

CONTENTS.
SUMMARY.
CONTRIBUTORS.



Totalitarianism Archives

Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volume XXV, Number 96-97, 3-4/2017

EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, XLVIII. Justinian Marina, a Romanian Thomas Becket*.....5

This article is a eulogy of Justinian Marina, the first patriarch of the Communist Romania. Owing to his close relationship with the Romanian Workers' Party leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Justinian Marina was appointed Patriarch and proved to be a relentless defender of the Romanian Orthodox Church during the hardest communist years. For his conduct, historian Radu Ciuceanu compares him to England's Thomas Becket.

Keywords: Romania, communism, Patriarch Justinian, Romanian Orthodox Church, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

STUDIES

MIHAI BURCEA, *Former International Brigades fighters in the French Resistance: The Romanian Contingent, 1939-1944, I*.....12

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, aggression.

IULIAN WARTER, LIVIU WARTER, *Uncovering the socio-economic issues beyond the Anti-Jewish Legislation in Romania: In the shadow of the swastika, 1933-1944*.....48

There is an extensive academic literature on the origins, reasons, nature, and impact of the Holocaust. A large part of this work focuses on issues such as how societies, and individuals that lived through it have dealt with this sad experience or what lessons have been drawn from the Holocaust. The socio-economic issues are discussed in the Holocaust literature in few works referring to aspects of Anti-Jewish Legislation. The aim of this paper is to assess what the Holocaust and the loss of Jews meant for a country with a previous rich Jewish economic and cultural life, from a socio-economic point of view. This paper examines the effects caused by the expropriation of Jewish assets, and dismissal or deportation of many skilled workers in Romania.

Keywords: Anti-Jewish Legislation, Romania, Nazi Germany, economy, World War II.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *The Case of Vasile Luca, the Samoilov Espionage Network and the State of Romanian Communists in SSSR, II: 1945-1954*.....57

The second part of this study follows the events during 1945-1954. As it was argued by the Securitate, the subversive relation between Vasile Luca and the Soviet colonel Samuil Samoilov carried on after the end of the war and proved beneficial for the World Zionist Organization. The Securitate accusations talked about the support Luca and Samoilov gave to Jew emigration to Palestine and, their connections to persons or Zionist organizations. Furthermore, Samoilov, Luca's wife, Betty, and other members of the group were Jews.

Although the Securitate dropped the espionage charges against Luca in 1954, following Stalin's death, this article argues the Vasile Luca was indeed involved in espionage activity but not against the Soviet Union, instead of its behalf.

Keywords: Vasile Luca, Samuil I. Samoilov, Communist Party of Romania, espionage, Soviet Union, World War II, anti-Zionism.

ALBINA F. NOSKOVA, *Political Power and the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, 1944-1956, II*.....69

This article is based on documents of Russian archives and considers the history of relationship between the Soviet type regime and the Roman Catholic Church in Poland during the 1940's and 1950's. The article explores particular actions of authorities that were aimed at excluding of the Church from political and educational spheres of life; temporary retreat of the Episcopate for the sake of maintenance the connections between Church and believing people. Special attention is given to the influence of Church on evolution and development of sociopolitical crisis and the victory of reformers in 1956.

Keywords: Poland, Political Power, Communism, Roman Catholic Church, Stalinism, Crisis of 1956.

ANNA GLADYSHEVA, *Khrushchev's economic reforms in the aftermath of the CPSU XXth Congress, 1956-1964*.....93

Following Joseph Stalin's, the new Soviet leadership came to the conclusion that there is a need to relax the regime. The changes concerned, among others, the internal economic system and the external economic policy of the Soviet Union. Their depth was highly influenced by the XX-th Congress of the CPSU. Khrushchev's reforms brought new momentum to the strengthening of Soviet Union's relations with COMECON countries, but because they were not sufficiently well prepared, they caused conflicts inside COMECON. As a result, the hasty reforms became one of the reasons for Khrushchev to be dismissed.

