### THE HYBRID WARFARE TRIGGERED BY RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

#### Colonel (ret.) Engineer Anatol MUNTEANU, PhD\*

Abstract: In this article i'll try to make you understand the phases of the war started by the Russian Federation in Moldova. This warfare caused more than 500 dead people, disappeared, tortured or fallen on the battlefields; about 4.000 injured people in fights and sick people, many of the died after the war. Consequences of this war are severe: the economic and social crisis in bassarabian society persists even today and it will not be over until all the politicans from Moldova will be changed with others wich will have different perspectives and political affiliations.

**Keywords:** warfare, hybrid, Russian Federation, Moldova, paramilitary.

The analysis of events of the hybrid warfare from the Republic of Moldova between 1990-1992 years and the examination of publications about conflicts from Transnistria and from the Southern part of Moldova – Comrat, Vulcanesti – is shaping certain stages of the aggression, developed according to a pre-definite military strategic plan. Russian Federation, under the pretext of "Russian -speaking people protection", attacked without declaring war, the Republic of Moldova, an independent and sovereign country, using methods of politico-military kind, propagandistic, media, with elements of disinformation of population from Moldova, Russia, Ukraine and other ex-soviet regions, promoting hate against legal authorities, civil disobedience and open attack on civil and military institutions. Over a three years period, between 1989 and 1992, national economy has been completely destabilized, national currency was devalued and banking system disrupted. In order to strike fear among local population, in the villages were launched groups of "little green men" without any marks, Cossack mercenaries and aggressive paramilitary structures, constituted from convicts: thieves, bandits, rapists etc., of

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<sup>\*</sup> corresponding member of The Academy of Romanian Scientists

Russian origins, who fought with fire weapons for "the Russian land from Dniester of Tsarina Ecaterina and Prince Potemkin". During these events, Russian secret services, KGB, GRU, spy and counterintelligence structures have conducted, in the smallest details, all actions on the occupied territory, and the Russian 14<sup>th</sup> Army actioned in critical situations, inclusively the artillery and two tanks battalions at Cocieri, Dubasari, Grigoriopol, Tighina.

The phases of the hybrid warfare were the following:

- 1.Destabilization at all levels: economic, social, political and spiritual, on national conscience level, causing the identity crisis, the situation in the Republic of Moldova and formation of illegal state structures in Transnistria and Gagauzia (1989-1991).
- 2.Amplification of the conflictual situation. Duration of the main challenges and terrorist attacks caused by Russian separatists and sustained by the occupation troops of the 14th Army: January of 1991 - February of 1992.

Warfare unleashing with all kind of weapons, Russian aggression in Cocieri-Dubasari, Cosnita-Dorotcaia-Grigoriopol, Varnita-Tighina-Causeni (1st of March 1992 – 5th of August 1992).

First phase of the hybrid warfare. Destabilization of the peaceful situation. Conflictual status creation.

# Secessionists' movements in localities with Russian-speaking population

Destabilization of situation by the U.S.S.R. (later Russian Federation) in the M.S.S.R. (Republic of Moldova) was realized in all fields – economic, agro-industrial, transports, internal and external policy. Using mass media – which means radio, television and newspapers –, it was carried out an information propagandistic and psychologic war, inclusively at consciousness level, causing an identity crisis. Romanian-Moldovan people were presented like being inferior to Russian speaking people, who considered themselves winners from the previous wars, beginning with

those against Ottoman Empire and finishing with war against Nazi Germany.

At the base of destabilization of social-political and ethnic situation in the Moldovan S.S.R. stayed the Decision of Central Committee Bureau of the Communist Party and the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, from September of 1988, which decided that in Moldovan, Baltic and Caucasian Countries should be set up Russian illegal organizations that would fight against the process of national liberation. In July –August of 1989, bodies of the military-industrial Complex of the U.S.S.R. have constituted in Tiraspol and Tighina "The movement of protection Russian speaking population rights from Moldova" and the Russophile organisation "Interdvijenie-Interfront", transformed into "Unitate-Edinstvo", OSTK (a kind of collective syndicate – patriotic guards of labour people, who were carrying weapons and had military instructors). All these movements and organisations were anti-National and anti-Romanian, and their actions aim was the local Moldavian -Romanian people.

From the first days of January 1990, all the political, economic, administrative and military life from Tiraspol and Transnistria was under control and direct coordination of the U.S.S.R. central bodies.

The Secessionist Movement began in Tiraspol and continued with anti-constitutional actions, in Dubasari and Tighina, when in May of 1990, after an intense "media bombardment", recognition of Romanian language as state language was denied as well as flying the tricolour, that means state flag of the Republic of Moldova. One month later, on the 1st of July 1990, in Tighina and the villages from the left side of Dniester river, a referendum was carried out, imposed to the population by the separatist regime from Tiraspol, in order to "legalize" the entry to the projected " Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic". All the separatist actions have been supported by groups of "little green people" from OSTK, by Cossack mercenaries and by the illegal local authorities. Therefore, the Republic of Moldova was in the first phase of a political conflict with elements of a hybrid warfare. All separatist actions were sustained by Moscow.

Political decisions of the governing bodies from Moscow had to be based on *actions and information*, which always signified the *local power*, realized with the leverage of hybrid warfare. The separatists have dissolved or forcedly removed the legal authorities from Tiraspol and Tighina, and

where it was not possible, parallel state structures have been created in municipalities, district and municipal councils. Within the state organisations, the majority of Moldovans were removed from management positions and were replaced with people of Russian origin. Most part of agents of the soviet KGB, 70% of the State Committee of R.S.S.Moldova, have been transferred to operative work in Tiraspol, 20%, who were more loyal to power from Chisinau, remained within the operative structures of the Moldovan Security and only 10% remained loyal to the Republic of Moldova. And this is the reality. The soviet security established in Tiraspol and Tighina, having good relations with Chisinau, as well as with all districts and villages, with the ex- activists of the communist party (partly passed to illegality), have begun actively manipulate civil associations ("civil society) against democratic measures, political, of proximity to the European Union especially to Romania.

By manipulation of Russian agents the Slavic minorities – Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians – Jewish and especially Gagauz population, the affirmation that the main plan of Romanian-Moldovan intellectuals and of the Parliament" is the Union of the R. of Moldova with Romania", began being promoted more intensely, in order to create a psychosis among population, whether we talk among the speakers of Romanian language, as well as of Russian speakers.

This slogan and the manipulation of the society was the keystone for the success. The term "Union" have been used by Russian journalists (Russian propaganda), as a scarecrow for Russian population and especially for Russian executives, who would lose their management positions in following political, administrative and economical organs, so that they started an extremely efficient arm. According to the new legislation, it was compulsory that people in key –positions and in management functions had to know two languages: Romanian language, as the state language, and Russian language, as the communication language for minorities. The Russian speakers resisted to this and did not want to learn Romanian language.

