sector, providing help by means of technical assistance, trainings and donations.

A mixture of weak and strong points, originating from the specific nature of the health sector and peculiarities of the transition process, characterizes the present health care system in Moldova.

Human resources and their quality is a factor which should constantly be taken into consideration by those who are responsible for human security in the country. That is why the National Health Policy should be regarded as one of the most important programs of the Government. Its successful realization implies the active participation of NGOs, trade unions, mass media and all the citizens. Information in this domain requires a completely new approach. Every person should know that health is a capital, and losing this capital also leads to an economic defeat. It's necessary to arrange a dialogue and to inform all the people about the public health problems and health programs. The role of mass media in attaining this goal is difficult to overestimate.

Based on the interests of the present and future generations, the attention of the society and the state should be concentrated on the achievement of the three long-term objectives:

- Encouragement of a healthy way of living, environment protection, increasing efficiency of curative and preventive services, health improvement by means of amelioration of life standards;
- Utilization of economic instruments in order to improve the efficiency of medical assistance services. Diversification of financial sources of health institutions;
- Decentralization of the health care network in order to strengthen institutional capacities in the sector and to lay the responsibility for public health on local public administrations. This can only be achieved in case of improvement of the corresponding legislation and drastic changes in the health care management.

These are the basic targets, which seem to be clear and transparent. But different agents engaged in the process of realization of the long-term health care reform complicate their interpretation. It is in the interest of the country and its future to express political will and effectively use all resources and possibilities for the modernization of the health-care system and the overall improvement of the nation's health.

The National Health Strategy includes a set of priorities and activities for the future and is approved at the national, regional and local levels.

Chapter 7

Building Civil Society**7.1 NGO Activity and the Citizen's Voluntary Responsibility**

“Civil society” is a new notion that is taking root in the life of the Moldovan state and society. It is becoming ever more popular. A good definition sees it as *a totality of various nongovernmental institutions, strong enough to serve as a counterbalance to the state, to withstand its aspiration for domination and, without interfering with the state, fulfill the role of peacemaker and arbiter between the main groups of interests.* In a broad sense, civil society means all types of social activities that are placed between the public environment and an individual, or family, as the prime “cell” of the society. It comprises a blend of various volunteer associations, churches, mass media, etc. and is based on fundamental interests or professional features.

Civil society is something that undoubtedly pertains neither to the public sphere nor to economic relations. Thus, civil society distinguishes itself in so-called *third sector*, after the first sector, which typically includes public authorities; and the second one, which comprises all forms of profit-oriented private entrepreneurial activity. The third sector does not generate profits and is not part of the state. At the same time the civil society makes it possible for any citizen to have an impact on certain social processes and to contribute to public authorities' resolution of various problems. This way, the citizen voluntarily shares with the state responsibility for resolving socially important tasks. Undoubtedly, such an attitude of the people towards their collaboration is possible only on the condition of available social consciousness and various democratic institutes.

Perception of the third sector has a trace of moral stewardship. It is considered that it employs active people, guiding the energies towards resolving social problems. Of course this is only partially so. However, the “aura effect,” typical to perceiving the activities of various NGOs, has a considerable impact on forming the new consciousness, presuming each individual's implication in modern processes in the country and in the world – be it either opposition to environmental pollution, preoccupation with the failure to respect human rights or assistance to the disabled. It is particularly important for Moldova with its low living standards, which compel most of the people to live exclusively one day at a time, focused only on their own problems.

The aforesaid explains why the notion of the civil society gained a rather large popularity in the CEE countries during the transition decade. It was the formation of the developed and responsible civil consciousness that the former dissidents, who have become politicians and statesmen now, considered as the very pledge of both the swift transition to modern democracy and the stability of democratic regimes in the future. The development of the network of voluntary associations, in which citizens could participate in order to uphold certain socially significant goals co-operating with governments but without being under their direct control, is both the criterion and the prerequisite of formation of the democratic civil consciousness.

In addition to the difficulties of the third sector development, which have been pointed to above and are characteristic for all countries in transition, one should take into consideration the negative impact of economic and financial problems of the Republic of Moldova. The extremely low level of life of the overwhelming majority of Moldovan citizens forces them to concentrate in the first place on searching the means of subsistence for themselves and their families, not saving time and strength for problems of the society as a whole. In their turn, governments, constantly being under pressure of the unabating budget problems, have no serious incentive for allotment of additional resources to support the third sector development. Against the above described background successes in the development of this sector are impressive.

*“Res nostra agitur/ It is
our business.”*

Anonymous Latin

During the transition decade, various NGOs took the position of the former dissidents who became politicians and statesmen.

Two laws regulate the activities of NGOs in Moldova: the *Law on Public Associations (1996)*, which stipulates such manner of citizens' amalgamation as association, and the *Law on Foundations (1999)*. The second law provides a legal basis for activities that can and should help the development of the third sector. The Law on Foundations provides a definition of "socially useful foundations" and determines the order of funding such entities. It also stipulates that public finances can be targeted to support activity run by the association and foundation only on a competitive basis.

The first NGOs in Moldova in various legal forms had the possibility to register in 1992. At that time NGOs were a totally new phenomenon in Moldova, and thus during the first year only 38 organizations were registered. According to the data of the Ministry of Justice, *the dynamics of the third sector development* looks as follows:

Table 7.1

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
# of NGOs	38	241	133	204	136	219	224	350

After the adoption of the Law on Public Administration during the period from January 23, 1997, to July 23, 1998, the Ministry of Justice re-registered the NGOs. As of the date of re-registration there were 768 NGOs. Only 350 NGOs were reregistered. Recently, the Ministry of Justice avails of only approximate information on the real number of NGOs in Moldova. Such a situation is caused partly by the fact that local authorities were entitled to register NGOs together with the Ministry of Justice. Although since January 1997 the Ministry of Justice requires all the NGOs to be enlisted in the National Register, this rule is not always observed. For instance, by 1999 there were about 187 local organizations. However, after initiating the territorial-administrative reform, the links between the counties' administrations and respective services of the Ministry of Justice were temporarily broken; this is why the local authorities do not always inform the Ministry of Justice of the new NGOs. Currently, according to the data of the third sector activists, in Moldova there are about 2000 NGOs. The Ministry of Justice presumes that there are only 1400, including about 200 local NGOs.

The *NGOs' fields of activities* were as follows: 22.1% - in culture, 20.4% - in education, 13.4% - in sports, 12.1% - in human rights, 9.7% in medicine 22.3% - others (1999). Unfortunately, there is only a small number of NGOs that focus their activity on political or economical aspects, quality of governance (corruption), etc. The larger part of NGOs is concentrated in big cities (Chisinau, Baltsi) - 85%. This is caused by the availability in big towns of a developed private sector, of a large number of educational institutions, highly qualified staff and access to respective information.

At present an unexpectedly high influx of individuals willing to set up a public organization has been traced. It happens due to some reasons. One of them is the high rate of unemployment among the socially active highly qualified professionals, their desire to employ their capabilities more substantially. Not a smaller role is played by the material factor. Undoubtedly among NGOs founders there is a certain share of individuals, who due to delusions or poor knowledge of legislation assume that NGOs have considerable possibilities in getting *tax exemptions and financial support* from abroad. Of course, foreign funding has a huge importance for NGO development in Moldova. The number of Western countries often prefer to provide means to the non-government sector, expecting a more efficient usage. However, the Moldovan NGOs, at times, get Western grants with more difficulty, compared to NGO structures from geographically and economically "more noticeable" countries of Southeastern Europe or the Ukraine and Russia. Given that grants are small, there is a competition in the third sector for getting them.

In order to get a grant, a special training is necessary, at least the knowledge of English, PC skills, the ability to correctly write applications, substantiate the importance of the objective

In Moldova there are now more than 1,400 NGOs; the main fields of their activities are human rights, education, ecology. A smaller number of NGOs focus their activity on the political or economic problems.

The state and NGOs are ready to cooperate, but still do not have a clear idea of how this cooperation should work.

and the necessity of the funding. This is why it is considered that the facet of the Moldovan NGOs is represented by one or two hundred organizations that succeed in getting grants. Most other NGOs act practically without any means. There is another problem – some citizens, acting in the third sector, are sure that a series of Western organizations that provide grants are not always politically neutral and that they support NGOs with a certain political slant. Undoubtedly such a risk exist, given among other that the domestic possibilities of the private banks, etc. to finance NGOs so far are used very insignificantly. In the countries with a highly developed third sector the issues are absolutely different. The long-term traditions of social activism and cooperation of authorities with the public cause good conditions for NGOs activity in the developed countries. With regard to Moldova, the state and NGOs are not accustomed to cooperate, and often have a poor picture of how this cooperation can work. Moreover, both from one side and another, elements of mutual suspicion can be sometimes traced.

Theoretically the state can participate financially in the development of the third sector. In this case according to the legislation the public means should be shared only based on a competitive basis. NGOs have also certain tax concessions. For instance, the Fiscal Code stipulates that NGOs are exempted from the tax on income; yet, it does not pertain to commercial activities of those organizations. Some years ago certain organizations, such as the Metropolis Foundation of Moldova, abused the tax exemptions established for them, which might compromise the idea of NGOs support by the state.

The legislation encourages legal entities that are ready to sponsor NGOs. In case of funds transfer by the private legal entities or physical persons on the account of an NGO, the taxable income of the enterprise or person is diminished. To mention is that the exemption covers only 7% of the taxable income of the grant maker.

The registration procedure can stall off the development of the third sector. Those who wish to create an NGO encounter certain difficulties. Regardless of the contribution of the staff of the Ministry of Justice, to register an NGO is sometimes more difficult than to register a commercial firm, given that it is impossible to use a standard set of documents because each NGO has its own specific traits. Besides, only the procedure of registration, preparing a seal pattern and so on, requires a minimum of 50-60 USD, which is a considerable amount for many of those who wish to set up an NGO. Regardless of the importance of the objectives, which the certain NGO may assume, the creation of such an organization often provides jobs for a number of people, which in itself helps to resolve an unemployment problem. By settling this problem personally for oneself, these people often resolve this problem simultaneously for others, which is a good alternative for highly qualified specialists, who often have no possibility to participate in the first or second sectors. Experts state the desirability for the state, to provide on a competitive basis funds for third sector development. They consider that the state might use the already secured resources from the state and local budgets for funding development of sports, work with children and youth, to NGOs, which can transparently manage those funds. Well known, for instance, is the active work of the Moldovan ecological NGOs, which currently constitute a sound competition to slow-moving state structures designed for environment protection, structures whose activity are often soundly criticized by both unofficial and ecologists, such cases having been recorded in the files of the Chamber of Accounts.

The ethics of the third sector, as a rule, do not allow people to get involved in politics. However, its activists state that, regretfully, certain organizations can hardly be regarded as apolitical in the real sense of the word. Involvement in politics is regarded by some activists as casting a shadow on public organizations as a whole.

The overwhelming majority of NGOs now active in Moldova were created and registered in the post-Soviet time, but there are some organizations existing from the Soviet times. Among these are the so-called “creative unions” of writers, artists, architects, composers and musicologists, and journalists. They inherited from the Soviet time some property (buildings, workshops and other), the legal status of which is not fully distinct. The majority of this

property belongs formally to the state, but de facto unions' leadership manages it at its discretion. This constitutes a source of certain revenues for the proper organizations. Moreover, secundum to the Resolution of Parliament "On the Order of Rendering Help to Creative Unions of Moldova" (May 1998), they are granted a certain financial support from the state budget, a fact that places them into the advantageous position compared to other NGOs. These circumstances explain why, in the tenth year after the Soviet system collapsed, the organizations that were created under the authoritarian regime as a tool of supervision of the cultural sphere by the Communist Party are still there.

Among the "creative unions", one should particularly single out the Union of Journalists, which plays a rather active role asserting the mass media freedom and in lobbying for progressive legislation on the protection of honor and dignity, etc. The Union of Journalists is probably the only one of all the creative unions that lasted from the old times which has found a new role for itself in the post-Soviet times.

Though the professional unions are usually not considered among the third sector components, by their nature they usually approximate NGOs in, for instance, the voluntariness of membership and independence from the state. Modern Moldovan reality, though, is far from this position. Firstly, membership in *trade unions* is still de facto obligatory for everyone who works for a wage, who by the tradition established in the Soviet past pays one percent of his/her wage as a trade-union due. Secondly, the trade unions kept their rather substantial property in the form of buildings for offices, health centers, prophylactic centers and rest homes. Before 1998, the trade unions allocated some part of the Social Fund budget in the form of privileged directions for the treatment of socially vulnerable groups of the population.

Moldova has a very fresh act on trade unions (July 2000). At the same time one should mention that Moldovan trade unions, having kept decisively their structure, cadres and even some of their functions ("National Federation of Independent Trade Unions" is a successor of the analogical Soviet organization), are an important social partner of the authorities. And though trade unions, first of all the one of employees of the budget-financed sphere, occasionally conduct actions of protest that create certain problems for the Government, the latter prefers – and for the present it succeeds in doing this – to maintain relations of partnership with trade unions and preserve some of their doubtful, from the legal point of view privileges, fairly supposing that the organized protest is better than the spontaneous one.

There also are professional organizations of lawyers (*Bar Association*) and notaries (*Union of Notaries*) in Moldova that are registered and operate in accordance with individual acts on these professions. These organizations fulfill an important regulating role in their areas, but lately they are more and more criticized for monopolistic practices, and so not long ago their powers were cut down in the legislative way.

The experience of countries with highly developed democracy, where a considerable share of the population is employed in the third sector, shows that the civil society will become fully-valuable only when the state and the society as a whole become sound, when not only the state but also the business admit the need to cooperate with the third sector and most of the funding will flow to NGOs from those sources rather than from abroad.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that development of the third sector in itself does not exhaust the problems of the formation of civil society. But it is a necessary element of modern democracy that provides a higher level of citizens' participation in governance, stability and efficiency of democratic institutions. From this point of view one cannot help mentioning certain and rather significant progress achieved in the Republic of Moldova during the years of independence.

Professional unions and organizations fulfill an important regulating role in the respective areas, but they are being criticized for the monopolistic practices of collaboration.

*“I have a mouth, but
I have no tongue.”*

Moldovan proverb

**In Moldova there
are 294 registered
newspapers and maga-
zines, of which 76%
are Chisinau-based.**

7.2. Mass Media and the Free Flow of Information

Culture of Peace and Mass Media.

