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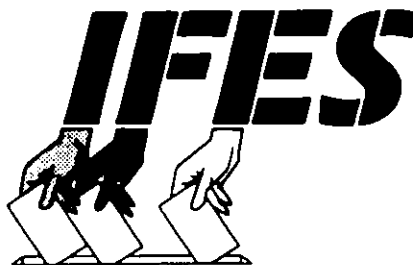
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**THE MOLDOVAN
PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS**

FEBRUARY 27, 1994

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INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

IFES Report on the February 27, 1994 Moldovan Parliamentary Elections

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In August of 1993, IFES fielded a three-member team with expertise in constitutional law, public administration and international technical assistance to assess the evolving electoral and political process in Moldova. The team travelled to Chisinau at the invitation of the Vice President of the Parliament of Moldova, Victor Puscas.

The purpose of the initial IFES visit was threefold: (1) to examine opinions with regard to the Soviet-style election system still in force at the time of the team's visit; (2) to assess efforts to reform the Moldovan electoral system in anticipation of new Parliamentary elections; and (3) to propose opportunities for collaboration with Moldovan electoral officials and non-partisan civic organizations.

This first IFES project team consisted of the following members: James L. Huffman, Acting Dean of the Lewis and Clark Law School in Portland, Oregon, whose expertise includes international law and constitutional issues; Ray S. James, Principal Director of Elections, Kansas City Board of Elections and formerly the Director of the Division of Elections in the Office of the Secretary of State of Missouri and Christopher S. Siddall, IFES Senior Program Officer for East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

In January of 1994, Mr. Dorin Tudoran opened a permanent IFES office in Chisinau. He was assisted by Jonathan Soros, then on staff at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, under contract with IFES. In February 1994, Ray James, Thomas Carothers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Scott Lansell, Program Officer for Central and Eastern Europe & NIS, arrived in Chisinau to assist in the final preparations for the international observations of the parliamentary elections held on February 27.

This second team of election consultants, under the leadership of Mr. Tudoran, initiated daily contact with the Central Election Commission's (CEC) leadership, the U.S. Embassy, and NGO groups on the impending election. IFES also loaned on a short-term basis election-related equipment to the CEC, including computer hardware and software for use during the election period. This equipment allowed the CEC to execute its responsibilities of vote counting and seat distribution according to the Electoral Law of Moldova. It also made possible comprehensive vote tabulation by party, which proves to be very valuable when analyzing election data, available from each polling site. A sample of this kind of data is included in this report; IFES will also be publishing separately the entire set of results for the February elections.

On election day polling regions were allocated to each team member, for observation and reporting. They visited several polling stations, and observed activities ranging from ballot access to counting procedures. After election results were released, the IFES Director initiated the process of evaluating future needs of Moldova's NGO and media community. With assistance from USAID for at least the next two years, the work of IFES in Moldova will involve: a) Promoting civic education by stimulating or facilitating the emergence of one or more local groups that would serve as human rights monitoring organizations b) Assisting the civic society and nurturing the NGO sector through careful surveying of the field of existing NGOs and identifying any non-partisan groups with a social or political focus that might benefit

from modest levels of external contact or support, and c) Promoting decentralization by helping the government obtain information about types and patterns of local government reform where IFES could help foster the growth of local citizens groups that could play a partnership role in the process of reform.

In June 1994, IFES is organizing its first Conference in Moldova on "New Democracies and the Young Electorate." This event will include Terry Holcomb, a leadership training specialist, as well as the Honorable Mary Pendelton, US Ambassador to Moldova, Petru Lucinschi, the President of Parliament, and Nicolae Timofte, Vice President of the Supreme Court. A second event scheduled for July 1994 is to focus on local administration and related issues.

II. BACKGROUND TO THE ELECTIONS

A. Emergence of an Independent Moldova

Moldova's historical independence and relationship to neighboring countries still plays an important role in defining current political issues. The historic principality of Moldova first came into being in 1359 under Viovode Bogdan I. It spanned both sides of the Prut river, which now forms the border between Moldova and Romania. It extended to the Dniester River in the east and approximately the same distance to the west. It reached the Black Sea in the south and in the north it included an area now known as Bucovina.

By the middle of the 16th century, Moldova had been reduced to a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. Except for brief periods during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Moldova remained under Ottoman suzerainty for the next three centuries.

In 1775, Austria obtained Ottoman consent for annexing an area of approximately 9,000 square kilometers in northwestern Moldova, a region with nearly 100,000 inhabitants. This region, which had not had a particular name and had never before constituted a separate administrative area, became known as Bucovina and was administered by the Austrian crown until 1918.

As a result of the Russian-Turkish war, from 1806 to 1823 the Russian Empire annexed that area between the Prut and Dniester Rivers, bordering on Bucovina to the north and to the Danube and Black Sea to the south. Under the 1812 Treaty of Bucharest, this region was transferred to Russia and given the name Bessarabia. Like Bucovina, the region had not had a particular name and had never before constituted a separate administrative area. The portion of the Moldovan principality west of the Prut to the Carpathians, which remained nominally under Ottoman control, joined with Wallachia in 1859 to form the kingdom of Romania in 1861.

Following the October 1917 revolution in Russia and the separation of Ukraine from Russia, the population of Bessarabia elected through universal suffrage a legislative assembly named Council of the Land (Sfatul Tarii) whose ethnic and social composition reflected that of Bessarabia. The province declared itself in October 1917 an autonomous republic and on December 2, 1917 the Council of the Land proclaimed the independent Moldovan Democratic Republic. On April 8, 1918, the Council of the Land voted by a large majority, primarily along ethnic lines, to unite with the Kingdom of Romania on certain political and economic conditions. However, in December 1918, the same assembly rescinded those conditions. In November 1918, the Romanian National Council of Bucovina voted for union with Romania.

Bessarabia's accession to Romania was recognized by France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan under the Treaty of Paris of October 28, 1920, and subsequently by a number of other countries. The USSR, for its part, refused to recognize the status-quo. Despite Soviet irredentist agitation among ethnic groups in Bessarabia in the inter-war period, inter-ethnic relations there remained stable and free of conflict. In 1924, the USSR created a Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in the Transdnister, an area of historic Moldovan settlement.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939 demanded in an ultimatum to Romania in June 1940 that Bessarabia be ceded to the USSR. Romania complied within three days as demanded. Romania regained control of Bessarabia and northern Bucovina in 1941 but lost the territories again in 1944. Following the annexation, the USSR created the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic consisting of two-thirds of historic Bessarabia and the western part of the Moldovan Autonomous Republic, and gave the latter's eastern part to Ukraine. Importantly, the southern area transferred to Ukraine included Bessarabia's outlets to the Danube and the Black Sea. In 1947, the Peace Treaty of Paris recognized the boundaries between the Soviet Union and Romania according to the aforementioned 1940 Soviet ultimatum.

It was not until the late 1980s that in the Republic of Moldova a movement for independence from the USSR developed. The movement initially focussed on the issue of language. Not only did the Soviet authorities impose Russian as the official language, they also insisted upon distinguishing between the Moldovan and the Romanian languages, and required the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in writing the "Moldovan" language. In 1989, under pressure from the Popular Front, the Supreme Soviet of Moldova made the native language the official language of the republic and re-instituted the Latin script. The language issue has been discussed in detail within the new parliament, and a commission was formed on April 1, 1994 to study the issue in preparation for a June 1, 1994 presentation on its findings.

B. The Transdniester and Gagauz Issues

Parliamentary elections held in February and March 1990 resulted in a victory for the Popular Front and the removal of the Communist Party from power, one-and-a-half years before this was achieved in Russia and some other former Soviet republics. On August 27, 1991, after the aborted coup in Moscow, the Moldovan Parliament proclaimed by a large majority Moldova's independence from the USSR. Meanwhile, parts of the Russian and other ethnic minorities became concerned about what they contended was a process of "romanianization". Moreover, local Russian Communist leaders in the Transdniester and Gagauz leaders rejected each of the political reforms instituted by Chisinau and resisted Moldova's aspirations for independence from the USSR. Supported by Moscow, the Dniester Russians and the Gagauz organized para-military forces and threatened to secede from Moldova if Moldova seceded from the USSR. They proclaimed in 1990 the "Dniester Soviet Socialist Republic" and the "Gagauz Soviet Socialist Republic", with their centers in Tiraspol and Comrat, respectively. Neither of these has been recognized by any state (but have been "recognized" by the break-away region of Georgian Abkhazia and Serbian Krajina).

The situation in the Transdniester is quite dangerous due to the continued presence of Russia's 14th Army. By threatening to dismember the Moldovan state, the hardliners in Russia and the Dniester Russian leaders continually threaten Moldovan independence. The Transdniester holds much of Moldova's industrial capacity, most of its power generating capability, and is an area of intensely capitalized agriculture. Moreover, the region's secession from Moldova would certainly mean the permanent stationing of Russian troops there. Without this region, survival as an independent state would be very difficult for Moldova. Moldovan and foreign observers consider that the formation of the "Dniester Republic" would have been impossible without support from Russian hardliners and the Russian Army on the ground.

The "Dniester" Russian leaders and their supporters in the Russian military openly profess the goal of restoring the USSR or a Greater Russia of which that region of Moldova would be an important part. Moreover, the Dniester Russian leaders also profess adherence to Communist ideology and have opposed current attempts at reform, supporting instead the nationalistic forces in Russia. The "Dniester" Russian military leadership supported both the Communist putsch of August 1991 and the anti-Yeltsin rebellion of October 1993 in Moscow.

The self-proclaimed "Dniester Republic" constitutes a case of minority rule both politically, in that its leaders and supporters are pro-Communist, and ethnically, in that the local Russians constitute only one quarter of the region's population. Demographically, the population of the Transdniester region is 43% Moldovan, 28% Ukrainian, and 25.5% Russian, according to the last Soviet census (1989). Moreover, many of the local Russians including some of their top leaders are not natives, and have resettled there from the Russian Federation. These leaders

and their followers continue the traditional Soviet nationality policies centered on the linguistic russification of Moldovans and Ukrainians in the area.

The situation in the Gagauz region in the area of the city of Comrat in southern Moldova presents a slightly different situation. Due to the high concentration of Gagauz (over 50%) in this region, a pro-Russian, separatist movement thrives, however it is generally considered that this region is not viable as an independent entity. Moldova has 40 districts; the two districts and parts of a third which comprise the region are in no position economically or politically to exist outside Moldova (see Appendix 2 for population proportions). Because the Gagauz region itself contains many non-Gagauz, it is widely assumed that any "Gagauz republic" would have serious separatist problems of its own. Moldovan and Gagauz leaders are in the process of negotiating a political compromise based on some degree of territorial autonomy for the Gagauz within Moldova. It should be noted that both President Snegur and Prime Minister Sangheli visited Comrat before election day to signify their commitment to including the region in the electoral process.

C. Political Issues Leading Up to the Elections

Although a significant portion of the medieval principality of Moldova lies outside the current borders of the Republic of Moldova, there seems to be no contention that the Republic is entitled by historical claim to adjacent lands. Indeed, the only discussions of the proper boundaries of Moldova relate to its possible re-unification (from the Romanian perspective) or unification (from the Russian perspective) with Romania, and to the inclusion of the area east of the Dniester which was not part of the historical principality of Moldova. Although re-unification was widely discussed after the Moldovan declaration of independence in 1991, it is not considered a viable option by the current leadership and the majority of the population. According to a September 1992 public opinion poll taken by the Moldovan National Social Research Institute, 52% of the respondents were against unification and considered this "extremely undesirable for Moldova", while 20% thought that it was "a possibility over a lengthy transitional period." Only 8% of respondents thought that re-unification was "inevitable." In an attempt to present a "united national constituency" on the near future of Moldova's economic and political ties, President Snegur issued a "sociological poll." Held on March 6, 1994, one week after parliamentary elections, the poll revealed that over 90% of the participants favored the "position" of becoming an independent, economically active (with the CIS and Europe), and non-aligned member of the region (Appendix 1). It is IFES's conclusion that this poll's goal was to solidify the prescriptions of the Agrarian and Socialist Parties as they assumed power. The obvious question (as can be seen in the attachment) was able to achieve a "clear message" of independence from Romania, yet economic alliance with Russia. The

question of peaceful co-existence among neighbors as well was obviously not intended to divide public opinion.

Upon the resignation of Prime Minister Muravschi in July 1992, the political and ethnic face of the Moldovan government was altered with the selection of Andrei Sangheli (an ethnic Romanian). This leadership's agenda also differed dramatically from the past in that it presented itself as a multi-ethnic and politically diverse coalition. The concept of "National Consensus" was used to describe its goals. The growth of national political clubs and associations in Moldova will eventually express the various nationalities in the country. It has yet to be seen how the parliament, elected in February 1994, will deal with inter-ethnic issues.

National forces which have independently denounced Moldovan independence have no direct role in the government, but they are contributing to destabilization in Transdnistria. These include the Christian National Democratic Front, a pro-Romanian unification party, the Edinstvo Movement, and members of the 14th Russian army living in Transdnistria. Although officers of the 14th Army initially were in solidarity with the Edinstvo Movement, a policy of neutrality and non-involvement has been adopted under the leadership of Tiraspol-born Colonel Bergamann.

Major issues to be decided include whether a national referendum must be conducted to clarify the people's position on Moldovan independence and determination of the legitimacy of proposed legal groundwork set to resolve the Gagauz problem and give an impetus to resolve the situation in Transdnistria. Social Democratic Party (SDP) leader Nantoy stated that "the SDP has drafted a bill on special status of the Transdnistria region which provides for common citizenship, constitution, monetary and banking systems and foreign policy."

Please refer to Appendix 2 for a Statistical Analysis of Moldova (1989) with ethnic, national structures and Bessarabian and Gagauz representations.

III. LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND PREPARATION FOR THE ELECTION

A. The October 1993 Electoral Law and Subsequent Decrees

Although Chapter II, Article 10 (2) of the basic "Law on Elections to Parliament" (October 14, 1993) specifies that five members of the Supreme Court--sometimes called the "Constitutional Court" of Moldova are to be elected by the Court itself to serve on the Central Election Commission (CEC), in the recent Parliamentary election, seven such judges were members (see attached "Law on Elections to Parliament"). This change was one of several made in the "Decree on Procedure for Enacting the Law on Elections to Parliament", which was

adopted 5 days after the law itself was enacted. Nevertheless, the concept of having a core of judges serving as the leaders and, in effect, the full-time staff of the commission was at the heart of the new CEC. The August 1993 IFES team had been told of the idea of using Supreme Court Judges to insure the objectivity and respectability of the Commission--as contrasted with the entirely politically appointed CEC of the Soviet-era law. It was the observation of the February 1994 IFES team that the mechanism worked fairly well. In addition, in accordance with the new law, political parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs were entitled to name members. A list of CEC membership is included as supplied by the commission itself (Appendix 3).

The judges who were members of the CEC did not place themselves above the more mundane tasks of the commission and were accessible to a degree vastly different from their western counterparts. The "Secretary of the Commission", who carefully took the minutes during the CEC meetings, was herself a judge. Nevertheless, all the judges maintained a highly professional demeanor in the performance of their duties. Nicolae Timofte, the chairman of the CEC, proved himself a capable defender of the election law as passed. The Chairman expressed to the IFES team his clear intention that the CEC would operate strictly within the law and appropriate decrees. He envisioned a commission in which each judge-commissioner had an area of responsibility.

In addition, he was strongly interested in eventual improvements of the election law. For example, he asked the IFES team its view of Article 58 of the Election Law: namely its failure to provide a tie-breaking mechanism. This question was somewhat more acute than usual, since all of Moldova was broken into electoral districts with all candidates running at large on "lists" to be elected in proportion to their percentages received. A smaller district could--as in the past--have a "run-off" election when no single candidate received the then required absolute majority vote. As it developed, Chairman Timofte had a plan in mind which used the principle of age to resolve ties. As in most political systems, there is a tie-breaker scenario in the law. As shown in Appendix 4, Moldova has used the format which would award a seat to the party with the highest medium age candidate.

The team was referred to Chiril Pulbere, also a judge-commissioner, as its day-to-day contact person. The agenda of the 34th session of the CEC shows Mr. Pulbere in charge of the highest item on the agenda. The IFES team found him to be extremely helpful having played an important role in the final arrangements to allow voting in the break-away "Transdnestrian Republic" and the Gagauz region. Mr. Pulbere always indicated that it might be possible to vote in those areas and suggested mechanisms which were eventually incorporated. (The Transdnestrian system used was quite similar to the IFES recommendation concerning that area in the Pre-election Assessment of September 14, 1993).

Nevertheless, the legal deadlines for appointing precinct commission members, and the announcement of their locations had long passed when the President of the Republic made, essentially, political arrangements with each of the secessionist areas to allow voting. A meeting of the CEC barely a week prior to the election declined to adopt into a motion approval of the Presidential arrangements -- on legal and technical grounds. They were subsequently over-ruled by the Supreme Court and the arrangements proceeded. Commissioner Pulbere was clearly distressed. Although acknowledging the moral propriety of letting all Moldovans vote, he was disturbed by what seemed to him to be a cavalier (and essentially political) decision by the Court. Commissioner-judges did not participate in the high court's decision. The Commissioner observed that Moldova had clearly missed a great opportunity to assert an independent judiciary and he expressed the view that it would now be many years before such a condition could be attained.

In addition to the Supreme Court Judges, for the first time political parties and so-called sociopolitical groups and electoral blocs properly registered to participate in the election, were allowed to have members of the central commission. The list appended (Appendix 5) shows that they availed themselves of that option. One would expect some contention and disagreement with so many partisan members having full voting and participation status. In fact, Chairman Timofte indicated to the IFES team that some meetings had been more contentious than others. At the meeting the team attended, considerable unanimity was evident as the commission grappled with matters like the availability of energy for TV purposes (affecting the public service/political announcements), rules for poll observers, and the accuracy of the voter rolls.

Representatives of the Agrarian Democratic Party expressed the view that the "Unionist" bloc (those leaning toward unification with Romania) had a majority because so many minor parties were on the ballot. This "strategy" will be discussed in greater detail. They indicated that they expected the CEC to vote against allowing voting arrangements to be made in the Gagauz and Transdnistrian areas, due to the fact that those areas could be expected to vote strongly for non-unionist, i.e. more or less pro-Russian parties (the "Socialists" who are the reorganized Communist Party and the Agrarian Democrats themselves--although viewing themselves as "Centrists"). This prediction was realized on February 19, but Supreme Court Judge-members of the Central Commission voted against the extraordinary arrangement showing that the CEC had, in fact, become essentially a team. One should bear in mind that the judge-commissioners were themselves products of the old system, and had been elected to the CEC by the same Court that eventually overturned their decision. Ultimately, the "unionist" characterization, while sounding politically possible, does not completely conform with the logic and facts of the situation.

B. Basic Rules Regarding the Elections

1. **Voter Registration & Absentee Balloting**

Voter registration is primarily conducted in accordance with Articles 26, 27, 28 & 29 of the October, 1993 Election Law, despite some irregularities. Although the ordinary list (Appendix 6) is to include citizens who have "an active right to vote and who reside and are registered in the territory of the given electoral precinct", persons not on the list for many reasons are still able to vote. The voter roll is not viewed chiefly a security device to prevent multiple voting (although it does that to an extent that satisfies Moldovans). The voter roll, and "supplementary roll" (Appendix 7) is a mechanism for inclusion, not exclusion. It also keeps a record of who voted. In many ways, since almost no one is turned away from the polls, Moldova almost has a form of election day registration. In fact, it has been advocated by some to do away with the preparation of the lists, and going entirely to an election day enrollment. Probably the only thing that truly prevents this action is the fear of long lines and congestion that would be created as people present their identification and sign the provided blank forms. Having a pre-printed list with most people's names and addresses simply expedites the process and provides voters with additional assurance of the system's integrity. Most precinct commissions indicated that the supplementary roll was typically signed by certificate holders: members of the commission itself who lived elsewhere and travelers. They also expected those who had recently moved and persons not on the list but who could prove Moldovan citizenship to utilize this list. Non-certificate holders are those whose passports were to be stamped. At least one precinct (Krikova, north of Chisinau) was under the mistaken impression that they were to allow Transdnistrians to vote, although none were expected to travel such a distance from the left bank.

The real basis for the lists of registered voters is the list of living space allocations kept by local government agencies. Each Moldovan citizen is issued by the municipal government an "Internal Passport" which has two principal entries: one for identity, the photograph, serial number, and biographical data such as place and day of birth, surname, and nationality. The other important entry is the Soviet-style "residential visa" which permits the citizen to live at a certain address. Since the government is the landlord of virtually every citizen, such lists are kept, although they are not entirely current since people die, move, and experience other status changes that affects their citizenship. The meetings of the CEC that the IFES team attended witnessed a discussion of the inaccuracy of these lists.

Teams of municipal employees, assigned by living sectors, compile the lists. Rural citizens are also organized the same way, since rural administrative districts (Raions) correspond to the municipal government and have the same record keeping and passport issuing functions. In the Soviet era, these workers were simply assigned to do their work during regular hours.

They are paid a stipend by the CEC, but do their compilation "after hours". Thus, local government is no longer forced to absorb the cost, but the quality of the lists is considered lower because of low motivation reflecting the level of extra pay. It is for that reason that the "additional voter roll" or Supplementary List is even more important than it had been previously. The teams assumed that assembling lists of eligible voters would be easier in rural areas due to greater stability with regards to residency. But in fact, Moldovans on the whole "move" very little compared to Western populations. The list preparation serves an additional function in that it reveals the approximate number of persons in a given address group so that streets or blocks can be "attributed" to a given precinct. As has been noted elsewhere, precincts can vary in size from 50 to 3000 registered (or listed) voters. In fact, most of them seemed to be from 1500 to 2000.

It might be more precise not to describe to the voter rolls as a registered voter list, but as a list of legally eligible voters as compiled by local government. The Election Law contains a procedure for a citizen whose name was left off the list to protest, allowing them to petition to be ultimately restored. In fact, no precinct indicated that anyone had come early to examine the list of voters, although some citizens had viewed the lists of candidates posted at the polls before the election. This occurs because everyone realizes that with a Passport, one can vote. In addition, because Moldova was not divided into electoral districts for this election, residence was unimportant. Even persons without a residential visa or a certificate of permission from their home precinct could vote. That provision applies to persons who moved after preparation of the lists or travelers, but especially to persons without a residential visa. They have their passports stamped, if they lack an absentee certificate. There is a possibility that some voters could have returned home later on election day and voted again at their "usual" polling station. It would be necessary for precinct workers to look at the very back of the passports for the "voted, 1994" stamp that should be there. This would seem an odd act should the voter visit his rightful precinct. The main deterrent to such an action is the fact that the voter would have signed two different rolls as having voted. Unlike most former Soviet Republics, in Moldova a strong criminal sanction exists against multiple balloting. The same problem exists in the United States for very late absentee voters who vote in person at the office of the election authority after voter rolls have been sent to polling places. The IFES team came to the conclusion that as long as Moldova is using the internal passport, it should consider having each voter receive a stamp certifying that they had voted.

2. Ballot Security and Tabulation

The ballot security provisions of the new election law and implementation decree are very straightforward and comport well with paper ballot jurisdictions in other nations. As previously noted, polling places are "open" for the thirty days prior to an election. Many supplies, sample ballots, ballot boxes, posters, booths, and other materials are present from the beginning. Lists

of candidates and registered voters, together with absentee certificates and voter notification slips are delivered early as well. Ballots, on the other hand, come to the precincts much closer to election day. Like other election materials, ballots are available in Romanian (Appendix 8, Romanian language ballot) or a Russian version.¹

As mandated in the election law calendar, ballots are to be printed 10 days before the election, and delivered to precinct commissioners, who are then required to give a receipt, or "transfer document." Ballots were actually printed about a month before the election, and they were all of one style with uniform selection of parties and candidates. Although they technically should have been delivered only two days prior to the election (Article 38, sec. 4., Election Law (Appendix 9), ballots were on hand in some precincts for the entire week prior to election day. The chairman of the precinct commission has official custody of the ballots, which are bound in stacks of 100 when they come from the CEC, via the municipal or administrative district. With exception of the February 27 election, the ballots will be delivered by the District Election Commissions (DECs). However on this occasion, they were delivered by administrative districts.² The specified location for ballot storage must be: a) secure b) in the precinct and c) protected by the police.

On the day of the election the ballot box is opened to demonstrate it is empty (Article 50, sec. 1., Election Law). The commissioners then seal it in each other's and any certified observers' presence. Each voter is issued a ballot that is marked with the "precinct control" stamp. As mentioned earlier, the stamp certifies that the ballot holder has been either found on the roll, or properly recorded on the supplementary roll, and thus is entitled to vote. Only stamped ballots are counted.

Unlike the former Soviet procedure, a voter may not leave the polls with his or her ballot, but must place it in the ballot box. Interestingly, it was fairly common to see spouses in the voting booth together. Since only properly stamped ballots are ultimately counted, the number of ballots to be counted must tally with the number of signers of the two rolls.

Polling places have a somewhat social nature in Moldova. First, elections are held on Sunday, so entire families often come to the polls (in spite of Article 49, Section 7, Election Law). Second, music is not uncommon at polling places (at least one had a live band). Finally

¹ The actual size of the ballot measured 30 inches (76 cm) in length.

² As mentioned in the Pre-Election Report, the Central Election Commission (CEC) was responsible for the duties designated for the District Election Commissions (DEC) by the original Election Law in the February 27, 1994 elections. However, in this first parliamentary election, Moldova was considered a single electoral district. Current discussions are underway in the government regarding future administrative divisions of the country.

there is a "buffet" set up so persons can eat and drink, usually following the voting process. In some places, the traditional theme of Moldovan hospitality, the "Casa Mare", was evident. The casual atmosphere of the polling place combined with the number of people milling about astonishes the Western observer. It would have been relatively easy for a voter to leave and return with his or her ballot, marked or unmarked. Also, it would have been possible for someone else to return with a voted ballot and deposited in the ballot box. Nevertheless, that did not seem to happen, although supervision was quite lax in some precincts. For a country that has had so much discipline, especially standing in lines, the informality of the polling place seems contradictory, although perhaps understandable. One rural Precinct President even brought liquor into the voting area to "celebrate" an IFES observer's visit.

It might be appropriate to moderately restrain the number of persons allowed in the polling place at any given time; nevertheless, the source of the style difference with a U.S. or Western precinct is cultural and not a legal issue. However, an informal setting coupled with lax enforcement has legal implications.

Another component of the ballot security equation is in the tabulation process. In the past, unvoted ballots were not counted, and excess ballots would not be accounted for. The August 1993 IFES team recommended (see recommendation no. 11, IFES Pre-Election Assessment, Sept. 14, 1993) that all ballots be accounted for at the time of counting. Now all ballots are accounted for including those voted, unvoted, spoiled, and damaged.

The simple, straightforward counting system called "stacking" at flags representing parties or at the names of independent candidates lends itself well to observation by precinct commission members and foreign and domestic credentialed observers. On the other hand, the strictness of counting carries ballot security to an unnecessary extreme: only ballots with an "X" or cross mark in a party or candidate circle are considered valid. In some cases the voter had clearly marked his/her ballot, but had not done so in the strict interpretation described in the law; in instances where the voter's intention is not in doubt, some leniency should be permitted.

The Precinct Commission makes two tabulation sheets, one ordinarily for retention at the level of the "District", i.e. the mandate election district and the other for the CEC. Following counting, these sheets are signed by the officers and members of each Precinct Commission. In the February election, both sheets or "Protocols" went to the CEC. Rural precincts had their results "pre-collected" at the Raion level, where a commission (not to be confused with the non-existent District Election Commissions) was originally supposed to transmit them to the CEC (Article 2-p, "Decree on Procedure for Enacting the Law on Elections to Parliament, Oct. 1993). Ultimately, they were opened and numerically counted to facilitate determining the number and percentage of Moldovans who had actually voted. Of course, only valid votes are counted toward the mandated 33% participation requirement.

The IFES Pre-Election Assessment recommended that protocols be retained, one at the District level, and one at the central level, for a reasonable length of time, and be available for public view. There still is no records retention requirement in Moldova. It would be advisable that ballots, as well as protocols, be retained for a reasonable length of time after the election. There is, for example, no reasonably accessible tabulation of previous elections for historical comparison or campaign planning purposes. It should not be too difficult to retain ballots, since all of them end up with the CEC in the type of election held on February 27th. (See article 55, section 4, Election Law). In addition, the protocols are rather thorough in breaking down the complete accounting of the ballots and would be of use for a variety of purposes. They call for the following information:

- a. The number of voters on the rolls (originally);
- b. The number who participating voters--including supplementary roll signers;
- c. The number of votes declared **valid**;
- d. The number of votes declared **invalid**;
- e. The total number of votes received by ballot access groups and candidates;
- f. The number of ballots received (which have been documented by a receipt in the possession of the CEC); and
- g. The number of unused and nullified (cancelled) ballots

Every stage of the tabulation process was "open" to media and observer scrutiny, but, in fact most of the international observers left the country the day after the election. Domestic observers returned to their place of employment. The calendar of reporting and tabulation needs to be tightened up and adhered to. Perhaps Moldova might consider having an "unofficial" result quickly produced, and an "official" count released at a later date. Retention of documents at more than one level would facilitate the credibility of such a procedure.

In addition, protocol documents are not centrally or serially numbered. Instead, the precinct number is entered by the Precinct Commission. It is advised that a single, nation-wide document control be implemented in the future. However, it was believed that, since ballots and supplies came from the center to precinct commissioners, instead of from District Election Commissions, that ballot security was better than in past elections. The CEC expressed the

view, through the judge-member in charge of ballots, that precinct commissions were closer to the CEC than to the municipal government as in the past. That contention could be debated.

C. The Role of the CEC

The CEC has 13 duties specifically designated (Article 11, Election Law). Some of these are essentially pro-forma, such as "oversee the present law, and provide for its uniform application". Some are rather specific: "establish the forms of the ballots, the voter rolls,...and the models of the stamps of the electoral commissions,...". In practice the CEC met rather frequently to perform its extensive duties. The meetings were covered by the state-owned news media. Often the CEC would adopt regulations to deal with specific aspects of their responsibilities. The IFES team members who dealt frequently with the CEC found them to be earnestly interested in discharging their duties in accordance with the law objectively and fairly. They were chiefly hampered by Moldova's fiscal shortfalls and the temporary nature of their commission. Unfortunately, there is virtually no permanent staff related to elections envisioned in the current law.

Because the "Decree on Procedure for Enacting the Law on Elections to Parliament" made Moldova one electoral district, the CEC also had to discharge many of the statutory functions of the District Elections Commissions which the statute envisions as performing. Among these are such things as forming precincts, approving the composition of the precinct commissions, distribution of funds, registering and publishing lists of candidates (Appendix 4), and issuance of temporary certificates to elected deputies. Several Moldovans in Chisinau observed that in some places the lists of candidates and the voter lists were not publicly available for the 30 days prior to the election as required. In fact, the precincts visited prior to the election all had their materials available. They reported that voters had been by to view the candidate lists, and arrangements seemed to be proceeding in an orderly fashion. The team observed voters reading the posted ballot information posters (Appendix 10 - reduced). Some confusion existed as to whether the official sample ballots and posters advertising the election itself could remain posted on election day, when all campaigning is required to stop. One precinct's officers told the team they were "campaign propaganda" and would be removed. Most left the purely informational material up for the day of the election. Possibly a clarification needs to be added to the booklet of instructions (Appendix 11) for the next election.

Miscommunication between the CEC and precincts led to inconsistencies. Some precincts believed all polls had been instructed to allow Transdnistrians to vote beginning the Monday prior to the election. (The Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries of the precinct commissions are present daily for the month prior to the election for various duties to be

discussed later). To some extent, the various misunderstandings may be the result of the elimination of the district structure's mid-level supervision that ordinarily would come from the District Election Commissions. In this special February 1994 election, the CEC had more than its normal level of details to supervise.

On the whole, the CEC discharged its pre-election duties adequately and honestly. The staff of the CEC worked under conditions that were ambiguous at times; they faced restrictions on campaign activity ("agitation") that resulted from financial constraints and state ownership of media; nearly all facilities were not the creation or the responsibility of the CEC. They endured under fiscal and political difficulties, excess responsibilities, lack of a seasoned staff, an unclear legal environment, etc. Most political parties and independent candidates indicated that, in their view, the CEC was doing as well as could be expected.

D. The Role of the Lower-level Commissions

1. Jurisdiction and Training

As previously noted, the ordinary role of the District Election Commission was eliminated by the Decree that called for "implementing" the election. The CEC was subsequently made responsible for more detailed tasks, and some ambiguities and confusions resulted. Administratively, in rural areas primarily, Moldova is organized into a group of "Districts" or "Raions". However, in urban areas, cities are divided into districts. These districts are not the election districts from which Parliamentary Deputies ordinarily serve as mentioned in the election law, but they do have election training and administration duties.

Some confusion existed among precinct election commissioners about the role of the districts, perhaps due to the redundancy in the terminology. To make matters worse, election results in rural areas were initially collected on the district (raion) level. In the Capitol, many polling station workers thought, until the Wednesday or Thursday before the election, that their results would go to the "districts", not to the CEC, as intended. On the whole, however, the confusion was not a serious matter and seemed to be cleared up by election day. The principle lower level commission was, thus, the Precinct Election Commission (PEC).

Ballots and protocols from the precincts were collected at the districts before being transported to the CEC for verification. The districts played a similar data collection and retransmission role in the CEC's computer network that provided early figures on turnout an unofficial results (see Chapter VII, (attachment A1). The district were also involved in the transfer of training information, as will be discussed later. The teams of people at the district level in charge of executing these functions were commonly referred to as "District Technical Commissions". Members of the technical commissions could "not be representatives of any

party or sociopolitical group". Like the CEC, a majority of its members constituted a quorum, and a majority of those could make decisions. Precincts' sizes and allocations ordinarily are set by the District Election Commission. In the face of the lack of those commissions, it seems that the actual technical decisions were made on the administrative district level with the approval of the CEC. The locations of the more than 1900 polling places of Moldova are highly stable. Because virtually all buildings are publicly owned, the sites are easily obtained for election purposes and are well known to citizens and were accessible via mass transportation in most cases.

Thirty days prior the election, the President of the Precinct Commissions, having been appointed by the local municipal government (which is directly connected to the district administration unit), begin to sit daily at their respective poll locations. They are available to citizens for several purposes. First, shortly after being appointed, they are issued supplies: sample ballots, lists of candidates, and registered voter lists. Lists and booklets, like certificates and other materials, were always available in both Russian and Romanian.

The IFES team determined that few voters had been by precinct locations to view the candidate lists. No precinct commission interviewed prior to the election indicated that any voter had asked to see the registered voter list--in spite of the fact that a procedure exists in law to have one's name included if it has been omitted. Citizens seem to know that they will be able to vote, whether registered or not, with proper identification, as was discussed under "Voter Registration" in this section.

2. Composition of the Precinct Election Commissions

Unlike the past, ballot access groups now have the right to nominate additional members to the Precinct Commissions, which may not number fewer than five members. The team found Precinct Commissions with memberships up to mid-teen sizes depending on the activity levels of political groups with ballot access. Most Precinct Commissions, especially in larger population centers, had members from the various ballot access groups, but there were also a number of commissions in which only one ballot access group was represented. This group was generally the Agrarian Democratic Party. Many precinct commissions had some members from the various ballot access groups, with the evident exception of the Gagauz area where the parties and groups had no time to organize. The extraordinary Transdnistrian polls, on the other hand, were simply ordinary "multi-party" Moldovan precincts doing double duty. The combination of ballot access group membership and the wide-spread presence of various accredited "observers" both foreign and domestic served seemingly to eliminate the "fraud" much feared in many circles; at least by the end of election day itself, most foreign observers seemed to agree that overt cheating was not detected on a nation-wide scale.

The members of a given Precinct Commission elected the vice president and secretary of the commission. They seemed to begin working at the poll site immediately upon appointment and had a number of duties in addition to the ones described above. There is an economic incentive to participate in the process, since Article 19 of the Election Law provides for compensation "...which exceeds by 30 percent the average monthly wage in their main place of employment." Presumably that would apply to a pensioner as well. The IFES team in August 1993 expressed the view that poll workers should receive something extra for their work (see recommendation 9, pg. 42, "Pre-Election Technical Assessment"). Poll workers seemed to exhibit a suitable level of morale in their work, as opposed to the "jury-duty" -type attitude prevalent in the past.

During the days prior to the election itself, poll workers were delegated a number of duties. A "voter's notification card" (Appendix 12a) was personally delivered to all of the voters of the precinct. In this way, not only are citizens contacted about the election, but some corrections are made in the voter roll. Also persons who are ill or expect to be away on the day of the election may be noted. Persons who expect to be away on election day are issued a certificate (Appendix 12b) which entitles them to vote. In the case of this election this could be accomplished at any other precinct, since the ballot was uniform in all of Moldova. In fact, under the Soviet-era law, such persons could also vote at any other precinct, even those out of their district of residence in spite of the different ballot listings. Some Moldovan citizens seemed unclear about the "absentee certificate" procedure. Some precincts were open at the times citizens went by for their certificates. Interestingly, travelers without the required certificates could still vote as was discussed earlier.

Moldovan citizens, unable to leave their homes on election day due to illness, were delivered a small "mobile" ballot box and ballot by a small team of Precinct Commissioners. In most cases each PEC worker sent out represented a different political party to diminish any fears of partisan manipulation. Each Precinct Commission stated that they allowed only the exact number of ballots to leave the station as incapacitated voters to be visited. Most polling stations sent out these mobile ballot boxes in the early afternoon. Efforts were made to facilitate voting among the disadvantaged and marginalized communities; large hospitals had their own special polling stations. University students, often from other cities, had special polling stations as well. Although active military personnel were not allowed to vote according to the electoral law, no mention of dissatisfaction was brought forth.

Moldovan polling station panels, for the first time, had a diverse political character. Precinct commissions seemed to be functioning smoothly, and commissioners emanating from ballot access groups shouldered their duties as well as those appointed by the municipal or administrative authorities.

Some confusion occurred because of an evident change in policy by the CEC part-way through the process. Most polls were set up according to the streets or address sequences assigned to them. Those sequences were assigned to the polling place by the District or Raion administration as the registered voter lists were assembled. Voters could locate their names by going to a posted address group. A precinct commissioner was generally responsible for one address group. Nevertheless, some precincts were set up in alphabetical sequence because their municipal workers had finished working before the policy change. The alphabetical listing is envisioned by the Election Law, but records are kept by address.

Taken in the aggregate, the IFES team agreed that Precinct Commissions executed their duties in a satisfactory lawful manner. Their primary duties fell into in five categories:

i) Pre-election administration which included: notification of voters, issuance of absentee certificates, drawing up lists of voters needing ballots at home, familiarizing interested voters with lists of registrations and candidates.

ii) Preparation of the polls for election day, meeting to become familiar with law and procedure (training), and the conduct of election day, including the important task of being sure all voters sign either the roll proper or the supplementary roll and are issued one, stamped ballot. The "Precinct Control Stamp" that is placed on the reverse of each ballot as it is issued will be discussed further under Ballot Security and Tabulation.

iii) Counting the votes following the close of the polls and sending the "protocols" or result tabulations to the proper authority.

iv) Considering statements or complaints, resolving them by a majority vote, keeping a record of same, and including written dissents.

