

# ACCESS TO INFORMATION VS INFORMATION SECURITY IN THE HYBRID WAR (THE CASE OF SUSPENDING THE ACTIVITY OF SIX TV CHANNELS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA)

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## Abstract

On December 16, 2022, the Commission for Emergency Situations of the Republic of Moldova (CESRM) suspended on the period of the state of emergency the broadcasting license for the following TV channels: First in Moldova and Accent TV – both belong to the service provider “TELESISTEM TV” LLC; Orhei TV and TV6 – “MEDIA RESURSE” LLC; RTR Moldova – “TV - Communications Group” LTD; NTV Moldova – PP “Exclusive Media” LTD. CESRM took an unprecedented decision in the short history of the free and independent media in Moldova, a state for which democratic values are not only declared priorities. In a single decision, six sources of information to the population were suspended. Immediate reactions followed in the political environment, but also in the public space. In the hybrid war triggered by Russia on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, the informational, media component holds an important segment, where the forces are focused on the direction of the psychological processing of the population, where certain media contingents are also mobilized. In such circumstances, CESRM has taken preventive actions to protect the information environment, in order to ensure stability and tranquillity in society.

**Keywords:** *information security, hybrid war, Republic of Moldova.*

We shall analyse this situation, following the following objectives: the route of appearance and evolution of TV stations, which had their broadcasting license withdrawn during the state of emergency; the involvement of oligarchic parties in strengthening the political partisanship in the media field of the Republic of Moldova; the actions to monitor the activity of audiovisual institutions and to ensure information security; the examination of the motivations regarding the basis for the withdrawal of the broadcasting license and the reactions of politicians and of non-governmental media organizations.

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(CESRM) suspended on the period of the state of emergency the broadcasting license for the following TV channels: First in Moldova and Accent TV – both belong to the service provider “TELESISTEM TV” LLC; Orhei TV and TV6 – “MEDIA RESURSE” LLC; RTR Moldova – “TV - Communications Group” LTD; NTV Moldova – PP “Exclusive Media” LTD. The decision was based on the following arguments: protecting the national information space and preventing the risk of disinformation by spreading false information or attempts to manipulate public opinion; the influence of the human factor – the list of individuals and legal entities subject to international sanctions and the available information on the control exercised by these persons over some media service providers; the multiple findings in the monitoring reports of the Audiovisual Council (AC) regarding the violations of the Audiovisual Media Services Code (AMSC); the lack of reaction to the application of sanctions and the continuation of the AMSC violations in reflecting the events national, and also Russia’s armed aggression in the neighbouring country of Ukraine.

CESRM took an unprecedented decision in the short history of the free and independent media in Moldova, a state for which democratic values are not only declared priorities. In a single decision, six sources of information to the population were suspended. Immediate reactions followed in the political environment, but also in the public space (Consiliul Audiovizual, n.d.).

Several opinions were presented, some diametrically opposed, but in which less, or almost no account was taken of the real aspects

of this situation: the war against Ukraine approached the borders of the Republic of Moldova; the Russians' missiles are overflying the country's airspace, and their shrapnel falls on some Moldovan localities; component aspects or development: economic (trade in fruits, vegetables, wines, etc.); energy (gas, petroleum products, electricity, etc.) – they became in the hands of the Russians weapons of blackmail directed against the Moldovans; the so-called “peacekeeping” forces, which is actually the remnants of its 14<sup>th</sup> army of the former USSR, are still standing now, as it were, “with gun to foot” in the Eastern districts of the Republic of Moldova.

And on top of these problems of economic, political and social survival, there are also elements of a corrupt human capital: thieves in the law, criminals who plundered the state's treasury, fled with a lot of money and hid abroad. Now they are afraid of public accountability, and just as, always for the bandits, the offensive against the authorities is the best defense, they have triggered it through street demonstrations, rallies organized and paid for with stolen money, conjugating their efforts with the Russian forces you know, foreign to the interests of the majority population, methodically pursuing their clear goals: the removal of power, the democratically elected power, and the establishment of another and their foreign supporters.

In the hybrid war triggered by Russia on the territory of Moldova, the media information component holds an important segment, where the forces are focused on the direction of psychologically processing of the population, where certain contingents of the media are also mobilized. In such circumstances, CESRM has taken preventive actions to protect the information environment, in order to ensure stability and tranquillity within the society.