“Democracy” and “culture of peace” are notions incorporating a multitude of ideological, political and social significance. The epoch we live in may be one of most complicated, in terms of transformations and changes which have occurred. Under the contemporary sight one system failed and another emerged. Thus, the society has been going through a new social-political framework in which the new ideas, new linguistic formulations, as well as the original meaningful fields are in an explosive development.

One of most important characteristics of the democratic society is related to the functioning of the mass media, the latter succeeding to reflect properly the social life and to have an impact on the democratic transformations. Having the latitude to think autonomously, to independently express and inform constitutes an integral part of the essential human rights and freedoms, as well as an absolutely necessary lever for promoting the culture of peace. This is why the mass media are a key factor in the process of peoples’ and political will mobilization.

If previously, in the former times, the mass media were plausible only as providers of services for only one party, nowadays the mass media in Moldova has to support amazing changes. One of them envisioned modifications in their quantitative dimensions. The once static “body” of the mass media enlivened. Significant in this sense is the evolution of the electronic mass media. In the early '90s in Moldova only one audio-visual institution used to operate – the state company “Tele-Radio Moldova”. In 1993, the first private radio station “Unda Libera” emerged on the domestic market. Now (in 2000), there are 13 private radio stations and 53 private TV stations: 15 in Chisinau, 5 in Baltsi, 3 in Comrat, two in 6 cities each and one in 18 cities each. According to the reception area, only the “Little Samaritan” radio station avails of 5 retransmission centers across the country’s territory.

Important changes have also occurred in the field of information agencies. The exclusive monopoly of the official institution “Moldpress” was substituted through a relevant diversification of informational sources benefitting the press. There are about 10 independent agencies, the most successful of them operating Infotag, Basa-press, DECA-press, Interlic and some others. They, even if they may be too many for the small Moldova, are noticeable through their tendency to deeply analyze the course of local events, and present them from various angles. The written press also registered considerable quantitative evolutions. According to the Center of Independent Journalism in the country 294 newspapers and magazines were registered, of them 71 in the counties and 223 in Chisinau. Their regular issuance during the last years was jeopardized by financial and technical difficulties, a fact that is proved by the disappearance of certain titles, dissolution of others, or sporadic issuance without keeping to the intervals announced initially. The general vector of the quantitative evolution of the domestic mass media suggests that Moldova ranks among the countries with a middle level of mass media development. According to the minimal standards formulated by UNESCO, in each state of the world, at least 100 daily newspapers should be available per 1000 inhabitants, 50 radio sets and 20 TV-sets. According to many experts’ assessments, Moldova complies with the necessary minimum and in many regards even exceeds it. In terms of watching TV programs, Moldova is very close to the middle European level (250 TV-sets per 1000 inhabitants). The index of radio sets availability (550 per 1000 inhabitants) exceeds more than 10-fold the minimum quota established by UNESCO.

The Right to Information and Public Information Means.

The Law on Press and the Law on Audio-Visual Means guarantee the necessary framework for the mass media functioning in Moldova. Various mass media bodies are affiliated to the state structures, political parties, socio-political and ethnical movements.

Religious press is also available. The Romanian and the Russian press enjoy a vast circulation in the Republic of Moldova. There are no restrictive regulations on the import and

export of press. The audiovisual institutions develop more slowly due to a paucity of funds for their support, and also due to the state monopoly in this field. Although the public information means from Moldova have suffered considerable changes and, partially qualitative, it is still too early to speak about the independent spirit thereof.

Meanwhile, legal axes in the country have been already created. Thus, the Constitution stipulates: "The public information means are not subjected to any censure" (Art. 34(5); "Public information means, either state-owned or private, are obliged to insure correct information of public opinion" (Art. 34(4). In this context, by the fact that the Law on the Audio-Visual Means stipulates priority access of the central authorities to public audio-visual institutions, constitutional norms are actually neglected, this way mass media pluralism is being undermined. This state of affairs is aggravated by the fact that the State Company "Tele-Radio Moldova" is a monopolistic audio-visual institution, it being the only one which covers the entire territory of the country. Due to missing stipulations in the Law on Press that would insure the right of the mass media bodies to file a case against interference on behalf of the public authorities, they are frequently used for propagating the major interests of the governing political groups, in particular during the electoral campaigns. Also, cases are reported when the state officials take over the functions of judges, admonishing the press bodies. Another type of control is on behalf of the political parties, political movements and interests groups, both corporate and commercial. This dependence of the mass media organs is supported by their economic shortages. Until now there is no law which would define precisely what is meant by "public interest information" and would stipulate procedures to obtain it. The Law on Press stipulates in a declarative manner the access of journalists to all kinds of information, except to the one considered to be "a state secret."

Yet, the inexact definition in the legislation of what is understood by "secrets of state," allows the legislature, executive and other state bodies at any level to consider "secret" any information of public interest. In the conditions when the popular mentality does not yet favor transparency in social life, the access to information continues to be further dependant on the free arbitration of the public authorities' representatives. So far the policy of the state of the Republic of Moldova does not favor a prodigious development of the private mass media. The number of private TV and radio studios that have emerged in Moldova during the last years, as well as their geographical span, is not satisfactory and does not succeed in shaping a democratic alternative to the monopolistic state audio-visual sector. The vast majority of publications in the Republic of Moldova declare themselves as independent. At best, this is something arguable, if to proceed from the current realities.

The profession of a journalist requires from its practitioners courage and impartiality. In conditions of the low wages that journalists receive and an overall socio-economic crisis, when many things and many individuals depend on financial means available only through the governing structures, political parties and commercial units, practicing journalism is easily taken for providing services, just like any other business. In addition to that, once there is no, at least officially declared, censure, and a due legal protection of journalists, is undeclared self-censuring and willful avoiding of delicate issues become ethical norms for those who exercise the art of communication.

Information Possibilities and Inverse Connection.

The informational space in the Republic of Moldova sometimes gets paradoxical forms. On the one hand, through Internet, its globalization takes place, and, on the other hand, it shrinks because many categories of our citizens are affected by the shortage of electricity, and due to frequent breaks in power supply (both in districts and localities), they do not have the possibility to use electronic informational means. In some cases it is possible for a citizen to know what is going on far away from Moldova and not be aware of what happens in a neighboring district or town. The numerous news agencies do not cover an integral informational space, given that none of them avails of a unified net of covering all the regions of the country.

Independence and pluralism of mass media are declared by law. But, in reality dependence of mass media on public authorities, political parties and interest groups still persists.

There is another limiting circumstance: on the sales distribution market of the periodical editions, the monopoly is held by the state entity "Posta Moldovei", which raises prices for rendered services at their own mercy. In addition 44-46% and on the selling of a newspaper goes to this organization. The fee is increasing in line with the rising prices for the printing services and paper. In these conditions editors of the periodical editions raise the subscription prices, so that they become inaccessible for most of the readers.

That is why it is not surprising that opinion polls carried out in January-February 2000 showed that only 21% of the respondents considered themselves to be well informed and about 48% were not informed about social and political events.

Needs of the Society and Professionalism.

Mass media has a very large responsibility for the maintenance of the spirit of cooperation and stability in the society. Renouncing violence and accepting as a necessity the formation

of a new concept of the world, based on solidarity, pluralism, dialogue and respect for various cultures depending on the socio-cultural and concrete economic context – this is the only way of reaching those general human values.

On its way to reaching this target, the Moldovan society encounters severe difficulties and confrontations, caused by political, social or ethnic circumstances, as well as by an erroneous understanding of freedom as a "good" provided without any civil obligations.

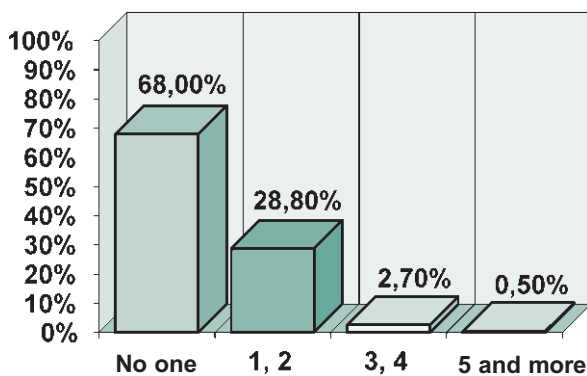
Under these conditions a lot depends on the ethics and professionalism of journalists, their solidarity on the basis of democracy and human values. Also to be mentioned is that journalists try to consolidate their forces – both for ameliorating the state of affairs in the mass

media, in general, as well as for increasing the level of their professional competence. Apart from the Union of Journalists of Moldova, there is also the Center of Independent Journalism, Committee for Freedom of Press, the Guild of Agrarian Journalists from Moldova, Social Protection Fund and the Association of Electronic Media, which comprises seven audiovisual posts ("Antena C", "Polidisc", Radio d'Or, "Unda Liberă", Radio and TV "Blue Star", TV Telecom, etc.).

In 2000 – the International Year of a Culture of Peace, the internalization of such a culture in Moldova should be based not only on the declaration of human rights, but rather on their implementation. That is why a wide spread of knowledge of what the Culture of Peace means, and the promotion of non-violence and tolerance are the priorities of the mass media.

Fig 7.1

Opinion Poll: How Many Newspapers and Magazines Does Your Family Subscribe to?



Source: "Women in the Society and Professionalism", Chisinau 1999.

Chapter 8

External Challenges and Prospects for the Culture of Peace

8.1 Moldova on its Way to European Integration

Moldova's Declaration of Independence (1991) proclaimed the Republic of Moldova "a sovereign, independent and democratic state, free to decide on its present and future without any intrusion from abroad...." It asked all states to recognize its independence and expressed its intention to establish diplomatic relations with all countries in the world in compliance with international law. The newly independent state asked to be admitted to the UN as a plenipotentiary member-state, having declared its adherence to the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe, as well as OSCE and their mechanisms. By adopting the Declaration of Independence, the climax of Moldova's democratic movement towards the national emancipation in the late '80s was reached. The former soviet republic opened the way to the European community, offering the Moldovan society greater possibilities for mutual relations with practically all countries of the world.

Moldova's relations with the external world, particularly with Europe, have been and continue to be indicative of the history of this region, in particular of its historical background and geographic position. Across the centuries the country has been in a particular geopolitical position, serving as a frontier for empires and regional superpowers. In the Middle Ages Moldova represented a frontier zone against Ottoman expansion to Eastern Europe. Later, at the end of the 18th century, it became the western frontier of the Russian Empire. Between the two World Wars, Moldova was reintegrated within the Romanian frontiers, which in fact represented a buffer zone between Soviet expansionism and Europe. Since the Cold War ended and Moldova has declared its independence, it has made efforts to overcome its frontier status between the zones of influence of the regional and global superpowers, perceiving European integration as an historical chance to reach this goal.

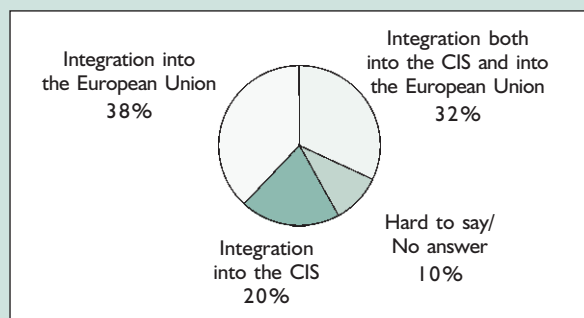
Since the early '90s and depending on the political parties that came to power, the diplomacy of the young state of Moldova experienced spectacular evolution and change that often proved to be contradictory. Depending on the awareness of the new political elite of the new geopolitical circumstances and interests of the parties and alliances that came to power, the concept of relations with foreign countries evolved from Moldova's declaration of itself as a "neutral state" and "demilitarized zone" to admitting the historical need of returning to a European-oriented development of the country. Through the presidential election in 1996 and the consolidation of center and reformist political forces, it was declared that the strategic priority and long-term objective of the country's foreign policy lay in the development as a part of Europe and Moldova's adherence to the European Union. This constitutes current policy. After almost ten years of independent development Moldova perceives the European option as a favorable framework for preserving and enhancing Moldovan independence, for ensuring the security and stability of the country and its citizens, for gradually overcoming the general crisis and

*"Non progredi est regredi/
Not going ahead means
going back."*

Anonymous Latin

Box 8.1

Opinion Poll: there is a lot of talk about the need of integration for the Republic of Moldova. Integration into the European Union, integration into the CIS. In your opinion, what should be the orientation of our country?



Source: Barometrul de Opinie Publică – 2000, IMAS, Chişinău, 2000

for the creation of material conditions for decent living standards for Moldovan citizens.

Only some leftist radical parties plead for the unilateral orientation towards developing relations with the Eastern NIS zone, proceeding from doctrinal considerations that are outdated, and enjoying almost exclusive support from the people, nostalgic for the era of Soviet-style socialism. The partisans of European integration consider that adherence to existing continental communities, and first of all to the European Union, will enhance the influx of private investment and create the conditions necessary to overcome the social and economic depression that the country experienced during the transition period.

Stabilization of the economic situation will create preconditions for improving the living standards of the vast majority of the citizens in the country. The decision makers and opinion leaders in Moldova are aware that the country's integration in the European structures might accelerate Moldova's transformation into a modern state with an efficient economy and stable democratic institutions, thus offering Moldovans a chance to build a dignified future in the family of European nations.

Because the Republic of Moldova is located at the junction of the Balkans, Eastern Europe and the NIS, it could become a transit zone and a linking "gate" between Southern Europe and the NIS. Moldova will therefore participate in the globalization and regionalization process with a view to achieving the advantages that derive from its proximity to certain regional bodies and markets.

The Culture of Peace has particular importance for the Republic of Moldova as a new independent state on the way to European integration. Pan-European support is very important for the Republic of Moldova in the solution of the Transnistrian problem as well. Unfortunately, eschewing violence and attempting to resolve this problem via political and diplomatic means did not result in any concrete progress. The eastern region of Moldova continues to be controlled by separatists and supplied with foreign arms. Regardless of this bleak situation, promoting the fundamental principles of the Culture of Peace in Moldova remains practically the only policy capable of providing a long-term perspective and positive

Box 8.2

Euro-Regions: a New Form of Collaboration

Integration into the European community presupposes the realization of active policy of good-neighborhood relations and regional cooperation. First of all, it is a cooperation between the states. Secondly, it is a cooperation between separate regions of states. And, thirdly, it is a cross-border cooperation between the neighboring territories.

