

Історико-політичні проблеми сучасного світу:
Збірник наукових статей. – Чернівці:
Чернівецький національний університет,
2018. – Т. 37-38. – С. 197-204

Modern Historical and Political Issues:
Journal in Historical & Political Sciences. – Chernivtsi:
Chernivtsi National University,
2018. – Volume. 37-38. – pp. 197-204

УДК: 321.74(477.855+477.74):327.82

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Політичні методи тиску, що використовувалися для нав'язування більшовицького режиму в Бессарабії та Північній Буковині

XX-те століття мало вирішальне значення у формування суспільства Східної Європи. За короткий проміжок часу декілька політичних ідеологій впливали на людей, спричиняючи глибокі рани та наслідки, які ми спостерігаємо навіть сьогодні.

Республіка Молдова, Україна та Румунія повністю потрапили під вплив радянської ідеології. Щоб нав'язати такі радикальні зміни щодо стилю життя, соціальних інститутів, таких як церква, родина та приватна власність, треба було вжити спеціальних заходів. Більшовицька ідеологія не мала ніякої поваги до цінності людського життя і не цуралася вживання жорстоких методів. Згідно з головними ідеями комуністичної ідеології, голод, тортури, націоналізація майна та вбивства були узаконені.

Наслідки цих соціальних змін все ще мають свій негативний вплив на цих територіях. Румунія, Республіка Молдова та Україна повинні здобути розуміння свого минулого та знайти рішення спільних проблем.

Ключові слова: політичний тиск, комунізм, інтелігенція, насильство, голод.

Political pressure methods used for imposing the Bolshevik regime in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina

The author investigates the deepening of relations between Romania and the European Communities during the 1980's and early 1990's. It was established that the deepening and development of relations with the EEC influenced Romania ambiguously, however, in general, in the early 1980's, it contributed to its economic upsurge. N. Ceausescu pursued a policy of intensive industrialization of the CPR, in order to transform Romania into a powerful state of the region, which was associated with the improvement of relations with the European Communities. Taking into account the insolvency of Romania, it has been shown that, the threat of interference in internal affairs has led to Bucharest's policy of austerity saving since 1982 for early repayment of debts. It is concluded that although Romania freed itself of financial obligations in 1989, but ignoring the needs of the domestic market put Romanian society at the brink of poverty and humanitarian catastrophe, which created the preconditions for the overthrow of the N. Ceausescu's regime.

Keywords: Romania, European Communities, European integration, N. Ceausescu, I. Piiescu.

The First World War has created suitable conditions, by the dissolution of the neighboring empires, the Romanian nation to fulfil an ancient goal – national unity. The collapse of the Tsarist Empire, the environment of terror and uncertainty imposed by the Russian soldiers that were joining the Bolshevik ranks made the legislative body of Bessarabia – Sfatul Țării, to vote the unification with Romania. After that, the other two historical regions, Bukovina and Transylvania followed the example and this way Greater Romania was established. Despite the fact that the unification was done democratically and following “The Fourteen Points” of the American president Woodrow Wilson, The Soviet Union has not accepted losing Bessarabia and has conducted covert operation to retake the region.

The “Treaty of Non-aggression between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics” created perfect conditions to occupy Bessarabia once again. The secret annex signed by the German and Soviet Foreign Ministers Ribbentrop and Molotov shared spheres of influence in Europe. This act

¹ Кандидат політичних наук, Молдавський Державний Університет, E-mail: sorinbecciu@gmail.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8997-8213>, <https://doi.org/10.31861/mhpi2018.37-38.190-197>.

made possible the later invasion of Poland and Romania. The Soviet Union manifested great interest towards Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, while Nazi Germany had no particular interest in those regions.

