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# Totalitarianism Archives

## Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

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#### EDITORIAL

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The article brings forward the portraits of two Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who fought for the unification of Transylvania with Romania. The first was a Romanian ethnic of the nobility, Ioan Mezei Câmpeanu, a judge at the High Court of Cassation and Justice in Budapest, an advocate of the Romanian cause and of all Romanians in the capital of Hungary. The second was Alexandru Vaida Voevod, a member of the Romanian National Party and a deputy in the Budapest Parliament where he red the the Romanians in Hungary and Transylvania's declaration of independence on 18 October 1918.  
**Keywords:** Ioan Mezei Câmpeanu, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, Transylvania, Romanian Nation, Austro-Hungarian Empire.

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The union of Bessarabia with Romania on March 1918 had not been acknowledged by the new Soviet power in Russia. At the beginning of 1919, the Bolshevik leadership started to plan the spreading of the revolution in Bessarabia and the inclusion, once again, of this territory within Russia. Following this plan, a shadow government of Bessarabia that travelled on an armoured train was to exert control of the province after the occupation of the Red Army. The projects failed in May-June 1919 at the backdrop of the defeat of the bolshevik army on the fronts of the civil war in Ukraine.  
**Keywords:** Romania, Bessarabia, the Bolshevik revolution, Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine, Christian Rakovsky.

**CONSTANTIN CORNEANU, *Political and Diplomatic Efforts for the Defending of Greater Romania, 1918-1940, II*.....22**  
The system of the Versailles peace treaties and the international order set up by it provided Romania with the possibility of acknowledgment of the document of December 1, 1918 by the Chancelleries of the great power centres of the world, which made it impossible to abandon the system. However, there was a sum of secret information and political-economic analyses at the time that allowed the Romanian political and state people

to consider a reversal of traditional alliances. Situated in a sensitive geopolitical area, Romania would face various dangers, ranging from Hungarian revisionism to the expansion of communism, as well as the southern neighbour's lusts. The politicians and military leaders in Bucharest remained tributaries to the obsolete principles in understanding the new movements in the international relations arena. Our geopolitical and geostrategic attitudes had implicitly involved us in the march of the great games and geopolitical changes of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and were, unfortunately, fatal in our becoming as a nation and in our desire of progress and modernity.

**Keywords:** Romania, Versailles Treaty, Adolf Hitler, Vyacheslav Molotov, Ion Antonescu, communism, revisionism.

**FLORIAN TĂNĂSESCU, NICOLAE TĂNĂSESCU, *Comintern - the spearhead of Soviet policy against Greater Romania, 1919-1943*.....38**

Since 1919, with the establishment of the Communist International based in Moscow, the relations between Romania and Russia, traditionally marked by territorial conflicts, know new and serious tensions. Both before the Great Union of the Romanians from 1918, and after its completion, "the problem of Bessarabia" strained the relations between the two neighboring and non-neighboring states, with the difference that "before" the Romanian territory between Prut and Dniester was part of the Tzarist Empire from 1812, and "after" it was part of the Romanian unitary national state.

The Comintern and its structures, immediately after its establishment, are associated with the aggressive policy of the Bolshevik government of Soviet Russia against the Royal Romania, which is perpetuated until the self-dissolution of the Communist International in 1943. They knew different forms, intensities and effects, being influenced also by the context of the evolution of international relations. All these give the image of the dramatic situation of the Romanians threatened to be crushed by the new Russian empire, during a period under the recapture of the Europeans after the disaster produced by the first World War.

**Keywords:** The Comintern, Romanian Communist Party, Soviet Union, Greater Romania.

**LUIZA REVYAKINA, *The Comintern and Bulgaria, 1919-1943*.....57**

The article deals with the Comintern history and the activity of the Communist Party in Bulgaria, one of the most active communist parties within the Communist International. The article presents the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and the role of their leaders, V. Kolarov and G. Dimitrov within the Comintern. Moreover, the article presents the main moments of the cooperation between BCP and the Comintern during the 1920', when the idea of the „global revolution” was still „vivid”. Recovering from the political blow received in 1923-1925, BCP gets involved in the fulfilling of the new tactics of the Comintern with the setting up of the Popular Front during the end 1920s and 1930s. Besides, the BCP had to adjust to the sudden changes in the Soviet foreign policy at the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s. After the German-Soviet war broke off, the BCP involved in the organization of the armed resistance in Bulgaria and the setting up of the Patriotic Front. The article examines also issues regarding the Bulgarian emigration within SSSR, including the repression against it during the Great Terror.

