

**Appeal for the condemnation of communism in the European Parliament according to the Romanian model and for the condemnation of the Hitler-Stalin Pact - 12 March 2009**

-----Messaggio originale-----

Da: ILIESIU SORIN

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A:

Oggetto: tres important et TRES URGENT/ from Sorin Iliesiu, Bucharest, Romania.

Caro Signore

Je serai present Mercredi, la 18 Mars, a Bruxelles , a L'Audition publique (Public Hearing) sur la la necessite de la condamnation europeenne du communisme, evenement preside par la presidence tcheque de l'UE.

J'espere que vous serez aussi present.

J'ai fait un appel pour la condamnation, dans le Parlement Europeendu communisme en suivant l'exemple roumain (avec des rapports de chaque pays sur la criminalite et l'illegitimite du communisme dans leur propre pays) et du Pacte Hitler-Staline de 1939, comme illegitimes et criminelles.

L'appel a ete signe aussi par Mme Ana Blandiana, le symbole de l'anticommunisme en Roumanie, la creatrice du Memorial de Sighet de Roumanie.

Je vous prie de lire l'Appel.

Je vous prie d'etre d'accord de signer vous aussi l'appel que j'ai initie. Votre signature sur cet appel este essentielle. Si vous etes d'accord, je vous prie de m'ecrire un message avec "d'accord".

J'attache et j'annexe ci-dessous la version anglaise de cet appel.

Je vous remercie et je vous prie de recevoir mes meilleures sentiments.  
Sorin Iliesiu

Appeal for the condemnation of communism  
in the European Parliament  
according to the Romanian model  
and for the condemnation of the Hitler-Stalin Pact

Appeal launched in Romania on 12 March 2009, signed by intellectuals  
and 38 civic and union organisations

To the EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

To his excellence Mr Hans-Gert Poettering – President of the European Parliament

Esteemed Mr Hans-Gert Poettering – President of the European Parliament,

We demand that, on this the twentieth anniversary of the fall of communism and the seventieth anniversary of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the European Parliament should condemn the communist regimes and the Hitler-Stalin Pact as illegitimate and criminal.

We request that the act of condemnation of the communist regimes should be carried out in accordance with the demands and proposals contained in the following documents:

\* Resolution 1481 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe regarding the need for international condemnation of the crimes of the totalitarian communist regimes – of 25 January 2006

\* The Appeal for International Condemnation of the Criminality and Illegitimacy of Communism – of 17 May 2006

\* The act of condemnation of the communist regime as illegitimate and criminal, read by Traian Băsescu, the President of Romania, before a joint assembly of the two Chambers of the Parliament of Romania, on the basis of The Final Report of the Presidential Commission for Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania – of 18 December 2006

\* The Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism – of 3 June 2008

The condemnation of the communist regimes must follow the example of the condemnation of communism in Romania, which is to say, it must be based upon reports drawn up by each individual country into the criminality and illegitimacy of communism in those countries.

Thus, on 18 December 2006, as a result of our Appeal of 10 March 2006<sup>1</sup>, the communist regime in Romania was condemned as illegitimate and criminal by President Traian Băsescu before a joint assembly of the two chambers of Romanian Parliament, on the basis of the Final Report of the Presidential Commission for Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania<sup>2</sup>. In no other former communist country apart from Romania has the communist regime been condemned on the basis of an explanatory, incontestable, comprehensive and analytical report (consisting of 660 pages in A4 format), elaborated by more than forty authors, the majority recognised experts in their respective fields. In the Conclusions of the Report, the members of the Presidential Commission proposed numerous measures for the de-communisation of Romania, with reference to: the condemnation of communism, commemoration, legislation and justice, research and archives, education.

These methods of condemnation might be an example for the international condemnation of communist regimes as illegitimate and criminal.

Inasmuch as the condemnation of communism on the basis of an explanatory report was possible even in a country such as Romania, which endured a Stalinist communist regime up until 1989, as well as a number of years of neo-communism<sup>3</sup>, we consider that what was possible in Romania is also possible at an international level. Thus, on 17 May 2006, we launched the Appeal for the International Condemnation of Communism as Criminal and Illegitimate, an appeal addressed to the United Nations, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Congress of the United States of America, and civil society in the former communist countries. In this appeal, we demanded that the international condemnation of communism should be made according to the Romanian model, respectively on the basis of an explanatory country report. The following is a quotation from the Appeal of 17 May 2006: "We ask the competent international forums to demand that the former communist countries should present to the international community as soon as possible their own individual reports regarding the illegitimacy and criminality of the communist regime in their own country. The international condemnation of communism should be made in full knowledge of the facts, on the basis of country reports, within the framework of an international conference, so that the whole world might know the whole truth about the crimes of communism, and in order for such crimes never to be possible anywhere ever again."

