Candidat: Popa Stoica Cristinel

Program: Doctorat Istorie

Universitatea "Dunărea de Jos" din Galați

Școala Doctorală de Științe Socio-Umane

Profesor Coordonator: Prof. Univ. Dr. Silviu Lupascu

Republica Moldova între Est și Vest. Vectori și Agenți ai Schimbării de Atitudine Politică

(1991 - 2016)

The Republic of Moldova between East and West. Vectors and Agents of Change that Determine Political Attitudes (1991 - 2016)

Rezumat in Limba Engleza

Summary in English

This PhD thesis systematically analyses the evolution of the Republic of Moldova in the first century of independence after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The period 1991 – 2016 is explained through a comprehensive analysis of the history of Bessarabia from its origins until the present day, with a special attention given to the period beginning with the first annexation of Bessarabia by the Russian Empire in 1812. Starting with the historical evolution of the region of Bessarabia, this academic work focuses on six vectors and agents which influence political atteitudes in the Republic of Moldova. These are: National and Ethnic Identity, Official Language, Religion, Political Leaders, Geopolitics, Academia.

The first section of the thesis addresses the secular history of Bessarabia, briefly explaining both the period up to 1991 as well as the first 25 years of independence. In addition, a chapter is dedicated to the demographics of the Republic of Moldova and one to the economy. The second section is dedicated to the formation of the Romanian people and the alternative incorporation of Bessarabia as part of the Russian Empire, Romania, and the Soviet Union, followed by the subsequent independence of territory as a standalone state. The third section describes at length the false debate, the pseudoscience with regards to the existence of the Moldovan language. The fourth section explains how the Russian Empire has used the Orthodox Religion of the population from Bessarabia as a political tool meant to increase its political and military control of the territory. Section number five of the doctoral thesis is based on the research of the archives found at the Archive of Social-Political Organizations from Chisinau and explains in detail the political life of the Republic of Moldova in its first quarter century of independence. The sixth section addresses from different angles the geopolitical situation of the Republic of Moldova. The last section of the doctoral thesis is a relevant description of the way in which academia and the intellectuals from Bessarabia have influence public opinion at different historical turning points, but also how academia itself became influenced by certain political changes, being forced to move away from the scientific truth in order to please certain political circles. The general conclusion, which follows the seven sections divided in 36 subchapters, brings together the arguments developed over the span of the thesis and explains the mechanisms through which the vectors and agents identified influence political attitudes in the Republic of Moldova.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

General Introduction5
SECTION I: Brief Account of the Evolution of the Republic of Moldova23
Chapter I. 1. Historical Background of Moldova23
Chapter I. 2. Governments after Independence45
Chapter I. 3. Demographics
Chapter I. 4. The Economy78
SECTION II: National and Ethnic Identity92
Chapter II. 1. Introduction: the Formation of the Romanian People
Chapter II. 2. Bessarabia under the First Russian Occupation106
Chapter II. 3. Bessarabian Unification with Romania143
Chapter II. 4. Romania's decision in 1940173
Chapter II. 5. Bessarabia under the Second Russian Occupation404
Chapter II. 6. The Republic of Moldova as an Independent State
Chapter II. 7. Conclusion
SECTION III: Official Language463
Chapter III. 1. Introduction: the Formation of the Romanian Language
Chapter III. 2. The Romanian Language in Russian Bessarabia471
Chapter III. 3. Language Policy in Interwar Romania481
Chapter III. 4. Language Policy in the Soviet Union
Chapter III. 5. The Romanian Language in the Republic of Moldova
Chapter III. 6. Conclusion537
SECTION IV: Religion

Chapter IV. 1. Introduction: Christian Orthodoxy in Bessarabia before 1812......540

Chapter IV. 2. Religious Suppression under Russian Rule	546
Chapter IV. 3. Religious Reintegration of Bessarabia into the Romanian Orthodox Church	h567
Chapter IV. 4. Religious Policy in the Soviet Union	592
Chapter IV. 5. The Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia versus the Metropolitan Ch	urch of
Moldova	626
Chapter IV. 6. Conclusion	659

SECTION V: Political Leaders	661
Chapter V. 1. Introduction	661
Chapter V. 2. Historical Political Figures from Bessarabia	664
Chapter V. 3. Post-Independence Political Leaders	682
Chapter V. 4. Political Parties as Vectors of Change in Political Attitudes	697
Chapter V. 5. Conclusion	737

SECTION VI: Geopolitics	
Chapter VI. 1. Introduction: the Republic of Moldova's Place in the World	740
Chapter VI. 2. Separatist Territories	761
Chapter VI. 3. Great Powers and Important Neighbors	779
Chapter VI. 4. Conclusion	

SECTION VII: Academia	857
Chapter VII. 1. Introduction: Academia as a Vector of Independence	857
Chapter VII. 2. Academia as a Victim of Politics	865
Chapter VII. 3. The Scientific Truth Prevails	872
Chapter VII. 4. Conclusion	880

General Conclusion		
--------------------	--	--

Index	

ossary

Bibliography	

Keywords: Moldova, Bessarabia, Romania, Russia, unification