**Keyword:** Comintern, Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, G. Dimitrov, V. Kolarov.

**ALEKSANDR SHUBIN, *The turn of the Comintern to the strategy of the Popular Front in 1933-1935*.....75**

The article analyzes the reasons and mechanism of the transition of the Communist international from the sectarian policy of the "third period" to the policy of the broad left coalition known as the "Popular front". After the VI Congress, the Comintern prescribed to the Communist parties the position of the extreme left opposition, which even to the neighbors on the political spectrum - Social-democrats are treated as accomplices of fascism. This policy allowed to accumulate the most radical masses, irreconcilable to the bourgeois system. However, after the victory of Nazism in Germany and the success of fascism and right-wing radicalism in other countries, this policy has become an anachronism. It was in conflict with the foreign policy of the USSR aimed at "collective security" and rapprochement with France against Germany. However, the policy of the broad left coalition carried with it the risks and costs that were discussed by the leadership of the Comintern in 1934, especially in connection with the events in France, where the FPC was entitled to a coalition experiment. Only in December 1934, in connection with the internal political situation in the USSR, it was decided to change the course of the Comintern, which in 1935 was fixed by its Congress.

**Keywords:** the Comintern, Stalin, Popular Front, Dimitrov, Thorez, the French Communist Party.

**FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *The Ukrainian integral nationalism in Romania: ideology, organization and methods of propaganda, 1934-1938*.....90**

Over the past decade, ultranationalist and far-right groups have proliferated and gained more and more followers in Ukraine, entering for the first time, in 2012, in the Verkhovna Rada, the Ukrainian unicameral parliament, and in the government, in 2014. This phenomenon is no coincidence, given the internal troubles in the recent history of the neighbouring state and the well-known conflict with Russia, but the roots of Ukrainian nationalism are somewhat older and have a connection with Romania as well. We have thus chosen to study the past of the most important ultranationalist group of the period before the independence of Ukraine in 1991, namely the activity, organization, ideology and propaganda methods of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), set up in Poland in 1929, and its branch in Bukovina, Bessarabia and Maramureș.

**Keywords:** ultranationalist movement, far-right organization, Bukovina, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Dontsovism, integral nationalism.

**GHEORGHE ONIȘORU, *Preludes to 23rd of August, 1944. The King, Iuliu Maniu, and the Communist Party*.....111**

Entering into World War II in an alliance with Hitler, Romania led by Marshall Ion Antonescu sought, at the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944, the best ways to break free from the Third Reich. Our study follows the manner in which the coalition of the Opposition around Iuliu Maniu succeeded, the role played by the Communists and the decisive involvement of the King in the August 23<sup>rd</sup> coup, analyzing the political preliminaries of this major act of the contemporary history of Romania.

**Keywords:** WWII, Iuliu Maniu, Marshall Ion Antonescu, King Michael of Romania, armistice, political coup.

**FLORIN ȘANDRU, *Soldiers' Testimonies about their participation in the coup of 23rd of August, 1944*.....131**

At the end of 1950's, in Communist Romania the signal was given for a historical reevaluation of the events of August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1944, by pointing out the importance of the internal factor. In this context, in February 1960 written declarations were taken from army officers who had participated in the preparation and realisation of the act: Emilian Ionescu, Gheorghe Teodorescu, Dumitru Bălă, Dumitru Rusu, and Dinu Cojocaru. Besides the subjectivism of the memorialists and some chronological discrepancies among their statements, we can also notice the use of the concept of *coup d'état* for that moment, as well as the recognition of the role played by the King and by some superior officers in the evolution of events, alongside with the over-evaluation of the participation of the Romanian Communists.

**Keywords:** WWII, Romania, Marshall Ion Antonescu, King Michael of Romania, armistice, political coup.

**ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, *The Intervention of 5 countries – members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and the crisis in Soviet-Romanian relations*.....139**

The Ceaușescu regime in Romania, which sought to weaken Soviet influence in the country and deviated significantly in its foreign policy from the general line of the Soviet bloc, from the very beginning did not support Moscow's power pressure on the Czechoslovak reformers who initiated the Prague Spring. Ceaușescu and his team, who had no thought of making the «human face» of the Czechoslovakian or any other socialism, watched the events through the prism of their own national-communist doctrine. Thereby they viewed the Prague Spring only as a movement for the expansion of national sovereignty, and in Czechoslovak reform communists saw their potential allies in the struggle for Romania's full independence in the international arena, its liberation from the dominant Soviet influence. Sharply denouncing the intervention of August 21, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, the communist leadership of Romania did not exclude the military threat against its own country, adopting a whole range of defensive measures. Later, realizing that neither Tito's Yugoslavia, nor China, nor Western countries, will render Romania effective military assistance in case of an attack from outside, the Romanian leaders made efforts to renew a broad dialogue with the USSR.

