



**REPORT**  
**ON**  
**THE ELECTIONS IN MOLDOVA**  
**27 FEBRUARY, 1994**



**REPORT ON THE ELECTIONS IN  
MOLDOVA  
ON 27 FEBRUARY 1994**

**1. Conclusions**

**The elections were effected by the fact that Moldova has not yet recovered from its internal crisis which included violent clashes. The crisis has its roots in the country's history. Moldova is still struggling its way out from several decades of totalitarian rule, but the roots also go further back in history and, furthermore, involve tensions between ethnic communities.**

**Lack of experience and democratic tradition could be seen, in particular, in the campaign.**

**It is of very serious concern that Moldovan citizens who live in the Transdnistria only had very limited possibilities to participate in the elections due to the obstacles posed by the authorities in Tiraspol.**

**The electoral law is democratic and provides good conditions for free and fair elections.**

**The authorities in general, and the officials at polling stations in particular, appeared to implement the law in a competent manner.**

**With the two reservations mentioned above and based on observations made up until the beginning of the counting of votes on February 27, the Delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CSCE concludes that the elections were carried out in a free and fair manner.**

**The elections were an important achievement in the democratization process of the Republic of Moldova.**

The Delegation's conclusions were published in the press release issued on February 28 jointly with the North Atlantic Assembly. (Annex 1)

## 2. Delegation

The Delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CSCE monitored the elections in the Republic of Moldova at the invitation of the Moldovan Parliament. The Delegation was composed of the following Parliamentarians:

Javier Ruperez,	Spain,	Head of Delegation
Josef Krupík,	Czech Republic	
Pavel Seifer,	Czech Republic	
Andrus Villem,	Estonia	
Antonio Graziani,	Italy	
Angelo Cresco,	Italy	
Antanas Račas,	Lithuania	
Corneliu Balan,	Romania	
Emil Cojocaru,	Romania	
Cornel Protopopescu,	Romania	
Marcel Moldoveanu,	Romania	
Nicolae Bateanu,	Romania	
Ludovic Rakoczi,	Romania	
Ion Dobrescu,	Romania	
Mihail Viziru,	Romania	
Peeter Luksep,	Sweden	
Ahmet Inceöz,	Turkey	
Yury Elchenko,	Ukraine	

The Delegation was also joined by the following two advisors of the US Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly:

John Finerty,  
Victoria Showalter.

The Delegation was accompanied by the following two members of the International Secretariat:

Pentti Väänänen,	Deputy Director
Gina Dark,	Secretary

## 3. Programme

The programme was prepared together with the Moldovan Parliament and in cooperation with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the North Atlantic Assembly. The Programme (Annex 2) was the same for all three Parliamentary Assemblies and also, other Parliamentarians who were present were welcome to join it. In addition, several other international observers participated in the

meetings in the programme.

All activities, including preparations and the monitoring in the polling-stations on 27 February and the press conference, as well as the press release on February 28, were carried out jointly with the North Atlantic Assembly.

Throughout its work the Delegation was greatly supported and assisted by the CSCE Mission to Moldova and the CSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

#### **4. Background**

A review of the political situation prior to the elections in Moldova was introduced to the Delegation by the Head and other members of the CSCE Mission to Moldova and also by the representatives of the Moldovan authorities, including the President of the Republic, Speaker of the Parliament and Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. The Delegation also received valuable information from representatives of all major political parties and movements, from representatives of different national minorities and from the local leaders in Tiraspol and Comrat, as well as from representatives of the diplomatic corps.

Moldova gained its independence in connection with events leading to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Never before in history has Moldova been an independent state with its present borders. Immediately after independence there was substantial support for eventual unification with Romania. A large part of the present territory of Moldova has at some time in history been part of Romania, and the majority of the population speaks the Romanian language.

Partly as a reaction to these suggestions the leadership in Tiraspol declared the Transdniestria area an independent state. There were also other reasons for this action while the present leadership in Tiraspol seems to represent the ideology of the previous regime and the majority of the population in Transdniestria is of Ukrainian and Russian descent. No country has recognized this area as an independent state. In 1992 there were violent clashes between the Moldovan army and supporters of the Transdniestrian leadership. The Russian 14th Army is still present in Transdniestria. The Moldovans living in Transdniestria only had very limited possibilities to participate in the elections due to obstacles posed by the local leadership.