Another example of scarecrow was the term of "Romanian gendarme". In this manner, quotes were presented from the press of 1918-1940 years about the cruelty and beats of Romanian gendarmes during interwar Bessarabia. In the press appeared information about Romanian

boyars who were exploiting Russians, Ukrainians and Moldovan peasants as slaves, servants in personal agriculture households during interwar phase, about Romanian Army considered as "Nazi army" against U.S.S.R. during the Second World War and other examples discrediting Romanians.

We will briefly present certain measures of the separatist organisations regarding disorientation, disinformation and manipulation of Russian speaking population and Gagauz from the villages near Dniester, which were made by the Russian secret services and by soviet deputies from the villages, municipalities with the implication of some state politicians from the top of the political pyramid and other NGO's and Russian speakers propaganda organisations.

On the 30th of April 1989, the Soviet city of population deputies from Tiraspol has adopted the decision not to recognize and to suspend the Law of the Moldovan S.S.R. "Regarding the modification of the art. 168 from the Constitution", referring to state language and to deny the use of state flag (tricolour) and the new symbols of the Republic on the territory of Tiraspol city and the villages from its administrative subordination. Similar decisions have been adopted on 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1990, by the city soviet of deputies from Tighina (Bender), on 8 of May 1990 in Ribnita and Dubasari.

In Tiraspol, Tighina and Dubasari, the actions of subordination the organs and legal republican institutions (prosecution, justice, and police) to the administration of the self-proclaimed "Pridnestrovian Moldavian Socialist Soviet Republic" were sustained with force by the paramilitary formations and by department of armed Cossacks. It had become clear that the actions of separatists intended the attraction of the Republic of Moldova in a military conflict, in a war that would have served as a reason for intervention of Russian army, under the pretext of "Russian speaking population protection". In the same time, an immediate danger was created at the Eastern border, at border with Ukraine for diversionary purpose, for delaying *sine die* of the unionist programme. In fact, Russia tried and managed to prevent the union of the young republic with Romania and with the European Union. As a corollary, the process have been extended to the South, on the territories inhabited by the Gagauz people.

Lately, in September of 1990, the separatists from the mentioned villages have organised a series of strikes and protests against the introduction in schools, universities and state institutions the Latin script

and Romanian language. Moreover, they protested and asked to stop cultural relations, economic and political with Romania and other states of the European Communities. It was tried to prohibit the program of students' education in Romanian lyceums and universities.

The information war of Russian television Ostankino, Moscow, was taken over by all TV posts from ex U.S.S.R. republics and the world. Russian propaganda machine was managed as during wartime. Russian correspondents from the territory of the Republic of Moldova were inventing news about Moldovan policemen actions, were inventing news about arrests and murders, or mystifying the truth and transforming the aggressed into aggressors. The plan was to create a story for each day about "the atrocities of policemen and Romanian-Moldovan patriots" in Tighina, Dubăsari, Comrat etc.

The most publicised news by the Moscow-based central media and separatist were scenes of intimidating population, terror, killing on command, and on the TV screens were appearing scenes of raping, blood, injures of citizens, made by convicts and rapists released from Russian prisons, and voluntaries and Moldovan policemen who protected the Country being blamed for those acts. Russian authorities, by way of *media – the enemy's weapon*, wanted a total media pressure over all citizens of various ethnic groups, in order to prevent friendship between people of good will, to develop the chaos and disinformation, to block the democratic measures and counteract way of Republic of Moldova to the Occident.

Further, the structures of the separatists' administration have blocked (in 1990 and 1991) the republican railway: Chişinău-Tighina, Chişinău-Tiraspol, Chişinău-Odesa, Kiev. According to the operative plan of the hybrid warfare from the S.S.R. Moldova, draw up by Moscow, communications, roads and bridges over Dniester should be destroyed. In October-November of 1990, all roads and national freeways to Tighina, Tiraspol, Odesa, Dubăsari, Poltava, Kiev, Kamenca, Râbniţa were closed.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The same technique was applied during civil war from ex Yugoslavia, when Serbian victims were presented like being "Croats or Bosnian killed by Serbian nationalists", or during the interethnic clashes from March 1990, from Tirgu Mures, as well as in the case of Mihăilă Cofariu, presented on all main European televisions like being "Hungarian lynched by Romanian extremists" —see: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic clashes of T%C3%A2rgu Mure%C8%99.

For this action, workers from individual enterprises were mobilized, the equipment was offered by Russian directors from plants and factories.

In October of 1990, the named "Gagauz republic" has established checking posts with "little green people" and armed workers and stopped circulation on public roads and freeways for cars, trucks and other transport. In the district centres of Comrat and Vulcanesti police access, prosecution and other legal state organs was forbidden. These actions were sustained by groups of soviet army from the military district of Odesa, that came up with armoured and special formations of motorized infantry for support "if necessary" the "southern" separatists. They provoked a series of protests of local population, Moldovan Romanians from the entire republic and thousands of volunteers from different cities and villages came to Comrat to ask for explanation to the Gagauz separatist leaders about their separatist anti-constitutional activity and for disintegration of the republic.





Demonstration of protest of the detachment "Andreeva", against statehood of the Republic of Moldova. Stopping trains, passengers' intimidation, Tiraspol, 1990.

In Comrat, Cimişlia, Cahul, Cantemir about 5.000 volunteers have arrived, Romanian Moldovans, peasants, workers and intellectuals, ready to take action against Gagauz separatist forces. Peaceful people wanted to form a live cordon, to call Gagauz administration to negotiation and renounce to the idea of creating the Gagauz Republic. The Government of Moldova at that time, Mircea Druc, Ion Costas, deputy Ion Hadârcă and others have convinced volunteers that problem would be solved in a peaceful way. On behalf of the Ministry of the Interiors, for maintaining public order and preventing mass disorder, in the district of Comrat several police stations were concentrated in the south-eastern part of the Republic and precisely 300 militiamen, armed and equipped with dotation weapons. According to an inexplicable decision of the president Mircea Snegur, on the 4th of November 1990 theses forces were retired. It was the first big disposal of the political administration of Moldova, envisioning in fact a fatal political orientation that denoted incompetency or betrayal. Of course, they followed other cessions, under the well-known strategy "for pacification and conciliation"!

Russian central and republican press have praised the decision of the president Mircea Snegur, motivating that he prevented an inter-ethnic war, a "civil war", but did not communicate to the population that in fact in the Republic of Moldova it was occurring a hybrid warfare caused by the Russian Federation. Military actions were conducted, de facto, in different ways, the secessionist forces from Tiraspol, managed by Russian secret services were acting according to a pre-established plan: intakes were conducted and military formations were prepared "for protection" of Transnistria and Gagauzia, these being equipped and armed from the military warehouses of the 14th Russian Army. In front of the paramilitary formations were named command level officers reservists from the soviet army. By aid of military specialists from Russia, customs officers, border officers, infantry, bomb squads, mechanic-drivers for armoured, telegraphists have been instructed and trained etc. In Tiraspol, Tighina, Dubăsari and Comrat strong paramilitary structures were formed, armed guards and detachments for protection and security of illegal organisms belonging to separatist state.