On the 26th of June 1940 the Soviets gave Romania an ultimatum and demanded Romanian territories. Using a false pretext that these territories were inhabited by a Ukrainian majority, USSR demanded Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina as a payment for the "Romanian occupation"². Being threatened with war and under the German and Italian pressure the Crown Council decided to take out the Romanian administration and army from Bessarabia. Still in these harsh conditions, Nicolae Iorga, Victor Iamandi, Silviu Dragomir, Traian Pop, Stefan Ciobanu and Ernest Urdareanu voted for armed resistance. The king Carol the Second, while referring to those above said that their names should be written with gold in the book of Romanian dignity³

With the rule of the Bolshevik regime in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina a campaign of political pressure towards the elements of the old system has started. Terror was the main element to impose the new political order. The main elements to use terror on were strategically selected to decrease the resistance will of the native population. Forceful population relocation, repression, violent punishment, intimidation and fear were used to break the spirit of the locals to accept the new system. These methods were theorized in the communist doctrine, where force and coercion are ways to impose the dictatorship of the proletariat. To acquire that goal, the "dominant classes" had to be annihilated. Intellectuals, bureaucrats, officers, hardworking peasants were a threat and a hand-brake in imposing the Soviet power. This is why these categories of people had to be removed by the Bolsheviks. To install the communist power system and to nationalize the belongings of the peasants different methods were used.

The first victims of the Bolshevik rule after June 1940 were intellectuals. As representatives of the old Romanian system, having vast knowledge and experience they could have become a resistance force against communism. Marxism was regarding the intelligentsias that did not belong to the communist power structure as a threatening social class. The easiest form of political pressure towards teachers, mayors, priests and other intellectuals was the social disregard. As a result of this tactic the unwanted elements were cast aside. Sometimes this was enough so they would join the communist party ranks.

After 1945, the Soviet authorities divided the intellectuals of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic in different groups. Towards the academics educated by the Romanian school system a vast campaign of stigmatization and neglect was promoted because they were influenced by "bourgeois ideology". Those educated in the tsarist school system were promoted as state functionaries. The intellectuals that supported the Soviet occupation of 1940-1941 the Bolsheviks maintained a cautious attitude and it was recommended to promote the sincere people of the communist cause⁴.

The occupation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina made 5000 teachers to take refuge in Romania fearing the Bolshevik violence. The professors that remained in the occupied territories violence and terror were used as a means of intimidation. Those that were active in Romanian political parties were not permitted to teach. According to the historian Anton Moraru, many professors were arrested and shot for example Al. Ciucu, teacher of history at the Military Lyceum from Chisinau, Gheorghe Rusu from Cosauti, Soroca; Mihail Curicheru from Chiperceni, Orhei and many others. Other professors killed themselves such as Alexandru Oatu, choir teacher and the priest Mihail Berezovschii. Most of them were deported in Siberia and Kazakhstan (Moraru, 1995).

Since the intellectuals played an important role in the society they were perceived as a threat against the expansion of communism. The clergy, intellectuals, wealthy peasants, old bureaucrats of the Romanian system, land owners, merchants, officers of the Romanian and tsarist army, the signers of the Union from 1918, journalists represented a threat to Bolshevik power. To make them comply

² MAE Archive, fond 71/1920-1944. URSS, vol. 130, f. 245-246, *Soviet Ultimatum given to Romania in 1940* [online] Available from https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ultimatumul_sovietic_dat_României_în_1940 (accessed 04.04.2018).

³ Scurtu, I. (2010) *România în timpul celor patru regi. Who voted against leaving to Bessarabia* [online] Editura Enciclopedică Available from <http://www.istorie-pe-scurtu.ro/cine-a-votat-impotriva-cedarii-basarabiei/> (accessed 10.04.2018).

⁴ Petrencu, A. (2015) *O istorie a Basarabiei*, Seberia Publisher, pp. 285-287.

terror, prison, beatings, deportations or even killings were the used methods. Even professional categories such as mayors, police chiefs, gendarmes, policemen, medics were judged and killed. After several hours of judging people were sent to the cellars and shot in the back of the head. The remains of people buried with their head down and tied with barbed wired have been found⁵ this indicating the gravity of the terror acts the civil population faced under an antihuman system.

