

Contents

Foreword by <i>John-Paul Himka and David R. Marples</i>	25
Preface.....	33
Acknowledgments.....	35
Abbreviations.....	39
Introduction	
Theoretical Framework: Nation-Building and Separatism.....	41
The Historical Context	42
Nationalism and Separatism: Linking the Imperial and Soviet Past with the Present	47
Objectives, Research Questions, and Working Assumptions	51
Prior Research: Historiography and Geopolitics.....	53
Materials and Methodology	63
Archives, Published Documents, and other Materials ...	63
Interviewees and Interviews	65
The Thematic Structure and the Chronological Framework .	67
A Note on Transliteration.....	69
Language and Terminology	70
I. Moldova and Transnistria: Historical Background and Political Roots, 1917–1985.....	71
I.1. Moldova: Past Domestic and Foreign State-Building Projects	73
I.1.1. A Bessarabian Project that Failed: The Moldavian Democratic Republic	73
I.1.2. The MASSR: The Second Moldavian Republic.....	85
I.1.3. “Sunny Moldavia”: From Foundation to Perestroika	101

I.2.	Nation-Building: Challenges of Divisive Cultural and Identity Politics	112
I.2.1.	Imperial Russia’s Moldavians: The Impeding of Making Romanians.....	112
I.2.2.	From Moldavians into Romanians: Instilling a New National Consciousness	117
I.2.3.	The Making of Interwar Soviet Moldavians in the MASSR.....	121
I.2.4.	United and Merged: The Making of Soviet Moldavians in the MSSR.....	125
II.	Perestroika, Nationalism and Internationalism in “Sunny Moldavia,” 1985–1991.....	143
II.1.	On the Eve: “Sunny Moldavia” Prior to Perestroika	144
II.2.	“We Are Romanians!”: The National Awakening of Soviet Moldavians	152
II.2.1.	The Nationalist Framework and the Fight for Language Legislation.....	153
II.2.2.	Perestroika, Glasnost, and Pan-Romanian Mobilization.....	163
II.3.	Russian speakers in Soviet Moldavia: “Suitcase, Train Station, Russia!”	176
II.3.1.	Becoming Domestic Outsiders: “Sunny Moldavia’s” “Russians”	177
II.3.2.	The Counter-Mobilization and the Struggle for the Russian Language.....	180
II.3.3.	Separatism at the “Gates”: The Warning Signs	186
II.4.	Toward the Break: The Moldavian SSR, September 1989–December 1991	192
II.4.1.	Unfolding Separatism, Romanian Symbols, and “The Bridges of Flowers”	193

II.4.2. Soviet Moldavia: Disintegration, Separation, and Independence.....	202
III. Damaged Peace: Preconditions That Heralded the Transnistrian War, 1989–1991	209
III.1 Transnistria: The Legitimization of Separatism and Justification of Self-Defense	210
III.2 Moldova: Failed Attempts to Preserve Political Unity and Territorial Integrity.....	215
III.3. Sliding Toward War: Pre-War Violence.....	228
IV. The Heat before the “Freeze”: The Transnistrian War, 1992.....	237
IV.1. Moldova’s Fighters: Duty, Patriotism, Fear, and Solidarity.....	237
IV.2. “This Was My War!” Defending Transnistria: Romania-phobia and Slavic Brotherhood	248
IV.3. The Involvement of Romania, Russia, and Ukraine ...	253
IV.3.1. Romania.....	253
IV.3.2. Russia.....	256
IV.3.3. Ukraine	261
IV.4. The Course of the War: Combat Actions and Wartime Diplomacy, 2 March–21 July 1992	268
IV.4.1. The Outbreak of War	268
IV.4.2. The War and Wartime Diplomacy.....	276
V. Separatism in Postwar Moldova: International Aspects, 1993–2013	287
V.1. The Impact and Geopolitical Consequences of the War	287
V.2 The Transnistrian Diplomatic Deadlock.....	290
V.2.1. Preconditions to the Failure of Negotiations...	291
V.2.2. Postwar Diplomacy and the Stalling of Negotiations.....	297

V.3. Impediments to Reconciliation	303
V.3.1. The Cold War Relationship between Transnistria and Moldova.....	303
V.3.2. Russia’s Questionable Commitment to Moldova.....	305
V.3.3. Moldo-Romanian Unionism.....	309
V.3.4. Relations between Moldova and Ukraine	314
V.4. Failed Foreign Reconciliation Projects	319
V.4.1. The OSCE Mission in the Republic of Moldova.....	319
V.4.2. Russia’s Plans for a Settlement.....	321
V.4.3. Ukraine’s Yushchenko Plan.....	327
VI. The Nature of the Transnistrian Conflict and the Prospects of Its Resolution, 1993–2013.....	335
VI.1. Defining the ‘Frozen Conflict’ in the Republic of Moldova.....	335
VI.1.1. Views from the West.....	336
VI.1.2. Views from Romania	337
VI.1.3. Views from Ukraine.....	339
VI.1.4. Views from Russia	341
VI.1.5. “Protracted” rather than “Frozen”	342
VI.2. Assessing the International Input on the Transnistrian Problem	344
VI.2.1. Views from Russia	345
VI.2.2. Views from Ukraine.....	346
VI.2.3. Views from the West.....	347
VI.2.4. Views from Romania	350
VI.3. Expert Views on the Solutions and Prospects of Separatism	353
VI.3.1. Views from the West.....	354
VI.3.2. Views from Ukraine.....	357
VI.3.3. Views from Romania	358