The new for Moldova form of the regional cooperation through "euro-regions" is meant to stimulate not only a growth of the economy and the living standards of the population in the peripheral zones of the countries, but also to overcome the estrangement that took place in the past. There are 235 regions collaborating with each other in the European community now. 75 out of them are euro-regions, which involve 38 states. The term "euro-region" implies a specific form of the cross-border cooperation at the level of local authorities. An important feature of the euro-region is the existence of multi-ethnic and ethnically related population on both sides of the border.

In the 90's regional collaboration has intensified between the Republic of Moldova, Romania and the Ukraine. This is explained by the fact that during this period the formation of independent Moldova and the Ukraine begins and multilateral relations between the states of the region are established. Three-lateral cooperation became closer after the Ismail (July 1997) and Chisinau (October 1998) Declarations of the Presidents of the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine, and after the signing of Protocol on Tri-Lateral Cooperation between the Governments of Moldova, the Ukraine and Romania.

To intensify the cooperation between Moldova, Romania and the Ukraine euro-regions "Upper Prut" and "Lower Danube" have been created. The cooperation embraces not only economic, cultural, and social, but also financial fields. "Euro-regions" are intended to attract foreign investments to the local projects that are easier to monitor and to show their results.

Euro-region "Upper Prut" was started in 2000 on the territory of two Romanian judetses - counties (Suceava, Botosani), two Moldovan judetses (Edinet, Balti) and the Chernovtsy district of the Ukraine. Problems that still need to be solved here relate to ecological security, tourism protection of interests of national minorities and provision of their cultural needs, economy, creation of multi-cultural university in Chernovtsy, etc.

Euro-region "Lower Danube" was formed in 1998 on the initiative of the authorities of three Romanian judetses - counties (Tulcea, Braila, Galati), one judets of Moldova (Cahul) and the Odessa district of the Ukraine. The fields of collaboration include ecology, economy and employment, infrastructure, education, health-care, joint struggle against the natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, etc.). The cooperation of the Cahul University (Republic of Moldova) and the Galati University "Lower Danube" (Romania) has also begun.

Thus, the neighboring states implement step by step programs of good-neighborhood relations and fruitful regional cooperation.

Valeriu Moşneaga, *Political Scientist*

results for the vast majority of the Moldovan population on the both banks of the river Nistru.

Liberty and equity, respecting fundamental human rights, efficient government and tolerance are needed to consolidate society as a whole and re-establish bridges exploded by aggression and violence, intolerance and arrogance. Insuring solidarity through mutual understanding of various social strata actually protects society from self-destruction. It is this idea that forms the groundwork for preventing and resolving conflict. By applying the key values of the culture of peace – tolerance, solidarity, respect for individual rights and liberties, a pluralism of opinions, it is possible to resolve the difficult problems inherent in overcoming the totalitarian past. Dialogue, negotiations and mediation will considerably reduce the risk of wars and violent break-ups. Establishing peace and stability in Moldova by preserving territorial integrity is one of the major tasks of the governing circles and the Moldovan society as a whole. This task fully complies with one of UNESCO's main missions: building peace through collaboration between nations, through training and education, and developing culture and science in order to consolidate the universal respect towards the supremacy of law.

For a post-communist society like that of Moldova, real implementation of the culture of peace has a particular significance. Such a society can be ensured only through education and training. Introducing the culture of peace is a long-term process, which implies a radical modification of political and social practices, amelioration of public institutions, and modifying behavior at the individual level in particular.

In this way, Moldova's establishing and developing relations with countries having long-term democratic experience plays a totally different role in the country's return to civilized development. Moldova's gradual integration into multilateral European institutions serves as a catalyst in this process.

In the modern world, dominated by globalization and intensifying international contacts, the culture of peace emerges as a sure way towards stability and mutual understanding. Active participation in promoting these basic values is important. Cooperation between countries and active involvement of the populations in these processes, can create an atmosphere of stability, order and peace. With the disappearance of dogmatic ideology came a radical modification of the general visions and basic ethical and moral values — a return of Moldovan society to general human values. A gradual return to such values — their rehabilitation and the integration of national culture in the flow of international values — becomes one of the main tasks of Moldovan intellectuals and domestic cultural institutions.

An intensive exchange of cultural values with other nations contributes, in a decisive manner, to reaching this strategic objective. Thus, the relations between CEE countries, including Romania, based on common history and similar cultural traditions, have a particular importance for the natural evolution of the processes of spiritual and cultural convergence.

The assistance provided by the international bodies acting in this field, UN agencies and particularly UNESCO, contributes to an improved situation in the field of cultural in the Republic of Moldova, and to a renewed understanding of the role and importance of the cultural and spiritual structures in life and in the community.

8.2 Peace And Security: The Role of International Organizations

Moldova – United Nations

The Republic of Moldova became a member of the United Nations on March 2, 1992. Since then, the Republic of Moldova has actively participated in the UN work on the development of regional and international strategies for collaboration and sustainable development. The UN Agencies in Moldova (UNDP, UNICEF, UNHCR, UNESCO, WHO and many others) actively help the country realize its national development tasks: creating a state based on the rule of law; ensuring human rights and fundamental freedoms, improving gover-

Pan-European support is very important for the Republic of Moldova in solving the Transnistrian issue and in securing stability in the region.

“Once there will be the sun on our street as well.”

Moldovan proverb

**UN Agencies in
Moldova place people at
the center of the
development process and
advocate for giving them
a voice in making
decisions that affect
their lives.**

nance, strengthening local self-administration; developing education and health-care, supporting the most socially vulnerable strata of the population (children, refugees, etc.), and promoting gender equality and environmental protection.

The United Nations Agencies in Moldova place people at the center of the development process and advocate for giving them a voice in the decisions that affect their lives. The UN concept of human development comprises four essential components: equity — equitable access to opportunities; sustainable development, or responsibility toward future generations, who should have the same chances for development as does the current generation; productivity, or investment in human resources and in creating a macroeconomic environment that will enable individuals to reach their maximum potential; and empowerment, in the sense that people should reach a level of individual development that will allow them to exercise choices based upon multiple options.

During the first phase of the reform in the '90's, the main goals were democratization of society and affirmation of human freedoms; macro-stabilization, privatization and liberalization of the economy. Now, social issues, real sector development, structural reforms, and improving the legal and judicial system, are in the foreground.

To the extent that the UN agencies in the Republic of Moldova assist in addressing these problems, they are charged with enhancing the responsibility of citizens for maintaining democratic institutions. UN agencies also assist in the development of local public administrations highlighting that civic participation is extremely important for improving governance and fostering people's involvement in decision-making. One of the most important focus areas in the governance field that is being addressed by the UN is a fight against corruption. For being successful, this fight requires unified efforts by the government, business and international community and civil society.

The alleviation of poverty is another urgent problem for Moldova and one of the major priorities of the UN activity in the country. Efforts in this field are coordinated with those of other international organizations. Anti-poverty policies should be part of a social strategy, which is built on a concept of human development. Particular attention, in this case, should be paid to placing the Government in the "driver's seat."

UN Agencies in Moldova proceed from the belief that a society-wide consensus on the direction of reform is necessary. Political stability and viable economic transformation can only be sustained if supported by the population. The country also requires a strong and effective Government that is able to enforce law and to maintain institutions, norms and practices essential for a genuine market economy and sustainable human development. In the course of transition from a centrally-planned to a market economy, the state has retained its social responsibilities. Management methods in the area of social security, however, need to be changed. Of primary importance for Moldova are the issues of poverty eradication, reform of social insurance system, health care reform, education and labor market formation. The principal difficulty associated with social sector reform lies in the fact that new arrangements must be both socially just and economically balanced.

Thus, one of the main objectives of the forthcoming years of cooperation between Moldova and the UN is defined as improving the quality of governance in the country and shifting from the tactics of surviving towards a strategy of long-term development.

Moldova – European Union

The Republic of Moldova established relations with the European Union in 1992. Although in formal terms Moldova maintains relations with this prestigious European community, the country at present does not meet the criteria necessary to join the EU. In order to reach that strategic objective, the Republic of Moldova makes efforts to meet the criteria established for the candidate countries, namely:

- Establishment of institutions guaranteeing democracy, rule of law, respecting human rights of national minorities, as well as their protection (political criterion);

- The availability of a viable market economy, as well as the capacity to meet both competitive and market forces' pressures on behalf of the Union (economic criterion);
- The ability to assume the responsibilities of an EU member, including adherence to political, economic and monetary objectives of the EU.

Current relations between the Republic of Moldova and the EU are defined by the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA), signed in November 1994 and enforced in July 1998. At the same time, the PCA does not finalize relations between the Republic of Moldova and the EU, as the emphasis is placed only on cooperation and on eventually joining the EU. In May 1999, by launching the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, and later the Stabilization and Association Process, the EU provided such an opportunity to five Southeastern European countries: Macedonia, Croatia, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia. The Republic of Moldova, which continues to be among the states that are not ready for signing such an agreement, will be provided assistance in complying with the necessary conditions.

A start was made in inaugurating relations with the EU by working within common institutions: the Cooperation Council Republic of Moldova and the EU, the Cooperation Committee RM-EU and Parliamentarian Com-mittee for Cooperation RM-EU. The successful implementation of the PCA is conceived by both sides as one of the principal conditions on which Moldova's further relations with the EU depend.

This also means sustaining efforts in the country's candidacy towards full use of the opportunities provided by the PCA and continuing integration in the economic, political and legal institutions of the EU. One of the most important aspects of the integration process is the harmonization of Moldovan legislation to EU legislation and practices. *Acquis-communautaire* constitutes the legislative paradigm of the actual European communities, which are mandatory for aspiring countries to implement in their national legal frameworks. Harmonization of the legislative system of the RM with that of the EU will be a guide and catalyst for Moldovan institutional development processes, helping to accelerate reforms in all fields while fostering a long-term perspective in developing relations with the European partners.

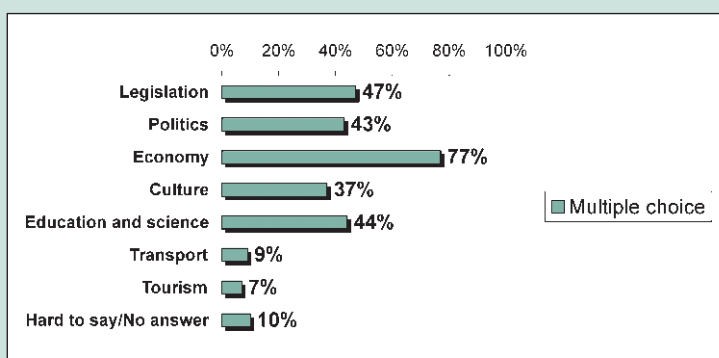
The strategy of Moldova's adherence to the EU contains the following important arguments, favoring the signature of the Agreement on Association with the EU:

- ensuring a clear perspective of the RM integration into the united European family;
- creating a legal framework that would facilitate political dialogue and commercial-economic relations with the member states of the EU and its associate members;
- including the country into the assistance program designed for the candidate countries to reach the objective of joining the EU;
- participating in the dialogue established between the EU and associated countries;
- facilitating plenary adherence to a series of European bodies and initiatives, such as CEFTA, the European Conference, the Royaumont process, the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, Process of Cooperation in Europe (SEECP);

Moldova makes efforts to meet the criteria necessary for joining the European Union.

Box 8.3

Opinion Poll: if Moldova integrates into the European Union, what do you think are the areas in which it should integrate extensively?



Source: Barometrul de Opinie Publică – 2000, IMAS, Chişinău, 2000

The strategy of Moldova's adherence to the EU will stimulate the promotion of reforms and democratization of social life.

- ensuring the access of Moldovan products to the Common Market through the liberalization of trade exchanges between the RM and the EU;
- facilitating inclusion into the projects on expansion and development of infrastructure of trans-European nets (transport, communications, energy complex);
- participating in various joint programs (research, industrial cooperation, energy, environmental protection, trans-border cooperation, etc.).

- facilitating the development of relations with European countries with associate status and eliminating barriers that may emerge between the RM and those countries in reaching the level of the progressive integration of the state-candidates to EU.

A gradual approach to EU member states will consolidate Moldova's status and will accelerate Moldovan society's return to a developmental course based on the practical realization of European values. The conditions of adherence to EU and conditions laid down by the EU will stimulate the promotion of economic and democratic reforms in the Republic of Moldova.

Exclusion of the country from the extension process of the EU might imply Moldova's marginalization. That would have a negative impact on the transitional processes, provoking social and political instability and jeopardizing the stability in South Eastern Europe. A widening gap between Moldova and other countries in the CEE through a differentiated treatment will engender additional difficulties in the bilateral relations between Moldova and the countries of this part of Europe.

In fact, currently there are no alternatives to overcoming the crisis engendered by the rejection of a totalitarian past and attempts to modernize Moldova in a relatively short time other than by participating in the European integration processes. The strategy of Moldova's association with the EU stipulates also an efficient cooperation with the United Nations and international financial institutions. Measures will be undertaken in working out and implementing a strategy for middle-term economic development that would clearly establish the priority objectives and actions for the country, as well as the mechanisms for coordination and making more efficient the assistance provided to the Republic of Moldova by the UN family, donor countries and financial institutions with a view to reach strategic objectives of the country.

European regional and sub-regional cooperation is an indispensable and important component of the European integration process for the Republic of Moldova. At the nexus of certain regional structures which may not join together, and in case it is not possible to accelerate and deepen relations with the EU, the Republic of Moldova undertakes consequent steps aimed at activating its participation in other bodies and initiatives in order to negotiate admission into the regional bodies it is interested in. Decision makers responsible for foreign policy are making sustained efforts to attain for Moldova the status of a plenipotentiary member in the Stability Pact for South - Eastern Europe.

After the launch of the initiative on regional cooperation among the Carpathian-Balkan countries in 1999, the southeastern dimension of Moldova's European integration policy is being shaped as one of its first priorities. A concrete step in this direction was obtaining an observer status in the Stability Pact for the South-Eastern Europe. Nowadays, one of the main objectives of Moldovan diplomacy is to obtain the same treatment for the RM that other countries in South-Eastern Europe enjoy. Currently, benefiting from the European Commission support, the Council of Europe and some other EU member states, Moldova continues to undertake steps in applying for the status of a plenipotentiary member of the Pact.

Until this status is obtained, Moldova will capitalize on the possibilities offered by its current observer status, by participating in the Regional Roundtable Sessions and the working sessions set up within the Pact, as well as in the initiatives and projects of this emerging regional organization. Of particular interest for the RM is its plenary involvement in imple-

menting projects in the fields of transport, communications, energy, trade, fighting corruption, environmental protection, etc. In order to broaden the possibilities of participating in the Stability Pact projects, Moldova will apply for the status of beneficiary state. For instance, Moldova will benefit from participating in the development of the infrastructure, equipment and services necessary for the Pan-European Transport IX Corridor, crossing the territory of the RM. The corridor will contribute to promoting trade and the flow of passengers between the EU, CEE and NIS countries.

