

Dr. János Sallai:
*Moldova, Enclave of Eastern Europe,
A Political Safety Risk for the EU*

2006.

Introduction

Both the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the enlargement of the European Union have essentially rearranged the political map of Eastern Europe. As a result of this process Moldova has become an independent state and with Romania's EU membership one of the neighbouring countries of the European Union. Carrying on my research work, making my scientific investigations concerning the topic I would have described the country as one of the poorest states of Europe, but my personal experience makes me use another adjective, controversial. Here is a state, an area of which operates a conformation not acknowledged by anyone (Transnistria). The river Dniester is controlled by Moldovan and Russian peacekeeping forces; transit traffic is checked by customs and police. Moldovan citizens drive western cars with Transnistrian number plates because of the high registration fees while 100-200-Euro-average incomes are the lowest compared with those in Europe. (Moldovan statistical data is usually far from reliable. More than one million citizens live and work abroad.) Unlike in the Soviet era motor vehicles are mainly of western make and most of them are expensive jeeps. This contradicts to the great poverty of the country – one cannot fail to notice the marked difference. (I came across public lighting only every once in a while during my 150-kilometer-long journey from the border to the capital.) The same controversy comes to your mind when seeing the traditional modest country houses with their nice flowery gates, the blue walls and the ornamental wells and the houses, cottages being built around Kishinev. Another thing also leads one to stop and reflect - it is the shops of the big cities and those of the capital: their wide selection of goods, the great number of their costumers, the popularity of the Metro department store settled down here, the currency exchanges working in every other building along the main roads. Seeing this one may think that money transferred home by the numerous Moldovan citizens living in foreign countries must be in the background.

To apply for a job Moldovan nationals enter and stay in the European Union and the CIS legally but quite often they try to get into these states illegally. Moldovans were caught along the Hungarian border several times.

The above mentioned things motivated me to examine Moldova as a migration-issuing country; to analyse her border-connections and relationships and the experience referring to illegal migration. In order to achieve this it is essential that both the things leading to this situation and –due to the fact that the country is less known - the geographical analysis of the society should be presented.

Chronological History of Moldova

The history of Moldavia seems insignificant compared to neighbouring Russia, to the Ukraine, and to Romania, the country also with a common past. It is mainly concentrated in the XXth century. Main stages of development to the present situation:

1436 Foundation of the city of Kishinev

1478 The Moldavian Principality became a Turkish satellite

1708 Beginning of Moldovan writing

1712 In alliance with the Moldovan Prince Peter the Great expelled the Turks from the area between the rivers Dniester and Prut (today Moldova).

1918 Moldovan Democratic Republic

1919 Moldova became an area under the jurisdiction of Romania.

1924 Moscow created a Moldovan autonomy on the left bank of the river Dniester. This provided in 1940 a basis for the annexation of Bessarabia¹.

1940 The Soviet occupation of Moldova and Bessarabia¹. As a result of this the Moldovan Soviet Republic was formed (33.7 thousand square kilometres, 2.468.0 thousand inhabitants). Cyrillic writing was introduced and some 390 thousand Romanian residents (14.6% of the population) were deported mostly into Kazakhstan.

1986 “Four strokes on Moldova”²: dryness, an earthquake, a ban on alcohol by Gorbachev, forgery of plans.

1989

- The new law of language made Moldovan the state language.
- Gagauz³ minority declared their autonomy

1990

- Referendum along the Dniester, resulting in the population backing the independent state over the Dniester (with the advantage of 96%).
- A Romanian consulate in Kishinev and a Moldovan general consulate in Jass were established; a more simplified border-crossing was introduced.⁴

¹A consequence of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

²Páldi 1969. p. 369

³Approximately 150,000 people.

⁴When they could first go freely from Moldova into Romania people got disenchanted in no time. Romanian experience made them lose their faith in the unification of the former two states.

- “Limba Noastra” i.e. language day was celebrated first.
- Ștefan cel Mare Police Academy was opened.

1991

- 27th August Moldova became independent⁵.
- Referendum along the Dniester, secession from Moldavia.
- Armed confrontations

1992

- Armed confrontations on the Eastern bank of the Dniester were followed by an armistice agreement, but the peace process has been stuck since then. (Russian and Moldovan peace keeping forces are stationing along the Dniester even at present)⁶.
- Russian-Moldovan negotiations (Have they been on since then?)
- Hungarian-Moldovan diplomatic relations
- Moldova was admitted to the UNO.

1993 Leu was introduced⁷.

1994

- A new constitution. Independence and reinforcement of the Moldovan language; autonomy of Gagauz⁸ and Transnistrian areas.
- CIS membership
- A Russian promise to withdraw troops.

1995

- Compulsory knowledge of Moldovan (Romanian) language was expected of Moldovan leaders.⁹
- The death penalty was abolished.

⁵The same year, on the Eastern (over-the-Dniester) parts of Moldova, Transnistrian Republic (4.1 thousand square kilometres, 546.4 thousand inhabitants) and the Gagauz Republic were founded. (The centres of these two republics are Tiraspol and Komrat.) In the former armed conflicts were also intervened in by Russian troops under the pretext of making order.

⁶Villages that rebelled in 1992, now they belong to Moldavia. Cocieri, Molovata, Cosnita, Pirita, Pohrebea, Dorotcaia, Roghi, Vasilievca. Corjova can be of interest as the present president of republic, Vorogin was born here. This village belongs both to Moldavia and Transnistria half and half.

⁷1 leu equals about 16.60HUF.

⁸The territory of Gagauz autonomy was located through local referendum in 1995.

⁹According to my experience Russian language is still determinant in office work and in the communication between private individuals. On street signs and billboards both Cyrillic and Latin letters are present. The fact that the officer staff was educated in Moscow in the Soviet era determines the law enforcement experts' training.