The Appeal of 17 May 2006 was published in November 2006 by Freedom Committees at <http://www.libertates.com/en/content/view/40/7/> and has been signed by more than 700 public figures in Romania and abroad to date.

The following are among the public figures from outside Romania who have signed the Appeal: André Glucksmann (philosopher, Paris), Stéphane Courtois (co-ordinator of The Black Book of Communism, a

decisive argument for Resolution 1481 of 25 January 2006, proposed by Göran Lindblad, regarding the Need for an International Condemnation of the Totalitarian Communist regimes, passed by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe), Vladimir Bukovsky (writer, former political prisoner in the USSR, president of the Freedom Committees international movement), Alexander Litvinenko (former lieutenant-colonel in the KGB-FSB, former political prisoner), Dario Ferialo (journalist, writer, Italy), Michael Ledeen (writer, USA), Thomas Blanton (historian, George Washington University) Gary Cartwright (expert in political science, Brussels), Yuri Fedorov (former political prisoner, exile in the USA), Tom Gallagher (professor, Bradford University), Andrew P. Grigorenko (president of the General Petro Grigorenko Foundation), Edward Kuznetsov (writer, former political prisoner, Israel), Carol Leborg (political analyst, Canada), David Satter (writer, journalist, former Moscow correspondent, USA), Armando de Simone (author of The Black Book of Italian Communism), Eliot Sorel (professor, George Washington University), Vladimir Tismăneanu (Professor of Political Sciences, University of Maryland, USA), Petr Vancura (president of the BELL Association for Freedom and Democracy, Czech Republic).

On 3 June 2008, the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism was published – a document of historic importance, whose integral adoption we immediately demanded. Thus, on 23 August 2008 (sixty-nine years after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in Moscow), the Proclamation for the De-communisation of Romania<sup>4</sup> was launched by twenty-six civic and trade union organisations, in the spirit of the Prague Declaration and of the 2006 Act of condemnation of communism in Romania. This proclamation demanded:

- The national and international condemnation of the Hitler-Stalin Pact (of 23 August 1939), as well as its consequences, as illegitimate and criminal.
- The adoption by the Parliament of Romania of a declaration assuming the following documents: a) The Act of 18 December 2006 whereby Traian Băsescu, the President of Romania, condemned the communist regime in Romania as illegitimate and criminal; b) the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism of 3 June 2008
- The adoption by the Parliament of Romania or by the Government of seventeen laws whose principal aim is de-communisation of the country, laws which were put forward by the Final Report for Condemnation of Communism, as well as by other documents

We ask that you should approve presentation in the European Parliament of the following documents: a) the Act of Condemnation of the Communist Regime in Romania as Illegitimate and Criminal on the basis of the Final Report of the Presidential Commission for Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania – of 18 December 2006 (we append the English version of the Act of Condemnation); b) the Appeal for the International Condemnation of the Criminality and Illegitimacy of Communism – of 17 May 2006 (we append the English version of the Appeal); c) the Proclamation for the De-communisation of Romania – of 23 August 2008 (we append the English version of the Proclamation).

Esteemed Mr Hans-Gert Poettering – President of the European Parliament,

We demand that the European Parliament put to a vote the following proposals, as soon as possible:

- 1). The adoption by the European Parliament of the demands of the following documents: a) Resolution 1481 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe regarding the need for international condemnation of the crimes of the totalitarian communist regimes – of 25 January 2006; b) the Appeal for the International Condemnation of the Criminality and Illegitimacy of Communism – of 17 May 2006; c) the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism – of 3 June 2008
- 2). The adoption by the European Parliament of the demands laid out under Point 9 of the said Appeal, taken from the Conclusions of the Final Report of the Presidential Commission for Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship and the Act of Condemnation of the Communist Regime as Illegitimate and Criminal by Traian Băsescu before a joint assembly of the Parliament of Romania – of 18 December 2006
- 3). Condemnation in the European Parliament of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 23 August 1939, as well as its consequences, as illegitimate and criminal, in the spirit of the Prague Declaration.