In response, as early as the autumn of 1990 year, the Government of Moldova proposed to the President and the Parliament measures to redress

economic and social situation by means of implication of Moldovan media. Measures were proposed for creation the National Army and Carabineers troops and their dotation with military specialized equipment, necessary for maintaining public order and counteracting terrorist actions of the transnistrian separatists. However, these formations, so necessary to the new republic, have appeared too late, only in March of 1992, its tergiversation being explained also by incompetency or deals with the Russian occupant, favouring like this the enemy.



Roadblock and all communication means between Transnistrian villages, February of 1992.

During week of 10-15 October 1990, when in Comrat and other villages from "Gagauzia" the danger of military confrontation and trigger of civil war were shaping, armed bands of Tiraspol separatists have occupied bridges over Dniester at Dubăsari, Vadul lui Vodă, Râbniţa, Gura Bâcului and Tighina and checking points were established on roads and freeways, consolidated with military technique. Separatists have occupied the freeways Tiraspol-Dubăsari, and Dubăsari-Râbniţa-Camenca. In each village, checking points and an armoured machine equipped with a machine gun, cannon have been installed, also a unit formed by six military without marks, being part of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army.

During the operation of unblocking the bridge from Vadul lui Voda, the undersigned author of these pages has participated as a device commander, on order received from the ex-prime –minister of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Druc.

The mission began by organising a detachment of volunteers formed by 200 people. After having instructed the personnel for fights, the undersigned, lieutenant colonel Anatol Munteanu, have distributed volunteers in groups and established tasks and operative action measures: together with the recognition group, we studied situation on the ground, taking the decision about which enemy dispositive, dislocated in the left side of Dniester, should be attacked. Three attacking equips were armed with incendiary bottles. When these were thrown to the enemy's positions, they were strongly exploding, creating panic. As a motorized technique track- laying tractors of big capacity, model S-100 were used, they were producing noise and – with open lights – glare effect. Those huge tractors, from far away, could be similar to tanks that went down towards the bridge over Dniester, and so it happened. Volunteers' ingenuity made separatists go out of shelters and run to Grigoriopol and Dubasari. More constables were caught and handed over to penal investigation organs. At investigators question: "Why have you given up so easily your positions"- separatists responded that they have been scared by the Romanian tanks that were coming over them.

In this manner, with small forces and practically without weapons, only from time to time with enemy's weapons, it was possible to advance and occupy city of Grigoriopol, villages Cosnita and Dorotcaia, establishing checking points and posts on communication ways to Tiraspol and Dubasari. In the respective villages, the legitimate power of the republic was re-established and on the municipalities and state institutions were installed tricolour flags: for a short time in that conflict zone silence and peace were re-established. Local people came to checking points and sustained volunteers and police. It was re-established the relation with the police from Grigoriopol, Dubăsari and from other villages.

The police stations from Dubăsari, Grigoriopol and Tighina opposed a tough resistance to separatists and Transnistria "authorities". In the villages of Coşniţa, Lunca, Corjova, Cocieri, Varniţa, Căuşeni, Copanca, Chiţcani, Gâsca, Hadjumus, villages from Ştefan Vodă etc., local population in common with the police have secured the economical objectives of the villages and roads. The situation became coming back under control.

Common people were asking for arresting and punishing separatist leaders form Tiraspol, Tighina, Dubăsari and Comrat. Republican

authorities and the president Mircea Snegur, who assumed the political role of pacifier, has not cessed the wave of "Russian separatism", declaring, "we do not recognize them, they do not have any future, we do not finance them". Mircea Snegur did not understand the danger of the undeclared hybrid war, being also gratified by the high administration from Kremlin with which collaborated intensively.

In other villages, mostly Russian or Ukrainian, manipulated and intimidated population by the Russian-speaking separatists have supported them in taking anti-constitutional decisions. It was imposed that the villages pass under jurisdiction of "P.M.R.S.S.". Militia of the respective localities has joined the separatists. Russian were continuing the plan established by A.Lukianos to destroy politically and economically the Republic of Moldova. They talk to the president of the R. of Moldova one thing, but did another one, meanwhile the undeclared war continued with the established phases.

Analysing and looking back to the details of this chapter and the important events from 1990, I will briefly present the main actions and strategies of the enemy diversions, with a strong effect over the statehood of the Republic of Moldova.

Beginning with January of 1990, the whole political, economic, administrative and military life from Tiraspol and Transnistria entered under direct control and coordination of central organs of the U.S.S.R. The project of federalization, either disintegration of the R.S.S. Moldova, drawn up in Moscow, under the tutelage of Lukianov, the president of the soviet parliament, began to be made in practice in 1989, in the eastern part of the R. of Moldova, with centre in Tiraspol, where 60% from the population were of slave origins and anti - Romanian, "fertile zone" for aggression and separatist development.

As a trustful political and military representative from Moscow Igor Smirnov was named, of Russian origins from the region of Habarovsk, military of Stalinist formation, consequent defendant of communistic and Russian imperial ideals, who could not represent the interest of local population, which means national interests of Romanian, Ukrainians, German, Jewish and other minorities from Transnistria. Using Smirnov, the ex-director of a factory from the military-industrial soviet Complex, Kremlin promoted and solved concrete problems regarding formation of

political organs, administrative and military of a new state formation named "Transnistria" (30 August of 1990).

The leaders of Gagauz minorities, of turk-muslim ethnicity, sovietised and russianised, with soviet orientation, have organised a congress of Gagauz deputies and decided break into pieces the Republic of Moldova and formation the so named "Gagauz Soviet Socialist Republic " (19 August 1990).

During the so named Referendum "For union treaty", according to arrangements between A. Lukianov and I. Smirnov, Russian army ensured security and protection at voting points from Transnistria and southern districts of the Republic – Comrat, Vulcănești și Ceadâr-Lunga (25-30 August 1990). In the same time the separatists declared the creation of the "Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic". Clashes and fights have been registered along the river Dniester between Moldovan police and transnistrian insurgents.



Security posts of separatists in Dubăsari. December 1991.

In September 1990, separatist administration from Tiraspol issued a series of documents regarding constitution of own militia forces, intending not to recognize on the territory of the self-proclaimed "Pridnestrovian Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic ", the documents of the Government and Presidency of the Republic of Moldova. On 19 of September 1990, an order was given to police station from Râbniţa to pass under jurisdiction of

Tiraspol. During months of September-December 1990, they were forced to pass under subordination of Transnistria district police stations from Camenca, Grigoriopol, Slobozia, Tiraspol and from other localities. A wave of intimidation and mistreatments for intellectuals, police officers and their families started as well. They all were imposed to renounce to the national fight, to the Romanian identity (language, alphabet, tricolour etc.), otherwise they should leave their home villages together with their families.