The leadership in Gagauzia also declared their area independent. The population there largely rejects the idea of joining Romania and their majority is of Turkish descent though of Christian-orthodox faith. The Gagauz region did not participate in the 1991 elections and had originally refused to take part in these elections as well. Before the elections, the President of the Republic of Moldova visited Comrat and met with the local leadership. As a result the elections were organized in Gagauzia and although the decision was taken rather late, all citizens did have an opportunity to participate. Although there are tensions and unsolved problems between the Moldovan

Government and the Gagauzian leadership they did not effect the carrying out of the elections.

The CSCE Mission to Moldova was established in Chisinau in April 1993. It has contacts with all parties in the Transdnistria conflict and it has worked successfully in order to facilitate, between the parties concerned, a framework for dialogue which could lead to a solution of the crisis. Although the Mission, according to its mandate, only deals with the Transdnistrian conflict, it also follows closely other questions in the country, including the Gagauz issue. It is generally agreed that the Mission's work, as well as its proposals, are most constructive and useful. It has also taken important steps in the protection of human rights.

Parliament, elected in free and fair election, and a Government which is accountable to such a Parliament, will have better possibilities to tackle all problems facing the Republic of Moldova. Therefore, it is to be hoped that the new Government, with the support of Parliament, could start a dialogue with all parties concerned on the basis of proposals put forward by the CSCE Mission to Moldova.

It is also to be hoped that the CSCE Mission to Moldova will continue its work after the expiry of the present mandate in order to facilitate the dialogue.

## **5. Observations**

### **5.1. Legal and practical conditions**

#### **5.1.1. Electoral law**

The electoral law was passed on 14 October 1993. (Available in English from the Secretariat) According to the law, the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) is responsible for the arrangements. It is composed of 23 members. That includes 7 members of the Supreme Court, elected by the plenum session of that Court in secret ballot. The Supreme Court elects one of these 7 members as Chairman and another as Vice-Chairman. 13 members are appointed by different political parties. The CEC also investigates all complaints made against accepting parties or candidates on the ballot. It had received 14 complaints.

There are 104 seats in the Parliament.

The whole country is one single constituency. Parties, which are registered in the Ministry of Justice, can present candidates. Each party presents their candidates in the order in which they will be elected. The voter votes for a party list. The votes are counted according to the d'Hondt system. Parties will have to receive a threshold of at least 4 % of the votes to have any candidates elected. In these elections thirteen parties had put forward altogether 1022 individual candidates.

Independent candidates could also be presented. The 4 % threshold does not apply to them. There were 20 independent candidates.

All 13 parties with their names and symbols as well as the names of all independent candidates were printed on one single ballot-paper. The voter marked a cross in a circle next to the party or independent candidate he/she voted for. A copy of the list which was intended for display in all polling stations on election day and having almost the same form as the ballot, is attached (Annex 3). A booklet with the entire lists of the parties' candidates was also available in the polling stations.

All parties are entitled to a fixed amount of Government funding for the campaign and an equal amount of time on the state controlled radio and TV.

**The legal basis for the elections is clear and provides a good framework for free and fair elections. The ballot-paper and procedures in polling-stations are easy to understand.**

#### 5.1.2. Special conditions in Transdnistria

The authorities in Tiraspol claimed that since Transdnistria, in their opinion, is a separate independent state their citizens cannot vote in Moldovan elections. However, they considered that some of their citizens may simultaneously also be citizens of the Republic of Moldova and therefore could go to vote on the Western side of the Dniester river. There were 15 polling stations close to the river where the people living on the eastern side could go and vote. These polling stations were open for a week.

**However, this arrangement was insufficient. The Moldovan citizens living in Transdnistria had only very restricted possibilities to vote in the elections. The obstacles posed by the authorities in Tiraspol also limited the number of candidates from Transdnistria, meaning that important segment of the country's population will not be equally represented in the new Parliament. These are the most serious reservations to the freedom and fairness of the elections.**

From several sources, including some voters from the Transdnistrian area, it was heard that in some enterprises employees' passports were taken away by management during the elections thus making it impossible for many to cast their votes. Although the leadership in Tiraspol in the meeting on 26 February denied having any information on such cases and the observers did not have a possibility to meet with management of any enterprises in Transdnistria, there is reason to fear that such action may have taken place. The leadership promised to investigate any such allegations if they were specified.

Several voters from the areas controlled by the authorities in Tiraspol, said that it was possible that they might, in one way or another, be

**penalized for their participation in the elections. For this reason, the observers were told, several voters had refrained from voting. It remains to be seen whether there is ground for these fears but such fears do exist and they appeared to have adversely influenced participation.**

**It also appears that the authorities in Tiraspol have held back information on elections, and prevented some radio programmes from reaching these territories.**

Some voters from the Transdnistria area also said that they have been advised by local authorities and their superiors to accept the nationality of "Transdnistrian Republic". The observers were told that people have been threatened that they may lose their jobs if they fail to apply for that "nationality".