4). Condemnation in the European Parliament of the communist regimes as illegitimate and criminal. This condemnation should be made on the basis of explanatory reports on the criminality and illegitimacy of the communist regimes of each separate country.

5). By 7 November 2009, each former communist country that is now a member of the European Union (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, the former German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia) shall present a separate country report – in English – on the criminality and illegitimacy of communism in that country, as Romania did in 2006

6). The condemnation, on 17 November 2009, by the European Parliament, of the communist regimes as illegitimate and criminal, on the basis of the explanatory country reports, within the framework of a conference to be held in Bucharest, in the grandiose palace<sup>5</sup> of Ceaușescu, Europe's last Stalinist ruler. We propose a visit to the Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance in Sighet<sup>6</sup>, as well as to the Elie Wiesel<sup>7</sup> (winner of the Nobel Peace Prize; Holocaust survivor) Memorial Museum. We propose that a seminar be held in Sighet on the condemnation of Nazism and communism in the spirit of the Prague Declaration of 3 June 2008.

7). The founding of a Commission of the European Parliament to elaborate a comprehensive Report on the criminality and illegitimacy of communism, on the basis of the individual country reports.

8). The admission into the European Union of only the former communist countries that have condemned their former communist regimes.

9). The recommendation to the Council of Europe that former communist member states, which are not members of the European Union (Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Russian Federation, "The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Georgia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia, and Ukraine, as well as Belarus, a candidate for membership), should condemn the former communist regimes in their countries as illegitimate and criminal, on the basis of an explanatory country report.

10). Adoption by the European Parliament of the following de-communisation measures and laws, put forward by the Final Report of the Presidential Commission for Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania and assumed by the President of Romania:

a). Adoption of anti-communist lustration

b). Annulment of political convictions handed down by the communist justice system according to the principles of class struggle; annulment of death sentences handed down to those who confronted the criminality of the communist system.

c). Reinterment of the victims of communism buried in mass graves.

d). A law to acknowledge anti-communist fighters and former political prisoners; a significant increase in their pensions and the granting of gratuities.

e). A law reducing to a minimum the pensions of those responsible for the crimes of communism": former communist activists from the nomenclature of the communist parties, former leaders and torturers in the communist political police, former leaders of the Militia, the Ministry of the Interior and the communist "justice" system.

f). Declassification of the communist and neo-communist archives; publication of these archives on the Internet. The guarantee of free and unfettered access to all these archives, as well as the integral transfer of the archives to institutes for the study of the communist dictatorship. A law against the destruction, alteration, falsification, concealment or misappropriation of documents from the communist and neo-communist archives. Restitution of abusively confiscated archives (the archives of religious bodies, Zionist archives etc.)

g). Presentation of the truth regarding the pre-communist, communist and neo-communist periods in school textbooks and university history courses. Study in schools of the history of communism and the Holocaust should be obligatory, not optional.

h). The establishment in each former communist country of national institutes for the study of the communist dictatorship which shall draw up indictments of the crimes of communism in those countries according to the Polish model. The establishment in each former communist country of museums of the communist dictatorship in the capitals of each of the former communist countries<sup>8</sup>. The construction, in the centres of the capitals of the former communist countries, of monuments to the victims of communism.

i). The establishment, in each former communist country, of a national day of commemoration of the victims of communism.

j). The establishment of a European Day of Commemoration of the Crimes of Communism – 7 November. We should mention that the Freedom Committees international movement, presided over by anti-communist fighter Vladimir Bukovsky, has proposed that 7 November should be declared “International Day of the Victims of Communism”

k). The establishment of a Fall of Communism in Europe Day. We propose 21 December, inasmuch as it was on 21 December 1989 that the revolt against Ceaușescu, Europe’s last Stalinist ruler, began. The revolt was repressed by a massacre, following which, on 22 December, hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets in Bucharest, forcing Ceaușescu to flee. Communism fell without victims in all the other countries of Eastern Europe apart from Romania, where there was a massacre of huge proportions, with the highest number of peacetime casualties in the history of post-war Europe. The repression and massacre of anti-communist demonstrators in Romania began in Timișoara<sup>9</sup> on 17 December 1989 and continued in other Romanian cities until 27 December 1989. According to the Final Report, there were 1,104 deaths. At the same time, more than 4,800 people were wounded, some of them mutilated for life. This year will see the twentieth anniversary of this terrible massacre. (We hereby mention the following episode: the corpses of forty-four martyrs in Timișoara were “stolen” by the authorities on the night of 18 December 1989 from the morgue of Timișoara County Hospital, secretly transported to Bucharest in a refrigerated lorry and then burnt at the “Cenușa” crematorium. In order to erase all traces of the crime, the communist authorities ordered that the ashes of the martyrs be thrown down a drain in the village of Popești-Leordeni, 550 km from Timișoara.)