3. Precinct Commissioner's Training

The training of Precinct Commissioners was not a standardized process throughout the country. It relied heavily on the transfer of information from one level to another and essentially took place at a series of meetings. An extensive interview with Polling Place # 36, which is located in the City of Chisinau, revealed that their training would more accurately be called an orientation or familiarization.

The list of registered voters had been on hand since 7 February (20 days prior to the elections as required by law), and the list of candidates since 10 February. The commission spent its first and second meetings studying the new law book and accompanying materials.

Also, the commission had several copies of the Instruction Manual (Appendix 11) and seemed quite familiar with it. They expressed the point that the manual emphasizes the new procedures that arise from the changes in law.

The officers who were present daily clearly took a leadership role in understanding and disseminating information to the other commissioners. They indicated that all commissioners had been cooperative, although attendance at their evening meetings had not always been complete.

In addition to the meetings of the Precinct Commissions themselves, there were further meetings at the Administrative District or Raion levels. The Presidents, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries of the commissions, and any members who wish to, attended the district meetings. The IFES team was represented at one of the district level instruction meetings for Precinct Commissioners, where extensive information was given and taken relative to the election. Among the matters discussed were the proper treatment of foreign and domestic observers of the election. A regulation (Appendix 13) on that issue had been adopted by the CEC and any questions related could be discussed at the meeting, which illustrated the "conduit" nature of the district meetings, at least for a flow of information from the CEC. The Police Department was represented and made an extensive report on their activities for election day, especially with regard to public order and the transmission of results to the CEC upon completion of tabulation. This meeting illustrated the way in which information typically flowed down from the CEC to the Precinct Commissions.

Some time previously, the President of the Republic had issued a decree that all persons born in Moldova, whether they had citizenship papers, essentially the internal Passport, or not, could vote on election day. That decree was discussed extensively with some commissioners indicating their disagreement and indication they did not intend to comply. According to the Parliamentary Decree implementing the election, travelers, persons in hospitals, Moldovans abroad, and so forth, who could prove Moldovan citizenship, could vote. Page 27 of their internal passports was to be stamped "Voted, 1994". Generally, passports were not to be stamped. Most found these provisions a little confusing, and a lively discussion ensued, not at all unlike identification issue discussions among U.S. election workers at the precinct level. Some foreign observers found the possibility of multiple voting might exist, especially in view of the supplementary lists non-registered voters were allowed to sign when issued a ballot. In fact, the registered voter lists, as will be discussed next, should not be viewed as a security device as in the U.S., but as an enabling device and as a record of who participated in the election: perhaps to prove that more than 33% of Moldovans had voted.

Credentials are issued (Appendix 14a) to the officers and members of the PEC's blank and with no serial numbers or control markings of any kind (as would be found in many Western

jurisdictions). These are not necessarily turned in with the results of the precinct's voting, and seem to be more in the nature of name tags. Since precinct commissioners are paid from the election funds, the list of commissioners must constitute the essential control to ensure that only authorized personnel handled ballots, protocols, certificates, and stamps.

Finally, credentials for "Observers", both foreign and domestic (partisan) are issued by the CEC. Appendix 14b (for domestic observers) and 14c (for official foreign observers) are samples of the documents issued by the Central Election Commission. In the case of the foreign observers, the CEC is assisted by the Foreign Office. Lists are kept by the CEC of the persons authorized to hold such credentials. Ballot Access Groups are entitled to submit names to serve as domestic observers. Observers came and went at many polls all over Moldova, including those in the Gagauz and Transdnestrian "extraordinary" polls with no real difficulty. Some PEC's believed they were to keep a record of who served as observers. Some did not. Like the matter of Sample Ballots, which were of great interest to voters, some effort might be appropriate in the next election to be sure that no record is kept of observers--since none is required. More information about "observers", both foreign and domestic can be found in an IFES report distributed on February 24, 1994 (Appendix 15, "Suggested Items of Interest to Foreign Observers").

Provisions for Voting in the Transdnester and Gagauz Regions

It is necessary to note how, mechanically, the two areas - Transdnester and Gagauzia - were able to vote. Although both areas had "declared independence" from Moldova proper, and do not cooperate with the Chisinau government, the President of the Republic, Mircea Snegur, he was able to secure a level of cooperation with each to allow participation by both. The Agrarian Democratic Party, which clearly expected good support from those areas or for its allies, expressed a strong interest in allowing them to vote when they spoke to the IFES team on 18 February. They indicated that they expected the CEC, for contrary political reasons, to reject an arrangement for voting in the break-away areas.

As things developed, the President, the Agrarian Democrats, and the Supreme Court had their way, although every deadline had passed for setting up and publicizing polling places for the non-cooperating areas.

1. Electoral Set-up for the Transdnester Region

The area east of the Dniester River (the "left bank") was a little more difficult. Being larger, and formally organized as the Soviet Republic of Transdnestria, it could hardly formally participate in the election of a foreign country. Nevertheless "Pres." Smirnov had indicated that

his government would not prohibit persons who wished to from voting, but only on land controlled by Chisinau, not any under the Tiraspol government.

As the IFES Pre-election assessment indicated, and as Commissioner Pulbere suggested, a number of regular polling places, essentially on the edge of the Transdnistrian region could be used. Chisinau controls some villages (with polling places) on the left bank and had a number of polls near the river as well. Several of these sites were selected. Villages under Transdnistrian control were assigned to each station and were allowed, from the Monday before the election through February 27, to vote. The voters had to present their passports, which were supposed to be stamped and were recorded on a supplementary roll. Ballots were kept in a different box other than the one used on election day. Separate protocols (tabulations) were made. The arrangement was made possible by Moldova's practice of staffing polls for the month prior to an election (Appendix 16). Yet, very few Transdnistrians braved the negative social and political pressure to vote in the Moldovan election.

2. Electoral Set-up for the Gagauz Region

The Gagauz area was easier to administer, because of its small size and greater willingness to cooperate. Essentially, the customary polling places were used. The local government, essentially in Gagauz hands, appointed Precinct Commissioners and updated voter lists. The villages affected then voted on February 27th with the rest of Moldova. Television and other communications made it easy for citizens of that area to know about the election. The team was told by Mrs. M. B. Maronevich, an officer of the Comrat Executive Committee, that the voter rolls were being prepared by updating the ones from 1990. Distances were also short. The IFES team found literature (in Russian) from the "Socialist" Party (the reorganized Communists) being openly distributed from the offices of the municipal government in Comrat (Appendix 17).

F. Election Litigation/Enforcement Procedures by the CEC

The area of enforcement of the election law is somewhat unclear. The IFES team encountered several instances of what seemed to be inconsistencies. In some cases, those inconsistencies may have arisen from the fact that Moldova is emerging from an obvious period of a rule of "men and not law". In other cases, examples of unclarity could be attributed to the election law itself.

We have already discussed the quasi-legislation by which the President of the Republic and the Constitutional Court imposed the emergency provisions that allowed, in a completely

extra-legal manner, the left bank and Gagauz areas to vote, long after all appropriate deadlines had passed.

In another case, the team heard of a candidate whose petitions for independent status were denied by the CEC. Later the Constitutional (i.e. Supreme) Court overturned the CEC's decision and upheld the candidate's status. Nevertheless, he was still not listed on the ballot, as the team learned on February 24th in an open meeting held by IFES for foreign and domestic observers. For reasons unknown, the would-be candidate also identified himself as a "member of the Socialist party."

A summary of the various infractions and contest-related powers and duties of Election Commissions and Courts will be elucidated in Chapter 5 of this report to illustrate the above points.

With regard to election violations and validity, the CEC was given the following responsibilities:

- 1) To declare invalid votes: this power was intended for "Districts", which as we know, were not used in the February, 1994 election.
- 2) To conduct "on the spot" inspections: this power may only be exercised in the presence of a judge-member of the CEC.
- 3) To consider statements and complaints about Precinct Commissions: This power seems to have moved to the CEC with the temporary non-use of District Commissions. The higher commission was then empowered to "make decisions regarding them".

Precinct Commissions also have the power to consider complaints regarding election preparation and conduct. They too may "make decisions regarding them". In the general provisions affecting all commissions, we find that a quorum consists of a majority of the members of the commission, and that a majority in attendance, at a valid meeting, is sufficient to take decisions. Votes must be made openly, not in executive session (Article 18, Election Law).

Regardless of the above provision, we find in Article 49, section 6, that the President of the Precinct Commission makes decisions regarding order within the polls and for a radius of 300 meters. No vote is taken, and "Decisions he makes in order to maintain order shall be mandatory for all." Presumably that authority applies even to the police who are present at the polls.

There are some relevant powers that apply to either (all) level(s) of commissions, and which tie in with the judiciary, and sometimes with the police, who are also part of the justice department.

For example, members of election commissions may be relieved of their duties either at their own request, or by the "organs that nominated them." Also, in an interesting redundancy, or ambiguity, each higher level of commission may deprive a member of a lower level commission of his authority for violating the election law. The Constitutional (i.e. Supreme) Court may do the same to a member of the CEC. Similarly, decisions of lower commissions may be appealed to the higher level one, or to the appropriate court, which on February 27th was only the Supreme Court. Commissions or courts appealed to must hear the complaint within three days. One can see the feasibility of that requirement when one realizes that the CEC and precinct commissions met several times a week during the last 30 days preceding the election. The Supreme Court, however, has 5 days to act. Ordinarily lower courts would review the decisions of "District" Election Commissions.

It is the High Court, also, that has the final power to declare the results of the election "to be legal." Most Western jurisdictions would refer to that power as "certification" of the "official results." Many States in the United States have the same procedure, although it is usually purely a formality. In Moldova, the certification power is rather serious, and as we have seen, is consistent with the relationship between the CEC and the Supreme Court in the current election law.

There is a fairly complex series of steps a voter must go through if they think they have been unjustly left off the voter roll. The precinct commission must give the individual a hearing and present its decision in writing. He then appeals to a local court, and may go further to an "arbitration court" if desired. Surprisingly, few Moldovans even looked during the month prior to the election to see whether their names had been listed. It was generally understood that anyone with proof of citizenship would be allowed to vote, by signing the "supplementary" roll if necessary.

As we know, in the February election, 13 parties and ballot access groups proposed candidates and 17 independent candidates were also listed through the petition process. The election law provides a mechanism for citizens to litigate qualification questions pertaining to candidates. As before, the process goes through the levels of the courts, since the law envisions election districts ordinarily. In this sort of procedure, courts have "original jurisdiction"; that is to say, it is not necessary to bring the matter first to an election commission. The Supreme Court is not named in the appropriate article (36), but should replace the lower courts as a result of the nature of the implementation of the February, 1994 election. As far as we know, no such proceeding took place, although the CEC did rule on a candidate's eligibility as we mentioned,

and seems to have successfully ignored the reversal of that ruling by the Supreme Court. The deadline for such an eligibility contest is 25 days prior to the election to allow time for ballot printing. Presumably an ineligible candidate, nevertheless listed and elected, would not be seated.

When violations such as attempted double voting, preventing a lawfully qualified voter from exercising his franchise, or falsification of results take place, the precinct commission is required to "...draw up the appropriate record and turn it over to the police."

The election law also mentions a number of record keeping responsibilities that relate to election infractions and contests that apply to precinct commissions. They are to keep record of votes taken to decide questions such as voter eligibility matters. A record of the complaints and questions is then made. If a commissioner refuses to sign the certification of results and proceedings, his or her justification is to be recorded. All of these records are then to be turned over to the district level (or directly to the CEC in the Capitol) with the results and ballots, used and unused. In that way, evidence would be conserved for any later litigation or election contest.

The Supreme Court is required to review the results of the lower commissions' work and take them into account as it does its work of final certification. It reports its findings of illegalities, election contests, complaints, and violations to the CEC. No further complaints or contests may be brought later than 10 days following the election (Article 61, Election Law). The High Court does have the power to order an election to be rerun (a "repeat vote") in accordance with Articles 63 & 64 of the main election law. As one might expect, those articles envision the existence of election districts. To repeat the February 1994 election would have required the entire nation to vote again. This difficulty is evident in several places. For example, if it is discovered that a candidate or party receiving foreign funds during the campaign, the punishment is that they lose their seat. Then a "partial election shall be conducted." In other words, there would be a repeat election in the district of the offending candidate. In this election, an alternative solution would have been necessary.

Finally, there are both civil (Article 70) and criminal (Article 69) penalty provisions in Moldovan Law. Those are supplemented by the Criminal Code itself. Fines and imprisonments are provided for. It was believed by some members of the old parliament that those strict penalties would be effective in preventing any fraud of the type said to characterize some of the Soviet era elections. In fact, little, if any, election fraud was seen to take place on or near polling sites on election day. The real distortion of the election process took place in the restricted nature of the campaign and the immense advantage held by political groups already in power.

IV. The Political Landscape

A. The Main Political Parties

1. Popular Christian Democratic Front

The Popular Christian Democratic Front is a descendant of the popular movement that helped break the Communist monopoly on power in Moldova. For a time after the 1990 elections it was the most powerful group in parliament. It held 145 seats, was able to assemble a two-thirds majority through alliances, and led successive governments until late 1992. In the years since the last elections, however, the Front lost much of its original popular support due to its leadership's increasingly stringent calls for unification with Romania. Its parliamentary representation dwindled through defections and splintering and the Front held only 24 seats when the election law was passed last October.

The Front toned down its unification rhetoric during the campaign and entered the elections in a nominal alliance with the Movement of Volunteers and the Christian Democratic Youth League. Its leadership expounded a plan for gradual unification that included several intermediary stages that would take into account Moldova's political landscape.

The Front retained a core group of activists, consisting mainly of teachers of Romanian and ethnic Romanian civil servants, that campaigned for the alliance throughout the country. The party's Romanian language weekly paper, Tara (Country), was distributed free of charge to a mailing list of 70,000 throughout the campaign. Close to the election its circulation increased further to 100,000 copies, not including 11,000 copies printed in Russian.

2. Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals

The head and heart of the alliance is the Congress of Intellectuals, a group which split from the Popular Front after the fall of the Front's last government in 1992 and formed as a party in March 1993. The Congress is centered around the Writers Union and Romanian literary circles in Moldova. For the elections the Congress formed a bloc with the smaller Alliance of Free Peasants, Christian Democratic Party, National Liberal Party, and the Christian Democratic League of Women.

The alliance claimed a moderate pro-unification image. It discussed "the inevitability of reunification with Romania," but usually within the context of Moldova's integration into European structures. Generally the alliance campaigned on its economic platform, which called

for accelerated privatization and the full implementation of Moldova's current Code of Land, which allows peasants to claim ownership of a portion of the land in their collective farm.

The alliance launched a Romanian language newspaper, Mesagerul (Messenger), with a circulation of 5,000 for the election campaign. The Congress was able to appropriate a good portion of the Front's organizational network for itself, which was the basis for its campaigning in the countryside. The alliance, by way of the Congress of Intellectuals, had 21 seats in the outgoing parliament. For an example of a party flyer see Appendix 18.

3. Socialist Party and Edinstvo Movement Electoral Bloc

The bloc is centered on the Socialist Party, formed in 1992, and the Internationalist Movement for Unity, *Edinstvo*. It is supported by the Alliance for Concord and Progress, which failed to register for the election in its own right, the "Equity Movement," and the Union of Veterans of War and Labor. The bloc is predominantly Russian, but the Veterans group itself is multi-ethnic. Its support comes mostly from industrial, rather than agricultural, communities, as well as those disappointed or disaffected by the changes that have occurred over the last few years.

The bloc campaigned on an economic platform that called for a mixed economy, retaining a heavy reliance on the State to regulate the economy and control prices. It would restrict private ownership to the service sector. The bloc also sought to restore full employment and subsidize rental housing. On non-economic issues, the bloc supported making Russian a second state language, the acceptance of dual citizenship, Moldova's return to the ruble zone, and political and military accession into the CIS. They also called for the legal recognition of the institutions already in place in the Transdnister, the confederalization of Moldova, and the permanent stationing of the 14th Army in Moldova.

The bloc publishes a bilingual weekly newspaper, Spravedlivost/Dreptatea (Justice), which had a claimed circulation of 10,000 for the campaign. It has the support of a significant number of rural mayors and collective farm chairmen who provided it with access to the countryside for campaigning and propaganda (Appendix 17). It also relied to a degree on the network of Communist Party organizations that remained in place after independence. There were more than thirty deputies in the outgoing parliament aligned with organizations in the bloc. A unique type of handout was available during the election period to describe where the party positioned itself on several major issues.

4. Democratic Agrarian Party

The Democratic Agrarian Party was registered immediately after Moldova's declaration of independence in 1991. It was the strongest party in the outgoing parliament with 118 seats and has been the governing party under Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli since 1992. Moldova's President, Mircea Snegur, by law non-partisan, is generally aligned with the Agrarian Party.

The Agrarians campaigned most aggressively on the issue of Moldova's political independence. During the campaign, the Agrarians sought credit for Moldova's privatization plan and good standing in the international community while blaming Moldova's current economic decline on the governments of the Popular Front that preceded them. For the future, they called for a deliberate pace for privatization and the assurance that farmers would be able to choose freely the form of ownership that they prefer.

While not a "Communist successor," the Agrarians are supported by and control the infrastructure left behind from the Soviet era. They are favored by the majority of collective farm chairmen and local administrative officials. As such, they were able to conduct a thorough and effective campaign throughout the country. The party weekly, Pamint si Oameni (Land and People), claimed a circulation of up to 200,000 (combined Russian and Romanian versions) during the campaign, but emphasis was put on face-to-face campaigning and group meetings with the electorate.

5. Democratic Labor Party

The Democratic Labor Party formed in 1993 around the interests of Moldova's large state-owned industries. The party's base of support comes from engineers, technicians, and managers in industry. It held 16 seats in the outgoing parliament, led by former Presidium member Alexandru Arseni.

The economic agenda of the party was defined as keeping Moldova from being de-industrialized. It sought a continuation of state subsidies and an end to privatization by patrimonial bonds. The party preferred privatization by cash purchase of stock, giving priority to workers' collectives. The party called for Moldovan independence, supporting closer ties with the West while recognizing that Moldova's current markets lie to the East.

The Democratic Labor Party did not publish its own periodical, but was supported by the Romanian language weekly Plus/Minus, with a circulation just over 1,000. The party attempted direct campaigning throughout the country, but as a party primarily concerned with industry it did not have a strong support network.

6. Social Democratic Bloc

The Social Democratic Party formed an electoral bloc in alliance with Moldova's Federation of Independent Trade Unions. The party formed shortly after the 1990 elections and was officially registered in 1991. The Social Democrats had only 4 seats in the outgoing parliament, but were politically influential through their placement as advisers to the President and at the State Department for Privatization and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Social Democrats campaigned on a detailed political platform, offering specific programs for Moldova's most pressing problems. They called for political independence for Moldova, the acceleration of privatization through patrimonial bonds, and a solution to the Gagauz and Transdnistrian issues through autonomy arrangements short of true federalization.

The Social Democrats enjoy some support from all segments of the population, but they are not clearly identified with a single constituency. Their political network in the countryside remained poorly developed throughout the campaign and this hindered their attempts at direct communication with the electorate. The Social Democrats published a weekly journal, Republica/Republika (Republic), with a circulation of approximately 3,000 in Romanian and 4,000 in Russian. Their outreach was supplemented during the campaign by the paper of the Trade Unions, Vocea Poporului/Golos Naroda (People's Voice), with a circulation of 2,700 in Romanian and 1,400 in Russian.

7. Party of Reform

The Party of Reform appeared only in August, 1993. It considered itself the guardian of small business in Moldova and drew most of its support from what it called "Moldova's emerging middle class." The party was not represented in the outgoing parliament, but hoped at least to be able to enter the new parliament.

The Party of Reform campaigned almost exclusively on economic issues. They called for a wholesale liberalization of the Moldovan economy, along with privatization by auction and a full-scale reform of laws on private ownership of land.

The Party of Reform relied heavily on the two newspapers they launched in late 1993, Observatorul de Chisinau (The Chisinau Observer) in Romanian and Dnevnoi Express in Russian, both with a circulation of about 5,000. The party attempted to make as many personal contacts with the electoral as possible, but were limited in their ability to do so by the lack of a core group of supporters in the countryside.

B. The Main Political Issues

As in any democratic election, each party attempted to define the political debate in terms that were advantageous for it. There were essentially two issues that were used to reveal programmatic differences between parties: Moldova's political position in the international context and Moldova's economic reform. The fact that these issues divided the electorate in different ways was one reason there was such a large number of parties competing in the elections.

Polls taken over the last two years show that most Moldovans favor political independence. However, because of the ineffectiveness of the outgoing parliament, that sentiment has yet to be firmly established in legislation. The unresolved conflicts within Moldova's borders further added to the feeling of vulnerability among the electorate on this issue.

More often than not, parties used the issue of Moldova's political independence to create uncertainties about their rivals. They labeled each other either as attempting to subsume Moldova into Romania or, conversely, into a revitalized Russian empire via the CIS. Generally, each party tried to claim a position for itself as close to the center as possible. Calls for political solutions for the conflicts in Transdnistria and with the Gagauz were universal, but details were not often discussed.

Economic issues tended to be overshadowed more than is the norm in a post-Communist election, but remained an important part of the political discourse. Moldova's economic decline over the past two years has touched everyone in the country and made the issues of reforms and their methods important to those following the campaign. Proposals from the parties covered the entire spectrum from rapid, dramatic reform to a return to many of the economic principles of a socialist economy. An interesting breakdown of the professions of the candidates should give the reader a clearer concept with regard to the vast differences in views presented. Appendix 19 presents an IFES-translated career breakdown by party of those who participated in the election.

Calls were almost universal for an increase in financial assistance for those unable to provide for themselves, particularly veterans, retirees, students, and the elderly. There was some variation on the degree of assistance to be given, but details on this issue did not generally become important in the campaign.

Ethnicity did not become a campaign issue. Although platforms were often designed to appeal to certain minority communities, there were no direct calls for a division of the electorate

along ethnic lines. The IFES-Chisinau office, in an attempt to give international observers a brief description of the major parties competing in the February 27th elections, made available a series of translated party platform descriptions. This and other documents became a reliable source of information to the nearly 150 observers from outside Moldova (Appendix 20).

V. The Campaign Period

A. General Features of the Campaign

The election campaign consisted of a moderate amount of political activity. Probably the most visible form of campaigning occurred on television and radio. Many of the parties made use of their allotted time on television, which meant that in February political campaign spots were appearing frequently on the state television channel. Although many Moldovans also have access to a Russian channel (Ostankino) and a Romanian channel (Romanian National Television Channel One), the Moldovan national channel is nonetheless the most watched channel. Similarly, many of the parties made use of their allotted time on the national radio station and on local radio stations.

The campaign was also present in the written press. Parties used their free 200 lines in local newspapers to present their platforms and introduce their principal candidates. Some of the larger parties purchased space in the national newspapers, although the relatively high cost of such space limited such advertisements (a one-quarter page ad in *Moldova Suverana*, the main daily newspaper cost 1500 lei, approximately \$375). Most of the larger parties publish their own daily or weekly newspaper and these newspapers were campaign vehicles. The circulation of the party newspapers was generally fairly small and the influence of such newspapers on the general electorate was probably fairly limited.

Other forms of campaigning included posters and leaflets although these were scarce outside the larger cities (Appendices 17-18). Many of the parties held meetings at which candidates spoke with voters. Some limited door-to-door campaigning was practiced but generally by party volunteers rather than candidates and usually more to pass out leaflets or invitations to meetings than to talk with potential voters.

B. Perceived Obstacles Faced by the Opposition Parties

Although a moderately active multiparty electoral campaign did precede the elections, the parties opposing the Agrarian Party perceived the campaign to be systematically unfair. The

perception of unfairness resulted both from the belief that they faced numerous serious obstacles to carrying out their campaigns and the conviction that the Agrarian Party and Socialist Party benefitted greatly in their campaigns from the illicit use of state resources.

With respect to obstacles faced, the various major parties opposing the Agrarian Party and Socialist Party were quite consistent in their views. They acknowledged that they were given a significant amount of free time on television and radio but argued that in many villages and towns during January and February electrical power was frequently shut-off after approximately 6 o'clock in the evening due to energy shortages, thereby rendering ineffective the single most important method for bringing the campaign to the countryside.

They also acknowledged that their party newspapers were allowed to be published and circulated but they stressed that such newspapers were greatly limited in size and circulation due to insufficient funds, particularly in comparison with the government-owned newspapers. In general they pointed to a lack of finances as a major limitation on their campaigns. Most of them are new parties with small membership bases. Public or corporate donations to political parties is not a well-established practice in Moldova, and there are few alternative sources of financing. The 5000 lei (approximately \$1250) credit available from the government was not large enough to finance much campaign activity and was in any event not taken by some of the political parties out of a concern that they would be unable to pay it back.

A widespread complaint of these parties involved the difficulty of obtaining access to rooms or halls to hold meetings with voters in the smaller towns and villages. Access to whatever rooms or halls that were available was generally controlled by the local officials. Such officials were usually tied to the Agrarian Party or the Socialist Party, directly or indirectly and, according to the other parties, often refused them access to such rooms or attempted to charge exorbitant fees. Without such access, bringing the campaign to the countryside was much more difficult. Outdoor meetings were difficult or impossible due to the cold weather prevailing in January and February. The problem of finding meeting rooms was only one of a series of logistical difficulties that afflicted campaigning, according to the parties opposing the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party. The shortage of both public and private means of transportation hampered efforts to send party workers out of Chisinau to work in other areas and to hold meetings of party activists. The weakness of communication systems in Moldova, particularly the telephone system, contributed to these problems. The difficulty and expense of obtaining copying machines, word processors, and printers, as well as the continued near-monopoly of the state on printing facilities further reduced the flow of information and restricted campaigning.

On top of those material problems there was also a psychological problem. The political parties opposed to the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party consistently reported that an atmosphere of fear and intimidation prevailed during the campaign. They argued that although

on the surface free expression, free association, freedom of movement and other basic rights were generally respected, in reality, a conservative state apparatus lurked just behind the scenes, issuing threats to and occasionally exacting punishment on those persons who actively exercised those rights, resulting in much self-censorship and fear. Prior to the election there were reports of violence against two prominent figures including a party candidate and a media representative. Allegedly a message was sent to one of the victims requesting that he not make any official declarations or announcements prior to election day. As an example of the manifestation of this climate of fear, some of the parties stated that in some of the smaller towns and villages, areas strongly dominated by the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party, they were unable to send any party observers to the polling sites because local people were afraid of serving in that capacity. Although it is difficult to assess the actual severity of the general atmosphere of intimidation and fear, the continuation of many of the forms and attitudes of the old Soviet system make it impossible to ignore this feature of the electoral campaign.

C. Alleged Abuses of State Resources and Positions

The identity of state and party was a fundamental feature of the Soviet system. Although Moldova has moved to a multiparty system, deep links continue to exist between the two parties that are primarily tied with the old structures of authority -- the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party -- and the existent state apparatus. The parties opposing the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party uniformly charged those parties with utilizing state resources to further their campaign. The dominant accusation in this vein concerns campaign financing. The parties assert that the Agrarian Party and Socialist Party used state funds to finance their campaigns. They claim that the quantity and quality of campaign materials and activities, ranging from large numbers of high-quality color posters that were purportedly published outside the country to large, well-supplied campaign rallies and functions, clearly could not have been paid for within the 100,000 lei (\$25,000) limit on campaign expenditures.

A related allegation is that persons directly or indirectly tied to the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party were able to use state transportation, communication and infrastructural resources for campaign purposes. Examples of such abuses that were consistently charged include: 1) the use of state cars and state-purchased gasoline to transport campaign materials, candidates and party activists; 2) the use of government telephones, copying machines and other office equipment for campaign purposes; and 3) the use of government offices or buildings to hold meetings related to the campaign.

Abuse of government media was also cited by the many political parties as a feature of the electoral campaign. The television and radio, the two most powerful media in the country, are government-controlled. The news provided by those media, particularly by the state

television station, was perceived by many political parties as having a distinct, consistent pro-government bias. Critical inquiry of the government's actions is clearly absent from television and radio news programming. In addition, some of the political parties cited a number of specific examples of what they believed to be illegitimate use of state television to further the Agrarian Party. One such example was the televised speech of President Snegur on the evening before election day, when the campaign had formally come to a close. Another example was a lengthy broadcast in February entitled "Casa Noastra Republica Moldova" which was a highly political meeting dominated by officials tied to the Agrarian Party.

In addition to highlighting the abuse of the government-controlled media, some of the political parties also pointed to the abuse by officials of their official positions to further the campaigns of the Agrarian Party or the Socialist Party. Such abuses allegedly occurred at both the very high levels of government and at much lower levels. As an example of the former, Prime Minister Sangheli travelled to Moscow in December for meetings relating to an energy agreement between Moldova and Russia and gained much favorable publicity from the government-controlled media for having purportedly reached a very favorable accord. This mission took place during the official campaign period when government officials who were candidates in the campaign, as Sangheli was, were not supposed to be exercising their official functions.

At the lower levels of government, a frequent allegation was that directors of collective farms and other local officials manipulated the resources they controlled in support of the campaign of their party, usually but not always, the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party. It was alleged for example that extra provisions were given out at some collective farms immediately prior to the election and that directors of some collective farms threatened their employees with loss of provisions or security if they voted against the Agrarian Party.

VI. The Election

A. The Voting Process

Polls opened at 7:00 in the morning on February 27 and stayed open until 8:00 in the evening. The voting was generally carried out in an orderly manner, with the exception of some administrative inconsistencies noted below, and with the exception of the voting in the Transdnister region, also discussed below.

The electoral commissions at polling stations usually consisted of approximately ten persons, a president and one or two secretaries, two or three party representatives, and a number

of other persons chosen by the local authorities. The party representatives were generally from the larger political parties. A small number of commissions in rural areas contained no party representatives other than persons from the Agrarian Party.

One or two party observers were also present at some of the polling stations, usually from the Popular Front, the Congress of Intellectuals and Peasants, the Reform Party or the Social Democratic Party. In some cases, the party observers ranged freely around the polling station, observing all aspects of the process. In other cases they were required by the commission president to sit in particular chairs on the side of the room and could observe only what was visible from that particular vantage point. Police were present at most of the polling stations, sometimes inside, sometimes outside.

To obtain their ballots, voters presented their internal passports to the polling station officials who found their names on the electoral list. If a voter was for some reason not on the electoral list for the polling station corresponding to his place of residence, he could obtain a ballot by showing the residency stamp in his passport and having his name entered on a supplementary electoral list (Appendix 7). If a voter was going to be outside the area of his residence on voting day, he could obtain in advance from the local authorities a traveller's certificate permitting him to vote elsewhere. To obtain a ballot he would then present that certificate (Appendix 12b) and his internal passport to the polling station officials who would add his name to the supplementary list and keep his certificate. As discussed below, there were problems with these procedures for the supplementary lists and they were not consistently followed.

Some time prior to the elections oversized sample ballots had been posted at the entrances to the polling stations (Appendix 10). Most of these were taken down for voting day, however, in accordance with the official view that such ballots, though serving a merely instructional function, could be considered a form of campaigning. At most of the polling stations there were no instructions posted regarding how to vote. At some stations, polling station officials instructed voters to make a single cross in one of the circles on the ballot.

B. Administration of Voting

None of the foreign or domestic observers discovered any systematic or large-scale electoral fraud. Nonetheless they did encounter many procedural inconsistencies, primarily reflecting shortcomings in the application of the electoral law rather than in substance of the law itself.

Perhaps the most common, and potentially most serious administrative problem was the procedural method by which voters obtained ballots. The fact that on the one hand voters could get on the supplementary list at a polling station by showing proof of residency in that area but on the other hand did not usually have their passport stamped after voting, opened up the possibility of multiple voting: a voter could go to his polling station, go to the supplementary list table and tell them that he had been left off the electoral list, show his internal passport with its local residency stamp, have his name entered on the supplementary list, vote, and then later in the day return to the same polling station, go to the table with the electoral list, show his internal passport to confirm his name, sign the electoral list next to his name and vote again. At some polling stations anyone who so requested was allowed to be entered on the supplementary list, without showing proof of residency in that area or without presenting a traveller's certificate. Again, because passports were generally not being stamped, this laxness with respect to the application of the rules concerning supplementary lists opened up the possibility of multiple voting.

Several observers believe they witnessed incidents of multiple voting -- the same person voting twice at the same polling station. In general it does not appear that multiple voting occurred to such a large extent as to influence measurably the outcome of the elections. Nonetheless the mere possibility of multiple voting is a strong negative in any electoral system and the perception of the possibility by voters weakens the credibility of the voting process.

A related procedural inconsistency concerned the stamping of passports of persons after they voted. In general, voters' passports were not stamped. In at least a few polling stations that foreign observers visited, however, every voter's passport was being stamped with a stamp that read "Votat 1994" ("Voted 1994").

Another procedural problem was that some polling stations permitted individuals to receive more than one ballot upon on the presentation of more than one passport. Observers noted persons presenting two, three or four passports, presumably of family members, signing the electoral lists for those persons and receiving two, three or four ballots to vote. Although this form of multiple voting was not carried out with fraudulent intent, it nonetheless contravened the principle of one person - one vote.

A further problem arose with the behavior of some polling station officials. Although the large majority of polling station officials worked diligently and fairly to carry out their functions, in at least a small number of cases polling station officials were observed to be attempting to influence voters illegitimately by telling them or indicating to them which party to vote for. Such cases usually involved the presidents of local election commissions. A lesser irregularity, but one related to the issue of undue influence at polling stations, was the presence of the local mayor at some polling stations in villages and smaller towns. The mayors were not

working with the local commissions, rather they were just standing around the polling stations, greeting voters and exerting their presence.

Foreign observers and domestic observers were generally given full access to polling stations that they visited. A few exceptions to this pattern did, however, occur. In a town in the north, a Romanian-speaking U.S. observer was treated in a hostile manner and refused entry to a polling station. Several of the Romanian observers from the ProDemocracy organization in Romania also reported being inhospitably received at some polling stations and denied entry.

C. Vote Counting Process

After the polling stations closed at 8:00 in the evening (unless officially extended by the CEC) the polling station officials stamped the unused ballots void and then counted the votes. The standard method of counting was for the commission president, with one or more party observers or other polling station officials watching over his or her shoulder, to look at the ballots one-by-one, reading off the party or independent candidate voted for. After reading off each ballot the president handed it to the other polling station officials who oversaw the placing of the ballots into separate stacks for each party or independent candidate. When the commission president came across a ballot with markings not conforming to the rule of a single cross in one of the circles, he declared the ballot invalid. In cases in which a ballot was possibly but not definitely null, such as a ballot marked with a check mark rather than a cross, the commission president held it up for the other polling station officials to see and solicited their opinions either informally or by a quick show of hands in favor of or against permitting the ballot to be considered a valid vote.

After all the ballots had been read off and placed into stacks, the polling station officials counted the number of ballots in each stack and reported the number to the commission president who then verified that the total number of valid ballots, null ballots and unused ballots equaled the number of ballots allotted to the polling station. The commission president then filled out two copies of the voting protocol. Once the protocols were completed they were transported, together with all the ballots, to the raion (district) governmental offices. After being collected at the raion level, the protocols and ballots were transported the next day, February 28, to the Central Election Commission.

The Central Election Commission then tabulated the results. Partial results were released in the week subsequent to election day. Final results were not announced until March 14. Neither foreign nor domestic observers were given access to the vote tabulation work of the Central Election Commission.

D. Problems with the Vote-Counting Process

Observation of the vote-counting process was limited to observation of the counting at a number of polling stations and the collection of protocols and ballots at some of the district government offices; therefore no definitive assessment of the overall vote-counting process can be offered here. Nonetheless several minor inconsistencies or shortcomings of the vote-counting procedures merit mention.

Counting ballots by placing them in stacks rather than by using tally sheets opened the process at least to some potential problems. For example, in some of the polling stations individual polling station officials had control over two or more stacks of ballots during the counting process. Such persons could have transferred ballots from one stack to the other, thereby reducing the vote for one party and increasing it for another. Such an action would not have been uncovered at the polling station level because the ballots in the stacks were simply counted, they were not double-checked to make sure that they had been correctly sorted.

The strict requirement of a cross inside one of the circles on the ballot was inconsistently interpreted and resulted in a great deal of time spent by polling station officials discussing and even arguing over ambiguously marked ballots. For example, in one station a ballot marked with a three-lined cross was permitted whereas a similarly marked ballot was not permitted in a different station. In general, the polling station officials were very strict in applying the requirement and a significant number of voters whose voting intentions were quite clear - those for example who wrote "Da" ("Yes") or made a check mark in one of the circles -- had their ballots invalidated.

The general role of the district level officials was not consistently interpreted from one district to another. In one district for example, district level officials were receiving the protocols and ballots from the polling stations and were tabulating the results prior to sending them on to the Central Election Commission. In another district, the officials were not planning to tabulate the results but were just going to collect all the protocols and ballots from the polling stations and send them on to the Central Election Commission.

E. Voting in the Transdnister Region

Moldovans, who make up 43% of the population in Transdnister (pop. 700,000), living in the established ethnic Moldovan enclaves, voted in large numbers on February 27. The turnout in those enclaves was higher than the number of citizens registered. Reports released show that 24,669 persons voted with only 22,297 officially registered. (Approximately 110%

of the "originally registered voters"). The voting proceeded fairly normally in those enclaves although observers noted the presence of Russian soldiers at some of the polling stations.

The voting procedures for residents in the Transdnister region not living in the enclaves -- crossing the Dniester river and voting in specially designated polling stations that were open not only on February 27 but also the entire week prior to the elections -- proved quite burdensome. Approximately 1200 persons voted in this fashion out of 300,000 ethnic Moldovans living in the Transdnister region. Observers noted that most persons crossing the Dniester westward, whether by foot, bus or car, were stopped by the Transdnisterian authorities and had their names taken. These actions clearly had an intimidating effect.

F. Voting in the Gagauz Region

Despite the late decision to hold voting in the Gagauz region, the voting there unfolded fairly normally. Voter turnout was high, averaging approximately 85%. It is unclear whether the local electoral commissions in the Gagauz region generally contained representatives from diverse political parties. Party observers were scarcer in that region than elsewhere, due to the late organization of the polling. Please refer to Appendix 21 for the legal documentation for approval and rulings on voting in the Gagauz region.

VII. PARTY AND INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE RESULTS

A. Party & Independent Results

The official results, produced by the Moldovan CEC on US Government - provided equipment through IFES) (see attachment A of Chapter VII) exactly describe the voting pattern of the Moldovan electorate by polling station. As noted in the general table of results (Attachments A(1)-(4)) in this chapter, only four (4) parties were able to garner the required 4% of the vote on the national level to be allocated seats in the parliament. They included: The Agrarian Democratic Party (43.18% - 56 seats), The Socialist Party and Unity Movement (22% - 28 seats), The Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals (9.21% - 11 seats) and the Christian Democratic Popular Front (7.53% - 8 seats).