Moldova participates in the actions undertaken by the regional bodies and in the initiatives it is part of today: the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the Central European Initiative, the Council of Europe, OSCE, the Cooperation Initiative on South Eastern Europe, the USA Plan for South-Eastern Europe, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, the Danube Countries Working Commission, the Partnership for Peace Programme. The strategy regarding the association with the EU requires intensification of the RM's activities within the Plan for South-Eastern Europe and further integration into the Southeastern regional bodies and institutions. In 1999, Moldova applied for admission into the Royaumont Process, based on an observer status, and into the Process of Cooperation in the South-Eastern Europe (CEECP). This document provides for commencing negotiations with a view to signing bilateral agreements on free trade with the South-Eastern European countries, in compliance with the one signed already with Romania, and commencing negotiations with a view to join the trilaterals constituted by the South-Eastern European countries: Romania-Bulgaria-Greece, Romania-Bulgaria-Turkey, and others.

An important role in developing relations with neighboring countries and consolidating relations based on mutual trust will be provided by the forthcoming trilateral Romania-Moldova-Ukraine agreement, which intends to enhance the process of trans-border collaboration within the euro - regions "Upper Prut" and "Lower Danube". Renewing the projects of international Free Economic Zones Galati (Romania)-Giurgiulesti (RM)-Reni (Ukraine) and Ungheni (RM)-Iasi (Romania), will undoubtedly foster regional development. Moldova also showed interest in adhering to the trilaterals Romania-Ukraine-Poland, and Romania-Hungary-Austria. Moldova is one of the countries benefiting from technical assistance within the TACIS programs, being interested also in participating in the common trans-border projects like PHARE-TACIS. Moldova's inclusion in the list of beneficiaries of EU programs provided for the other countries of the South-Eastern Europe will broaden considerably the spectrum of fields where concrete technical and financial assistance projects will be implemented in order to further promote democratic reforms.

Moldova – Council of Europe

During the '90s relations between Moldova and the Council of Europe were developing both at the inter-parliamentary and inter-ministerial levels. The efforts made by the Council of Europe were directed at ensuring democratic security and human rights throughout the whole European and Eurasian space. The Kosovo crisis and the launch of the Stability Pact for South - Eastern Europe led to assuming certain additional responsibilities by the Council of Europe in providing for a democratic climate in the Carpathian-Balkan zone.

The parliamentary delegation of Moldova to the Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe (APCE), formed on the basis of proportionality in the Moldovan legislature, actively participated in the work of all the sessions of this forum. Thus, at the initiative of the Moldovan delegation, resolutions were submitted with regard to human rights violations in the Transnistrian region of the RM, the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Moldovan territory and the recognition of Bessarabian Bishoprics in the RM. At the same time, the Moldovan delegation supported a series of initiatives of the delegations from other states in such fields as respect for human rights in the conflict zones of Europe, new technologies, ecology, as well as the APCE initiative on contributing to the implementation of the Stability Pact in South Eastern Europe.

Exclusion of the country from the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe might eventually lead to Moldova's marginalization.

Enhancing efforts of this European organization in the Transnistrian region might contribute to improving dialogue with the separatist authorities at a level that could ensure consolidation of democratic principles in that region and conflict resolution by way of gradual integration of the districts from the left bank of the Nistru into the legal-administrative system of the Republic of Moldova. In the recent past, more decision makers from the Council of Europe indicated that a political resolution of the conflict in the eastern districts of Moldova could be a political priority of the Council. As a result of Moldovan diplomatic efforts, the Transnistrian subject was included in the working agenda of the quadripartite Reunion of the Council of Europe – European Union (February 1999) and in the working agenda of the Summit Reunion of the Council of Europe – OSCE (February 1999).

Adjusting Moldovan legislation to the European framework continues to be one of the priorities in relations with the Council of Europe. Thus, Moldova signed new Penal and Civil Conventions with regard to fighting corruption, as well as the European Convention on Trans-Border Television. The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova ratified the European Convention on Trans-Border Cooperation of the local public authorities. At the same time, after signing the European Social Charter (revised version) in the fall of 1998, a group of Moldovan experts was constituted to provide studies on bringing national legislation in compliance with the requirements of this important European document that regulates applicable standards of social protection for the population.

One of the major priorities of Moldova in its relations with the Council of Europe is the implementation by the ministries and departments of the actions stipulated in the Action Program for Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability (ADACS) for Moldova, as well as of those stipulated in the Common Program CoE-UE aimed at reforming the legal system and consolidating independent mass-media. With regard to the assistance in the field of juridical cooperation, judiciary reform, policy ethics, human rights, mass media, equality of opportunity and national minorities — both programs were implemented in their entirety.

Moldova continues to collaborate with the Strasbourg Forum in the field of local democracy. In 1999, the Monitoring Commission of the APCE solicited preliminary opinions of the Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) and Congress of the Local and Regional Authorities from Europe (CALRE) on the legislation of the RM on territorial-administrative reform and local public administration. In order to finish the CALRE report on the situation in local administration in the RM, monitors from the Congress visited Chisinau three more times during the last year. The report on the situation in the field of local democracy in the RM was submitted to APCE in May 2000. Representatives of the CoE Secretariat visited the RM with a view to monitoring the local elections of May 23, 1999 and documenting the implementation of the laws on local public administration and the new territorial-administrative structure. The CALRE representatives participated in monitoring regional elections from the Administrative Territorial Unit Gagauz-Yeri, which were held on 22 August 1999.

Moldova – Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE)

The Summit conference of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE: Paris, November 1990) set the beginning of a new stage in the activity of this international organization whose members consist of the European states, the USA and Canada, as well as the NIS. Signing the Paris Charter put an end to the period of confrontation between the East and the West, formulated explicitly the objective of building up a new democratic Europe of peace and unity and based on the fundamental freedoms of human beings. Since Moldova's joining the OSCE, it has enjoyed the permanent support of most members of this forum in its effort to consolidate statehood and ensure territorial integrity.

Although the first OSCE representatives visited Moldova in 1992, the OSCE permanent mission was opened after April 1993 when the Memorandum was signed between this mission and the Government of Moldova. The permanent OSCE mission to Moldova

Moldova collaborates with the Council of Europe in the fields of human rights, legislation development, solution of the Transnistrian issue, promotion of local democracy and support of mass media.

continues to be a factor for equilibrium and an effective mediator in the difficult process of formulating a definitive resolution to the Transnistrian dispute. Recommendations of the OSCE mission were taken most seriously into consideration by the Moldovan side and constituted an operative direction which is still viable today. According to those recommendations, the Transnistrian region is supposed to be accorded a special legal status. This “status” — a broad notion — can be accorded only following the mandatory respect of the territorial integrity of Moldova. In negotiations, the mediation of OSCE has consolidated the position of Chisinau on the international stage. At the summits of the OSCE member states in Budapest (1994) and Lisbon (1996) decisions were approved with regard to the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Moldova, as well as the need for international monitoring of this process. The decision at the summit in Istanbul (1999) on the unconditional withdrawal of the Russian troops from the territory of Moldova by the end of 2001 constituted a decisive step towards the necessary conditions for regulating the conflict situation between the state authorities and secessionists from Transnistria.

Another aspect of the OSCE mission activity is the one related to its collaboration with the Unified Control Commission (UCC) in the security zone, created in 1992 along the bank of the Nistru River. According to those principles, the members of the mission take part in the sessions of the commission and are entitled to make decisions only based on the consent of all delegations, a fact which is not always possible due to the opposition of the delegation from the Transnistrian region. The members of the mission are entitled to visit the objects in the security zone, only based on the consent of all UCC parts. The OSCE mission to Moldova is comprised of military officers and diplomats responsible for working out the Transnistrian status, relations with the mass media and questions related to human rights. The activity of the OSCE mission is made difficult by the fact that the territory of Transnistria is controlled by the separatist authorities which cannot be held accountable for the failure to respect the humanitarian norms of international law other than in the court of European and worldwide public opinion.

The solution of the Transnistrian problem is the main issue in the relations between Moldova and OSCE.

Chapter 9

National Human Development Report As a Tool for Policy Dialogue

The widely disseminated annual National Human Development Report is one of the most visible displays of the UNDP work aimed at the promotion of the principles of sustainable human development in the Republic of Moldova. Since the mid- '90s six reports, focused on specific topics directly linked to the most acute problems triggered by the transition process, were produced and have generated considerable public interest and debate. As a new European state the Republic of Moldova has been struggling with a three-fold task : the strengthening of statehood, the transition to a market economy and the democratization of its society. Considering this, *the following topics for the NHDRs* were chosen year by year: *the impact of Moldova's three-faceted transformation; construction of the state and integration of the society; social cohesion; from centralism to decentralization; transition and human security; and the culture of peace and its implications for Moldova.*

The common goal of these reports was to facilitate policy dialogue on various aspects of social and economic life. As concrete problems there were chosen the following ones: freedom of opinion, expression and participation, the right to own property, the strengthening of the judiciary, gender in development, ethnic tolerance, social inequality, the impact of shadow economy and corruption, etc.

As a proof of the high quality of NHDRs and the growing credibility of UNDP as a policy advisor, recommendations from the latest reports formed a basis for some Government decisions and programmes mainly in the fields of social policy, human rights and quality of governance. One of them was the middle term "Strategic Guidelines of Social-Economic Development of the Republic of Moldova until 2005" wherein attempts were made to move away from the tactics of survival towards a strategy of sustainable development.

The UNDP's advocacy of the people-centered message of sustainable human development is particularly relevant for Moldova, given its history, traditions and the current human problems arising from the transition process. The Government is apparently ready to implement a national human development strategy "Moldova-21", the main point being to meet the requirements of the current generation without affecting the chances of the forthcoming generation to satisfy its proper needs.

During the last two years, NHDRs, whose findings are presented every year at the national conferences attended by representatives of the Government, civil society and the international community, and which have become the subject matter of numerous discussions, were produced by the Center for Strategic Studies and Reforms (CISR). This center is an independent "think tank" established in the framework of a UNDP/World Bank project in answer to the urgent need to strengthen the local capacity for analysis, for monitoring the socio-economic situation and for strategic planning, as was highlighted in one of the first Moldovan National Human Development Reports. Most of the NHDRs were prepared in consultation with an array of local institutions, NGOs and donor-implemented projects, thus serving as an important tool for building stronger partnerships for sustainable human development and providing useful background for new programme initiatives.

The main forms of the implementation of NHDR policy recommendations are the following:

- Government decisions, mainly in the field of social policy, human rights, quality of governance, private sector protection and environmental issues;
- Initiation of new interventions by UN Agencies, e.g. in governance and democracy, strengthening of local administrations, poverty alleviation, curbing corruption;

The main goal of Moldova's NHDRs is to stimulate policy dialogue on the acute problems of social and economic life and to promote the people-centered strategy of sustainable human development.

- Legal initiatives in the field of social protection of the disabled, refugees, etc.;
- Organization of discussions and conferences on NHDR data and key human development indicators;
- Promotion of the principles of sustainable human development through mass media.

Whenever the Human Development Indices for the Republic of Moldova show a negative trend, the Government is prevailed upon to undertake measures of economic recovery and social reform and is oriented to assist the vulnerable strata of the population. Under these circumstances NHDRs have the potential to become a key advocacy tool for policy dialogue and change.

Proceeding from the socio-economic situation that emerged in the Republic of Moldova, and from the results and lessons of the transition period, one could conclude that the main problems that should be settled by the Government, and become the main areas for international cooperation, are as follows:

Quality of governance. Efforts should be focused on building the capability of the central Government, in preparing and making decisions and controlling their enforcement; on the decentralization of state functions, by partial commissioning to local governments; on carrying out anti-corruption measures, enhancing the involvement of civil society institutions in decision-making; on the implementation of the strategy on sustainable development;

Poverty alleviation and economic growth. Primary attention should be paid to two aspects of this problem: (i) ensuring employment and raising incomes, based on private sector development, post-privatization restructuring in industrial and agricultural sectors, stimulating investments and export promotion; (ii) provision of social assistance to the poorest groups of the population;

Human resources enhancement. Creation of a viable system of human rights protection is urgently needed as a key factor in a democratic society. A target should be designed to overcome the negative trends in demographic processes, by carrying out an active health policy and health system reform. To provide for Moldovan society's productivity competitiveness through improved educational policies and corresponding attitudes.

Gender equality. Continue activities of the Government and civil society aimed at ensuring equal opportunities for both women and men to participate in socio-economic and family life; use the competencies, skills and talents of each and every citizen in building the society, solving important problems and building the future.

Environment protection. Efforts should be targeted at creating an ecologically sound environment for life and health, as well as harm-free food and household items. The key problems for the country are preserving its main asset – fertile soils — and providing qualitative drinking water. Of particular importance in this densely populated country is to restore the ecological equilibrium.

Both Global and National Human Development Reports have become a popular source of reference for public figures and academia, with the key human development indicators and the human development index often used to illustrate the level of the country's development. Moldovan mass media also frequently cite the Reports, whose launches usually attracts many media representatives.

Noteworthy is that National Human Development Reports are distributed not only among policy makers, members of Parliament, NGOs, donor embassies and international institutions. They have been made fully accessible to the general public and have become one of the most solicited publications at the UN Information Center functioning in the United Nations House in Moldova.

Some areas for the UN cooperation in Moldova include: promotion of sound governance; poverty alleviation and economic growth; human resources development; promotion of gender equality; and environmental protection.

Despite the complexity of the transition to democracy, the sustainable human development agenda is moved forward step by step.

Conclusions

The Republic of Moldova when joining the United Nations (1992) expressed its willingness to act in consistence with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights — freedom, equality and security, tolerance, non-violence, and respect for nature.

These purposes and principles were underlined in the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova (1994) and were approved by the population of the country. “Human beings must respect each other in all their diversity of faith, culture and language. Differences within and between societies should be neither feared nor repressed, but cherished. Disputes within and between nations should be resolved by peaceful means ...”¹⁸

The reality of the first decade of the Republic of Moldova’s development as an independent state exposed the political principles and expectations of the population to serious trials. The transition period in Moldova presents a daunting range of political, social, cultural, economic, regional and environmental challenges, which have been pursued by successive governments.

