

Poles in Suceava County during Nicolae Ceausescu’s nationalist-communist regime. Contributions

Abstract

This study was carried out on the basis of the original documents discovered during the research carried out in the Archives of the National Council for the Study of Security Archives in Bucharest (ACNSAS), Romania. The analysis of these documents shows us the fact that the Poles from Suceava county (Romania) were monitored by the Securitate during the nationalist-communist regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu. Officially, Romania and Poland were allies within the political-military alliance called the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The totalitarian regime led by Nicolae Ceaușescu was extremely conservative and restrictive towards the groups of cohabiting nationalities (national minorities), repressing and discouraging any form of expression of ethnic-national and religious identity. The Poles were no exception to the measures adopted by the regime, although the Hungarians were especially targeted by the policies of the communist regime in Romania. The documents analyzed in the present study reflect the official position of the regime towards the Polish community in Suceava County, as well as the efforts made by the diplomats of the Republic of Poland accredited in Romania to stimulate the efforts of their compatriots to preserve their language, traditions and school without the process of ethnic homogenization. In this case, the Roman Catholic Church, the school, the teachers of Polish ethnicity were the opinion leaders of the Polish communities in Solonețu Nou, Pleșa and Poiana Micului.

Keywords: Romania, Security, communist regime, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Poles

During Nicolae Ceaușescu's communist regime in Romania, the term *inhabiting nationalities*¹ was preferred. This official term introduced and used by the communist regime, replaced the term *national minorities* after 1945. Although officially the inhabiting nationalities enjoyed equality before the law in practice, in reality this was only formal. We have in mind several criteria that reflect the promotion of an ethnic group's identity, namely guaranteeing the use of the mother tongue in schools, public space and administration, preservation and promotion of traditions and customs etc. National minorities felt the enormous gap between theory and practice within the communist society. Both the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania and other laws provided generous rights for national minorities. In reality, these were never implemented². During the communist regime, individual and group autonomy were, for much of the time, inseparable issues. The Constitution of 1965 defined Romania as a unitary state³. In 1968 the communist regime introduced the territorial reorganisation of Romania, in our case the Suceava County in Romania, which represents 80% of the southern part of historical Bukovina, was founded. According to the communist policy, the rights of minorities should have been achieved through a policy of equalisation, as a result of the industrialisation policy of Romania⁴.

Nicolae Ceausescu's nationalist-communist regime is chronologically placed between 1965 and 1989. Nationalism-communism was the basic feature of this totalitarian political regime, unlike Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's regime which was marked by Stalinism. Nationalism is after all a "theory of political legitimacy which demands that ethnic borders should not cut across political borders"⁵. Nationalism is exclusive, based on the idea of ancestral right, and in the case of Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime, it is oriented towards the promotion of the Romanian ethnic in relation to others and their accelerated assimilation. Under communism, individuals are offered "the idea of having equal rights with others, provided they integrate into the great majority mass, which is to give up their identity"⁶. Nicolae Ceausescu played the nationalism card to the hilt, benefiting in return from a certain degree of popular sympathy and diverting people's

¹ M. Șafir, *România comunistă (1948–1985). O analiză politică, economică și socială*, București 2020, s. 206.

² *Ibidem*, s. 288.

³ *Ibidem*, s. 291.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ A. Simion, *Naționalismul românesc în primul deceniu postcomunist*, Cluj Napoca 2018, s. 24.

⁶ *Ibidem*, s. 32.

attention from the serious economic, social and political problems of the communist regime. Ceausescu's nationalism was reflected in all components of Romanian society, with the censorship eliminating both the previous Stalinist influences labelled as dogmatic and the takeovers from the European culture, its followers being accused of producing an *imported culture*, unrelated to the so-called national specific⁷. *Protochronism*, that is the resuscitation of interwar traditionalist arguments adapted to the totalitarian context, was the basic element of communist nationalist ideology.

Using nationalism as an instrument to legitimize his regime, Nicolae Ceausescu practiced a duplicitous policy towards minorities, on the one hand proclaiming their equality with the Romanian majority, and on the other encouraging their emigration, either through secret agreements signed with Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany⁸ or assiduously promoting their Romanianization⁹. Ceaușescu promoted a violent anti-minority policy¹⁰ even after the signing of the Final Act of Helsinki in 1975. The number of schools taught in the mother tongue was steadily reduced during Nicolae Ceausescu's regime, and Romanian was the only language officially used, on a mandatory basis, at all levels of local government, including the national education system.