No independent candidates were able to reach the required threshold for representation in the Parliament. As shown in Attachment A(3) of this chapter, 19 Independent Candidates competed without success. It is clear that in the competition of February 27, party affiliation was paramount to voter awareness. Some have argued that not only the official "symbol" but the method of verbal instruction may have hindered the understanding of the ballot. One observer noted that when asked how to use the ballot, some voters were told to "mark a cross

in the circle next to the symbol on the ballot" (see Appendix 7). This may have been interpreted by the voter that those names without a symbol were of dissimilar or inconsequential meaning. In addition, some ballots (which were immediately considered invalid) showed marks at both party and independent candidates.

B. Central Election Commission (CEC) National Results

Through US Government (AID) funding, IFES was able to supply the CEC with computer equipment and software to calculate and present voting results throughout the "single district" format of the February 27 election. The CEC released early results on March 1 (see attachment A(1)) which showed the total amount of votes cast for each party and independent candidate. Attachment A(2), released on March 12 presented the percentage of votes received by each "major" party. The complete tally of results is printed out in attachment A(4), which breaks down the votes into the top 14 parties into voting "polling stations" throughout the country (see key prior to Attachment). The detail that has been reached in attachment A(3) should be noted as exceptional for a temporary Central Election Commission. The IFES-Chisinau office will make this information available to all political parties and NGOs who request such information. IFES foresees great value in this information as the fall local elections approach.

C. "Regional" Party Representation Results (IFES)

A regionally-based breakout of election results by party affiliation is presented in attachment B(1)-(3) in this chapter. This piece should give the reader a general concept of voting and party affiliation from an internal perspective. Votes are noted only for those parties that received the mandated 4% threshold required to obtain seats in the parliament. One should see the overwhelming repose by the voters in varying geographical regions and their party of choice. Please refer to the map (Attachment (B1) and key B(2)) to interpret regional results from the Attachment B(3).

MOLDOVAN ELECTION RESULTS

Attachments A(1-4) & B(1-3)

ATTACHMENT A(1)
(translation)
(March 1, 1994)

These unofficial results were released from the CEC.

Paragraph 1:

- a. Total Number of Voters on the Official List
- b. Total Number of Voters Present on Election Day
Voters Added via the Supplementary List
- c. Total Number of Eligible Voters
- d. Total Number of Voided Ballots
- e. Total Number of Ballots Accepted
- f. Total Number of Ballots Annulled

Paragraph 2: The number of votes cast for each Party (circled Parties received the mandated 4% threshold to receive seats in Parliament)

Paragraph 3: The votes cast for Independent Candidates (none received enough for representation).

- 1) $b = c + d$ (the number of people who turned out to vote is equal to the sum of valid votes and the number of void ballots)
- 2) $e = f + b$ (the number of bulletins received is equal to the sum of voided bulletins and the number of people who turned out)
- 3) $c = \text{sum}(g)$ (the number of valid votes expressed is equal to the sum of the valid votes obtained from the [party] lists and the independent candidates)

The noncompliance (or non-respect) of a condition is indicated in the respective number of the three (or two) numbers of conditions.

=== Totalizare Procese Verbale ===

1. 1965122 - a - numărul total de alegători pe liste
 1589831 - b - numărul total de alegători ce s-au prezentat
 127533 - - - din ei pe liste suplimentare
 1703560 - c - numărul de voturi valabil exprimate
 92520 - d - numărul de voturi nule
 2127345 - e - numărul de buletine primite
 559024 - f - numărul de buletine anulate
2. 133249 - <<Alianța Frontului Popular Creștin Democrat>>
 18402 - Asociația Victimelor Regimului Totalitar comunist din Moldova
 6410 - Partidul Național Creștin
 61758 - <<Blocul Social-Democrat>>
 157522 - <<Blocul Țăranilor și Intelectualilor>>
 25638 - Partidul Democrat din Moldova
 383955 - <<Partidul Socialist și Mișcarea <<Unitatea-Edinstvo>>
 48746 - Asociația Femeilor din Moldova
 11192 - Partidul Ecologist <<Alianța Verde>> din Moldova
 729339 - Partidul Democrat Agrar din Moldova
 19914 - Partidul Republican din Moldova
 47001 - Partidul Democrat al Muncii din Moldova
 41195 - Partidul Reformei
3. 6443 - Chișeriu Alexandru
 1622 - Cojuhari Dumitru
 607 - Platon Profir
 1511 - Filat Gheorghe
 2839 - Antonov Mihai
 951 - Zavgorodnii Vitalii
 1275 - Sajina Elena
 1597 - Gorban Victor
 1731 - Cotună Vasile
 6121 - Ciorici Mihai
 1754 - Plămădeală Mihai
 781 - Draguța Ion
 736 - Țurcanu Ion
 680 - Filipschi Valentin
 491 - Ciuntu Ion
 3328 - Fandofan Sergiu
 1283 - Maimescu Sava
 6129 - Gologan Grigore
 1845 - Gusac Pavel
 2329 - Gîrlan Gheorghe

Se verifică CELE trei condiții:

- 1) $b = c + d$ (numărul celor ce s-au prezentat la urne este egal cu suma numărului de voturi valabile și numărului de voturi nule)
- 2) $e = f + b$ (numărul de buletine primite este egal cu suma numărului de buletine anulate și numărului celor care s-au prezentat)
- 3) $c = \text{suma}(g)$ (numărul de voturi valabil exprimate este egal cu suma numărului de voturi valabile obținute de liste și independenți)

La nerespectarea unei condiții se afișează în coloana respectivă cele trei (două) numere ale condiției.

Condiția 1

Condiția 2

Condiția 3

ATTACHMENT A(2)
(translation)
(March 12, 1994)

A. List of Parties which received the required 4% of the vote
for representation:

Alliance of the Popular Front of Christian Democrats	-	133606 - 7.53 %
The Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals	-	163513 - 9.21 %
The Socialist Party	-	390584 - 22.00 %
The Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova	-	766589 - 43.18 %

B. Selected Vote Percentages of Parties not receiving the mandated 4% Threshold.

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A. Lista partidelor și blocurilor electorale ce au obținut
cel puțin 4% din totalul voturilor valabil exprimate

<<Alianța Frontului Popular Creștin Democrat>>	133606	7.53
<<Blocul Țăranilor și Intelectualilor>>	163513	9.21
<<Partidul Socialist și Mișcarea <<Unitatea-Edinstvo>>	390584	22.00
Partidul Democrat Agrar din Moldova	766589	43.18

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B. Lista partidelor și blocurilor electorale ce au obținut
mai puțin de 4% din totalul voturilor valabil exprimate

Asociația Victimelor Regimului Totalitar comunist din Moldova	16672	0.94
Partidul Național Creștin	5878	0.33
<<Blocul Social-Democrat>>	65028	3.66
Partidul Democrat din Moldova	23368	1.32
Asociația Femeilor din Moldova	50243	2.83
Partidul Ecologist <<Alianța Verde>> din Moldova	7025	0.40
Partidul Republican din Moldova	16529	0.93
Partidul Democrat al Muncii din Moldova	49210	2.77
Partidul Reformei	41980	2.36

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ATTACHMENT A(3)
(translation)

Seat Allocation

<u>Number of Seats Received</u>	<u>Party Name</u>	<u>Percentage of Vote Garnered</u>
9	Alliance of the Popular Front of Christian Democrats	7.53 %
11	The Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals	9.21 %
28	The Socialist Party	22.00 %
56	The Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova	43.18 %

== Lista partidelor și a blocurilor electorale ce au obținut mandate ==

9	7	<<Alianța Frontului Popular Creștin Democrat>>	7.53
11	3	<<Blocul Țăranilor și Intelectualilor>>	9.21
28	2	<<Partidul Socialist și Mișcarea <<Unitatea-Edinstvo>>	22.00
56	1	Partidul Democrat Agrar din Moldova	43.19

**ATTACHMENT A(4)
KEY & HEADERS**

Polling Station # Eligible Voters # Voters % Participation Valid Ballots Party Results (1-13)

(example)

Anenii Noi	5741	4820	83.96%	4678	(results for (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)
(7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13)					

Party Number Key:

1. The Popular Christian & Democratic Front
2. Association of Victims of the former Communist Regime in Moldova
3. National Christian Party
4. Bloc of Social Democrats
5. Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals
6. Democratic Party of Moldova
7. The Socialist Party
8. Association of Women
9. The Ecological Party (The Green Alliance)
10. The Agrarian Democratic Party
11. The Republican Party of Moldova
12. Democratic Movement "Dignity"
13. The Reform Party

* The following page is an example of the detail that the Moldovan CEC had reached with regard to results reported at the precinct level. For the full results ledger, amounting to more than 50 pages in this format, please refer to the Moldovan Parliamentary Election Results Directory (February 27, 1994) available through IFES.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				
Anenii Noi	5741	4820	83.96	4678	137	2.93	15	0.342	10	0.21	82	1.75	296	6.33	17	0.36
1244 26.59	50	1.07	11	0.24	2725	58.25	30	0.64	17	0.36	11	0.24	33	0.71		
											33	0.71				
Bereozchi	432	402	93.06	392	8	2.04	1	0.246	2	0.51	2	0.51	1	0.26	4	1.02
57 14.54	1	0.26	1	0.26	311	79.34	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	1.02				
Hirbovățul Nou	374	339	90.64	329	17	5.17	2	0.641	0	0.00	20	6.08	33	10.03	3	0.91
11 3.34	5	1.52	1	0.30	230	69.91	1	0.30	3	0.91	0	0.00	3	0.91		
Botnărești	637	621	97.47	613	25	4.08	0	0.040	0	0.00	9	1.47	10	1.63	2	0.33
3 0.49	6	0.98	1	0.16	554	90.38	3	0.49	0	0.00	0	0.00				
Bulboacă	3664	2860	78.06	2775	206	7.42	22	0.749	3	0.11	90	3.24	298	10.74	24	0.86
216 7.78	107	3.86	16	0.58	1665	60.00	47	1.69	28	1.01	21	0.76	32	1.15		
Calfa	1165	878	75.36	819	49	5.98	4	0.449	1	0.12	46	5.62	225	27.47	13	1.59
29 3.54	59	7.20	4	0.49	334	40.78	18	2.20	11	1.34	8	0.98				
Ciobanovca	785	711	90.57	693	8	1.15	0	0.040	1	0.14	4	0.58	17	2.45	2	0.29
143 20.63	8	1.15	2	0.29	495	71.43	5	0.72	0	0.00	6	0.87	2	0.29		
Mirnoe	139	127	91.37	123	3	2.44	0	0.040	0	0.00	4	3.25	1	0.81	0	0.00
44 35.77	0	0.00	0	0.00	71	57.72	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00				
Chetrosu	1127	1041	92.37	1007	48	4.77	8	0.749	2	0.20	13	1.27	38	3.77	1	0.10
299 29.69	25	2.48	11	1.09	539	52.63	7	0.70	5	0.50	18	1.79	2	0.20		
Chirca	1111	914	82.27	886	33	3.72	3	0.344	0	0.00	9	1.02	59	6.66	4	0.45
15 1.69	10	1.13	6	0.69	714	80.81	15	1.67	7	0.79	8	0.90	1	0.11		
Cobusca Nouă	1038	862	83.04	835	47	5.63	2	0.244	0	0.00	14	1.68	121	14.49	3	0.36
8 0.96	21	2.51	5	0.60	584	67.94	5	0.60	14	1.68	5	0.60	6	0.72		
Socoleni	342	321	93.86	318	12	3.77	0	0.010	0	0.00	2	0.63	7	2.20	1	0.31
12 3.77	6	1.89	4	1.26	267	83.96	3	0.94	0	0.00	3	0.94	1	0.31		
Cobusca Veche	1584	1371	86.55	1343	65	4.84	4	0.310	0	0.00	26	1.94	182	13.55	11	0.82
13 0.97	16	1.19	5	0.37	969	72.15	4	0.30	10	0.74	29	2.16	9	0.67		
Crețoșia	287	283	98.61	268	10	3.73	2	0.715	1	0.37	0	0.00	7	2.61	0	0.00
12 4.48	12	4.48	0	0.00	221	82.46	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	1.12	0	0.00		
Delacău	1492	1392	93.30	1355	116	8.56	8	0.549	6	0.44	21	1.55	120	8.86	7	0.57
14 1.03	20	1.48	11	0.81	981	72.40	11	0.81	6	0.44	24	1.77	10	0.74		
Floreni	2186	1678	76.76	1375	325	23.64	14	1.042	4	0.29	55	4.00	372	27.05	24	1.75
157 11.42	50	3.64	5	0.36	273	19.85	7	0.51	55	4.00	16	1.16	18	1.31		
Geamăna	2463	2183	88.63	2151	152	7.07	28	1.340	4	0.19	25	1.16	292	13.58	25	1.16
18 0.84	54	2.51	5	0.23	1479	68.76	18	0.84	11	0.51	19	0.88	21	0.98		
Gura Bîcului	2515	2186	86.92	2155	191	8.86	33	1.543	4	0.19	79	3.67	325	15.08	84	3.99
71 3.29	105	4.87	8	0.37	897	41.62	13	0.60	294	13.64	21	0.97	30	1.37		
Hirbovăț	3849	3077	78.64	2855	362	12.49	42	1.447	10	0.35	88	3.08	361	12.64	16	0.56
63 2.21	130	4.55	25	0.88	1627	56.99	41	1.44	20	0.70	36	1.76	34	1.17		

VIII. Analysis of the Results

A. The State of the Electorate

Neither the electoral process generally nor the specific results of the voting can be assessed or analyzed without some consideration of the state of the electorate going into the elections. A high level of attention to the formal aspects of an electoral process can sometimes distract attention from the fact that formal mechanisms cannot be understood divorced from at least some understanding of the mind set or political consciousness of the people who are utilizing them.

In Moldova there is no tradition of participatory democracy. The population has for several generations been almost completely dependent upon the state, a relationship defined both by economic dependence and political subordination. The experience of "politics" for most Moldovans for decades was an improvident combination of frustrating, often unjust interactions with administrative bureaucracies and the steady exposure to a persistent campaign of psychological manipulation carried out by a repressive, overpowering state.

Since gaining independence in 1991, Moldova has essentially been adrift in terms not only of its political and economic systems but also its very sense of national identity. The unsettling situation has prevailed in which almost everything seems open to change, yet at the same time change has taken on little organized form or direction. As a result, many Moldovans feel a troubling sense of unprecedented political and economic vulnerability and little sense of control over their own lives or their country's course. The prevailing powerlessness of the individual that defined the Communist era remains largely intact but is no longer accompanied by the economic and social security that the system previously provided. Fear and caution are inevitably, therefore, defining features of the political mind-set of the electorate.

It cannot be said that the campaign period significantly "prepared" the average Moldovan for the election. The campaign period provided little information in the nature of democratic civic education (other than the very useful but very specific and brief IFES-sponsored voting instructional TV spots). The average voter probably saw some of the political party spots on television and perhaps heard some of the radio spots as well. The parties were so numerous and many of their platforms and methods of presentation were so similar, however, that it was uncertain how much this information would have clarified the electorate's sense of the choices to be made. The average voter might also have read about some of the parties in one or more of the newspapers although the general impact of newspapers on the society, particularly the non-urban population, is not especially great. And some voters, probably a minority, may have attended one or more campaign meetings organized by parties or candidates.

The average voter's contact with the electoral process was defined not simply by a lack of information or positive involvement but also the encroachment of other structures and actors outside the campaign process as formally defined. Particularly in the countryside, many people's lives are still deeply intertwined with the state, as employees of collective farms or other state enterprises, and as citizens attempting to deal with the many levels of state bureaucracy that control so many aspects of everyday life. This state structure was itself an actor of sorts in the electoral process in that two parties intimately tied to the state, the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party, were trying hard to maintain the existing structures of the state and were utilizing the resources of the state to do so.

These various factors - the absence of any tradition of participatory democracy, the weakness of the electoral campaign, and the political pressures for conformity emanating from the state itself - resulted in an electorate with little sense of political empowerment or engagement. Interviews with voters on election day consistently revealed that voters perceived little connection between the elections and their daily lives. The fairly high voter turnout should not be mistaken for a high level of involvement or interest in the electoral process. As one local journalist commented at a polling station, "people are voting out of the habit of doing what they are told."

B. Interpretation of the Results

Although many Moldovans had only a limited understanding of the political alternatives presented in the elections, the election results nonetheless reflected some fairly clear choices. The strong showing of the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party was an expression, above all, of the economic fear gripping much of the population. Those parties most strongly represented the promise of economic security. In the case of the Socialist Party, this appeal was directly that of a return to the economic ways of the pre-1991 era. In the case of the Agrarian Party, some appeal was made to the idea of economic reforms, particularly privatization, but the deeper message was economic security and the need for a market economy with a "social orientation."

The heavy vote for the Agrarian Party and the Socialist Party also represented a vote in favor of closer relations with Russia. The desire for closer relations with Russia has a strong economic component. Many Moldovans associate Moldova's exit from the Soviet Union with a subsequent period of sharp economic decline and believe that a successful economic future depends upon close economic ties with Russia. The Russia issue also of course has important political elements. Ethnic Russians, ethnic Ukrainians, the Gagauz and other non-ethnic

Moldovans in Moldova see Russia as a protector of their rights or at least a counterbalance against the pro-Romanian tendencies of some Moldovan political factions. And the conflict in the Transdniester region has led some ethnic Moldovans to the conclusion that friendlier ties with Russia may help diminish the possibility of further armed conflict in that region.

The February 27 vote was also a clear rejection of the Popular Front, confirming the precipitous decline of that party's influence over the past several years. The rejection appears to have been based in substantial part on the association of the Popular Front with the increased economic problems of recent years. It was also related to the situation on the Trans-Dniester region. Many Moldovans seem to have held the Popular Front as being significantly responsible for, or at least unable to do anything positive about, the conflict in the Transdniester region.

It is very difficult to gauge to what extent the voting of February 27 represented a statement by the electorate with respect to the question of Moldova's relations to Romania. The idea of reunification with Romania had already faded very significantly by the time of the elections and was not an electoral issue per se. It is certainly clear, however, that the more pro-Romanian parties fared relatively badly, although as discussed above this was primarily for a variety of economic and political reasons other than their pro-Romanian orientation.

As can be ascertained in a series of immediately released post-election parliamentary and presidential decrees and decisions (see Appendices 22 - 26), a reaction to the electoral results and, it is argued, to the overwhelmingly positive response in the Sociological Poll (Appendix 1) of March 6, 1994. The aforementioned decisions covered areas of concern from the question of a national language to the long-term intentions of Moldova toward its economic union with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Appendix 27 lists the initial appointments of government Ministers within the new government and general information pertaining to selected individuals.

IX. Recommendations for the Moldovan Government

A. Regarding Electoral Campaigns

Based on the observation and analysis of these parliamentary elections, a number of recommendations can be made concerning future electoral campaigns.

1. The system of providing substantial free television and radio time to all parties should be continued. Every effort should be made to ensure that television and radio service are not cut off in any areas of the country during the campaign. In addition, every effort should

be made to ensure that government officials do not misuse their access to television coverage for the purpose of campaigning.

2. The Parliament, in conjunction with the Central Election Commission, should develop an institutional mechanism for monitoring campaign expenditures by all parties and establish the necessary procedures and rules to make enforcement of the campaign expenditure limits clearly feasible.

3. The Parliament, in conjunction with the Central Election Commission, should elaborate specific rules prohibiting the use by any political party of state resources in electoral campaigns. It should also establish substantial penalties for the misuse of state resources and endow the Central Election Commission with the clear authority and the staff resources to investigate and, as appropriate, prosecute all reported incidents of such activity.

4. The government, at the national, regional, and local levels, should undertake to ensure that political parties have reasonable access to rooms and halls for campaign meetings throughout the country.

5. The Central Election Commission should actively pursue the task of voter education, aiming at increasing both citizen's knowledge of the specific procedures involved in voting and their general understanding of the significance of multiparty elections. The government should promote all possible forms of democratic civic education, not only by the Central Election Commission, but also through the schools and universities, as well as through the media.

B. Regarding the Voting Process

Our recommendations concerning changes in the administration of future voting processes are as follows:

1. The procedures by which voters register themselves at the polling stations need to be modified and clarified to reduce the chances of multiple voting. Consideration should be given to a system in which all voters (with the exception, as necessary, of voters residing in the Trans-Dniester region) have their passports stamped after voting. The requirements for voters seeking to be entered on the supplementary lists should be clarified and polling station officials given clear instructions on this issue.

2. Local electoral commissions should be given clear instructions with respect to their individual functions, and in particular should be specifically warned not to try to exert any

partisan influence on voters. Local electoral commissions should also receive additional instructions or training concerning the role of party observers in order to ensure that all members of local electoral commissions understand that party observers may observe all aspects of the voting process.

3. The Central Election Commission should issue a specific directive stating that mayors and other local government officials should not be present at polling sites, except to vote.

4. Local electoral commissions should be trained not to permit individual voters to receive multiple ballots by presenting passports from family members or friends.

C. Regarding the Vote-Counting Process

1. Consideration should be given to instructing local electoral commissions to count votes by using tally sheets (two parallel tally sheets double-checked against each other and against the sorted stacks of ballots) rather than relying on the sorting and stacking of ballots. The tally sheet method reduces the risk of vote counts being manipulated by mixing up stacks of ballots.

2. The rule regarding the kind of mark that voters must make on the ballots to indicate their voting preference should be interpreted somewhat more liberally in order to reduce inconsistencies in its application and to reduce the number of ballots with very clear indicators of preference that are declared null.

3. The role of district-level officials in the vote-counting process should be clarified to ensure consistency in their activities.

4. The Central Election Commission should take all necessary measures to speed up its vote-counting work. Final voting results should be available within several days of election day, if not sooner.

X. **Consultant Recommendations for Future IFES Programming**

The February parliamentary elections in Moldova made clear that there remains much to do in the area of democracy assistance in Moldova. They also made clear that this work needs to be aimed less at fine-tuning the formal structures of representative government than at

developing in the general population the basic attitudinal and informational bases of a democratic society. The elections highlighted four notable weaknesses in this general regard:

1. The basic notion of political opposition remains a fragile and not well-developed feature of Moldovan political life.
2. Knowledge of fundamental political and civil rights is vague and uncertain at all levels of society.
3. The non-governmental sector is extremely weak.
4. State power remains highly centralized and politicized.

Accordingly IFES should consider aiming its future work in Moldova at the following sectors:

Democratic education in a civic society

There is a considerable need for democratic civic education. A possible starting point would be a focus on human rights, particularly political and civil rights. Although human rights are somewhat respected in Moldova, this respect does not rest on a solid basis of understanding and knowledge about human rights either among government officials, political parties or the general public. Assistance efforts in the area of human rights could consist of the conveyance of information and materials on human rights. It would be useful, however, to go beyond the mere transfer of information to try to stimulate or facilitate the emergence of one or more local groups that would serve as human rights monitoring organizations.

With respect to education about democracy, it might be useful to try to tie such efforts to a broader educational program concerning the Council of Europe, the CSCE and other international organizations with which Moldova is developing a relationship and which feature democracy as one of their fundamental principles. In this way democracy could be learned about not as an abstract set of ideas but as a working system that defines much of the European context that Moldova, as a newly independent country, is coming into relationship with.

Given the state of the Moldovan electorate and the dearth of international assistance groups active there, voter education should be liberally defined to incorporate broad objectives. Wherever possible, the objectives should move beyond technical education to include skills and methods of analysis. The Moldovan electorate desperately needs a better understanding of the choice it is being offered in a free, multi-party, democratic election.

There are several programs which IFES has already considered and included in its budget proposal: TV clips, mock elections, educational brochures, etc. These ideas can and should be pursued given the proper resources. The idea of a TV program seems a long way off at the moment, but IFES should continue to cultivate the idea of producing a TV program for 5 minutes per week on relevant issues. The issue and the format have yet to be determined.

The Civic Society and NGO Nurturing

As is the case throughout the former Soviet Union, there is a strong need for assistance programs aimed at fostering the growth of an independent civil society. The goals must be modest in this domain; the development of civil society, even in the best of circumstances, is a gradual, accumulative process. The best approach would be to survey carefully the field of existing non-governmental organizations and identify any non-partisan groups with a social or political focus that might benefit from modest levels of external contact or support.

One promising candidate for support appears to be the nascent ProDemocracy organization. ProDemocracy fielded its own election monitoring effort for the parliamentary elections and prepared a useful report based on its observations. ProDemocracy also established productive contacts with the Romanian ProDemocracy Association and the Bulgarian Association for Free Elections which both sent teams of observers for the elections. Given that local elections will be held later this year and presidential elections next year, there will be a great deal of potential work for domestic election monitors and therefore considerable potential scope for ProDemocracy and any other similar local organizations.

ProDemocracy should play a large role in IFES' thinking and in its project for the coming years. For a young group of young people, the work of ProDemocracy during the elections was impressive and demonstrated their ability to reach the countryside and its constituency.

ProDemocracy can, first of all, provide another conduit for IFES' prepared educational materials. More importantly, ProDemocracy should be used as the point group for IFES to sponsor candidate fora during the local elections. The benefits would be two-fold: 1) all the participants, from the candidates, moderators, to the audience, would leave such an event with a better sense of the democratic process. The voters would have a better sense of the choice being offered and the candidates would have a better sense of their responsibility to the interests of the electorate. 2) the fora would help ProDemocracy to develop both expertise with regard to electoral issues and a regional network of active members. If IFES' program is expanded to include voter education directly, this network could prove very useful for substantial regional

outreach. It would be useful to have an IFES consultant train the Pro-Democracy moderators prior to the local elections.

The Union of Journalists was an excellent contact while in Moldova. Its President was very encouraging and forthcoming. Such a qualified representative from this organization could make a competent addition to the IFES Election working group. Such an organization could make a valuable partner alongside IFES and other democracy-building organizations in defining the media strategy for a voter education project. More importantly, they would be in a position, with assistance, to make regular contributions to the voter education effort through their considerable network of members.

The minority cultural associations with which we met could provide a useful network for the distribution of voter education materials provided by IFES. There is some problem with some of these groups, particularly the Ukrainian Cultural Association, because they have taken openly political positions in the past. The IFES materials are non-partisan, thus their use may in fact encourage such groups to stay out of entangling political alliances. Moreover, by making the materials available equally to all communities, IFES could safely negate any such concerns.

Other NGOs, such as those associated to an ecologist's coalition, could also be used effectively for the distribution of voter education materials. They also raise the potential for more ambitious programs. Through a short seminar and the continued work of the office in Chisinau, IFES could help such groups develop an understanding of the role of NGOs in the political life of a democratic society. These groups, in turn, would encourage their members to become politically involved outside of the polling place. Minority associations could, of course, participate in these programs with a different perspective and agenda.

The Union of Jurists, for the time being, is only in the planning stage of development. However, the meeting with their spokesman Mr. Barbalat seemed encouraging. They gave the impression that they will, someday, be an active organization. When that day comes, IFES believes this group could become a partner in whatever projects IFES designs to assist in local administration reform.

Decentralization

Decentralization is also an area of significant potential reform. Prior to the election, the Moldovan government had expressed an intention to carry out local government reforms with a view to decentralizing state power. If the new Parliament decides to pursue this subject there may be a role for IFES to assist in the process. Such assistance might consist of helping the government obtain information about types and patterns of local government reform. And when

such reforms were underway, IFES could attempt to help foster the growth of local citizens groups that could play a partnership role in the process of reform.

Another portion of IFES's project, could be a form of legal assistance. Again, recent IFES meetings in Chisinau left a clear vision of how this might be carried out. Although skeptical on first reading of this idea, it seems clear that it would be very valuable for IFES to encourage professionals in Chisinau to view themselves as people in Washington view their roles. IFES believes that many of the citizens which we met from outside of the electoral establishment would make reliable and contributing members of a legal development sector. If the group were more broadly defined than originally envisioned, a committee of election professionals could be initiated to deal with purely legal issues.

The International Independent University gave the impression that they were very interested in moving ahead with programs on local administration reform. Unfortunately, they also gave the impression that they were somewhat disorganized. With IFES' help, such an institution could get a course underway. Its format however is still up for debate. One proposal would be for an IFES consultant to come for a week-long course for professors at the Independent University along with others who were interested in teaching the subject. Those participants could then train others throughout the region.

The Moldovan Academy for Public Service was less promising than the International Independent University both for personal and structural reasons. The Academy should be considered when developing a program related to public administration and participation. The same IFES consultant could work with them, or perhaps the Academy's professors could be encouraged to participate in the same course with the other groups.

XI. IFES - Organizational Overview

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) has been a leader in the field of international democratic initiatives for the last six years. With nonpartisan programs ranging from election law analysis and election implementation, to supporting organizations dedicated to education of the electorate and the building of civil society, IFES has a proven record of success working in a variety of fast-paced transitional environments, and in particular in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Moldova having been a part of the Soviet-dominated region of Europe, this experience is particularly relevant.

A. Recent IFES Projects in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union

1. Election Law Analysis and Election Implementation.

All formerly communist countries are faced with the problems accompanying the transition from closed one-party, multi-candidate election systems to open, stable and competitive multi-party systems. As one of the first groups to receive funding under A.I.D.'s Democratic Pluralism Initiatives Project, IFES provides technical and material support to ministries, election commissions, legislatures, and non-governmental organizations in the planning and implementation of training programs and the actual conduct of elections. To date, IFES has conducted pre-election assessments in three Eastern European countries (Hungary, Romania, and Albania) and seven of the eleven New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union.

IFES has built strong partnerships with election commissions throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. IFES technical election assistance and training was first provided in Eastern Europe in 1992 in Albania and Romania, and in the NIS to the Central Election Commission of Georgia prior to that country's first post-Soviet parliamentary elections in 1992. IFES has an office within the Central Election Commission building since November 1993.

IFES is currently cooperating with the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation and maintained an IFES technical support office with the CEC through the December 1993 elections. The same time of assistance was offered to the CEC of Kazakhstan for the country's March 1994 parliamentary elections. Full-time on-site IFES advisors are providing comprehensive assistance to the Central Election Commissions of Moldova and Ukraine in the areas of election commodities, poll worker training and voter education prior to elections in those countries in February and March 1994, respectively.

2. Voter and Civic Education

IFES complements its election-related assistance with high-impact voter education outreach projects. Building on IFES education projects around the world, IFES is already implementing voter education training projects in Ukraine and Moldova and planning initiatives for Russia and other NIS countries.

In past projects, IFES has provided assistance to both governmental and private voter education efforts. Non-governmental organizations assisted by IFES such as Via Civica in Nicaragua, the Jaan Tonisson Institute in Estonia, and dozens in Romania through its network "Civic Voice" have helped to stimulate interest in elections and participation in democratic transition. The Romanian civic education program is one of the most successful of its kind anywhere in Eastern Europe.

IFES voter education seminars motivate discussants and encourage citizen participation in elections and their country's public life. IFES seminars have been open to civic leaders, including women and members of minority groups, on a nonpartisan basis. Political party activists, government officials, and journalists are also encouraged to attend, space permitting.

3. Framing Legislation

IFES is dedicated to supporting the creation of stable legal and political environments that facilitate the transition to democratic, market-based societies in the former Soviet Union.

In its past work, especially in the NIS, IFES has recognized that election law and procedural reform is often even more important than, for example, constitutional reform initiatives, at least in the short term. In many countries, the body to be elected through the next elections will be charged with the drafting of the constitution. The legitimacy of the drafters' mandate and the resulting constitution will depend on the confidence the people place in the election system that brought their representatives to power.

IFES provides key players in the election and legislative process with the necessary legal, technical and material resources needed to make informed systemic and administrative choices for their country. As a nonpartisan organization with an international board, access to top international consultants and a diversified funding base, IFES is regarded as an "honest broker" by officials in the countries where it has provided election and civic/voter education assistance. It is this perception of IFES by officials and NGO representatives that enables IFES to implement truly collaborative democratic initiatives with host-country partners.

In the NIS, IFES has provided copies of election laws from around the world and has conducted analysis of the draft election laws and election systems of Belarus, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine.

4. Strengthening Legal Institutions

IFES believes that a sound election system may allow for the election of a good or a bad government, but an election system that suffers from incompetence and malfeasance will always result in the creation of a government prone to corruption and instability.

Since 1989, with both private and public funding, IFES has collaborated with Soviet or former Soviet election authorities and other officials in exchanges of expertise in order to encourage the independence and professionalization of election administration. Today, IFES is collaborating with NIS election commissions to strengthen reforms and train reformers within these bodies. For example, the acting Chairman of the Ukrainian election commission spent two months at IFES in the summer of 1993. In Russia, IFES is currently providing support to the Central Election Commission and plans to provide on-going assistance through June of 1996.

IFES was also requested by the Vice Chairman of the Parliament of Moldova to conduct both election assistance and civic/voter education initiatives in that country. IFES has established a presence in Moldova to provide full-time support to the Central Election Commission of Moldova prior to that country's first post-Soviet parliamentary elections on February 27, 1994.

IFES uses international election experts and regional specialists to support the work of election commissions, legislative committees and ministries responsible for elections. IFES on-site assistance packages include the following elements:

- Commodity assistance
- Communications assistance
- Data-processing assistance
- Logistical planning
- Statutory and procedural drafting
- Poll worker and election administrator training
- Voter education
- Observation
- Donor coordination and solicitation

XI. APPENDICES

1. Sociological Poll "Consultation with the People" ballot.
2. Moldova - Statistical Analysis (Translated by IFES/Chisinau).
3. Central Electoral Commission (CEC), members, affiliations, and phone numbers.
4. CEC Chairman Nicolae Timofti's age-based resolution of tie votes. (Party with the highest medium age in a tie wins)
5. Sequential Candidate Lists of ballot access groups and Independent candidates (Translated-IFES Washington).
6. Voter Roll form (reduced) - Ordinary (Translated-IFES Washington).
7. Voter Roll form (reduced) - Supplementary (Translated-IFES Washington).
8. Official Ballot (reduced), Republic of Moldova, Parliamentary Elections, February 27, 1994.
9. FBIS translation of the Electoral Law of Moldova and subsequent amendments and protocols.
10. Ballot Information Poster (reduced) - posted at polling stations.
11. Instruction Booklet for Precinct Election Commissions (PECs) (Translated by IFES-Washington)
12. (a) Voter Notification Slips and Certificates of Permission & (b) Absentee Voter (Translated from Russian and Romanian).
13. Regulation/Administrative Rule of the CEC on the subject of Foreign Observers. (Translated by IFES-Chisinau)
14. "Credentials" of (a) Precinct Election Commissioners & (b) Domestic Observers and (c) Foreign Observers Credentials (delivered blank, without control numbers or codes of any kind).
15. IFES-Chisinau produced, "Suggested Items of Interest to Foreign Observers," February 24th Meeting, Chisinau, Moldova (distributed to Observers prior to the Election).

16. **Presidential Decree: "...creating conditions for the participation of citizens from the rayons of the left bank of the Dnistr..." (Signed by President Snegur, February 17, 1994)**
17. **Party flyer from the Socialist Party (w/ translation).**
18. **Party flyer from Bloc of Peasants and Intellectuals (w/ translation).**
19. **(a) Profession Composition of Parties & Electoral Blocs Candidates and (b) Fields of Activities of Parties & Election Blocs Candidates.**
20. **IFES-Chisinau produced translations of Major Party Platforms (distributed to Observers prior to the Election).**
21. **CEC Decree on the Address of the Komrat (Comrat) and Chiadyr-Lunga Regional Executive Commissions of Formation of the Polling Places and Election Commissions in Localities Densely Populated by Gagauz (Signed by Nicolae Timofti, Chairman of the CEC - February 19, 1994) & Decision of the Meeting of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Moldova on "Setting up precincts and electoral commissions in the localities..populated by Gagauz people" (February 22, 1994).**
22. **Parliamentary Decision on Ratification of the Agreement Constituting the CIS. (Signed Lucinschi, President of Parliament - April 8, 1994) & additional Reserves to this document.**
23. **Parliamentary Decision on Ratification of the Agreement on Creation of the Economic Union (Signed Lucinschi, President of Parliament - April 8, 1994).**
24. **Parliamentary Decision on Creation of a Parliamentary Commission for Study of Causes That Make Difficult the Carrying out of the Personnel's Certification on Knowledge of the State Language. (Signed Petru Lucinschi, President of Parliament - April 1, 1994).**
25. **Declaration signed by Snegur and Smirnov on political rights in the Transdniester region (April 28, 1994).**
26. **Appeal of the Government of the Republic of Moldova to its Countrymen (April 17, 1994).**
27. **List of Ministries and Departments including current office holder's vitae.**

APPENDIX 1

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

SOCIOLOGICAL POLL "CONSULTATION WITH PEOPLE"

BALLOT

(translation)

"Do you want Republic of Moldova to develop as an independent, integrated and indivisible state in the boundaries from the date of proclamation of its sovereignty (June 23, 1990), that would promote a policy of neutrality to keep up mutual advantageous relations of cooperation with all world states, to guarantee equal rights to all its citizens in accordance with the norms of international law?"

YES

NO

You have to circle your answer.

The ballot is considered unvalid if both or neither answer is marked.

APPENDIX 2

THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Territory, thd sq.km	- 33.7
Population (by 01.01.92),thd	- 4359.1
Ethnic composition:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 64.5 % Romanians 13.8 % Ukrainians 13.0 % Russians 3.5 % Gagauzians 2.0 % Bulgarians 3.2 % Others
	NB: The Gagauzians are a Turkish-speaking, Christian minority
Official Language	- Romanian
Other used Languages	- Russian, local Ukrainian, Gagauzian, Bulgarian
Religions	- Orthodox, Also there exist baptist, adventist, romano-catholic, mozaic communities
Capital	- Chişinău (667.1 thd)
Economic indicators	
Economic weighting in the former USSR	- 1.3 %
Share of agricultural production	- 2.0 %
Share of industrial production	- 1.1 %
	(Moldova held first place in the former USSR in production of wines and tobacco, as well as 14.3 % of all production of fruit and almost 10.0 % of tinned food)
Political situation as at May 18, 1992	President: Mircea SNEGUR

THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
 STATISTICAL DATA
 (By census 1989)

	Number of persons, thousand	%	Urban area		Rural area	
			thousand	%	thousand	%
Population, total inclusive:	4335.4	100	2020.1	100	2315.3	100
Romanians	2794.7	64.5	935.9	46.3	1858.8	80.3
Ukrainians	600.4	13.8	379.0	18.7	221.3	9.5
Russians	562.1	13.0	483.7	23.9	78.3	3.4
Gagauzians	153.3	3.5	63.1	3.1	90.4	3.9
Bulgarians	88.4	2.0	40.2	2.0	48.2	2.0
Jews	65.8	1.5	65.3	3.2	0.5	0.02
Germans	7.3	0.2	4.5	0.2	2.8	0.1
Others	70.5	1.6	48.4	2.4	22.1	0.9

THE POPULATION OF BASARABIA*
(the ethnic structure estimated on mother tongue basis)

Nationality	in 1817**		in 1897***		in 1930****			
	Rural and urban area	%	Rural and urban area	%	Rural and urban area	%	Rural area	Urban area
Romanians	419,240	86.0	920,919	47.6	1,610,757	56.2	1,494,021	116,736
Ukrainians	30,000	6.5	379,698	19.6	314,211	11.0	295,020	19,191
Russians	6,000	1.5	155,774	8.0	351,912	12.3	252,412	99,500
Bulgarians	1,205	0.25	103,225	5.4	163,726	5.7	151,078	12,648
Gagauzians	1,205	0.25	55,790	2.9	98,172	3.4	89,969	8,203
Jews	19,130	4.2	228,168	11.8	204,858	7.2	106,149	98,709
Germans	-	-	60,206	3.1	-	-	-	-
Gipsies	-	-	8,636	0.4	13,518	0.5	12,736	782
Poles	-	-	11,696	0.6	8,104	0.3	4,538	3,566
Greeks	3,200	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Armenians	2,650	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	11,300	0.6	18,055	0.6	9,755	8,300
Total	482,630	100.0	1,935,412	100.0	2,864,402	100.0	2,493,431	370,971

* Now the southern and northern parts of Basarabia belong to Ukraine.

