

ABSTRACTS

István Bandi: Hungarica research opportunities in the Archives of the CNSAS (Bucharest)

The Archive of the Bucharest-based National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives (in Romanian language: Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității, CNSAS) comprises materials that are indispensable for studying the contemporary history of the Hungarians living in Romania, as well as for the historiography from Hungary. A protocol signed in 2014 by the Historical Archives of the State Security Services (Budapest, Hungary) and the CNSAS Archive offers the possibility to the HASSS to obtain electronic copies of documents related to Hungary or Hungarians and to make them accessible for research. The present study offers certain points of reference and guidelines to the study of these archival records by touching upon the following topics: the uneasy institutional evolution of the CNSAS; the role of the CNSAS and other special services and their archives in the process of revealing the past; the administrative process of lustration; data about the size of the archival records, their accessibility and the state of archival processing, as well as possible research areas and topics based on records related to the Hungarian minority.

Keywords: CNSAS, lustration, archival records, Hungarica research

László Csendes: (Personal) rights in cross-fire and reconstructing the immediate past

To speak about protection of personal data in the case of an institution such as the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives (CNSAS) implies analyzing the tension between legal norms in force granting access to classified information gathered by the secret police of the totalitarian communist regime and regulations concerning the protection of personal data and privacy. The present study presents the challenges of setting up personal data protection regulation within the framework of the institutional evolution of the CNSAS, and illustrates various aspects of this issue, as well as the results and pitfalls of reconstructing the immediate past by a series of examples.

Keywords: GDPR, reconstructing the immediate past, minorities, political police, communism, Romania

László Csendes: “Let’s restore the moral significance, the national weight and the human authenticity of the word”. The circular letter of bishop Áron Márton with the occasion of the celebration of the 50 years long existence of Great-Romania

The (arch)bishop of Transylvania calls for bringing the political promises into daily social practice and requires perseverance in coping with the difficulties posed by the divergent and complementary interpretations of some sensitive situations regarding our joint history. Áron Márton referred, on the 1st of December 1968, to those who lived in his eparchy, revealing in a prophetic way the distance between what it is and what it should be. His adhortation “let’s give back the word its moral content, its national force and reliability” calls for unity and reconciliation, focusing on concepts such as identity, freedom and responsibilities, but, above all else, love, which was for him a spiritual mission

Keywords: 1968, Áron Márton, Catholic Church, Socialist Republic of Romania, Hungarian minority

Attila Seres: The Danzig Crisis in 1939 and the Hungarian National Minority in Transylvania. An Affair of the Hungarian Minority Press with the Polish Diplomacy in Romania

The essay is aimed to present how the leader press organs of the Hungarian national minority in Transylvania, especially Keleti Újság in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and Magyar Lapok in Nagyvárad (Oradea) interpreted the most complicated political crisis of Europe of 1939, the so called „Danzig crisis”. The Free City of Danzig was located between East Prussia and Poland and the debate around its status between Germany and Poland led finally to the outbreak of the Second World War. After the First Vienna Arbitrage in 1938 and returning of the region of Subcarpathia from Czechoslovakia to Hungary in 1939 social representatives of the Hungarian national minority in Romania hoped in realizing Hungary’s new revisional claims against Romania, which depended mainly from the outcome of the German–Polish conflict. Hungarian daily newspapers in Transylvania

hoped that the Danzig crisis will be solved as with preserving the sovereignty of the Polish state and satisfy the ethnical needs of Germany towards to the Free City of Danzig. The representative of the Polish diplomacy in Kolozsvár, vice-consul Tadeusz Stapiński protested several times against the point of view of the Hungarian minority press organs as he thought that Keleti Újság and Magyar Lapok took in this debate a German-friendly position. The misunderstanding between the Hungarian newspapers in Transylvania and the Polish diplomacy in Romania shows the fact that idea of the Hungarian-Polish friendship in this historical period could have been fragile.

Keywords: the Danzig crisis in 1939, Hungarian-Polish relations, Romanian-Polish relations, the Hungarian minority press in Romania, the famous Hungarian newspaper editor and writer Nyíró József, the Polish vice-consul in Kolozsvár (Cluj) Tadeusz Stapiński

Andrei Ursu - Mădălin Hodor - Roland O. Thomasson: “Who shot at us after 22?” Study on those guilty for the victims of the Romanian Revolution of December 1989

For 28 years, justice for the bloody events of the Romanian Revolution has not been served. In the “Timisoara gang” trial of the ‘90s, only a minute fraction of the guilty were investigated and indicted, and fewer yet were convicted. There has been no justice for any of the post-December 22nd victims. Through a massive disinformation campaign (“legendization”) by a number of former Securitate operatives and informers, the question of who was responsible for the December 1989 dead and wounded was obfuscated through a series of conspiracy theories that defy the historical truth and collective memory, the latter of which they in fact tried to alter. Through their proxies in the media, these “alternative facts” ended up becoming common currency among the public at large. One of these theories is that “the CFSN and Army” group would have orchestrated a diversion, where there were no terrorists, but only soldiers and revolutionaries shooting each other in panic. The last Revolution-related communique of the Military Prosecutor Office (S.P.M.) seems to fit the mold of that false narrative. If it is true that “Iliescu Ion accepted the military measures, some of which had a clear diversionist character, and made them official”, then, by consequence, there must have existed those who “unofficially” proposed those measures, as well as those who executed

them: the shooters, the ones who installed the simulators, the terrorists. All of these should have been identified and indicted as well.