Keywords: Soviet Union, economic reforms, XX-th Congress, CPSU, Romania, COMECON.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *Exiles, Dissidents, Defectors. The Securitate Repressive Regime's actions in external Romania, 1957-1989*.....106

State terrorism is one of the oldest methods of governance. It has been used by authoritarian and totalitarian states, as a means and purpose to discipline and subdue its own citizens. Our study aims to present using terrorist means by the Securitate against the Romanian exile (criminal attempts on Paul Goma, Virgil Tănase, Emil Georgescu, etc.) and to analyze other actions which doubts persist about the implication of communist regime.

Keywords: communism, Securitate, terrorist state, exile, Radio Free Europe.

CRISTINA PETRESCU, *The Goma Movement, Forty Years After: Controversies, Amnesia and (Mis)Canonization*.....130

The communist period in Romania suffers from an endemic shortage of respectable heroes. Consequently, most historical reconstructions take the so-called Goma Movement of 1977 not only for a surrogate which fills this vacancy, but also for a human-rights-oriented protest which rallied a wide popular support against Ceaușescu's dictatorship. The very name under which this collective protest is canonized, however, hints at the intrinsic connection with the personality of its most known proponent, writer Paul Goma. Unlike the movement he initiated under communism, Goma has turned in post-communism from a hero into a controversial character. Based on secret police files, this study dissociates dissident Goma from the Goma Movement and revisits both considering Romania's current societal priorities in the process of democratic consolidation. As far as Paul Goma is concerned, the study illustrates that he was one of Romania's longest-active cultural and political opponents of the communist regime. Taking into account that Romania still needs to distance itself from the legacies of its non-democratic past, his systematic endeavours at preserving the independence of thinking and action, while the dictatorship was heavily curtailing it and most individuals complied with these severe limitations, are definitely worth remembering. On the contrary, the Goma Movement in which he was a prime mover, this study argues, contrary to common knowledge, was hardly a human-rights oriented protest, which deserves to be canonized as one of the most significant anti-communist revolts with wide popular support. Most of its proponents did not seek the improvement of human rights observance in Romania, but the opportunity to leave this country for good. In other words, this collective protest illustrates that the Romanians' disagreement with the communist regime manifested itself primarily not by civic engagement, but by emigration, and thus it barely represents a usable past in the process of democratic consolidation.

Keywords: communist regimes, human rights, dissent, emigration, secret police, memory.

STEFANO BOTTONI, *Between External Constraint and Internal Crackdown: Romania's Non-Reaction to Soviet Perestroika*.....152

This article analyzes the reaction of Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime to the Soviet claim for an internal reform of the communist system. On the basis on a wide range of new archival evidence, I argue that it was firstly the debt crisis arisen in the early 1980s to push the Romanian communist regime toward self-isolation, after its vaunted independence from Moscow had been jeopardized by the Western-imposed fiscal consolidation. In the meanwhile, Western countries began to show greater interest for the poor human rights record of the Ceaușescu regime. This multiple legitimacy crisis helps explain why the Ceaușescu regime reacted negatively after 1985 to the Mikhail Gorbachev's plans to reframe existing socialism. As I am in going to analyze in the second part of the chapter, the Romanian leader looked with suspicion to what he perceived as an entangled (Western *and* Eastern) threat to his rule. It was not an ideological commitment, but rather the fear of being overthrown by a Soviet-led conspiracy to make him so vocally unreceptive of perestroika.

Keywords: Romania, Ceaușescu, IMF, perestroika, intelligence, Gorbachev.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Justice system in communist Romania: between political control and autonomy, II*.....172

The study aims to explore the complex issue of justice in communist Romania. The research provides detailed information on the organization of the institutions that are part of the justice system. The issue of financing the justice system and its staff is being analyzed. In the last part of the research the author

analyzes the power relations within the justice system (judges – prosecutors – *Securitate* officers - lawyers). The main conclusion of the study is that the justice system was organized and functioned as a totalitarian bureaucracy. It has functioned as a structure to support the political regime, being the main instrument for giving a seeming legitimacy and legality to a dictatorial system.

Keywords: the justice system, judges, prosecutors, lawyers, the *Securitate*.