** I. Nistor., The History of Basarabia. Chisinau, 1991, p.203.

*** The first general census of the population of the Russian Empire of 1897. Ed. III, Bessarabskaya Gubernia, SPB, 1905, pp.70-73.

**** The General census of the population of Romania of December 29, 1930. Vol. II, Bucharest, 1938.

STATISTIC DATA ON THE DISTRICTS WITH BULGARIAN AND GAGAUZIAN POPULATION
(in conformity with the 1989 census)

	Total population	inclusive					
		Romanians	Russians	Ukrainians	Gagauzians	Bulgarians	Others
Republic of Moldova	4335360	2794749	562069	600366	153458	88419	136299
/in percents/	100	64.5	13.0	13.8	3.5	2.0	3.2
Total in the districts	287875	74436	16961	14629	135972	41824	4053
/in percents/	100	25.9	5.9	5.1	47.2	14.5	1.4
The Districts							
Basarabeasca	44295	19933	5137	2940	13391	2083	811
/in percents/	100	45.0	11.6	6.7	30.2	4.7	1.8
Ciadir-Lunga	67021	2717	3016	2107	43031	15217	933
/in percents/	100	4.1	4.5	3.1	64.2	22.7	1.4
Comrat	70115	12764	3268	3295	44761	5174	853
/in percents/	100	18.2	4.7	4.7	63.8	7.4	1.2
Taraclia	44804	7037	3001	3612	12309	18021	824
/in percents/	100	15.7	6.7	8.1	27.5	40.2	1.8
Vulcanesti	61640	31985	2539	2675	22480	1329	632
/in percents/	100	51.9	4.1	4.3	36.5	2.2	1.0

NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION (by census 1989)

	Republic of Moldova, total	t. Tighina (Bender)	Left bank of the Dniester										
			total	rural	urban	t. Tiraspol	t. Ribnita	t. Dubasari	d. Camenca	d. Ribnita	d. Dubasari	d. Grigoriopol	d. Slobozia
Territory, sq.km	33700	63	4118	*	*	91	24	12	746	848	663	822	912
Population, thd	4335.4	138.0	546.4	194.7	351.7	198.5	60.8	35.5	34.0	34.4	30.3	53.1	99.8
inclusive:		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Romanians, thd	2794.7	41.4	239.9	150.0	89.9	35.4	15.1	15.4	37.5	16.3	37.9	33.3	49.0
	64.5	29.9	39.9	60.0	25.6	17.7	24.8	43.4	62.3	47.4	88.9	62.7	42.5
Ukrainians, thd	600.4	25.1	170.1	55.1	115.0	64.2	27.1	10.7	16.5	14.7	2.6	9.6	24.7
	13.8	18.2	28.3	22.0	32.7	32.2	44.6	30.1	27.3	42.7	6.2	18.1	21.4
Russians, thd	562.1	57.8	153.3	31.5	121.8	82.4	14.8	8.1	5.2	2.8	1.6	8.4	30.0
	13.0	41.9	25.4	12.6	34.6	41.3	24.3	22.8	8.7	8.2	3.8	15.8	26.0
Gagauzians, thd	153.5	1.6	3.3	0.7	2.6	2.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5
	3.5	1.2	0.5	0.3	0.7	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4
Bulgarians, thd	88.4	3.8	11.3	8.0	3.3	2.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	7.7
	2.0	2.8	1.9	3.2	0.9	1.2	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.5	6.7
others nat., thd	136.3	8.3	23.8	4.7	19.1	13.0	3.3	1.0	0.9	0.4	0.3	1.4	3.5
	3.2	6.0	4.0	1.9	5.5	6.5	5.6	2.9	1.5	1.2	0.9	2.7	3.0

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY NATIONALITIES AND BIRTHPLACE, AS WELL AS
BY SPHERES OF ACTIVITY
(in per cents)

	Born on the territory				Prevalent activity	
	Republic of Moldova	Ukraine	Russia	Others	Intellectual	Physical
Population, total inclusive:	86.2	6.2	5.7	1.9	28.0	72.0
Romanians	98.1	0.8	0.6	0.5	22.6	77.4
Ukrainians	67.0	28.9	2.4	1.7	33.1	66.9
Russians	52.0	7.1	35.6	5.3	44.5	55.5
Gagauzians	96.0	1.8	1.1	1.1	19.6	80.4
Bulgarians	84.2	12.6	1.7	1.5	30.5	69.5
Jews	76.0	15.2	4.3	4.5	66.4	33.6
other nat.	44.7	9.6	16.9	28.8	*	*

APPENDIX 3

CENTRAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Chişinău, Ştefan cel Mare str. No 54

Nicolae Timofti	Chairman of the Commission, Chairman of the Supreme Court Penal College	tel. 23 44 74
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Anastasia Pascari	Deputy chair woman of the Commission, judge	23 73 62
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Raisa Botezatu	Secretary of the Commission, judge	23 35 70
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Membership of the Central Electoral Commission

Mihai Buşuleac	judge	23 37 49
Constantin Gurschi	judge	23 32 81
Chiril Pulbere	judge	23 32 53
Gheorghe Susarenco	judge	23 37 92

Vera Buftesc	National Christian Party	
Valentin Coliban	Democratic Christian Party	
Ion Creanga	Republican Party	
Petru Crudu	Association of the Totalitarian Communist Regime Victims	
Vasile Găscă	Congress of Intellectuals movement	
Ivan Petikov	Socialist Party	
Alexandru Eristea	Alliance of Free Peasants	
Svetlana Lyurova	"Unitate-Edinstvo" movement	
Serghei Palazov	Democratic Party	
Ion Prisăcută	National Liberal Party	
Zinaida Grafchina	Social Democratic Party	
Oliga Salenatova	Party of Reform	
Tatiana Secrieru	Association of Women	
Dumitru Stăvilă	Democratic Party of Labour	
Favel Scaci	Democratic Agrarian Party	
Zinaida Ţarnă	Democratic Christian League of Women	
Pintilie Ţurcan	Christian Democratic Front Alliance	

Simion Ropot	Chief of the Media centre	23 77 57
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APPENDIX 4

CENTRAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION FOR THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDAVIA

D E C I S I O N

If there are several parties, socio-political organizations or electoral blocks competing for the last mandates, the mandates will be allotted to the parties, socio-political organizations or electoral blocks that have obtained most of the votes. In case of a tie, the party, socio-political organization or electoral block will have the priority where the average age of the candidates who have obtained mandates, is the highest. If even in this case there is a tie, there will be a drawing.

If for the last mandates there will be several parties, socio-political organizations, political blocks and independent candidates the priority will be established in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

If there is a competition for the last mandates between several independent candidates, the priority will be given to the oldest candidate and in case of the same age, there will be a drawing.

If a party, socio-political organization, electoral block obtains more mandates than it has candidates on their list, the excess in the decreasing chain will be eliminated and replaced by the next numbers in decreasing order.

n

THE 34-th SESSION OF THE CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION

10:00 A.M

1. Informations by the Ministry for Information and Telecommunications; The Republican Union of Consumer Associations; the Ministry of Commerce and Natural Resources ; the Department of Energy Resources concerning the preparations and organization of the Parliamentary elections on February 27, 1994

Communication by Chiril Pulbere

2. Concerning the approval of the instructions for the outcome of the balloting and redactation of the minutes of the precincts.

Communication by Mrs. A. Pascari

3. Concerning the attribution of the last mandates.

Communication by Mr. Nicolae Timofti

4. Concerning some changes in the compenence of the electoral commissions for the Parliamentary election at the precinct level.

Communication by : Mrs. A. Pascari

5. Concerning the locale for the Limbenii Noi precinct Nr. 1096, Glodeni county.

Communication by: Mrs. A. Pascari

6. Concerning the change in the competence of the Central Electoral Commission.

Communication by : Mrs.R. Botezatu

Translation from Romanian

by Peter Geran



COMISIA ELECTORALA CENTRALA PENTRU ALEGEREA
PARLAMENTULUI REPUBLICII MOLDOVA

HOTĂRÎRE

"Dacă *ca* ultimele mandate pretind mai multe partide, organizații social-politice, blocuri electorale, ele se atribuie partidelor, organizațiilor social-politice sau blocurilor electorale care au obținut cele mai multe voturi. În cazul când se va constata o egalitate de voturi obținute prioritate se va da partidului, organizației social-politice, blocului electoral în care media de vîrstă a candidaților care au obținut mandate este mai mare. Dacă și în acest caz se va constata o egalitate, se va proceda la tragerea la sorți.

Dacă pentru ultimele mandate vor pretinde mai multe sau un partid, organizație social-politică, bloc electoral și candidați independenți prioritate se va da partidului, organizației social-politice, blocului electoral la necesitate aplicînd și prevederile alineatului precedent.

Dacă în ultimele mandate vor pretinde mai mulți candidați independenți prioritate se va da candidatului cu o vîrstă mai mare, decît a celorlalți candidați, iar în caz de egalitate de vîrstă se va proceda la tragerea la sorți.

În cazul în care un partid, organizație social-politică, bloc electoral vor obține mai multe mandate decît numărul de candidați incluși în listă, surplusul de numere din lanțul descrescător se elimină, înlocuindu-se cu numerele următoare în descresștere".

ora 10⁰⁰

1. Informațiile Ministerului Informaticii, Informației și Telecomunicațiilor; Uniunii republicane a Asociațiilor de Consum; Ministerului Comerțului și Resurselor Naturale; Departamentului pentru Resursele Energetice privind măsurile de pregătire și efectuare a alegerilor Parlamentului din 27 februarie 1994.

Comunică: Chiril Pulbere

2. Cu privire la aprobarea Instrucțiunii privind rezultatele votării și întocmirea proceselor-verbale la secțiile de votare.

Comunică: dna A.Pascari

3. Cu privire la stabilirea modului de atribuire a ultimelor mandate.

Comunică: dl. Nicolae TIMOFTI

4. Cu privire la unele modificări în componența comisiilor electorale ale secțiilor de votare pentru alegerea Parlamentului.

Comunică: dna A.Pascari

5. Cu privire la sediul secției de votare Limbenii Noi, nr.1096, raionul Glodeni.

Comunică: dna A.Pascari

6. Cu privire la modificarea componenței Comisiei Electorale Centrale.

Comunică: dna R. Botezatu

APPENDIX 5

27 februarie 1994 — alegerea
Parlamentului Republicii Moldova

LISTELE CANDIDAȚILOR

din partea partidelor, organizațiilor
social-politice, blocurilor electorale,
precum și a candidaților independenți



LISTA

**CANDIDAȚILOR DIN PARTEA BLOCULUI ELECTORAL
ALIANȚĂ FRONTULUI POPULAR CREȘTIN DEMOCRAT**

Inregistrată cu numărul 1 prin hotărârile
Comisiei Electorale Centrale din 9 și 26 noiembrie 1993,
nr., nr. 14 și 40

Nr. d/o	Nume, prenume	Data, anul nașterii	Profesia	Functia (ocupatia)	Domiciliul
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Roșca Iurie	31.10.1961	jurnalist	prim-vicepreședinte al Statului Frontului Popular Creștin Democrat	Chișinău
2.	Pașcu Ilie	30.07.1952	economist	președinte al secției F.P.C.D. Tiraspol, arestat și detinut nelegitim de către organele anticonstituționale de la Tiraspol	Chișinău
3.	Vozian Ion	27.01.1953	jurist	avocat la consultația juridică din Tiraspol	satul Tirnăuca, raionul Slobozia
4.	Burcă Sergiu	08.07.1961	filolog	redactor-sef adjunct al publicației F.P.C.D. «ȚARA»	Chișinău
5.	Mocanu Sergiu	05.06.1961	pedagog	președinte al Prezidiului Consiliului Mișcării Voluntarilor din Republica Moldova	Chișinău

CANDIDATES ELECTED TO THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDAVIA

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC POPULAR FRONT

1. Journalist / Council of the Christian Democratic Popular Front
2. Economist / Tiraspol Section of the C.D.P.F.
3. Lawyer / Tiraspol
4. Philologue / Assistant Editor of "Tara"(The Country) of the C.D.F.P.
5. Educator / President Volunteers of the Republic of Moldavia
6. Journalist / Employee Ministry of Culture
7. Journalist / Anchorman Radio Chisinau
8. Economist / National Institute of Economic and Financial Research
9. Engineer / Institute of Applied Physics

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

1. Engineer / President of the Moldavian Social Democratic Party
2. Engineer / President of the Federation of Independent Unions
3. Historian / Ambassador to Russia
4. Theatrologue / Foundation for the Support of Science, Education,
Culture and the Arts

5. Historian / Principal Russian School, Chisinau
6. Mathematician / Chief of Staff for the President of the Moldavian Republic
7. Economist / State Department for Privatization
8. PhD in History / Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldavia
9. Economist / Union Vice-President
10. Mathematician / Secretariat of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldavia
11. J.D. / President of the Commission for Foreign Relations
12. Biology Professor / Union President
13. Professor / High School
14. Lawyer / Anti-Crime Commission of the Parliament
15. Physician / Union President
16. Engineer / Center for Strategic Research
17. Engineer / Union President
18. Economist / Center for Independent Scientific Research
19. Engineer / Independent Reporter
20. Teacher / Union President
21. Engineer / Youth Union President
22. Lawyer / Counselor Ministry of Foreign Affairs
23. Engineer / Union Vice - President
24. J. D. / State Department for Privatization
25. Historian / National Youth League
26. Lawyer / Council of the F.S. I. M.
27. Economist / State Department for Privatization

28. Engineer / Director Brick Factory

AGRARIAN AND INTELLECTUALS BLOCK

1. Agronomist / Research Institute for Agro-Economics
2. Historian / Professor Moldavian State University
3. Agronomist / Parliamentary Commission LDCFM
4. Engineer / Academy for Economy Research
5. Engineer / Farmer
6. Writer / Writers Union
7. Journalist / Linguistic Center, Chisinau
8. Lawyer / Parliamentary Commission for Legal Problems
9. Historian / " Hiperion " Publishers
10. Ecologist / State Department for Environmental Protection
11. Mathematician / Center for Information and Technology

AGRARIANS

1. Technician / President Agrarian Party
2. Historian / President of the Parliament
3. Agronomist / Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldavia
4. Engineer / Union President
5. Lawyer / Judiciary Commission of the Parliament
6. Agronomist / Deputy Minister for Economy

7. Architect / Deputy Prime Minister
8. Artist / National Symphony
9. Lawyer / Republican Fund for the Protection of orphans,handicapped and
the aged
10. Engineer / Agro-industrial Association
11. Philologist / " Minerva " Philantropic Society
12. Agronomist / Minister of Agriculture and Alimentation
13. Agronomist / Executive Committee Briceni Region
14. Engineer / Parliamentary Commission for agricultural and social
development
15. Engineer / " Grain " Association,Chisinau
16. Agronomist / State Farm " Miciurin "
17. Economist / Vinery, Cojusna
18. Journalist / Counselor Embassy to Russia
19. Agronomist / Deputy Director " Antares" Company
20. Lawyer / Temporary unemployed
21. Agronomist / Deputy Minister for Agriculture and Alimentation
22. Engineer / President Republican Association "Moldagroconstructia"
23. Zootechnician / Parliamentary Commission for Economy and Privatization
24. Lawyer / Parliamentary Anticrime Commission
25. Journalist / Correspondent ITAR - TASS Agency
26. Agronomist / Agricultural Coop President
27. Lawyer / Lecturer State University
28. Agronomist / Agricultural Coop President
29. Historian / Docent State University
30. Agronomist,PhD / President Republican Association " Fertility "

31. Lawyer / Deputy Chief State Comptroller
32. Physician / President Executive Committee, Stefan Voda
33. Agronomist / Agricultural Coop president
34. Economist / Cannery, Orhei
35. Zoo-Engineer / Agricultural Coop president
36. Lawyer / Temporary unemployed
37. Economist / Agricultural Coop president.
38. Agronomist, PhD / General Director " Forest "
39. Lawyer / Regional Legal Council
40. Zootechnician / Agricultural Coop president
41. Engineer / Head of Regional CAI
42. Lawyer / Temporary unemployed
43. Economist / Institute for specialization and retraining at CAI
44. Educator / School Principal
45. Lawyer / Agricultural Commission of the Parliament
46. Economist / Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldavia
47. Zootechnician / Executive Committee of Dubasari Region
48. Historian / University Professor
49. Agronomist / Agricultural Coop president
50. Agronomist / " Selection " Association deputy director
51. Physician / Republican Hospital, Chisinau
52. Historian / Agrarian Party
53. Acedemician / Vice-President Academy of Sciences
54. Economist / Counselor to the President of the Parliament
55. Engineer / State Department for Standards
56. Agronomist / Executive Committe, Anenii Noi

57. Engineer, PhD / Professor National Institute for Phys-Ed and Sports

58. Engineer, Lawyer / " Inter-Omega " company

This is to certify, that I have translated this document from Romanian into English and that to the best of my knowledge it is a true translation.

Peter Geran

Translators Diploma Nr.953/1953 issued by the Romanian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest
Fmr. Active member of the American Translators Assocn.

APPENDIX 6

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS OF THE MOLDOVAN REPUBLIC

Electoral List

**Voting Section Nr.
(county, rayon, city)**

Number/Name of voter	Birth Date	Valid residence at time of list	Document (basis of ID) voter is included)	Signature on list	Note
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APPENDIX 7

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS OF THE MOLDOVAN REPUBLIC

Supplementary Electoral List

**Voting Section Nr.
(county, rayon, city)**

Number/Name of voter	Birth Date	Valid residence at time of list	Document (basis of ID) voter is included)	Signature on list	Note
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ATTACHED ELECTION-RELATED LEGISLATION AND DOCUMENTATION

I. LAW ON ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT

Adopted October 14, 1993 and Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur
Published in Nezavisimaya Moldova, October 23, 1993
Translated by the staff of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, December 2, 1993

II. DECREE ON PROCEDURE FOR ENACTING THE LAW ON ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT

Adopted October 19, 1993 and Signed by the Chairman of Parliament, Petru Luchinski
Published in Nezavisimaya Moldova, October 23, 1993
Translated by the staff of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, December 2, 1993

III. LAW ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGES TO THE CONSTITUTION (BASIC LAW) OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Adopted October 19, 1993 and Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur
Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament, Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993
Translated by the Washington D.C.-based staff of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

IV. LAW ON THE IMPLEMENTATION AND ADDITIONS TO THE CRIMINAL CODE AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF LEGAL VIOLATIONS

Adopted October 19, 1993 and Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur
Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament, Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993
Translated by the Washington, D.C.-based staff of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

V. LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA ON PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Adopted September 17, 1991 and Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur
Translated by the Bucharest-based staff of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, August 15, 1993

VI. DECREE ON ENACTING THE LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA ON PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Adopted September 17, 1991 and Signed by the Chairman of Parliament, Aleksandru Moshanu
Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament, Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993
Translated by the Washington D.C.-based staff of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

VII. THE LAW ON INTRODUCING CHANGES AND ADDITIONS TO THE LAW ON PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Adopted October 19, 1993 and Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur
Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament, Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993

Translated by the Washington, D.C.-based staff of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

VIII. POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Revised September 23, 1993

Published by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Moldova

Translated by the Washington D.C.-based staff of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems
January 5, 1994

IX. IFES ELECTION CALENDAR

Based on the October 14, 1993 Law on Elections to Parliament

Prepared by the Washington, D.C.-based staff of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

I. LAW ON ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT

Adopted October 14, 1993

Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova,
Mircea Snegur

Published in Nezavisimaya Moldova, October 23, 1993

Translated by the staff of
the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, December 2, 1993

Law on Parliamentary Elections

Text of Law

944K0233A Chisinau NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA
in Russian 23 Oct 93 pp 3-5

["Republic of Moldova Law on Elections to
Parliament"]

[Text] THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
MOLDOVA ADOPTS THE PRESENT LAW.

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1.—The parliament shall be elected on the basis
of universal, equal, and direct suffrage with free and
secret voting, observing the conditions envisioned by the
present Law.

Article 2.—The right to participate in the elections shall
be granted to citizens of the Republic of Moldova who as
of the day of the elections have reached 18 years of age;
~~the right to be elected shall be granted to citizens of the~~
Republic of Moldova who have reached 21 years of age.

Article 3.—Citizens of the Republic of Moldova shall
enjoy full suffrage regardless of their origin, social or
property position, racial or national affiliation, sex,

education, language, political views, religious beliefs, or type and nature of employment.

Article 4.

- (1) The following may not participate in the election:
 - a) military servicemen on active duty;
 - b) mentally ill individuals and individuals declared by a court to be incompetent;
 - c) individuals sentenced to incarceration by a court decision that has taken legal force.
- (2) The following may not be elected:
 - a) military servicemen;
 - b) judges, and workers of the procuracy, police, and national security organs;
 - c) individuals included in the categories envisioned by points b) and c) of the preceding part.

Article 5.

- (1) A citizen shall have the right to vote in only one electoral district; a voter shall have one vote.
- (2) A voter shall exercise his right to participate in the election only in the electoral precinct of the population point in which he permanently resides.

Article 6.

- (1) Elections to parliament shall be conducted in multiple-seat electoral districts based on voting according to lists from parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs into which they have joined and for candidacies of independent candidates according to the principle of proportional representation.
- (2) Deputy seats shall be obtained by parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have garnered in the elections no less than 4 percent of the valid votes in the country as a whole.
- (3) The norm for representation for elections to parliament shall be one deputy for 28,000 voters.
- (4) Parliament shall be elected for a term of four years and shall be permanently active. The performance of deputy duties shall be incompatible with other state or private positions.

Article 7.

- (1) The day of the elections to parliament shall be scheduled by an edict of the president of the republic no later than four months before the expiration of the term of office of parliament. The announcement of this shall be published in the mass media.
- (2) In the event that parliament is disbanded, elections shall be held within three months after it is disbanded. In the event that it disbands itself, new

elections shall be scheduled by the parliament itself within this same period of time.

- (3) Elections shall be conducted in all electoral districts on the same day, on a Sunday.

Article 8.

- (1) Candidates for election to parliament may be nominated by parties and sociopolitical organizations that are officially registered by the day of the scheduling of the elections in keeping with existing legislation and by voter blocs. In keeping with the conditions envisioned by the present Law, independent candidates may also be nominated.
- (2) A candidate shall be nominated within the time periods envisioned by the present Law.

Chapter II. Electoral Commissions

Article 9.

- (1) A Central Electoral Commission and district and precinct electoral commissions shall be formed for elections to parliament.

Article 10.

- (1) The Central Electoral Commission shall be formed within 10 days after the scheduling of the elections. It shall include five judges of the Supreme Court and one representative from each party, sociopolitical organization, and voter bloc participating in the elections, but no less than 16 individuals.
- (2) The aforementioned five judges shall be elected from among the active judges of the Supreme Court by a secret vote at an open session within five days after the scheduling of the elections. The results of the voting shall be entered in a record which shall be signed by the chairman and the secretary of the meeting. The chairman of the Supreme Court shall announce the date of the meeting through the mass media no later than 48 hours before it begins.
- (3) On that same day the judges elected to the Central Electoral Commission shall elect a commission chairman from among themselves by a secret vote. The results of the voting shall be entered in the record which shall be signed by all five members of the Central Electoral Commission.
- (4) The Central Electoral Commission with this composition shall perform the duties assigned to it in keeping with the present Law until it is staffed by representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs.
- (5) Parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that intend to participate in the elections shall within five days after the election of the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission submit their proposals regarding candidates for the full membership of the commission.

- (6) If the number of candidates nominated is less than the number established by part (1), the parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs shall nominate additional candidates. If the number of nominated candidates exceeds the established number of members of the Central Electoral Commission, the chairman of the commission, in the presence of representatives of the parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs shall conduct a drawing.
- (7) The Central Electoral Commission within three days after its positions are filled in keeping with the procedure established by it shall elect from among its members a deputy chairman and secretary and make public the composition of the commission, its location, and contact telephone numbers.
- (8) The Central Electoral Commission shall have its own apparatus whose members shall be approved by the government.

Article 11.

(1) The Central Electoral Commission shall:

- a) throughout the entire territory of the country oversee the implementation of the present Law, provide for its uniform application, and give explanations regarding the procedure for its application;
- b) in the event that early elections are scheduled in keeping with part (2) of Article 7, establish the time periods for conducting pre-election measures, reducing them correspondingly;
- c) make public the names and boundaries of electoral districts and establish the number of seats for each electoral district;
- d) establish the forms of the ballots, the voter rolls, the records of the meeting of the electoral commissions, and other documents, and the models of the stamps of the electoral commissions, and provide for their manufacture and storage;
- e) determine the duties of the ministries, state departments, and other organs of state administration related to preparing for and conducting the elections and listen to their reports;
- f) distribute the financial funds allotted for conducting the elections among the district electoral commissions, oversee the provision of electoral commissions with premises, transportation, communications, and counting equipment, and consider other issues of material and technical support for the elections;
- g) develop instructions on organizing and conducting elections and through the mass media

notify voters of the procedure for voting and clarify the significance of the voting;

- h) travel to electoral districts in order to oversee the application of the law on elections and the use of the instructions that have been received;
 - i) consider statements regarding its own activity and statements and complaints about decisions and actions of district and precinct electoral commissions and make decisions regarding them;
 - j) declare elections invalid in an individual electoral district if during the voting or the totaling of the results of the elections there were violations which could affect the distribution of seats;
 - k) receive from the district electoral commissions records with data concerning the number of valid votes cast for each slate of candidates and establish whether there are parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have not garnered 4 percent of the valid votes in the country as a whole; within 24 hours after the establishment of this, report the information to the district electoral commissions and make it public;
 - l) verify and register the results of the elections and the distribution among electoral districts of deputy seats of parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates;
 - m) exercise other authority in keeping with the present Law and other laws that are in force.
- (2) If with regard to a complaint it is necessary to conduct an inspection on the spot, it shall be carried out in the presence of a judge who is a member of the Central Electoral Commission.

Article 12.

- (1) The district electoral commission shall be formed within a five-day time period after the elections are scheduled. It shall include three judges of the district court or the municipal court—for Kishinev—and no more than 10 representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs participating in the elections.
- (2) The district electoral commission shall be formed in keeping with the provisions of parts (2)-(6) of Article 10.
- (3) The district electoral commission within three days after the members are chosen shall elect from among its members a deputy chairman and a secretary, of which it shall immediately notify the Central Electoral Commission, and it shall publish a list of members of the commission, its location, and contact telephone numbers.
- (4) The district electoral commission shall have its own apparatus, whose staff shall be approved by the Central Electoral Commission.

Article 13.

The district electoral commission shall:

- a) oversee the execution of the present Law on the territory of the electoral district and provide for its uniform application;
- b) form electoral precincts;
- c) approve the composition of the precinct electoral commissions and publish lists of precincts, the composition of commissions, their location, and their contact telephone numbers;
- d) hear reports from organs of local self government and leaders of state enterprises, institutions, and organizations regarding questions of preparing for and conducting the elections;
- e) distribute the financial funds allotted for conducting the elections among the precinct electoral commissions; monitor the provision of electoral precincts with premises, transportation, communications, counting equipment, instructions, and laws on elections, and consider other questions of material and technical support for the elections;
- f) promptly notify the population of all measures related to organizing and conducting the elections;
- g) register lists of candidates from parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs and the candidacies of independent candidates, and issue them the appropriate certificates;
- h) make public and post lists of candidates from parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs and information on independent candidates;
- i) approve the text of the ballot for the electoral district and provide for the manufacture of ballots and their distribution among the precinct electoral commissions;
- j) organize instruction for members of precinct electoral commissions in preparing for and conducting elections, notify the voters about the voting procedure, and explain the significance of voting;
- k) sum up the results of the elections in the electoral district and make them public, submit the results of the elections to the General Electoral Commission and the Constitutional Court, and issue temporary certificates to the elected deputies;
- l) consider statements and complaints about decisions and actions of precinct electoral commissions and make decisions regarding them;
- m) exercise other authority in keeping with the present Law and other laws in effect.

Article 14.

- (1) The precinct electoral commission shall be formed no later than 30 days before the elections and consist of a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and no less than five members.
- (2) Chairmen of precinct electoral commissions shall be approved at the suggestion of the council of the commune or city or municipal organ of the district electoral commission within 10 days after the publication of the decision to form electoral precincts.
- (3) Parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs within the same 10-day period shall propose one representative each for the precinct electoral commissions.
- (4) If the number of representatives exceeds the number established in part (1), the advantage is given to parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have represented the largest number of candidates on the lists.
- (5) If all the positions on the commission have been filled and several parties, sociopolitical organizations, or voter blocs which have the same number of candidates on the lists are contending for it, the chairman of the district electoral commission shall conduct a drawing.
- (6) If the positions on the commission are not all filled because of the absence of representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, or voter blocs, these positions are filled by representatives of the population point in which the electoral precinct is located who are approved by the district electoral commission.
- (7) The list of representatives of the population point and the precinct electoral commission shall be approved by the local soviet on whose territory the electoral precinct is located and submitted to the district electoral commission as a reserve list along with the candidacy for chairman of the commission.
- (8) The chairman and representatives of the population point who are representatives of the precinct electoral commission may not be members of parties or sociopolitical organizations.
- (9) The precinct electoral commission within three days after filling its positions shall elect from among its members a deputy chairman and a secretary, which is immediately reported to the district electoral commission.

Article 15.

The precinct electoral commission shall:

- a) conduct a familiarization of voters with the list of voters, accept and consider statements about mistakes in the list and resolve the question of making the corresponding changes in it, and issue certificates of the right to vote to voters who on the day of the elections intend to be absent from their place of residence;
- b) notify the population of the day of the elections and the polling place, provide for preparation of the premises for voting and the installation of ballot boxes or booths, organize the voting on the scheduled day, supervise the course of the voting, and take the necessary measures for observance of public order in the premises of the voting precinct and the territory adjacent to it;
- c) upon completion of the voting, count the votes and draw up the records, which along with all the ballots shall be submitted to the district electoral commission;
- d) consider statements and complaints regarding questions of preparing for the elections and organizing the voting and make decisions regarding them;
- e) exercise other authority in keeping with the present Law.

Article 16.

- (1) Electoral commissions shall include citizens of the Republic of Moldova who have the right to vote.
- (2) One individual may be included on only one electoral commission.
- (3) The electoral commission may not include candidates and officials of organs of power at any level.
- (4) The inclusion of representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and population points on the electoral commissions shall be carried out on the basis of decisions of management organs of parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, or the council of the commune, city, or municipality.
- (5) Individuals included on electoral commissions do not have the right to campaign for or against parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, or independent candidates participating in the elections.
- (6) If parties, sociopolitical organizations, or voter blocs do not submit lists of candidates within the time period specified by part (1) of Article 30, the members of electoral commissions who are representatives of these parties, sociopolitical organizations, or voter blocs shall be considered relieved of their duties.

- (7) Members of electoral commissions who are representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, or voter blocs may not exercise other authority than that envisioned by the present Law.

Article 17.

- (1) Chairmen, deputy chairmen, secretaries, and members of electoral commissions may be relieved of their duties on the commission at their own request, in the event that they are deprived of their authority or recalled by the organs that nominated them.
- (2) The right to deprive a member of the commission of his authority if he violates the law on elections or regularly ignores his duties shall belong to the higher electoral commission, and a member of the Central Electoral Commission—the Constitutional Court.
- (3) In the event that a member of the commission is deprived of his authority or recalled, the organ that nominated him shall within three days but no later than 10 days submit another candidacy in keeping with the present Law.

Article 18.

- (1) Meetings of the Central Electoral Commission or the district and precinct electoral commissions shall be authorized if a simple majority of their members participate in them.
- (2) If members of electoral commissions who are representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, or voter blocs boycott the work of the commissions out of various political motives they shall be relieved of their duties as members of the corresponding commission without the right to replacement and the commission shall work with an incomplete membership.
- (3) Decisions of the electoral commission shall be made by a majority of votes of those present by open voting. If the votes are divided equally the vote of the chairman is considered decisive. Members of the commission who do not agree with the decision that has been adopted have the right to express a special opinion which shall be put into writing and appended to the record of the meeting.
- (4) Decisions of electoral commissions adopted within the limits of their authority are binding for all state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and citizens.
- (5) The procedure for the formation and composition of electoral commissions and their decisions and actions may be appealed to the higher electoral commission and also to the court in the place where the electoral commission is located.
- (6) The electoral commission and the court to which the complaint has been sent shall consider it within three days and give the applicant a substantiated decision.

- (7) A court decision may be appealed within three days after its adoption to an arbitration court, whose decision is final.
- (8) A complaint against the Central Electoral Commission shall be considered in the Constitutional Court within five days after it is received.

Article 19.

The chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of electoral commissions when necessary, by a decision of the commission, may be released during the period of organizing and conducting elections from the performance of their production or work duties with the establishment for them from the money of the electoral fund of a wage which exceeds by 30 percent the average monthly wage in their main place of employment.

Article 20.

- (1) The term of office of electoral commissions shall expire after the Constitutional Court declares the elections in the corresponding electoral districts to be legal.
- (2) The term of office of the Central Electoral Commission shall expire after the recognition of the authority of the deputies and the formation of the parliament.

Chapter III. Electoral Districts and Precincts

Article 21.

For elections of deputies to parliament, multiple-seat electoral districts shall be formed which correspond to the administrative-territorial units of the republic of the second level.

Article 22.

- (1) The number of seats for each electoral district shall be established by the Central Electoral Commission through dividing the number of voters in the district by the norm of representation envisioned by part (3) of Article 6. If the remainder is greater than half the norm of representation, one seat is added.
- (2) Figures on the number of voters in the population points of the electoral district for which the number of seats is determined shall be submitted by the State Department for Statistics as of 1 January of the year in which the decision to schedule the elections was made.

Article 23.

Lists of voter districts with an indication of their boundaries and the locations of the electoral commissions, the number of voters, and the number of seats shall be made public by the Central Electoral Commission within 15 days after the scheduling of the elections.

Article 24.

- (1) In order to conduct the voting the electoral districts shall be divided into electoral precincts formed by district electoral commissions in population points on the basis of reports from the corresponding organs of local self-government no later than two months before the day of the elections, with no less than 50 and no more than 3,000 voters.
- (2) Electoral precincts may be formed in dormitories and in hospitals, maternity homes, sanatoriums, and homes for the elderly with no less than 50 voters.
- (3) For students in the day form of education and for students who have the right to vote who are not living permanently in the population points in which they are studying, electoral precincts shall be formed at dormitories with from 200 to 3,000 voters.
- (4) For voters who are traveling on the day of the election electoral precincts may be created in railroad stations, bus terminals, and airports.
- (5) At diplomatic missions and consulates of the Republic of Moldova electoral precincts are formed for workers of these missions and consulates and members of their families and also for citizens of the Republic of Moldova who are in the corresponding countries. These electoral precincts are included in the electoral district of the municipality of Kishinev.

Article 25.

- (1) The district electoral commission shall establish the numbering of the electoral precincts within the electoral district and inform the voters of the boundaries of each electoral precinct, the location of the precinct electoral commission, the polling place, and the contact telephone numbers.
- (2) The electoral precincts shall be numbered beginning with the population point in which the district electoral commission is located, then according to the cities and then according to the communes in alphabetical order.
- (3) The heads of the population points shall make available all notices, information, and the necessary assistance to the district electoral commissions in order for them to perform their duties as envisioned by the preceding parts.

Chapter IV. Voter Rolls

Article 26.

The voter rolls shall include citizens of the Republic of Moldova who have an active right to vote and who reside and are registered on the territory of the given electoral precinct on the day the list is compiled.

Article 27.

- (1) Voter rolls shall be compiled for each electoral precinct by the corresponding official's office and signed by the head official.

- (2) The voter rolls shall include in alphabetical order the last name and first name of the voter, the year of his birth, and his place of residence.
- (3) The voter may be included on only one voter roll and in only one electoral precinct.
- (4) Twenty days before the elections the voter rolls shall be submitted to the precinct electoral commission and posted in public places and in the premises of the voter precincts. The voters shall be notified by various methods of the voter precinct at which they must vote. A control copy of the list of voters shall be stored in the office of the corresponding administrative official.
- (5) Changes made to the voter rolls after they are submitted shall be reported to the precinct electoral commissions within 24 hours.

Article 28.

- (1) Citizens shall be provided with an opportunity to become familiar with the voter rolls and to verify the correctness of their compilation. They have the right to appeal their failure to be included or incorrect inclusion on the lists or exclusion from it, and also mistakes made in indicating the data on the voter. Complaints from voters shall be considered by the precinct electoral commission, which must within no more than two days and, on the day before and the day of the elections, immediately, make the necessary corrections in the list or issue to the applicant a copy of a justified decision to reject his complaint.
- (2) A decision of the precinct electoral commission may be appealed no later than two days before the elections to the court in the place where the electoral precinct is located. The court decision may be appealed to an arbitration court. A correction in the voter rolls in keeping with the court decision shall be made by the precinct electoral commission immediately.

Article 29.

- (1) When a voter changes his place of residence during the period between the compilation of the voter rolls and the day of the elections, the precinct electoral commission at his request and upon presentation of his passport or another document certifying his identity shall issue him a certificate of the right to vote. The voter who has received such a certificate shall have a notation made on the voter roll across from his name.
- (2) On the basis of the certificate of the right to vote the voter shall be included on the day of the elections on an additional voter roll in the corresponding electoral precinct.
- (3) An additional voter roll shall be compiled in keeping with part (2) of Article 27 and with an indication of

the document or the grounds on which the voter is being included on the lists.

Chapter V. Proposal of Candidacies

Article 30.

- (1) Proposals regarding candidates shall be submitted to the electoral districts and presented to the district electoral commissions. The documents shall be presented no earlier than the third day after the district electoral commission is fully formed and no later than 40 days before the elections. The district electoral commission shall register the candidates within no more than five days, and independent candidates—no more than 10 days after the receipt of the corresponding documents.
- (2) The registration of candidates shall end 30 days before the elections.
- (3) Within three days after the registration the district electoral commission shall publish the list of candidates and information about independent candidates.
- (4) The right to propose candidacies shall be granted to parties, sociopolitical organizations that are officially registered by the day of the scheduling of elections according to legislation in effect, and voter blocs.
- (5) Parties and sociopolitical organizations that have joined into voter blocs may not at the same time be members of other voter blocs and may not participate in the elections independently.
- (6) Citizens of the Republic of Moldova supported by no less than 1,000 voters from the corresponding electoral district may propose themselves as independent candidates.