Esteemed Mr Hans-Gert Poettering – President of the European Parliament,

“What is the writing of history if not an exorcism of the demons of the past in order to prevent them from infiltrating the future?” said Ana Blandiana when she founded the Sighet Memorial.

The European Parliament must take such decisions as are fit in the case of these crimes, both those of Nazism and those of communism, in order for them not to be possible anywhere ever again.

Romania, Bucharest, 12 March 2009

Sorin Ilieșiu – initiator, Vice-president of the Civic Alliance - Romania, author of the appeals for national and international condemnation of communism: <http://www.gds.org.ro/apel.htm>  
<http://www.libertates.com/en/content/view/40/7/>

Ana Blandiana – President of the Civic Academy Foundation – Romania, creator of the Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance, in Sighet, founded in 1993 and considered by the Council of Europe as one of the three most important sites for the preservation of European memory, alongside the Auschwitz Memorial and the Peace Memorial in France

Vladimir Tismăneanu - Chairman of the Presidential Consultative Commission for Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania

Mircea Cărtărescu – writer

Horia-Roman Patapievici – writer, President of the Romanian Cultural Institute

Romulus Rusan – Director of the International Centre for Studies into Communism, Romania

Ladislau Csendes – President of the College of the National Council for Study of the Securitate Archives, Romania

Mircea Mihăieş – writer, Vice-president of the Romanian Cultural Institute

Bogdan Iuliu Hossu – President of the Cartel Alfa National Confederation of Trade Unions (more than one million members), Romania

Ştefana Bianu – Vice-president - Romanian World Council

Florian Mihalcea – President of the Timișoara Society, Romania

Smaranda Vultur – professor, Western University, Timisoara. Expert in the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania

Teodor Mărieş – President of the 21 December 1989 Association, Romania

Cristian Vasile – co-ordinator of the Presidential Consultative Commission for Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania

Ioana Boca – historian, Executive Director of the Civic Academy Foundation, Romania

Traian Orban – President of the 16-22 December 1989 Memorial to the Revolution, Timișoara, Romania

Liviu Antonesei – writer, professor, University of Jassy, Romania

Ana Ciucan Țuțuianu - professor, Bucharest

Cicerone Ionițoiu - historian, Paris, France

Remus Radina - fost deținut politic, Paris, France

Radu Negrescu-Șuțu - journalist, Paris, France

Ilie Mihalcea - journalist, Paris, France

Irena Talaban - PhD, Lyon, France

Elisabeta Georgescu - teacher, Suceava, Romania

Dimitrie Georgescu - PhD, Suceava

Dana Coșeru - coreographer, Iasi, Romania

Emil Coșeru - actor, Iasi, Romania

Ileana David - professor, Bucuresti

Emil David - engineer, Bucuresti

The Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance, Sighet, Romania, founded in 1993 by Ana Blandiana and considered by the Council of Europe as one of the three most important sites for the preservation of European memory, alongside the Auschwitz Memorial and the Peace Memorial in France

The International Centre for Studies into Communism, Director - Romulus Rusan

The Civic Academy Foundation, President - Ana Blandiana

The National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, President - Ladislau Csendes

The Cartel Alfa National Confederation of Trade Unions (more than one million members), President - Bogdan Iuliu Hossu

The Memoria Foundation – Argeş branch [the Piteşti Experiment], Prof. Univ. Dr. Ilie Popa – President

The 16-22 December 1989 Revolution Memorial, Timișoara, Dr Traian Orban – President

The 21 December 1989 Association, Teodor Mărieș – President

The Timișoara Society, Florian Mihalcea – President

The National Bloc of 1989 Revolutionaries, George Costin – Executive President

Romanian World Council, Ștefana Bianu – Vice-president

The National Foundation for Romanians Worldwide, Daniela Soros – Vice-president

The American Council of Romanians, Neculai Popa - President

The Cives Foundation, Ioan Roșca – President

The Corneliu Coposu Foundation, Rodica Coposu and Flavia Bălescu

The Seniors of the University of Bucharest 1990 Students League, lawyer Antonie Popescu – Senior