With the assistance of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army, they are legislated the illegal organs of Transnistria and Gagauzia, and the state institutions of the Republic of Moldova are liquidated and evacuated out of these regions (November – December of 1990).

On 25 of October 1990, in Comrat arrives a help of 40 cars with separatists from Tiraspol and Tighina, approximately 350 persons who organize meetings and anti -Romanian demonstrations, inviting Gagauz population to "disobedience and guns" against legal authorities of the Republic of Moldova.

Meanwhile in Comrat and other Gagauz localities military forces are concentrated of soviet army from the Military District Odesa- Regiment of Motorized Infantry from Bolgrad and Ismail.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of November 1990, the separatists from Dubasari and Tiraspol are blocking roads, freeways and bridges over Dniester that link Transnistria and R. Moldova. In this manner, relations between Moldovans from the left and rights sides of river Dniester are stopped; relatives and friends cannot freely circulate one to another. There are confrontations in Dubasari between separatists and militia forces of the Minister of Interiors of the R.S.S.M. (R. Moldova), which participated at unblocking circulation of the road Chisinau-Kiev-Poltava, meanwhile the steel reinforced concrete, installed by separatists on the bridge of Dubasari were destructed. During clashes, two deaths and ten injured among civil people were registered. Towards public order forces, they thrown stones, pieces of metal and improvised explosive devices.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 1990, the President of the R.Moldova, Mircea Snegur, makes a fatal mistake and decides to release the blockade from "Gagauzia", withdrawing the militia and Moldavian volunteers, promising to the population the problems solving by peaceful way, "without separatist

republics". The promise has not been respected; even more with its involvement was created the autonomous Gagauzia.

Another mistake was committed on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1990, when under Supreme Soviet pressure of the R.S.S.M., Decision of the Government of R.S.S.M. nr. 432, has been adopted, that abolished the volunteers Movement and formations. In these patriotic formations, the majority of members were unionists. They presented a danger for the new agrarian –snegurist power.

The U.S.S.R. has applied in R.S.S.M. (Republic of Moldova) various combined projects, ways of leading the hybrid war, using all media in order to maintain the republic within the Soviet Union (Russian Federation), impeding Union with the mother Country, Romania.

Tiraspol has developed a strong activity to consolidate new structures, to organize armed forces, militia and security. Along with them, a tacit, but consequent preparation for another phase of the warfare with the Republic of Moldova was developed, having as on "sight" objective to block its integration in economic programs, military and cultural with Romania and other European countries. The real hided objective, of this diversionist strategy was keeping the Romanian territories kidnapped in 1940 and the last hope of Moscow to be able controlling the way to Central Europe and Straits.

## Phase II of the hybrid warfare. Amplification of secessionist actions.

Starting with January of 1991, the Gagauz and Tiraspol separatists, and the authorities of the self-proclaimed "Pridnestrovian republic" have promptly and consequently actioned, according to an operative plan with hybrid elements, drawn up by military structures from Moscow. In the conflict zones, separatists have organized, mostly by using force, the Russian speaking population against legal authorities of the Republic of Moldova and have attacked Romanianism supporters, have consolidated political and administrative illegal structures, "soviet socialist" ones, administration of the "Pridnestrovian republic" and "Gagauzia republic", have created and equipped paramilitary and military formations, equipped with weapons from the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army. "Protection" battalions were constituted, of retaliation in fact, with sad fame – "Bugeac", "Delfin",

"Dnestr", units of the Minister of Interiors and Russian and separatist security. The KGB structures, together with neo-communist nomenclature, have permanently exercised pressures against the Druc government, representative of the Popular Christian Democratic Front, intending with a diabolic persistence to purge Moldovan patriots from state institutions and restriction of programmed attitude of unification with Romania. More than this, the paramilitary separatist structures have attacked the checkpoints and the police stations, as well as prosecutor's bodies and Moldovan security offices from Tighina, Dubăsari, Râbniţa, Vulcăneşti, Slobozia etc.

In this phase, separatists have especially pursued destabilization of political and social situation from the republic. Russian Federation did not want in the Eastern part of the Europe a traditional war with the Republic of Moldova. According to certain political analysts, it was in fact an "exercise" of the hybrid war. The instruction land, it means Transnistria broken from the Republic of Moldova, was fertile for training Russian army, special services, terrorist groups, transmission systems, communications etc.

In May month of 1991, the so-called "Supreme Soviet of "P.M.S.S.R." has adopted "laws" regarding prosecution, court and militia, which leaded to separation from the constitutional law organs of the Republic of Moldova. The separatists have adopted and promulgated decisions regarding subversion of the banking, financial and fiscal system of the republic. Other decisions were issued, referring to transition of state organs from the left part of Dniester under jurisdiction of the separatists.

The well-organized police stations from Tighina and Dubasari, have resisted at the beginning against authorities of Transnistria. Operative and investigation organs of M.I. were exercising their functions in conflict zone under extremely difficult conditions, they were constantly supervised by the military separatist structures and the criminal structures, which were freely functioning in the separatist territory. Traffic police, security and guard patrols, judicial police from these villages had the situation under control. More suspect people were arrested: recidivists, criminals and other destabilizing elements. The rhythm of this actions had to be maintained, and the implied persons in public order and fight with separatist organisations had to be well paid. However, state budgets were poor, war expenses raised, all actions with Romanian language, symbols, democratic changes in the society were realized especially by support of patriotic

people, country people and humble intellectual from schools and university centres. Nobody asked for retribution for realized actions.

During beaching the coup d'état (putsch) from Moscow, from 19 of August 1991, operative workers from the Minister of Interiors have arrested a part a leaders and command personnel from the so-called "soviet republics" Transnistria and Gagauzia. As an example of mission successfully organized and realized by the operative group "Costas", arrest of the separatist leader Igor Smirnov, who was convoked in Kiev by the president of Ukraine, Leonid Kravciuk. He had a double guard: Moscow security and Ukrainian. Moldovan policemen have arrested him on base of the mandate of the general Prosecutor of the R.Moldova, took him out from the Central hotel of C.C. in Kiev, "walked" with him all Ukraine in an old type "Jiguli-LADA", on back roads for avoiding patrols and checkpoints, brought him in Chisinau and handed him to the investigation organs. Other separatist leaders have been arrested: director of the factory "Electromas" from Tighina, deputy G. Pologov, V. Râleakov, Stepan Topal, leader of the self-proclaimed "Gagauz republic", M. Kindighelean, criminal I. Burudji and others. Lately part of them were catalogued as war criminals and had to be judged.

Prosecutors from the R. of Moldova have instrumented criminal records of those people, instigators to hate and enmity against legal organs of state power, who invited population of the R.Moldova to start a civil war, to mass manifestations, disobedience of constitutional bodies, destruction and liquidation of population. Political leaders and close people to the president prevented investigation of these leaders especially: main counsellor of the president, V. Berlinski, Deputy A. Andronic, and other Parliament deputies. Mircea Snegur ordered the Prime Minister, V. Muravschi, the general Prosecutor and the Minister of Interiors to release the most dangerous criminal, Igor Smirnov, who started the war, killing hundreds of people and disintegrated R. Moldova. In two days, these persons were released without being judged by competent bodies. After that, they continued their "work" to destroy the Republic of Moldova.

