

CONTENTS.
SUMMARY.
CONTRIBUTORS.



Totalitarianism Archives

Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volume XXVI, Number 98-99, 1-2/2018

EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, XLIX. So we will remember... The Great Union of All Romanians!*.....5

The article is dedicated to two anniversary moments that happily coincide in 2018. The first has to do with the anniversary of the centenary of the Great Union in 1918, when all Romanian provinces – the Old Kingdom of Romania, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transilvania – united into a one, national unitary state, Romania.

The second moment has to do with the anniversary of a quarter of a century of scientific activity of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism of the Romanian Academy. During its existence, NIST has become a landmark in the area of scientific research on totalitarianism in Romania and abroad.

Keywords: World War I, 1918, Greater Romania, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism.

STUDIES

ACAD. FLORIN CONSTANTINIU, *Christian Rakovski and the Theory of Bureaucratic Degeneration of Socialism in the USSR*.....9

The article consists of a conference delivered by Academician Florin Constantiniu on February 24, 2009, at the Center of Russian and Soviet Studies within the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism of the Romanian Academy. The main theme of the conference was the theory of bureaucratic degeneration of Socialism in the Soviet Union on which Rakovsky wrote in a letter addressed to another leader of the Trotskyist opposition, G.B. Valentinov. On this occasion, Florin Constantiniu discussed the origins of Rakovsky's theory, its main principles, the context in which it had been formulated and its validity not only for the Soviet Union but for the East European countries.

The article comprises also the lecturer's answers to the questions from the audience at the end of the conference.

The text represents a genuine lesson on totalitarianism history as well as the author's view on the developments in post-communist society.

Keywords: Christian Rakovsky, the Soviet Union, Trotsky, Stalin, Socialism bureaucratization, Romania.

ION CONSTANTIN, *The Diplomatic Fight for the International Recognition of Greater Romania. The Problem of Bessarabia, 1918-1920*.....24

The creation of the unitary nation-state in 1918, by the union of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania with Romania, widened the perspectives for our country to engage in the international life as an independent and sovereign state. After a long and complicated procrastination, Bessarabia's union with the Mother Country Romania was recognized *de jure* through the Treaty signed in Paris, on October 28, 1920, by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, on one side, and Romania, on the other. Recognizing Romania's sovereignty over Bessarabia, the parties of the Treaty assumed the obligation to „assist Romania” in case Russians would attempt to reannex Bessarabia. Although the Treaty does not bear the signature of the U.S.A., this country accepted *de facto* and *de jure* the historic right of Romania upon Bessarabia, on July 1, 1933. Moscow stubbornly refused to accept the union, although the right of the Romanian people upon Bessarabian territory and the integrity of the frontiers was implicitly acknowledged by the Soviet Union through the recurrent juridical and diplomatic acts.

Keywords: diplomatic fight, international recognition, Greater Romania, Bessarabia, the historic right of the Romanian people.

IOAN SCURTU, *The First “Totalitarian One-Party” in Romania’s History - The Party of the Nation, 1940*.....47

On February 10, 1938, King Charles II staged a coup d’etat that ended the democratic regime in Romania. In March, all political parties had been suppressed and in December 1938 the Front of National Renaissance was established as the one and only political organization in the state. Against the backdrop of Nazi Germany's international expansion that culminated with the occupation of France, King Charles II tried to adjust Romania's domestic and foreign policy to the new realities by aligning it to Berlin and the adoption of totalitarian type political organization. Consequently, the Front of National Renaissance was transformed into a totalitarian one-party under the name of the Party of the Nation that was to be led directly by the king.

Keywords: Romania, King Charles II, Front of National Renaissance, Party of the Nation, totalitarianism.