Along with a large and diverse set of testimonies and historical and legal documents from prior investigations and trials, the study presents a set of documents recently discovered at CNSAS which reveal a consistent and logical tableau of those responsible for the victims of the Revolution. These pieces of evidence show that the victims were not all the result of “friendly fire”. The terrorist acts, well-known in the days of the Revolution, are those that triggered the “diversion”, according to a pre-established plan. The plan was part of the “resistance fight” envisaged by Ceausescu in the event of a foreign invasion or a popular revolt that would have chased him from power. Besides gunfire simulators, the shots also had the goal of killing, selectively, some of the revolutionaries and soldiers, for the sole purpose of panicking the population and the Army, and thus weakening the Revolution. The study identifies certain characteristics of the shootings and of the shooters, which lead to the conclusion that the latter were primarily Securitate members, especially from the 5th Directorate and USLA. This fact was confirmed by some of the Securitate heads, some of the CFSN leaders, several Army generals, and the “Popescu-Necșești” senatorial commission report. For example, a large number of witnesses (medical doctors, military personnel, victims’ relatives), recount that the terrorists used light, caliber 5.62mm weapons (clearly for camouflage and greater mobility). There is no evidence these weapons existed in the Army’s arsenal. Instead, a recently discovered CNSAS document shows without a doubt that such weapons were used by the Securitate until December 26. The prosecutors can thus identify who shot (based on the weapons’ registration numbers). The study demonstrates this investigative path, exposing the identity of the Timisoara Securitate shooters (based on the similar “Ambrozie lists”). These shooters were never investigated either.

Finally, the study analyzes how we ended up with such a blatant, almost blanket immunity for Ceausescu’s main repressive institution. We look at the investigations which in 1990 debuted with Securitate investigators as prosecutors, the disappearance of evidence and dead bodies, and the suspicious freeing of all terrorists by Securitate proxies. The paper provides an overview of the disinformation mechanisms by which the Securitate version was propagated in the mass media and even among military prosecutors.

Keywords: Romanian Revolution, Securitate, CFSN, USLA, Iulian Vlad, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Ion Iliescu, Nicolae Militaru, Macri Emil, Ștefan Gușă

Szilvia Varga: Political culture and political socialization of high school students in Cluj-Napoca

In the post-socialist period, many researches have been done, focusing on the political socialization of young people, but the views of Transylvanian Hungarian and Romanian youths are rarely compared. The target population of my current research are the Romanian and Hungarian high school students in Cluj-Napoca (11th and 12th grade). The purpose of my research is to examine and compare their civic attitudes. Cluj-Napoca is suitable for a representative research because Hungarians do not live in a block here, so the political socialization of the Hungarian and Romanian youth can be examined simultaneously. Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that Hungarian students have the opportunity to socialize and learn in Hungarian schools as well. It is also important that there is a significant middle class in Cluj-Napoca, and relevant questions regarding participation can be answered as there are regular protests in the city.

I conducted my sociological survey using a quantitative method based on questionnaire, using multistage cluster sampling. The questionnaire included the following questions: questions related to the social background of the students; ideal citizen; democracy; getting information about politics; politics and politicians; current state of Romania; participation; interethnic relations. During March 12–June 7, I visited 18 Romanian and 16 Hungarian classes, and 339 Hungarian and 289 Romanian students filled out the questionnaire.

The main objective of my paper was to learn the political culture and political socialization of the 11th and 12th grade students in Cluj-Napoca. I tried to find answers to questions such as the views of young people on the whole of politics and its respective actors, how they appreciate the current condition of the country and the functioning of democracy, students' participation in elections and in other processes, and therefore whether we have in our society a "thin" or a "strong" form of democracy. Furthermore, I tried to integrate the results of my research into the existing scientific literature. At the same time, I looked into how the attitude of young people and their image of politics changed compared to the 2000s. Literature constantly emphasizes that the trend of low real activity is the legacy of the communist regime. Are, after 29-30 years, young people who are already socialized in the "new system", able to leave this pattern behind and transform the subject political culture into a participant culture?

Keywords: Cluj-Napoca, youth, politics, citizenship