Article 31.

- (1) A candidate may run in only one electoral district as a representative of only one party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc or as an independent candidate.
- (2) The number of candidates included on the list of the party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc may exceed the number of seats in the corresponding electoral district by two candidates, who have a reserve status.

Article 32.

- (1) Parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs shall submit to the district electoral commissions lists of candidates in three copies certified by leading individuals of the parties, sociopolitical organizations, decisions of the management organ of the

party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc concerning the proposal of candidacies and statements from candidates included on the list concerning their consent to run.

- (2) An independent candidate shall submit a statement of his consent to run and lists of signatures of no less than 1,000 voters supporting his candidacy.
- (3) The first copy of the lists of candidates submitted by the parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs shall be stored in the district electoral commission, the second copy shall be sent to the Central Electoral Commission, and the third copy shall be posted in the premises of the district electoral commission. For an independent candidate only the information contained in the documents envisioned by part (2) shall be submitted to the Central Electoral Commission.

Article 33.

- (1) The procedure for including candidates on the lists shall be determined by the parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs themselves.
- (2) The lists indicate the last name and first name of the candidate, the date and year of his birth, his occupation, his position (kind of employment), and place of residence.

Article 34.

- (1) The list of individuals supporting an independent candidate shall be the official document with all the consequences envisioned by law.
- (2) Indicated on the lists of individuals supporting independent candidates shall be the day of the election, the last name and first name of the candidate, the date and year of his birth, his occupation, his position (kind of employment), his place of residence, and also the last name and first name of the individual who compiled the list. An individual supporting a candidate shall indicate his last name and first name, the number of his identification document, his place of residence, he shall indicate the date and sign his name in support of the candidate.
- (3) The names of those who signed shall be numbered separately on each page beginning with the number one and shall be verified by the manager of the organ of local administration on whose territory the signatories reside.
- (4) A voter shall have the right to place his signature in support of only one candidate and only in his own electoral district. Only citizens of the Republic of Moldova with the right to vote may support candidates.

- (5) District electoral commissions shall have the right to verify the authenticity of the signatures. Upon discovery of a forgery the candidate shall not be registered or his registration shall be annulled.

Article 35.

- (1) A party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc shall have the right to recall a list of candidates, reverse its decision to include any candidate on the list, and a party or sociopolitical organization—to withdraw from a voter bloc.
- (2) A decision to withdraw a list of candidates or one candidate from a list or to withdraw from a voter bloc shall be made only by the management organ of the party or sociopolitical organization and shall be submitted to the district electoral commission. The voters shall be informed of the decision.
- (3) An independent candidate and candidates included on a list may withdraw their candidacies at any time before the day of the elections by submitting the corresponding application to the district electoral commission.
- (4) The replacement of the recalled candidate from the list by another candidate upon expiration of the period of registration of candidates envisioned by part (2) of Article 30 shall not be allowed.

Article 36.

- (1) Citizens of the Republic of Moldova, parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs may appeal proposed candidacies no later than 25 days before the elections.
- (2) Complaints regarding questions of registration of candidates shall be considered in court in the location of the population points included in the electoral district within two days after it is received.
- (3) In response to a decision concerning a complaint it shall be possible to submit an arbitration complaint to a higher instance within 24 hours after it is made. The arbitration complaint shall be considered within two days after it is received.
- (4) On the basis of the court decision the district electoral commission shall make an entry in the record regarding leaving the candidates on the list or excluding them from the lists and shall issue instructions to print the election ballots.

Chapter VI. Election Ballots

Article 37.

- (1) The form and text of the election ballot shall be established by the Central Electoral Commission. The size of the electoral ballot shall be established by the district electoral commission. The election ballot

should consist of one sheet or more, depending on the number of lists and the number of registered candidates.

- (2) The election ballot shall be divided into rectangles according to the number of parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates represented in the corresponding electoral districts. The sizes of the rectangles shall be determined by the number of candidates included on the lists.
- (3) Entered in each rectangle in the order in which the lists are submitted to the electoral commission shall be the name of the party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, voter emblem (if one exists), and last names and first names of the candidates.
- (4) Two or several parties, sociopolitical organizations, or voter blocs may not have the same voter emblems. Voter emblems of parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs shall be made known to the public through the mass media.
- (5) Each independent candidate shall be included in a separate rectangle placed after the list of candidates from parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs, in which his last name and first name are indicated and the words "independent candidate" are written.
- (6) The electoral ballots shall be printed on the basis of a decision of the district electoral commission in the state language and other languages used by voters of the electoral district in a quantity corresponding to the number of voters in the electoral district plus 10 percent of this number.
- (7) Within each rectangle on the right side at an equal distance from the top and bottom shall be printed a circle 15 millimeters in diameter in which the voter when casting his vote for the corresponding party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc or for an independent candidate shall place two intersecting lines.

Article 38.

- (1) Electoral ballots in an electoral district must have the same format and be printed in the same script on paper of the same color which is thick enough to prevent the text and marks made by the voter from showing through.
- (2) If the ballot consists of several pages, they must be fastened together in such a way that they cannot be taken apart.
- (3) Electoral ballots shall be manufactured no later than 10 days before the elections.

(4) The printed ballots shall be stored in the district electoral commission and two days before the elections shall be sent to the precinct electoral commissions, for which a transfer document shall be filled out.

(5) The premises for the district electoral commission and the voter precinct in which the electoral ballots are stored shall be protected by the police.

Article 39.

Representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs and independent candidates have the right to familiarize themselves with the models of ballots in the district electoral commission.

Chapter VII. Election Campaign

Article 40.

(1) The election campaign shall begin on the day the election date is made public and the day before the elections.

(2) Elections shall be prepared for and conducted openly and shall be widely publicized in the mass media.

Article 41.

(1) Parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates from the beginning of the election campaign shall be granted the opportunity to campaign freely and without impediment through rallies, meetings in the place of residence, individual discussions, using audiovisual means, the press, visual demonstrations, and other forms that do not allow violation of public order.

(2) Electoral commissions and organs of local self-government shall be obliged to render assistance to parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates in conducting their election campaign.

Article 42.

(1) After registration the parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates shall have the right to post their election programs and information on the candidates, and publish election slogans, statements, photographic materials, etc. The size of the placards and posters may not exceed two meters by three meters. Permission shall not be required to manufacture these printed products and they shall be paid for with money from the election fund.

(2) State printing facilities shall fill equally orders from all parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates within acceptable time periods.

(3) The Central Electoral Commission and the district electoral commission shall provide for publication of

election programs in the republic and local press within five days after they are submitted.

- (4) The programs of the parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates shall not contain appeals for unconstitutional or other illegal actions.

Article 43.

- (1) Organs of local self-government shall be obliged within five days after the beginning of the election campaign to determine the place for locating election campaign materials taking into account the number of parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates participating in the elections.
- (2) Places for location of election campaign materials shall be assigned in squares, streets, and other public places.
- (3) It shall not be allowed for places for locating election campaign materials to be used by one party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate to the detriment of other parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, or independent candidates. Only one poster may be placed on one campaign billboard.
- (4) The content of campaign materials may not be unconstitutional or illegal.
- (5) It shall be prohibited to use on election posters combinations of colors that remind one of the flag of the Republic of Moldova or any other state, and also the state seal.
- (6) The police shall provide for protection of campaign billboards and posters.
- (7) On the day of the elections any kind of campaigning shall be prohibited with the exception of campaign material that was previously posted outside the polling place.

Article 44.

- (1) Parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates shall have access to the state mass media.
- (2) For the period of the election campaign the schedule for operation of National Radio and Television and air time shall be established by the Central Electoral Commission with the consent of its leaders.
- (3) Air time shall be distributed in proportion to the number of lists of candidates submitted in the country as a whole. Parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have submitted lists of candidates in 50 percent of the electoral districts shall be granted twice as much air time as parties,

sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have submitted lists of candidates in fewer electoral districts.

- (4) Independent candidates shall be granted half as much air time as parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have submitted lists of candidates in less than 50 percent of the electoral districts, and for only one time.
- (5) Air time shall be granted to parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates on an equal basis and at the same time. The purchase of air time on state audiovisual means shall be prohibited.
- (6) The assigned air time shall not include interviews, reportage, or other audiovisual services of a general nature with the purpose of informing citizens.
- (7) The editorial offices of republic and local newspapers and magazines belonging to organs of state power and local self-government shall offer pages of their publications to parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates under equal conditions, establishing for them an equal number and equal sizes of articles.

Article 45.

- (1) The mass media shall regularly cover the course of preparing for and conducting the elections. Their representatives shall be guaranteed unimpeded access to all measures related to the elections. Electoral commissions, parties, sociopolitical organizations, and state organs shall supply them with the necessary information.
- (2) The Central Electoral Commission shall be obligated to regularly convey operational information to the mass media.
- (3) Reports from meetings of the Central Electoral Commission and district electoral commissions and decisions they make shall be regularly published in the republic and local press.

Article 46.

- (1) In order to observe the progress of the electoral campaign, at the request of parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates, the district electoral commission shall grant credentials to one of their representatives for each electoral precinct. To this end foreign observers shall be invited as well as representatives of any authorized private institution or organization especially accredited by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- (2) Representatives of the press and the audiovisual media, observers, and other accredited representatives shall have the right to attend all the activities related to the elections, and on the day of the elections—be present in the voter precincts and

during the counting of the votes without interfering with the work of the commission and not hampering it, and inform the chairman of the precinct electoral commission of violations that have been committed in the event that they are discovered.

- (3) The chairmen of precinct electoral commissions shall create conditions for the work of observers and other individuals granted the right to be present in the polling places.
- (4) Any campaigning for or against candidates or any attempt to influence the choice of the voter shall entail the application of the sanctions of the law, the termination of the accreditation by the electoral commission that discovered the violation, and on the day of the elections—immediate expulsion of the violator from the polling place.

Article 47.

Candidates from parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs and independent candidates, after registration, shall be released according to the application submitted, from the performance of production or job duties while retaining their average monthly wage; for candidates from parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs—with money allotted by them for conducting the elections, and for independent candidates—with money from the election fund of the district electoral commission.

Chapter VIII. Conducting the Voting

Article 48.

- (1) Voting shall be conducted on the day of the elections. It shall begin at 0700 and shall end at 2000.
- (2) If necessary, by a decision of the district electoral commission the time for conducting the voting in individual electoral precincts may be extended but by no more than two hours.
- (3) By a decision of the Central Electoral Commission the time for conducting the voting shall be extended even longer, but no more than until midnight.
- (4) During the time allotted for voting it shall not be allowed to close the polling place or terminate voting, with the exception of cases of mass disorders, natural disasters, or other foreseen circumstances which make conducting the elections impossible or dangerous for the voters. In these cases the chairman of the precinct electoral commission may suspend the voting for no more than two hours in order to put the electoral precinct into the proper condition or move it to another place, having notified the voters of this.

- (5) Individuals with the right to be in attendance at the voting may not be compelled to leave the polling place during the time while the voting is suspended.

Article 49.

- (1) The voting shall be conducted in specially allotted premises, which are equipped with a sufficient number of booths so as to avoid a large accumulation of voters; and in order to provide for secrecy of voting, places are designated for turning in ballots and ballot boxes are installed. The latter shall be placed in such a way that in order to approach them the voters must go through the booths for secret voting.
- (2) The provision of the electoral precinct with booths, ballot boxes, and other necessary materials shall be the responsibility of organs of local self-government.
- (3) For purposes of maintaining order in the electoral precinct and in order to avoid a large accumulation of voters, the precinct electoral commission shall establish the path for the movement of the voters, beginning with the entry to the tables where the ballots are passed out and then to the secret voting booths, and on to the ballot boxes.
- (4) In order to avoid theft the ballots shall be stored in a reliable place in the electoral precinct, packed in bundles of 100, and issued in the necessary quantity to individuals who will distribute them at various time intervals established by the commission chairman.
- (5) The responsibility for organizing the voting, ensuring secrecy of the expression of the will of the voters, equipping the premises, and keeping them in the proper order shall be assigned to the precinct electoral commission.
- (6) The responsibility for maintaining order on the day of the elections in the polling places and territory adjacent to it within a radius of 300 meters shall be assigned to the chairman of the precinct electoral commission. Decisions he makes in order to maintain order shall be mandatory for all.
- (7) Nobody other than members of the precinct electoral commission, candidates, observers, and other accredited representatives may be in the polling place for longer than the time necessary to vote.
- (8) The chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the precinct electoral commission shall be obliged to have identification cards. They and also other individuals who have the right to be in attendance in the electoral precinct shall be prohibited from carrying any emblems, badges, or other symbols having to do with the campaign.

Article 50.

- (1) At 0700 on the day of the election the chairman of the precinct electoral commission in the presence of no less than half the members of the commission shall check the ballot boxes and seal them, check the voter rolls, ballots, and seals, and announce the beginning of the voting.
- (2) Each voter shall vote personally. Voting for other individuals shall not be allowed. The precinct electoral commission shall issue a ballot to the voter based on the list of voters when an identification document is presented. Upon receiving the ballot the voter must sign the voter roll next to his name.
- (3) Ballots issued to the voters must have on the reverse side a control stamp of the electoral precinct.
- (4) Citizens residing on the territory of the electoral precinct who have not been included on the voter rolls and also citizens who have arrived with a certificate of the right to vote shall be entered on an additional voter roll upon presentation of an identification document.
- (5) If because of health or any other factors the voter is unable to be present in the polling place, the precinct electoral commission, at his request, shall send no less than two members of the commission with a special ballot box and everything necessary for voting in the place where the voter is located in order to conduct the voting.

Article 51.

- (1) The ballot shall be filled out by the voter in the secret voting booth. A voter who is unable to fill out the ballot by himself has the right to invite another individual into the booth, with the exception of members of the electoral commission, representatives of candidates, and accredited individuals.
- (2) The voter shall place within the circle of only one of the rectangles on the ballot two intersecting lines signifying that he has voted for the given party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate. The circles in the rest of the rectangles should be left blank.
- (3) It shall be prohibited to take the ballot that is received outside the polling place.
- (4) It shall be prohibited to vote for several parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, or independent candidates.
- (5) If the voter by mistake has spoiled the ballot, the precinct electoral commission shall issue him just one new ballot. A note is made of this in the record on conducting the voting, and the ballot is invalidated.
- (6) The voter shall drop the filled-out ballot in the ballot box.

Article 52.

If representatives of parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, or independent candidates have disclosed cases of violation during the process of voting or have doubts about the identity of an individual who has appeared at the elections, the chairman of the precinct electoral commission must verify these facts, and if they are confirmed, take measures to eliminate the violation or draw up the appropriate record and turn it over to the police.

Article 53.

- (1) The chairman and members of the precinct electoral commission and also individuals who have been entrusted to maintain order in the electoral precinct shall vote at this precinct after they have been placed on an additional list.
- (2) It shall be prohibited to enter the polling place with a firearm or bladed weapon with the exception of cases when there is no other possibility of restoring law and order, saving the lives of people in the premises, or protecting the electoral ballots and ballot boxes.
- (3) At the time of the completion of the voting the chairman of the precinct electoral commission shall announce the termination of the voting and give instructions to close the electoral precinct.

Chapter IX. Summing Up the Results of the Elections

Article 54.

- (1) Upon expiration of the time allotted for conducting the voting the chairman of the precinct electoral commission shall begin to sum up the results of the elections.
- (2) Before opening the ballot box all the unused ballots shall be counted and canceled by the precinct electoral commission by stamping them "canceled."
- (3) After checking the seals on the ballot boxes the chairman of the commission in the presence of members of the commission and individuals with the right to attend shall open the ballot boxes.
- (4) The electoral precinct must be provided with a sufficient number of tables so that all the ballots taken from the ballot boxes may be counted in one place before the eyes of all members of the commission and others in attendance.
- (5) On the table for counting the votes shall be installed flags with the names of the parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and last names of independent candidates, before which the chairman of the precinct electoral commission shall unfold the corresponding ballots taken from the ballot boxes. The ballots shall be counted and bound together separately and the results of the counting shall be entered on a special table.

- (6) Before the number of votes garnered by each party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, and independent candidate is entered in the record, observers and other accredited individuals shall be granted an opportunity to recheck the figures entered on the special table.
- (7) Ballots on which there is no control stamp from the electoral precinct, ballots on the wrong form, and ballots on which circles have been crossed out in several rectangles or no circle has been crossed out on any rectangle shall be declared invalid. Invalid ballots shall be shown to all members of the commission, observers, and other accredited individuals.
- (8) Votes cast for individuals and parties and sociopolitical organizations added by the voters to the electoral ballots shall not be taken into account and such ballots shall be declared invalid.
- (9) If members of the precinct electoral commission have doubts about the validity of a ballot, the question shall be decided by a vote.
- (10) Invalid electoral ballots shall not be taken into account when summing up the valid votes.

Article 55.

- (1) The precinct electoral commission shall draw up in two copies a record which shall include:
 - a) the number of voters included on the voter rolls;
 - b) the number of voters who participated in the voting, including voters on supplementary lists;
 - c) the overall number of valid votes;
 - d) the number of electoral ballots declared invalid;
 - e) the number of valid votes cast for each list of candidates and for each independent candidate;
 - f) the number of ballots received by the electoral precinct;
 - g) the number of unused and canceled ballots.
- (2) A brief account of statements and complaints and decisions adopted regarding them shall be presented separately.
- (3) The results of the counting of the votes shall be considered at a meeting of the precinct electoral commission and entered into a record, which shall be signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission. The absence of signatures of individual members of the precinct electoral commission shall not make a record invalid. The reasons for the absence of these signatures shall be indicated in the record.

- (4) The record, complaints regarding actions related to the elections and at the electoral precinct, ballots declared invalid, unused, or protested, and the stamps of the electoral precinct shall be turned over in a sealed box by the chairman of the precinct electoral commission to the district electoral commission within 24 hours after the announcement of the closing of the electoral precinct. The sealed box shall be transported under a police guard.

Article 56.

- (1) After receiving from the electoral precincts the records with the results of the tallying of the votes, the district electoral commission shall establish whether or not no less than one-third of the voters on the voter rolls participated in the elections throughout the entire electoral district. Otherwise actions related to the elections shall be suspended and the provisions of Article 64 shall be applied. If the elections have been declared valid, the district electoral commission shall draw up a record which indicates the number of valid votes cast for each party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc throughout the entire electoral district, and within 24 hours it shall submit it to the Central Electoral Commission.
- (2) The Central Electoral Commission shall consider the records received from all the electoral districts, count the number of votes cast for each party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc in order to establish whether or not they have garnered no less than 4 percent of the valid votes in the country as a whole—the electoral qualification as established by part (2) of Article 6.
- (3) Within 24 hours the Central Electoral Commission shall send to the district electoral commissions information about the results of the voting in the country as a whole and its decision to exclude parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have not garnered 4 percent of the valid votes in the country as a whole from the process of distribution of seats.

Article 57.

- (1) After receiving the decision from the Central Electoral Commission concerning the exclusion from the process of distribution of seats of parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have not garnered 4 percent of the active votes in the country as a whole, the district electoral commission shall begin to distribute the deputy seats among the parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have a right to them and independent candidates in the presence of candidates and individuals accredited in keeping with the present Law on their request.

- (2) On the basis of records of precinct electoral commissions, the district electoral commission shall determine:
- a) the overall number of voters included on the voter rolls in the district;
 - b) the number of voters who participated in the voting, including voters on supplementary lists;
 - c) the number of ballots declared invalid;
 - d) the number of valid votes cast for each party, sociopolitical organization, and voter bloc, except for those that have been excluded by a decision of the Central Electoral Commission, and for each independent candidate;
 - e) the number of unutilized and canceled electoral ballots.

Article 58.

- (1) The distribution of the deputy seats among the parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs shall be conducted by the district electoral commission through sequential division of the number of valid votes cast for each party, sociopolitical organization, and voter bloc, by 1, 2, 3, 4...and so forth up to the figure that corresponds to the number of seats in the electoral district.
- (2) From the results of all the divisions and the number of valid votes cast for independent candidates they shall select in declining order as many numbers as there are seats that are to be distributed in the electoral district. The quantity of numbers chosen in declining order at the disposal of the party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc shall correspond to the number of seats that are due to them.
- (3) An independent candidate shall be considered elected if the number of votes cast for him is included in the numbers selected in declining order.

Article 59.

- (1) The distribution of seats among candidates proposed by parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs shall be conducted according to the procedure of including them on lists beginning with the first number.
- (2) The candidates not elected shall be declared candidate deputies. A candidate deputy may be declared elected by the Constitutional Court if for any reason a deputy seat belonging to the party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc which he represents is released.
- (3) If the party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc does not have a candidate deputy for the electoral district, partial elections shall be conducted in keeping with Article 65. Partial elections shall also be

conducted in the event that the seat of an independent deputy remains vacant.

Article 60.

- (1) Within 24 hours after summing up the results of the elections and distributing the seats in the electoral district, the district electoral commission shall send under police guard to the Central Electoral Commission a record containing the information specified by part (2) of Article 57 and also a list of deputies elected from each party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc and independent deputies.
- (2) Within 24 hours after summing up the results of the elections and distributing the seats in the electoral district, the district electoral commission shall send to the Constitutional Court a report on conducting the elections to which is appended in one copy lists of candidates, the record, and all complaints for the electoral district accompanied by an account of the decisions adopted regarding them.
- (3) Within three days after summing up the results of the elections and distributing the seats, the district electoral commission shall publish in the press the figures contained in the record and the audiovisual media shall convey the information on the same day.

... Article 61.

- (1) The Constitutional Court shall study the reports of the district electoral commissions and within 10 days of the day of receiving the report, the period established for considering statements and complaints about violations during the process of organizing and conducting the elections, shall give a conclusion about the legality of the elections for each electoral district and within 24 hours send it to the Central Electoral Commission and the district electoral commission. After 10 days statements and complaints shall not be accepted for consideration.
- (2) If the Constitutional Court has established gross violations of the present Law, which have affected the results of the voting, the Central Electoral Commission shall conduct a repeat vote in keeping with Articles 63 and 64.
- (3) In electoral districts in which the elections have been declared valid, the elected deputies shall be recognized as legally elected and the Central Electoral Commission shall issue them the corresponding certificates.

Article 62.

- (1) On the basis of the records received from the electoral districts the Central Electoral Commission shall draw up a record which shall include:
 - a) the overall number of voters on the voter rolls in the country as a whole;

- b) the overall number of voters who participated in the voting, including voters on supplementary lists;
 - c) the overall number of valid votes;
 - d) the overall number of electoral ballots declared invalid;
 - e) a verification of the application by district electoral commissions of the provisions of Articles 58 and 59;
 - f) the distribution of seats among parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates throughout the country;
 - g) decisions regarding statements and complaints that were received.
- (2) The record shall be signed by the chairman and members of the Central Electoral Commission in whose presence it was drawn up, and within two days after the receipt of conclusions from the Constitutional Court, shall be sent to the parliament along with copies of the lists of candidates registered by the district electoral commissions, the records of the summing up of the results of the elections in all electoral districts, and conclusions of the Constitutional Court regarding recognition of the authority of deputies and the formation of the parliament.
- (3) The Central Electoral Commission shall publish the results of the elections throughout the country.

Chapter X. Repeat Voting and Partial Elections

Article 63.

- (1) Elections shall be recognized as null and void if less than one-third of the voters of the district included on the voter rolls have participated in them.
- (2) Elections in individual electoral districts may be declared invalid by the Central Electoral Commission and for individual electoral precincts—by the district electoral commission if during the course of the elections and when counting the votes there were violations of the present Law which affected the distribution of the seats.

Article 64.

- (1) If elections in individual electoral districts or precincts have been declared null and void or invalid, by a decision of the Central Electoral Commission, within two weeks repeat elections shall be conducted with the same candidates using the same voter rolls.

- (2) Candidates guilty of forgery shall be excluded from the lists for the repeat voting and may not be replaced by other candidates.
- (3) In the event of a repeat vote the results of the election for the electoral district shall be added to the results obtained in the country as a whole in keeping with the present Law.
- (4) If even after the repeat vote the elections in the electoral district are declared null and void, further elections shall not be conducted and the unutilized seats shall be frozen.
- (5) If after the repeat vote scheduled as a result of declaring the elections invalid the elections for individual electoral precincts or districts are again declared invalid, the corresponding precinct or district electoral commission shall be disbanded. In this case new elections shall be held within two weeks after the formation of the new commission.

Article 65.

- (1) If a deputy seat has been released but there is no candidate deputy, partial elections shall be conducted.
- (2) Partial elections shall not be conducted for a deputy seat that is released during the last 12 months before the expiration of the term of office of parliament.
- (3) Partial elections shall be conducted in keeping with the present Law within a period of no more than three months from the day the application is submitted to the president of the republic or the chairman of parliament.
- (4) If partial elections are conducted in only one electoral district, the Central Electoral Commission is not formed and its functions are performed by the district electoral commission.
- (5) Only voters living in the corresponding electoral district shall participate in partial elections.

Chapter XI. Financing the Elections

Article 66.

Expenditures related to preparing for and conducting the elections shall be borne by the state. A rough estimate of these costs shall be determined by the government. The actual amount of the expenditures shall be established by the Central Electoral Commission and confirmed by the government.

Article 67.

- (1) The Central Electoral Commission shall open a special "Elections" account in the savings bank into which it shall transfer financial funds allotted for preparing for and conducting the elections. The distributor of this money shall be the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission.

- (2) The Central Electoral Commission shall determine the amount of money necessary for preparing for and conducting the elections in each electoral district and transfer it to the special accounts in the savings banks in the places where the district electoral commissions are located. The distributor of the funds allotted by the district electoral commission shall be its chairman.
- (3) The procedure for the expenditure of these funds and also the forms of reports on their expenditure shall be established by the Central Electoral Commission.
- (4) It shall be prohibited to spend the allotted funds for purposes not related to preparing for and conducting the elections or on excessive equipment for the premises for conducting the elections or the acquisition of costly supplies, equipment, and so forth.
- (5) Upon completion of the elections the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission shall submit to the government a report on the expenditure of the funds allotted.
- (6) The unutilized funds shall be transferred into the state budget.
- (6) The receipt of credit from the state budget and subsidies from individuals and legal entities for conducting an election campaign shall be allowed only through a financial authority especially designated by the leadership of the party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc or by the independent candidate.
- (7) The financial authority may be an individual or legal entity responsible along with the party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate that appointed him for the legality of the use of the subsidies granted and the observance of the provisions of Articles 69 and 70.
- (8) The status of the financial authority shall be recognized only after his official registration with the Ministry of Finance and a report of this in the press.
- (9) The maximum amount of the election fund shall be determined by the Central Electoral Commission. It must be sufficient to provide the parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates with everything they need during the period of conducting the election campaign.

Article 68.

- (1) Parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates participating in the elections shall have the right to create for purposes of conducting their election campaign election funds, including in them their own money, interest-free credit obtained from the state, and also subsidies from individuals and legal entities in their own country, for which an account entitled "Election Fund" shall be opened in the savings bank.
- (2) The amount of their own money allotted for conducting the election campaign shall be determined by the leadership of the party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate.
- (3) The amount of credit allotted from the state budget shall be determined by the government.
- (4) Subsidies received from individuals and legal entities in their own country shall be used for conducting the election campaign by the party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate under the condition of preliminary public declaration.
- (5) Direct or indirect subsidization of the election campaign of any party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate by foreign individuals or legal entities shall be prohibited. The sums obtained this way shall be confiscated and used as revenue for the state budget and the list of candidates from the corresponding party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate shall not be allowed to participate in the elections. If this violation is discovered after the elections, the deputies from the corresponding party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate shall be deprived of their seat and partial elections shall be conducted.
- (10) The expenditure of funds for conducting the election campaign in excess of the sums envisioned by the electoral fund shall be prohibited.
- (11) The legality of the use of money from the elections funds by parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates participating in the elections shall be monitored by the Central Electoral Commission, the district electoral commissions, and the Ministry of Finance.
- (12) Credit received from the state is fully or partially paid back by the state, depending on the overall number of valid votes cast for the corresponding party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate in the given electoral district. The monetary sum, determined by dividing the sum of credit by the number of voters who participated in the voting and then multiplying the result obtained by the number of valid votes cast for the party, sociopolitical organization, voter bloc, or independent candidate, shall be subject to repayment.
- (13) Parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs that have not garnered 4 percent of the valid votes in the country as a whole and independent candidates who have not been elected as deputies shall return the credit received from the state budget within two months after the completion of the voting. The remaining parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates shall repay the credit within four months.

Chapter XII. Accountability for Illegal Actions When
Conducting Elections

Article 69.

- (1) The following acts or attempts to commit them by individuals and also persons authorized to take actions related to the elections and officials of state administrative organs shall be recognized as crimes and punished in keeping with existing legislation:
- a) using any means to stand in the way of free exercise of the right to vote or be elected—incarceration for a period of from six months to five years; the same actions combined with causing serious bodily harm or threat to human life—incarceration for a period of from three to 10 years;
 - b) falsifying the results of the voting in various ways—incarceration for a period of from six months to four years;
 - c) opening ballot boxes before the termination of the voting as established by law—incarceration for a period of from six months to three years;
 - d) attacking the premises of the electoral precincts by any means and in any form, stealing ballot boxes or electoral documents—incarceration for a period of from three to 10 years unless the action is deemed to be a more serious crime qualified as a state crime.
- (2) Criminal cases for crimes envisioned by part (1) shall be heard by procuracy organs.
- (3) The chairmen of electoral commissions and other officials shall be obliged to inform procuracy organs immediately of all crimes related to conducting the elections that are committed in the electoral district.

Article 70.

The following actions shall be recognized as administrative legal violations and punished in keeping with existing legislation if based on the law in part (1) of Article 69 they are not considered crimes:

- a) destroying, smudging, or making unusable by other means voter rolls, posted election programs and platforms, or other posters and announcements pertaining to election campaigning;
- b) posting campaign material in places other than those assigned;
- c) officially organizing voter meetings with the sale and drinking of alcoholic beverages and failing to take measures for conducting these meetings in a normal manner;
- d) deliberately entering on the voter rolls individuals who do not have the right to vote in keeping with the present Law and individuals who do not

really exist or intentionally including the same individuals on several lists, and also unjustifiably refusing to accept and consider complaints pertaining to actions related to the elections;

- e) agreeing for an individual to be entered on several lists of candidates;
- f) failure on the part of members of the electoral commission to make public proposals for presentation of candidates;
- g) using funds obtained from abroad or not publicly declaring them;
- h) preventing people who have the right to vote from entering the polling place;
- i) refusing to follow the instructions of the chairman of the precinct electoral commission for providing for order in the polling place and the area adjacent to it;
- j) unjustifiably failing to issue a ballot to a voter who is included on the lists or issuing one and the same individual more ballots than envisioned by law;
- k) unjustifiable departure by members of the precinct electoral commission from the polling places before the results of the elections are summed up and they have signed the record;
- l) continuing to campaign on the day of the elections;
- m) taking the electoral ballot issued for voting out of the premises of the electoral precinct;
- n) falsifying signatures on lists in support of an independent candidate.

Article 71.

The administrative legal violations specified by points a), b), d), e), f), i), k), and l) of Article 70 and entail a fine in the amount of from 10 to 20 times the minimum wage, and those specified by points c), h), j), m), and n)—from 15 to 25 times the minimum wage, and specified by g)—confiscation of the sums into the state budget and a fine in the amount of 30 times the minimum wage.

Article 72.

- (1) The establishment of administrative legal violations specified by points a), c), f), h), j), k), and l) of Article 70 shall be effected with records drawn up by the prefect and administrative officials of communes, cities, and municipalities, and points a), b), c), d), e), g), h), i), k), l), m), and n)—records drawn up by chairmen of electoral commissions, and points a), b), c), e), i), l)—records drawn up by officers, subofficers, and sergeants of police units performing duties for providing for actions involved in the elections.

- (2) Records concerning the establishment of administrative legal violations specified by the preceding part shall be sent to the court in the location of the population point in which the legal violation was committed.

Article 73.

- (1) During the period of the election campaign the courts shall immediately consider all statements, complaints, and other appeals related to organizing and conducting the elections. Decisions of higher judicial instances shall be final and subject to execution from the moment they are made;
- (2) The activity of the courts during this period shall be organized in such a way that the voters, parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates shall have an opportunity to submit statements and complaints freely and without delay.

Chapter XIII. Final Provisions

Article 74.

- (1) The government shall provide premises and everything necessary for the Central Electoral Commission, the prefects—for the district electoral commission, and the local administrative officials—for the electoral precincts.
- (2) The government shall provide paper for manufacturing the ballots and other electoral documents, counting equipment, and other material and financial means necessary for conducting the elections, and it shall monitor the work of printing enterprises in order to promptly manufacture the electoral documents.
- (3) Local administrative organs shall assign to the electoral commissions for the entire period of their activity statisticians and technical service personnel who shall work under contract and be temporarily released from their duties in their main place of employment.

Article 75.

For the entire period of the elections the electoral commissions and courts shall provide for their constant functioning which is necessary for the citizens to exercise their right to vote.

Article 76.

Individuals being detained on the basis of an arrest order until a court sentence is handed down, individuals sentenced to incarceration under a court decision that has not taken legal force, and individuals serving terms for committing an administrative legal violation shall vote in keeping with the provisions of part (5) of Article 50.

Article 77.

During the period of the elections the Ministry of Internal Affairs shall provide for reliable preservation of public order, protection of the polling place, ballot boxes, and ballots, and accompaniment of officials of electoral commissions when transporting electoral materials and documents.

[Signed] President of the Republic of Moldova Mircea Snegur
Kishinev, 14 October 1993

**II. DECREE ON PROCEDURE FOR ENACTING
THE LAW ON ELECTIONS TO PARLIAMENT**

Adopted October 19, 1993

Signed by the Chairman of Parliament,
Petru Luchinski

Published in Nezavisimaya Moldova, October 23, 1993

Translated by the staff of
the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, December 2, 1993

Decree on Implementation

944K0233B Chisinau NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA
in Russian 23 Oct 93 p 5

["Decree On Procedure for Enacting the Law on Elections to Parliament"]

(Text) The parliament of the Republic of Moldova adopts the following decree.

Article 1.

The Law on Elections to Parliament shall be enacted effective the day of its promulgation.

Article 2.

Paying attention to the fact that the aforementioned law is based on the new administrative-territorial arrangement of the republic, a question that has not yet been considered by parliament, elections to parliament shall be conducted on 27 February 1994 with the following deviations from the provisions of the Law:

- a) a unified electoral district shall be formed which includes the entire territory of the Republic of Moldova;
- b) the time periods envisioned by the Law for actions related to the elections shall be calculated from 27 October 1993;
- c) the Central Electoral Commission shall include seven judges of the Supreme Court and no more than 26 representatives of parties and sociopolitical organizations;
- d) the authority of the district electoral commissions shall be exercised by the Central Electoral Commission;
- e) the authority of the Constitutional Court envisioned by the Law shall be exercised by the Supreme Court at its plenary sessions;
- f) the average monthly wage as envisioned by Article 14 shall be paid to candidates from parties, sociopolitical organizations, voter blocs, and independent candidates from the state budget;
- g) judges who are members of the Central Electoral Commission shall be released from performing

- their official duties for the entire period of organizing and conducting the elections;
- h) representatives of parties and sociopolitical organizations who are members of the Central Electoral Commission shall be released, if necessary, from their production and official duties;
 - i) members of the Central Electoral Commission shall be paid wages in keeping with the provisions of Article 19;
 - j) on the ballots shall be indicated the name and electoral emblem of the party, sociopolitical organization, or voter bloc, the overall number of candidates submitted, and the name of the independent candidate;
 - k) lists of candidates submitted by parties, sociopolitical organizations, and voter blocs, upon expiration of the registration period, shall be reproduced and sent to precinct electoral commissions to be posted;
 - l) lists of candidates and candidacies of independent candidates shall be submitted to the Central Electoral Commission in keeping with the provisions of Articles 30-36;
 - m) the rayon executive committees and the local officials of the cities shall submit to the Central Electoral Commission reports from the local administrative bodies of the corresponding population points concerning electoral precincts, their boundaries, their location, the telephone numbers of the precinct electoral commissions, and also decisions of councils of communes and cities concerning the composition of the precinct electoral commissions and proposals for candidates for commission chairmen;
 - n) rayon executive committees and local administrative bodies of the cities shall submit for the approval of the Central Electoral Commission the composition of the technical group which will follow instructions of the Central Electoral Commission and maintain operational communications among the precinct electoral commissions and it. Members of the technical group may not be representatives of any party or sociopolitical organization;
 - o) the electoral ballots shall be delivered by the deadlines established by law to the rayon executive committees and the local administrative bodies of the cities and shall be transferred under a document by the leader of the technical group to the chairmen of the precinct electoral commissions. A police protection post shall be installed on the premises where the electoral ballots are stored;
 - p) in the rayons and cities of the republic, except for the city of Kishinev, commissions shall be created consisting of the chairman of the rayon executive committee or local administrative official of the city, one judge, and one worker from the procuracy. The composition of the commission shall be approved by the Central Electoral Commission. The commission shall obtain from the precinct electoral commissions electoral documentation in sealed envelopes and packages and send it to the Central Electoral Commission. The precinct electoral commissions of Kishinev shall submit electoral documentation directly to the Central Electoral Commission. The individuals indicated in part (2) of Article 46 may be present during this;
 - r) [no part q) as published] complaints regarding the presentation and registration of lists of candidates and candidacies of independent candidates shall be submitted to the Supreme Court. Complaints regarding forgeries and other violations of the Law on Elections to Parliament during the period of preparing for and conducting the elections shall be submitted to the court with jurisdiction over the territory on which they were committed;
 - s) voters of population points of the left bank of the Dniester and the city of Bendery who do not have in their passports on the day of elections notes confirming their citizenship of the Republic of Moldova shall be allowed to participate in the elections upon presentation to the precinct electoral commission of a passport which confirms permanent residence in the Republic of Moldova up to 23 June 1990.
- Article 3.
- In order to prevent citizens from voting twice, those who vote in the electoral precincts specified by parts (2), (3), (4), and (5) of Article 24 shall have stamped in their passport on page 27 the inscription "voted—1994."
- Article 4.
- The government in conjunction with the rayon executive committees and the local administrative offices of the cities and communes shall take concrete measures to prepare for and conduct the elections in keeping with the provisions of the Law on Elections to Parliament and the present decree.
- Article 5.
- The National Bank of Moldova and the Ministry of Finance shall develop mechanisms for granting credit from the state budget and subsidizing electoral campaigns by individuals and legal entities in keeping with the provisions of the aforementioned law.

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Article 6.

The Law on Elections of Peoples Deputies of the Moldovan SSR No. 3618—XI of 23 November 1989 shall be declared invalid.