When the Romanian army managed to liberate Bessarabia, at the soviet secret police headquarters has been found the condemnation for 7 people. That document confirmed Ion Tislaru, Ilie Banu, Ene-Trușcă, Nicolae Schiba and Teodor Guțu were shot because they were members of Romanian Revival Front, a political party established by king Carol the Second and workers for Romanian Railways. The soviet secret police tortured the pupils of the Pedagogical School from Orhei. Since they had the courage to criticize the soviet regime, the pupils and the teacher were judged by the Military Tribunal. Their accusers said the locals were spies, traitors, and enemies of the people. Those that were over 18 years old have gotten death sentence and the minors received 25 years of prison.

The symphonic orchestra from Bessarabia that returned home after 28th of June 1940 from Bucharest was also arrested. All the musicians were shot in a windmill from Orhei. To hide this fact, the soviets established a new orchestra on 1st of September 1940. There are no clear reasons why they were assassinated but this fact indicated the hate they had towards the locals and the intellectuals. The French historian Jean Nouzille identified the anticommunist character of Moldovans. Quoting the director of the Institute for Scientific Research of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, Jean Nouzille found out that the locals were sabotaging communism from within the communist party, manifesting a great interest for culture and education⁶.

Beside the physical annihilation, the groups that did not support the soviet power could face social ostracism. From the families that have received the label "kulaks" the belongings were confiscated. They also lost their voting power. Another form of political pressure was the claim that dissidents were mentally ill. Gheorghe David sent a letter to the soviet government asking for a referendum for self-determination of Bessarabia. The KGB imminently locked him up in a mental facility.

To chance the ethnical background of Bessarabia and to eliminate the anti-Soviet components, the Bolshevik regime used different methods. Besides the killings and terrors, deportations were used to solve two problems: on one hand the elements that manifested a straight backbone and resistance towards the communist power on the newly occupied territories were eliminated, on the other hand remote regions such as Siberia and Kazakhstan were economically exploited. Most of the time the heads of the family - the fathers were shot before reaching the place of deportation. Removing the order and authority element from the family made the remaining members comply easier with the demands and this way easing the revolt sentiment. With no father the children and mother were easier conditioned and manipulated. With the removal of the protective element and social ruling the father represents in traditional families the spirit of the family was broken.

In Northern Bukovina to get rid of anti-Soviet elements rumors were created that those that want to leave for Romania could do so. Many Romanian families gathered so they could leave. The people with religious banners up front, white flags and crosses started marching to Romania. At 20 kilometers from Cernăuți/Cerninty, near Adâncata/Hlyboka they were met by communist commissars. They were enraged that the Romanians want to leave. Near the village Fântâna Albă/Bila Krinitsa the people were shot by machine guns. As a result of this intimidation campaign the soviets dug up mass graves of approximately 250 people each. When the Romanian Army returned to Northern Bukovina in June 1941, the 28 mass graves with several thousand people in them were opened and religious ceremonies performed. Since 1990 the Romanians from Bukovina are proposing the Ukrainian authorities to organize a tribunal to judge those that organized this massacre, but up until today there was no political will for that⁷.

Although the soviet regime did huge crimes against humanity there were people that performed those crimes. The majority of the communist activists were part of ethnic minorities. As an example, the Communist Party of Romania, an illegal organization that wanted to abandon Bessarabia had in

⁵ Moraru, A. (1995) *Istoria românilor*, Chișinău Publisher, pp. 345-348.

⁶ Nouzille, J. (2005) *Moldova Istoria tragică a unei regiuni europene*, Prut Internațional Publisher, p. 140.

⁷ Nouzille, J. (2005) *Moldova Istoria tragică a unei regiuni europene*, Prut Internațional Publisher, pp. 164-165.

1939 – 375 members where the majority were Jews, Russians, Ukrainians and Bulgarians. These hostile elements towards the Romanian state organized terror campaign towards the people seeking refuge in Romania, robbing them and when the soviets came they became collaborators [4, p. 319-320]. Since the intellectuals of the old system had to be eliminated, the soviets hired many unprofessional people, but passionate communist activists, ready to comply to any command was noticing the historian Anton Moraru (Moraru, 1995). The Greater Romania had numerous ethnical minorities. The state indifference on one hand and the hostile attitude of some ethnical minorities on the other, made it possible for the Bolshevik ideas to flourish.