The Poles in Suceava County were the most numerous in the Socialist Republic of Romania, being concentrated in compact rural communities such as Solonețu Nou, Pleșa, Poiana Micului, Cacica, Ruda-Vicșani, Bulai-Moara, being represented in a much smaller number in cities such as Suceava, Rădăuți, Gura Humorului, Siret, Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Vatra Dornei, Fălticeni etc. The Poles in the rural areas are in fact descendants of the Goral people (*górale* in Polish-Wallachians) who emigrated to Bukovina in the first half of the 19th century, founding distinct localities such as Solonețu Nou, Pleșa, Poiana Micului, in the case of the southern part of Bukovina. They speak an old dialect of Polish that has been preserved to this day. Cacica (*Kaczyka* in Polish) is a settlement founded as early as 1794 by Polish miners from Bochnia and Wieliczka. It is a multi-ethnic locality with Ukrainian, Romanian and German communities living here. The Poles built here a Roman Catholic church in 1904, declared a basilica minor by the Holy Father John Paul II in 2000. Poles living in the urban area were

⁷ *Ibidem*, s. 56.

⁸ *Istoria comunismului din România. Documente Nicolae Ceaușescu (1972–1975)*, vol. II, ed. M. Berindei, D. Dobrințu, A. Goșu, Iași 2016, p. 223.

⁹ A. Simion, *Naționalismul românesc*, p. 61.

¹⁰ *Istoria comunismului din România*, vol. II, p. 340.

intellectuals, civil servants and craftsmen. Their contact with Polish culture and civilisation was very difficult, and usually took place underground, away from the eyes of the all-powerful communist Security.

From the point of view of the communist regime, the inhabiting nationalities of Romania had varying degrees of trust. In the case of the Hungarians, concentrated in Transylvania, Banat and Maramureş, the regime monitored and intervened harshly, given the sensitivities expressed in the Transylvanian issue. Germans and Jews emigrated massively from Romania, in return for large sums of money, officially paying the expenses that the Romanian state had incurred for their education¹¹.

The Poles kept a positive image in the Romanian collective mind, even during the communist regime, given their historical background and the fact that Romania and Poland were part of the communist camp, led by the Soviet Union, and the two countries took part in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (1955), the military entity created by Moscow to counterbalance NATO (North Atlantic Organisation, 1949). However, these aspects did not prevent the communist authorities in Romania to follow very closely and constantly, through the Security Service (1948), all aspects of Polish life, from the use of the mother tongue, education to the Roman Catholic Church, correspondence with relatives in Poland and in other states, private discussions that made reference to the Romanian state's economic, social and foreign policy etc. The visits of Polish diplomats accredited in Bucharest, who came regularly to the communities of Soloneţu Nou, Cacica, Poiana Micului, Pleşa etc., "enjoyed special attention".

The County Security Inspectorate of Suceava maintained an information network¹² in the localities inhabited by Poles, collecting and analysing a lot of data, facts and information: simple discussions between ethnic Poles that took place at church, work, celebrations or various activities, interception of correspondence with the Polish Embassy in Bucharest, visits that some of the Poles from Suceava made to the diplomatic representation in the Capital, comments that they made about the insufficient supply of products at the shops in their localities, the precarious state of local and county transport, the social-political situation in Poland (the anti-communist uprisings of 1956 and especially the Solidarity Movement made a lasting impression on ethnic Poles), the visits Polish citizens made to Suceava County under the conditions offered by the communist system etc. One of the objectives

¹¹ A. Simion, *Naţionalismul românesc*, p. 60.

¹² *Partiturile Securităţii. Directive, ordine, instrucţiuni (1947–1987)*, ed. C. Anisescu, S.B. Moldovan şi M. Matiu, Bucureşti 2007, p. 692.

of the Security Service was represented by the Poles position of Suceava County in relation to the collectivization of agriculture, the nationalization of the main means of production (June 11, 1948), the abolishment of the Polish Houses (Dom Polski), the prohibition of publications and books in their mother tongue, the nationalization of goods and property belonging to Polish entities or individuals (Polish Houses in the mentioned localities, property of the Roman Catholic Church, libraries in Polish, various symbols, documents, deeds, statutes, regulations etc.).