#### 5.1.3. Other conditions

There were several allegations, in particular from parties of the opposition, that the government and the leading parties used their position to have more media time and to use government vehicles and other public facilities in the campaign. It was not possible for the observers to verify these allegations but this concern seems to be shared by several parties and individuals.

Representatives of some political parties also complained that they had received from the Government the financial support, which was to be used for financing the campaign, only a few days before the elections.

#### 5.2. Observations at polling stations

The Delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the CSCE, together with the Delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly, was divided into 8 groups which visited more than sixty polling stations in all parts of the country (Annex 4). The first visits were made before the opening of the stations and the opening procedures were observed. The last visits were made at the closing time of the stations and the closing as well as the beginning of the counting of votes, were observed. The Delegations did not make observations after 10. p.m. on 27 February. Therefore the counting of votes or any other event after that point of time are not reflected in this report.

**In almost all stations the arrangements were satisfactory and in accordance with the law. The officers appeared very competent in their work. Good order was maintained, ballot papers were available, voters identities were controlled to prevent double-voting, the ballot-boxes were sealed and properly guarded.**

The observers did, however, make the following observations on smaller problems and



breaches of proper procedures:

**In some cases the polling stations were very crowded at times making maintenance of order difficult.**

**There were cases when two or even more people went together into the same booth.**

**There were some cases when a voter marked the ballot-paper outside the booth.**

**There were some cases when a person received more than one ballot paper.**

**Occasionally in rural areas, the passport was not shown.**

**In a couple of polling-stations the ballot-boxes were not under constant supervision by the officials.**

These breaches appeared, however, not to have been made intentionally by any official and they were far from being so frequent that they could place the freedom and fairness of the elections in question.

In some polling-stations in the Gagauz region the officials complained that they had too little time for preparations. The observers felt, however, that the arrangements there did work satisfactorily.

Several election observers from Moldovan political parties were present in polling stations. The possibility of their presence did contribute to the credibility of the election. However, only a few parties had effectively taken advantage of this possibility.

Police officers were also present to help the authorities to maintain public order.

### 5.3. Other observations

Counting of votes was slow. Reliable initial results were not available by the Delegation's departure, early afternoon of 28 February. It took several days to finish the counting.

## 6. Recommendations

Should the crisis between the government of Moldova and the authorities in Tiraspol be solved before the next elections, then all Moldovans would have the same opportunities to stand for elections and vote. In any case this basic right of all citizens

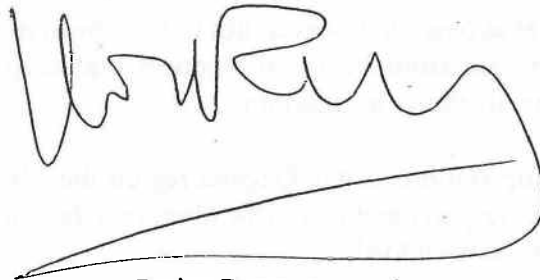
must be guaranteed in future.

It should be guaranteed that those Moldovan citizens who live in the Transdniestrian area will not be penalized in any way for having been candidates or voted in these elections. The international community must also concern itself with this matter to ensure that the leadership in Tiraspol keeps its promise not to impose any kind of penalties on those who contributed to the elections in any manner.

In the campaign, equal possibilities to all parties and candidates must be guaranteed by the authorities. In particular this concerns access to the state controlled media.

People should be well informed of the voting procedures and of the need for secrecy and security in the elections, proper facilities must be arranged for all polling stations and the officials must carefully observe and supervise the observation of the law and regulations.

Counting of votes should be improved in order to have the results available promptly.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Javier Ruperez', with a long, sweeping horizontal line underneath it.

Javier Ruperez  
Head of Delegation

**PRESS RELEASE**  
**CSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**  
**NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY**

Chisinau, 28 February 1994

On the invitation of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, the delegations of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the North Atlantic Assembly observed the elections in Moldova on 27 February 1994.