LILIA CRUDU, *The fate of Bessarabian Statesmen after 1940*.....54

In this paper, the author presents the fates of the Bessarabian politicians that were arrested in Bessarabia after June 28, 1940. At the same time, the article shows that the arrests of the remarkable statesmen from Bessarabia continued after August 23, 1944, at this time in Romania. Together with the outstanding representatives of the Romanian political elite, high officials of the interwar period from Bessarabia were reckoned among the „class enemy” and arrested. They were all blamed for the „betrayal of the Soviet motherland” and for the „voting for unification with Romania”. Many of the arrested were of old age and had health problems. Consequently, some of them died on their way to prison or during the imprisonment. Those who survived prison remained under the strict surveillance of the secret police up to their final days.

Keywords: Bessarabian statesmen, NKVD, refugees, political repression, the secret police.

MIHAI BURCEA, *Romanian Antifascists in the French Resistance, 1939-1944, II*.....76

After the end of the Spanish Civil War and Germany's invasion of the USSR, some of the Romanian volunteers in the International Brigades located in France joined the French Resistance and pursued its main goal: liberating the country from Nazi occupation. This study proposes an analysis of the biographical trajectories of Romanian ex-Spain fighters and the violent and non-violent action paths they finally took and followed.

Keywords: French Resistance, International Brigades, Romanian partisans, communism, German occupation of France, aggression.

GHEORGHE ONIȘORU, *A controversial decision: Constantin Argetoianu’s return to Romania, November 1946*.....100

Constantin Argetoianu was one of the most famous political man in Romania, perhaps the best to illustrating the term political opportunism. With a special experience, he also became president of the Council of Ministers, being a close friend of King Carol II. After leaving the country in May 1944, he would surprise everyone in November 1946, at a time when the political horizon was closing down to experience the latest political formula, the National Union: Work and Reconstruction. This study aims to identify the mobile of this action, for which he paid with his own life.

Keywords: authoritarian regime, Romania, Constantin Argetoianu, National Union: Work and Reconstruction, people's democracy.

LEONID GHIBIANSKI, "... The meeting is convened at the request of the governments of the USSR and Romania". How the COMECON was created.....109

In this essay, a history of the COMECON establishment is traced on the basis of a considerable range of documents of the Soviet and East European communist regimes, including those from their former archives. The author is studying an organization machinery of the COMECON making, with an analysis of the USSR and the so-called People's Democracies interaction and role of each of them in this process. The much attention is given to clearing up and comparison of real and declarative the COMECON nature and purposes.

Keywords: COMECON, Romania, Soviet Union, I.V. Stalin, Eastern Europe.

DARIUSZ JAROSZ, Old Age and the Evolution of the Social Security System in Rural Poland in the 20th Century.....133

The evolution of the "survival strategy" of old people in rural Poland in XXth century ran from life care contracts guaranteed by the family, to retirement pensions guaranteed by the state, with small participation of social organisations. The end of World War II and the assumption of power by Polish Communists did not in itself signify a telling transformation in providing old age social security in rural Poland. One of the most important changes which was made in the social security system in the 1960s and 1970s. The Acts of 1962 and 1968 created conditions for receiving pension-superannuation benefits in exchange for signing over land to the state. The Act of 1977 which also brought in the possibility of passing farms on to their heirs – it increased the number of those availing themselves of these possibilities. Letters addressed to the Letters' Office of Polish Radio and Television testify to the fact that the basic problem in complaints of old people remained the lack of their own means of subsistence. However, insofar as earlier the anti-hero in most of the letters from the countryside were ungrateful, even evil, children, then at the end of the 1970s it was the incompetent and sluggish state office.

Keywords: Communist regimes, old age, social security, retirement pensions, life care contracts.

ADRIAN CONSTANTIN ROTAR, The Suppression of the Rural Social Elite. Dekulakization of the Villages in the Suceava Region, 1949-1962.....147

The communist regime had two main objectives in the rural area: the creation of new collectivist structures and „inciting class struggle". The two objectives were deeply connected because the establishing of collectivist structures depended upon intense ideological propaganda. According to the communists, class struggle was permanent and the conflict would eventually end with the victory of the exploited over the exploiters. A similar process was implemented in the case of Romanian villages. Wealthy peasants, designated in Communist propaganda as *chiaburi* (the kulaks) - represented the main obstacle in creating socialism. This study analyzes the methods and means used by the communist authorities to eliminate the most important landowners.