1997. Russian-Moldovan agreement about the free trade of Transnistria.

1999. Istanbul treaty. As a result of this Russia promised to withdraw their troops – an obligation that has not been fulfilled.¹⁰

2001.

- The Moldovan Communist Party¹¹ came to single power again and has had a governing role since then.
- Beginning of the marking of the Moldovan-Ukrainian border.

2003 The Moldovan political leadership's first steps towards loosening the Russian subordination, opening towards the EU and the USA.

2004. Population census

2005.

- Elections in the in the presence of foreign observers. The Transnistrian citizens who crossed the virtual border also voted in the elections¹²
- A political turn: **from Russia towards the EU**
- The Ukrainian-Moldovan customs¹³ agreement; blockading Transnistria.
- Transnistrian forces occupied Vasilievca built along a strategic road, but within a few days they withdrew.

2006. 3rd March the Ukrainian-Moldovan customs agreement came into force.

This chronology demonstrates that events of Moldovan political life are rapidly changing and diverse. Moldova, the country which has become independent, has to face the problems of the young nation-states the economical difficulties accumulated in the Soviet succession states, and the “spying” attention of the “Big Brothers” i.e. that of Russia and Romania. On the basis of population and area Moldova can be called a small state, but is of outstanding geopolitical importance because of the Transnistrian problems. At the beginning of the third millennium political leaders of the country have been thinking of a political transformation, and seem to orientate toward the EU and the USA. At the same time Moldova knows its position is determined because of its Russian dependence.

¹⁰As a part of this agreement Russia reduced her troops from 9,000 to 2,600 on territories over the Dniester and also withdrew a lot of war supplies.

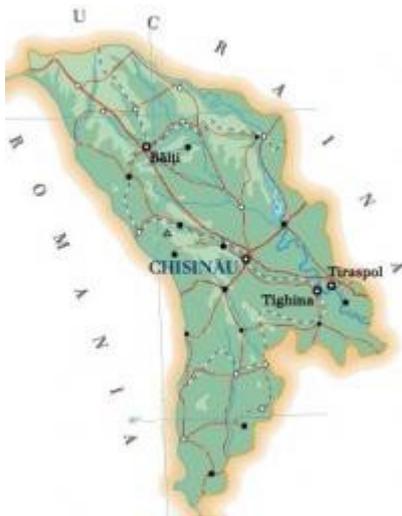
¹¹The Communist Party was banned between 1991 and 1994.

¹²Russian (2006) p.15

¹³According to this agreement from the 1st January 2006 only those Transnistrian trains and trucks can leave Moldova, which have a Moldovan exit clearance stamp. Thus Moldova began to control i.e. blockade the economy of the split territory and as a reaction to this price of gas was increased by Russia.

Because of the low standard of living and the decline of the economy the majority of Moldovan citizens search and find jobs in foreign countries. This process accounts for the fact that the data of statistical surveys do differ significantly. According to a population census data there are over 4 million inhabitants with a household survey examining town-village inhabitants representing only 3.5 million people.

Moldova's Socio-Geography¹⁴



Natural conditions:

Moldova is situated on the south-western edge of the Eastern European plain. Its main border-rivers are the Dniester and the Prut. The area of the republic can be divided into three main natural zones: that of forests, a wooded steppe and a steppe. Three quarters of its surface is hilly – the hill-country is strongly broken up by rivers and streams. Its highest peak is 429. The weather of the country is influenced by the Carpathians. Due to this winters are cold and

summers are warm and dry so plants needing a lot of sunshine and heat can be grown here with great success. The water of the rivers is used for watering. Grape-growing and wine production are determinant in the country.

Total area	Agriculture		Forest		Nature reserve		Others	
	Km ²	%	Km ²	%	Km ²	%	Km ²	%
33,851	25,557	75.5	4,229	12.5	664.5	2.0	3,450	10,0

Industrial conditions:

Owing to the weather and her favourable soil Moldova is an agricultural country. Currently GDP /person is 2,100 Dollars while GNI is 2.6 billion. 23.4% of the GDP is produced by the agrarian sector, 21.4% - by the industry, 55.2% - by the service sector. The annual economical growth forms some 6% of the GDP¹⁵. Agricultural crop lands can be found on the area between the rivers Dniester and Prut while industrial units are situated mostly on territories over the Dniester. The range of industry aims to satisfy the agricultural demands. Their two heat power stations operate on Ukrainian coal and Russian gas.

¹⁴Source: József Rudl (1999) pp. 189-196.

¹⁵Rácz: (2006) p.148.

Moldovan economy is influenced by the fact that the country used to produce for Soviet markets, within this for Russian markets, and was given energy by them.

It is difficult for the country to sell their tobacco, grape and wine on the markets of the EU.

Population:

Moldova is a multi-ethnic state. Within Moldova there are 30 nationalities, the most significant ones are Moldovans, Russians, Gagauzes, and Jews. Her present population is about 4.45million. Important changes have taken place in the ethnic structure of the population since the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Nationality	1989¹⁶	2004¹⁷
Moldovan(Romanian)	64.5%	78.2%
Ukrainian	13.8%	8.4%
Russian	13.0%	5.8%
Gagauz	3.5%	4.4%
Other (Turkish, Bulgarian, Jewish...)	3.8%	3.2%
Total population	4,335,360	4,455,421

The chart demonstrates that Moldovan population keeps growing unlike the European trends and at the same time its ethnic structure keeps changing. The reasons for this are the following: the civil war going on along the territories over the Dniester and its consequences, deportations and emigrations. Another reason is that people have changed nationalities according to their interests. It has become “fashionable” to be a Moldovan.