We shall demonstrate these realities, following the following objectives: the route of appearance and evolution of TV stations, which had their broadcasting license withdrawn during the state of emergency; the involvement of oligarchic parties in strengthening the political partisanship in the media field of the Republic of Moldova; the actions to monitor the activity of audiovisual institutions and to ensure information security; the examination of the motivations regarding the

basis for the withdrawal of the broadcasting license and the reactions of politicians and of non-governmental media organizations (Dumbrăveanu, 2016).

**Under the umbrella of freedoms**, based on the data presented by the Audiovisual Council and its list to the owners who are the beneficiaries of the television media service providers, updated on 11.01.2023, we find that 70 television institutions operate in the Republic of Moldova, three of which are public and the rest are private (commercial), and nine institutions hold two broadcasting licenses each. The CSMA provisions establish: “Private media service providers are obliged to publish on their own web pages and to submit to the Audiovisual Council, annually, by the 31<sup>st</sup> of March, an activity report, according to the model approved by the Audiovisual Council, which should include the name, citizenship of the beneficiary owner / beneficiary owners, the description of the property structure, the media service provider's organisational chart and share capital, the sources of funding for the audiovisual media service and the information on the implementation of the audiovisual media service design for the previous year of activity (paragraph 13, Article 28). The model for the annual report was approved by the AC, by Decision no. 7 from 20.01. 2023 and dispatched for execution to all media service providers. The AC also publishes on its own-responsibility page the affidavits on ensuring the transparency of the media service provider's property and a report on the beneficial ownership of the media service providers. These are separate documents, compared to the annual reports of the media service providers. These documents taken together are complementary tools for ensuring the transparency of the ownership of audiovisual services. The importance of those instruments is mentioned in the Recommendations of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to the Member States on media pluralism and transparency in media ownership (Consiliul Audiovizual, n.d.).

The first in Moldova and Accent TV, RTR Moldova, NTV Moldova came to the attention of the AC following the presentation of incomplete reports. Thus, the analysis of the annual reports of the TV media service providers in the Republic

of Moldova for 2021, carried out by Ruslan Mihalevschi, member of the Board of Directors, mentions that the respective televisions consider the data of the funding sources "confidential" or that they represent a "trade secret." For these reasons, the First in Moldova, Accent TV and RTR Moldova did not include in the report their price lists for advertising. R. Mihalevschi notes that the arguments presented by the respective providers of television media services are unfounded, because, according to article 2050, para. (1) of the Civil Code of the Republic of Moldova, "The trade secret holder may not invoke a legal means of protecting the trade secret, if the alleged acquisition, use or disclosure of the trade secret took place in any of the following cases: a) for the exercise of the right to freedom of expression and information, as provided by the legislation and international treaties to which the Republic of Moldova is part of, including respect for the freedom and media pluralism ..." Also, according to the Law on accounting and financial reporting, each entity in the Republic of Moldova is obliged to submit the financial statements to the National Bureau of Statistics, which subsequently publishes them. Respectively, the financial information about any economic agent, including the media service providers, is not a trade secret.

The TV channels First in Moldova, NTV Moldova, RTR Moldova were watched by the Moldovan public since the formation of the TV channels NTV Russia, First Russia and RTR Russia, when in the Republic of Moldova there was no law on the Audiovisual Code, therefore no AC. Methodically, latently they penetrated the homes of the Moldovans, naturally they formed a vast audience, without the people of culture, politics and the state, the local public asking themselves: how they appeared, what mission do the respective television stations have. We do not pretend to uphold the truth as a last resort. An unequivocal response calls for extensive research. For these reasons we will present only the milestones of their history, gleaned from unbiased, easily accessible documentary sources of the FR.