We have to mention here the risks Moldovan police officers were submitted during the operation, one of them losing their life for arresting and kidnapping the separatist leader Igor Smirnov. Neither heroism, nor professionalism and courage of the M.I. policemen were appreciated. The operation was thought and secretly organised by the Ministry of interiors, general Ion Costaș.

After releasing from arrest, these separatist leaders continued the subversive activity of liquidation justice legal organs, police and other state bodies of the Republic of Moldova.

After terrorist and war actions of separatists on the territory of Dniester, Tighina, Comrat and Vulcănești, the Parliament of R. Moldova, by means a special decision, prohibits the activity of the *Communist Party* on the territory of the R.Moldova. There are dissolved party organisations. In the villages from the republic, monuments and communist idols busts are broken, communist literature is retired from libraries.

On the 27 of August 1991, during the Big National Assemblée from Chisinau, the Independence of the Republic of Moldova is declared, the decision was sustained by more than two millions of citizens. Russian officials from Moscow, separatists from Transnistria and Gagauzia, and part of officials and Russian speaking population from the R. of Moldova (right side of Dniester), welcome with animosity these decisions of the Parliament, start a media war on all plans, quilting the Popular Christian Democratic Front and part of the Parliament deputies, that they plead to democratization and Union with Romania.

The separatists violently attack order forces of the Minister of Interiors in Dubăsari, Grigoriopol, Râbniţa and Tighina. They plan and do terrorist and military operations against Moldovan villages and police forces, which ensure public order, guard and security of the peaceful population and economic objective of the Republic of Moldova.

In fact, anti-constitutional power from "P.M.S.S.R." began an undeclared war against the Republic od Moldova, with the entire arsenal of forces and resources they had, openly sustained by the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army which helps the arming and training of separatist army.

The president Igor Smirnov takes revenge on the president M.Snegur and on R.Moldova because of the arrest. He acts more violent and more energetic each time, promoting the most radical tactics and diversions of the hybrid warfare. I will briefly present the events chronology.

On 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1991, a group of 100 women from Tiraspol and Tighina, leaded by the separatist Galina Andreeva, sustained by OSTK, block the railway Chisinău-Tiraspol-Odesa-Kiev-Moscow, during one

month. The Tighina railway is blocked and closed, wagons full of vegetables, fruits and grapes are blocked in the railway stations. These products, inclusive the food products cannot be exported to the countries they were contracted and are depreciated, causing considerable economic damages.

On 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1991, the Supreme Soviet of Transnistria, by decision "About protection measures of the sovereignty and independence of Transnistria", decides the creation of a regiment "Republican Guard", a military unit that would be used in conflicts and war.

On 6<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of September 1991, the administration of the self-proclaimed "P.M.S.S.R." subordinates the military police stations and takes decisions for passing under jurisdiction of the separatist republic all military units of U.S.S.R. armed forces dislocated on the left side of Dniester and in Tighina, that means subordinates a part from the ex-army of U.S.S.R.

On 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1991, by means of decision of the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of Transnistria "About armed forces on the territory of Transnistria", it is decided that they do not recognize any more the decrees of the President of R.Moldova on the territory of Transnistria. In all the military units of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army are organized meetings of officers and and non-commissioned officers, where it is called for protection of the "Russian land" occupied by the Russian Imperium in 1793 and 1812. During the meeting of the officers from the military unit nr 03517 from Ribnita it is decided that soldiers are ready to participate at armed protection of "labour people from the Pridnestrovian Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic".



Driven by bullets and constables' bats, inhabitants of villages Lunca, Cocieri, Pîrîta, Coşniţa, Doroţcaia, Pohrebea are refuging in villages from the right side of Dniester.



Refugees on the right side of Dniester in Criuleni, Slobozia-Duşca, Oniţcani, Bălăbăneşti and other villages are felling safe

The Republic of Moldova is declared a propaganda war. On 19-22 of September 1991, under direct pressure of the transnistrian administration, police stations from Râbniţa, Camenca, Dubăsari are transferred under

official subordination of the Direction of Internal Affairs of "P.M.S.S.R.". These structures of the Internal Department are militarized structures, with a staff of about 2000 persons, being financed by banks of Russian Federation in Russia and Ukraine.

On 2 of October 1991, the town council Tiraspol adopted the decision nr 20 "About reorganization of the Town Direction of Internal Affairs", the local police being removed from the subordination of the legal administration of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Moldova.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of October 1991, confrontations in Dubăsari and Comrat are registered. The situation in Dubăsari is getting worse, the city is patrolled by armed workers with metallic crowbars, axes, knives and bats. They beat and humiliate everyone they meet. Radio and TV transmit disinformation broadcast about the "Romanian aggressors" and it is launched the news that the Republic of Moldova is occupied by the Romanian Army for doing order. Information war of intimidation the Moldavian (Romanian) population continues with challenges at intellectuals' homes, businesspersons and peasants in the villages. In their houses invented bombs, grenades, are thrown out, innocent people are killed and injured. Police is blocked and cannot interfere. On 16 of October 1991, at two a clock in the night, in the police station Dubasari explosion substances are thrown out, considerable material damages are produced.

Starting with 1st of November 1991, the diaries from Transnistria and mass media from Russian Federation "justify" the aggression, take under political tutelage the chauvinistic actions of Transnistria and accuse "Moldovan nationalists" or "Romanian fascists" for destabilization of situation from Transnistria and Bassarabia, "Russian province from times of Russian tsar Alexander I".

On 5 of November 1991 it is communicated in separatists' press: no matter war situations, conciliations for putting out fires in the R. of Moldova, the transnistrian authorities are preparing for the president election of the Transnistrian Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic" and on 7 of November OSTK sends delegates to Moscow to participate at the demonstration of Great Socialist Revolution from October" occasion Accommodation, transportation and food would be freely ensured. Those who wish could register on posted lists. To sum it up, social and political

life in separatist Transnistria is developed according to a well-established plan by the authorities from Tiraspol and Moscow.

In the newspaper *Nezavisimaia Moldova*, from 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1991, concrete facts of violating human rights in Transnistria are listed: threats from separatists to police officers families from Dubasari, second in command police officer Mr. Vladimir Colesnic, they write about some bombs explosions and burning down houses of Moldovan patriots, about refugees situation etc.

All these examples of tactics and scenarios of the hybrid Russian war have thrown population of Transnistria into chaos and anxiety. People from both sides of the river Dniester asked Moldovan and transnistrian authorities to end conflicts and bandit actions of transnistrian insurgents, and instead of calming conflicts by means of legal drastic measures, each time of conflicts the Moldovan authorities were failing to separatists and, secretly collaborated with top of authorities and heads of Russian secret services (for example: liberation from arrest the group of criminals "Smirnov").