Keywords: Collectivization, kulaks, exploitation, class struggle, deportations.

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, The Trial of Imre Nagy in the context of the relations between the Soviet Union, Hungary and Yugoslavia, 1958.....161

János Kádár did not take the opportunity to hold trial of Imre Nagy in early 1958 without making death sentences, but chose to postpone this trial for another term, waiting for a new anti-Yugoslav campaign in Moscow's politics. Having shown extreme rigidity in the case of Imre Nagy (in general, not peculiar to this pragmatic politician), Kádár finally disarmed his critics on the left, supporters of the complete restoration of that system, which was decisively rejected by the Hungarian people in October 1956. Nevertheless Imre Nagy Trial created new problems for Hungarian-Yugoslav relations, which, however, were successfully overcome in the following years.

Keywords: János Kádár, Imre Nagy Trial, Hungary, Yugoslavia, the Soviet-Yugoslavian relations.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, Secret but Obvious. Soviet-Romanian and Romanian-CMEA relations in the CIA economic intelligence analysis, the early 60s – mid-70s.....177

The article analyses the evolution of the CIA economic intelligence assessments on Romania's relation with the USSR and the CMEA since the early 60s till mid-70s. As the newly revealed CIA documents state

the process has passed through three main stage. Until the late 60s the intelligence analysts have had some hopes about Romania's progress in achieving more independence from the USSR and the CMEA in her economic development. At the very end of the 60s and early 70s, they already noted Ceausescu's inability to succumb directly to the Soviet and the CMEA plans due to economic difficulties. In the early 70s the CIA analysts came to the conclusion that Bucharest doomed to manoeuvre in economic and political field in order to get benefits both from the East and the West.

Keywords: Ceaușescu, CIA, CMEA, Cold War, Comecon, economic intelligence, Romania, USA, USSR.

KARINA PAULINA MARCZUK, *A Century of Cooperation: Polish-Romanian bilateral relations, 1918-2018*.....196

Overall, relations between Poland and Romania can be divided into three main stages: the interwar period between the end of World War I and the outbreak of World War II; from the end of World War II to the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the bipolar world order; and from that point to the present. This paper comprises three parts, each devoted to one of the phases listed above. I argue that Polish-Romanian cooperation has been primarily restricted to the economic sphere, with cultural and political relations following. It is significant that during the period analysed the two states have concluded numerous bilateral agreements, treaties and conventions, of which many are still in force. Examining them reveals what areas of bilateral relations have been predominant, and it is on such primary sources that the research presented here is based.

Keywords: anniversary, cooperation, Poland, Romania, treaty.

DOCUMENTS

CRISTINA DIAC, *Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Elena Filipovici, the Death of a professional revolutionary, 1934-1937, II*.....199

Starting from Elena Filipovici's case, this article explores the history of the Communist Party of Romania in the 30's, emphasising especially the period between 1934 and 1937. It refers to how the popular front strategy influenced the C.P.o.R.'s leadership and the Romanian political colony in Moscow. It also tries to explain how the political networks functioned during the Great Terror, and how the personal and professional interfered.

Elena Filipovici, a Romanian professional revolutionary, was subject to an inquiry which led to the activist's death in December 1937. This article concentrates on Filipovici's reactions prior to her arrest and imprisonment.

Keywords: Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, rehabilitation, Romanian political emigration, Elena Filipovici.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *The Death of Stalin, the release of Ana Pauker and an enigmatic talk on 8 April 1953*.....225

Ana Pauker was arrested on 18 February 1950, at a time when the antizionist campaign was at its climax in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Soon after the death of Stalin she was released and moved to a conspirative house of the Communist Party. The circumstances of her release still remain unclear. The author of this article argues that Ana Pauker was released, but under strict surveillance, on 15 March 1953 and examines the possible reasons that led to this decision.