Conditions of environment and soil:

Conditions of environmental protection of the country are similar to those of other post-Soviet countries. More and more problematic areas and situations come up every day. Polluted institutions are not recorded. Seed protectives are often used. With official permits the country exports 10 thousand tons of seed protective and inorganic artificial fertilizer. Another 6 thousand tons of seed protective are brought in illegally. The usage of seed protective has been reduced for the past few years. Stock-breeder premises produce every year about 8.5tons of waste – their influence on the soil is not cleared yet.

¹⁶The last Soviet census statistics

¹⁷Estimated data since the competence of the first Moldovan census (2004) couldn't be valid on Transnistrian territories.

Communal waste of the country was 1.6 million m³ in 1994 – Kishinev on its own produced 862 thousand m³. The amount of liquid communal waste can be estimated 500,000 m³. Calculating with the average volume weight 800,000 tons of solid communal waste (SDR) is produced in the country, in Kishinev this number is 300,000 tons, which means 400kg per person.

Moldavia's main natural resources are represented by the soil. 80% of Moldovan land is covered with chernozem, 11.4% by brown and grey forest soil, 8.6% by meadow soil. Between 1960 and 1980 the agricultural area of the country was reduced from 70% to 65% in the northern part of the country and from 65-70% to 50% in the middle because of the deterioration of the soil. Eroded territories increased from 30% to 35% in the north and from 30-35% to 35-50% in the middle and in the south. Productivity of the soil is primarily reduced by erosion. The size of eroded territories is 1,205 thousand hectare i.e. 80% of the arable lands, while 780,000 hectare is covered with moderately and strongly eroded soil.

The borders of Moldova and her border protection

During the Soviet regime border protection was carried out by the Border Guard of the Soviet Union subordinate to the KGB. Attention was focused on the borders of the Soviet Union while the protection of the borders between the member states was neglected – they weren't even marked. (This does give much trouble even in our day e.g. in Ukrainian-Russian relations.) After the dissolution of the Soviet Union young states having gained their independence paid an outstanding attention to the designation and the protection of their ex-common borders; to the arrangement of their border traffic control.

Moldova borders on Romania in the west and the Ukraine to the north-east. The Romanian border is 68 kilometres long; the Ukrainian is 1,222 kilometres – half of which is a land, half of which is water. The inviolability of the borders is protected every day by 500-600 patrols of the border guard of Moldova while the air-space is defended by the anti-aircraft of the Ministry of Defence. The Moldovan peculiarity, the Transnistrian Moldovan interest-zone is 453.4 kilometres long it is mainly the line of the river Dniester. From the Moldovan direction we first come across a Moldovan customs and police check, then, at the bridges of the river we meet a Moldovan then a Russian peace-keeping patrol. On the other side of the river another peace-keeping patrol is on duty. Cars heading for Transnistria can enter freely while those going to Moldova have to undergo a customs check. Moldova takes good care not to have any border guards in the area as it would mean that this interest-zone is acknowledged as a state border.

The Chief Administration of the Border Guard led by Brigadier General Igor Kolenov¹⁸ ex-KGB is directly subordinate to the government. It is responsible for the state border protection, for the observance of the laws and international treaties involving borders. The Border Guard consists of some 5,000 troops, two thirds of which are conscripts, one third contractual professional soldiers. This proportion is due to the following process: after the collapse of the Soviet Union KGB border guard troops being stationed on outside territory were withdrawn from the new independent states, including Moldova. The armament, the buildings, the equipment and other service objects left behind went over into the proprietorship of the states concerned. Every fifth professional border guard of the ex-Soviet Union said yes to working on some stations and border crossing points of Moldovan Border Guards established in 1992. At several border crossing points all service tasks, all responsibility of border defence under their control is undertaken by one or two ensigns. In 1993 illegal goods of more than 20 million Roubles were found. Border protection was even more difficult since there were no laws determining the exact rights and duties of the Border Guard. The law about the state border of Moldova was passed in 1994 and next year a regimental standard was presented to the Border Guard by the president. In 1995 more than 5,000 border-violation cases were stopped. The Moldovan Border Guard was reshuffled into the Chief Administration of the Border Guard and a year later as an independent organ seceded from the Ministry of National Security. The protection of the Moldovan-Ukrainian border¹⁹ started in 2001. The designation of the Ukrainian-Moldovan border was agreed on in theory but in practice it wasn't carried out due to financial difficulties.

After the “orange” revolution of the Ukraine Moldova also reviewed her relationship with Moscow and sought the European Union. As a result of this EU assisted training projects were launched aiming at border defence.

Hungarian experts²⁰ also have a role in these projects and as a part of this some Moldovan border guards and customs officers took part in Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Slovenian study-tours under the management of Iurie Renita, manager of the “Development of the Moldovan Border Check System” program.²¹

¹⁸<http://www.granicer.moldova.md/>

¹⁹Dr. József Deák's kind communication

²⁰Today: Otto Ritter, Hungarian border guard colonel, member of the Euro-Atlantic Advisory Council, at the same time a consultant of the GUAM program contributes to the modernization of the border protection of Georgia, Ukraine, Azebaidzhan and Moldova.

²¹The program means the development of the border control system and that of

A characteristic feature of the Moldovan maintenance of order is that illegal trespassers, refugees and alien smugglers are dealt with not only by the Border Guard but by the police, the Office of Migration and the Centre of Trafficking In Human Beings as well. All this is directly subordinate to the government.

Moldovan-Ukrainian, Moldovan Romanian and Moldovan-Russian relations

Moldovan-Ukrainian relations:

Moldova borders on the Ukraine along her northern and eastern border in a semicircular arch. Both history and recent past have left its mark on relations. The fact that they used to live in one community and their independence is the consequence of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and has determined scope of their foreign policy and internal affairs. After the Baltic States' example the Ukrainian "orange" revolution set an example for Moldova to loosen Russia's influence. At the same time they could all experience how Russians could retort with the conventional weapon of energy. Their border defence is also re-arranged with the aid of the EU. All this made the two states put together.