On 13 of November 1991, in Vulcanesti, the "little green men", together with Gagauz separatists, banish Moldovan police, kill two police officers, injure other three people, totally burn out the district police station, after that besiege and burn out the Prosecution. In the same day, a group of terrorists attack more houses, armed separatists fire into cars in the street from the proximity of Vulcanesti locality and open fire to the car "Moskvici" with number NG 21-14 where a family was, composed of several persons, originated from Ukraine. The driver, citizen Dunaev, is mortally shot, and his daughter, 8 years old is badly injured. Local police cannot interfere. Police from Chisinau interceded on the spot, 12 militiamen form the patrol battalion and sentinel. They were circled by a numerous Gagauz people, women and children, men, about 200 persons, among them ex-convicts and recidivists armed with tire irons and axes, who were crying out furiously and ask people to revenge against "Romanian police". They threw stones and irons to police officers, roads being blocked with tractors and trucks. Out of the crowd, from the group of "little green people" was shot from the automatic gun towards the police officers and sergeant Ion Panta was killed, others are injured and are retiring organised, because they didn't have permission to use the guns so as in the crowd were women and children. Police retired with human loses, and the administration of Moldova and the competent bodies did not apply the law. Any criminal was arrested and did not bring more troops for making order in the southern part of the republic in the districts Vulcanesti and Comrat.

Using hybrid tactics in economic activities of private and state businesses, separatists paralyse their activities asking for protection taxes. Separatists and militarized patrols from the checking points deny transports, stop, confiscate and detain goods, food and animal products. People ask for special police intervention, but it cannot face the situations.

Starting with 1st of January 1991, on the territory of Transnistria, financial transfer to the accounts of the National Bank of the R. of Moldova is forbidden. Transnistria opens shell banks, legally unregistered, commissions are great, are lost and clients' money are stolen, "money laundering" transactions are executed.

During the phase of preparation and making the anti-constitutional elections of the president of the self-proclaimed "Pridnestrovian Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic" are organized intimidation actions, citizens and police officers blackmail on the left side of Dniester. On 27 of November 1991, at around 15 o'clock, in the building of the village soviet of the locality Teia (Grigoriopol) six people from Tiraspol entered, four of them armed with automatic guns and, by means of death threats they force the executive of the municipality and the mayor to urgently organize a voting section for electing the president Igor Smirnov. Similar actions have place in other villages of Transnistria. Inhabitants of Moldovan villages were obliged, through intimidation and threats with fire guns, to vote "the president". During elections of the separatist leader, part of inhabitants of villages Speia, Butor, Taşlâc, did not participate in elections, even they were threaten by force. For them armed separatists voted, and thrown into the box the ballots "Yes" for the president Igor Smirnov.

We present you other situations of the hybrid war, with psychological elements and destruction actions. Armed constables block the entrance in the city of Tighina direction to Gura Bâcului-Chişinău-Căuşeni, organize pickets and control points, sustained by military of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army. Through these actions population is intimidated, free circulation of people to and from work, shopping is interrupted, also links between relatives.

On 12-13 of December 1991, a battalion of separatists and Cossacks from Dubasari attack district police station, threatening with death about 35 police officers, barricaded into the building. They ask for help Chisinau. Police from Chisinau interferes rapidly. Troops of Cossacks and constables refuse to retire and open fire with all kind of guns from armoured and buildings around. Police officers are defending. At 5.30 o'clock in the morning in order to help the police station from Dubasari operative group of the Police Battalion with special destination is sent. Police officers are welcomed with fire guns from machine gun and automatic guns. A fight of several hours is begun and separatists are rejected. After this attack, three police officers: Ghenadie Iablocikin, Mihail Arnăut and Valentin Mereniuc are dying in fights, and Gheorghe Caşu dies in the hospital after serious injuries. Other nine police officers are hospitalised with gunshot wounds.

In order to permanently distract attention from political, social, from real life problems, and to conduct people attention to minor subjects with a strong emotional effect, Russian Federation with aid of Transnistria, solves major problem in Moscow interest, by violence acts, blocked economy and normal activity of the society in the Republic of Moldova. Terrorist attack on population and villages took place daily, and chaos was continuously generated, for maintaining people in tension.



Special subunit from the Ministry of Interiors of the Republic of Moldova. To the left sight down – martyr hero Gheorghe Caşu. November 1991.

On 14 of December 1991, 19 o'clock, in Dubasari city police sergeant S.Lopatiuc has been taken hostage. During all 1991 year, constables have undertaken attacks on police officers and their families and on peaceful people of Romanian ethnicity. One part of the inhabitants are arrested in the street, tortured and found dead in waters of Dniester.

In Grigoriopol, armed separatists with automatic guns attacked the redaction of the newspaper *Drujba*, also redaction of the district broadcasting is attacked. On the road Grigoriopol-Dubăsari were concentrated armed detachments with constables and Russian Cossacks, dotted with machine guns. Searches are made. Hooliganism acts of Cossack were registered in Tiraspol and Tighina. Total disorder. Drunk Russian Cossacks have beaten citizens, provoked scandals and committed violence acts

The Ministry of Interiors of the R.Moldova did not manage to make order because of great number of situations, and cannot fulfil all decisions of the Government and Parliament, because the country was in a war. Republic of Moldova was in a real war, brutally unleashed by Russia by means of separatist Transnistria, and some politicians and first of all, the president did not understand this fact. They did not undertake adequate measures, army was not organized and other competent bodies for country security were continuously procrastinating, adopting positions like: "let's see", "let's be patient". The president of the country, Mircea Snegur was the first to say it.

Other situations. Police officers from town station Tighina have been subject to terror psychological acts, terrorist actions and different challenges. Police officers, with the constables, at the same time were controlling the city, existed raids of public order, investigated and helped town citizens. The fights with mafia and criminality. It was established that separatist formations of the city created problems and difficulties in Tighina.

On 7 of November 1991, all entrances in Bender were blocked, on the town streets began patrols of more than 300 constables in uniforms without signs. Their chief was Mayor Iurie Kostenko, reserve officer from the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army, participant in the war of Afghanistan. He was a bloody officer, Russian nationalist who killed more than 20 Romanian-Moldavian. He was arrested by the Russian secret services (GRU) for

crimes, robberies and guns sales and he disappeared in order not to held responsibility in Moldovan police authorities and judiciary which followed him.

Witnesses and arms fellows declared during investigations that this commander of battalion, Iurie Kostenko, was very strong, cruel, and used of torture most of the arrested, and after that he shoot them two bullets in the neck. Their bodies were thrown in Dniester, others were thrown in the central system of the town sewer, so that their rests could not be found. He could freely enter at the president Igor Smirnov, participated at festive dinners as a special guest, was awarded the highest orders and medals of Transnistria and Russia, and collaborated directly with some generals from the military structures of Moscow. He has a special storehouse where was keeping valuable stuff (jewels, precious stolen objects), money and all kinds of guns. Part of stolen objects were donated to guests from Moscow who inspected the unit, other part were sent by special courier to Russia. A profitable operation was detention and searching of "seasonal workers", who came back from Russia and Ukraine with money gained from constructions. Who refused to give money were beaten, tortured, they were cut ears, nose or penis, after that they were shot.