The Roman Catholic priesthood in Suceava County in general, and the Polish ones in particular, "enjoyed special attention" from the Security Services in everything that meant the content of the public and private messages they sent on various occasions, the way they related to the parishioners, the relations they had with the prelates who came from Poland on the occasion of religious holidays such as Saint Mary's Day (August 15, Cacica), where crowds of Roman Catholic believers came from great distances. Security reacted to orders from the communist authorities by either reducing the number of means of transport or inventing a secular holiday to counterbalance this religious event (inventing a secular holiday such as Miners' Day). Most of the Roman Catholic priests of Polish ethnicity were sent to compact areas inhabited by ethnic Romanians or people of a nationality other than Polish. Almost every Roman Catholic priest of Polish ethnicity in this case had a file fabricated by the Security. When necessary, the Security Services routinely used threats and blackmail. This was also due, among other things, to the fact that in Romania, the Roman Catholic Church did not have a Statute officially recognized by the authorities, as they refused to accept subordination to the communist state¹³. As a result, many leaders of the Roman Catholic Church were imprisoned or sentenced to compulsory house arrest. In the case of the Poles, we find an extraordinarily close relationship with the Roman Catholic Church, although in some cases this involved numerous risks. For example, the Roman Catholic priest Kucharek Władysław, who arrived from Poland to visit his relatives in Poiana Micului on July 9, 1977, performed several services and baptised a child. His actions were immediately recorded by the Security, who contacted the hierarch of the Roman Catholic Church in Suceava County¹⁴. The priest was forced by the communist authorities to renounce his actions and return to Poland.

¹³ D. Hrenciuc, *Prigonirea Bisericii Romano-Catolice din Romania in timpul regimului comunist (1945-1989)*. Contributii documentare, Cluj Napoca 2021, p. 134.

¹⁴ Arhivele Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (ACNSAS), București, fond Documentar, dosar 8802, vol. 2, p. 57.

As mentioned above, the Security Service developed an extensive information network on the issue of Poles in Suceava County, producing a large quantity of documents in the form of reports, wiretaps, interceptions, photographs, information, telegrams etc. All this material was the subject of files bearing special names or indications. Among other things, the *Allies* case concerned the Poles in Suceava County (Cacica, Pleșa, Poiana Micului), referred to as *Prahova people* and Poland as *Prahova*. The informants¹⁵ in this case, whose names we will not reveal, also bore various indicatives such as Sanda, Popovici, Voinea, Coman, Călin and others.

In the informative Documentation¹⁶ of the *Allies* case, Budacz Albin (b. February 16, 1910, Solonețul Nou, Cacica Commune, son of Iacob and Caterina), Stascoveanu Franz (b. July 29, 1910, Solonețu Nou, Cacica Commune, son of Maftei and Ana), with secondary education, former administrator of the cooperative in Solonețu Nou, Cacica Commune, Suceava County¹⁷ is mentioned. On March 23, 1976, the collaborator Voinea reported to the Security Services that he had been asked by Obersheimer Antonia from Câmpina to enter more deeply into relations with some Poles in Suceava County, including Budacz Albin and Stascoveanu Franz, in order to collect money to send via a relative or tourist who had come from Poland to the Informatica agency, which was collecting funds for the restoration of the Royal Palace. On March 17, 1978, the informant Pavel from Solonețu Nou, informed his liaison officer that Stascoveanu Franz from the locality, had received by post correspondence from the Polish Embassy of Bucharest. These were invitations from the Polish Embassy of Bucharest to Budacz Albin, Stascoveanu Franz and Zielonka Eugen (Budacz's cousin) to attend a conference. Only Stascoveanu Franz and Zielonka Eugen attended; Budacz Albin refused to go and Zielonka Eugen had died two or three years earlier¹⁸. The Vamanu source from Poiana Micului informed the Security Services that two ethnic Poles from the locality, part of the Humorului Monastery Commune, had also been invited to the Polish Embassy in February 1978. The same information was confirmed by informant Ioniță on February 10, 1978. Collaborator Bunescu, having been relocated on April 20, 1978, stated that Eugenia Balac, resident in Poiana Micului, had set up a Polish library frequented by ethnic Poles in the locality. The same concerns were also

¹⁵ *Partiturile Securității. Directive, ordine, instrucțiuni (1947–1987)*, p. 688.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 686.