In their relationship a dominant role is played by Transnistria since there are a lot of Ukrainian people living there. Many of them do illegal trade²² for a living.

²¹the Border Guard of Moldova, the country situated in the south-eastern part of Europe. This program is assisted 2.5 million Dollars by the EU and the Development Program of the United Nations.

²²The deputy leader of the Odessa EU mission said the following things about illegal trade: "*weapon and ammunition business showing good returns in the mid-nineties has come to an end. It is well-known that weapons and component parts are still produced in the Dniester region but their delivery would be especially hazardous with the border European Union monitoring service being present in the area. Illegal chicken trade may bring an enormous profit and criminals consider fruit and vegetable smuggling remunerative. Local authorities are also involved. Frozen poultry is imported legally by people along the Dniester region mainly from the USA and Brazil. One ton of frozen meat costs 150Euros. Then it is smuggled into Ukraine, where one tons costs 900 Euros. According to mission calculations smuggling this huge meat surplus imported into Transnistria brings a profit of 5 million Euros thus causing Ukraine a damage of more than 40 million Euros. With the aid of the mission Ukrainian authorities were able to confiscate more than 200 tons of chicken meat in the border lane*".

One of the main focus points of the fight against organized crime and corruption²³ is the common border and the area around Odessa.

Not only does Ukraine have a direct economic and political relationship with Moldova, but joined by Georgia, Uzbekistan and Azerbaidzhan she also tries to revive GUAM²⁴.

The Ukrainian-Moldovan border connections are determined by the 2005 customs co-operation agreement, coming into effect on 1st January 2006 and effective even in practice two-three months later. The essence of this agreement is that goods transported by rail or by road from Transnistria to Ukraine can leave Moldova only in case of a Moldovan control and if they have a customs stamp. That's why Transnistrian firms began to register in Kishinev to enforce the agreement a bit reluctantly.

Romanian-Moldovan relations:

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union Romania has expressed her intention to unite with Moldova several times, which however was rejected by the Moldovan referendum. During the war in Transnistria Romanians actively assisted²⁵ the Moldovans and then they withdrew because of the Russian-Moldovan differences. Moldovan politicians did not look upon these Romanian efforts as unification but as annexation. At the same time a lot of Moldovans (about 4,000-6,000 people²⁶) have a dual citizenship²⁷. Their exact number is next to impossible to determine. He who could determine (e.g. the Romanian Ministry of the Interior) is silent²⁸ so only rough data can be calculated from

²³According to a 2005 International survey in point of corruption only Belorussia, Macedonia, Russia, Serbia-Montenegro and Ukraine are ahead of Moldova in Europe.

²⁴GUAM (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaidzhan, Moldova) In 2002 the leaders of GUAM states signed the first official document which determined the two main directions of the formal co-operation. One of them is the development of trade and transport, the other is to fight against organized crime across the border.

²⁵Doctor (2006) p.18.

²⁶Doctor (2006) p.18.

²⁷During the border traffic control the Border Guard of Romania checks both the Romanian and the Moldovan passports of the Moldovan citizens, but stamps only the Romanian passport so people having a dual citizenship can save the EU visa.

²⁸*Exact data would have made it more difficult for Romania to close the chapter*

indirect publications and estimations. During my research work on Romanian and Moldovan areas I could acquire neither clear nor definite data or information on the process of issuing a dual citizenship, which gives rise to further doubt ²⁹.

The things defined in chronology do illustrate the way leading to present situation. The question is what future these two states want to have when Romania will be an EU and then a Schengen member. Romania does want to take part in the political rearrangement of the area, a proof of which is her intention to be present at the conference table of Transnistrian conflict.

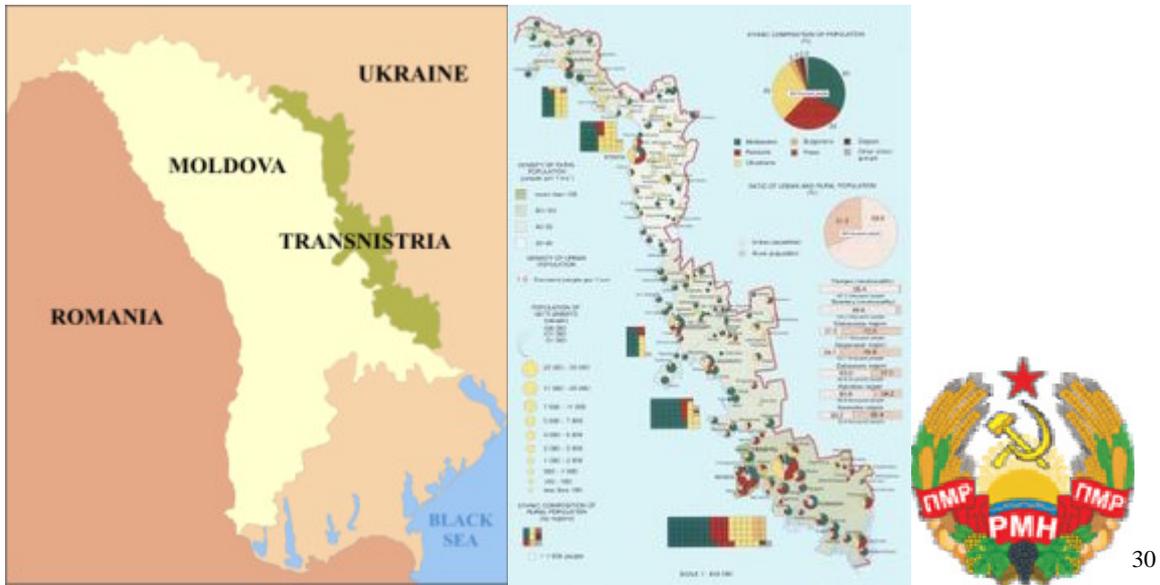
The identification of Moldovan-Romanian dual citizenship is made easier by a certain person's birth place and in case of a travel by a motor vehicle by the data registered in the registration document. In the latter case a Transnistrian number plate can be very disturbing. (Moldovans use Transnistrian number plates with a special liking in order to reduce their registration fees.)