The Timpul Cultural Foundation, Jassy, Liviu Antonesei – President

The New “Golani” Action Group

The Association of Romanians in Australia, Mihai Maghiaru – President

The International Organisation of Fighters for the Defence of Human Rights, Ionel Leșu – President

The National Trade Union of Romanian Peasants and Property-owners, Dan Drăghici – President

The European Association of Teachers – Romanian National Section, Prof. Univ. Dr. Florin-Cristian Gheorghe – President

The Association of Romanian and German Writers in Bavaria, Radu Bărbulescu – President

Association Culturelle et Amicale Roumaine, Gabriel Penciu – President

L'Alliance Belgo-Roumaine, Brussels, Ecaterina Evanghelescu – President

The Ecomondia Non-governmental Organisation, Prof. Dr. Alexandru Ionescu – President

The Association of Children of the Revolution, Cătălin Giurcanu – President

The Truth and Justice Association, Nicolae Bănuțoiu – President

The “Țirgoviste Society” Apolitical Association, Ilie Petre Știrbescu – President

Fundația Redarea Istoriei, jurist Păun Gabriel Virgil – President

The Ioan Bărbuș Foundation, Anca Maria Cernea - President

The Humanity National Federation of Pensioners (over 1,000,000 members), engineer Dr Gheorghe Chioaru – President

The Group of Widows of Martyred Heroes

The “Solidarity – Virgil Săhleanu” Steelworkers’ Trade Union Syndicate of Romania

Revolution of December 1989 National Foundation– Timișoara, Pompiliu Alămorean – President

The Solidarity Steelworkers’ Trade Union, Galați, Ilinca Diaconu - President

The Solidarity Trade Union, Hunedoara

The ALRO Trade Union, Slatina, Ion Ioan – President

1 - The Appeal for the Condemnation of the Communist Regime in Romania as Illegitimate and Criminal, launched on 10 March 2006, signed by more than forty civic and trade union organisations (representing more than one million members) and more than seven hundred public figures

2 - The Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania was founded on 5 April 2006 by Traian Băsescu, the President of Romania, and was coordinated by Vladimir Tismăneanu, Professor of Political Science at the University of Maryland, USA. The Commission was set up in response to the Appeal made by civic society on 10 March 2006

3 - We hereby mention that the neo-communists directed by Ion Iliescu (President of Romania in the periods 1990-1996 and 2000-2004, currently under criminal investigation for the massacre of December 1989 and for the violence of June 1990) tried unsuccessfully to prevent Traian Băsescu from condemning the crimes of communism before a joint assembly of the chambers of the Parliament of Romania on 18 December 2006. In January 2007, under false pretexts, the neo-communists commenced proceedings to suspend the President, succeeding in April 2007. A month later, a referendum was held "to sack the President". President Băsescu returned to office after securing seventy-five per cent of the votes cast.

4 - "The Proclamation for the De-communisation of Romania" was unanimously adopted by the delegates of the Congress of the National Christian Democratic Peasants Party on 24 August 2008, a party affiliated to the Christian Democratic International since 1987, when the party was still clandestine, under communism.

5 - Ceaușescu's palace, now the seat of the Parliament of Romania, is 330,000 square metres in size, the second largest building in the world after the Pentagon.

6 - The Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance was created by poet Ana Blandiana; in 1995, it came under the auspices of the Council of Europe; in 1998, the Council of Europe named it one of the three most important sites for the preservation of European memory, alongside the Auschwitz Memorial and the Peace Memorial in France.

7 - Elie Wiesel was born in Sighet, in northern Transylvania, in 1928.

8 - We propose as a model the Memorial to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance in Sighet, initiated and created by poet Ana Blandiana in 1993, and regarded by the Council of Europe one of the three most important sites for the preservation of European memory, alongside the Auschwitz Memorial and the Peace Memorial in France. At the Weimar International Seminar in 2004 the Sighet Memorial was recognised as the most academically accurate of all the memorials existing the former communist countries.

9 - The anti-communist revolution in Romania began in Timșoara, on 15 December 1989, in front of the house of Pastor Laszlo Tökes. It was also in Timșoara, on 11 March 1990, that the true charter of the Romanian anti-communist revolution was launched – "The Timșoara Declaration", the first European document to demand anti-communist lustration.