Nevertheless, *transition to democracy and sustainable human development is moving forward step by step*. Most of the positive results have been in the area of political and human freedoms – openness of the country, democratization of public life – multi-party elections, freedom of religion, mass media, activity of the non-governmental organizations, etc.

The social costs of transition, on the other hand, have been dramatic: a worsening of demographic trends, reduction in resources, both public and private, for culture, education and health services, a sharp rise in income discrepancies, the spread of poverty, the growth of the shadow economy, corruption and organized crime. As a result, there has been a considerable worsening of the indicators of well-being. *The Human Development Index for the Republic of Moldova, according to the estimations of the Global HDR – 2000, was equal to 0.700 (in 1993 it was 0.718). The main components of the Moldovan HDI are: GDP per capita at purchasing power parity – US\$ 2.033; life expectancy at birth – 67.4 years; adult literacy rate – 96.4%. The Republic of Moldova, in spite of the worsening of HDI in the last years, still remains within the group of states with a “medium level of human development.”* Among 174 countries included in the United Nations Rating List (Global HDR – 2000), Moldova is situated on the 102nd place (at 75 in the 1994).

The directions of these trends raise concern about the future of the country. The decline in economic activity has not only contributed to poverty by reducing the availability of jobs and the level of wages. It has also meant a sharp reduction in access, in particular for the poor, to social services such as culture, education and health, and to a social safety net. Together with social and economic problems Moldova continues to suffer from internal conflict in the eastern region of the country (Transnistria), which is often a source of violations of human rights – refugees, restrictions and limitation in population’s movement, access to information, etc.

Despite the complexity of the situation in the Republic of Moldova, *the sense of national unity is generally increasing*. Moldova continues to have an active stance towards Europe and towards ensuring collaboration with the international community.

¹⁸ “We the Peoples...” The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century. UN, N.Y. 2000.

In order to step forward in this direction it is necessary to ensure *a society-wide consensus* with respect to the content of reform and inter-relationships between its different components. Political stability and the new economic order can only be sustainable if supported by the population.

The country requires *strong and effective governance* that is able to enforce law and to maintain institutions, norms and practices essential for democracy, genuine market economy and sustainable human development. The weakness of governance increases non-compliance with laws and official regulations, tax evasion, etc. Weak government is more likely to be corrupt.

Breaking the vicious circle of recession is possible only through increased attention to the economy. This essentially requires the creation of an effective system of incentives benefiting both businesses and the state; improvement of corporate management of newly privatized enterprises; effective protection of the rights of investors and ensuring transparency of commercial tenders; support for SME sector which serves as a basis for the development of the middle class – the main social force behind reforms.

The human being and its basic needs should be placed in the center of policy makers' attention, and should be considered as a major objective of the reforms. In the course of transition from the centrally planned to a market economy, the state has retained its social responsibilities. Management methods in the area of social security, however, need to be changed. Of primary importance for Moldova are now the issues of poverty eradication, reform of the social insurance system, health care reform, education and labor market formation. The principal difficulty associated with the social sector reform lies in the need for the new arrangements to be both socially just and economically balanced.

The success of the transition is directly related to the extent to which its *political, social and economic components* are effectively combined. The experience of the Republic of Moldova, both positive and negative, demonstrates explicitly the connection between the reforms' progress and political stability. Political risks and disordered policies of the state pose a serious obstacle in the way of reforms. A better-informed citizenry will more likely take an active part in political decision-making. Social unrest, strikes and street protests constitute an extreme form of expression of popular will. In this light, it is vital to promote in all possible ways *the transparency of governance* through an effective system of public information dissemination. Conditions should thereby be created for the emergence of a stronger *civil society* capable of solving key political, economic and social problems of the country.

The United Nations concept of the Culture of Peace constitutes a good basis for solving problems, for mitigating contradictions and conflicts. Based on mutual understanding and cooperation the viability of the Republic of Moldova as a state can be enforced, ensuring a shift from the tactics of survival towards a strategy of long-term sustainable development. Moldova, in the course of many centuries, has demonstrated the diligence, tolerance and hospitality of its people. There are no doubts that these qualities will bring success in the future as well.

The United Nations concept of the Culture of Peace creates a good basis for solving problems and for mitigating contradictions and conflicts that exist in the country.

ANNEXES

The Human Development Index and its Basic Components

A. Technical Note on the Statistical Measurement of Human Development in the Republic of Moldova

The concept of human development is more profound and richer than anything that can be reflected by a statistical indicator or even by the most comprehensive totality of statistical indicators. Thus, UNDP considers that a simpler instrument is needed for monitoring the domain of human development. The Human Development Index (HDI) reflects the level of achievement in human development within a framework of three major aspects of human experience: the possibility of having a long and healthy life, the possibility of obtaining knowledge and the possibility of enjoying a decent living.

The procedure for calculating the HDI was presented for the first time in the Global Human Development Report (UNDP, 1990). Later it was modified in the Global HDRs of 1995 (UNDP, 1995) and 1999 (UNDP, 1999).

I. Calculation of Human Development Index (HDI)

The Human Development Index is based on three indicators: longevity, educational attainment and living standard. The longevity is measured by life expectancy at birth. The educational attainment is the weighted arithmetic average of the adult literacy rate (two-thirds weight) and the average ratio at all levels of education (one-third weight). As a measure for the living standard one uses the per-capita gross domestic product (GDP), computed by taking into account the purchasing power parity in US dollars.

The Republic of Moldova disposes of the data that can be used, directly or through calculation methods, calculate the HDI at the national level.

Using that data, the HDI indicators for Moldova in 1999 are:

<i>Life expectancy</i>	<i>= 67.4 years</i>
<i>Adult literacy rate</i>	<i>= 96.4%</i>
<i>Combined enrolment ratio</i>	<i>= 71.2%</i>
<i>Per-capita GDP at the purchasing power parity</i>	<i>= 2033, PPP \$</i>

Each component is being compared with the following fixed minimum and maximum values: 25 and 85 respectively for life expectancy; 0 and 100% for adult literacy rate; 0 and 100% for the combined enrolment; 100 and 40,000 PPP\$ for GDP per capita. For the first three components, the difference between the real and minimum value divided by the difference between the maximum and minimum value constitutes a respective index:

Life expectancy index:

$$(67.8 - 25) / (85 - 25) = 0.707$$

Adult literacy index:

$$(96.4 - 0,0) / (100,0 - 0,0) = 0.964$$

Combined gross enrolment index:

$$(71.2 - 0.0) / (100.0 - 0.0) = 0.712$$

Educational attainment index, computed on the basis of two previous indices:

$$(2 \times 0.964 + 0.712) / 3 = 0.880$$

The GDP per capita index is being computed according to a new formula set by UNDP in 1999 – the difference between the real value logarithm and the minimum value logarithm

is divided by the difference between the maximum value logarithm and the minimum value logarithm:

GDP per capita index:

$$(\log 2,033 - \log 100) / (\log 40,000 - \log 100) = 0.507$$

The human development index, computed as a simple average of the three main indices with equal weight, is as follows:

$$(0.707 + 0.880 + 0.507) / 3 = 0.698$$

In the National Human Development Reports for 1995 – 1998, the GDP per capita index was computed differently: the GDP per capita, if it exceeded the world average (computed every year for the global report), was adjusted on the basis of a downward scale, and the maximum adjusted value was computed by the UNDP for each year separately.

If recomputed on the basis of the new methodology and the 1998 values, the HDI for Moldova for 1998 is 0.702, and not 0.697, as was mentioned in the last year NHDR.

2. HDI in Moldova Compared to That in Other Countries

For the purpose of international comparison, secundum to the HDI, countries are divided into the following groups:

Countries with high level of human development: HDI > 0.800;

Countries with moderate level of human development: 0.500 < HDI < 0.799;

Countries with lowlevel of human development: HDI < 0.500.

For analytical purposes and statistical convenience, aggregated indicators for the three main groups of countries were also computed last year at the international level: all countries in transition, Western Europe and CIS, and industrially developed countries.

The 2000 Global Human Development Report contains the most recent data for international comparison. Numeric data from this Report date back to 1998. Classification of countries according to the level of the HDI is based on the information and assessment provided by the international organizations that already maintain databases (UN Agencies, World Bank, etc.). Thus, the attributed value in the Global Report may differ from the national level assessment. For the Republic of Moldova, the discrepancies depend on two major factors: the values of the gross combined enrolment ratio and of GDP per capita. Moldova like other countries in transition demonstrates a higher that of HDI than of GDP per capita: the main problem the country is facing in the transition period is economic underdevelopment and difficulties on the way to sustainable economic development.

Out of 174 states for which the HDI was computed in 2000, 46 belong to the category of countries with high human development, 93 to the category of medium human development countries and 35 - level of low human development status. Canada, Norway and the USA occupy the first positions in the classification according to the HDI, and Sierra Leone and Niger - the last positions.

According to the Human Development Index, the ranking of Moldova in the list of 174 countries is as follows: 75 in the 1994 Report, 81 in 1995, 98 in 1996, 110 in 1997, 113 in 1998, 104 in 1999 and at 102 in 2000.

To reach the level of countries that occupy the top of the list, Moldova has to go a long way: more than 0.2 points of HDI. The Human Development Index of Canada is 0.935 and 1.35 points more than the respective index of Moldova. Thus, in order to eliminate all the defficiencies in the area of human development Canada has to overcome only 6.5% while Moldova – 30% (Human Development Report 2000, p. 157).

Among the CIS countries, Belarus is placed highest on the list. Its ranking is 57. Neighboring countries, Romania and the Ukraine, occupy, respectively, the 64th and 78th places. From the point of view of human development Moldova can be compared to Turkmenistan (100th) and Uzbekistan (106th).

Table A-1. Human Development Index Ranking of Some States.

	Life expectancy index	Education index	GDP index at PPP	HDI	Ranking
Whole world	0.70	0.74	0.70	0.712	...
Industrially developed countries	0.86	0.94	0.89	0.893	...
Eastern Europe and CIS	0.73	0.91	0.69	0.777	...
Countries in transition	0.66	0.68	0.58	0.642	...
Countries of high human development (HDI > 0,800)	0.87	0.96	0.90	0.908	...
Of which:					
Canada	0.90	0.99	0.91	0.935	1
Norway	0.89	0.98	0.93	0.934	2
USA	0.86	0.97	0.95	0.929	3
Australia	0.89	0.99	0.90	0.929	4
Hungary	0.77	0.91	0.77	0.817	43
Poland	0.80	0.92	0.72	0.814	44
Countries of medium human development (0,500 < HDI < 0,799)	0.70	0.73	0.59	0.673	...
Of which:					
Belarus	0.72	0.93	0.69	0.781	57
Bulgaria	0.77	0.90	0.69	0.772	60
Russian Federation	0.69	0.92	0.70	0.771	62
Romania	0.75	0.88	0.67	0.770	64
Georgia	0.80	0.90	0.59	0.762	70
Kazakhstan	0.72	0.92	0.63	0.754	73
Ukraine	0.73	0.92	0.58	0.744	78
Azerbaijan	0.75	0.90	0.51	0.722	90
Armenia	0.76	0.90	0.51	0.721	93
Kyrgystan	0.72	0.88	0.52	0.706	98
Turkmenistan	0.68	0.89	0.54	0.704	100
Moldova	0.71	0.89	0.50	0.700	102
Uzbekistan	0.71	0.84	0.50	0.686	106
Tajikistan	0.71	0.89	0.39	0.663	110
Countries of low human development (HDI < 0,500)	0.43	0.45	0.38	0.421	...

Source: *Global, Human Development Report 2000, UNDP, p. 157-160.*

B. Some Aspects of Human Development Vis-a-Vis Main Human Development indicators

Demographic situation

The demographic situation constitutes an integral indicator of a country's social development, as a reflection of its socio-economic and moral state. The demographic situation of the Republic at the present moment is characterized both by positive and negative processes.

As of January 1, 2000, Moldova's population was of 4,281,500 persons, of which 1,968,500 persons (46%) - urban population and 2,313,000 persons (54.0%) - rural one.

The distribution of population by sex is as follows: 52% (2,235,000 persons) are women and 48% (2,046,500 persons) are men. Compared with the previous year, the size of the country's population has diminished by 11,500 persons. The cause of the population decline was a natural decrease that was recorded in Moldova in 1998; the emigration of the population continues as well.

The decisive factor in the natural decrease of the population is a low birth rate. Compared with the beginning of the '90s, the birth rate has diminished almost twice and constituted - 10.1 in 1999. Also during this period, the average number of children a woman gave birth to until the end of her fertility (total fertility rate) diminished from 2.4 to 1.4, the rate that does not guarantee even a simple reproduction of the population. The increase in the share of children born out of wedlock, as % of the total born children, constituted 18.8 % in 1999, compared to 11 % in 1990.

Birth rates to a considerable extent depend on the number of marriages and divorces. Last year an increase in the number of marriages and a decrease in divorces were registered. Should these tendencies persist in the future, there is a possibility of halting negative tendencies in reproduction of the population. Another positive trend consists in a decrease in the share of children born to women under 20 years.

The second component of the natural change in the size of the population is mortality. For the last 9 years, the general mortality rate has grown by 17.5% and in 1999 constituted 11.4 deceased per 1000 inhabitants. In rural areas the mortality level exceeds considerably the level of this indicator in urban localities which results in an increase of the elderly population. Analyzing the dynamics of the general mortality rate in Moldova, one should mention some improvements, which are reflected in a slow decrease of this indicator. The highest level of the general mortality was registered in 1994 and 1995, but there has been a decrease during the last years, manifesting itself in a reduction of the mortality caused by external factors (95 deceased per 100,000 inhabitants in 1999, vis-à-vis 114 per 100,000 in 1995); by malignant cancers, respectively, 126 and 131; digestive system diseases, 99 and 111; and respiratory system diseases, 71 and 78.

The mortality structure by cause of death in 1999 shows that the most number of deaths (55.0%) were caused by circulatory system diseases, followed by malignant cancers (11.1%); digestive system diseases (8.8%); accidents, poisonings and traumas (8.4%); respiratory system diseases (6.3%).

Education

The institutional structure of education is in the process of reform, diversification and adjustment to Western standards. The total number of pupils/students enrolled in all levels of education (1999-2000) constitutes 771,00, which makes 71% of the school age population and one fifth of the total population. Compared to the gross enrolment ratio of the previous year there has been a slight decrease; the total number of students diminished by 18,400.

The compulsory primary education enrolment (9 years), during the academic year of 1999- 2000 is 93%. The enrolment in non-compulsory education is only 42% of the 16-22 years old population.