¹⁷ ACNSAS, fond Documentar, dosar 8802, vol. 2, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

reported by Budacz Albin from Solonețu Nou¹⁹. The source²⁰ added that he received from Budacz Albin's wife three copies of the Wiselka magazine, a Polish alphabet and notebooks received by post from Poland. Stascoveanu Franz was indicated by source Bunescu to have attended the reception hosted by the Polish Embassy in Bucharest and to have cultivated close relations with the First Secretary of the Jurkowski Embassy. Stascoveanu had several letters at home with Polish Embassy letterhead²¹.

On July 20, 1978, U. I., from Maidan, Cacica Commune, informed the Security officers that at the beginning of June, representatives of the Polish Embassy, together with inspectors from the School Inspectorate of Suceava, visited the school in Solonețu Nou for three hours. Afterwards, the Polish officials met with Budacz Albin and Stascoveanu Franz. The topics of discussion were the situation of the Poles, how they are treated by the authorities, the state of education in their mother tongue as well as cultural and artistic activities taking place in Polish²². Stascoveanu Franz "complained about the poor state of roads and transport in Maidan and Solonețu Nou" and "the supply of basic food left much to be desired"²³. Neither was the medical assistance or the telephone connection to the commune centre satisfactory. Stascoveanu also told U.I. that the Polish delegation had donated books, magazines and textbooks in Polish, including a radio cassette recorder, to the school in Solonețu Nou. The informant U.I. (a retired member of the Romanian Communist Party – RCP) did not forget to mention that the Polish diplomats took a photo with 80-year-old Zielonka I., former mayor of Solonețu Nou. On the occasion of these discussions, Marciuc Maria, a housewife from Solonețu Nou, expressed her dissatisfaction with the "poor state of the Polish population in Solonețu Nou". Stascoveanu Franz and Marciuc Maria complained to the Polish delegation that the pupils do not have adequate learning conditions, as the Romanian authorities "do not provide them with regular transport to school". In this situation, they had to commute daily, walking about 7–8 km from Solonețu Nou to Cacica²⁴. On April 30, 1978, Budacz Albin was visited by his brother-in-law, Ostrowski Bolesław. Source B stated that Budacz Albin is a person who "enjoys much consideration and respect within the Polish community in Solonețu Nou".

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ *Partiturile Securității. Directive, ordine, instrucțiuni (1947–1987)*, p. 693.

²¹ ACNSAS, fond Documentar, dosar 8802, vol. 2, p. 3.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Ibidem, p. 4.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 5.

He cultivated a very good relationship with both the Roman Catholic priest Kotilevici Kazimir and the local authorities.

On April 3, 1979, during an agricultural operation in Solonețu Nou (attended by Anton Smulca, Marculeac Jozef and others) Eugen Zielonka publicly said that he listens to the radio station Free Europe and “knows how things work”²⁵. This information was passed on to the Security Services by the source Popovici. Zielonka, Stascoveanu and Budacz had visited the Polish Embassy in Bucharest on March 9, from where they returned with various materials. Another source in Solonețu Nou, Voinea, reported on April 26, 1979, that she had learned from Droșceac Anelia in Solonețu Nou that a Polish citizen from the “Poland” Association was expected to visit her home and then visit the village school, before the winter holidays. Source V concluded that these activities “were aimed at preserving Polish traditions and language”, “carrying out cultural activities with Polish specificity”, “recruiting as many young people as possible to attend secondary or university courses in Prahova, who are given certain facilities”.

On May 8, 1979, source Sanda informed the Security Services that Droșceac Anelia told Droșceac Leon, who lived in Bucharest, sector 6, that “she was very unhappy that the authorities would not allow her to work as a guide on the Black Sea coast”, as she was “not a member of the RCP and had visited abroad before”²⁶. She also appealed to Victor Jeglinski and his wife to find her some work in Bucharest, possibly at the ONT. Otherwise, Droșceac was determined to emigrate to Poland. She had the same discussions with Jurkowski Mirosław at the Polish Embassy of Romania in Bucharest. On May 8, 1979, source Bunescu informed about the activities organised by Droșceac Anelia at the school in Solonețu Nou, including the establishment of a Polish-language amateur theatre team.