Moldovan-Russian relations:

Since 1990 a dominant role has been played by the formation of the Transnistrian conflicts. Russians promised to withdraw from the area over the Dniester but they stayed, which makes their intention clear for everybody. Their response to Moldova's steps towards the EU and the USA i.e. playing the card of energy could also be expected. Now that Transnistria lies under the Customs stamp blockade, I think, sooner or later the conflict between the two countries will be solved. At the same time one should not have any illusions since Russian foreign policy will not give up one of her most westerly bastions so easily.

²⁸ *dealing with her home and justice affairs during the EU accession respectively the fact that Moldovans apply for a Romanian passport in Bucharest since using this passport they can enter the EU without a visa; they can be employed there and afterwards they simply forget to return home. (The author's own source and experience.)*

²⁹ Being inspired by some other countries' membership (e.g. Bulgaria, Turkey) and their own would-be membership Moldovan citizens keep applying for other citizenships as well in the hope of getting in the EU a lot more easily, which only makes the situation even more complicated.



30

Brigadier Ferenc Bánfi, leader of the EU mission said the following about the region: “It is undoubtedly true, that one of the most important weapons and ammunition magazines of the 14th Soviet Army was left in the Dniester region with about 40 thousand tons of ammunition and weaponry, 19-20,000 tons of which is still there. It would be difficult to say what has happened to those 20,000 tons disappearing meanwhile – and I do not feel like speculating. But one cannot help noticing that during 16 years organized crime became stronger; made a profit of immeasurable quantity and this profit keeps looking for its way. Organized crime is similar to that all over the world i.e. one part of the acquired profit is re-invested into the illegal activity, another part is tried to be made legal. Let me tell you some examples reinforcing this: privatization, formation of legal business and socialized organized crime, which, because of the EU mission present in the area, means that being involved in illegal weapon trade is the same as suicide considering the existing customs system. I am absolutely sure about one thing: if the illegal weapon trade was going on in bulk, we would track it down so this kind of activity simply does not exist at the moment. At the same time criminals’ hunger for profit obviously have not changed so they keep looking for new, less risky chances having the same profit rate. Nowadays this field seems to be represented mostly by food and some industrial product smuggling activities. Drug trade also works, of course.”

³⁰Maps, the source of arms of Moldova:
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transnistria#column-one#column-one>
Moldovans and illegal trade

In the preceding pages I introduced both the geographical, historical, social, economical and political relations of Moldova and her surroundings. All this proves that in the hope of a better life, in order to solve their bread and butter worries Moldovans set forth both to the west and to the east exploiting their chances or cross the borders illegally to hit the target.

Today Moldova does not directly border on the EU so they arrive in our country from the direction of the Ukraine and Romania. The data from recent past shows from below that statistics can do anything. Official reports make a difference between Moldovan and Romanian citizens but at the same time it is not certain that each Romanian perpetrator is a Romanian citizen living in Romania. That's why I do think it would be good to ask Romanian citizens their residence.

The main citizenship categories of those sent back from the border³¹

Citizen ship	01.01.2004 - 30.10.2004	If total =100%	01.01.2005 - 31.10.2005	If total=100%	Change	Change in percentage
Romanian	6,646	31%	6,067	36%	-579	-9%
Ukrainian	4,145	19%	4,084	24%	-61	-1%
Serbia-Montenegrans	3,889	18%	1,787	11%	-2,102	-54%
Moldovan	616	3%	758	5%	142	23%
Bosnian	813	4%	560	3%	-253	-31%
Turkish	586	3%	476	3%	-110	-19%
Stateless	567	3%	432	3%	-135	-24%
Bulgarian	462	2%	340	2%	-122	-26%
Russian	455	2%	336	2%	-119	-26%
Unknown	183	1%	280	2%	97	53%
Other	3,327	15%	1,671	10%	-1,656	-50%
Total	21,689		16,791		-4,898	-23%

³¹Data base of the Border Guard

The Romanian-Moldovan dominance can be seen well from the above chart, which is thought-provoking in both cases. It is more than worrying that several thousands of Romanian citizens have been sent back from the border over a certain period i.e. since two years after the introduction of visa exemption. Statistics show the increase of Moldovan citizens, which one must reckon with later on as well.

The citizenship categories of those committing illegal migration³²

Citizen ship	01.01.2004 - 30.10.2004	If total =100%	01.01.2005 - 31.10.2005	If total= 100%	Change	Change in percentage
Romanian	3,892	36%	6,841	47	2,949	76%
Ukrainian	1,769	16%	4,228	29	2.459	139%
Serbia-Montenegrin	762	7%	840	6	78	10%
Moldovan	1,608	15%	650	4	-958	-60%
Hungarian	311	3%	368	3	57	18%
Turkish	262	2%	220	2	-42	-16%
Bulgarian	122	1%	110	1	-12	-10%
Bangladeshi	13	0%	105	1	92	708%
Unknown	99	1%	102	1%	3	3%
Georgian	314	3%	97	1%	-217	-69%
Other	1,599	15%	925	6%	-674	-42%
Total	10,751		14,486		3,735	35%

The number of revealed cases of migration activities has increased by 90% on the EU outer borders of Hungary whereas it has decreased by 8% on her inner borders as compared to the same period of the previous year. Due to the efficiency growth of the depth migration net the number of activities revealed in the depth of the country, mainly in Budapest, has remarkably increased (by 39%). The majority of these cases were alien policing petty offences. Cases revealed on the outer borders have already remarkably and permanently exceeded those at the inner borders.