Primary and higher education is carried out in both Romanian and the languages of minorities. Modern languages are taught from the 2nd year of school. In gymnasiums modern languages are taught to the pupils of all grades. In lyceums two modern languages are obligatory to study. The Russian language is studied in all schools from the 5th year of school.

Pre-school education covers at present about 33% (1-6 years) and 40% (3-6 years) of the total number of children of the respective age. A series of classes on the preparation for school makes a compulsory component of the pre-school education that was affected by the difficulties of the transition more than any other education levels. The number of pre-school institutions has been reduced, as well as has the number of teachers and children. Between 1992-1999, 38% (more than one third) of kindergartens were closed; the number of institu-

tionalized children decreased by 53%; and the number of teaching staff decreased by almost 57%. Only 52% of children are enrolled in preparatory groups as compared to the total number of the children of the respective age (5-6 years).

During the academic year of 1999-2000 there were 1,739 institutions of daytime education :*

Table A-2.

	Total	Including private institutions
Primary education		
Primary schools	113	1
Secondary education	1526	22
General secondary education	1445	19
Gymnasiums	650	6
Lyceums	153	12
Secondary schools of general education	601	1
Schools for handicapped children	41	-
Professional secondary education	81	3
Polyvalent schools	52	-
Artisan schools	29	3
Higher education	100	36
Colleges	57	10
Universities	43	26

* There are 7 evening schools besides the above mentioned.

Primary education covers 252,200 students, which constitutes 96% of the respective age group. On average, there are 22 students per teacher in primary education. The number of students decreased by 5% and that of teachers increased by 2% between 1992-1999. The absolute majority of primary education institutions are state-funded public schools. All these institutions are subordinated to the Ministry of Education and Science.

General secondary education includes 393,100 students; 85% of them are enrolled in the compulsory general education (5-9 grades). The coverage rate of the school age population in the general compulsory education is 90%. There are 14 students per teacher in secondary education (5-11/12 grades). The parallel functioning of two networks – lyceums (10-12 grades) and general secondary schools (10-11 forms) have a negative impact on the educational system as a whole. Specific measures are being taken to modernize the educational system, with the priority being accorded to lyceums. Thus, 10 lyceums were opened in 1999. Compared to 1998, the share of lyceum students in the total number of students has doubled and constitutes 18%.

Secondary professional education is provided in craft-schools and professional polyvalent schools. There were 18,000 persons in 52 polyvalent schools in 1999-2000, or 78% of the total number of those enrolled in the professional education (in 1998/99 – 18%).

Higher education (public and private) covers 102,700 students (1999-2000) registered at 43 universities and 57 colleges. There are 2,820 students per 100,000 inhabitants, of which 2253 are in public education. The student/ teacher ratio in the university system is 14/1. Of the total population of the respective age, 42% were enrolled in higher education in 1999. Every second student in the higher education has to pay for his/her studies. In comparison with the respective period of the previous year their number grew by 21% and now constitutes 40,400 persons. Out of all those enrolled in institutions of higher education, graduates of lyceums and secondary general schools constitute 79%; every fifth is a graduate of a college and only 2% are graduates of institutions of the technical professional education.

Gross Domestic Product

The gross domestic product in 1999 constituted, according to some estimates, 12,204 mln. MDL (in current market prices), which is 4.4% less than in the previous year. Total gross added value diminished by 1.1%. A decrease was registered in the production of goods (by 4.1%), in agriculture (by 3.6%) and in industry (by 4.8 %).

An improvement was recorded in the services sector, with the volume of services having increased by 1.8% compared to the previous year. During the period analyzed, state budget revenue in the form of net taxes on products and imports declined in real terms by 22.2%, which constitutes a negative trend in the formation of the GDP.

Total final consumption decreased in comparison with 1998 by 15%; final consumption of households by 12.8% and that of public and private administrations by 21.4%.

Table A-3. Resources and Utilization of the Gross Domestic Product

	Mln. MDL, current prices		Change vis-à-vis previous year, % ¹	
	1998	1999	1998	1999
Resources				
Total gross value added	7719	10858	-5.9	-1.1
Assets	3873	4699	-10.3	-4.1
Agriculture, hunting preserves and forestry	2351	2727	-6.2	-3.6
Industry	1522	1972	-15.5	-4.8
Services	3846	6159	-0.8	1.8
Net products and import taxes	1403	1346	-10.5	-22.2
Gross domestic product	9122	12204	-6.5	-4.4
Utilization				
Final consumption – total	9203	10715	-2.0	-15.0
Final consumption of economies	6876	8391	5.5	-12.8
Final consumption of public and private administrations	2327	2324	-18.9	-21.4
Gross formation of fixed capital	2012	2296	9.2	-19.5
Stock change	349	399	-2.6	-20.6
Net export	-2442	-1206	29.9	-59.2

¹Annual rates are calculated on the basis of data in comparable prices (prices of the previous year)

There are some positive changes in the GDP structure by resource categories, especially as regards the gross total added value, whose share grew from 84.6% in 1998 to 89% in 1999, especially in the account of net taxes on products and imports, whose share during the respective period decreased by 4.4 percentage points.

There is an increase in the share of production of services by 8.4 percentage points while the share of production of goods diminished by 4 percentage points, by 3.5 in agriculture and 0.5 in industry, respectively. Regarding GDP by utilization, the final total consumption as well as gross formation of fixed capital decreased by 13.1 and 3.3 percentage points. Negative balance of export in GDP decreased from 26.8% in 1998 to 9.9% in 1999.

**Table A-4. The Structure of the Gross Domestic Product
by Categories of Resources and Utilization, %**

	1998	1999
Resources		
Total gross value added	84.6	89.0
Assets	42.5	38.5
Agriculture, hunting preserves and forestry	25.8	22.3
Industry	16.7	16.2
Services	42.1	50.5
Net products and import taxes	15.4	11.0
Gross domestic product	100	100
Utilization		
Final consumption – total	100.9	87.8
Final consumption of economies	75.4	68.8
Final consumption of public and private administrations	25.5	19.0
Gross formation of fixed capital	22.1	18.8
Stock change	3.8	3.3
Net export	-26.8	-9.9

At the same time, one should mention that as a result of the privatization process, the share in gross domestic product of some considerable units functioning in this sector from the point of view of their productive potential was 51.4% in 1999, or 3.5 percentage points more than in 1998.

C. Selected Definitions of Some Human Development Indicators

Total consumer expenditure of households includes amounts spent on food and consumable industrial products, on services and the equivalent of human consumption of food and industrial products from the own sources of households.

Rural-urban disparity – a set of assessments in which all data regarding a rural locality are expressed as a percent vis-à-vis those of the urban one, considered to be 100.

Household – a group of two or more persons that dwell together in a usual way, are, generally, relatives and manage the house together. Persons that live and run the house alone are considered to be one-person household.

Adult population literacy rate – share of persons of 15 and more years of age that attended or finished school or can write and read not having finished school, out of the total population of 15 and more years of age.

Education coverage rate – the number of students inscribed at an education level, without regard to whether they belong or not to the age group that corresponds to the level, as a percent of total population of the respective age group (education level I corresponds to the age group of 7-10 years, II to 11-17 years and III to 18-22 years). As a whole, all three levels correspond to the age group of 7-22 years.

Conjectural fertility rate – average number of children that a woman during the fertile period would give birth to, if the current fertility pattern were to continue.

Pre-school education – first stage of training organized in education, corresponding to the level 0 of International Standard Classification of Education (ISCE).

Primary education – 1st level education (ISCE I), whose principle function is to ensure baseline elements of education.

Secondary education – 2nd level education that includes stage 1 – gymnasium (ISCE 2), based on at least 4 years of training and stage 2 (ISCE 3) that ensures general or specific education.

Higher education – 3rd level education (ISCE 5,6,7), in which the condition for admittance is the completion of secondary education.

Dwelling – construction unit formed of one or more rooms meant for living, usually, with dependences or other areas, independent from the functional point of view, with a separate entrance and used, usually, by a sole household.

Active population from the economic point of view – persons able to work that constitute the labor force available for the production of goods and services in the national economy (during the respective period). It consists of the active employed population and the unemployed.

Employed population – persons of 15 and more years of age that undertake an economic or social activity of goods or services production, for at least an hour during the respective period, with a goal of receiving revenue in the form of wage, remuneration in kind or other benefits.

Inactive population from the economic point of view – persons, regardless of age, who do not undertake a social-economic activity and are found in one of the following situations: are students, pensioners, housekeepers, supported by the state or maintain themselves due to the revenue other than those from work (lease, rent, etc.).

Gross domestic product (GDP) – main synthetic indicator of the National Account System that compares the final results of activity undertaken by resident units of production of goods and services.

GDP per capita calculated at the purchasing power parity – utilization of official exchange rates of conversion of national currency into US dollars cannot measure relative internal purchasing power of currencies. Thus, the United Nations Project of International Measurements suggested a calculation of the real GDP on a comparable scale at the international level, using as a factor of comparison purchasing power parity. Moldova participated at the multilateral works of comparison for 1993 and 1996 within the framework of Programme of European Comparison (project implemented by DSAS together with Eurostat; National Committee for Statistics of Romania and Central Office for Statistics of Austria). On the basis of the results of those works, calculation was made of GDP per capita at PPP over 1993-1999. For 1993-1995 PPP was recomputed due to the methodology changes introduced in 1996.

Correlation of demographic dependence – correlation between the population determined as dependent (under 15 and over 65 years of age) and population of working age (between 15 and 64 years).

Correlation of economic dependence – inactive and unemployed population per 1000 persons actively employed.

Labor force renewal rate – population under 15 years correlated to one third of population between 15 and 59 years of age.

Infant mortality rate – number of deceased under 1 year per 1000 live births.

Maternal mortality rate – number of women deceased while giving birth per 100,000 newborns.

Unemployment rate – correlation between number of unemployed and active population (the unemployed plus population employed).

Life expectancy at birth – number of years a newborn could live if current mortality rate lingers.

Natural increase - number of live births minus number of deceased.

Registered unemployed - persons able to work, of working age, who have no work-place, no other legal income and are registered at employment agencies as persons in search of jobs and who prove their wish to work.

Dole beneficiaries - persons inscribed at employment agencies (registered unemployed), beneficiaries of public funds (dole or welfare recipients).

Unemployed according to the ILO classification (ILO) - persons over 15 years of age, who during the respective period meet the following conditions:

- do not have a job and do not undertake any for-profit activity;
- are in search of a job, having used for the last 4 weeks different methods of finding it;
- are able to begin work in the next 15 days, if they could immediately find a job.

Participation in labor force rate of the population of working age (15-64 years) - correlation between the active population of working age and the total population of working age.

Underemployed persons – persons that have a job (are employed), but have worked independently of their will less than a usual working term and search for a full-time activity or a supplementary activity or are available in the next 15 days for such activity.

Discouraged persons – inactive persons, able to work in the next 15 days, who have declared that they are in search of a job, but undertook nothing regarding this goal for the period of 4 weeks or do not search for a job due to the following reasons:

- they believed there were no vacant jobs or did not know where to search;
- they do not consider themselves to be prepared from the professional point of view;
- they believe they will not find any job due to their age or have failed in finding it.

Available revenue of household - includes all pecuniary and in-kind revenue obtained from different types of activity.

Consumer expenditure – corresponds to pecuniary and in-kind expenditure on consumer necessities of a household: food, clothes, dwelling, health, culture and recreation, etc.

D. Selected Indicators Related to Human Development

Table I. Human Development Index (HDI)

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in:							
- lei, current prices	505	1313	1798	2167	2441	2498	3346
- US dollars at purchasing power parity	2935	2975	2105	2128	2207	2087	2033
Adult population literacy degree (%)	96,4	96,4	96,4	96,4	96,4	96,4	96,4
Education coverage gross degree (%)	71,7	70,2	71,1	71,8	72,9	73,4	71,2
Life expectancy at birth (years)	67,5	66,1	65,8	66,7	66,6	67,8	67,4
Index of							
- gross domestic product	0,564	0,566	0,518	0,510	0,517	0,507	0,507
- education	0,881	0,877	0,880	0,882	0,886	0,887	0,880
- life expectancy	0,708	0,685	0,680	0,695	0,693	0,713	0,707
Human Development Index (HDI)	0,718	0,709	0,689	0,696	0,699	0,702	0,698

Table 2. Demographic Profile

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Population at 1 January (thou persons)	4347,9	4334,4	4320,0	4304,7	4293,0
Annual natality rate (%)	-0,1	-0,3	-0,3	-0,3	-0,3
Birth-rate (per 1000 inhabitants)	13,0	12,0	12,5	11,3	10,6
Mortality rate (per 1000 inhabitants)	12,2	11,5	11,8	10,9	11,3
Natality rate (per 1000 inhabitants)	0,8	0,5	0,7	0,4	-0,7
Life expectance at birth (years)	65,8	66,7	66,6	67,8	67,4
Nuptiality rate (per 1000 inhabitants)	7,5	6,0	6,1	6,0	6,5
Divorce rate (per 1000 inhabitants)	3,4	3,1	2,8	2,8	2,4
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live-born)	21,2	20,2	19,8	17,5	18,2
Mortality:					
- infant (per 1000 live births)	21,2	20,2	19,8	17,5	18,2
- 0-4 years (per 1000 live births)	27,4	26,2	25,9	22,9	23,9
- maternal (per 1000 births)	40,8	40,2	48,3	36,3	28,6
Share of live births (%)	-	-	-	7,9	4,9
Conjunctural fertility rate	1,76	1,60	1,66	1,49	1,37
Abortions rate per one live-born	1,0	0,9	0,7	0,7	0,6
Share of population of 0-15 years (%)	28,6	28,1	27,6	27,4	26,7
Share of population of 65 years and more (%)	9,0	9,0	9,1	9,3	9,3
Demographic dependence correlation (%)	60,1	59,1	57,9	58,0	56,3
Number of immigrants (thou persons)	5,4	4,7	5,5	4,8	6,3