During 1919-1924 in Bessarabia are organized different terrorist attacks. The authorities arrested 3000 people for terrorist acts, espionage and communist propaganda. The Bolshevik revolt of Tatar-Bunar aimed at a place inhabited by ethnic minorities: Russians and Bulgarians. From the testimony of the French military attaché Humieres we find out that the soviets tried to organize terrorist activities in southern Bessarabia. The railroad was an important infrastructure to target. Some anti-Romanian elements tried to promote a state of insecurity and agitation in the country. The anti-Bolshevik character of the Moldovans and the Bolshevik sympathies of the ethnical minorities could be deducted from the judicial overcome of the Tatar-Bunar revolt. From the 287 people judged, only 9 were Moldovans, while from the 85 found guilty only 1 was Moldovan⁸.

The identification of kulak houses was not decided only on the socio-economic factor. The political factor and the influence the wealthy peasants had on their poorer neighbors was also a reason for terror. These people were labeled as “anti-Soviet elements” and faced the repression from the state apparatus.

The professor Jean Nouzille identified that on 7th of June 1941, the soviet secret police from Bessarabia asked for 1315 wagons to transport 85000 people into concentration camps (Nouzille, 2005). The deportation operation started in the night of 12-13 June. The people became a cheap labor force for the soviet government. On 6th of April 1949 the Communist Party adopted the decision regarding the deportation of “kulaks, past landlords, important merchants, German occupiers accomplices, German and Romanian police collaborators, members of pro fascists organizations and parties, White Guard members, illegal sects”, and their families⁹. As a result of this decision 40850 people were relocated to Aktiumbinsk, Kazakhstan, Altai, Kurgan, Tiumen, Tomsk regions. In the case they ran away from the relocation regions they faced 20 years of hard labor. Some deported people were offered 24 hours to prepare, while others were taken on spot. The houses that were left were offered to communist activists. As a result of the deportations campaigns and other type of terror forms was destroyed the rural community, an institution that maintained the existence of the Romanian people for ages.

An imperative for the soviet style economics was the nationalization of land and belongings of the people and creating the kolkhozs. Land ownership offered the peasants means of existence, and the person that has something to eat is less susceptible to political pressure. V. I. Lenin identified that the monopoly on bread, with the institution of bread card the total subordination of work power could be achieved¹⁰. To impose control in Bessarabia, Lenin’s ideas were used. The peasants were imposed to give to the state agricultural goods. For example, a household from Tighina district, that had 2 hectares of land were supposed to deliver 160kg of cereals, 40kg of meat, 120 eggs, 100 liters of milk per cow. Cereals, potatoes, sunflower and hay were supposed to be delivered even though the peasant did not cultivate those crops. Cheese and wools were delivered if the household had sheep or goats. If the household did not deliver the goods they were fined according the market price of the goods and after the missing products were confiscated¹¹.

The action method to impose this system was the following: in every rayon were organized special groups composed from the president of the village soviet, secret police representative, party members representatives. Without any mandate from the prosecutor, this task force could search the household of any peasant. The ones that protested this practice were labeled as “enemies of the people”, “Romanian nationalists”, were beaten or intimidated. For example, in Costești village, from Lăpușna County

⁸ Nouzille, J. (2005) *Moldova Istoria tragică a unei regiuni europene*, Prut Internațional Publisher, pp. 124-125.

⁹ Petrencu, A. (2015) *O istorie a Basarabiei*, Seberia Publisher, pp. 276-277.

¹⁰ Dulgheru, V. (2011) *Crimele comunismului*, UTM Publisher, p. 111.

¹¹ Petrencu, A. (2015) *O istorie a Basarabiei*, Seberia Publisher, p. 266.

responsible for the beatings was the wife of the secret police officer. Another example of great violence comes from the party secretary Krilov, from Susleni village that was locking peasants, women, children and men in cellars after beating them.