[Signed] Chairman of Parliament Petru Luchinski
Kishinev, 19 October 1993

**III. LAW ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGES TO THE
CONSTITUTION (BASIC LAW) OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA**

Adopted October 19, 1993

Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova,
Mircea Snegur

Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament,
Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993

Translated by the Washington D.C.-based staff of
the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

**LAW ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHANGES TO
THE CONSTITUTION (BASIC LAW) OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA**

The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova adopts the present legislation.

Article 1. The following shall be excluded from the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Parliament of Moldova: Chapter 10, Articles 79, 93, 98, 99 and the second section of Article 111.

Article 2. The present Law takes effect from its day of adoption.

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
MIRCEA SNEGUR**

Chisinau, 19 October, 1993
Number 1614-XII.

NOTE: Unofficial translation by Christopher Siddall, IFES Senior Program Officer, from the Russian-language version of the original Romanian-language legislation.

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**IV. LAW ON THE IMPLEMENTATION
AND ADDITIONS TO THE CRIMINAL CODE
AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF LEGAL VIOLATIONS**

Adopted October 19, 1993

Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova,
Mircea Snegur

Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament,
Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993

Translated by the Washington, D.C.-based staff of
the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

**LAW ON THE IMPLEMENTATION AND ADDITIONS TO
THE CRIMINAL CODE THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODE OF LEGAL VIOLATIONS**

The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova adopts the following Law.

Article I - In the Criminal Code, approved by the Law of the Moldavian SSR on the 24th of March, 1961 (Official Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR 1961, Number 10 Article 41; 1990 Number 2, Article 17; Monitor of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, 1993 Number 4, Article 90), the following changes and additions shall be introduced:

1. The name and disposition of Article 133 shall be written in the following form:

"Article 133. Impeding the Carrying Out of Pre-election Agitation

2. To the Code Articles 133(2) and 133(3) the following text shall be added:

Article 133(2) Impeding the Carrying Out of the Right to Vote

Impeding by any means of the free carrying out of the right to vote and to be elected shall be punishable by imprisonment for a term of six months to five years.

The same action combined with the assault on the premises of polling sites by any means in any form, causing grave bodily harm, threat to the life of a person, and also with thefts of ballot boxes or electoral documents shall be punishable by imprisonment for a term of three to ten years.

The opening of the ballot box before the moment of the end of voting established by the law shall be punishable by imprisonment for a term of six months to three years.

Article 133(3) Falsification of the Results of the Voting

Falsification by various means of the results of the voting shall be punishable by imprisonment of the term of six months to four years.

Article II. In the Administrative Code of Legal Violations, adopted by the Law of the Moldavian SSR of March 29, 1985 (Official Bulletin of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the Moldavian SSR, 1985, Number 3, Article 47; 1990, Number 2, Article 17; Monitor of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova 1993, Number 4, Article 90), the following changes and additions shall be introduced:

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1. Article 200(1) shall be written in the following form:

Article 200(1) Violation of the Law on Elections

Refusal by officials to submit the necessary information and materials to the election commissions, and also refusal to carry out their decisions shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of three minimum monthly salaries.

Destroying, marking out, making unusable by other means voter registries, posted election programs and platforms or other posters and announcements, related to pre-election agitation shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

Posting materials for agitation in places other than those officially designated shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

Organization by officials of the meeting of the voters with the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages and not taking measures for the normal conduct of such meetings shall be punishable by a fine of the officials in the amount of fifteen to twenty-five minimum monthly salaries.

Deliberate inclusion in the voter registry of persons ineligible to vote according to acting legislation, and non-existent persons and deliberate inclusion of the same persons in several lists and also refusal without grounds to accept and review complaints concerning the actions related to the elections shall be punishable by a fine of the officials in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

Agreement by a person to be included on many several lists of candidates shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

Not publicizing by members of the election commission proposals for representation of candidates shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

Using funds acquired from abroad or undeclared funds shall be punishable by a fine of the persons who were using these funds in the amount of thirty minimum monthly salaries with confiscation of the sums into the state budget.

Impeding the entrance into the voting premises of persons with the right to vote shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of fifteen to twenty-five minimum monthly salaries.

Refusal to carry out the decisions of the Chairman of the polling site election commission to ensure the order in the voting premises and on the bordering territory shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

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Groundless refusal to transfer the ballots to the voter included in the voter registry or handing over to the same person more than ballots than is envisioned in the law shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of fifteen to twenty-five minimum monthly salaries.

Departure without grounds by members of the polling site election commission from the premises of voting before the vote count and their signing of the protocol shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

Continuing agitation on election day shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of ten to twenty minimum monthly salaries.

Removing the ballot, handed out for the voting, from the premises of the polling site shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of fifteen to twenty-five minimum monthly salaries.

Falsification of the signatures in the lists supporting an independent candidate shall be punishable by a fine in the amount of fifteen to twenty-five minimum monthly salaries.

2. Article 200(2) shall be excluded.

3. In Article 209 the figures "200-200(10)" shall be replaced with the figures "200, 200 (1), (200(3)-200(8), 200(10)."

4. To Article 281 the words "with exception of cases foreseen by law." shall be added.

Article III:-- This law takes effect from the day of publication.

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
MIRCEA SNEGUR**

**October 19, 1993
Number 1616-XII.**

NOTE: Unofficial translation by Irina Zaslavskaya, IFES Program Assistant, and Christopher Siddall, IFES Senior Program Officer, from the Russian-language version of the original Romanian-language legislation.

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**V. LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA ON
PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Adopted September 17, 1991

Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova,
Mircea Snegur

Translated by the Bucharest-based staff of
the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, August 15, 1993

THE LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

Regarding parties and other socio-political organizations

The right of association is an inalienable part of the human rights, which are proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and are consecrated and guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova.

This Law establishes the conditions and principles for creating, organizing, and dissolving a party or other socio-political organization.

I. General Principles

Article 1: The notion of party and the notion of socio-political organization

According to this Law, the parties and other socio-political organizations are free will associations of citizens, based on community

of ideas, ideals, and goals which contribute to the fulfillment of the political will of a part of the population. Their representatives participate in governing and solving the economic, social, cultural, and political problems.

The notion of socio-political organization also refers to leagues, fronts, unions, and political mass movements.

This Law does not regulate the activity of other citizens' independent organizations which are based on professional and cultural affinities and which are not requesting to participate in the foundation of state organizations.

Article 2: The right of association in parties and other socio-political organizations

The citizens of the Republic of Moldova have the right to associate by free will in parties and other socio-political organizations.

Only an eighteen years old reliable citizen can be elected as a member of a party or socio-political organization.

The member of a party cannot belong at the same time to another party.

The members of youth organizations can be younger than eighteen years, according to the statute of the respective organization.

The parties and other socio-political organizations have the right to

associate in political unions, blocks, federations, and associations.

Article 3: The quality of being a member of a party or socio-political organization

The quality of being a member of a party or socio-political organization is specified by the respective organization.

Article 4: The basic ideas of the parties' and socio-political organizations' activities

Parties and other socio-political organizations perform activities with respect to the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, to the present law, and to other laws, and function according to their statute, registered in the established way.

The ruling bodies of the parties and other socio-political organizations must be situated in the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

On the territory of the Republic of Moldova cannot be created and cannot function other parties and socio-political organizations from abroad, or their subdivisions.

It is forbidden to be created and to be active the paramilitary parties or other socio-political organizations which have as goal to:

-the removal or change by force, or by other unconstitutional means

of the state order.

-attempt to undermine the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova.

-instigate to war, social disorder, inter-ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts.

-propagate war and authoritarian and totalitarian methods of ruling, and attempt on the natural human rights

-sets up activities that contravene the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova and the general accepted norms of international law.

Article 5: The statute of the parties or other socio-political organizations

The statute must contain the following data:

1. The name of the party or socio-political organization
2. The goals and the way to accomplish them.
3. The requirements and formalities necessary in order to become a member of a party or socio-political organization, to be excluded or to resign from it.
4. The rights and obligations of the members of the parties and socio-political organizations.
5. The way to form and the competence of the ruling committee of the party or socio-political organization and the terms of their

empowerments.

6. The way to adopt, modify, and complete the statute.
7. The sources for the financial support and other assets.
8. Conditions in which a party or socio-political organization can be created, reorganized, or dissolved.

The statute should not infringe the laws of the Republic of Moldova.

Only in case that the party or socio-political organization consists of at least 300 members, has a program and a leading committee, its statute can be registered.

Article 6: The name of the party or socio-political organization

The name, abbreviation and symbol of the party or socio-political organizations must be different from others registered in the Republic of Moldova.

In case that the name of the party or socio-political organization is changed, then the party or socio-political organization should be registered again, as this Law specifies.

Article 7: The activity guarantees

The State ensures that the rights and legitimate interests of the parties or other socio-political organizations are observed with respect to

the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova. Also, the State guarantees that the same juridical terms are ensured for the accomplishment of the tasks present in their statute.

The interference of State bodies and officials in the activity of the parties or other socio-political organizations and also the interference of the parties or other socio-political organizations in the activities of the State bodies or officials are forbidden, except the cases stipulated by the laws.

It is forbidden to oppress and to deny certain rights of a citizen because of his affiliation to a party or socio-political organization.

Any request to confirm the affiliation to a party or socio-political organization in an official document is not legal.

The activity of the party or socio-political organization must not be carried on during the working hours, and must be sustained out of its own financial resources.

The person which violates these conditions will carry on the responsibility provided by laws.

Article 8: The restrictions of the political activity

Soldiers, person who work in the Department of Internal Affairs, or in the State Security Department, or in the Custom's Office, judges, prosecutors, state inspectors, as well as those working for the official

press, radio and television, is not allowed to join any party or any socio-political organization.

The members of the parties or other socio-political organizations which are recruited, as established by the law, into the military service, appointed in the Prosecution bodies, Internal Affairs bodies, State Security bodies, as well as in the State Inspecting bodies, have to suspend their affiliation during the period they serve for these institutions.

The person which suspended its affiliation to a party or socio-political organization cannot be elected as a member of the ruling bodies of the party or socio-political organization, and cannot perform any duties for the party or socio-political organization.

Article 9: The depoliticisation of the education system

In the Republic of Moldova, the education system is not politicized. It is forbidden to disseminate and propagate political ideas of a party or socio-political organization in any kind of school.

Article 10: The financial support for the parties or other socio-political organizations

The State must not give financial support to any party or socio-political organization, except the financial support for the election of

representatives of state power.

The parties and socio-political organizations are not allowed to receive financial support from foreign countries, foreign citizens or juridical persons from abroad.

Article 11: Solving the affairs of the party or other socio-political organization

The problems regarding the interest of a party or socio-political organization are solved, according to the legislation, by the state and economical organizations, with the participation or coordination of the respective parties or socio-political organizations.

Article 12: The principle of creating a party or a socio-political organization

The foundation of a party or a socio-political organization is based on the territorial principle.

The creation and activity of the organizational units of parties and socio-political organizations at the workplaces is forbidden.

The State or state officials cannot initiate the foundation of a party or socio-political organization.

II. The registration of the parties and other socio-political organizations

Article 13: The registration of the statute

The parties and other socio-political organizations have the right to achieve their purposes declared in the statute only after their registration.

The registration is entered into at the Ministry of Justice.

One month after the presentation of the statute, program and minutes of the congress (conference), the Justice Ministry will register the statute of the party or socio-political organization, if it does not infringe the provisions of the present Law.

The Justice Ministry's decision regarding the refusal to register the statute can be contested by the respective organization at the Supreme Court within ten days. The decision of the Supreme Court is final.

Modifications and completions of statutes of parties and socio-political organizations will be registered as the initial registration provides. The president or a representative of the executive body of a party or socio-political organization must be a witness to the statute's registration formalities.

Since the moment of registration the parties or other socio-political organizations become juridical persons.

The Justice Ministry holds the Register of parties and socio-political

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organizations.

The Government regulates the registration of the statutes of parties and socio-political organizations, through a Regulation it approves.

Article 14: The symbol of a party or socio-political organization

The parties and socio-political organizations can have an emblem, or a flag as a symbol, which must be also officially registered in the established way for the registration of the statute. The symbol must not serve to purposes which are mentioned in Article 4 of the present Law.

III. The activity of the parties and other socio-political organizations

Article 15: The rights of the parties and other socio-political organizations

The rights of parties and socio-political organizations are established by this Law and also by their statutes.

For the fulfillment of the purposes mentioned by their statute or by their programs, the parties and socio-political organizations have the right:
-to freely circulate information about their activity.

-to participate (independently, as a part of a block or a union with other parties and organizations), to the elections for the representative state bodies of all ranks and to the formation of the state administration bodies.

-to have legal initiative through their republican bodies, inclusively to create or to nullify documents of the legislation in force.

-to possess its own mass-media means, and to have editorial activity, according to the legislation in force.

-to use free of charge, during the election campaign, the state mass-media, in accordance with the republican laws regarding the elections.

-to exert other empowerments provided by the present Law, or by other pieces of legislation.

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Article 16: The property of a party or socio-political organization

Parties and other socio-political organizations can have assets and properties in buildings, equipments, publishing houses, printing houses, offices, as well as other material goods, necessary exclusively for the purposes provided for in their statutes.

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The parties' and socio-political organizations' right to own properties is regulated by the legislation.

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The parties or socio-political organizations have the right to benefit

from their buildings and other goods, according to the lease contracts made up with other persons.

The parties and socio-political organizations cannot own: land, industrial units, cooperative societies, and cannot carry-on trade activities.

The parties and socio-political organizations are not allowed to possess weaponry, explosives, ammunition, or any other materials which may endanger the life of the citizens.

Article 17: The financial support for the parties and other socio-political organizations

The financial support for a party or socio-political organization consists of its members' registration and monthly subscriptions.

Article 18: The use of the income

...According to the legislation, and exclusively in order to accomplish the purposes mentioned by its statute, a party or socio-political organization may set up enterprises or administrative organizations, which have the right to be juridical persons.

The benefits produced by those enterprises and organizations cannot be divided among the members of the party or socio-political organization. Those benefits are to be used only for the purpose of accomplishing the

statutory provisions.

The members of parties or other socio-political organizations have no right to the benefits of their organizations, and they are not responsible for their debts.

The use of the benefits for charitable activities is allowed independently to the provisions of the statute.

The parties and socio-political organizations must publish an annual report about their incomes, sources, and until February 1st of next year, must present to the financial authorities a declaration about their financial activity for that year.

Article 19: The right to circulate information

The parties and other socio-political organizations have the right to make public, in written, verbal, or any other form, information about their activities, to propagate their ideas, purposes, and programs. They also have the right to establish their own mass-media means, except radio and television, and to use state mass-media, according to the legislation in force.

Article 20: The right to hold rallies

The parties and other socio-political organizations have the right to

manifest and to call for meetings or demonstrations, as established by the legislation.

IV. The control of the parties' and other socio-political organizations' activities

Article 21: The supervising and control of the activities of the parties and other socio-political organizations

According to the fiscal legislation, the financial authorities exert control over the sources of income of the parties and other socio-political organizations, and also the over tax-payment.

The Justice and the Public Prosecutor's Department exert control over the conformation to the statute's norms by a party or socio-political organization, as well as the supervision of its compliance to the legislation.

Article 22: The responsibility of the parties and other socio-political organizations

If a party or a socio-political organization prejudices by its illegal

action the interests of the state, citizens, organizations, or other parties or socio-political organizations, then that party or socio-political organization must compensate the damaged parts for their losses, out of its own sources, according to the legislation.

V. On suspending and dissolving the activities of a party or other socio-political organization

Article 23: The suspension of the activities of a party or other socio-political organization

The Justice Ministry will suspend the activity of a party or socio-political organization in case that it has infringed upon the Constitution or the present Law.

In this case, the Justice Ministry will inform in writing the ruling body of the respective party about the violation of the law that has been committed and will establish the term for removing it.

During the electoral campaign, only the Supreme Court can suspend the activity of a party or socio-political organization.

As long as a party or socio-political organization is suspended, it is not allowed to use mass-media, to make agitation, propaganda, or to participate in the elections.

After removing the violation, the party or socio-political organization will inform the Justice Ministry, which, in a period of five days, will authorize the party or socio-political organization to resume its activity.

A party or socio-political organization can be suspended for at most six months. The activities of a party or socio-political organization may be suspended for one year in the following situations:

- the violation is not removed.
- within less than one year, the law is infringed again.

Article 24: The cessation of the activity of a party or socio-political organization

The activity of a party or socio-political organization will cease in these cases:

- the party or socio-political organization is dissolved by itself, according to the statute.
- the party or socio-political organization is dissolved by the decision of the Supreme Court.

Article 25: Penalization dissolving

In case that a party or socio-political organization infringes the Constitution or the present Law again during one year after it has been

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suspended, as an answer to the request of the Justice Ministry, the Supreme Court may suspend the activity of that party or socio-political organization.

The State Prosecutor has the right to ask for the suspension of the activity or the dissolving of any party or socio-political organization, reasoning his request to the Supreme Court.

Article 26: The appeals

A party or socio-political organization can appeal against the decision by which its statute was not registered or by which it was suspended or dissolved. The appeal will be sent to the Supreme Court, which shall examine it within five days.

VI. Final Provisions

Article 27: The right to have international connections

According to their statute and to the provisions of this law, parties and other socio-political organizations have the right to enter into international associations, to have direct links and international connections, and to sign agreements.



Article 28: Application of the norms of international treaties

In case that an international treaty signed by the Republic of Moldova has diverging norms with this Law, then the norms of the treaty are to be applied.

The President of the
Republic of Moldova

Mircea Snegur

Chişinău, September 1991

**VI. DECREE ON ENACTING
THE LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
"ON PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS"**

Adopted September 17, 1991

Signed by the Chairman of Parliament,
Aleksandru Moshanu

Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament,
Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993

Translated by the Washington D.C.-based staff of
the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

**DECREE ON ENACTING
THE LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
"ON PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS"**

The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova resolves:

1. The Law on parties and other socio-political organizations shall take effect from the day of its publication.
2. Henceforth, until the legislation of the Republic of Moldova is brought into accordance, the aforementioned Law shall act as the legislation concerning parties and other socio-political organizations which does not contradict the aforementioned Law.
3. Parties and other socio-political organizations registered and active before the bringing into operation of this Law are obligated to re-register in the course of 6 months from the day of the bringing into operation the aforementioned Law.
4. The organizational-structural subdivisions of all parties and other socio-political organizations active in work collectives of ministries, departments, enterprises and institutions are subject to liquidation in accordance with Article 12 of the aforementioned Law.
5. The government of the Republic of Moldova within a 10 day period shall:
 - Shall develop and ratify regulations concerning the method of registration of parties and other socio-political organizations;
 - Establish measures for the collection of fees for the registration charters of parties and other socio-political organizations and determine the method of their collection;
 - Resolve organizational questions related to the establishment within the Ministry of Justice a special service for the registration of the charters of parties and socio-political organizations and control over the inspection of them demanded by this legislation.

Within a two month period:

- To bring forth acts of this legislation and its decisions in accordance with the

IFES


aforementioned Law;

- To introduce to Parliament conforming regulations for changes in the citizen, administrative and criminal legislation in parts of responsibility for violation of the aforementioned Law.
6. The Order of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR of August 25, 1989; number 3459-XII "On the Temporary Order of Registration of Social Unions of Citizens in the Moldavian SSR" in sections pertaining to parties and other socio-political organizations from the day of bringing into operation the Law "On Parties and other Socio-Political Organizations" shall be eliminated.

**CHAIRMAN OF PARLIAMENT
ALEKSANDRU MOSHANU**

Chisinau, 17 September, 1991
Number 719-XII.

NOTE: Unofficial translation by Christopher Siddall, IFES Senior Program Officer, from the Russian-language version of the original Romanian-language legislation.

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**VII. THE LAW ON INTRODUCING
CHANGES AND ADDITIONS TO THE LAW
"ON PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Adopted October 19, 1993

Signed by the President of the Republic of Moldova,
Mircea Snegur

Published in Collection of Legislative Acts for the Elections to Parliament,
Parliament of Moldova, October 28, 1993

Translated by the Washington, D.C.-based staff of
the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, December 18, 1993

**THE LAW ON INTRODUCING CHANGES AND ADDITIONS TO THE LAW ON
POLITICAL PARTIES AND OTHER SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS**

The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova has adopted the present Law.

Article I. In The Law on Political Parties and Other Socio-political Organizations Number 718-XII of 17 September, 1991 the following changes and additions shall be included:

1. Article 10 shall be written in the following form: "The financing of parties and other socio-political organizations and the transferal of property to them shall be prohibited for:

- foreign states, foreign individuals and legal entities, and individuals without citizenship;
- state organs, state enterprises, organizations and institutions with the exception of financing in accordance with the present legislation of elections for the representative organs of state power;
- joint-ventures in which more than 20% of the capital is foreign or owned by a foreign state or founder;
- all unregistered citizen's unions;
- any anonymous persons.

Parties and other socio-political organizations do not have the right to open their accounts in foreign banks and keep any monetary sums in them."

2. Article 14: The words "reproduce the state symbols and" shall be added after the words "They must not."
3. Article 15: In Section 2, Subsection 4 of the Article, the phrase "to have" shall be replaced with "to found and own."
4. Article 16: In Section 4 the following words shall be added: "with exception of cases mentioned in Article 17."

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5. Article 17 shall be written in the following form:
The finances of parties and other socio-political organizations may be formed from registration and membership fees, profits received from the activity of mass media, sale of socio-political literature, sale of other propaganda and agitation materials manufactured with their own symbols, from the holding of festivals, exhibitions, lectures, other measures, from the voluntary contributions, donations by physical and legal entities, with the exception of cases indicated in the first part of Article 10, and also from other sources not prohibited by law.

6. Article 18: Sections 2 and 3 shall be written in the following form: "Income received from the activities of parties and other socio-political organizations may not be distributed among their members and should be used solely for the achievement of prescribed goals.

Members of parties and other socio-political organizations do not have the right to income and property of parties and socio-political organizations and do not carry the responsibility for their debts;"

In Section 5 after the words, "about the source of their income," the following words shall be added: "and about expenditures."

7. Article 21: Section 2 shall be written in the following form: "Control over the observance by parties and other socio-political organizations of the norms of the regulations is to be carried out by the Ministry of Justice. Its representatives may be present during any events conducted by parties and other socio-political organizations and may ask for required documentation and clarifications."

The following text shall be added to Section 3: "Supervision of the compliance by parties and other socio-political organizations with the legislation shall be conducted by the organs of the public prosecutor."

8. Article 22: The words "physical and legal entities" shall replace the words "its enterprises, institutions or organizations, citizens, other parties, and socio-political organizations."

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9. Article 23: In section 4 after the words "propaganda, agitation" the following words shall be added: "conducting banking operations or other operations concerning property."

ARTICLE II: "This law comes into force upon the day of publication".

**PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA
MIRCEA SNEGUR**

Chisinau, October 19, 1993
Number 1615-XII.

NOTE: Unofficial translation by Irina Zaslavskaya, IFES Program Assistant, and Christopher Siddall, IFES Senior Program Officer, from the Russian-language version of the original Romanian-language legislation.

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THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

DECREE

With regard to some measures concerning the preparation and performance of the elections to the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova

With a view to achievement of the provisions of art. 4 of the Decision of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova # 1613-XII from February 19, 1993 on the way of enforcement of the Law on election to Parliament and on the basis of the art. 113(7) of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova,

the President of the Republic of Moldova d e c r e e s:

Art.1. - The government and the local administration bodies will ensure a strong collaboration with the C.E.C. and electoral commissions of the precincts during the whole period of preparation and progress of the elections in accordance with the Law on election of the Parliament and the Dicision of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova #1613-XII from October 19, 1993.

Art.2. - Local self-administration bodies along with police forces will guarantee, at the preliminary challenge of the respective electoral commissions, but equal conditions of unfolding meetings for all parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocs and independent candidates that will participate at the elections.

Art.3. - Candidates from parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocs and independent candidates who, at the date of registration, work in executive authorities, should resign from the post according to the art. 47 of the Law on election of the Parliament, not later than 40 days before the date of elections.

Art.4. - The leaders of the executive authorities (the Government, ministers, departments, district executive committes, the mayoralty of Chisinau, mayoralties of cities and villages), of their structural subdivisions, including their assistents can not campaign for or against candidates of the parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocs and independent candidates.

The mentioned persons that intend to campaign should submit applications of resignation from their posts for the entire period until the day of elections. The demands should be gratified without delay. The places of work of the resigned persons are retained without maintaining the wages for the period of resignation.

During the whole period of electoral campaign, the resigned persons participate at electoral meetings, take place in mass-media only as private persons.

Art.5. - Rooms, traffic means and technico-material means of the executive authorities of all levels might be used with a view to unfolding campaigning only

on the basis of decisions of the respective electoral commissions, considering the extant possibilities.

Art.6. - Campaigning material will comprise, along with information about the parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocs and independent candidates that participate at the elections, information about the persons responsible for their publication. Spread of anonymously typed campaigning material is prohibited.

Both local self-administration authorities and police bodies should undertake counteracting of the spread of anonymously typed campaigning material.

Art.7. - The responsibility for carrying out the provisions of the present Decree becomes a task of the leaders of ministers, departments and official persons of the executive authorities on the territory.

Art.8. - The present Decree becomes valid at the date of its publication.

The President of the Republic of Moldova














MIRCEA SNEGUR

Chisinau, January 10, 1994

DUMINICA, 27 FEBRUARIE 1994 —

ZIUA ALEGERII PARLAMENTULUI REPUBLICII MOLDOVA
LA SCRUTINUL ELECTORAL PARTICIPĂ 13 PARTIDE,
ORGANIZAȚII SOCIAL-POLITICE, BLOCURI ELECTORALE
ȘI 20 CANDIDAȚI INDEPENDENȚI

APPENDIX 10

Denumirea partidului/organizației social-politice/blocului electoral	Simbol electoral	Numărul de candidați	Primii trei candidați înscrși în listă	Candidați independenți
Blocul electoral «Alianța Frontului Popular Creștin Democrat»		106	Roca Iurie Ilașcu Ilie Voziac Ion	Chișeriu Alexandru Cojuhari Dumitru
Asociația Victimelor Regimului Totalitar comunist din Moldova		21	Morosanu Mihai Spac Alexandru Cojocaru Pavel	Platon Profir
Partidul Național Creștin din Moldova		56	Nicu Vladimir Obadă Foca Golovca Iacob	Filat Gheorghe Antonov Mihai
Blocul electoral «Blocul Social-Democrat»		106	Nantoi Oazu Urecheanu Serafim Tăran Anatol	Zavgorodni Vitalie
Blocul electoral «Blocul Țăranilor și Intelectualilor»		106	Certan Semion Moranu Alexandru Istrati (Ceban) Lidia	Sajna Elena Gorban Victor
Partidul Democrat din Moldova		105	Ghimpu Gheorghe Neculce Vasile Brașoveanu Dumitru	Cotusa Vasile
Blocul electoral «Partidul Socialist și Mișcarea «Unitate-Edinstvo»		106	Scnic Valeriu Solonari Vladimir Morev Victor	Ciorici Mihai Plămădeală Mihai
Asociația Femeilor din Moldova		45	Scalină Liudmila Zumbreanu Victoria Miculeț Laria	Draguta Ion Turcanu Ion
Partidul Ecologist «Alianța Verde»		21	Ciuhrii Mircea Lozan Mina Botzatu Valeriu	Ciuntu Ion
Partidul Democrat Agrar din Moldova		106	Moșan Dumitru Lucinschi Petru Sangheli Andrei	Fandofan Sergiu Maimescu Sava
Partidul Republican din Moldova		67	Puscas Victor Mazilu Gheorghe Cozma Vasile	Gologan Grigore
Partidul Democrat al Muncii din Moldova		105	Rusu Mircea Arseni Alexandru Ciobanu Gheorghe	Gusac Pavel Cirlan Gheorghe
Partidul Reformei		74	Amihalachioae Gheorghe Tampiza Constantin Cotorobai Mihai	Filipachi Valentin

Stimați alegători! Sunteți așteptați în ziua alegerilor la urnele de vot de la 7-00 până la 20-00.

APPENDIX 11

Translation from Romanian

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Approved by the Decision of the Central Election Commission
for the election of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldavia
dated December 22, 1992

I N S T R U C T I O N S concerning the precinct election commissions

The Central Elections Commission determines for the precinct election commissions the following:

I. Organization of the activities of the Precinct Election Commissions

The Precinct Election Commissions are guided in their activities by the Law for Parliamentary Elections, the Decision by the Parliament of the Republic of Moldavia about the implementation of the Law for Parliamentary elections, the decisions of the Central Election Commission and these Instructions.

The Precinct Election Commission will elect within 3 days from its final establishment from its members a vice-president and a secretary, and will immediately notify the Central Election Commission to this effect.

The Decision about the establishment of the Precinct Election Commission and its final components will be made public for the electorate.

The sessions of the commission will be called for by the president on his/her own initiative or upon request by not less than 1/3 of the commission members.

The sessions of the Commission are considered to have a quorum if a simple majority of its members participate. Decisions are adopted by a vote by the majority of the members participating in the session. Every member of the commission will cast his/her vote by declaring to be " pro "or " against "the proposition. In case of a tied vote, the vote of the president is considered as a tie-breaker. Commission members who are not in agreement with the decision adopted may formulate a minority opinion, which is attached in writing to the minutes of the session.

The decisions of the electoral commission, adopted within the limits of its attributions are obligatory and executory for all private, state and communal enterprises as well as for the citizenry.

The Precinct Electoral Commission acts in accordance with
a work schedule

The electoral commission examines in its sessions problems in connection with the publication of the voting lists, the list of candidates for the Parliament, the location and outfitting of the voting places, the organization of the activities of the commission on election day and other problems connected with the fulfillment of its duties.

It is necessary to organize at the voting place of the precinct the attributions of the commission members in order to provide for the citizens all necessary information and explanations concerning the elections.

The hours when the members of the commission will be available to the electorate will be determined by the commission for the entire duration of its activity. The services of the members of the electoral commission have to be scheduled for A.M. as well as P.M. and in the evening and during days off.

The commission members are obliged to be familiar with and to respect the Law concerning the Parliamentary elections, the Decision for the application of the Law for Parliamentary elections and the Decisions of the Central Electoral Commission. They are prohibited from making propaganda " for " or " against " any party, socio-political organization, electoral block and independent candidates who take part in the election.

The Commission members, - the representatives of political parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocks and independent candidates are prohibited from having any attributions, other than those established by the Law for Parliamentary Elections.

The Electoral Commission supports in equal fashion all parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocks and independent candidates during their election campaigns.

The locale of the Election Commission within the precinct has to be equipped with all necessary furniture, file cabinets, safes, telephones and firefighting equipment. On the walls of the building in which the election commission is located there has to be a sign in the official language as well as other languages in usage by the local population, reading " Election Commission of Precinct Nr... for the Parliamentary Election of the Moldavian Republic " .

The location of the Precinct Election Commission, its working hours have to be publicized in the local press and radio stations.

The Precinct Electoral Commission will be in permanent contact with the technical group of the County and City. All documents for the elections , stamps and ballots will be transmitted to the precinct electoral Commission by the head of the technical group under signature. After the ballots have been received (two days prior to the elections,) a police station will be opened at the precinct.

II. Publication of the Voting Lists and the list
of candidates for the Parliamentary election filed by the
parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocks
as well as by independent candidates

The electoral lists have to be submitted to the electoral commission, in accordance with the Law, within 20 days before the election date (February 6, 1994) by the mayoral offices and displayed for the general public. Before publishing the electoral lists, the electoral commission is obliged to verify if they have been correctly established in accordance with art. 26,27 of the Law. The shortcomings detected have to be corrected without delay.

The Electoral Commissions of the precincts have to notify the electorate in due time about the content of the voting lists by using the local press, radio, magazines, invitations (flyers) or any other forms of publicity acceptable to the electorate. The voters will have to have the possibility to scrutinize at the Precinct Electoral Commission the correctness of the voting lists. The lists will have to be displayed in an easily accessible and well lighted place.

The citizens have the right to challenge non-inclusions, incorrect listings and exclusions from the voting list as well as errors made in the data about the voters. The challenges will have to be examined by the Electoral Commission of the Precinct, which has to make the necessary correction within 2 days or immediately on the day preceding the election day or to provide the citizens a written rejection of their challenge, which has to include the authority where they may file an appeal.

After expiration of the deadline for the registration of candidacies (30 days before election day) the lists of candidates filed by the parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocks as well as the independent candidates will be forwarded to the Precinct Electoral Commissions, which will display them for the public at the voting places.

III. Organization and procedures for voting

In accordance with art. 48 - 53 of the Law concerning the Parliamentary elections, the Precinct Electoral Commission is responsible for the organization of the balloting, to provide the electorate with the possibility to express its will secretly, to outfit the voting places and assure the maintenance of its security. The voters have to be informed in due time about the location of the voting precincts, the hours during which they may cast their ballots using the local press, radio, invitations (flyers) etc. In accordance with the Law, the balloting on election day - February 27 - will take place from 7:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M. As will be the case and upon the initiative of the President of the Precinct Electoral Commission, the voting hours may be extended by the Central Election Commission. It is necessary to verify on the day preceding the election - February 26, 1994 - the existence at the voting precinct of the following documentation : voting lists, ballots, forms for the minutes of the Precinct Electoral Commission, metal stamps, a stamp " Voted 1994 " a stamp " Cancelled ", red sealant, kerosene lamps, candles; that the means of telecommunications are functioning, that there are means of transportation available and the existence of fire-fighting equipment.

The ballots are bundled on the day preceding election day in packages of 100 and are provided to the precincts as needed, by a member of a member of the commission designated by its president for this task, having been beforehand stamped on the back with the validation stamp of the commission.

The President and the secretary of the Precinct Electoral Commission are responsible for the safeguarding of the ballots as well as of all the documentation concerning the balloting.

The balloting takes place in a place, specially equipped in due time (not less than 2 days prior) with an adequate number of voting booths or cubicles to allow for secret balloting, a place for the distribution of the ballots and the installation of the ballot boxes. The booths, ballot boxes and other materials needed by the precincts will be provided by the local administrative authorities.

The ballot boxes have to be installed in such a manner, that the voters have to pass through a voting booth or chamber on their way to cast their votes. The voting booths or chambers have to be well lit, they have to be equipped with a desk, enough pens have to be available i.e. with everything needed for balloting. The number of booths has to insure free access to the ballot boxes for the voters. Where it is the case, a track may be established starting at the desk where the ballots are handed out to the voting booth and on to the ballot box.

On the day of the balloting, before the voting starts, the ballot boxes are checked and sealed in the presence of at least half of the members of the commission. Every voter has to cast his/her ballot in person , voting for another person is prohibited. Handing out to a person more than one ballot is punished in accordance with the law. The Electoral Commission issues a ballot

to the each voter, based on the voting list, after presenting an I.D., a passport, a certificate which replaces the passport, a diplomatic passport or an official passport, while in the case of active military personnel, the military I.D. The voter has to sign, after receipt of the ballot, next to his/her name in the voting list.

The ballot handed to the voter has to bear in its reverse side the validation stamp of the precinct. In case a voter, for health or other reasons is unable to come to the voting place, the precinct electoral commission , -upon request - will designate at least two of its members to proceed with a special ballot box and the material necessary for voting, to the the place where the voter is in order to cast the ballot.

The request can be made orally or in writing and presented to the commission in advance or on the day of the balloting and will be recorded in a register, part of the election documentation. In order to avoid the distraction of the commission members from their duties, the visit to the residence of the voter may take place in the last hours of the voting day .The commission members who visit the voter are obliged to insure that he/she exercises freely the right to vote.

Citizens with the right to vote and with the domicile within the perimeter of the precinct, who are not registered in the voting list, as well as those who come to the precinct with a certificate, attesting their right to vote are recorded in a supplementary voting list, after having presented one of the documents to prove their identity as prescribed by these instructions.

The voters certificates remain in the possession of the Electoral Commission and an integral part of the election documentation.

The ballots will be completed by the voters in the voting booth in secret.

During the casting of the ballot access is prohibited to anybody else .Voters who are unable to complete the ballot without help, have the right to invite another person into the booth, with the exception of members of the commission, representatives of the candidates and their proxies. If the voter has made a mistake completing the ballot, the precinct electoral commission will replace it only once, making the necessary mention in the minute and voiding the miscast ballot.

It is prohibited to take a ballot outside the voting place and because of that, the president of the Electoral Commission has to organize the voting process in such a manner as to assure that the voters deposit the ballots in the ballot box before leaving the voting booth.

The Commission president is obliged to verify challenges of persons accredited to the precinct in connection with the balloting process. In case an irregularity is determined, he has to take the necessary measures in accordance with the law. The decisions he makes in order to assure the orderly procedures, are obligatory and executory for everyone.

At the time of cloture of the balloting, in case no extension had been granted, the Precinct Electoral Commission president declares the balloting finished and orders the closing of the precinct.

IV. Determining the result of the balloting, the order of presentation of the minutes and proclamation of the election outcome

The entire process of determining the results of the balloting has to be made in accordance with art. 54-55 of the Law for Parliamentary elections. The results will be examined in a session of the Electoral Commission and will be

included in the minute, signed by the president , vice-president and secretary as well as the members of the Commission. The absence of the signature of a commission member dos not influence the validity of the minute. The motives that have prevented the signature will be mentioned in the minute. The minute has to be issued in a legible fashion, by hand or by typewriter.

The minute , the challenges concerning the electoral process of the precinct, sealed in a separate package, the voided , unused ballots or those that have been the objects of a challenge , the stamps of the precinct, sealed in a box, will be surrendered under signature ,- within 24 hours from the declaration of the end of the balloting,- to the president of the regional election commission or the mayor of the city, a magistrate and a worker of the prosecutors office in order to be handed over to the Central Election Commission. The transfer from the Precinct of the documentation has to be made under police escort.

On the day of the balloting, the Precinct Electoral Commissions the following operative informations to the Technical Groups:

at 7:30 A.M. concerning the opening of the precinct,

from 12 Noon to 1:00 P.M. and between 6:00 and 8:00 PM the number of eligible voters and of those who have cast their ballots.-

THE PLAN - A WORK SCHEDULE

for the Precinct Electoral Commission for the election of the
Parliament of the Moldavian Republic

Crt. Description of the pre-election Deadline for the completion Assigned
Nr. operation of the pre-electoral oper. to

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1	2	3	4
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COMMISSION MEETINGS

1. Election of the vice president and secretary of the Precinct Election Commission
- scrutiny and approval of the plan of activity
- approval of the work schedule for the members of the Precinct Electoral Commission
Within 3 days from the final establishment of the commission, with notification of the technical group
2. Concerning the disbursement of the financial resources allotted to the Commission for the elections:
- regarding the publication of the voting lists and the list of candidates for the parliamentary election
Not later than February 5, 1994
3. Concerning the preparation of the precinct for the

balloting

February 15 1994

4. Concerning the assignments for the commission members
and the procedures at the precinct on election day Not later than Feb.15
5. Scrutiny of the election totals Febr.27,1994

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

1. Set-up of the locale for the election commission 30 days prior to elec-
(Necessary inventory : desks, chairs, safe, cabinet, tion day the latest
telephone, standard forms),
2. Presentation of the voters lists by the mayors office
to the Precinct (In 2 copies). Posting of the voters lists
In public spaces and at the precinct Not later than Febr.6
3. Posting of the lists of candidates for the Parliament Immediately after
presented by the parties, socio-political organizations, filing at the
electoral blocks as well as information about individual precinct
candidates
4. Preparation of the room in the precinct designated for By Febr.22,1994
the balloting. Make sure the precinct has the necessary
ballot boxes, voting booths, chairs, desks.
5. Receipt under signature of the ballots. Assure the Febr.25,1994
safeguarding of the ballots. Practice the procedures the latest
with the commission members.
6. Verify the level of preparedness of the election commission
and the precinct for the balloting process;
Verify the voting lists, the ballots, the forms for the

minutes of the commission, the existence of the round stamps of the commission, the metallic stamp, the " Voted 1994 " stamp, the " Void " stamp, identity badges, signs with the names of the parties and the socio-political organizations;

- the seal , writing material, kerosene lamps, candles.