NTV was launched in FR on October 10, 1993, based at the Ostankino Technical Centre in Moscow. Today NTV is part of the "Gazprom

- media" Holding. Through the channel "NTV Mir," NTV broadcasts in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Baltic States, Western Europe, the Near East, the United States of America, Canada, Israel, Australia, New Zealand and Oceania. NTV is the child of independent and free audiovisual in Russia, of transparency ("glasnosti") and restructuring ("perestroika"), of the democratic transformations initiated by M. Gorbachev in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), although, when NTV was born, neither did USSR disappear from the map of the world, nor was M. Gorbachev president. Then, in the international arena, the FR proclaimed himself the rightful successor of the USSR, and the president had become Boris Yeltsin. NTV was one of the first private television companies to break away from the great colossus - the State Television and Broadcasting Committee of the USSR. The new-type media institution was constituted by the most shrewd and active television publicists, who asserted themselves during the restructuring. Two prominent figures of the respective environment, on whom it is worth stopping a little, because they draw attention by the fact that they also held the position of general manager of the NTV Company, but also by the way their destinies were separated, are Oleg Dobrodeev and Yevgeny Kiseliov.

Oleg Dobrodeev, former general manager of the NTV Company (1997- 2000), debuted in 1983 in the main newsroom, the program *Время* (Time), on the Central Television of the USSR. From 1990 he became director of the current affairs program *Вести* (News), where commentator Yevgeny Kiseliov manifested himself, becoming popular. *Вести*, together with Kiseliov, convinces the magnate Vladimir Gusinschi to financially support NTV, which also becomes the main shareholder of the "Медия мост" holding (Media pod), part of which was also NTV. In the electoral company of 2000, for the early election of the President of Russia, Gusinschi categorically did not support the candidacy of V. Putin. Coming to power, in a short time V. Putin declares war on the disobedient oligarchs, starting with V. Gusinschi. It was the first fight, apparently directed against corruption and economic embezzlement, the

main aspect being against the pluralism of ideas and information transparency. V. Gusinski lost this fight and in 2000 was arrested in Spain by the Interpol services, at Russia's request. But the Spanish government did not extradite him, Gusinski being also a citizen of Israel, he was tried in Spain and released, becoming an emigrant. Oleg Dobrodeev became one of President V. Putin's favourites. From 2000 until now he has been in the position of general director of the Company for Television and Broadcasting throughout Russia. After the start of the Russian aggression in Ukraine (2022), Oleg Dobrodeev is declared *persona non grata* in the European Union, Great Britain and the USA.

Yevgeny Kiseliyov, in 2000-2001, was the general manager of the NTV Company. He is a renowned television publicist in the ex-Soviet space. He asserted himself in the First Program of the Central Television during the peak of the restructuring, 1987-1980. Previously he studied history and philology at the "M. Lomonosov" University in Moscow, the Institute for Asian and African countries. After graduation, in 1979-1981, he was mobilized as an officer-translator for the Soviet group of military consultants in the war in Afghanistan. In 1981-1984 he was a Persian language teacher - Parsi or Farsi - at the Felix Dzerzhinski Higher School of the State Committee on Security (CSS/KGB) of the USSR. "Problems" in Evgheni Kiseliyov's career as a publicist, began to appear after the 2000 election campaign for early elections of the President of Russia. E. Kiseliyov was labelled and qualified as a "gladiator" on the electoral arena on NTV, and S. Dorencu - on the Russian Public Television or the First Channel and N. Svanidze - on RTR, state television of FR or "Russia-1." They, according to political scientists and media observers, professors at Moscow State University, used unrecognized electoral technologies in Russia: discrediting the person and creating myths or "banishing the devil" and "exalting the god." They were also incriminated for having acted "according to scenarios written by someone else," covering in the virtual space "fights and bargains," so that the elites who failed to divide their assets, to impose their dominance in the spheres of economy and politics. In 2001, E. Kiseliyov left NTV, arguing that there he was

strangling freedom, and state control over private media was in place. He practiced free journalism, collaborating with the radio station "Эхо Москвы" (the Echo of Moscow), on the magazine "Ford," and on the weekly "The New Times." He supported the orange revolution in Ukraine and condemned the Russian invasion of Crimea. In 2008 he was employed by the Ukrainian TV channel "Итоги" (Balance Sheets), and after the outbreak of the Russian war in Ukraine he was the moderator of the informative marathon "Freedom", Ukraine 24. In FR he was declared a "foreign agent" and prosecuted.