Table 3. Health

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Mortality rate (per 1000 inhabitants) by causes:					
- circulatory system diseases	568,62	576,56	612,43	575,63	623,41
- malignant cancers	131,81	134,0	130,9	131,89	127,36
- respiratory system diseases	78,3	70,37	72,91	65,93	71,17
Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)	21,2	20,2	19,8	17,5	18,2
Maternal mortality rate (per 1000 births)	40,8	40,2	48,3	36,3	28,6
New cases of active tuberculosis (per 100 thou inhabitants)	54,5	58,8	58,9	67,9	61,8
AIDS cases (per 100 thou inhabitants)	0,05	0,02	0,2	0,1	0,1
Population per doctor	252	250	261	263	273
Population per sanitary institution	96	100	102	105	119
Hospital beds (per 1000 inhabitants)	12,2	12,1	11,6	11,2	8,2
Public spendings on health and social assistance (% of GDP)	7,4	7,6	6,4	5,0	
Persons placed in hospitals:					
total, thou	939	858	831	786	647
per 100 places	21,6	19,8	19,3	18,3	15,1
Visits to doctor:					
total, mil	35	36	36	36	25
per one inhabitant	8,2	8,3	8,4	8,3	5,9
Number of private sanitary institution:					
medical institutions of ambulatory or out-patients' clinic type that offer medical help to the population	30	13	11	10	216
- hospitals	-	-	1	4	5
- institutions of medical attendants	1	4	7	12	9
- drug-stores	18	344	371	431	423

Table 4. Education

	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99	1999/2000
Institutions – total	1674	1696	1706	1737	1746
Population of school age, thou	766,5	778,0	786,5	788,1	770,9
Teachers, thou	57,1	55,3	55,2	53,6	53,1
Schools, gymnasiums, lyceums					
Daily schools, gymnasiums, lyceums	1515	1530	1536	1549	1558
Students, thou	642,8	649,5	652,7	650,7	643,1
Teachers, thou	46,5	44,8	45,0	44,8	43,2
Evening schools	11	10	9	7	7
Students, thou	3,1	2,9	2,7	2,5	2,1
Teachers, thou	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,1
Secondary professional education institutions					
Number of educational institutions	78	81	80	87	81
Students, thou	34,8	34,0	32,7	32,5	23,0
Teachers, thou	3,5	3,4	3,2	1,6	2,5
Colleges					
Number of colleges	50	51	53	56	57
Students, thou	31,0	33,3	32,8	29,7	25,4
Teachers, thou	2,6	2,5	2,3	2,4	2,2
Higher university education institutions					
Number of higher university education institutions	20	24	28	38	43
Students, thou	54,8	58,3	65,6	72,7	77,3
Teachers, thou	4,3	4,4	4,6	4,7	5,1
Accounted for 10000 inhabitants					
Students in schools	1794	1813	1796	1790	1770
Students in secondary professional education institutions	97	94	89	89	63
Students in colleges	86	93	90	81	70
Students in higher university education institutions	152	162	180	199	212
Education coverage gross rate (%) in:					
- primary education	98	99	99	97	96
- gymnasium education	94	93	90	88	90
- secondary education (cycle II)	46	47	48	49	42
- higher education	37	39	40	42	42
Share of public expenditure for education					
- in GDP	9,3	11,1	10,4	7,8	
- in the general consolidated budget	24,2	28,3	24,7	21,2	16,4

Table 5. Culture

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Number of book and brochure titles	1016	921	1104	1200	1174
- per 1000 inhabitants	28,2	25,6	30,2	32,9	32,2
Number of readers registered in libraries, thou	1174,9	1113,1	1104,2	1112,5	1043,6
- per 100000 inhabitants	326,0	309,3	302,2	304,6	286,2
Books and magazines given out, thou	22540,6	21461,5	21740,8	22169,3	21080,8
- per 1000 inhabitants	6254,9	5963,4	5950,4	6070,2	5781,3
Museum visitors, thou	663,7	686,8	752,0	628,1	557,3
- per 1000 inhabitants	184,2	190,8	205,8	172,0	152,8
Cinema-goers	55674	29257	20290	11308	4032
- per 1000 inhabitants	15,5	8,1	5,6	3,1	1,1
Cinema-goers, thou	981,0	576,4	292,9	162,3	57,3
- per 1000 inhabitants	272,2	160,2	80,2	44,4	15,7
Theater or concert goers (theater, philharmonic society, independent collectives)	2301	2236	1985	1823	1438
- per 1000 inhabitants	0,6	0,6	0,5	0,5	0,4
Theater or concert goers (theater, philharmonic society, independent collectives), thou	548,9	559,7	436,1	404,8	279,8
- per 1000 inhabitants	152,3	155,5	119,4	110,8	76,7

Table 6. **Violence and Criminality**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Persons condemned definitively, total	14599	13532	13895	13754	14606
- per 100 000 inhabitants	397	369	380	377	401
Share in total condemned persons (%) of					
- women	10	10	9	9	8
- minors	12	12	11	12	11
- condemned before	24	10	8	10	9
Persons serving sentence in penitentiary institutions					
- total	6693	6790	6398	6743	6421
- per 100 000 inhabitants	182	185	175	185	176
Number of crimes (per 100 000 inhabitants)	999	908	1042	945	1037
Robberies and plunders (per 100 000 inhabitants)	80	72	89	77	88
Larceny (per 100 000 inhabitants)	622	538	594	543	582
Economical crimes (per 100 000 inhabitants)	14	14	35	38	33
Number of rapes (per 100 000 women)	12	14	12	12	13

Table 7. **Employment**

	tr.IV 1998	tr.IV 1999	1999
Population employed, thou persons	1450	1489	1495
- of which women	726	744	755
Share of employed in private sector, %	66,0	65,8	66,8
Share of employed (%) in:			
- agriculture, total	45,7	48,9	48,8
of which private sector	89,0	91,1	90,7
- industry, total	12,8	11,4	10,7
of which private sector	49,7	50,6	49,8
- construction, total	3,4	3,0	2,9
of which private sector	57,4	63,1	55,7
- services, total	38,1	36,6	37,6
of which private sector	29,2	36,9	33,8
Share of employed in public services, % viz:			
- health-care	5,7	5,0	5,4
- education	9,0	8,9	9,2
- public administration	3,5	3,3	3,3
Number of employees, thou persons	1043	920	932
Employees' share of employed, %	71,9	61,8	62,3
Share of employees in private sector in population employed in this sector, %	53,4	48,5	48,7
Share of women among employees, %	50,0	48,4	49,8
Correlation of economic dependency, %	1518	1451	1443
Employment rate, %	87,2	90,0	88,9
Labor force renewal rate, %	125,9 ¹⁾	...	120,0 ²⁾

¹⁾ 1 January 1998; ²⁾ 1 January 1999

Table 8. **Enrollment in Labor Force**

	Tr.IV 1998	tr.IV 1999	1999
Active population's share of total population, %	45,6	45,3	46,1
- women	42,8	42,4	43,6
Enrollment rate of population of working age (15-60 years), %	69,2	67,7	69,0
- women	65,9	63,7	65,5
Enrollment rate of the young (15-24 years), %	43,6	38,7	42,2
- women	40,5	33,2	37,8
Enrollment rate of elderly (over 50 years), %	36,7	39,4	39,2
- women	28,4	31,9	32,1
Structure of the active population by professional status ¹⁾ , %			
- total	100,0	100,0	100,0
of which:			
- employees	71,3	66,8	66,8
- patrons	0,7	0,7	0,5
- self-employed	17,7	23,8	22,6
- family workers w/o wage	5,2	5,7	6,0

¹⁾ Classification of the unemployed was done by professional status at the last workplace.

Source: Questionnaire on labor force in households

Table 9. Unemployment

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Registered unemployed¹					
Number of unemployed (persons)	24543	23426	27973	32021	34918
Unemployment rate (%)	1,4	1,5	1,5	1,9	2,1
Share of dole beneficiaries among total registered unemployed (%)	32,5	29,8	26,7	25,2	32,6
Correlation between the average dole and average wage (%)	37,9	34,2	37,3	31,7	33,2
Number of the unemployed inscribed in retraining program	2139	3356	3506	4244	2640

	tr.IV a.1998	tr.IV a 1999	1999
ILO unemployed²			
Number of unemployed	213562	164641	187231
Unemployment rate (%)			
- total	12,8	10,0	11,1
- male	14,8	12,0	13,3
- female	10,8	7,9	8,9
Youth unemployment rate (%) (15-24 ani)	24,0	19,7	22,3
Incidence of long-term unemployment (share of total number) (%):			
- 6 months and more	17,3	18,8	17,8
- men	16,6	18,1	17,3
- women	18,3	19,9	18,6
- 12 months and more	23,1	22,4	33,1
- men	23,7	21,0	32,9
- women	22,3	24,6	33,3
- 24 months and more	35,9	32,6	41,1
- men	36,6	34,0	41,9
- women	35,0	30,2	39,9
Share of persons underemployed in active population (%)	0,8	0,4	0,4
- women	1,2	0,5	0,5
Share of discouraged persons in active population (%)	5,2	5,4	5,0
- women	4,8	5,0	4,7

¹ Unemployed registered at the Labor Force Offices, at the end of the year

² According to the criteria of the International Labor Organization

Source: Questionnaire on labor force in households

Table 10. Human Potential of Women

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Life expectancy at birth (years)	69,7	70,4	70,3	71,4	71,0
1994 = 100	99,9	100,9	100,7	102,3	101,7
Conjunctural fertility indicator	1,8	1,6	1,7	1,5	1,4
1994 = 100	92,3	82,1	87,2	76,9	71,8
Maternal mortality rate (per 100000 born)	40,8	40,2	48,3	36,3	28,6
Education coverage gross rate (%):					
- primary	97	99	98	97	96
- secondary ¹⁾	77	76	75	73	73
The dynamics of education coverage gross rate, 1994 = 100 (%)					
- primar	100	102	101	100	99
- secondary ²⁾	103	101	100	97	97
Female students per 100000 inhabitants ²					
- number	2381	2547	2692	2804	2817
- 1994 = 100 %	105	112	119	124	124

¹⁾ General secondary education (gymnasiums, lyceums, general secondary and professional secondary)

²⁾ Short-term (colleges) and universities

Table 11. Female - Male Disparity

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Life expectancy at birth (years),	65,8	66,7	66,6	67,8	67,4
- women	69,7	70,4	70,3	71,4	71,0
- men	61,8	62,9	62,9	64,0	63,7
Secondary education coverage gross rate (cycle II) ¹⁾ (%)					
- women	44	45	47	47	42
- men	48	49	49	50	41
Higher education coverage gross rate ²⁾ (%)					
- women	42	43	46	48	48
- men	33	34	35	36	36

¹⁾ gymnasiums not included²⁾ short-term (colleges) and universities

Table 12. Structure of Revenue and Expenditure of Households, %

		Households, total	Households from	
			urban localities	rural localities
Available revenue	1998	100	100	100
	1999	100	100	100
- Wage revenue	1998	34,7	56,9	16,8
	1999	35,4	57,7	15,3
- Revenue from agricultural activity	1998	39,4	6,7	65,7
	1999	38,5	6,5	67,2
- Revenue from individual activity	1998	3,0	4,9	1,5
	1999	3,3	5,5	1,4
- Public services	1998	10,5	11,8	9,5
	1999	8,7	10,8	6,8
- Other revenues	1998	12,4	19,7	6,5
	1999	14,1	19,5	9,3
Consumer expenditure	1998	100	100	100
	1999	100	100	100
- Food and beverages	1998	69,7	60,4	77,6
	1999	69,0	58,5	78,8
- Clothes and shoes	1998	7,1	8,9	5,6
	1999	6,6	7,8	5,6
- Dwelling	1998	10,0	13,5	6,9
	1999	11,8	15,9	7,9
- Medication and medical care	1998	3,3	4,1	2,7
	1999	3,7	4,7	2,8
- Transport and communications	1998	5,1	5,7	4,6
	1999	4,3	6,4	2,4
- Education	1998	0,5	0,9	0,2
	1999	0,4	0,4	0,4
- Recreational activity	1998	1,6	2,3	0,9
	1999	1,5	2,5	0,5
- Hotels, restaurants, etc.	1998	0,5	0,9	0,1
	1999	0,3	0,7	0,1
- Other expenditures	1998	2,2	3,2	1,4
	1999	2,4	3,1	1,5

Table 13. Structure of Consumer Expenditure of Households, by quintiles

		Households situated in quintile:				
		1	2	3	4	5
Consumer expenditure	1998	100	100	100	100	100
	1999	100	100	100	100	100
of which						
- Food and beverages	1998	90,7	85,9	82,2	75,6	56,4
	1999	89,6	86,5	82,5	75,8	54,8
- Clothes and shoes	1998	1,9	2,9	3,8	5,8	10,5
	1999	1,5	2,5	3,7	5,1	9,9
- Dwelling	1998	3,9	5,9	6,9	8,9	13,1
	1999	5,5	5,7	7,1	9,6	16,5
- Medication and medical care	1998	1,0	1,8	2,3	3,1	4,4
	1999	1,0	1,6	2,1	2,9	5,4
- Transportation and communications	1998	1,3	1,7	2,5	3,5	8,0
	1999	1,1	1,9	2,2	3,4	6,5
- Education	1998	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,2	1,0
	1999	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,2	0,7
- Recreational activity	1998	0,4	0,4	0,6	1,0	2,6
	1999	0,4	0,5	0,7	0,8	2,4
- Hotels, restaurants, etc.	1998	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,8
	1999	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,6
- Other expenditures	1998	0,8	1,2	1,4	1,7	3,1
	1999	0,9	1,2	1,4	2,0	3,2

Table 14. Consumer Expenditure of Households, by location

	Monthly average per one person, lei		Compared to the national average level (%)	
	1998	1999	1998	1999
National average	125,5	140,5	1,000	1,000
Households from:				
- urban locality	157,4	183,9	1,254	1,309
- rural locality	107,3	114,7	0,855	0,816

Table 15. Structure of Consumer Expenditure of Households, by location

		Urban locality		Rural locality	
		Quintile I	Quintile V	Quintile I	Quintile V
Consumer expenditure	1998	100	100	100	100
	1999	100	100	100	100
of which:					
- Food and beverages	1998	86,9	51,0	91,7	63,9
	1999	86,8	49,1	90,6	65,5
- Clothes and shoes	1998	1,7	12,3	1,9	8,1
	1999	1,0	10,2	1,7	9,3
- Dwelling and commodities	1998	5,1	15,4	3,6	9,9
	1999	7,0	18,6	5,0	12,3
- Medication and medical care	1998	1,9	4,6	0,7	4,2
	1999	1,5	5,7	0,8	4,7
- Transport and communications	1998	2,1	6,9	1,1	9,5
	1999	1,5	7,9	0,9	3,7
- Education	1998	0,1	1,3	0,0	0,5
	1999	0,1	0,4	0,0	1,3
- Recreational activity	1998	0,8	3,2	0,2	1,8
	1999	0,6	3,3	0,3	0,9
- Hotels, restaurants, etc.	1998	0,1	1,3	0,1	0,1
	1999	0,1	0,9	0,0	0,1
- Other revenue	1998	1,3	4,0	0,7	2,0
	1999	1,4	3,9	0,7	2,2