On June 25, 1979, the source Popovici informed the Security Services that “Budacz Albin had a library of 300 volumes in Polish”, some of these books being lent to residents of Solonețu Nou. This library was established by Budacz in 1960. For 8 years it received books free of charge from the Polish ambassador accredited in Romania. His successor continued the same policy, although not at the same level. Various tourists from Prahova regularly inquired about “the state of the Poles in Solonețu Nou”, including the level and quality of education received at the school²⁷.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 6.

²⁶ ACNSAS, fond Documentar, dosar 8802, vol. 2, p. 57.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 8.

On June 16, 1979, the source Sanda told DurconiIoan in Bucharest about her "correspondence with the Polish Embassy, expressing her wish to be as close as possible to the Slavic language department". She was very interested in specialising in toponymy, the field in which she had taken her Bachelor's degree.

On July 12, 1979, the source Popovici informed the Security that she had lent the magazine "Poland" to several inhabitants of Solonețu Nou and that she was challenging them to discussions on the history of Poland, comparing its past and present. The Suceava County education authorities have approved the departure of Droșceac Anelia for three months to study in Poland.

On September 3, 1979, source Popovici informed about the visit to Budacz Albin who showed him his library of 400 volumes, mentioning that "being old and sick", his efforts will be continued by Droșceac Anelia.

On September 13, 1979, the source Marin, warned the Security that he "learned of Droșceac Anelia's intention to stay permanently in Poland", thus taking advantage of the scholarship she had been granted. The same information was also reported by source Voinea, who added that "she was not, however, decided to go to Poland for good, as she was tempted to write a doctoral dissertation on Polish villages, especially on toponymy, which is why she contacted Elena Deboveanu", a teacher at the University of Bucharest.

On October 2, 1979, source Sanda informs about Droșceac Anelia's concerns and personal life. On December 25, 1979, source Popovici reported that Droșceac Anelia was interested in the visit of a Polish delegation to Poiana Micului, but that the delegation never reached Solonețu Nou. Among other things, Droșceac Anelia wanted to organize a trip to Poland, and for this purpose she co-opted several Polish teachers from Solonețu Nou, Pleșa and Poiana Micului.

The Poles in Suceava County were worried about the prospect of the Soviets, called Maramureș people, intervening in the war in Afghanistan and Romania. This fear was shared by Zielonka Eugen on January 23, 1980, and immediately communicated to the Security Service by the source Popovici. Zielonka, according to his own testimony, listened frequently to the radio station Free Europe, being aware of the domestic and, above all, international situation.

On June 3, 1980, source Marin informed that a delegate from the Warsaw film house was due to arrive in Solonețu Nou, who "intended to make a documentary film about the life and work of citizens of Polish origin".

On June 17, 1980, the source Bunescu reported on the marriage of Anelia Droșceac to Krupaci Silvestru. They had moved into an apartment in

the Gura Humorului Town, now a tourist resort. Her uncle, Droșceac Victor Marin, had the courage to express his displeasure publicly, saying that “they, the Poles, are considered in Romania, minorities, without rights”.

Anelia Droșceac, married in the meantime to Krupacz Silvestru, was not the only one who intended to leave for Poland for good. There were other ethnic Poles from Solonețu Nou, Pleșa and Poiana Micului in particular, among them Polaczek. On the basis of information from the Voinea source, he came to the attention of the Security²⁸.

In the meantime, Stascoveanu Franz²⁹, who, as I wrote in the previous pages, became a target of the Suceava Security in the Allies II file, was busy organizing a folklore show, the performers being ethnic Poles from Solonețu Nou. The journalists Roșca and Țântar from the county newspaper „Zori Noi” (today „CraiNou”), accompanied by a certain Andronic from the People’s Council, took part in the filming and took the opportunity to photograph the houses and locals in Polish folk costumes. This source reported about the complaints of the Poles from Solonețu Nou, expressed on several occasions by Stascoveanu Franz, about „the bad state of the road to the village of Pârteștii de Sus”. Their complaints were directed at the Cacica People’s Council, “which did nothing about it”. Stascoveanu Franz was a simple inhabitant of Solonețu Nou, Cacica Commune, working in agriculture and, later, in the forestry sector belonging to UFET Gura Humorului, Suceava County. Until his retirement, he worked as an administrator at the Cacica consumer cooperative-village store in Solonețu Nou. He therefore had the opportunity to socialize and exchange opinions with his fellow villagers on various topics. At the same time, he visited Poland several times and cultivated a close relationship with the staff of the Polish Embassy in Bucharest. Stascoveanu frequently talked with Polish tourists who had arrived in the locality, and had already cultivated close relations with many people³⁰.

