The historians' contribution to the reconciliation with the past in Romania (2003-2006)

Anemona Constantin

The Research Institute of the University of Bucharest

International Context

Mechanisms of dealing with the past

1970s Latin America

Europe

Africa

Trials

'Truth and Reconciliation' Commissions

Commissions of historians

Lustration

Compensation

National Memory Institutes

European Union

1995: EP Resolution on the Commemoration of the Holocaust

1998: EP Resolution on the Restitution of property belonging to Holocaust victims

1998: The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance

2002: The Holocaust Remembrance Day (Council of Europe)

2005: EP Resolution on Remembrance of the Holocaust, anti-Semitism and Racism

2008: Declaration of the EP on the proclamation of 23 August as European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Stalinism and Nazism

2009: EP Resolution on European Conscience and Totalitarianism

2011: The Platform of European Memory and Conscience

2019: EP Resolution on the importance of European Remembrance for the future of Europe

'Truth and Reconciliation' Commissions

1982: National Commission for Inquiry into Disappearences (Bolivia)

1983: National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (Argentina)

1990: International Commission on Missing Persons (Chile)

1992: Commission of Inquiry for the Assessment of History and Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany

1995: Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa)

2002: Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Serbia and Montenegro (also called the Yugoslav Truth and Reconciliation Commission)

2005: Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor

Commissions of Historians

1934: The Joint French-German Commission

1972: The Joint German-Polish Textbook Commission

1990: German-Czechoslovak Historical Commission

1996: Independent Commission of Experts Switzerland – Second World War

1998: Estonian International Commission for Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity

1998: International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania

1999: The Commission of Historians in Latvia

National Context

Reconciliation with the past in Romania 1989-2005

1990: 'Revolution' Trials

1991: Law 118 on compensation for former political prisoners

1991: Law of national security – bans the 'totalitarian and extremist actions of communist, fascist, legionary, racist or anti-Semitic origin'

1993: National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism in Romania

1997: President Constantinescu's Declaration regarding the communist regime and the Holocaust

1997: Ordinance regarding the restitution of Heritage Properties to the Jewish Community

1999: Lustration Law – National Council for the Study of Securitate's Archives

1999: Ordinance 105 on the compensation of the Holocaust Survivors

2002: Government Ordinance baning the fascist, racist, xenophobic organizations and symbols

2005: Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes

Commissions of Historians (Romania)

1. The International Commission for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania (CISHR, 2003-2004), created by the President Ion Iliescu

2. The Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania (CPADCR, 2006), created by the President Traian Băsescu

Membership

➤ CISHR: 33 members

> CPADCR: 39 members

Academics HISTORIANS, sociologists, political scientists, literary critics

Victims survivors of the Holocaust, political prisoners of the 1950s,

dissidents

Activists NGOs, Jewish association members, 'civil society',

anticommunist public intellectuals

Politicians advisors to the President, ambassadors, the Chief Rabbi of

Romania

Elie Wiesel (1928-2016): Romanian-born American writer, professor, political activist, Holocaust survivor and laureate of the Nobel Peace Prize (1986) for speaking out against violence, repression, and racism



CISHR Mandate

The study of the history of Holocaust in Romania in order to

establish the facts: what happened between December 1937 and May 1945

disseminate the results of the research

Events: discrimination

isolation

deportation

physical destruction

of the Jews and Roma from Romania or from the territories under Romanian administration between 1937 and 1945

Vladimir Tismăneanu (1951): Romanian-born American political scientist, professor at the University of Maryland, Washington D.C., specialist of the communist regimes



CPADCR Mandate

To examine:

- > the main institutions making possible the imposition of the communist dictatorship
- > the mechanisms that led to abuses, crimes and violations of human rights
- > the role played by certain political figures within the communist totalitarian system in Romania

Final Report of the CISHR

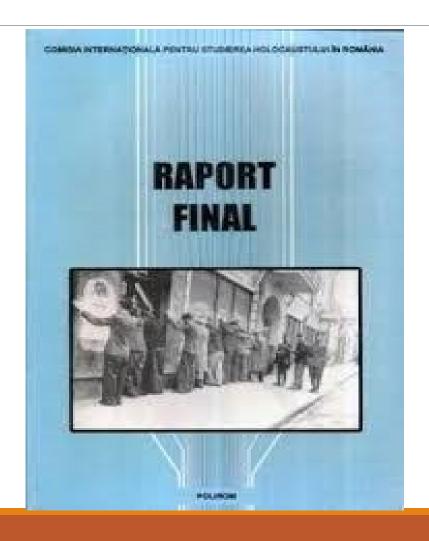
13 chapters - 4 main topics:

- 1. The State legislation towards the Romanian Jewish community between 1937-1945
- 2. The origins & causes of the growing Antisemitism in Romanian society and as a state policy in the 1930s
- 3. The persecution, mass killings (Pogroms Bucharest, Iaşi, Dorohoi), and deportation (Transnistria) of the Romanian Jews during WWII
- 4. Dealing with the Holocaust after 1945. Holocaust denial in the Romanian public space since 1989

Conclusions of the CISHR

- 1. Romania participated in the Holocaust during World War II
- 2. Romania is responsible for the killing of between 280,000 and 380,000 Romanian and Ukrainian Jews and 11,000 Roma during the World War II
- 3. Defines the Holocaust and the Holocaust denial in the public space