Verification of the functioning of the means of communication, the presence at the precinct of fire fighting equipment, organize the security and maintenance of order at the precinct

Not later than Febr.25.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BALLOTING AT THE PRECINCT LEVEL

7. - Verification and sealing of the ballot boxes; Febr.27,1994
- Check the voting lists;
 - Distribute the ballots to the precinct commission members (the ballots have to be stamped on the back with the verification stamp of the precinct);
 - Notify the technical group about the opening of the precinct and the start of the balloting;
 - Present information concerning the progress at the precinct, the number of voters who have cast their ballots;
 - Declaration concerning the end of balloting and the decision by the president to close the precinct.

VOTE COUNT

8. - before the opening of the ballot boxes, all unused ballots have to be counted and cancelled with the " VOID " stamp;
- after having verified that the seals on the ballot boxes are intact, the president, in the presence of the commission members and persons having the right to assist, opens the ballot boxes;
 - the ballots are extracted from the ballot boxes and are counted in one place, visible to all commission members and others in attendance;
 - signs with the name of the parties, socio-political organizations, electoral blocks and individual candidate are displayed on the voting desks (N.T. the last sentence on this page is unfinished).

This is to certify that I have translated this text from Romanian into English and that to the best of my knowledge, it is a true translation.

Peter Geran

Diploma Nr.953/1953 issued by the Romanian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Linguistics, Bucharest, frm.
Active Member of the American Translators Association

APPENDIX 12(A)

VNC

50
9

Stimate (a) _____

Duminică, 27 februarie 1994, — ziua alegerii
Parlamentului Republicii Moldova.

Numărul Dumneavoastră în lista
electorală _____

Vă așteptăm la secția de votare nr. _____

pe adresa _____

_____ de la ora 7.00 pînă la 20.00

COMISIA ELECTORALĂ
A SECȚIEI DE VOTARE

APPENDIX 12(B)

ABS

ALEGEREA PARLAMENTULUI
REPUBLICII MOLDOVA

Comisia electorală a secției de votare nr. _____

CERTIFICAT

precum că _____

are dreptul de vot în conformitate cu art. 29
din Legea privind alegerea Parlamentului la
altă secție de votare.

L. S.

Președintele comisiei

_____ 19____

APPENDIX 13

CENTRAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
for the election of the Parliament
of the Republic of Moldova

277073, Chizinau, Stefan cel Mare str..154

R E G U L A T I O N

regarding the status of the foreign observes
attending the election of the Parliament of
the Republic of Moldova in 1994

Adopted by resolution No 52 of
the Central Electoral Commission
from December 14, 1993

1. Order to be followed in accrediting of foreign observers.
 - 1.1. Foreign observers are accredited at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in conformity to Art.46, paragraph 1 of the Law on election of the Parliament.
 - 1.2. Foreign organizations, governmental and non-governmental national organizations, as well as separate persons of a well known authority in the sphere of protection of human rights and freedoms shall make an application of accrediting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 - 1.3. In order to be registered, a foreign observer shall submit to the Central Electoral Commission the act of accrediting.
 - 1.4. The Central Electoral Commission shall establish the duration of powers of foreign observers which shall not exceed the one indicated in the certificate delivered to the foreign observer. In case of a new round of elections, or partial elections the duration of powers of a foreign observer may be prolonged at the latter's request.
 - 1.5. The Central Electoral Commission shall deliver a certificate of a certiation model to a foreign observer, confirming the latter's powers during the period of holding of elections.

2. Powers and Duties of Foreign Observers During the Election Campaign

2.1. A foreign observer shall have the rights as follows:

- to be present in the voting rooms (polling station) during the process of polling and identification of an elector's identity;
- to attend the sessions of the electoral commissions;
- to make himself familiar with the electoral documents (electoral lists, public documents of the social political organizations and independent candidates running in the election campaign, the financial documents relevant to the latter's election campaign, the electoral funds), to make extracts and copies at their own expense;
- to attend the counting of votes, to make schemes, to take pictures and make use of cameras, provided a permission of the chairman of the respective electoral commission is given, but with no use of supplementary flashes;
- to submit to the chairman of the polling station electoral commissions notes in case they ascertain an irregularity, provided they don't interfere with or impede the activity of the commissions;
- to attend the meetings of the social political organizations and independent candidates with the electors, the pre-electoral rallies.

2.2. Foreign observers shall also have the right to organize press conferences and to address the mass media, provided they don't violate the law in force in the Republic of Moldova.

2.3. Foreign observers shall not be entitled to use their status in order to undertake illegal acts of supervision of the holding of elections.

2.4. Foreign observers, with the consent of the Central Electoral Commission shall have the right to create provisional groups for the common supervision of the election campaign.

3. Guaranties for the Activity of Foreign Observers During the Election Campaign

3.1. A foreign observer shall be under the protection of the state during the entire period of holding of election campaign in the Republic of Moldova.

3.2. Personal resources, or resources allocated by the institution which delegates foreign observers shall be used for payment of expenditures necessary for the support of activity of foreign observers.

3.3. Electoral commissions and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall ensure a due support of the foreign observers during the latter's exercising of powers as stipulated in Chapter 2 of the present Regulation.

3.4. Foreign observers shall exercise their powers of supervision by themselves and independently.

4. Responsibility of Foreign Observers

4.1. Violation by a foreign observer of the terms of accrediting the legislation of the Republic of Moldova or the generally accepted provisions of the International Law shall bring about the termination of his accrediting. A decision regarding

termination of accrediting shall be made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova at the request of the Central Electoral Commission.

4.2. Violations of any kind of accrediting act during the polling day shall bring about the immediate removal of the respective observer from the polling station in basis of a resolution passed by the polling station electoral commission.



PREȘEDINTE
AL COMISIEI ELECTORALE A SECȚIEI
DE VOTARE nr. _____



VICEPREȘEDINTE
AL COMISIEI ELECTORALE A SECȚIEI
DE VOTARE nr. _____



VICEPREȘEDINTE
AL COMISIEI ELECTORALE A SECȚIEI
DE VOTARE nr. _____



SECRETAR
AL COMISIEI ELECTORALE A SECȚIEI
DE VOTARE nr. _____

APPENDIX 14(B)



REPUBLICA MOLDOVA
COMISIA ELECTORALĂ CENTRALĂ
PENTRU ALEGEREA PARLAMENTULUI

LEGITIMAȚIE _____

_____ este acreditat în
calitate de reprezentant din partea _____

la secția de votare nr. _____

Valabilă la prezentarea actului de identitate.

Președintele
Comisiei Electorale Centrale

APPENDIX 14(C)



REPUBLICA MOLDOVA
COMISIA ELECTORALĂ CENTRALĂ

Dl _____

este observator la alegerea Parlamentului
din 27 februarie 1994 din partea

Buletinul de identitate _____

Președintele
Comisiei Electorale Centrale

APPENDIX 15

SUGGESTED ITEMS OF INTEREST TO FOREIGN OBSERVERS PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA FEBRUARY 27, 1994

1. Observers have the right to see clearly the election day (and related) procedure in and around the local polling places. Also, naturally, they may observe the central tabulation process. They may not interfere in any way, and may be ejected if the precinct commission, or appropriate official, thinks they have overstepped their role.

2. IFES believes you will find the officers of the Central Election Commission (CEC), the Foreign Ministry, the Parliament, etc., to be very helpful and interested in the success of your efforts. It has been our experience that election observers--foreign and domestic-- are regarded as an important component of the election's fairness and public credibility.

3. It is suggested that polls in and around the Capitol City are likely to be "top heavy" with observers. Precinct Commissions are also likely to be diverse in party membership. Interesting and newsworthy "irregularities", if any, are not likely to occur in that area.

4. Similarly, Precinct Commissions in rural areas, nevertheless under the jurisdiction of the Chisinau government are said to be less likely to be diverse in their membership vis-a-vis party and ballot access group affiliation. A discrete inquiry along that line--during a lull in voting--might be of interest. Some have suggested that the political control of those areas is monolithic and they are likely to produce skewed results.

5. According to a very late decision and controversial decision taken by the Constitution Court, following a Presidential decree, voting of "Left Bank" citizens--not under the effective administration of the Chisinau government--began early at specified villages which the government does control. Voters may only participate at a poll designated for their particular residence. Those citizens are to show proper identification (presumably the internal passport) and must sign the supplemental voter roll in order to vote. Their ballots are not to go into a ballot box for election day voters under the direct jurisdiction of Chisinau, but are to be placed in boxes especially provided for Transdniestrian voters.

Although some members of the CEC are uncomfortable with the legality of the procedure, they seem satisfied that sufficient steps have been taken to prevent multiple voting. What remains beyond the control of the CEC however, is the restriction of access or use of intimidation by the authorities in Tiraspol. This area should remain a area of significant concern for election observers.

6. At the same time and pursuant to the same decree, it was decided that voting of citizens in the area south of Chisinau populated by the Gagauz will take place on the 27th in their customary polling places. That arrangement is also controversial and raises legal questions because of the short time to prepare the precinct commissions. It is considered unlikely that the various political parties will

be able to achieve the same sort of representation on the precinct commissions that they have elsewhere in the country. This area should also be considered an area of high concern and it is assumed your credentials will be honored by the local precinct officials even the area considers itself to be an autonomous republic and has only tenuous relations with Chisinau.

7. Your credentials are to be retained, not surrendered to any specific official. No record of your presence is lawfully required to be made.

8. Party and ballot access group candidate lists--in sequential order--and platform statements, along with complete lists of registered voters are required to be available in each polling place. Of course, independent candidates are to be listed also. You are entitled to be able to see them--as voters should be too. This information has been printed in book form and should already be available at the electoral precincts.

9. Moldovan citizens not listed as registered, who can prove residence, are entitled to present identification, sign "supplemental" lists, and be allowed to vote.

10. Some observers of Soviet-era elections allege that a high "turn-out" was sometimes obtained (even when election outcome was not in doubt) by false signing of the voter roll late in the day, together with marking and inserting a corresponding ballot into the box--for voters certain not to come to the polls. Interestingly, by a Parliamentary decision, no rubber stamp ("Voted, 27/2/94", for instance) is to be placed in the individual citizen's internal passport, which serves as the voter identification. If the false voting practice were to be attempted again--and some persons expect it will--it would be more likely to occur at some distance from Chisinau.

11. IFES films of the recent Russian election show party observers, familiar to the voters, were consulted for advice in some polling places (The Russian Ballot was rather complicated compared to the Moldovan one for this election). Moldovan law requires all campaigning to end the day before the election. No lawful electioneering can take place in or around the polls.

12. A voter may not take his or her ballot out of the polls, voted or unvoted.

13. Chisinau area poll results are brought directly to the CEC. Rural results are collected by Raion (Region) Commissions for transportation to Chisinau. Those Commissions may be observed as well. They have no counting role and are only to transmit results by phone to the CEC.

14. A Precinct Commission has 24 hours to complete tabulation and delivery of results to their appropriate collection point for central tabulation.

15. Final, but to some extent unofficial, results are not expected prior to March 3--and may be later! Reasonable scrutiny of the process and time involved is appropriate, in our opinion.

16. Precinct tabulation is done by "stacking" voted ballots according to party or candidate. Numbers are entered onto provided canvass sheets, in duplicate. Those sheets are to be signed and designated at the local level. They are not to be marked or numbered by the CEC. All ballots are to be accounted for--voted, unvoted, spoiled or rejected in any way.

17. Additional Information:

- A. Polls open at 0700 and close at 2000, except in emergencies.
- B. No weapons or "bladed implements" may be in a polling place except to restore order by appropriate officials. Police are to be present.
- C. All of Moldova is one election district. Parliamentary Deputies are allocated to Parties, Ballot Access Groups, and independent candidates according to the proportion of votes received.
- D. A party or ballot access group must receive at least 4% of the vote nation-wide to be awarded seats in Parliament.
- E. At least 1/3 of all registered voters must participate for results to be validated.
- F. The CEC has adopted a tie-breaking procedure.
- G. Polls may vary in size from 50 to 3,000 voters
- H. The Constitutional Court of Moldova makes results official and has the power to litigate irregularities. It may even order a new election.

For Additional Information, please feel free to contact the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 23-75-91.

APPENDIX 16

President of the Republic of Moldova

DECREE

About creating conditions for the participation of citizens from the rayons of the left bank of the Dnistr and from the town of Bender in parliamentary elections of the Republic of Moldova

Taking into account the big number of appeals of different parties, socio-political organizations and of the inhabitants of the left bank of the Dnistr, concerning the insurance of the right of all the moldovan citizens to vote and to be voted on the basis of the point 1 of article 1134 of the Constitution of the Republic of Moldova, the President of the Republic of Moldova decrees:

art.1 - For the citizens with the right to vote of the left bank rayons of the Dnester and from the town of Bender the period of holding elections in the parliament of the Republic of Moldova is established from 21st to 27th of february, 1994, inclusively.

art.2 - The Central Election Commission is suggested to iestablish the ways of organizing and carrying on on elections for the mentioned citizens.

art.3 - the present Decree is coming in force on the date of signing.

*Mircea Snegur
President of the Republic of Moldova*

Chisinau, 17th of February, 1994

APPENDIX 17
(translation)

COMPATRIOTS!!!
Voting for the block
SOCIALIST PARTY and MOVEMENT "UNITATEA - UNITY"
You vote:

FOR

- * abolishing of the borders with the republics of the CIS;
- * joining the ruble-zone;
- * free education and health care;
- * dual citizenship;
- * benefits for retired peoples and students;
- * official status for Russian language.

AGAINST

- * unification with Romania;
- * new fratricidal conflicts;
- * discrimination of the russian speaking population;
- * closing of the russian schools and pre-schools;
- * evaluation on a state language proficiency;
- * uncontrollable rise in prices.

REMEMBER!

Our main enemy - YOUR PASSIVITY!

IF READ - HAND OVER TO OTHER

Bloc's Council. Ph. 24-27-39, 73-12-96

(opposite side)

YOU CAN TRUST US!

The deputies of the incumbent Parliament : Piotr Shornikov, Vladimir Solonar, Viktor Morev, Valentine Krilov, Vasilii Iovv, Ilya Trombitzkii, Michail Russu, nominated by the Socialist Party and the Movement "Unitatea-Unity", unlike many of their colleagues in the Parliament, didn't use their mandates to their own profit. They did not acquire cars, did not receive state subsidized apartments, did not build dachas and mansions. They did not betray their beliefs even at the time then the supporters of the People Front were offending them and were intimidating them, tried finish them off physically. Some among them have lost their job, but remained true to their principles.

YOU CAN INTRUST THE DEFENSE OF YOUR INTERESTS IN THE FUTURE TO THE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN DEFENDING THEM DEVOTEDLY IN THE PAST!

Only the Bloc of the Socialist Party and the Movement "Unitatea-Unity" has on its list more than a half of the candidates the representatives of the minorities. On the other parties' lists they are not represented or they are represented very poorly (one, maximum two people out of ten).

Only by voting for our bloc you will help ukrainians and russians, gagauzes and bulgarians, jews and people of other origins to be represented in the future Parliament as they deserve.

VOTING FOR US YOU ARE VOTING FOR YOUR INTERESTS! REMEMBER! BLOC IS REGISTERED UNDER THE NUMBER 7, ITS ELECTION SIGN IS A PIGEON OF PEACE!



СОГРАЖДАНЕ!!!

Голоса за блок

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ и ДВИЖЕНИЯ "УНИТАТЯ - ЕДИНСТВО"

Вы голосуете:

ЗА

- ликвидацию границ с республиками СНГ;
- вхождение в рублёвую зону;
- бесплатное образование и здравоохранение;
- двойное гражданство;
- льготы для пенсионеров и учащейся молодёжи;
- официальный статус русского языка.

ПРОТИВ

- объединения с Румынией;
- новых братоубийственных конфликтов;
- дискриминации русскоязычного населения;
- закрытия русских учебных и дошкольных заведений;
- аттестации на знание государственного языка;
- бесконтрольного роста цен.

ПОМНИТЕ!

Наш главный противник - ВАША ПАССИВНОСТЬ!

Совет Блока. Тел. 24-27-39, 73-12-96

ПРОЧИТАЙ - ПЕРЕДАЙ ДРУГОМУ

НАМ МОЖНО ВЕРИТЬ!

Депутаты нынешнего Парламента: Пётр Шорников, Владимир Солонарь, Виктор Мореа, Валентин Крылов, Василий Новв, Илья Тромбинский, Михаил Руссу, выдвинутые по списку Социалистической партии и Движения "Унитате-Единство", не использовали, в отличие от многих своих коллег по Парламенту, мандаты в целях личного обогащения. Они не приобретали автомобили, не получали государственных квартир, не строили дач и особняков. Они не изменили своим убеждениям даже тогда, когда сторонники Народного Фронта оскорбляли их и угрожали им, пытались физически расправиться с ними. Некоторые из них потеряли работу, но остались верны своим принципам.

ТЕМ, КТО НЕИЗМЕННО ЗАЩИЩАЛ ВАШИ ИНТЕРЕСЫ В ПРОШЛОМ, МОЖНО ДОВЕРИТЬ ИХ ЗАЩИТУ И В БУДУЩЕМ!

Только в списке кандидатов Блока Социалистической партии и Движения "Унитате-Единство" более половины мест занимают представители национальных меньшинств. В списках других партий и блоков их или вообще нет, или крайне мало (один, максимум два человека из десяти).

Только голоса за наш блок, Вы сможете тому, чтобы украинцы и русские, гагаузы и болгары, евреи и люди других национальностей были достойно представлены в будущем Парламенте.

ГОЛОСУЯ ЗА НАС - ВЫ ГОЛОСУЕТЕ ЗА СВОИ ИНТЕРЕСЫ!

ПОМНИТЕ! БЛОК ЗАРЕГИСТРИРОВАН ПОД НОМЕРОМ 7, ЕГО ИЗБИРАТЕЛЬНЫЙ ЗНАК - ГОЛУБЬ МИРА!

Совет Блока Социалистической партии и Движения "Унитате-Единство"
Тел.: 731-296; 242-739

APPENDIX 18

(translation of P&I Bloc flyer)

COMPATRIOTI!

On February 27, 1994, your fate and that of your children is being decided!

If you want to have peace at home and bread on the table,

If you want land for yourselves and your children,

If you want to take part in the good life that you deserve,

VOTE FOR THE PEASANTS AND INTELLECTUALS BLOC!

THE BLOC OF PEASANTS AND INTELLECTUALS IS THE BLOC OF THE PEOPLE

VOTE FOR THE ROOSTER, THE BIRD OF AWAKENING AND HOPE!



COMPATRIOTI!

**La 27 februarie 1994 se hotărăște soarta
voastră și a copiilor voștri!**

**Dacă doriți să aveți pace în casă,
și pline pe masă,**

**Dacă vreți pământ pentru voi și pentru copiii
voștri,**

**Dacă vreți să aveți parte de o viață bună
pe care o meritați,**

**VOTAȚI PENTRU BLOCUL
ȚĂRANILOR ȘI INTELCTUALILOR!**

**BLOCUL ȚĂRANILOR ȘI
INTELCTUALILOR ESTE BLOCUL
POPORULUI**

**VOTAȚI COCOȘUL, PASĂREA
DEȘTEPTĂRII ȘI SPERANTEI!**

APPENDIX 19(A)

PROFESSIONAL COMPOSITION
OF PARTIES AND ELECTION BLOCKS CANDIDATES

Parties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NR of candidates	106	21	56	106	106	106	106	104	45	21	67	106	68
Average age	44	53	49	41	46	48	47	50	46	48	47	44	42
Ph.D. holders		5	1	13	19	12	18	5		1	7	7	7
Habitat Doctor				3	6	3	5				10	4	1
Academy member								1					
Academician					3	1		1			1		
Professions:													
Lawyer	5	3	2	8	6	10	14	8	3	3	4	9	15
Economist	4	2	3	16	5	13	13	5	3	1	9	11	11
Journalist	9	1	1	1	2	2	4		3	2	2	3	3
Historian			11	7	5	4	1	3	1		1	1	
Engineer	23	4	11	31	26	27	22	34	6	1	18	39	10
Technician		2		3		1		2				1	
Teacher	32	1	7	10	15	8	25	20	13	3	16	11	10
Linguist	3	1	5	3	2	1	2	1	1	1			1
Doctor	7	1	3	8	13	5	10	3	4	2	4	11	7
Physicist	1	2		1	1		1				2		
Biologist	2	2	1		3	1		3		6			
Mathematician	1	1		7	4			1	1				
Farm-manager	4	1		3	10	26	4	9		1	4	3	5
Zoologist			1		1	5			1			3	2
Ballet-dancer	1												
Singer						1		1	3		1	1	
Writer	1		1		3			1					
Worker	1											4	
Farmer					1							1	
Military							2	6					

1. Alliance of Christian-Democratic Popular Front (ACDPF).
2. Alliance of Victims of the Totalitarian Regime (AVTR).
3. National Christian Party (NCP).
4. Social-Democratic Block (SDB).
5. Intellectuals and Peasants Block (IPB).
6. Agrarian Democratic Party of Moldova (ADPM).
7. Democratic Party (DP).
8. Socialist Block "Edinstvo" (Unity) (SBE).
9. Alliance of Women of Moldova (AWM).
10. Ecology Party (EP).
11. Republican Party (RP).
12. Democratic Labor Party (DLP).
13. Party of Reform (PR).

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APPENDIX 19(B)

FIELDS OF ACTIVITY OF PARTIES AND ELECTION BLOCKS CANDIDATES

<u>Parties</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
1. Ministries and Dept. employees:													
Leadership				1	4	3	10			1		4	1
Middle staff		2	1	2	5	2	3	5				5	4
Other		4	1	2	2	2				1			5
2. Research Institute & University employees	11		2	13	14	25	11	23	7	4	9	11	8
3. Agro-industrial complex employees:													
Farm directors		3			4	3	22	2	1			2	6
Middle staff		3				3						2	5
Other		1				4		1	1				1
4. Parliament members		7			3	7	8	2	4	1		2	1
5. Clergy		1	1					1					
6. State enterprises employees		22		15	17	21	12	24	31	8	6	17	37
Leadership		2			10	6	5	6	6	3	1	12	29
7. High school employees													
Principals		4			1	7	5	9	2	2		4	2
Teachers		15	1	4	3	6	1	3	8	4		1	1
8. Municipal and local self administration employees													
Leadership		1			1	3	4	1	2	3	1		3
Employees		4	1	3	2	2		4	2	2		1	2
9. Mass media employees		6		2	3	2	1	4	2	4	2	2	2
10. Retirees		1	1	4		5							
11. Unemployed		2					3		2				
12. Private entrepren.		3	1	2	12	6	9	10	16	5	1	6	14
13. TV employees		1			12		4	2		2		1	2
14. Workers					1					3	4		3

1. Alliance of Christian-Democratic Popular Front (ACDPF).
2. Alliance of Victims of the Totalitarian Regime (AVTR).
3. National Christian Party (NCP).
4. Social-Democratic Block (SDB).
5. Intellectuals and Peasants Block (IPB).
6. Agrarian Democratic Party of Moldova (ADPM).
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9. Alliance of Women of Moldova (AWM).
10. Ecology Party (EP).
11. Republican Party (RP).
12. Democratic Labor Party (DLP).
13. Party of Reform (PR).

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APPENDIX 20

CONTENTS

- I. UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF SELECTIONS FROM THE PARTY PLATFORMS
(translated by IFES-Chisinau)**

- II. BRIEF SUMMARIES OF THE LARGER POLITICAL PARTIES PARTICIPATING ON SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1994**

- III. LIST OF SUGGESTED TOPICS OF INTEREST FOR FOREIGN OBSERVERS ON ELECTION DAY**

BOARD OF DIRECTORS	Charles T. Manatt Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	Judy Fernald Victor Kamber	Sonia Picado S Richard M. Scammon	Randal C. Teague Counsel
	David R. Jones Vice Chairman	Joseph Napolitan Treasurer	Jean-Pierre Kingsley Peter McPherson	William R. Sweeney, Jr.	Richard W. Soudriette Director
		James M. Cannon			

**DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY OF MOLDOVA
(DLPM)**

The Democratic Labor party of Moldova, being a social and political formation, promotes opportunities for those who consider that free and creative work is the fundamental source of existence and development of both a state and its citizens. The DLPM believes that the present government was not able and did not wish to assure true independence of the state, integrity of its territory, active and flexible foreign policy, or real protection of the people.

In this situation, the DLPM builds its electoral platform on the following principles:

- Active personnel of a new type, capable of completing the social and economic reform. Within the party there exist people who have demonstrated competency in all the fields of activity: industry, agriculture, politics, social science;
- A democratic and modern state of a European type. Therefore there is an urgent need to adopt a new Constitution which will shape our political conception of our state, will assure real division of powers, political pluralism, free mass media and unconditional respect of human rights, resolve the situation in the Eastern and Southern parts of the Republic on the basis of internationally recognized rights through de-centralization of the power of THE State and the expansion of the rights of local self-administration bodies;
- Flexible foreign policy oriented towards national interests. We propose to adopt a document in which the political priorities of our foreign policy are shaped. In this relation, we consider it necessary to build multilateral relations with the European Community while preserving economic relations with the countries of the CIS;
- Gradual transition to a market economy considering Moldova's specific features. The DLPM believes there are urgent needs for:
 - a real land reform;
 - liberalization of the activity of all economic sector;
 - stimulation of export;
 - promotion of a flexible tax policy;
 - creation of the financial, budget, monetary and credit systems meant to benefit the manufacturers, to consolidate national currency and to protect the consumers;

- Active social policy and promotion of human values. The DLPM believes that the totalitarian regime has not yet been overcome in the social field. In order to promote the human potential we consider it necessary:

- to create normal life and working conditions for teachers, doctors and people of culture and science,
- to provide health, educational, cultural, scientific and sport institutions with THE necessary material base,
- to create favorable conditions for talented people, development of professional art and protection of monuments of culture and history,
- to promote a strong policy of protection of the vulnerable categories of population, i.e.: retirees, handicapped persons, students, families with many children, and single mothers.

The DLPM realizes that all the parties and movements of the Republic of Moldova will offer very attractive and promising platforms. Our party's advantage is that we not only understand what is necessary to be done, but we also have the people who are capable of fulfilling these ideas. This ability is well demonstrated by their current activities.

ALLIANCE OF THE POPULAR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC FRONT

People's aspirations for national, social and economic liberty were expressed in the political platform of the Alliance, which set the legal foundation for the Moldovan independent state and democratic reforms.

To retain power, spokesmen changed the old communist slogans and managed to steal the process of consolidation of independence and implementation of the reforms. This has led to economic and social disaster, territorial division and war, and corruption and poverty of the majority of the population. In order to conceal its incapability to create a truly independent and sovereign state, the present government has launched the idea that there exists a certain danger for our country coming from the West. In reality, the only danger which is always threatening comes from the East, from Russia, which has always been searching for expansion. The danger for our independent state is coming from a tendency to be incorporated in diverse structures of a CIS type, as well as from million of electors who recently voted in favor of restoration of the Russian empire, and for the transformation of Basarabia into a guberniya (district) of Russia with Tiraspol as its capital.

The Popular Christian Democratic Front, Volunteers movement and Organization of Christian and Democratic Youth constitutes the **Alliance of Popular Christian Democratic Front**. Our program condemns any possible manifestation of Romanophobia and stands for rehabilitation and triumph of the historic truth and for the realization of sacred ideals.

The electoral program of the Alliance is based on the idea of national freedom and integrity, social justice and values of Christian Democracy.

Christianity represents the supreme spiritual values of the history of humanity, while Orthodoxy is the main leader of our national existence. Christianity in its democratic formulation - especially its moral part - is valued in social life. The Mystical and dogmatic part is left for the church. A human being modeled according to the Christian teachings lives his historic destiny through a state and his eternal destiny through a Church.

The Orthodox Church, based on the belief in the unity of the nation, does not permit the formation of a new Orthodox Autocephalous Church in the ethnic space of the same nation. Reunion of the Church is not conditioned by political and economic factors. It can be achieved through reestablishment of the rights of the Holy Metropolia of Basarabia, autonomous and of the old style, and through abolition of religious discrimination against the clergy and their believers.

The Alliance of the Popular Christian Democratic Front respects all the religious confessions and considers that it is not within the competency of political parties to interfere in inter-confessional relations.

PEASANTS AND INTELLECTUALS BLOC

There is no need to convince anybody of the urgent necessity to make serious changes in our society.

In order to live a different life, we need first of all a Parliament which will consist of those people who want to make changes and who are capable of thinking them over and also of making them real.

What do we suggest?

IN AGRICULTURE:

- Real privatization in the rural areas, so that all citizens who have the right to an allotment of land, receive a deed to their farm as soon as possible. This is the only way in which farmers can decide how land will be used and worked;
- The State should support the agrarian sector. Taxes should be no more than one third of the cost of products, and individual farms should be free from taxes during their first 2 years. The state should provide farmers with equipment and credits for agricultural work.
- Favorable conditions should be created for the development of small enterprises for the processing of agricultural products.

IN INDUSTRY, BUILDING CONSTRUCTION, AND TRANSPORT:

- To speed up the privatization process, priority should be given to members of working collectives. Equal conditions should be created for state and private enterprises;
- Actions should be taken in order to protect the national industry (construction materials, electronics, etc.), and certain changes should be made to minimize dependency on imported raw materials and energy resources;
- The way of managing state enterprises should be changed.

IN ENERGY:

- Near total dependency on a single vendor of fuel should be eliminated. Integration into the European energy system should occur, specifically by building lines of high voltage and updating the technology of the energy-consuming sectors.

IN ECONOMICS:

- Preserving reasonable economic relations with the CIS countries
- Economic collaboration with Western countries, first of all with Romania.

IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL PROTECTION OF THE POPULATION:

- Families with children, orphans, handicaps, retired and unemployed people should be assured of normal life conditions. Therefore, the laws on social protection, pension indexation and unemployment relief be modified so that they correspond to minimum consumer needs;
- Re-indexing of money deposited to the bank before Jan.1992;
- People working in the field of education, culture, health and other intellectuals should be given the right to an allotment of land;
- Christmas and Easter vacation for teachers should be assured as in all European countries,
- Women should be additionally protected through:
 - a) creation of a State Department for Women's Concerns,
 - b) guarantee of preserving the place of work during one's last 3 years of work before retirement.

LAWS AGAINST CORRUPTION AND CRIMINALITY:

- The laws should apply not only to simple people but also to those who govern, and those who hold large amounts of money; their profits should be declared and taxed based on the declaration;
- Police and carabinieri should protect social peace and order on a equal basis, not only in the places of work and leisure of central and local administration representatives.

IN ORDER TO PACIFY SEPARATISTS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE DNIESTER AND IN THE REGIONS POPULATED BY GAGAUZ:

- We propose to form territorial and administrative units (municipal Tiraspol, regions populated mostly with Moldovans, Russians and Ukrainians, a judets Comrat), with a special administrative status (separate budgets formed directly from taxes, and fair representation in the supreme organs of state next to Romanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Gagauz and Bulgarians in conformity with the legislation in force).

All the reforms - economic, political, social and cultural - are directed towards true independence of the Republic of Moldova.

Reforms are inevitable. Do not believe claims about the reconstruction of the former order. Russia and all the other states of the former USSR are on the path of transformations and reforms. Do not let yourself be deceived again.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF MOLDOVA.

Democratic Party (D.P.), formed Dec.23, 1990, is a centrist political formation and believes that the present political, economic, social and spiritual crisis is the result of timid implementation of reforms and a lack of discipline and order in the country. This crisis could have been on a smaller scale, had certain actions been taken.

Given the current conditions, the D.P. calls for:

- Real independence and territorial integrity for Moldova;
- Adoption of the first Constitution of Moldova which will state that Moldova is the common motherland of all its citizens, a sovereign, independent, national, democratic and unitary state in which the supremacy of law, representative democracy, and political and economic pluralism will triumph;
- The first Moldovan Constitution to create a bicameral Parliament with a Deputies Chamber and a Senators Chamber - to which the Deputies will be elected on the platforms of their political parties, and Senators be elected in the territorial units;
- The Creation of an independent judicial system, which will constitute a real third power;
- Territorial and administrative reform that will lead to real de-centralization of the executive power;
- The assurance of human rights for all ethnic groups on the basis of Moldovan legislation and international norms and rights;
- A solution to the problems of ethnic groups through de-centralization of power, self administration and local economy.
The problem of the Eastern region of Moldova can be solved according to the plan offered by the Cultural Society Transdnistria: to create a municipal Tiraspol with a special status for Russians and judets Rybnitsa and Slobozia where Moldovans and Russians would be assured of plenary rights. The problem in the South of Moldova can be solved by a status of cultural autonomy for the Gagauz, established together with the Gagauzian Popular Party and confirming the unconditional integrity of the Republic of Moldova;
- Adoption of the Law of Moldova on the state administration.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN PARTY

The National Christian Party is a political party of Romanians of Orthodox Christian spirituality living to the East of the river Prut. We enter the electoral struggle for the Parliament in order to abolish the *de jure* and *de facto* consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

Therefore, we call for:

- Moldova's departure from CIS military, political and economic prison.
- A return to our traditional faith and Church and the formation of Christian consciousness.
- Integration of the national economy with the EEC.
- The reunion of national economy, education and culture of Moldova with those of Romania.
- Radical agricultural reform by free distribution of land to peasants.
- Elaboration of a strict program to control inflation.
- Social protection of retirees, big families, unemployed, etc.
- The renaissance of the Romanian consciousness.
- The revision of the national history and culture.
- The creation of a national Army, capable of fulfilling its duty.
- Reestablishment of the Constitutional organs on the territory of the two phantom republics.
- Establishment of justice in society.
- The annulment of all the Soviet and pro-CIS laws.
- The revision of the laws on the language in accordance with today's reality.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND "UNITATE-UNITY" MOVEMENT.**IN POLITICAL LIFE:**

We call for ratification of all the treaties concerning Moldova's entry into the CIS and the EEC, maximum transparency of borders between the former USSR republics and the free flow of goods, investments and working hands between them.

The future of Moldova is a mixed economy which will combine different forms of property. Principles of the state economy will be connected with those of the market economy.

We call for adoption by the Government and the Parliament of a PROGRAM OF STATE which will provide for the reconstruction and development of Moldovan industry which has been destroyed by the economic and political crises of the Frontist governments.

To support agriculture by the State we would assure the farmers their right to choose between different types of property. To avoid reckless "liberalization" we call for State regulation of the main industries of the national economy and strict control over the prices on primary goods.

We call for gradual privatization to be carried out not only through property coupons, but support free privatization of dwellings.

We seek adoption of a Program for supporting science.

We seek reform of the executive power and reduction of the state apparatus, including the number of ministries and departments.

IN SOCIAL LIFE:

We call for reestablishment of the same social grants that was the indisputable achievement of the Soviet period, such as free education, free medical assistance, cheap housing, etc.

We believe the state is responsible for assuring the most vulnerable parts of the population with the minimum conditions of existence.

We want to preserve the system of stipends for the youth attending colleges and fight against unemployment.

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS:

We are in favor of consolidation of Moldova and against unification with Romania.

We plead for the right of Moldovans to preserve their specific national character-Moldovan and the Moldovan language.

We wish to put an end to territorial division of Moldova and consider it possible to reestablish its integrity through negotiations and compromises. The new Moldovan Constitution will reflect the polyethnic character of the Moldovan state.

Linguistic legislation should be liberalized.

We stand for the independence of the Orthodox Church and the preservation of its present Canonical status.

DEMOCRATIC AGRARIAN PARTY OF MOLDOVA

The complex anti-crisis program proposed by our party is oriented not only towards people living in the country-side and the workers of the agri-industrial complex, but also reflects the interests of the largest sectors of the population regardless of their national, social or professional affiliation, language, or faith.

The Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova (D.A.P.M.) considers that the civilized development of the Republic is possible only through civic, national and social accord, and the consolidation of all wise forces in the society.

Being devoted to democratic principles, D.A.P.M. rejects all the manifestations of national intolerance. We don't accept forceful solutions to disputed problems. Our aim is maintenance of civic accord and the peaceful solution of the state's conflicts.

The D.A.P.M. will assure the urgent passage of the Constitution of the Republic. During the process of reforming the state's laws, the D.A.P.M. will do its best to pass legislation for the creation, strengthening and development over the long term of the new economic mechanisms, and to grant equal guarantees to all the forms of property.

The D.A.P.M. calls for the decentralization of state power, an increase in the economic independence, authority and activities of the bodies of local administration.

The D.A.P.M. considers economic reform to be the basis of the creation of a strong state. Our strategy calls for the creation of a market economy with a social orientation. Its basic principles are as follows:

- Provision of a legal basis and acceleration of the privatization process
- Creation of favorable conditions for producers of goods;

CONCRETE MEASURES TO ACHIEVE THE AIM OF THE STRATEGY IN THE AGRARIAN SECTOR:

- Creation of an economic system that would rationally join small, medium and big enterprises of different specialization and forms of property;
- Acceleration of the process of privatization in the way determined by the legislation of the Republic of Moldova;
- Creation of an efficient mechanism of regulation of the land relations;
- Granting the peasants the possibility to chose independently the forms of their administration;
- Elaboration of a program of state support for agriculture during the process of transition.

IN THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR:

- Endorsement of a complex state program that would achieve the priority of structural reorganization as well as create a wise economic environment for all the industrial units;
- Accelerated elaboration and implementation of a special program of conversion of military facilities to civilian uses;
- Setting up efficient mechanisms for scientific research to find technologies able to replace imported technology;
- Extension of a staff's rights for the privatization of the goods of their industrial units.

THE PARTY OF REFORM

The Party of Reform (P.R.) considers that the main concern of the Republic of Moldova today is the solution of economic problems. The P.R. has the aim to create the necessary conditions for establishment, consolidation and support of the social middle class of people that are the guarantee of country's stability and independence.