Table 16. Distribution of Population's Consumer Expenditure, by quintiles

	Total		Share of food and nonalcoholic beverages in total consumer expenditure	
	1998	1999	1998	1999
Consumer expenditure – total	100	100	65,7	64,7
By quintiles				
- I	5,9	6,2	86,8	85,6
- II	10,6	10,6	81,3	81,5
- III	15,2	14,9	77,4	77,0
- IV	22,1	21,3	71,5	70,8
- V	46,2	46,9	52,8	51,4

Table 17. Creation and Utilization of GDP

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Gross domestic product (mil lei, current prices)	6480	7798	8917	9122	12204
Pondereea în produsul intern brut a valorii adaugate brute (%) din:					
- agriculture, forestry, pisciculture	29,3	27,5	26,0	25,8	22,3
- industry and construction	28,5	26,9	25,0	19,9	19,2
- services	30,9	33,2	35,0	39,0	47,4
Share in gross domestic product (%):					
Final consumption – total	82,9	94,3	97,4	100,9	87,8
- of households	55,8	67,2	67,5	75,4	68,8
- of public administration	25,9	26,0	28,8	24,7	19,0
- of private administration	1,2	1,1	1,1	0,8	0,0
Gross formation of fixed capital	16,0	19,7	19,9	22,1	18,8
Export	60,1	55,3	53,2	45,0	40,0
Import	67,9	73,9	74,4	71,8	49,8
Gross savings mil.lei	1206	1031	930	513	
Tax revenue of consolidated budget, mil.lei	2002	2074	2942	2722	3100
State budget expenditure, mil. lei	1409	1472	2725	2322	2853
Share of private sector in gross domestic product	56	58	56	53	53

Table 18. Evolution of Economic Results

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Gross domestic product annual rate (%)	98,6	94,1	101,6	93,5	95,6
Gross domestic product annual rate per inhabitant (%)	98,8	94,2	100,1	93,5	95,7
Annual average rate of inflation (%)	30	24	12	8	39
Export (%) in GDP	60,1	55,3	53,2	45,0	40,0
Tax revenues (%) in GDP	30,9	26,6	33,0	29,8	25,4
Excess / deficit of the general consolidated budget (%) in GDP	-5,8	-9,7	-7,5	-3,4	-3,2

Table 19. Revenue, Consumption and Social Expenditure

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Gross domestic product per inhabitant in:					
- lei, current prices	1798	2167	2441	2498	3347
- US dollars, at the purchasing power parity	2105	2128	2207	2087	2033
Share of available gross revenue of households in GDP (%),	69	70	69	65	...
Average monthly nominal wage, lei	143,2	187,1	219,8	250,4	304,6
Public property	150,3	203,0	234,4	263,9	297,6
Private property	122,4	151,0	174,3	194,4	256,6
Mixed property (public and private)	207,8	280,9	354,8	432,7	525,1
Property of enterprises with foreign investments	238,2	342,7	361,3	572,7	763,4
Minimal wage (lei)	18	18	18	18	18
Share of expenditure of law-enforcement bodies (%)					
- in GDP	6,7	5,8	7,0	5,9	...
- in general consolidated budget	9,8	13,2	13,6	14,2	15,0
Share of public expenditure on education (%)					
- in GDP	9,3	11,1	10,4	7,8	...
- in general consolidated budget	24,2	28,3	24,7	21,2	16,4
Share of public expenditure on health-care and social assistance (%)					
- in GDP	7,4	7,6	6,4	5,0	...
- in general consolidated budget	15,8	18,4	14,9	13,0	10,2
Average annual consumption³ per inhabitant (kg)					
- meat and meat products recomputed in meat (including lard and subproducts in kind)	23,0	25,3	25,0	26,7	24,5
- milk and dairy-products (recomputed in milk)	165,2	161,4	154,5	155,4	145,0
- eggs (units)	107,2	116,0	121,1	121,9	132,3
- sugar	21,0	22,5	21,2	21,0	-
- bakery (bread and flour pastes recomputed in flour, flour, cereals and legumes)	135,0	126,9	134,9	133,9	133,1
- potatoes	67,8	71,0	68,8	65,1	61,5
- vegetables and legumes	86,3	64,8	69,0	112,5	109,0
- fruits, berries and grapes (w/o prelucre into wine)	59,7	59,3	77,5	47,7	27,2

Table 20. Revenue and Expenditure of Consolidated Budget

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Revenue – total (mln MDL)	2002,0	2074,2	2941,7	2721,9	3100,3
Share of total revenue (%):	100	100	100	100	100
- tax on entrepreneurial activity income	19,9	17,3	8,3	6,6	7,5
- income tax	10,1	10,6	9,6	8,2	7,1
- land tax	4,6	5,6	4,3	3,1	4,5
- real estate tax	0,6	0,7	1,0	0,8	0,8
- added value tax	28,8	29,6	32,3	41,3	30,3
- excise taxes	9,5	9,5	13,6	13,8	14,3
- foreign economic activity income	2,6	4,6	4,3	4,0	7,4
- other taxes, levy and receipt	23,9	22,1	26,6	22,2	28,1
Share of total revenues in GDP (%)	30,9	26,6	33,0	29,8	25,4
Expenditure – total (mln MDL)	2376,0	2827,0	3608,4	3027,1	3495,3
Share of total expenditure (%)	100	100	100	100	100
Economic expenditure	6,8	8,7	8,1	9,3	8,8
Expenditure on foreign economic activity	4,7	...	1,1	1,2	1,6
Social expenditure – total	47,6	54,9	55,4	48,8	42,5
Of which:					
- education	24,2	28,3	24,7	21,2	16,4
- health-care	15,8	18,4	14,9	13,0	10,2
- social assistance	1,8	1,9	12,6	11,9	13,3
On maintenance of law-enforcement bodies, authorities and state administration	9,6	12,4	13,6	14,2	15,0
Capital investments	5,9	5,3	6,5	6,8	3,2
Other measures	25,4	18,7	15,3	19,7	28,9
Share of total expenditure in GDP (%)	36,7	36,2	40,5	33,2	28,6
Excess(+), deficit (-) (mln MDL)	-374,0	-752,8	-666,7	-305,2	-395,0
- in % compared with GDP	5,8	9,6	7,5	3,3	3,2

Table 21. Revenue and Expenditure of Social Insurance State Budget

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Revenues – total (mil. MDL)	662,2	764,7	1323,2	920,5	907,8
Share of the following revenue in total revenue (%):					
- social insurance	81,0	92,1	27,0	84,7	86,1
- budget allocations	6,7	3,1	23,1	14,9	13,7
Share of total revenue in GDP (%)	10,2	9,8	14,8	10,1	7,4
Expenditure –total (mln. MDL)	651,1	766,2	1317,3	911,9	888,6
Share of the following expenditure in total expenditure (%):					
- payment of pensions	78,7	77,0	64,1	71,7	81,2
Including					
- for pension age	75,3	59,6	40,3	31,6	54,3
- payment of rewards and compensations	15,9	13,9	9,4	19,8	13,7
Including					
- for temporary work incapacity	7,7	7,3	4,4	6,3	6,3
- payment of dole	0,8	0,5	0,4	0,5	0,9
Share of total expenditure in GDP (%)	10,0	9,8	14,8	10,0	7,3
Excess (+), deficit (-), mln.MDL	+11,1	-1,5	+5,9	+8,6	+19,2
Excess / deficit of budget (%) in GDP	0,17	-0,02	0,07	0,09	0,16

Table 22. Foreign Trade Activity¹⁾

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Rate of coverage of imports by exports (%)	88,7	74,1	74,6	61,7	80,7
Share of exports in GDP (%)	51,7	46,9	45,3	36,6	40,4
Share of commercial balance deficit in GDP (%)	6,7	16,3	15,3	22,3	9,7
Commercial balance, mln US dollars	-95,2	-277,3	-297,1	-391,8	-110,8

	1995-1999
Average annual rate of export increase (%)	-1,2
Average annual rate of import increase (%)	1,5

¹⁾ of goods

Table 23. Urbanization

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Share of urban population (%)	46,4	46,2	46,2	46,2	46,0	46,0
Urban population growth rate (%)	-0,2	-0,6	-0,4	-0,4	-0,5	-0,4
The largest city: Chişinău						
- number of population (thou persons)	661,5	661,9	664,7	663,2	663,6	663,4
- growth rate (%)	0	+0,1	+0,4	-0,2	+0,1	0

	1960	1995	2000
Share of urban population (%)	23,2	46,4	46,0

	1960-1995	1995-2000
Urban population's average annual growth rate (%)	3,0	-0,48

	1970-1995	1995-2000
Population's average annual growth rate (%) Municipality Chisinau	2,5	0,05

Table 24. Rural - Urban Disparity

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Share of rural population (%)	53,6	53,8	53,8	53,8	54,0
Life expectancy at birth (years) – total	65,8	66,7	66,6	67,8	67,4
- rural locality	64,6	66,0	65,9	67,3	66,8
- urban locality	67,3	67,5	67,6	68,4	68,4
Share of population of 0-15 years age (%)					
- rural locality	30,5	30,1	29,6	29,4	28,7
- urban locality	26,3	25,7	25,1	24,7	23,9
Share of population over 65 years (%)					
- rural locality	10,7	10,7	10,8	10,9	10,9
- urban locality	7,0	7,0	7,1	7,0	7,0
Correlation of demographic dependence (%)					
- rural locality	70,1	69,1	68,0	67,6	65,5
- urban locality	49,9	48,7	47,4	46,4	44,9
Nativity rate – total (‰)	13,0	12,0	12,5	11,3	10,6
- rural locality	14,9	13,8	14,2	12,8	11,9
- urban locality	10,8	9,8	10,1	9,3	8,7
Fertility rate – total (‰)	1,8	1,6	1,7	1,5	1,4
- rural locality	2,2	2,0	2,1	1,8	1,6
- urban locality	1,3	1,2	1,2	1,1	1,0
Infant mortality rate – total (‰)					
- rural locality	21,2	20,2	19,8	17,5	18,2
- urban locality	22,3	21,1	21,3	16,0	16,9
- urban locality	19,5	18,7	16,8	20,5	20,7
Total average area per inhabitant (m ²) – total					
- rural locality	19,9	20,1	20,0	20,4	20,7
- urban locality	16,9	17,0	17,3	17,7	18,2
- urban locality	22,2	22,4	22,0	22,4	22,4
Average total area per inhabitant (m ²) – total – at 31 st December					
- rural locality	14,0	14,1	14,0	14,3	14,5
- rural locality	10,9	11,0	11,2	11,4	11,8
- urban locality	16,4	16,5	16,1	16,3	16,3

	tr. IV 1998	tr. IV 1999	1999
Unemployment rate, total	12,8	10,0	11,1
- rural locality	19,9	17,5	19,1
- urban locality	7,5	4,4	5,4

Table 25. Energy Consumption

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Primary resources de energie hidroelectrica thou tons c.c.)	28	28	28	27	30
Energy consumption (thou tons c.c.)	5085	5045	4725	4218	3320
Of which: consumption of population	528	713	808	697	610
Annual average consumption of energy per inhabitant (kg c.c.)	1411	1402	1314	1155	910
GDP (MDL, current prices) per one kg c.c. consumed	1274	1546	1887	2163	3676
Share of import in energy consumption (%)	100,5	93,6	100,7	93,3	93,1
Annual average consumption of electric energy per inhabitant (KWh)	579	652	516	307	178
GDP (MDL, current prices) per one KWh consumed	3,10	3,32	4,81	8,13	18,81

Table 26. **Natural Resources, as of January I**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total area (thou ha)	3385,1	3385,3	3384,5	3384,4	3384,4	3384,4
Share of forest area ¹ (%)	12,6	12,6	12,5	12,5	12,5	12,5
Share of arable area (%)	52,0	52,4	52,7	53,1	53,5	53,6
Share of arable area arranged for irrigation in arable area (%)	15,3	15,3	15,2	15,1	15,0	14,9
Share of public owned area (%)	43,1	32,1	32,8	33,3	33,5	34,4

¹ forests, plantations of bushes, protective forest plantations

Table 27. **Environment**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Pesticides by agricultural grounds (kg/ha)	1,8	1,3	1,4	1,3	1,1
Total expenditure on environment protection (mln.lei, current prices)	...	92	103	94	112

Table 28. **Impact of Economic Activity on Environment and Natural Resources**

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Volume of water received from water resources (mln.m ³)	2005	1891	1513	1263	999
Water consumption (mln.m ³)	1889	1766	1412	1176	920
Consumption of water in systems of closed and consecutive circuit (mln.m ³)	558	502	510	453	396
Volume of eucuarii of residual polluted water (mln.m ³)	15	12	11	12	10
Including into Nister (mln.m ³)	10	8	8	10	3
Emissions of harmful substances into air – total (thou tons)	279	137	250	205	130
Of which					
- by stationary purification sources	41	37	34	31	20
- by auto transport	238	100	216	174	110
Forest cutting (principal cuts and reargarding forests renewal) (mln.m ³)	128	117	189	197	198

Abbreviations

ADACS	Action Program for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability
AFSS	Association of Women with Higher Education
APCE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
ASM	Academy of Sciences of Moldova
CALRE	Congress of Local and Regional Authorities in Europe
CCA	Common Country Assessment
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe Countries
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CISR	Center for Strategic Studies and Reforms
CSP	Scientific and Practical Center for Public Health and Sanitation Management
DIER	Department of Inter-Ethnic Relations
DSAS	Department of Statistical Analysis and Sociology of the Republic of Moldova
EAC	Euro-Atlantic Center
ECHR	European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FSU	Former Soviet Union
HBS	Household Budget Survey
HCA	High Commission for Attestation
HDI	Human Development Index
HRC	Human Rights Center
IF	“Încrederea” Foundation
MER	Ministry of Economy and Reforms of the Republic of Moldova
MoE	Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Moldova
MLSPF	Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family of the Republic of Moldova
MoH	Ministry of Health of the Republic of Moldova
MSU	State University of Moldova
NBM	National Bank of Moldova
NIS	Newly Independent States
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
RCAP	Research Center, Academy of Policy
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN TGC	UN Theme Group “Culture for Development”
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAM	Moldovan State University of Arts
USLM	Slavonic University of Moldova
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization

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