The article also reproduces a transcript of Ana Pauker's conversation with two leaders of the Communist Party, on 8 April 1953, that was recorded by the Securitate. During this conversation, Ana Pauker makes important revelations on the accusations she faced during her arrest and explains why she believed Emil Bodnăraș was the real traitor within Romanian Workers Party's leadership.

Keywords: Ana Pauker, I.V. Stalin, Romanian Workers Party, anti-Sionism, Emil Bodnăraș, stalinist investigation.

VASILE BUGA, *Between ideology and reality. A Soviet Embassy in Bucharest assessment on the situation in Romania, June 1989*.....244

This article brings to attention a document drafted by two diplomats of the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest, which contains a synthetic analysis on how Romania reacted on the middle of 1989 to the reevaluation by Gorbachev of the core concepts of Socialism. The specificities of the Romanian domestic policy and how

this differentiated her from its Communist allies are emphasized. The authors of the document conclude that a profound reform in Romania would not be possible unless Ceaușescu's removal from power.

Keywords: Communism, Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Mikhail Gorbachev, perestroika.

BIOGRAPHIES

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *Neculai (Nicolae) Popa (n. 21 iunie 1931)*.....256

Neculai Popa show thought for anticommunist movement since he was a teenager when he embarked to reach the West. Staying in Vienna, he arrives at the American training centre in Salzburg. In March 1951, after a brief training, he returns in Romania on purpose to obtain information that will seek to destabilize the Communist regime in Bucharest. He was arrested on a train when crossing the Romanian border. He was 19 years old. After a rough inquiry, he was convicted of high treason and sentenced to 25 years of prison and hard labour. He was released in 1964, following a pardon decree targeting political prisoners. After constant harassment by the Securitate, in 1979, in order to protect his family, Neculai Popa had decided to leave the country and settle in the USA.

Keywords: anticommunism, detention, exile, Securitate.

CORNELIU BELDIMAN, *Gabriel Negrei (1872 – 1951)*.....259

With solid studies graduated in Romania and abroad (France), and a brilliant military career the Brigadier General Gabriel Negrei was one of the elite members of the Royal Romanian Army whose ranks he achieved from second lieutenant to general and former President in charge of Military Professional Section of the National Peasant Party. In May 1948, he was sued in the “Group of Witnesses” within the process of the National Peasant Party leaders at the Bucharest Military Tribunal and sentenced to seven years of rigorous detention for “conspiracy for rebellion”. He died at the Aiud Penitentiary.

Keywords: anti-aircraft artillery, Communist repression, Gabriel Negrei, Military Professional Section of the National Peasant Party, Romanian Royal Army, war heroes generals.

MIHAI BURCEA, *Josefina Nicolschi (1910-1992)*.....261

The article discusses the presence of female officers in the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the 50s and the 60s, with a focus on the former Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Josefina Nicolschi's biography and career. She was one of the very few women who had been active in the superior officers' corps of the institution; moreover, she had held several top positions within the General Directorate of the Militia. In those days, the schools for military officers did not ensure programs for the military and professional training of female recruits, which led to a slim representation of women at the top of the ministry. This article is both a reassessment of gender-biased communist policies and a biographical monograph.

Keywords: Repression, Cadres, Militia, Officers, Communism, Josefina Nicolschi.

OCTAVIANA JIANU, *Marietta Sadova (1897-1981)*.....265

This article presents the biography of Marietta Sadova, a notable figure in Romanian theatrical scene and an important cultural personality of the interwar period. In this work, we look at the special relationship established between this artist and the communist regime in the 1950s. In 1956, the Romanian authorities sent Marietta Sadova to Paris with a particular mission: to win the sympathy of some valuable Romanian writers settled there for the Romanian democratic-popular regime. On her return, Sadova brought some writings of these authors, forbidden in the country, which she distributed in her entourage. Three years later, the artist got arrested for spreading clandestine texts and she was included by the communist authorities in the Noica-Pillat batch, judged and sentenced in 1960.

Keywords: Noica-Pillat batch, prohibited literature, intellectuals, Romanian democratic-popular regime, communism.

© Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2018.