The final Report of the CISHR



Final Report of the CPADCR

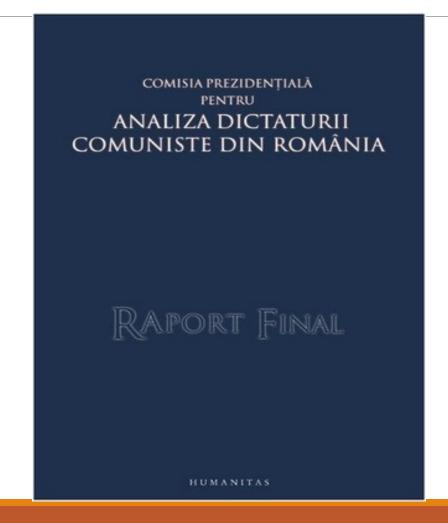
3 big chapters

- 1. The Romanian Communist Party: continuity 1947-1989
- 2. The Repression: Romanian Gulag, surveillance by Securitate
- 3. Society, Economy, Culture: societal control, planification, ideologization

Conclusions CPADCR

- 1. The Romanian communist regime was 'illegitimate and criminal' from the beginning till the end
- 2. The communist regime made 2 million of victims
- 3. The Report states that Romanian society should not be held collectively responsible for what happened during the communist regime

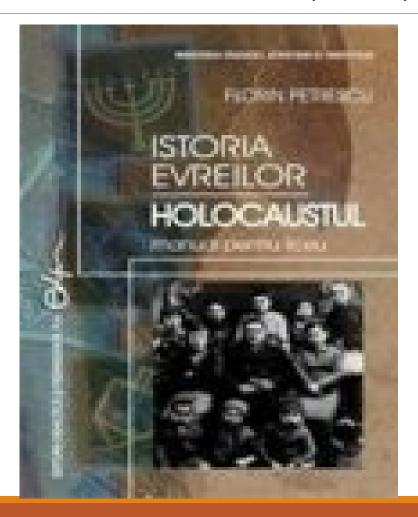
The final Report of the CPADCR



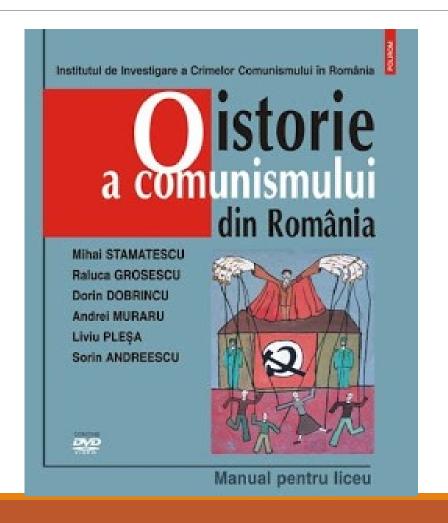
Recommendations

- 1. The Romanian Presidents assume the conclusions of the two Reports: the official condemnation of the past by the Romanian State
- 2. Education: textbooks, Army courses, teaching programs, archives
- 3. Commemoration: Memorial Museums
- 4. Legislation: Memory laws
- Penal Code ('Crimes against humanity') (2014)
- Criminalization of Holocaust denial (2016)

History of the Jews. The Holocaust Textobook (2005)



A history of the communism in Romania Textbook (2008)



The Institute 'Elie Wiesel' for the study of the Holocaust in Romania (2005)



The Holocaust Memorial, Bucharest (2009)



Bibliography (selection)

Georges CASTELLAN, Histoire de la Roumanie, Paris, PUF, 1994 Florin ŢURCANU, Mircea Eliade, le prisonnier de l'histoire, Paris, La Découverte, 2003

Catherine DURANDIN (dir.), Perspectives roumaines. Du postcommunisme à l'intégration européenne, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2004

Mihail SEBASTIAN, Journal (1935-1944), Paris, Stock, 1998
Paul MORAND, Bucarest, Paris, Plon, 1935
Catherine HOREL, Traian SANDU, Fritz TAUBERT, La Périphérie du fascisme - Spécification d'un modèle fasciste au sein de sociétés agraires, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2006

Nicholas M. TAGY-TALAVERA, The Green Shirts and Others: A History of Fascism in Hungary and Romania, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1970 Armin HEINEN, Die Legion « Erzengel Michael » in Rumänien – Soziale Bewegung und politische Organisation: Ein Beitrag zum Problem des internationalen Faschismus, R. Oldenbourg, München, 1986 Radu IOANID, La Roumanie et la Shoah: destruction et survie des Juifs et des Tsigannes sous le régime Antonescu: 1940-1944, Paris, MSH, 2002 Alexandra LAIGNEL-LAVASTINE, Cioran, Eliade, Ionesco. L'oubli du fascisme, **Paris, PUF, 2002** Ghita IONESCU, Communism in Rumania 1944-1962, Oxford, Oxford **University Press, 1964**

Katherine VERDERY, National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania, Berkeley and Los Angeles, **University of California Press, 1991** Katherine VERDERY, What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?, **Princeton University Press, 1996** Michael SHAFIR, Romania: Politics, Economics and Society. Political Stagnation and Simulated Change, London, Boulder Co, 1985 Gail KLIGMAN, The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania, University of California Press, 1998 Vladimir TISMÅNEANU, Stalinism for All Seasons. A Political History of Romanian Communism, University of California Press, 2003 Raluca GROSESCU, Les communistes dans l'après-communisme. Trajectoires de conversion politique de la nomenklatura roumaine après 1989, Paris, Michel Houdiard, 2012, Gabriel MARIN, Apprendre l'histoire à l'école communiste. Mémoire et crise identitaire à travers les manuels scolaires roumains, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2013.