As a result of this campaign and of the draught from the summer of 1946, in Bessarabia a great famine occurred. Joseph Townsendar, famous British doctor from the 18th century referred to famine as a mechanism of political pressure. He claimed that hunger could tame the fiercest animal, so they could learn decency and politeness, listening and obedience to the harshest commands. Generally, famine is the only means to make the poor people work¹². Since there were few crops and the taxes high the peasants were left with nothing. Although the collectivization was high, and a part of crops were rotting in barns, the soviet government took no measures to save the locals. The famine was needed so the population accepted the new social and political order. To fully understand the tragedy of the famine the testimonials of the people are needed the statistics are the following harsh. From the observations of A.N Kosîghin the secretary of the president of the Ministry Council of USSR, of dystrophy, a disease associated of food deficiency suffered 222.300 people. On 20th of March were officially registered 238.914 ill people. In Cahul county, of dystrophy were ill 27.26% while 70,5% of the population had food shortage¹³. As a result of the organized famine around 300.000 people died.

Famine as a political pressure mechanism was tested before in the Soviet Union. Before the Romanians, the Ukranians suffered. On 10th of November 2003, the UN recognized the Holodomor from 1932-1933 as a genocide. Between 7 and 10 million people died¹⁴. The harsh conditions of that times made many Romanians across the Nistru seek refuge in Greater Romania. Risking to be shot by soviet border guards many thousands escaped. As the proof of the massive exodus could serve the Olănești Tragedy. On 23rd of February 1932 near that village 40 people were shot that tried to escape famine to Romania. In that year, the Committee for the Help of Transnistrian Refugees sent the League of Nations a letter indicating the cruelty the soviet border guards showed towards the people escaping famine.

There is enough proof during Holodomor and in Bessarabia that famine was used as a mechanism of political pressure so the population let their propriety be nationalized. In 2006 around 5000 secret pages were open for researchers. According to these documents Moscow isolated Ukraine, while other regions were helped from the emergency fund. The American commission report indicated that famine of 1932 was caused by the collectivization of the agricultural goods (Dulgheru, 2011). In Bessarabia, although in that time in the Soviet Union died 1.5 million people, the highest number of people percentage wise, died in the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (Petrencu, 2015). This is the proof that to be inserted in the union, regions had to be cleaned from undesirable people with the help of famine. Although there were enough reserves to save the starving people, such an order was never given. The harshness of the famine is proved by the documented cases of cannibalism. In Bessarabia there historians mention 40 cases of cannibalism. An eye witness to this horrible act was the soviet politician Kosaghin, which has seen in 1947 the dead body of a person, which was prepared to be eaten by starving locals.

Another focus for the soviets beside the intellectuals to introduce the ideology, were young people. There was a constant political pressure on them, they were taken to forced labor to forget their cultural heritage and to comply with the economic imperatives. Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were regarded as cheap labor force for the USSR. In 1940 there were mobilized for forced labor 53.356 young people. The goal of this campaign was to change the ethnic background of the newly occupied territories with the removal of Romanians/Moldovans and by bringing Ukrainians, Russians. On 31st of January 1945 the communist party send 900 young people to Crimea, while the next day they asked for 750 more people. On 14th of February 1947 a party decree was given to send 51.000 people, exclusively from the villages. To destroy the rural community was a must for the Bolshevik system, a place of tradition, faith and patriarchal authority had to be destroy so the ideology prospered.

In 1947 the authorities found out a new way of removing the young people from the families. They started to recruit children of pre-military age and send them for professional training throughout the

¹² Gabbard, D. A. (2004) *Defending Public Schools*, Vol. I, Praeger Publisher, p. 8.

¹³ Petrencu, A. (2015) *O istorie a Basarabiei*, Seberia Publisher, p. 268.

¹⁴ Dulgheru, V. (2011) *Crimele comunismului*, UTM Publisher, pp. 120-121, 127.

USSR. In September and October 1947 there were prepared 8536 young people and send to Donetsk. The people protested as they could this actions. A lot of the mobilized people ran away. On 1st of January 1948 from the organized people, only 3000 remained. Those that ran away were sent to forced labor or to the prison. The Moldovan historian Anatol Petrencu, notes that from 1948 to 1950 there were recruited for this types of action 96.000 young people from in between Prut and Nistru Rivers¹⁵.