The delegation of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly was composed of Mr Javier Ruperez, Head of Mission, Spain, Mr Pavel Seifer and Mr Josef Krupík of the Czech Republic, Mr Andrus Villem, Estonia, Senator Graziani and Mr Cresco, Italy, Mr Antanas Račas, Lithuania, Mr Corneliu Balan, Mr Emil Cojocaru, Mr Cornel Protopopescu, Mr Marcel Moldoveanu, Mr Nicolae Bateanu, Mr Ludovic Rakoczi, Mr Ion Dobrescu and Mr Mihail Viziru from Romania, Mr Peeter Luksep, Sweden, Mr Ahmet Inceoz, Turkey, and Mr Yury Elchenko, Ukraine. Mr John Finerty and Ms Victoria Showalter of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, USA, Mr Pentti Väänänen and Ms Gina Dark from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly Secretariat also participated.

The delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly was composed of Lord Lucas of Chilworth, Head of Delegation, United Kingdom, Mrs Brigitte Schulte, Germany, Mr Ismet Sezgin, Turkey, Mr Antonio Del Pennino, Italy, and Mrs Catherine Guicherd, Mr Craig Oliphant and Mr Christopher Legallo from the staff of the North Atlantic Assembly.

In order to have a better understanding of the background to these elections, the two delegations met with the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Mircea Snegur, with the Speaker of the Parliament, Mr. Petru Lucinschi, with representatives of the Central Electoral Commission and other authorities, as well as representatives of different national minorities and political parties. They also visited Tiraspol and Comrat and met with the leaders of the Transdniester region and the Gagauz community.

On election day the members of the delegations visited more than 60 polling stations in all parts of the Republic.

The two delegations recognize that these were the first multi-party elections in the Republic of Moldova. Lack of democratic tradition may have caused difficulties in the carrying out of these elections. They also recognize that Moldovans living in the Transdniester region had only very limited possibilities to participate in the elections due to obstacles posed by the authorities in Tiraspol.

With these two reservations and based on observations made up until the time of the end of voting, the two delegations feel that the elections in Moldova were carried out in a free and fair manner. They congratulate the Moldovan authorities, political parties and movements, different communities and in particular the Moldovan people for taking this important step in building democracy. They

recognize the new Parliament as democratically representing the Moldovan people and will welcome its contribution to the work of the two organizations.

The delegations of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the North Atlantic Assembly thank the Moldovan Parliament and all those who have helped them in their work. They also express their particular gratitude to the CSCE Mission to Moldova and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights for their invaluable cooperation and assistance.

PROGRAMME FOR  
ELECTION MONITORING IN MOLDOVA

23-28 FEBRUARY, 1994

WEDNESDAY, February 23, 1994

Arrival  
Accommodation

THURSDAY, February 24, 1994

8:15-9:00	Meeting of the Delegation
	Accreditation
9:30-11:15	Meeting and briefing with the CSCE Mission to Moldova
11:20-11:40	Press Conference
11:45-12:30	Meeting with Mr Mircea SNEGUR, President of the Republic of Moldova
12:45-14:25	Lunch
14:30-15:15	Meeting with Mr Petru LUCINSCHI, Speaker of Parliament
15:30-16:15	Meeting with Mr Alexandru BARBĂNEAGRĂ, Minister of Justice
16:30-17:15	Meeting with Mr Pavel BARBALAT, President of the Supreme Court
17:10-17:40	Meeting with Mr Nicolae TIMOFTE, Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission
19:00	Reception offered by the President of Moldova, Speaker of the Parliament and the Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission

FRIDAY, February 25, 1994

9:00-9:45	Meeting with members of the diplomatic corps
10:00-11:00	Meeting with Members of the Central Electoral Commission
11:15-13:00	Meeting with Representatives of Russian, Ukrainian and Bulgarian minorities
13:15-14:45	Lunch
15:00-17:00	Meeting with the representatives of: Christian-Democratic Popular Front Bloc, Totalitary Regime Victims' Association, Christian-National Party, Peasants and Intellectuals Bloc, Ecological Party "Alianta Verde", Democratic Labour Party, Reforming Party, Democratic Party,

**FRIDAY, February 25, 1994 continued**

19:30 Social Democratic Bloc,  
Republican Party,  
Left Forces Movement "Unitatea-Edinstvo Bloc",  
Women's Association of Moldova,  
Agrarian-Democratic Party.  
Reception offered by the CSCE Mission to  
Moldova

**SATURDAY, February 26, 1994**

9:00-18:00 Visit to Tiraspol  
9:00-18:00 Visit to Comrat

**SUNDAY, February 27, 1994**

6:00-22:00 Visiting electoral sectors and monitoring the  
elections  
22:00 Meeting of the Delegation

**MONDAY, February 28, 1994**

9:00-9:50 Meeting of all the observers  
10:30-11:30 Press Conference  
Departure