Examining the nationality of those involved in illegal activities referring to illegal migration one has to notice the dominance of Moldovan and Romanian citizens, which reinforces the experience described above.

³²Data base of the Border Guard

Smuggled people's main citizenship categories³³

Citizen ship	01.01.2004 - 30.10.2004	If total =100%	01.01.2005 - 31.10.2005	If total= 100%	Change	Change in percentage
Ukrainian	209	26%	267	36%	58	28%
Moldovan	286	35%	183	24%	-103	-36%
Serbia-Montenegrin	94	11%	145	19%	51	54%
Turkish	114	14%	50	7%	-64	-56%
Indian	12	1.5%	26	3%	14	117%
Other	103	13%	79	11%	-24	-23%
Total	818		750		-68	-8%

As far as smuggling is considered, Moldovan citizens got to an even higher place. The situation of the region is well-demonstrated by the fact that Ukrainians being in a similarly difficult position are at the first place of the tableau. It would be worth an overall study to examine why those small buses leaving periodically on Thursday afternoons cross the Ukrainian-Hungarian border at Záhony, at Beregsurány and at the other western-eastern border crossing points. (The author's remark)

According to the experience of the Border Guard of Hungary Moldovan citizens³⁴ usually want to get to Portugal, Spain, Italy and Germany illegally mostly with the intention to find a job. Their getting into the EU is made easier by the fact that e.g. in Italy it is easy to get a work permit which does not have a

³³Data base of the Border Guard

³⁴A real example to illustrate the Moldovan situation: *"At home I don't have a job so I decided to go to my friend living in Terrara, Italy. I'll try to look for a job there. One cannot travel there legally with a visa – it is impossible to get an Italian visa. I knew the only way to get there is to go there illegally. My friend helped me to get acquainted with a man whose job is to arrange getting to Italy illegally. He lives in Kishinev. There, at the Moscow motion picture theatre I met one of his men. I could only speak to the organizer only on the phone. He told me he would have me taken to Italy illegally by car I had to pay 1,500 Euros for this. With his help and directions I met one of his men at Moscow cinema at the beginning of January. I was to give the money to this man. The*

man took the money and told me he would inform me when and from where I would leave on the telephone number given by me. I was fed with promises several times. They phoned me asking to travel to Kishinev as we were to leave, but departure was cancelled twice. On 25th January it was the third time I had gone to the capital. The man told me to take a bus there and travel to Romania. I was told I would be met at the bus station of Bucharest by people who will help me on. He asked me to be patient

Photo, which enables a person to get a residence permit³⁵. Having a residence

³⁴*and do everything I was told or else I wouldn't get to Italy. At the bus station in Bucharest no one was waiting for me. There were 9 of us travelling together from Kishinev. We were waiting there at the bus station for his men to come. On 28th January a man did come for us. He took us to a parking lot for juggernaut lorries at the edge of the town. We went on foot. In the parking lot all 9 of us got into the storage space of a lorry. It was dark at night when we got in. The lorry was parked in an unlit place next to the forest. I did not see what kind of lorry it was. I do not know what goods it was transporting either. We were travelling by the lorry about one night and one day. When we got out of the storage space it was dark at night again. We stopped at a wooded part, on a gravelled road, if I remember well. All of us got out there. A man was already waiting for us. He was our guide in the forest. He took us to an empty, I would call uninhabited house. It could be found about 20 metres off the road. The area belonging to the house seemed to be taken good care of – the grass was mowed. The house was a rectangular building made of bricks with a horizontal, long window of wire glass. Because of the wire glass we could not even look out. In the house there was one door painted yellowish. The house consisted of one room; there was neither a toilet nor a kitchen in it. We had no drinking water – it was brought to us every day by the man who took us there. We could only light with the aid of a candle. There were no beds in the building – we had to lie on the carpets and blankets on the cushion. We were allowed to go out in to the court toilet. It was about 10 metres from the house, at the back. We were told by the man that we could only leave the house to go to the toilet and not to go out in the street. He came to us every other day or three days and brought us some food and some drink. There was a phone in the house. We were told that the phone was there so that we could be contacted and told the orders. 9 of us lived in the house – those who are now here. Last night a man fetched us. He was young but I cannot say anything else about him since it was very dark. We were going on foot. We were going for about an hour, were going through a forest and across a road. Then we were waiting along a busy road in the forest. We were waiting for a juggernaut lorry to arrive. An hour later it did arrive. It drew aside. It was farther away from us. During the journey, I think, we stopped twice for a longer time. Before getting on the lorry the man who had taken us there asked us to be*

quiet in the lorry. He also said he would take us to Italy. We had been travelling by the lorry from last night to the time we were caught.

³⁵The rapid changes of the situation are illustrated by the fact that Italian diplomacy wrote about transit visas in connection with work permits in August whereas Hungary has been acting on the following decisions on the basis of the decisions of the Government of the Hungarian Republic since 1st September 2006:

1. 895/2006/EK European Parliament and Council decision of 14th June 2006. It deals with the introduction of a simplified system of document check based on the fact that at the outer borders certain documents should be unilaterally recognized as equal with the national visas of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia issued for transit journey across their territories.

2. 896/2006/EK European Parliament and council decision of 14th June 2006. It is about the introduction of a simplified document check based on the fact that at the outer borders certain residence permits and those issued by Switzerland and Lichtenstein for the purpose of transit journeys across their territories should be unilaterally recognized by the member states.