**Keywords:** Prague Spring of 1968, intervention of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, Soviet bloc, Warsaw Pact, Soviet-Romanian relations.

**SLAVOMÍR MICHÁLEK, *August 68. The Invasion of Czechoslovakia and the United Nations Reaction*.....156**

The story of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 can be seen from multiple perspectives, eventually from different points of view. There are quite a lot of other divisions and subgroups according to the primary division of this issue into the external and internal level. In this paper I am going to focus on the position and attitude of the United Nations towards the invasion of armed forces of five Warsaw Pact countries into Czechoslovakia.

For almost twenty years Czechoslovakia had represented the model of exemplary satellite of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the reviving process in the society the primary goal of which was an effort to initiate new, more independent and more autonomous conditions in the society, faced the opposition from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Subsequently, this opposition led to the brutal armed attack at night from August 20 to 21, 1968.

**Keywords:** Czechoslovakia, August 1968, the Soviet Union, invasion, the United Nations.

**DARIUSZ MAGIER, *Training of local communist cadres in Poland in 1975-1990. An analysis based on the archives of the Białskopodlaski province*.....170**

Participation in the ideological and political training of the communist party was one of the fundamental duties for its members and individual organizations. Its primary goal was to maintain the proper ideological level of members, create a scheme for promotion in the party's hierarchy and indirectly, to gradually increase the party's influence on society. A training system was permanent, applicable to everyone and perpetual in order to shape and consolidate a uniform communist mentality, along with faithfulness and dedication to the organization. It was not only a way to improve the qualifications necessary for party and bureaucratic work, but above all to maintain party activists in constant ideological readiness. The forms of communist training, which were conducted in voivodeship party structures in Poland in 1975-1990, such as candidates's training, mass training, activists' training along with the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, circle training, lecturers' training, prove that the communist party attached great significance to this aspect at that time.

**Keywords:** communism, cadres, education, party, Poland, propaganda, Polish United Workers' Party, training.

## DOCUMENTS

**ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *A Successful Business Model: The Romanian Communist Party as Capitalist Shareholder, March 1948*.....181**

Financing the Communist movement has always been a secretive operation. In countries where the Communist parties were legal, they gathered money from personal contributions of members, donations, commercial operation, and secret Komintern funds. In countries with no democracy or limited one, the underground Communist actions were financed through foreign conspirations and agents. This study presents an archival document, dated from March, 1948, describing the Romanian case of transition from a non-Communist regime to a full Communist one, in the late 1940s. Although the Romanian Communist Party already controlled the government, the party-state was not in place, so they could not use the public funding, as they did later. Instead, the Party gained access to managerial decision-making in private companies, factories, and bank, from which they extracted all profits.

**Keywords:** Romanian Communist Party, transition economy, socialization of property, political party finance, banking system.

**DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *The Pătrășcanu Case and the late Stalinism's inquiries. A November 1952 key-document*.....190**

In autumn 1952, the inquiry in Pătrășcanu case resumed at an accelerated pace. On November 7, 1952, the new chief investigator, Ioan Șoltuțiu, a Lt.-col. from the Securitate, sent to the Minister of the Internal Affairs, Alexandru Drăgici, and to the RWP' leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej a report which extensively developed the theory of numerous connections that supported the treacherous activity of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu: "the right deviators" (Ana Pauker, Teohari Georgescu), the chiefs of the former Intelligence Special Service (former Soviet agents!), departments' heads within the Securitate, agents of American and English intelligence services.

The author argues that the report was written under the direct coordination of Soviet main counsellor Aleksandr M. Sakharovski. He was inspired by the "Abakumov Affair" that took place in Moscow in the summer of 1951, the purges that followed within the Ministry of State Security of the Soviet Union, and other inquiries in Moscow during the time, especially the one that became known as the "doctors' plot".

**Keywords:** Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Romanian Communist Party, Stalinist inquiries, espionage, V.S. Abakumov, A.M. Sakharovski.

**MIRCEA-DOREL SUCIU, "The French Connection" and the Beginnings of the Commercial Agency of the Romanian People's Republic in Frankfurt on Main.....221**

Based on archive information (edited and partially unpublished), as well as oral testimonies obtained by the author from two of the former Romanian officials of the Romanian People's Republic Commercial Trade Agency (CTA - RPR), the study argues that CTA-RPR in Frankfurt on Main began operating for years before the Romanian – West German intergovernmental Protocol (October 17,1963) on the establishment and operation of the Trade Agencies of each party on the basis of reciprocity in Romania and West Germany, respectively. In this context, the involvement of the „Sorice” Commercial Company - controlled by the Financial Department of the French Communist Party - is brought to attention in the establishment of the CTA - RPR in Frankfurt on Main.