On November 4, 1985, source Coman informed his liaison officer that Budacz Albin was invited together with his wife and the Krupaci Anelia family to a festive dinner organised by the Polish Embassy in Bucharest. Being ill, he declined the invitation. Other information extracted by the source referred to Budacz’s concerns along the lines of the Polish settlers who founded the village of Solonețu Nou in 1834³¹.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 5.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 8.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 10.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 30.

On March 24, 1986, the County Security Inspectorate of Suceava drew up a status Note on Stascoveanu Franz from Cacica Commune, Suceava County. The content of this Note developed some previous information about the close relations he had developed over time with the chief advisor of the Polish branch in Bucharest, Jurkowski Miroslaw. The sources in this case insisted in their reports and information that Stascoveanu Franz had informed Jurkowski about the treatment of ethnic Poles in Solonețu Nou by the Romanian authorities, providing him with "some biased data"³². The secret agents collected information on the concerns and topics of discussion that Stascoveanu developed both with the locals and especially with tourists and diplomats of the Polish Embassy of Romania in Bucharest³³.

As such, the officers recommended that an informative pursuit file be drawn up on Stascoveanu Franz. On March 20, 1986, he again met Jurkowski Miroslaw and his successor, Kowalski Józef, on the occasion of a visit to Poiana Micului and Solonețu Nou. The secret agents wanted to find out

the nature of Stascoveanu Franz's relations with the representatives of the Godeanu branch, with tourists and visitors to Polish relatives and other suspicious persons, and how relations with the new representative of the Polish branch in Bucharest, who was appointed to the post in place of Jurkowski Miroslaw, would develop further.

In order to carry out the above tasks, the Security Service proposed to carry out information measures:

1. Directing the source Coman from the same locality, of Polish origin, to the one pursued and his connections, relocated³⁴, by us from time to time to the Polish branch in Bucharest, who has been in good relations with the representatives of the branch for a long time, and lately also came into contact with Kowalski Josef, recently appointed to the post in place of Jurkowski Miroslaw. To this end, at a first contact "the line of conduct will be fixed and he will be properly instructed with the problems he has to establish and the ways to achieve them".

Deadline: 20.04.1986

In charge: Lt Col Puha Grigore

2. Continuing to use the Popovici source in Solonețu Nou, with good informative possibilities in order to establish his concerns in his place

³² Ibidem, p. 32.

³³ Ibidem, p. 33.

³⁴ *Partiturile Securității. Directive, ordine, instrucțiuni (1947–1987)*, p. 690.

of residence, the political attitudes he adopts, his entourage among the locals and the contacts he will make and continue to make with foreigners in Poland. At the first meeting with the source, the training will be carried out according to the purpose and possibilities available to him.

Deadline: 30.04.1986

In charge: Lt Col Puha Grigore

3. The regular relocation from Gura Humorului to Solonețu Nou, of the source Călin, of Polish origin and whose wife works in education in this locality. The source will receive instructions, on initial contact, on how to proceed in order to make contact with the person being pursued and to establish relations that will enable him to establish matters of operational interest.

Deadline: May 10, 1986.

4. Use the possibilities available to the special unit S, internally and externally, to know the content of his communications with persons in Poland, at the branch, or in other localities.

Deadline: 30.03.1986.

In charge: Lt Col Puha Grigore³⁵.

5. Analysis of the possibilities of using special O.T. means³⁶ at home, at a connection, or in places where he possibly frequents them and has discussions with elements of his entourage, or suspicious connections.

Deadline: 30.05.1986

In charge: Lt Col Puha Grigore

6. Identify Polish tourists, old acquaintances of the pursued, who will appear in Solonețu Nou and will get in contact with him, in order to put them in surveillance during their stay in our county.

Permanent task

In charge:

Lt Col Puha Grigore

Depending on the evolution and changes that will occur in the operational situation of the case, the status note will be completed with new tasks and measures that will need to be executed.

Agreed:

Head of Service

Lt col ColdaPetru.