Due to the above mentioned decision visa-free travel across the new EU member states, so across Hungary as well, also has to be made possible for Moldovan citizens who have a valid Schengen visa or a residence permit valid for the Schengen area provided their transit journey doesn't take more than 5 days. Those having a valid visa entitling for a single entry have to be permitted a visa-free transit journey even for returning across the new member state.

permit one can enter at a border crossing point on the outer borders. By the time the validity of a work or residence permit turns out the Moldovan citizen can be somewhere on the territory of the EU. It is characteristic of the migration route that Moldovans enter Hungary from the direction of Romania, then crossing Budapest they go in the direction of the western border and usually want to leave the country at Hegyeshalom or in its area. In most cases people getting into our country enter legally with a valid entry visa travelling by small buses or motor vehicles.

Illegal border crossing is carried out in a peculiar way technically speaking:

- Moldovan citizens enter Hungary with a valid visa. When leaving the country the driver of Hungarian citizenship puts the original passport of Moldovan migrants under his own passport and at the border in the EU lane shows it like this. If passports are checked, the Hungarian driver can go on and Moldovans not having a Schengen visa are simply turned back. Forerunners check the border control and then in the second and third cars following them there are 1-2 migrants travelling.
- Foreigners are supplied with false passports valid from the Schengen territory of the EU. A known method of transporting is that legally

arriving migrants are given false Spanish passports and they cross the border on a ship running from Budapest as a regular timetable line. They travel as far as Vienna. From here a Romanian citizen living in Vienna drives them in the direction of Italy.

- In Moldova people wanting to travel to Schengen countries illegally are “gathered”. They are taken to Hungary through legal, organized, travel agency journeys and are accommodated in Budapest or in its neighbourhood. After a shorter or longer period they are given false passports or they have to give their photos and then are supplied with false passports with a substitution photo. These faked documents are usually Hungarian, Romanian, Ukrainian, Spanish or Polish. In official document forgery committed by Moldovan citizens **impostures and documents with a substitute photo** prevail.
- Moldovan citizens can rest in workers’ hostels in Budapest; illegal border crossing takes place on both the green borders and at the border crossing points towards Austria. In the latter case they are hidden in the boots of motor vehicles, (sometimes in minibuses and lorries) or in train buffet car balks.
- The most recent method is that Moldovan citizens come to Hungary illegally, organically through Romania, then in groups of 15-20 they are

³⁵applying the decision.

The decision issued must have spread very fast in Moldova since in a letter of 6th September a Romanian police chief said that in large number do people not having a transit visa want to cross the Romanian-Moldovan border and they keep referring to the above decision!!

- taken by minibuses from the Hungarian-Romanian border towards the direction of the Hungarian-Austrian border. In these transportations Gypsy groups from county Zala also took part. According to their statement³⁶ Hungarian border is usually crossed on foot, sweeping round the border crossing points; mainly on their own.

Moldovan citizens wanting to get into the EU illegally are quite often deceived by man-smugglers - several interrogation reports can also prove this. One of these I can quote to illustrate the situation:

“I found an advert in a newspaper, in which a man advertised himself as someone who can get visas for Moldovan citizens. I called the number. A person introducing himself as Ion told me to travel to Cluj since he could get me a visa in that city. When we got to Tirgu Mures Ion phoned me once more telling me we were to go back to Cluj as the plan had been changed, adding that we could still go back to Cluj and mee so both of us went back. Then, as we could find no accommodation in a hotel, a taxi driver helped us to find a place to sleep in. We spent there two or three days, and afterwards, because of Ion’s call we went to

the bus station. Soon a white microbus arrived and we got in. When getting off a big man was waiting for us, who must have been the driver of the juggernaut. On the way we stopped once to fill up our tank but I do not know what happened at the petrol station. The sum was to have been paid in Italy by my elder sister.”

Illegal migrants from Moldova leave the country thorough the following routes:

1. The most well-known is the Romanian route, which is chosen when having a Moldovan or, because of a dual citizenship, a Romanian passport and from here they go on either legally or illegally in the direction of the EU.
2. The second most popular route goes through Ukraine, Slovakia and Poland, where they enter legally with Moldovan documents and then with false documents made here they turn towards the EU and try to get in.
3. The third route is directed towards the Baltic States, where they get easily forgeable documents and with the aid of these false documents the try to stay and obtain a job in the EU.
4. The fourth route leads to Finland or the Karelina Peninsula across Russia, from where they can go to an EU country.
5. The fifth route “specializes” in white slave traffick. It goes through Odessa to Turkey or the United Arab Emirates.

In Moldova the Centre of Human Traffick³⁷ deals with man-smuggling cases.

³⁶ An internal publication of the Border Guard, 2005.

³⁷ 30 cases were revealed during the last 9 months.

It was created with the aid of the USA. The task of this centre is to investigate those involved in trafficking in human beings; to find out their methods and document these cases. The modification of the Moldovan Penal Code ratified on 30th March qualifies human traffick and illegal migration as crime and threatens those committing them with imprisonment.

A national Plan has been made by the Moldovan State to force back trafficking in human beings and illegal migration. Police, customs, national security, border guard and attorney co-operators and experts fighting against organized crime have been delegated in its body. The efficiency of this activity is hindered by missing infrastructure³⁸.

It seems to be a Moldovan speciality that colleagues of the Migration Center³⁹ created in May 2006 deal not only with trafficking in human beings but with migration, refugee⁴⁰ and expulsion cases as well.