**Keywords:** Romania, West Germany, Romanian-West-German economic relations in the 50's, Romanian Commercial Agency, Frankfurt on Main, "Sorice" Company.

**LUCICA IORGA, „Our friendship is timeless and unbreakable”. The Soviet transcript of the talks between Emil Bodnăraș and Soviet leaders in Moscow on 10 May 1965.....239**

Between 7th and 10th of May 1965, a Romanian delegation led by E. Bodnăraș visited URSS. In Moscow, the Romanian delegation took part in the celebration of Victory Day in the Second World War. This visit has had a positive impact in softening the political tensions of the Romanian-Soviet relations. Relations between Romania and the USSR have steadily strained in previous years, so a new approach was needed. Discussion from 10th of May 1965 between M.A. Suslov, I.V. Andropov and E. Bodnăraș created the necessary conditions for resolution of the causes of past divergences.

**Keywords:** Romanian-Soviet relations, Victory Day, Emil Bodnăraș, Mikhail Suslov, Iuri Andropov, political-economic issues, Sino-Soviet conflict.

## BIOGRAPHIES

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The biography focuses on the repression of Ioana Berindei, along with his family. She was arrested in 1950, imprisoned in the Jilava, Mislea, Văcărești prisons. Ioana Berindei personal drama is special because she gave birth in prison. After release from detention, Ioana Berindei has found with difficulty a job, and surveillance of his family by the Securitate continued for many years.

**Keywords:** political prisoner; penitentiary system; intellectual elites; Jilava; Mislea; Văcărești.

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Eugen Bodor Pentecostal pastor was sentenced in 1961 to five years in prison after having been charged with mysticism and considered a social danger because he typed in 10 copies his composition called *Bible Study on the gifts of the Holy Spirit*. Apart from the criminal charges and investigation, the Securitate accepts that in his writing Eugen Bodor fully respects the profession of faith of the Pentecostal church, which was officially recognized by the communist state. Among the reasons which weighed heavily in the conviction sentence was actually a lengthy conflict with Pastor George Bradin, which at that time was president of Pentecostal Church, few anticommunist articles written between the wars and the reputation of “exploiter” that he won after some timber business and various chemicals.

**Keywords:** Pentecostal church, mysticism, persecution, faith.

**Andrea Dobeș, Ilie Lazăr (1895-1976).....260**

Leader of P.N.Ț (National Peasant Party), president of Maramures county organization, Ilie Lazăr (1895-1976) was three times deputy of Maramureș. Considered, along with Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache, one of the most charismatic and beloved leaders of P.N.Ț, enjoying a great popularity in the village world,

especially in Transilvania, he was identified by the communists as one of the main enemies who, like his party, had to be removed as soon as possible from the political life. Arrested in July 1947, sentenced to 12 years in prison, after the conviction has expired he has not been released, being administratively retained because it was considered that his release would jeopardize „the state security”. His attitude and behavior have determined Securitatea to begin his informative pursuit since he was in detention, action which continued even after its release, in May 1964. Until his death on November 1976, Ilie Lazăr has remained faithful to a political belief in whose name he faced the Stalinist dictatorship and for which he had to endure the torments of the communist prisons. Characterized by great optimism and a strong faith in God, Ilie Lazăr died peacefully because, as his daughter confessed, he was convinced that „the truth can not be defeated, anyway”.

**Keywords:** Ilie Lazăr, P.N.Ț., communist detention, consistency, informative pursuit.

**Abstract: Cristina Roman, Lothar Rădăceanu (1899-1955).....264**

Born on May 19, 1899, Lothar Rădăceanu was a former activist of the socialist movement in Bucovina, of German origin. He has manifested himself in political life, both as a social-democratic leader and as a communist politician. It played an important role in provoking the split of the Social-Democratic Party on March 10, 1946, having a significant contribution to the creation of the Romanian Labor Party (PMR) following the unification realized on February 21-23, 1948 between the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party. In 1944-1952 he held several positions at the top of the Social-Democratic Party, and from 1948 he was part of the leadership of the Romanian Labor Party. After falling into disrepute in 1952, he lost all governmental functions and those at the PMR's leadership, continuing to maintain the status of member of the PMR and that of a deputy in the Grand National Assembly.

**Keywords:** Lothar Rădăceanu, a left-wing politician, socialism, the Social-Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Single Labor Front, the Romanian Labor Party.

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