VI.3.4. Views from Russia	360
VII. The Domestic Discourse on the Transnistrian Problem, 1993–2013	365
VII.1. Political Parties and Developments	365
VII.2. Divergent Views of History	371
VII.2.1. The Interpretation of the Past	372
VII.2.2. The Characterization of the Present	375
VII.2.3. Imagining the Future	379
VII.3. The Transnistrian Problem in Political Platforms.....	382
VII.3.1. Conflicting Approaches to Settling the Dispute	383
VII.3.2. Reality vs. Political Platforms	388
VII.4. Civil Society Organizations and the Issue of Transnistria	393
VII.4.1. The December 2012 Memorandum: The Purpose and Content.....	395
VII.4.2. The December 2012 Memorandum: Impact and Assessments.....	399
VII.4.3. Positions of Other Moldovan and Transnistrian NGOs	403
VII.5. Assessments of a Political Fiasco: The Unproductive Contribution.....	405
VII.5.1. Chisinau and Tiraspol Government Officials	405
VII.5.2. Domestic Civil Society Experts	408
VII.5.3. Accredited International Experts.....	410
VII.5.4. The Opinions of the General Public	412
VIII. Separatism and Nation-Building: Education and the Forging of Conflicting Identities, 1991–2013	417
VIII.1. Power of the Primers: Imagining the “Motherland,” Constructing Identities	417
VIII.1.1. The Predecessors: Soviet Primers.....	418

VIII.1.2.	The Successors: Post-Soviet Primers in Moldova and Transnistria.....	427
VIII.1.3.	Between Ethnocentric Nationalism and Civic Identity	433
VIII.2.	The Stumbling of Reconciliation: Disruptive History Teaching.....	443
VIII.2.1.	History Education in Moldova.....	443
VIII.2.2.	History Education in Transnistria.....	449
VIII.3.	History Narratives in Moldovan and Transnistrian Textbooks	453
VIII.3.1.	Imperial Russia: Territorial Acquisitions and Nation-Building	454
VIII.3.2.	Romanian Bessarabia and the MASSR between the World Wars.....	461
VIII.3.3.	The Second World War, the Great Patriotic War, and the Holocaust.....	466
VIII.3.4.	Postwar Recovery, Perestroika, and the Rise of Nationalism.....	469
VIII.3.5.	Soviet Collapse, the Transnistrian War, and Bloody Separation	470
IX.	Nation-Building and National Identity: Political Symbolism and Nationality Policies, 1989–2013	473
IX.1.	National Symbols: Unity vs. Division	475
IX.1.1.	Between Soviet Legacy and National Heritage: Flags, Coat of Arms, and Anthems.....	475
IX.1.2.	National Symbols: Perceptions and Attitudes.....	482
IX.2.	Holidays for Nation-Building?	485
IX.3.	Identity in Politics and Nationality Policies	489
IX.3.1.	Identity: Constitution vs. Reality	490
IX.3.2.	The Issue of Ethnic Identities and the Authorities' Nationality Policies.....	493

IX.3.3. The Problem of Identities in the Platforms of Political Parties	497
IX.4. Unsettled Identities and Self-Identification: “Amphibians,” “Budweisers,” or Undefined?.....	504
Conclusion.....	513
Appendices.....	541
Appendix 1. Interviews.	541
1.1. Project description and consent form for interviews.....	541
1.2. Interview Questions. Group I.....	543
1.3. Interview Questions. Group II.	545
1.4. List of Respondents	546
1.4.1. Moldova. Group I.....	546
1.4.2. Moldova. Group II.....	550
1.4.3. Transnistria. Group I.....	551
1.4.4. Transnistria. Group II.....	553
1.4.5. Romania. Group I.	556
1.4.6. Russia. Group I.	557
1.4.7. Ukraine. Group I.....	558
1.4.8. The EU, the OSCE, and Germany.....	559
Appendix 2. Political Parties and Organizations.	560
Table 1. Moldova. Active political parties and organizations.	560
Table 2. Transnistria. Active political parties and organizations	563
Table 3. The representation of the Moldovan political parties in Parliament after elections.	564
Table 4. The representation of the Transnistrian political parties in the Parliament of the TMR after elections.	567

Table 5.	The priority placed by the Moldovan parties on “Transnistria,” “Foreign Policy,” and “National Security” in their political platforms.	569
Table 6.	The priority placed by the Transnistrian parties on “Transnistria,” “Foreign Policy,” and “National Security” in their political platforms.	571
Table 7.	The position of sections on the Transnistrian problem within the platforms of Chisinau-based political parties.	572
Table 8.	Moldova. Types of approaches to the Transnistrian problem articulated in the platforms of political parties.	574
Table 9.	Transnistria. Types of approaches to the Transnistrian problem articulated in the platforms of political parties.	576
Table 10.	Frequency of the Declarations regarding “Transnistria” “Foreign Policy/EU Integration”, and “National Security” made by the Moldovan political parties between 2002-2012.	577
Table 11.	Annual frequency of Declarations regarding “Transnistria” “Foreign Policy/EU Integration”, and “National Security” made by the Moldovan political parties between 2002-2012.	579
Table 12.	Frequency of Declarations regarding the Transnistrian problem made by the Moldovan political parties between 2002-2012.	580
Appendix 3.	List of the given names.	582
Appendix 4.	Images.	583
4.1.	Billboards. Moldova (All in Romanian only)	583

4.1.1. "Love Your Language! Love Your Country!"	583
4.1.2. "Moldova – My Motherland."	584
4.1.3. "The Republic of Moldova Is My Motherland."	585
4.1.4. "The Republic of Moldova Is My Motherland."	586
4.2. Billboards. Transnistria (In two languages)	587
4.2.1. "The Motherland Is Not For Sale!" (in Russian).....	587
4.2.2. "The Republic Is Not For Sell!" (in Cyrillic Romanian [Moldovan]).....	588
Bibliography	589
Index.....	643