Forces, devices on the banks of the Dniester

In the last days of the Soviet Union parallel with the weakening of the central power, Moldovan efforts to become independent increased. In June 1990 the Moldovan Soviet Republic declared her sovereignty relying on the majority of the population, (then 64.5%) whose mother tongue was Romanian. Elections were held though Moscow denied the decision. This step gave rise to an aversion in the Ukrainian and Russian ethnic groups, forming 26% of the inhabitants, and representing the majority of the urban population. They were afraid that that Moldova gaining independence might want to join Romania. On the areas in the east of the Dniester the first political and self defence organizations of the population of Russian origin were formed already in the middle of 1989. Since Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic declared her sovereignty in June 1990 and on 2nd September 1990 regions to the east of the Dniester established the Soviet Socialist Republic over the Dniester. This was followed by a civil war, then, since 1992, by setting things right after the civil

³⁸When visiting the Centre of Trafficking with Human Beings and the Police Academy I could not help noticing the lack of heating, and that of the internet. It must be very difficult to keep up with criminals, to fight against organized crime and trafficking groups having the most modern mobile phones. It seems to be impossible to fight against them sitting in cold offices, wearing thick coats, not being able to use the internet.

³⁹During the past 9 months 4,800 proceedings were opened because of the violation of the rules of residence and 899 people were expelled. In addition to this 244 refugees were registered and 77 procedures are being conducted.

⁴⁰A most descriptive case was that of 9 Chinese men, who got in Transnistria illegally; they were staying there (their stay was paid for by the Chinese Embassy) and later on they got to Moldova with the aid of the Red Cross.

war The most important stage of peace keeping was: 23rd March 1992, in an Helsinki meeting foreign ministers of Russia, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine agreed on the establishment of a quadrilateral consultation mechanism but this activity failed due to conflicts. Conflicts ended due to the intervention of the 14th Russian army and have been suspended since then. Russians promised to withdraw their troops but have not honoured the agreement.

Power relations are the following according to some 2004 information⁴¹:

Armed forces	PMR ⁴²	OGRF ⁴³	PMR+OGRF	Moldovan
number	7,200	3,100	10,300	6,800/15,200
Tank (T-64)	18	117	135	0
BMP				
BTR 60, 70, 80				
BRDM	84	207	256	209/227
TAB71				

100mm artillery device	38	96	134	79
mortar	75	32	107	115
anti-tank gun	17	0	16	36
armour-piercing rocket	30	At least 105	at least 135	131
anti-aircraft artillery gun	45	no data available	49	23/29
anti-aircraft rocket	42	no data available	42	69
MIG 29	0	0	0	6
JAK 50, 52	12	-	12	0
helicopter	8	no data available	8	12
air-carrier	5	0	5	-
patrol ship	0	0	0	0/2

The maintenance of the above mentioned weaponry represents a serious burden for Moldova, for a country in a poor economic situation. That's why there is hardly any source for training and renewal, which is burdened on by the costs of border control due to the existence of Transnistria.

⁴¹ András Rácz (2006) p.151

⁴² Transnistrian Armed Forces

⁴³ Russian "peacekeeping" forces

The chart above shows that Moldovan Republic over the Dniester maintains armed forces disproportionate to her size and might, which demands the support of Russian troops stationed in the region.

All this proves that the region has not become placid yet and armed conflicts breaking out any time may result in bigger collisions, which do threaten Europe's peace in the east.

Conclusions:

- Due to her geo-political and economic situation Moldova is going to be one of Europe's poorest states so her inhabitants will keep on looking for a job and settling down abroad, mainly in the EU member states in order to make both ends meet and live in safety.

- On the basis of past experience political leaders of Moldova turned their foreign policy towards the EU, but her EU accession in the near future is far from being realised yet.
- Due to her geological features Moldova is an agricultural country, which represents the main problems of the future ahead. The country has difficulties in taking her goods to the EU and selling them there so she will still be at the mercy of the ex-Soviet states. Due to the industry-development policy and environment polluting activities during the Soviet era the country will not be able to satisfy the environment protection expectations of the EU.
- Moldova has to create an independent foreign policy in the shade of two neighbouring great powers and that of one, having great influence on her own territory whereas wanting to co-operate more and more with the EU.
- Owing to the demographical and safety-political bread-and-butter problems of the region Moldova will be a state issuing illegal migration in the direct neighbourhood of the EU.
- One must deal with Moldovan citizens entering our country or the EU legally with a Romanian passport but working or settling down there illegally.
- The inward movement of Moldovans is usually concentrated on the Romanian border section but sometimes Ukrainian borders are also involved. They want to leave the territory of Hungary crossing the Austrian and Slovenian borders.
- People trafficking in human beings exploit people's naivety and their miserable situation. Equipped with the most modern technical equipment they do everything to produce higher profits i.e. they try to smuggle more and more Moldovan citizens into the area of the EU.
- According to modern ideas the EU wants to run an office issuing Schengen visas in Moldova. It would be worth reinforcing this office with Hungarian border police experts because of Moldovan citizens' migration ambitions. The Moldovan-Transnistrian conflict represents a **serious safety challenge on several fields both for the Eastern European region (among others for Hungary as well) and for the whole of Europe.** The split republic with its own structure, with the violent organizations interwoven with the political leadership, with the complete lack of international control seems to be an ideal scene for organized crime operating on a state scale.
- Romania can soon become an EU member of full authority as a result of the EU enlargement. It means Hungary will have a EU member neighbour, which has provided Moldovan citizens with several thousands of dual citizenship certificates so they can enter the EU

easily crossing the Romanian-Moldovan border (even having a Romanian passport) thus being able to go as far as the beach of the Atlantic Ocean.

- Moldova's risk of illegal migration is made bigger by the fact that those crossing the Ukrainian border (coming from the direction of the Ukrainian-Transnistrian border) can also enter Moldova without border traffic control.

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