# ВОСКРЕСЕНЬЕ, 27 февраля 1994 года—

ANNEX

3

день выборов Парламента Республики Молдова

В выборах участвуют 13 партий, общественно-политических организаций, избирательных блоков и 20 независимых кандидатов

Наименование партий, общественно-политических организаций, избирательных блоков	Избирательный знак	Кол-во кандидатов	Первые три кандидата в списке	Независимые кандидаты
Избирательный блок «Альянс Христианско-демократического народного фронта»		106	Рошка Юрие Илашку Илие Возиан Ион	Кишерин Александр
Ассоциация жертв тоталитарного коммунистического режима Молдовы		21	Морошану Михай Шпак Александру Кожокару Павел	Кожухарь Дмитрий
Национально-христианская партия Молдовы		56	Нику Владимир Обадэ Фока Головка Якрб	Платон Профир
Социал-демократический блок		106	Нантой Оазу Урекяну Серафим Цэран Анатол	Филаг Георгий
Блок крестьян и интеллигенции		106	Чертан Семион Мошану Александру Истрати (Чебан) Лидия	Антонов Михаил
Демократическая партия Молдовы		105	Гимпу Георге Некулче Василе Брашовяну Думитру	Завгородный Виталий
Избирательный блок «Социалистическая партия и движение «Унитате-Единство»		106	Сеник Валериу Солонярь Владимир Морев Виктор	Сажина Елена
Ассоциация женщин Молдовы		45	Скальная Людмила Зумбрияну Виктория Микулесц Лариса	Горбан Виктор
Экологическая партия «Алианца Верде»		21	Чухрий Мирча Лозан Мина Ботэзату Валериу	Котунэ Василий
Аграрно-демократическая партия Молдовы		106	Мошпан Думитру Лучински Петру Сангели Андрей	Чорич Михаил
Республиканская партия Молдовы		67	Пушкаш Виктор Мазилу Георге Козма Василе	Плэмэдялэ Михаил
Демократическая партия труда Республики Молдова		105	Русу Мирча Арсени Александру Чобану Георге	Драгуца Ион
Партия реформ		74	Амихалакиоасе Георге Тампиза Константин Которобай Михай	Цуркану Ион
				Чунту Ион
				Фандофан Сергей
				Маймеску Сава
				Гологан Григорий
				Гусак Павел
				Кырлан Георгий
				Филипский Валентин

Уважаемые избиратели! Вас ждут на избирательных участках в день выборов с 7<sup>00</sup> до 20<sup>00</sup> часов

## Election Day

On Election Day, Sunday February 27, the delegations from the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the North Atlantic Assembly divided up into the following groups so as to cover as much territory of the Republic of Moldova as possible and therefore carry out an effective election monitoring operation.

- Group 1**                    **Orhei, Balti, Soroca**  
**Romanian Group - CSCE**  
 Corneliu Balan  
 Emil Cojocaru  
 Cornel Protopopescu  
 Marcel Moldoveanu  
 Nicolae Bateanu  
 Ludovic Rakoczi  
 Ion Dobrescu  
 Mihail Viziru
- Group 2**                    **South**  
 Javier Ruperez, CSCE Head of Delegation, Spain  
 Lord Lucas, NAA, Head of Delegation, UK  
 Peeter Luksep, CSCE, Sweden  
 Catherine Guicherd, NAA  
 Pentti Väänänen, CSCE PA Secretariat
- Group 3**                    **River**  
 John Finerty, Commission on Security and  
 Cooperation in Europe  
 Brigitte Schulte, NAA, Germany  
 Craig Oliphant, NAA  
 Andrus Villem, CSCE, Estonia  
 Chris le Gallo, NAA
- Group 4**                    **Kishinev**  
 Ahmet Inceöz - CSCE, Turkey  
 Representative(s) of the Turkish Embassy
- Group 5**                    **Kishinev**  
 Josef Krupík, CSCE, Czech Republic  
 Pavel Seifer, CSCE, Czech Republic  
 Representative(s) of Czech Embassy
- Group 6**                    **Kishinev**  
 Antonio Graziani, CSCE, Senator, Italy  
 Angelo Cresco, CSCE, Deputy, Italy  
 Antonio Del Pennino, NAA, Deputy, Italy
- Group 7**                    **Kishinev, Hincesti and its region**  
 Yury Elchenko, CSCE, Ukraine  
 Representative(s) of Ukrainian Embassy
- Group 8**                    **North-West**  
 Antanas Račas - CSCE, Lithuania  
 Victoria Showalter - Commission on Security and  
 Cooperation in Europe  
 Gina Dark, CSCE PA Secretariat