In the structure of the NTV Company, from the beginning, in 1992, was formed the Analytical Directorate, headed by Filip Bobcov, army general, former first deputy president of the CSS/ KGB of the USSR. Bobcov is considered one of the heads of the ideological foundation of counterintelligence, used by the secret services of the USSR. In the newly created direction, he hired a team of counterintelligence officers-reservists to contribute to the development, implementation and improvement of NTV's editorial policy according to situations. In Moldova, a CIS state, NTV broadcasts its programs, being known to the public as TV7 and gaining a certain popularity due to the quality of the informative, propagandistic content and television films with spies and fighters on the invisible front against banditry, corruption and organized crime. In accordance with the legislation of the Republic of Moldova, on January 1, 2016, a new private TV station, NTV Moldova began broadcasting local news programs, comments, debates, but also to retransmit the broadcasts made by NTV Russia on the territory of the republic, largely through cable networks. NTV Moldova belongs to the company "Exclusive Media" LLC. The beneficiary of NTV Moldova and respectively of the Company "Exclusive Media" LLC Company, was at first the politician Corneliu Furculiță, a prominent member of the Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova, deputy in parliament, close to President I. Dodon. Since 2022, "Exclusive Media" LLC is managed by Ludmila Furculiță, the wife of Corneliu Furculiță. Starting with November 7, 2022, "Exclusive Media" LLC (TV6 channel) affiliated to the Shor Party (SOR) and

the company NTV Russia offer the public through Pay-TV networks, but also free of charge through where the content elaborated by NTV Russia: musical and psychological shows, entertainment shows and TV films (TV8.md, 2022).

**The first in Moldova** is a private TV channel belonging to the company "TELESISTEM TV" LLC, managed by Arina Corșicova, domiciled in Chisinau, also being a provider of media services, and the beneficiary is Alexei Polunin (Russian Federation) 100%. In order to understand how the Russian TV stations: The First Channel, RTR Planet, NTV Russia, etc. entered the Moldovan audiovisual space and why in a short time they formed the vast audiences, we will make a lapidary foray into the history of television in Moldova.

On April 30, 1958, the first TV show of Moldovan news was broadcasted, the TV content being broadcasted by the Technical Television Centre, put into operation by telecommunications specialists, sent on mission by the State Committee for Radio and Television in the USSR. The Moldovan news program, which at first broadcasted 2-3 hours a day, 2-3 times a week, was part of the first program of the Central Television (TC), which broadcasted from Moscow, from the Ostankino technical centre throughout the USSR. The evolution of technical means of telecommunications caused the number of TC programs to increase, reaching the time of the disappearance of the USSR to 6 Ostankino channels. In the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic (MSSR), in the last years of the USSR, the domestic television managed to obtain its channel, to ensure the production and broadcasting of its own shows, but the TC kept the frequency for the First Channel, continuing the broadcast. When the USSR disappeared, FR transformed the first channel into the Russian Public (Public) Television (TOR/OPT), which was not interrupted in Moldova.

Along the way, the TC channels have turned into mixed structures, with private and state capital, where the large part, in the majority, is owned by the state, calling themselves commercial or private televisions and televisions totally financed from the state budget. According to the schemes with mixed financing the following institutions were formed: the NTV company, the

Russian television First Channel, etc. and with total budget funding, the following state televisions: Russia 24, Russia Cultural, RTR Planet, etc. In The Republic of Moldova, joint media enterprises have been established that provide limited liability services, where a part of the capital is held by the Russian televisions. Thus, the Russian televisions have actually reached where they did not go, to a public educated by the Soviet authoritarian regime continuously, where generations in a row were processed in the propaganda information field, made up of news and films of illusory realities.

By 2022, the First in Moldova has largely retransmitted the broadcasting grid of one of the most important Russian state and propaganda televisions - the First Channel. Similarly, **RTR Moldova** was formed and activates, a TV channel in Moldova, which exists thanks to the support of the Russian television RTR Planet, having "TV-Communications Group" LLC, managed by Yevgeny Sergeyev, domiciled in Chisinau, as service provider and beneficiaries of this company: Valentina Stețco (Republic of Moldova), who represents "SB GRUP MEDIA" LLC, a legal entity registered in the Republic of Moldova in partnership with the "Russian Society for the Organization and Management of Projects in the Field of Mass Media," with residency in FR; and founders of "SB GRUP MEDIA" LLC: Oxana Borșevici and Galina Sîrbu. The channel RTR Planet started to rebroadcast in The Republic of Moldova on July 1, 2004, the beneficiary of services being the company "TeleDixi," which until then had retransmitted the channel "Russia," with advertising from the Republic of Moldova. Since July 3, 2005, the company "TeleDixi" replaced the RTR Planet channel with the Moldovan version of the CTC channel, a network of TV stations in FR, a channel that belonged to the holding company CTC Media, founder of the company "TeleDixi." Since 2010 "TV Communications Group" Ltd. has launched in the information space of the Republic of Moldova "RTR Planet CSI," with an entirely Russian grid, but with Moldovan advertising.