Specialist officer II

Lt Col Puha Grigore³⁷

³⁵ ACNSAS, fond Documentar, dosar 8802, vol. 2, p. 34.

³⁶ *Partiturile Securității. Directive, ordine, instrucțiuni (1947–1987)*, p. 693.

³⁷ ACNSAS, fond Documentar, dosar 8802, vol. 2, p. 35.

Subsequently, on February 15, 1988, the County Inspectorate of Suceava approved the analysis Note in the STASEK (Stascoveanu Franz) informative pursuit file from Cacica Commune, Suceava County. It was approved to close the informative pursuit file concerning Stascoveanu Franz, conspirator "Stasek", given the fact that material of minor importance to the objective was being pursued³⁸.

The situation of Polish language education reflects the situation of the Polish community in these localities as a whole. It should be noted that there was no Polish language course organised by any school or other institution at urban level, where ethnic Poles lived. They had no option to learn their mother tongue except within the family.

Nationality composition of the school population:

1. Poiana Micului School, total pupils – 137. Polish – 95 pupils.
2. Pleșa School – 14 pupils, all of Polish nationality.
3. Solonețu Nouă – 197 pupils, 170 of whom are of Polish nationality.
4. Cacica – 161 pupils, 44 of them of Polish nationality.

In reality, the schools where ethnic Poles were taught were very old and in need of major repairs and modernisation. The local administration did not care about upgrading the local infrastructure, which is why the ethnic Poles were very unhappy. Although, the Security collected and processed information about the mood of the Poles in the communities of Solonețu Nou, Pleșa, Cacica and Poiana Micului, they did not take any measures to improve the situation. In a Report submitted to the Security Service of Suceava at the beginning of the 1988–1989 school year stated the following:

From discussions with representatives of local party and state bodies, teachers and even some citizens, it appears that the mood (individual and collective) is good, Polish citizens are peaceful, hard-working people, they fit into the rules of community life. We believe that, as these localities are isolated, with more modest material conditions, more attention from the county bodies is required. We also ask for more systematic guidance and control by the county school inspectorate.

At the beginning of 1989, the situation of the Poles in Romania in general, and those in Suceava County in particular, had become very difficult. The communist Regime in Romania had imposed countless obligations on the population, resulting in numerous deprivations, including a serious lack of

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 37.

basic foodstuffs, which were cartelised. Each Romanian citizen was entitled to only 1 kg of oil, sugar and flour per month. Bread was distributed daily, on the basis of a card, in a quantity of 0.5 kg per family member. Poles found it increasingly difficult to live under these conditions.

On August 24, 1989, the Polish newspaper *Gazeta alegătorului* published an article entitled "Poles without rights, bread and houses". The article pointed out that the Poles from the villages of Solonețul Nou, Poiana Micului, Pleșa and Cacica in the north of Romania, descendants of the Polish Wallachinas who had come from the Beskizi mountains in the 19th century, were concerned about the local and central communist authorities' concern to make an inventory of all their possessions, especially houses and land. The Poles had learned of the existence of a project drawn up by the Romanian communist authorities whereby their communities were to be turned into a future poultry farm, with only a small number of them having the chance of finding work³⁹. The Poles in Suceava County appreciated the struggles of the Solidarity trade union, Zielonka Eugen declaring to Popovici source on March 26, 1981 that "Poles know how to fight for their rights". The demolition of the Polish villages in Suceava County, Romania in the summer of 1989 was only a matter of time. In his megalomania, Nicolae Ceausescu intended to destroy rural settlements and build agro-industrial complexes. Although this project mainly targeted the Hungarians, in this case it was the Poles who were to suffer. Around 4000 Poles living in Solonețu Nou, Poiana Micului, Pleșa and Poiana Micului were to be left without land and houses, even though they had been living there since the first decades of the 19th century. The status of the Bukovina Poles, who were on the verge of losing their nationality, houses, land and schools in their mother tongue, closely resembled that of the Transylvanian Hungarians. Instead of Roman Catholic churches, houses of culture were to be built. In these places, where Polish Roman Catholicism had been practised for about 200 years, all traces of Polishness were to disappear brutally.