Beside the political pressure onto individuals the Soviet state attacked institutions with an important role in the society. One of the most known quotes of Karl Marx is that religion is the opium for the masses. To create a new ideological frame the old religious one had to be removed. Priests, monks and bishops were the first victims of the soviet ideology. The buildings of the Orthodox Seminary and Theology Faculty from Chişinău were transformed into prisons. Churches were looted and transformed into warehouses, stables, theaters or cinemas. In the villages the red flag was waving on bell towers. According to the KGB on 28 of June 1940 in Bessarabia were 888 churches and 25 monasteries. In 1960 there were left only 4 monasteries. Around 600 churches were closed. The main reasons to close religious places where that the priests manifested against soviet rule, that they collected money to repair the buildings, using closed churches. To close monasteries reasons such as: having the most fertile lands, the exploitation of villagers work, the anti-Soviet character of the monks and the highly rate of contagious diseases were used as reasons.

To force the priests to stop performing religious ceremonies the soviet authorities were asking for sums of money. The Cernăuți/Cernivtsi cathedral was worth 70000 rubles, while the one in Chişinău – 35000. A priest had to pay 1500 rubles for every church service. To be saved from harm lots of priests found refuge in Romania. As an example could be the metropolitans of Bessarabia and Bukovina, and the archbishop of Bălţi/Beltsi found shelter at Cernica monastery next to Bucharest.

Besides the constant pressure and sums of money religious figures had to pay some of them were deported and assassinated. In 1940, 58 orthodox priests are deported according to the historian Jean Nouzille. Some of the crimes towards religious figures had an important symbolical and desacralizing effect. The historian Anton Moraru noted the case of the priest Munteanu from Ismail. In July 1940 he was arrested, shaved and shot like a dog in front of the cathedral. Faith as an important cultural and identity element had to be liquidated by the soviets. This is the reason why churches were transformed into building without any sacred usage, and the priests assassinated or deported.

The non-religious institutions were overtaken to be used as means of spreading Bolshevik ideology. The free unions were closed and in their place soviet style unions were established. At the end of 1940 the 24 union committees across the MSSR had 62000 members. The unions represented a part of the control mechanism of the soviet system and were used to transfer the directives from the party to the people. In 1940 the Youth Leninist Communist Union of MSSR was created. At the first congress were present 230 delegates to represent 20000 members. In the same year the Writers Union, Composers Unions were established. At the same time sports clubs such as „Dinamo”, „Spartak” and „Locomotiv” were created. All these organizations were created with the only goal of increasing the state grip on all the different fields of the social and political lives for a tighter control.

The unions were nursery gardens for future party members. In the top positions of the unions and the komsomol were promoted members of the communist party nomenclature. For example, Petru Lucinschi a former president of the Republic of Moldova started his political career as a komsomol member. Besides the unions, the non-governmental organizations were part of the totalitarian system and were used for governmental control in every domain. Their activity was closely monitored by the party with the help of secret police. The unions did not fulfill their goal of representing the workers interest, but were merely institutions for imposing control on people.

A big amount of political pressure was directed towards the young people. The Youth Leninist Communist Union was a perfect way to monitor and pressure people to comply. Between 1950 and 1970 to become a pioneer and a member of the komsomol was mandatory for everyone. In 1976 there were registered 495332 komsomol members. The main priorities for youth organizations were the ideological education of people. Using slogans, engagement of youth in different activities and political schools were the main means of education. Those that did not take part in these activities could hardly advance on the professional ladder. Different clubs and interest circles were serving the communist

¹⁵ Petrencu, A. (2015) *O istorie a Basarabiei*, Seberia Publisher, pp. 282-284.

party. In the MSSR there were 150 active clubs, 800 amateur artistic groups. These organizations could engage 300000 young people. Those that did not engage in this activities were labeled as nationalists and sometimes expelled from higher education.

Taking over strategic institutions from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina was one of the main steps to establishing the communist state control. The Romanian Railways was one of the main infrastructure institutions that fell under Bolshevik control. It played an important role for goods and people transport across the country. The soviets replaced the Romanian Railway members with Bolshevik activists identified in his book „Moldova the tragic history of a European region” the historian Jean Nouzille¹⁶.