Since January 2013 the channel resumed under the name RTR Moldova. PRT Planet is a television channel of the State Company of Russia for Television and Radiobroadcasting, formed

following the restructuring of the respective company carried out by the general manager Oleg Dobrodeev. In February 2018, following the implementation of the amendments to the Audiovisual Code of the Republic of Moldova, RTR Moldova removed from the grid the analytical program of current affairs “Вести” (News) edited by FR, but not definitively, because some news, reports, comments were found in the program “Вести Молдова” (News Moldova).

The TV channels: First in Moldova, Accent TV, Orhei TV and TV6, RTR Moldova, NTV Moldova, subject to sanctions by the Commission for Emergency Situations of the Republic of Moldova, until 2022 activated under the umbrella of governance, provided by the Party of Socialists of the Republic of Moldova (PSRM) and the PSM, and subsequently, in 2022, to be united under the aegis of the PȘ, led by deputy Ilan Shor, who, being sentenced in The Republic of Moldova, in the first instance, to seven years and six months in prison for money laundering and causing material damage through deception or abuse of trust in the “Robbery of the Century” case, is in Israhe, where he fled from punishment; but he is not in refuge, for he is also a citizen of this country. Ilan Shor organized in the public space of Moldova a large-scale protest, non-stop, accompanied by rhythmic street demonstrations, with the participation of thousands of demonstrators, brought organized, in the centre of Chisinau, where they are manifested against President Maia Sandu and the current government. According to the urgings made to the demonstrators by Shor from the LED screens, Maia Sandu must be removed from power, as she is oriented towards the European Union and alienates Moldova from Russia. Maia Sandu and her Western patrons want to attract Moldova to NATO and to the Oxen against Russia. Then, Moldova will become the same as Ukraine. The TV stations supervised by the PȘ were unequivocally involved in promoting the violent, manipulative ideas of social-psychological intimidation, disturbance of calm and destabilization, launched by Ilan Shor (TV8.md, 2022).

**Professional fairness in the media space in time of war** is eclipsed by the demands put forward by the information providers, on the

propaganda and editorial policy promoted by them, but also by the personal attitude of journalists towards the belligerent forces, their past, their national and patriotic senses. The media holds avant-garde positions in psychological warfare, triggered in inappreciable time, before the actual military operations. In the era of digital communication, new media (audiovisual) and especially multimedia (direct interactive relations with the audience) hold an important segment within hybrid warfare, a war unfolded on multiple fronts: mediatic, psychological, social, political, economic, cultural, etc. in spaces and times, with specific tactics, strategies and arsenals. In Moldova, the hybrid war was started with the participation of the counterintelligence service, a subdivision of the Main Espionage Leadership (ГРП) of the Soviet army, which was active within the 14<sup>th</sup> Army, based in Tiraspol. After 23.06.1990, when the MSSR Parliament had adopted the Declaration of Sovereignty, a document of historical importance, which notes that “the boundaries of the MSSR can be modified only with the amicable agreement between the MSSR and another sovereign state, in accordance with the will of the peoples, with the historical truth and with the rules accepted by international law.” Prior to 01.09.1989, the law on the functioning of languages spoken on the territory of the MSSR, which enshrined “the state language – Moldovan, which operates on the basis of the Latin script” was adopted. After the adoption of these documents, the communists in Comrat, a district populated mostly by Gagauz and communists in Tiraspol, a city on the left bank of the Dniester River, the former capital of the Autonomous Soviet Republic of Moldova and Socialist, historically proclaimed as the bridgehead of the USSR, reacted violently, of the expansion of communism in the Balkan Countries. The actions of the Communists in Comrat and Tiraspol were directed from the shadows by the counterintelligence services of the Main Espionage Leadership (ГРП) of the Soviet army. These actions coordinated by the Soviet Communists and the ГРП led to the formation on the territory of the MSSR of the Gagauz autonomy and of a separatist republic on the left bank of the Dniester, supported by oligarchic