In conclusion, the Poles in Suceava County made extraordinary efforts during the communist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu to preserve their ethnic, religious and linguistic identity. The abolishment of the Polish Houses, the nationalization of property, administrative reorganization, the abolishment of Polish civil and religious organizations were major obstacles in preserving their cultural-national and confessional identity. Nicolae Ceaușescu's communist regime was nationalist in character, brutally pur-

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 32.

suing the Romanianization and implicit ethnic homogenisation of its citizens. Although the Hungarians were the most targeted by the measures adopted by the Romanian communist state, however, by ricochet, the members of the other nationalities, in this case the Poles, did not escape. Although Poland and Romania were part of the communist bloc coordinated by the Soviet Union, Nicolae Ceaușescu was very suspicious of the actions of the Polish trade union Solidarity and even proposed military intervention to restore communist order in that country. Although in 1968 Nicolae Ceaușescu publicly condemned Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia, he was now calling for military intervention in Wojciech Jaruzelski's Poland.

The Poles in Suceava County were aware of the way the situation evolved in Poland, keeping in touch with the mother country through tourists and correspondence, with Polish diplomats accredited in Bucharest playing an important role. The Security noted the sympathy of the Poles in Suceava for the actions of Solidarity, and Polish radio stations and Free Europe played a major role in obtaining information⁴⁰. At the same time, the Security noted the interest shown by Polish engineers Bronislaw Grobelny and Henryk Stodolski, who had arrived in Romania as part of Romanian-Polish economic partnerships, in the history of Solonețu Nou, Pleșa and Poiana Micului, including the ethnic composition, school situation and religious life of the inhabitants⁴¹.

The Security closely followed the life of the Poles in Suceava County, having numerous sources and informants collecting data and information about the inhabitants of the Polish communities mentioned in this material. The Poles were unhappy about the poor state of the infrastructure, the chronic lack of basic foodstuffs, the poor level of education in their mother tongue, the lack of prospects in the Romanian communist state. Some hoped to be approved to go to Poland permanently. Interestingly, all these issues were the basis for the Security's compilation of pursuit files⁴² on Polish opinion leaders. Finally, on March 30, 1985, the Security files on Stascoveanu Franz, Budacz Albin and Zielonka Eugen from Solonețu Nou were closed⁴³.

In 1989, the Poles of Suceava County, living in compact rural communities, were on the verge of demolishing their settlements, established in the early 19th century during the Austrian administration of Bukovina. The outbreak of the anti-communist revolution in Romania in December 1989

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 52.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 53.

⁴² *Partiturile Securității. Directive, ordine, instrucțiuni (1947–1987)*, p. 686.

⁴³ ACNSAS, fond Documentar, dosar 8802, vol. 2, p. 54.

saved the Polish communities from extinction, brought about the overthrow of Nicolae Ceaușescu's totalitarian regime and provided an opportunity for the democratic reinvention of Romanian society.

Glossary of terms

Bukovina was the north-western part of Moldavia, annexed by the Habsburg Empire (Austro-Hungarian since 1867) in 1774. The province was settled with various ethnic groups (Hungarians, Old-Starover Russians, Poles, Germans etc.), and the German language and culture were introduced, which completely changed its ethno-confessional physiognomy. Bukovina was united with the Romanian Kingdom on November 28, 1918.

Information network – all agents, informants, collaborators, residents etc. used by the Security and Militia to collect and transmit information on persons or matters of concern to these institutions.

Informant – quality of a person in the Security information network recruited for the purpose of gathering and transmitting information in the form of written briefing notes or presented verbally to the liaison officer or resident.

Informative pursuit file – collection of documents containing data and information material on persons or groups of persons, issued as a result of the action of verification and informative surveillance.

Issue file (operational file) – a collection of documents in which the entire informative-operational activity carried out by the Security organs within a target (institutions, enterprises, educational establishments, parties, associations etc.) or a problem containing a series of important data was recorded. The file was opened and closed with the approval of the heads of the central directorates and the Minister of Interior.

Information source – generic name used for a person who is a member of the RCP and who did not sign any kind of commitment with the Security, collaboration being considered a party task.

Relocation – a method by which an informant was redirected to another environment or to another target (person), according to a plan of action in which a new itinerary and tasks were set for the informant, different from those for which he was recruited.

O.T. – Operational technique – the totality of the technical means of tracking and surveillance of a person or any objective targeted by Security, consisting in the use of means of interception – radio, bugging, telephone calls, video or photography.

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