On 7-8 December of 1991, a group of local deputies from Tighina made pressures on police officers in order to determine them to pass under jurisdiction of the self-proclaimed "Pridnestrovian republic". Because police officers ignored this decision, armed constables and Cossack provoked more challenges and incidents. We can bring as examples situations when town police station was circled with machine guns with constables, isolating the police officers for the rest of the town, without water, light and food. These situations could last even two-three days. After improvement of situations after intervention of the Ministry of Interiors, conflicts calming down, but incident continued. Police officers were arrest while patrolling, their guns, and munition were confiscated, cars of the traffic police were confiscated. In December, separatists forcibly occupied the building of the traffic police, destroyed offices and documentation, confiscated police cars.

These situations were widely spread in Russian press, with a focus of the Moldovan local nationalism and Romania implication in internal affairs of Bessarabia. Journalists wrote that Romanian language and the tricolour were imposed to Moldova in order to receive help, and that Romania is a poor country without reputation in Europe etc. All these facts were inventions of special secrets and *mass media* in order to maintain situation as tensioned as possible and for planting distrust in tomorrow day and in future. This is a form of the informative war, which was carried in parallel with the hostilities and armed actions.

In order to demonstrate *the local separatist power* from Tighina, on 8 of December 1991, the constables arrest the town prosecutor, L. Toderaş, are interrogating him at OSTK and accuse of actions he did not do, as violations of arrested people, receipt of bribes, links with organised crime etc. all these intimidations were organized in order to scare population and to compromise law organs of the Republic of Moldova. This situation was created in order to liquidate Prosecution of the Republic of Moldova and to replace with the separatist one.

In this phase, in Dubasari, constables block hydro-central and establish security with military formations at all vital objectives. On the outskirts of the town, 700 separatists and armed Cossacks are concentrated. Weapons and fight technique (machine guns of high calibre, grenade launchers, armoured transporter etc.) were offered by the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army. Police station is given an ultimatum: to present a pledge of allegiance for "P.M.S.S.R", if not the office will be taken with assault. In the town are always heard fire shots, police officers are regarded with hostility and a permanently provoked.

Republic of Moldova tries to consolidate political positions, to engage population from both sides of the rive Dniester come to the presidential elections, gather population of different nationalities around a president who leads a politics of good understanding with Moscow, Tiraspol, Kiev and Bucharest, but doesn't manage. On 8th of December 1991 date of elections in all country is established, and political party sustain a single candidate – Mircea Snegur. In elections should participate all population of the republic, inclusively from Transnistria and Gagauzia. In Tighina and southern districts, Vulcănești, Comrat, Ceadâr-Lunga elections are forbidden. Election for president are forbidden in big towns of Transnistria: Tiraspol, Dubăsari, Râbniţa, Camenca, Grigoriopol and in all villages from the left side of Dniester.

Police from Tighina is circled by constables, Cossacks and "little green men". These military structures are destabilising situation in the town,

they patrol, prohibit traffic on some routes, destroy mobile ballot box, abuse citizens who want to vote for the president Snegur. Mentioned situations, moral-psychologic climate of the population are part of the scenarios of the hybrid war provoked by the separatists and sustained by the Russian Federation. Part of these situations, truncated and faked, are taken by *mass media* and disseminated in Russia, Ukraine etc.



Armoured technique of the republican forces in Dubăsari, Coșnița and Tighina

All these situations from the R. of Moldova worsen considerably social and economic situation, develop migration and population distrust in president leadership and Parliament. People leave their houses, apartments and go abroad to work and live in other regions, where there is welfare and stability (Russia, Ukraine, Romania, those who have Romanian citizenship go to Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Canada etc).

After presidential elections, President Mircea Snegur, having all power and encouraged by the Agrarian Democrat Party and other anti-Romanian trends, goes to Moscow on 25 of December 1991 and, without Parliament permission, signs the Convention of Republic of Moldova

accession to CIS<sup>2</sup>. It was evident that Mircea Snegur was closer to Russian that to Romania and European Union. An open betrayal of national interests.

On 26 of December 1991, Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.), as a state and soviet imperium is abolished, Mihail Gorbaciov is removed from the government, and a favourable situation appeared for declaring in the Parliament of Moldova the Union with Romania. In Moldova, as well in countries of the Commonwealth Independent States (CIS) economy is stagnating, as well as commerce and international relations. The war, anarchy, chaos and corruption have an increased magnitude. Entrance to CIS did not solve neither problem of wellbeing of population, nor stopped the war. Republic of Moldova, truncated and divided into several autonomous regions, with the agriculture "brought to the ground", enters in a new phase of the hybrid war.

#### Final phase of the hybrid war, phase III

Third phase of the aggression started in the first months of March 1992 and lasted until middle of July month. President of Russia, Boris Eltin, made a statement full of hypocrisy regarding non-involvement of the Federation in the conflict over Dniester. In reality, the constables and armed bands of Cossack, native from Russia and openly sustained by the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army, initiated military and terrorist actions against state power and police bodies of the Republic of Moldova.

During night of 2 March 1992, military separatist subunits with Cossacks formations attacked with automatic arms police station from Dubasari, arrested the entire police personnel – 34 people, and took them hostage to Tiraspol, where they have been interrogated and physically tortures. This was the only police station from the left side of the reviver Dniester that was under control of Chisinau. Armed army from Dubasari marked the third phase of the aggression, official passing to the secessionist war between the "Pridnestrovian separatist republic", sustained by the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army and the Republic of Moldova. Moldova entered unequipped, practically without army, without armament and munitions, in an undeclared war nor by Russia, neither by Transnistria.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Commonwealth of Independent States – body created after the fall of the Soviet Union, intending to perpetuate this socio-political construction.

A war without precedent in a world, when a country being attacked by the permanent armed forces of Russia and confronted with a secessionist internal movement has protected using only police troops and volunteers, common people, peasants and workers.

On 3-4 of March 1992, armed bands of separatists, sustained by militaries of the Russian Army, carried out raids in all villages from the left of Dniester and Tighina, detained and arrested without any reason police officers, Moldovan patriots and pro-Romanian orientation intellectuals. The have been aggressed and humiliated. Some of them were killed, others disappeared and no one knows something about them.