and political forces from the FR, which provoked in the region an armed conflict, a conflict that lasts more than three decades, because until now there are Russian troops of “peacekeepers” on the Dniester. The war in the Eastern districts of Moldova, started with the involvement of the Fr. of Moldova, is not finished, but only frozen. The GPY scenario tested in Moldova was applied in Georgia, Armenia and Ukraine, thus in the ex-USSR appeared the states of frozen conflicts: Georgia, Ukraine, Armenia, Moldova (GUAM). In those states the population was divided into pro-Russian, pro-Western, pro-state, etc. groups, and they were permanently in the eye of the counterintelligence services of the FR, which recruited agents of influence to carry out democratic and social experiments of the peaceful reconquest of foreign territories once obtained by Greater Russia following the imperial wars. Russia’s aggression in Ukraine, started with the annexation of Crimea, brought to light the obscure parts, the components of the hybrid war waged by the FR in the GUAM states.

Each state can be sovereign and independent as long as it has the capabilities and capitalizes on the possibilities of defense for the proper functioning of its economic and social institutions: law and security, information and education of the population. The CESRM is a governmental body, which was formed for actions in a state of emergency during the Covid 19 pandemic, but which has extended duties imposed by the conditions created with the onset of the Russian aggression in Ukraine. The war in Ukraine activated the components of the hybrid war of the RF in Moldova, provoking: economic, energy, social destabilization and, of course, political dissension. Under these circumstances, the manifestations of Russia’s agents of influence in the social and political spaces of the Republic of Moldova have intensified. Suspension on the period of the state of emergency (N.B. – a.) of the broadcasting license for the TV channels: First in Moldova and Accent TV; Orhei TV and TV6; RTR Moldova and NTV Moldova aroused a vehement reaction first of all from the providers and beneficiaries of audiovisual services, the amphitryons of these stations. Who they are and who they represent we tried to find out in the text above. Obviously behind them there are

political forces from Moldova, now in opposition, but being in power, under one name or another, in all the years of sovereignty and independence of Moldova: The Party of Communists of the Republic of Moldova, PSRM, PȘ, etc. – parties coming from the Soviet communists. Keeping them in power for over three decades, their avatar and their relations with the parties and obscure forces in the FR is a special theme, which goes beyond the space of this investigation, but it is worth going back to it. In the following pages, we will seek to expose the reactions of the media guild caused by the closure of the communication through terrestrial waves and cable of six audiovisual channels, to the temporary restriction of access to information from certain sources of a segment of the public in the Republic of Moldova. Temporary, because the CESRM decision is valid only during the state of emergency, nor total, because the respective sources have regrouped and continue their activity in the virtual information space, on Internet platforms.

The journalists from the respective television stations were the first to react. They published messages criticizing the CESRM’s decision, accusing the authorities of “an unprecedented attack on freedom of expression,” while calling on the international community to take a stand and give appreciation to the decision to suspend the broadcasting licenses of media providers, as having committed “a serious exceeding of the competence and all the democratic international standards of a rule of law.”

On December 20, 2022, five media NGOs: the Centre for Independent Journalism, the Media Guard Association, the Electronic Press Association, the Centre for Investigative Journalism and RISE Moldova issued a statement asking the authorities to publish all information on the factual and legal circumstances under which the CESRM decision was drafted. The signatory NGOs recognize the need to implement urgent measures to ensure information security in Moldova, subject to real dangers generated by the subversive actions of an aggressor state, as well as of private organizations and individuals. At the same time, restrictive measures must be based on convincing arguments, certain evidence and implemented in so far as to ensure the

exclusion of doubts regarding the legality and proportionality of the interferences. The signatories note that the CESRM decision lacks the exact information about the sanctions previously applied by the AC regarding each media service provider concerned.