Political pressure onto the local culture was necessary to implement the soviet organizational model and the way of thinking. “The cultural revolution” destroyed the public education, the press, literature, art and Christian traditions in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. The goal of this revolution was to introduce the Marxist-Leninist ideology. For that is was an imperative to destroy the local cultural strongholds. The Agricultural Faculty, The Theology Faculty from Chişinău were closed so were different schools. Cultural organizations such as “Royal Cultural Foundation – Carol the First”, Cultural League, Popular University “Astra”, museums, cinema halls were also closed. Different Romanians newspapers and journals had the same fate.

In the educational system, Romanian books and literature were banned. A part of the teachers from the occupied territories found refuge in Romania and other European countries. On the 10th of February 1941 the soviets changed the Latin script of the Romanian language to the Russian script calling the “new” language Moldovan. Before that Russian became the official language after annexation. One of the main goals of the educational system was to ideologically train young people. Instead of the Romanian schools the soviets opened 1864 schools that were suitable for 400000 children and adults. More than 5000 from Ukraine and Russia were brought to fight the local's traditions and culture.

Another institution to help built the state apparatus were libraries. After the annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina 249 libraries with soviet literature were established. Besides them, a great role for propaganda played the 106 cinema halls. The top priorities for literature were the USSR constitutions, texts from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Lots of propaganda was broadcasted with the help of 20000 loudspeakers.

In conclusion the soviet system had massive influence on the people. The annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina raised serious problems for the new government in imposing a different approach on how things work. The main social groups to use political pressure on were the cultural backbone of any society. Except the intellectuals that managed to seek refuge in Romania other European states, those that remained faced different political pressure forms. Varying from the mildest forms of political pressure such as social disregard to the worst forms such as deportation, torture and assassinations the soviets followed fully the communist doctrine. Terror was a method theorized by the Bolshevik ideologues such as Lenin and Stalin where the death of huge numbers of people was just statistics.

After the occupation of Romanian lands by the Soviet Union an important campaign started to impose the new system. The first victims were the preeminent figures that had an important roles within the social structure. Intellectuals, bureaucrats, army and police officers, hardworking peasants had to be removed. By doing so was annihilated the will of the resistance of the locals and other social processes could go smoother. On the economic side, land nationalization and the imposing collective farming were imperatives of the system change. This was achieved by using fear as a motivating factor. On the social side the national cohesion and ethnic structure was altered with the help of deportations to remote regions from Siberia and Kazakhstan.

Another political pressure method was organized famine. Used in Ukraine before, the territories had to be cleaned from undesirable elements depriving them of food. The mechanism was simple since people desperate with nothing to eat are more susceptible to politic change. The famine had an important death toll in Bessarabia. At the same time some people resorted to cannibalism to be able to survive. An example that the famine was deliberate is the fact that the Soviet government did not allow to provide help for the starving population.

¹⁶ Nouzille, J. (2005) *Moldova Istoria tragică a unei regiuni europene*, Prut Internațional Publisher, p. 159.

Besides the intellectuals, young people were a target for the communist party. For them was mandatory to be part of youth organization where indoctrination was strong and one of the main goals. At the same time they were sent to different soviet republics to have their cultural identity altered and be exploited economically.

The success to impose the communist system in the occupied territories was the total control in all the domains. Strategic institutions such as the Railways, the Unions and newspapers were taken over Bolshevik activists. At the same time pressure was applied on religious figures. Deportations, assassination and economic pressure were methods to remove the religious element since it was not suitable for the communist doctrine.

Even though the changes happened more than 75 years ago the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine struggle with the effects. Losing the elites and having the culture altered makes the democratization and modernization processes harder. The emphasis on education is the only key to reverse such a change. From a totalitarian state where control was everywhere people have to learn to take responsibility. Culture is important because it sets the basic guidelines for the individuals to perform. But such a change comes at a slow rate. Identifying honest individuals according to their past actions and character would help increase the change rate.

For foreign countries understanding why the east lags behind and why some changes that took in the west centuries cannot be made here in matter of years is an imperative. Development grants should focus on education, and community building. The soviet state managed to destroy old communities and institutions to be in power, now it is time to rebuild those communities since they are the backbone of any democratic society.

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