In reply to these violence, Romanian population from Dniester revolted against aggressors. In the village of Cocieri people assaulted the Russian military unit dislocated in the centre of the village asking for evaluation of Russian forces, men took arms for opposing resistance. Majority of villages from both sides of Dniester stood up against separatists, paramilitary formations and "little green men" from Russian Army. Moldovan volunteers detachments were organised, security patrols of the villages, filters, were boarded up the roads and entrances in the villages for not allow invaders enter the localities. At Robi, Corjova, Cosnita, Dorotcaia, Grigoriopol, Gura Bâcului, Varnița, Hadjimus, Fârlădani, Gâsca new-armed incidents were registered. To the aid of Dniester population came thousands of Romanian-Moldovan volunteers from the districts of Moldova, incorporated in military structures of young Moldovan National Army, and willingly came reservists who inscribed in the Carabineers and police units. Between police forces and volunteers, on one hand, and the aggressor army, on the other hand have been violent confrontations, fights, registering deaths and injured people further armed confrontations were ferocious. National Army helped to organize protection fronts at Cocieri-Dubăsari, Cosnita-Dorotcaia, Varnita-Tighina-Căuseni, Chitcani-Copanca, equipped with military modern technique: machine guns, canons, grenade launchers. In the mentioned strategic sectors, fights were carried from March until beginning of August 1992. The enemy used all kind of weapons, inclusive tanks and aviation.

To the resistance measures of Moldovans, separatist army sustained by the Russian Federation reacted very violent. In months of March-April 1992 bridges over Dniester are exploded at Dubăsari, Vadul lui Vodă, Gura Bâcului; amred attacks are organized against police stations and strategic objectives of the Republic of Moldova; in most of the Dniester localities take place artillery bombardments on some villages from the right of the river Dniester, namely: Holercani, Criuleni, Mășcăuți, Calfa, Copanca, Chițcani.



14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army and separatist forces from Tiraspol invade Tighina territory, land of Country of Moldova.

Representative of the Russian Federation, general Netkaciov, helped Russian Cossacks and separatist army with weapons and war munitions, sent technique and tanks for fighting positions. His successor at the command of 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army, general Aleksandr Lebed, officially communicated at Russian television, ORD broadcast *Weather*, that "I personally mobilized about 10 000 soldiers and reserve officers, armed them with all necessary for war, introduced them in fights, and armament and munitions transferred to war losses". Nobody protested, neither at internal level, nor at international level.

In the same phase, Russia economically blocked Republic of Moldova, showing economic dependence of Moscow to the young independent state. Ex-state bank of U.S.S.R, owing monopoly on monetary mass over all territory of CIS, instituted a blockade on monetary accounts of

enterprises and citizens of the Republic of Moldova and opened a filial in the city of Tiraspol, destroying the fragile banking system of the Republic.

In June-July 1992, the most difficult fights with the enemy took place in Cocieri-Dubăsari, Coșnița-Doroțcaia ad Tighina. Here Russian Federation was directly implied in the military operations, all tactic actions being coordinated with the Major State of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army.



Scene of fights from Tighina with Moldovan volunteers in cone Life Road, the only way of access to Causeni, June 1992.

We should mention that, besides motorized infantry battalions and Cossacks, military forces of the Russian Federation implied in fights tanks Battalion of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army. On the bridge of Tighina took place fights between Moldovan armed forces and Russian tanks. Battalion "Bălţi" succeeded to temporary stop the offensive: 3 enemy tanks (Russian) were destroyed and 2 tanks were damaged. However, Moldovan defence, being unprepared for a fight with tanks, gave away to the Russian Army.

On 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1992, in Tighina, fights began after the failed attempt of the separatist attempt of the separatist battalion "Kostenko" to occupy town station of Police in Tighina. Common forces of the special police BPDS, with volunteers from Căuşeni-Varnița, released Tighina after fights of separatists and enemy army. Sustaining the separatists and the enemy army, contrary to the international Decisions to stop de fire, 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army using tanks and motorized troops, artillery, invaded central and eastern part of the city of Tighina. Two days lasted fights in the street

with violent clashes between military forces and Police of the Republic of Moldova and aggressors. During days 22-26 of June 1992, by means of tactic hybrid actions, the enemy developed a big offensive in Tighina, fight that finally decided the outcome of the war. The city was divided into fight sectors, which were not ceded by the Moldovan fighters. Part of city of Tighina from direction of Căușeni was controlled by the armed forces and Moldavian police. Armed confrontations and fights with the separatists continued also in month of July.

During military actions, the ex-president of the republic, Mircea Snegur, signed on 21 of July 1992, "The peace Agreement"ceding Transnistria to Russians and part of the territories and villages from the right side of Dniester.



Tanks of the 14<sup>th</sup> Russian Army, destroyed or damaged in fight by anti-tank guns of the Moldovan, trailed to the base of Tiraspol, 23 June 1992.

Republic of Moldova, with the assistance of the government from those times lost the war with Russia. Russia caused us economic losses of more the 40 milliards roubles (approximatively 4 milliards USA dollars). Transnistria was lost with a surface of 4200 km2 and a population of about 700.000 inhabitants, as cities of Tiraspol, Dubăsari, Râbniţa, Camenca and Slobozia. On the right side of Dniester, Russia occupied Tighina,

agricultural lands from around the town and transnistrian villages Gâsca, Merineşti, Chiţcani, Cremenciuc and about 40.000 hectares of arable land.

This war, started by Russian Federation against Moldova, conducted to more human sacrifices: about 500 dead people, disappeared, tortured or fallen on the battlefields; about 4.000 injured people in fights and sick people, many of the died after the war. Consequences of this war are extremely dramatic.

Russia continues nowadays an aggressive and humiliating politics towards the Republic of Moldova. Transnistrian separatists carry out the same aggressive politic, conflictual, violate Moldovan right to speak mother tongue, make fun of tricolour, of the Latin alphabet, culture and Romanian traditions.

Until now, more than 10 000 Moldovans, native from Transnistria, were fired remaining without jobs, more than 2800 refugees cannot come back to their native places, because their houses were destroyed, occupied by Russian foreigner, Cossacks and constables from the separatist army of Russian criminals taken out from prisons of Russia and sent to Transnistria. Relocation policy for Moldovans, to move from their home places, or by economic or coercive measures, as during Stalinism times.

State institutions, Justice and banks (inclusively state banks) are in hands of mafia networks and Russian oligarchs who destabilized economy and national currency. Rich men (oligarchs) isolated themselves from the common people, and fighters and combatant rights are not recognised.

Workers' wages are small, pensions even less. Administration marionettes from Moscow and Russian secret services, by means of representatives of the political parties – socialists like Igor Dodon, communists like Vladimir Voronin, "Our Party" like Renato Usatâi –, together with Moldovan mancurt is destabilizing political situation, make demonstrations and protests, maintain population in chaos, promote hate, disorder and poverty. Social conditions common people of the Moldovan society are maintained are similar to a human catastrophe.

The war from Transnistria was one of protection of our national dignity, all Romanian from Bessarabia against the Russian occupant, against Russian Federation.

Actual economic and social crisis from Bessarabia society will persist until mentality of political class will be remodelled and of people

who govern the country. Any miracle will be able to change the critical situation of this state and nation as long as in charge will continue stay people and public officials with a corrupt mentality, dishonest, incompetent and obedient to external political forces.



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