We shall present the decisions to approve the results obtained from the monitoring of the sanctioned TV stations, of the reports on the basis of which the AC has worked with the respective stations, has taken preventive measures to avoid sanctions resulting in the lack of broadcasting licenses: **Decision no. 61, of March 2, 2022:** Regarding the results of the monitoring of some TV stations, between 24-27 February 2022; **D. no. 63, of 02 March 2022:** On the examination of the results of the monitoring of some television stations in terms of compliance with the provisions of Article 4 and Article 19 para. (4) of the Audiovisual Media Services Code, following the self-referral of the Vice-President of the Audiovisual Council Ana Gonța; **D. no. 333, of 04 November 2022:** On the examination of the results of the monitoring of audiovisual media services of television "TV6" and "Orhei TV," in terms of compliance with the provisions of Article 13 of the Audiovisual Media Services Code; **D. no. 358, of 02 December 2022:** On the examination of the results of the monitoring of the audiovisual media services of television "Orhei TV" and "TV6" in terms of compliance with the General Concept of the Programme Service; **In total, during 2022, 31 decisions were fulfilled, the last being D. no. 371, of 16 December 2022:** On the monitoring of national public and private providers of television media services in terms of compliance with the provisions of Article 4 para. (3) points (a) to (c), para. (4), para. (7) and para. (9) of the Code of Audiovisual Media Services of the Republic of Moldova. All the decisions were executed within the terms established by the AC. The reports elaborated on their basis contain substantial analyses, qualitative quantitative, conclusions and recommendations, being drawn up according to the methodological rigors of investigations of audiovisual products and the provisions of the AMSC. The reports were discussed and approved at the ordinary meetings of the Board of Directors, after the application of recommendations,

sanctions, approved by the vote of the CA members (Unimedia, 2022).

**In conclusion,** we can see that journalism in Moldova in the era of digital communication without borders represents an avant-garde contingent in the public space of a nascent democracy, but it is threatened from inside and outside by obscure forces, which attract the creators of media products in an orbit of usurpation of democracy and rule of law. The content analysis of the audiovisual products transmitted by the TV channels of the Republic of Moldova, which exists with the support of the Russian televisions or of the local oligarch politicians in relation to those from Russia, highlights the true face of the journalists who come to people's homes to bring news, comments, opinions exposed in the debates. They are, in part, specialists devoid of moral principles, for which profit prevails. Thus, they also recorded a route marked by migrations to various television channels, with fickle editorial policies, as well as the politicians to whom they feel connected by devotion and mercantile interests. They know how to think only for the benefit of themselves and their masters, they are obedient and devoid of their own values and reference landmarks. Regrettably, the number of creators of manipulative products, of propaganda, of false information, is increasing. Hybrid warfare and Russian aggression in Ukraine clearly develop portraits of journalists drawn into the political media partisan body of Moldova. Media NGOs also have missions to monitor the quality of media products, just like the public institution AC, and sometimes they do so successfully. We have not yet noticed a pertinent analysis of the activity of audiovisual service providers in Moldova from the financial point of view, of the properties of television networks, etc. But NGOs have another mission: that of watchers in the field of professional morals, deontology and journalistic ethics. This field in Moldova is waiting to be grubbed up. Tools and mechanisms are, lacking fears, to come, to pull the first furrows.

In three decades of sovereignty and independence, Moldova developed on the paths proclaimed by the Declarations of Sovereignty (23.06.1990) and independence (27. 08. 1991), promoting the principles of democracy, freedoms and the rule of law. Moldova has declared itself a



neutral state, which wants to forge its future in peace and good understanding with everyone and first of all with its neighbours. Neutrality is worth nothing if the state cannot ensure its sovereignty and independence, the well-being and freedoms of its citizens. The frozen military conflict in the eastern districts served as the platzdarm of the FR for the promotion of hybrid warfare in Moldova. The armed war that FR is conducting in Ukraine, in the immediate vicinity of Moldova's borders, the large number of Ukrainian refugees on the territory of Moldova, the energy and economic crises, to which the citizens of Moldova are exposed as a result of the war, the Russian efforts to destabilize the society in Moldova through their intermediaries, made the Parliament empower the MOLDOVAN CSE as, as a matter of urgency, to take countermeasures in the context of the "regional security situation and the danger to national security." These measures also covered the six TV channels without broadcasting licenses due to systematic non-compliance with the AMSC provisions. In the created circumstances, the mission of the media consists in the solidarity of its activity and the combination of efforts to explain to the public, understandably, what were the premises that led to the temporary suspension of

six commercial and independent television stations and what goals they pursued on the territory of the Republic of Moldova.

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