The goals of the Party

IN THE ECONOMIC AREA:

- Equalization of rights of private and state property
- Constitutional and legal sanction of the human right to private property - in land, real estate, capital, and the result of work done
- Real privatization as a means of economic reconstruction and not to waste of national riches. We shall ask for revision of the State Program on Privatization to ensure a harmony between economic interest, which is primary, and the social equity;
- Extension of the private sector of the national economy;
- A new investment policy, orientated toward foreign investments and external financial support for the private sector of the economy;
- Promotion of a tax policy for stimulating economic units.
- Granting of fiscally advantageous conditions. Tax rates in Moldova to be fixed below the level accepted in neighboring countries, so as to draw large investments from outside;
- New jobs by creating industrial units with private, joint and foreign capital.
- Application of advanced technology to the agricultural area, industrialization of the agriculture, decentralization of industry, and the establishment of industrial units in rural localities, etc.;
- Setting up free financial markets and supporting private banking institutions;
- Diversification of energy sources, first for villages and agriculture by capitalization of existing natural potential;
- Legalization the right for private ownership of land.
- Maintenance of all the efficient forms of agricultural producers' associations
- Formation of an agricultural financial system and of a net of agricultural services;

- Setting up and supporting of a series of model units using private capital in all fields of national economy;
- Rehabilitation of the material condition of the development of the potential of the transportation, communications and informational sphere; the connection of these systems to European and international networks;
- Creation and education of an efficient, qualified and responsible managerial staff in all the districts of the country. Legal economic, political and moral protection of the owners and managers.

IN THE SOCIAL AREA

- A basic reform of the wage system. Employee participation in income distribution and guarantee of proper minimum wage for those who work;
- Revision of the social protection and insurance system, and granting of social aid with a specific emphasis on children, old people, handicapped people, and for a short term, the unemployed;
- Setting up of state insurance and a private system for health assistance;
- Reform of the education system and increase of budget allocations and private investments in the areas of education and culture;
- Reorientation of the scientific research towards applied investigations with a direct emphasis the national economy;
- Press liberalization;
- Moral restrengthening of the society by support from the state, private structures and public organizations of worship, observing the right to freedom of faith;

IN THE AREA OF DOMESTIC POLICY OF THE STATE

The P.R. calls for transformation of the Republic of Moldova into a unitary, sovereign and independent state under the law. The new constitution of the republic has to create favorable conditions for setting up a state in which the supreme power belongs to the law.

The Fundamental human rights and freedoms have to be not only declared but also ensured and guaranteed by means of legal and political mechanisms, for example by a Constitutional Court, Administrative Court, and People's Barrister.

The P.R. considers the territorial integrity of the country to be a task of major importance. The country's territory may be divided only into administrative-territorial units. Through decentralization of the state power and local autonomy, a legal status will be guaranteed to Transdnistria and localities densely populated by Gagauz people.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF MOLDOVA

We believe:

- That the Republic of Moldova is a sovereign, independent, unitary and democratic state;
- That economic freedom is the basis of the political and social freedoms;
- In a fiscal policy that stimulates production and stops criminal enrichment;
- In real social protection of elderly people, handicapped people, big families, mothers and children, and students.
- In new legislation directed to the struggle against corruption and criminality and the increase of its efficiency;
- In improvement of the operations of the army, police and safety forces;
- In the enactment of legislation to hold members of the judiciary answerable for violations;
- In the rejection of separatism, unionism and pro-imperial ambitions;
- In a peaceful solution to all political problems;
- In the rejection of neo-Bolshevism in social life, particularly in political dialogue;

We endorse a new Constitution which would guarantee and sanction the integrity of the Republic of Moldova...

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF MOLDOVA

Participation of the representatives of the Association of the women of Moldova at the elections for the new legislative forum could positively influence the policy of our young state, granting it more diplomacy, intelligence, and firmness.

We seek:

- A harmonious state policy that would preclude the society's polarization into rich and poor people, retrogrades and vanguardists, patriots and nonpatriots. We shall do our best to set up a society of equals.
- A wise market economy accomplished in the spirit of established traditions of the highly civilized countries.
- Fair inter-ethnic relations based on awareness by each citizen of his obligations towards society, on the respect towards the signs of our state sovereignty: language, alphabet, anthem, coat of arms, tricolor.

Our priorities in

POLITICS:

- Peaceful parliamentary defense of the integrity of Republic of Moldova;
- Consolidation of the state independence and unconditional withdrawal of the foreign armies from its territory. Rejection of the interventionist policy of any state into other's state affairs.
- Endorsement of the new Constitution in accordance with the international laws.
- Equal rights guarantee for women and men in all the fields; children's rights guarantee.

ECONOMY:

- A firm application of reforms in all the areas of national economy to stimulate the transition to the market economy. Creation of the equal rights for the development of different forms of property. Stimulation of the small business. Prevention of unemployment by opening new jobs and by reshaping the workforce.

SOCIAL AREA:

- We plead for a thorough reform of education and for an endorsement of some advantageous conditions concerning admission of the gifted children to special schools.

"GREEN ALLIANCE" ECOLOGY PARTY OF MOLDOVA.

In the conditions of a constantly deepening political, economic and moral crisis, pollution of the natural environment has become an acute social problem which is effecting everyday life. It becomes evident that the decreasing life expectancy of people, decreasing of their immune systems and the appearance of new pathologies, all together jeopardize the general health of the nation.

The party in its electoral campaign is making the following suggestions:

IN THE FIELD OF ECOLOGY.

- To consider all manufacturing units and administrative regions one natural ecosystem;
- To accelerate the regeneration of the biosphere in order to improve the process of producing the biomass necessary to sustain human life;
- To limit and prevent any kind of pollution;
- To stimulate and promote free initiative by adopting laws which assure ecological administration of the territories;

IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS.

- To adopt a Constitution, which will assure democracy based on pluralism of opinion in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- To introduce efficient methods for preventing the re-establishment of a totalitarian regime in Moldova;
- Division of the three powers in the state: legislative, executive and judicial;
- Solution to the Transdnistrian problem and the problem of the Southern regions of the country through the help of the UN and other international organizations.;
- Immediate withdrawal of the Russian 14th Army from the territory of Moldova;
- To promote peaceful relations and collaboration with all countries of democratic orientation, especially with those situated in the Black Sea area;
- We express our desire to collaborate with all kinds of groups and levels of the society, regardless of their ethnic, religious, or professional nature;
- Spiritual reawakening of people on the basis of Christian morality and general human values.

IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMY

The state ownership of natural resources does not give a possibility to manage them in a reasonable way. On the contrary, it wastes most of them. We believe that only an efficient reform of the national economy could make it possible to solve ecological problems. As long as there is no clear economic strategy elaborated on the basis of a deep and competent analysis of the economic situation in the republic, we cannot expect any profound changes in the living conditions of people or the ecological state of the country.

ECOLOGY PARTY WILL TAKE ACTIONS IN ORDER TO:

- Bring gradual transition to a market economy and "ecologization" of the whole economic activity;
- Apply a workable tax system which will stimulate manufacturing of goods and creation of new workplaces;
- Re-examine the Code of Land in order to assure access of a greater number of people for quotas of land;
- Stimulate inauguration of processing and handicraft enterprises in the rural areas.

IN SOCIAL LIFE:

- Ecologists' social policy is directed to create a society which will offer both conditions and chances for social protection to all its people.
- We stand for assuring freedom of intellectual activity, providing material support for creative groups, and cultural, scientific and educational institutions;
- We will take actions to reorganize the system of medical and social assistance;
- We are sure that building up of a non-violent society is possible by transition from a monologue to a dialogue, from discrimination to equal rights, from selfishness to altruism.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT BLOC

The Social-Democratic Party of Moldova, the Youth Union of Moldova, the National Youth League of Moldova, the Democratic movement of the left side of the Dniester river "Demnitatea" consider that:

- There is nothing more precious than peace, life, and the rights of people;
- Individual citizens' interests form the interests of the state;
- The state is for its citizens, and not the citizens for the state;
- Satisfied families are the foundation for a stable society;

I. MOLDOVA - OUR COMMON HOME. STRENGTHENING THE MOLDOVAN STATEHOOD.

The Social-Democrat Electoral Bloc considers it necessary:

- To achieve civic peace in the republic,
- To obtain at the first session of the new Parliament approval of a referendum to adopt a new Constitution of the Republic of Moldova;
- To re-establish trust between the populations on the both sides of the river;
- To create a new division of powers in the state, strengthening the leadership of local administration;
- To strengthen the judicial system, by improving its professional level;
- The SD bloc will pursue the policy of forming a National Army, small in number but highly professional;

II. ECONOMIC REFORM. STRUGGLING AGAINST POVERTY.

- Reform of the property, development of the private entrepreneur sector, conducting the privatization process on the basis of "patrimonial bonds";

Our economic doctrine is based on the following principles:

- Economic reform through limiting the state and development of a private enterprise. Economic reform cannot be implemented against the will of most of the population. It should not reduce down the quality of life,
- Entrance of Moldova in the EEC and economic collaboration with Romania and other western countries;
- Elimination of the existing rivalry between the industrial and agrarian sectors;
- Social support for the needy part of the population;

One of the most urgent tasks of the SD bloc is RELIEVING POVERTY within the population.

In collaboration with the TUs, the bloc will assure legal elimination of the DISCREPANCY between the minimum salary and a living wage.

Farmers will be given the possibility to become OWNERS of the land with the right to inherit it.

The Code of land should become A LAW FOR EVERYBODY. Only citizens of Moldova will have the right to purchase and sell land.

Urgent changes should be made in the structure of management of the national economy.

The whole economic policy of the SD bloc will be oriented towards attaining a social support for reforms which will bring the country to a market economy.

III. SCIENCE, EDUCATION, CULTURE, HEALTH AND NATURE PROTECTION.

A Legal basis should be created for the independent development of culture regardless of ideological doctrines and political fronts.

There is a need of DE-POLITICIZATION of school, and the creation of a certain atmosphere of tolerance and understanding at schools. Propaganda of national exclusiveness should be prohibited in the schools.

All the citizens of the Republic of Moldova will be granted EQUAL CONDITIONS AND FREE ACCESS to the minimum education in their mother language.

SD bloc is in favor of the TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH from the state and the autonomy of churches.

We stand for reform in health protection, providing every citizen with access to medical assistance of a high quality.

APPENDIX 21

Central Election Commission

DECREE

on the address of the Komrat and Chiadyr-Lunga Regional Executive Commissions of formation of the polling places and Election Commissions in localities densely populated by Gagauz.

After examining the address of the Regional Executive Committees of Komrat and Chiadyr-Lunga of formation of the polling places and Election Commissions in localities densely populated by gagauz, the CEC would like to state that in accordance with article 24 of the Law on Parliamentary elections, polling places shall be formed at least 2 months before the elections. Following the provisions of the Law and point "m" of the Parliamentary Decree dated 10.19.93 - XII on entering in force of the Law on Parliamentary Elections, Komrat and Chiadyr-Lunga regional executives presented corresponding reports for formation of the polls only in some of the localities, communicating that those communities populated mostly with gagauz have not accepted their participation in the Parliamentary elections. In its Decree of Dec.22,1993, the CEC notified Komrat, Chiadyr-Lunga, Basarabeasca and Vulcanesht Regional Executives of the necessity to follow the provisions of the Law to form polls and ECs in all the localities of these regions.

The provisions of the Law on Parliamentary Elections, as well as the CEC Decree have been ignored by the decision- taking factors of local administration of these regions.

In order to ensure citizens of the Republic of Moldova in the localities densely populated by gagauz with their right to vote, in accordance with articles 2,3 and 5 points 1 and 11 of the Law on Parliamentary Elections, the CEC has come to the following

d e c i s i o n :

1. To support the suggestion of Komrat and Chidyr-Lunga Regional Executives on participation in the Parliamentary elections of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova inhabiting the localities densely populated by gagauz.
2. For the reason that the terms foreseen in article 14 points 1,2 and 3, article 24 point 1 and article 27 point 4 of the Law on Parliamentary Elections have expired by now, voting polls and ECs can not be formed in the respective localities.
3. The citizens of the Republic of Moldova inhabiting Komrat, Chiadyr-Lunga, Vulcanesht and Basarabeasca regions where no polls have been created will be able to exercise their voting right

going to the following voting places:

Poll #746 at Borogani high school, Komrat region. Electorate from the town of Komrat, villages Dudulesti, Congrazciul de Jos, Congrazciul de Sus, Ferapontievca, Budjac and Dezghingea can vote here.

Poll #750 at the central culture house, village Cietu, Komrat region. Electorate from villages Cotovsce, Congaz, Besalma and Chisova can vote here.

Poll #696 at the house of culture in the village of Cortin, Chiadyr-Lunga region. Electorate from village Cazaclia can vote here.

Poll #1918 at the fiscal inspectorate building in the town of Chiadyr-Lunga. Electorate from villages Baurci, Gaidar, Tomai and Joltai can vote here.

Poll #1899 at the house of culture in Cuza Voda village, Vulcanesti region. Electorate from the town of Vulcanesti and Etulia and Cismichioi villages can vote here.

Poll #426 at the House of Rail-way workers in the town of Basarabasca. Electorate from Audarma, Cjiriet-Lunga and Cioc Maidan villages can vote here.

Local administration bodies of Komrat, Chiadyr-Lunga, Vulcanesht and Basarabasca regions will ensure transport circulation between the localities mentioned above.

SEAL

Nicolae Timofti,
chairman of the CEC
signed by

Raisa Botezatu,
secretary of the CEC
signed by.

Kishinev, February 19, 1994. #257.

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DECISION

OF THE MEETING OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

February 22, 1994

Under the presidency of the President of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Moldova P.BARBALAT

With participation of the Prosecutor of the Republic of Moldova, the judge V.STERBET

examined the contest of the Republican Party of Moldova and of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova concerning the decision of the C.E.C. "With regard to the addressing of the district executive committees Comrat and Ciadir-Lunga about setting up precincts and electoral commissions in the localities prevalently populated by Gagauz people" from 02/19/94 #257.

The meeting ESTABLISHED:

The Praesidium of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova by its decision 31676-XII of February 18, 1994 "Regarding the unfolding of the elections to the Parliament in the localities prevalently populated by Gagauz people" suggested to the Central Electoral Commission, in accordance with article 24(1) of the law concerning the elections to the Parliament and article 2 "d" of the Parliament's Decision about the way of enforcement the Law regarding the election of the Parliament, to institute precincts in the localities prevalently populated by Gagauz people and to guarantee the progress of the parliamentary elections in these localities considering the conditions of the mentioned law till February 23 of the current year.

On February 19, 1994, the C.E.C. for election of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova endorsed the Decision #257 "With regard to addressing of the district executive committees Comrat and Ciadir-Lunga on setting up precincts and electoral commissions in the localities prevalently populated by Gagauz people", by means of which supported the proposal of the district executive officials from Comrat and Ciadir-Lunga concerning the participation at the elections of the citizens of the Republic of Moldova from the localities prevalently populated by Gagauzes.

On the other hand, considering the fact that at this moment the time forseen in the art. 14 p.1, 2, 3, art. 24 p. 1, art. 27 p. 4 of the Law on Parliamentary election expired, the C.E.C. considered that

polling places and electoral commissions could not be set up in the respective localities.

The commission also established that the citizens of the Republic of Moldova from the localities of Comrat, Ciadir-Lunga, Vulcanesti, Basarabeasca districts, where precincts had not been set up, could participate at the elections showing up at the precincts already created in these districts.

The Republican Party of Moldova and the Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova contested the C.E.C. decision out of reasons that the human rights and especially those foreseen in art. 5 p. 2 of the Law concerning the Parliamentary election were violated.

After discussing the essence of the appeal and the information brought by G.D. Susarenco, a member of the C.E.C., the meeting decided that the appeal should be gratified after all.

The encroachment upon the Law on the Parliamentary election by reducing the time, concerning creation of the electoral commissions of precincts can drive to harming the rights of the parties, socio-political organizations and electoral blocks as for the proposal to have representatives in the electoral commissions of the precincts (art.14 p.3 of the Law on election of the Parliament). But in this case, the refusal to set up electoral commissions and precincts at the voters' places of permanent habitation will bring about glaring harm to the citizens' right to participate at the elections.

In these conditions, because of the competition of norms regarding the political rights, the meeting considers that protection of the human rights and especially of those foreseen in the article 21 of the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights has priority.

The Meeting d e c i d e s:

1. Point 2 of the Decision of the Electoral Commission #257 from February 19, 1994 should be canceled because of unsuitability with the article 5(2) of the Law on the election of the Parliament.

2. The C.E.C. is compeled to set up precincts and electoral commissions in the localities prevalently populated by Gagaus people from Basarabeasca, Comrat, Ciadir-Lunga and Vulcanesti districts.

3. The government of the Republic of Moldova and local administration of the mentioned districts should contribute by all means to achievement of this decision of the Meeting.

The President of the Meeting
of the Supreme Court of the

Republic of Moldova

P. Barbalat

The Secretary of the Meeting,
judge of the Supreme Court of
the Republic of Moldova

V. Sterbet

RESERVES APPENDIX 22(A)

to the Agreement of constituting the Community of Independent States, signed on behalf of the Republic of Moldova at December 21, 1991 in Alma-Ata

The Agreement is ratified with the following reserves:

1. Paragraph 3 of the preamble, before the word "states", is completed with the word "independent".

2. Article 6, with except of paragraphs 3 and 4.

3. Article 7:

- with exposition of paragraph 2 in the following wording:

"the unfold of consultations on the problems of foreign policy activity of mutual interest";

- with exclusion of paragraph 6, considering that the problems of migration policy are regulated on bilateral bases, proceeding from national legislation.

4. With completion of article 9 with the words "abiding by the norms of international law".

5. With exposition of paragraph 12 in the following wording:

"The High Contracting Parts, proceeding from the national legislation, guarantee the observance of international obligations, resulting from the agreements of the former USSR."

The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova proceeds from understanding the fact that the Republic of Moldova in the frame of the Community of Independent States will first of all find its way about the economic collaboration and will eliminate the interaction in the politico-military fields as being in contradiction with the principles of sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Moldova.

The present reserves are an indispensable part of the Agreement.

APPENDIX 22(B)

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

DECISION

on ratification of the Agreement of constituting the Community
of Independent States

Examining the proposal of the President of the Republic of Moldova concerning the ratification of the Agreement of constituting the Community of Independent States and the Decision of the Presidium of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova # 1622-XII from October 26, 1993 on the Agreement of constituting the CIS and the Agreement on creation of the Economic Union,

the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova endorses the present decision.

Art. 1. -- The Agreement on constituting the Community of Independent States, taking in account the annexed reserves, is ratified, implying the economic collaboration of the Republic of Moldova in the frame of CIS.

Art. 2. -- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova will prepare and deliver the instrument of ratification and the annexed reserves to the Agreement's keeper.

Art. 3. -- The present decision is valid from the date of its endorsement.

The President of the Parliament

Petru LUCINSCHI

Chisinau, Aprilie 8, 1994.

APPENDIX 23

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

DECISION

on ratification of the Agreement on creation of the Economic Union

Examining the proposal of the Praesidium of the Republic of Moldova concerning the ratification the Agreement on creation the Economic Union and the Decision of the Praesidium of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova #1822-XII watching the Agreement on constituting the CIS and the Agreement with regard to creation of the Economic Union.

The Parliament of the Republic of Moldova endorses the present decision.

Art. 1. -- The Agreement on creation of the Economic Union is ratified.

Art. 2. -- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Moldova will prepare and deliver the instrument of ratification to the Agreement's keeper.

Art. 3. -- The present decision becomes valid from the date of its endorsement.

The President of the Parliament

Petru LUCINSCHI -

Chisinau, Aprilie 8, 1994.

APPENDIX 24

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

DECISION

on creation of a parliamentary commission for study of causes that make difficult the carrying out of the personnel's certification on knowledge of the state language

Confirming the undoubted necessity of study of the state language by citizens of the Republic of Moldova, its prior functioning in all the areas of social life, and, at the same time, taking in account numerous addressings of citizens to state officials on the beginning of certification, anxious, in their opinion, by the non-guarantee of conditions of its study, the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova endorses the present Decision in accordance with points 5 and 6 of the Decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian S.S.R. from September 1, 1989 on the order of implementation of the Law of Moldavian S.S.R. on the languages' functioning on the territory of the Moldavian S.S.R..

Art. 1. -- To create a parliamentary commission on study of the causes that make difficult the personnel's certification on knowledge of the state language in the following composition:

Vasile KHERDIVARENCO
Arhip CIBOTARU
Serghei GRADINARI
Valeriu SENIC.

Art. 2. -- The above-mentioned commission is to study this problem till June 1 and present a conclusion to the Parliament on the causes that make difficult the implementation of the legislation on languages' functioning on the territory of the Republic. The Decision of the Government # 805 from December 28, 1993 on organization and carrying out of the personnel's certification of the level of state language knowledge, and also their proposals about the ways to eliminate the causes revealed.

Art. 3. -- To adjourn the action of the Decision of the Government # 805 from December 28, 1993 for the period of the parliamentary commission's work.

Art. 4. -- The present Decision becomes valid from the day of its endorsement.

The president of the Parliament

Petru LUCINSCHI

Chishinau. April 1, 1994.

APPENDIX 25

DECLARATION

OF LEADERS OF MOLDOVA AND TRANSNISTRIA signed at the meeting from April 28, 1994

Starting from mutual interests and the necessity of fair regulation of the conflict in the region,

confirming the attachment for the objectives and principles of U.N. status, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Treaties on economic, social, cultural, civic and political rights, for the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of the Council of Europe and of the Community of Independent States,

being conscious of the responsibility for consolidation of stability and security and tending to an efficient place in the community of democratic and lawful states,

acknowledging the role of the CSCE Mission and mediator's activity of Russian Federation in regulation of the conflict, the parts regretfully establish that the mistakes committed in the process of creation of the new independent states generated a socio-political strain and a split in the society, an armed conflict with serious and tragic consequences for both parts: there were deaths, many citizens became refugees, a considerable material damage was caused, economical, financial and socio-cultural links previously created were disturbed.

The parts are sure that a new socio-political situation has been created that gives fundamental premises for solution in favourable conditions of the crisis.

The parts declare that all the clashes of opinions may and have to be solved in conformity with the will and interests of the whole people, in the basis of extant social, economic and political realities.

The parts express their attachment for the generally accepted principles and norms of solution of the litigious problems using only negotiations and exclusively by peaceful means on the basis of good concord and mutual agreement.

The parts will take in account the recommendations of CSCE Mission, the reasons of Russian federation and the positive experience of peaceful regulation of the conflicts in other regions of the world.

The parts agreed:

- a) to begin without delay and without beforehand conditions the process of negotiations on the whole set of mutual interest problems;
- b) to eliminate all the barriers that brake the normal realization of economic and

socio-cultural relations, to ensure their re-establishment and development;

c) to settle mutually-advantageous relations in the economic, trade, financial, credit and other areas of vital activity for the interest of the whole population.

T h e p a r t s a g r e e d:

a) on the necessity of defining a state-juridical status for Transnistria;

b) on the necessity of a phased program of creation and realization of state-juridical relations;

c) on commissioning and delimitation of the prerogatives of the parts;

d) on the period of transition for the phased realization of the mutual agreement on concrete areas of activity;

e) on the necessity of creation of a system of mutual guarantees, inclusively international, with regard to unconditional observance of agreements settled.

Signed

For Moldovan part

M:Snegur

For Transnistrian part

I.Smironov

In the presence of:

CSCE Mission

R.S.Samuel

**Plenipotentiary representative
of the President of Russian Federation,
the special and plenipotentiary ambassador**

V.Vasev

APPEAL
of the Government of the Republic of Moldova

DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

The parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova, that unfolded on democratic principles in the basis of pluri-partitism for the first time, became a historic event. New Parliament confirmed the present componse of the Government destined to transpose to reality the ideas of the electoral platforms of the parties that got the support of the electorate also demonstrated within the framework of the sociological poll "Consulting with the people". Then the majority of the population gave its opinion for stability, constructive pragmatism, national conciliation. The will of citizens of all nationalities to live in a free and independent country was sanctioned. Thus, after a long period of uncertainties, real and lawful conditions for stabilization of the socio-political and economic situation appeared in Moldova.

New Government will orientate its activity towards the national economy reestablishment.

Bearing personal responsibility in front of the people, we see the use of our work in peace guarantee, promotion of economic reforms, creation of conditions for spiritual progress, improvement of life conditions of republic's inhabitants. In this context, possessing a considerable human and economic potential, we have to undertake energetic measures with a view to guaranteeing civic conciliation, reestablishment of territorial integrity, a single economic complex of the republic.

In May, we shall present an activity Program to the Parliament. The priority directions of encouragement and extension of the reforms will be determined. To achieve this set of actions there is necessity of time, patience, hard work and wise moral and psychological climate in the society.

However complicated the problems to be solved by the Government would be, we could solve them only by possessing the confidence mandate of the people. The Government asserts its total solidarity with the entire population, because there are no executive powers that would achieve their goals without the support of the masses. The spirit of cohesion, political will, high organization of labor, trust in personal forces are an imperious necessity for all of us who decided to step to a better life.

During a year, maximum two, working in peace and good concord, we have the chance to exit the deadlock, improving the state of affairs in the most important fields of the national economy.

We do not agree with the notion that the Government is not subdued to a serious public analysis, objective critics. At the same time, we are concerned by some instigatory appeals to strikes, slap-dash public manifestations, blockages of the initiatives of state power bodies, that have a destructive effect on our main goal - consolidation of the state independence, outrunning of the chaos in production

process.

Dear citizens, we appeal to Your wisdom, to avoidness of the actions that would lead to tensioning of the socio-political situation, braking the active framing of the labor staff into socio-useful processes, the joint efforts, oriented to drawing the country out of crisis, being baffled. Only constructive work and high morals would help us to escape from the deadlock.

At our turn, we shall make efforts to justify Your trust, untiringly and with good faith contributing to thriving of our country - Republic of Moldova.

17.04.94

APPENDIX 26

APPEAL of the Government of the Republic of Moldova

DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

The parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova, that unfolded on democratic principles in the basis of pluri-partitism for the first time, became a historic event. New Parliament confirmed the present componse of the Government destined to transpose to reality the ideas of the electoral platforms of the parties that got the support of the electorate also demonstrated within the framework of the sociological poll "Consulting with the people". Then the majority of the population gave its opinion for stability, constructive pragmatism, national conciliation. The will of citizens of all nationalities to live in a free and independent country was sanctioned. Thus, after a long period of uncertainties, real and lawful conditions for stabilization of the socio-political and economic situation appeared in Moldova.

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However complicated the problems to be solved by the Government would be, we could solve them only by possessing the confidence mandate of the people. The Government asserts its total solidarity with the entire population, because there are no executive powers that would achieve their goals without the support of the masses. The spirit of cohesion, political will, high organization of labor, trust in personal forces are an imperious necessity for all of us who decided to step to a better life.

During a year, maximum two, working in peace and good concord, we have the chance to exit the deadlock, improving the state of affairs in the most important fields of the national economy.

We do not agree with the notion that the Government is not subdued to a serious public analysis, objective critics. At the same time, we are concerned by some instigatory appeals to strikes, slap-dash public manifestations, blockages of the initiatives of state power bodies, that have a destructive effect on our main goal - consolidation of the state independence, outrunning of the chaos in production

socio-cultural relations, to ensure their re-establishment and development;

c) to settle mutually-advantageous relations in the economic, trade, financial, credit and other areas of vital activity for the interest of the whole population.

T h e p a r t s a g r e e d :

a) on the necessity of defining a state-judicial status for Transnistria;

b) on the necessity of a phased program of creation and realization of state-judicial relations;

c) on commissioning and delimitation of the prerogatives of the parts;

d) on the period of transition for the phased realization of the mutual agreement on concrete areas of activity;

e) on the necessity of creation of a system of mutual guarantees, inclusively international, with regard to unconditional observance of agreements settled.

Signed

For Moldovan part

M.Snegur

For Transnistrian part

I.Smirnov

In the presence of:

CSCE Mission

R.S.Samuel

**Plenipotentiary representative
of the President of Russian Federation,
the special and plenipotentiary ambassador**

V.Vasev

APPENDIX 27

LIST

OF MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

(from the Law of the Parliament of Moldova on modification and completion of the Law on the government)

Article 24. Ministries and Departments of the Republic of Moldova.

Ministry of Economy
Ministry of Finance
Ministry of Privatization and State Property Administration
Ministry of Industry
Ministry of Food and Agriculture
Ministry of Communications and Informatics
Ministry of Labor, Social Protection and Family
Ministry of Health
Ministry of Education
Ministry of Culture
Ministry of Justice
Ministry of Protection
Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of National Security
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Transport and Roads
Ministry of Communal Services and Dwelling Fund Operation

The following Departments are working under the Government:

Department of Architecture and Building Construction
Department of Trade
Department of Statistics
Department of Standards, Metrology and Technical Supervision
Department of Customs Control
Department of Energy, Energy Resources and Fuel
Department of Youth and Sports
Department of National Affairs.

D E C R E E
of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova
on the nomination of the composition of the Government

Art.1. The following composition of the Government is confirmed:

CUNEV Valentin - vice Prime-minister
GUTSU Ion - vice Prime-minister
BULGAR Valeriu - vice Prime-minister
GUSAC Gheorghe - Minister of State
BOBUTSAC Valeriu - Minister of Economy
KITSAN Valeriu - Minister of Finance
CHIOBANU Ceslav - Minister of Privatization and State Property
Administartion
TRIBOI Grigore - Minister of Industry
GORINCHOI Vitalie - Minister of Food and Agriculture
KASIAN Ion - Minister of Communications and Informatics
NIDELCU Dumitru - Minister of Labor, Social Protection and Family
MOSHNEAGA Timofei - Minister of Health
GAUGASH Patru - Minister of Education
CHIBOTARU Mihail - Minister of Culture
STURZA Vasile - Minister of Justice
CREANGA Pavel - Minister of Protection
ANTOCH Konstantin - Minister of Home Affairs
CALMOI Vasile - Minister of National Security
POPOV Mihail - Minister of Foreign Affairs
IOVY Vasile - Minister of Transportation and Roads
SEVEROVAN Mihail - Minister of Communal Services and Dwelling Fund
Operation
PUSHKASH Victor - Minister for the Relations with the Parliament

Art.2. The Government shall in the period of 3 months present the program of its activity for the Parliamentary examination.

Art.3. The present Decree comes in force from the date when it was adopted.

Petru Luchinski
Chairman of the Parliament

Kishinev
April, 5, 1994.

LIST

OF MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

(from the Law of the Parliament of Moldova on modification and completion of the Law on the government)

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Ministry of Justice
Ministry of Protection
Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of National Security
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Transport and Roads
Ministry of Communal Services and Dwelling Fund Operation

The following Departments are working under the Government:

Department of Architecture and Building Construction
Department of Trade
Department of Statistics
Department of Standards, Metrology and Technical Supervision
Department of Customs Control
Department of Energy, Energy Resources and Fuel
Department of Youth and Sports
Department of National Affairs.

GOVERNMENT OF MOLDOVA

Curriculum vitae

Curriculum vitae

Curriculum vitae

ANDREI SANGHELI

Born July 20, 1944 in Ocnitsa region. In 1971 graduated from Kishinev Ag. Institute, farm managing department. Worked as farm manager in kolhoz, deputy derector and director of sovhoz, in the Communist party bodies in Camenca and Dondushen regions, vice chairman of Kolhoz Counsel of the republic.

Since 1986 worked as the first vice-chairman of the Counsel of Ministers and chairman of Agroindustrial Complex State Commission, since 1991 - Minister of Food and Agriculture.

July, 1, 1992 was nominated Prime-Minister of the Republic of Moldova.

Feb. 27, 1994 - elected for the the Parliament of Moldova from Agrarian Democrat Party (ADPM).

March 31, 1994 - the Parliament cofirmed him for the position of the Prime-Minister of the Republic of Moldova.

VALENTIN KUNEV

Born 1946 in Kishinev. Graduated from Kishinev Polytechnical Institute, building construction department. Worked as a constructor at the Construction Bureaou, then a technician, supervisor, chief of the Architectors Group at the Institute of project, deputy chief of the Industry and Transport department of the regional party committee.

Since July 1992 he is the Vice Prime-minister of Moldova.

Feb. 27, 1994 elected for the Parliament of Moldova from ADPM.

April 5, 1994 the Parliament confirmed his nomination as the Vice Prime-Minister of Moldova and member of the Presidium of the Government.

ION GUTSU

Born 1943 in Soroca region. Graduated from Kishinev Polytechnical Institute, Moscow Social Studies Academy. Ph.D. in philosophy. Economist by profession.

Worked as a foreman at the Regional office of construction, then its director, first secretary of the Consomol Central Committee (CC) of Moldova. At the same time, worked at the CC of Consomol in Moscow. Then elected chairman of Executive Committee of Kishinev's Soviets, Secretary of the Party CC of Moldova.

Since 1991 - director of Union of Industrials of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 the Parliament of Moldova confirmed his nomination as the vice Prime-Minister of Moldova and member of Presidium of the Government.

VALERIU BULGARI

Born 1956 in Briceni region. Graduated from the Timireazev Agricultural Academy in Moscow, his specialization being a farm manager. 1982-1987 worked as a farm manager, then as chief of Department of agriculture in the Regional Party Commission.

Feb. 27, 1994 elected to the Parliament from ADPM.

April 5, 1994 his position as a vice Prime-minister was confirmed. Member of the Presidium of the Government.

GHEORGHE GUSAK

Born 1940 in Briceni region. Graduated from the State University of Moldova and Social Studies Academy in Moscow. Ph.D. in economic studies. Teacher of physics and economist by profession. Worked as a teacher, Chief of the city of Balti Education Committee, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the City Soviet of Balti. Since 1985 - vice-chairman of the State Committee for Publications, Polygraphics and Trade of Moldova. In 1990 was nominated a chief of the Secretariat of the Parliament, since 1992 - Minister of State. April 5, 1994 his position of the Minister of State, member of the Presidium of the Government was confirmed by the Parliament.

VALERIU BOBUTSAC

Born 1945 in Edinets region. Graduated from the Institute of Trade and Economics in Lvov, Ukraine, Highest School of the Com. Party in Kiev.

Merceologist by profession, Ph.D. in history studies.

Since 1961 worked in trade institutions. 1981-1985 - vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of Kishinev. Since 1985 - Minister of Trade, then Minister of Economy. Since 1992 chairman of the Renastere stock company .

April 5, 1994 confirmed as the Minister of economy of Moldova.

VALERIU KITSAN

Born 1955 in Dondusheni region. Graduated from Kishinev Polytechnical Institute. economist by profession. Worked in financial departments of the Dondusheni Executive Committee. Since 1987 - worked in the Ministry of Finance, became the first vice-minister of Finance.

April 5, 1994 confirmed as the Minister of Finance of Moldova.

CHESLAV CHIOBANU

Born 1952 in Edinets region. Graduated from the Lomonosov University in Moscow, mastership at the same institution, training in the University of Cairo (Egypt). Economist, professor, Ph.D. in economic studies. Taught at the University of Kishinev, at the CC of Moldova, worked at Foreign Affairs department of the CC of the USSR. Employed at the Academy of Oil and Gas in Moscow since 1987 works as the state counsellor and vice-director of the President's Office in Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed as Minister of Privatization and State Property Administration.

GRIGORE TRIBOI

Born 1956 in Straseni region. Graduated Kishinev Polytechnical Institute with mechanical engineering as a major. Worked in different Comsol bodies of the republic, since 1985 master and then vice-director of the Production Association Moldavidromash. Since 1989 general manager of Agromachina Association of Production.

April 5, 1994 confirmed as the Minister of Industry of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in his position of the Minister of Education of Moldova.

MIRNAIL CRIDUTARU

Born 1934 in Floresti region. Graduated from the State University of Moldova, specialization: educator. Member of the Union of Writers and the Union of Journalists. Worked as a correspondent for youth newspaper, editor of the "Socialist Moldova" magazine, since 1975 till present - chief editor of "Moldova" magazine.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in his position of the Minister of Culture.

VASILE STURZA

Born 1953 in Calarasi region. Graduated from the State University of Moldova, law department. Worked as the Regional Attorney assistant in Nisporeni, attorney in Ribnitsa, then chief of the Attorney department, instructor at the CC of Moldova. Since 1991 vice Attorney of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in his position of the Minister of Justice of Moldova.

PAVEL CREANGA

Born 1933 in Causeni region. Graduated from Tank Military school in Blagoveschensk, Russia and Malinovsky Academy of armoured tanks in Moscow. Worked as a high school teacher. Beginning with 1952 serves in the Army as soldier. Finally becomes vice commander of the Belarus and Afganistan Army, then military counsellor of the vice Minister of Army Forces of Cuba. Since 1992 first vice - Minister of Protection of Moldova. July 1992 becomes Minister of Protection of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in the position of Minister of Protection of Moldova.

CONSTANTIN ANTOCH

Born 1949 in Cimislia region. Graduated from the Highest Political School of the Ministry of Home affairs of USSR in Leningrad, lawyer by specialization. Worked as a high school teacher, since 1970 student at militia college in Kishinev, then inspector at the Ministry of Home affairs of Moldova, chief of the Department at the same ministry.

Feb. 1992 nominated as the minister of Home affairs of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in the position of the minister of Home Affairs of Moldova.

VASILE CALNOI

Born 1946 in Cahul region. Graduated from the State University of Moldova, specialization: educator, teacher. Worked as teacher of Moldovan, then chief of the organizational department of the regional Committee of Comsomol. 1972 nominated co-worker of the Ungheni Committee of the State Security. Since July 1992 Minister of the National security of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in the position of the Minister of the National Security of Moldova.

MIKHAIL POPOV

Born 1949 in Slobozia region. Graduated from the State University in Kishinev, Diplomatic Academy in Moscow, specialization: diplomat filologist. Ph.D. in history science. Worked in Comsomol and party bodies in Kishinev. Since 1986 - first counsellor of the USSR and then of Russian Embassy in Romania. 1992-1993 - Counsellor Minister of Moldova in Russia. Since 1993 - Ambassador of Moldova in Belgium.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in the position of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Moldova.

VASILE IOVU

Born 1942 in Dubasari. Graduated from the Food technology Institution in Kiev, specialization: technological engineer. Worked as engineer at the sugar factory, then director of the sugar and alcohol factory, elected vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the city Soviet, co-worker in party bodies in Balta. Since 1993 - chief of the Trade Department at the Moldovan Embassy in Russia.

Feb. 27, 1994 elected to the Parliament from ADPM.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in the position of the Minister of Transport and Roads in Moldova.

MIKHAIL SEVEROVAN

Born 1947 in Floresti region. Graduated from Polytechnical Institute in Kishinev, specialization: construction engineer, the Highest Party School in Moscow. Employed as a worker at the concrete factory, then engineer-supervisor at the Republican Hospital construction, chairman of the Regional and then City Executive Committee in Kishinev and in 1991 nominated chief of the department of local administration affairs at the State Cancelarium of Moldova. Since July 1992 - Minister of Communal services of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in the position of the Minister of Communal services and Dwelling Fund Operation.

VICTOR PUSHKASH

Born 1943 in Dondusheni region. Graduated from the State University of Moldova, specialization: lawyer. Worked as a farmer, after graduation - chief consultant at the Ministry of Justice, lawyer, member and chairman of the regional court of Rybnitsa. Since 1989 vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Socialist Moldova, first vice-chairman of the Parliament of Moldova.

April 5, 1994 confirmed in the position of the Minister for the relations with the Parliament.

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
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