EWELINA DRZEWIECKA, *The Bulgarian Utopia: About Saints Cyril and Methodius during the Communist Period*.....197

The paper raises the question of the functionalization of the figures of Slavic Saints Cyril and Methodius in the terms of the Communist regime in Bulgaria (1944-1989). The special focus is given to the Bulgarian scientific jubilee publications, particularly representative for the period. The aim is to reconstruct the official discourse on the Slavic Enlighteners in connection to the vision of the future (communist) society in the context of the history of ideas. The paper traces both historical and semantic actualizations of their sacred mission. The thesis is that this narrative is the Bulgarian utopia as such, both functionally and structurally, as it shows the Bulgarian way towards the Modernity through the ideas of (the Bulgarian) Revolution, Education and Culture. *Utopia* seems to be not only a hermeneutical category which helps in rethinking the communist functionalization, but also an unique narrative which becomes the Bulgarian project itself.

Keywords: utopia, Bulgaria, jubilee collections, Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, Communism, basic concepts, Reinhart Koselleck.

PAWEŁ UKIELSKI, *Settling Accounts with the Communist Past in Poland*.....207

The paper describes Polish experience with overcoming the communist past and its legacy. It deals with legal and social aspects of the lustration and decommunisation as well as attempts to punish communist perpetrators. Collective memory and remembrance as well as changes in symbolic sphere in the public space are also discussed. Finally, the abovementioned problems are placed in the international context, specifically in the Central European arena.

Keywords: communist legacy, remembrance, lustration, decommunisation, communist crimes, policy of remembrance, post-communist Poland.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Elena Filipovici, the Death of a professional revolutionary, 1934-1937*.....219

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 1938. 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 how this person reacted prior to her arrest and imprisonment.

Keywords: Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, „social-fascism“, Marcel Pauker, Al. Daneliuk-Ştefanski, Griviţa strike from 1933.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Nicolae Ceauşescu and Futures Studies in Romania, II: Alvin Toffler in Bucharest, 1976*.....240

In the first half of the 1970's Romania was still interesting to the scholars and authors in future studies. Romania's opening toward the West and the privileged relationship with the United States brought to Bucharest important personalities, such as Alvin Toffler. His bestseller *Future Shock* was translated into

Romanian in 1974 and enjoyed a large audience. Toffler visited Romania during 17-21 May 1976, as part of an Eastern European tour which also included Poland and the Soviet Union. During his stay, delivered several conferences, visited a factory and met the Romanian Communist leader. We publish the minutes of the discussion between the American futurologist and Nicolae Ceaușescu. During the meeting that lasted two and a half hours, the two discussed problems related to industrial development, the impact of new technologies and the challenges of future society.

Keywords: Romania, Communism, future studies, forecasting, Alvin Toffler, Nicolae Ceaușescu, „Future Shock”.

VASILE BUGA, *Romania seen from Moscow: Soviet documents drafted in March 1989*.....253

The document we publish was drafted by the researchers of the Institute of Socialist Economy of the USSR’ Academy of Sciences and contains a critic analysis of the political and economic crisis in Romania and of the Romanian-Soviet relations in spring 1989. The document addressed to the highest political Soviet leaders was thoroughly documented and revealed the state of profound crisis in Romania, the errors in Ceaușescu’s economic policy and the dramatic drop in living standards of the population. Several possible scenarios of Romania’s evolution in the first part of the 1990’s and the development of political and economic bilateral relations were envisaged. In the draft of the Russian researchers, there were several unusual recommendations, such as the appeal to isolate the Romanian leader, which proved that Ceaușescu had lost the support of Moscow.

Keywords: N. Ceaușescu, Soviet-Romanian Relations, perestroika, foreign debt, personality cult, 1989.

TESTIMONIES

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *The Nuclear Programme. The Unfulfilled Dream of Nicolae Ceaușescu*.....266

During Ceausescu regime, Romania intensified its efforts in the nuclear research field. The first part of this article presents some important moments from the development of Romanian nuclear program: the establishment of the State’s Committee for Nuclear Energy, the Romanian-Canadian and Romanian-American negotiations for buying the nuclear technology and devices. The last part presents the memoirs of Cornel Mihulecea, the president of State’s Committee for Nuclear Energy (1976-1990), related to his activity.

Keywords: nuclear research, the State’s Committee for Nuclear Energy, CANDU nuclear reactor, Romanian-Canadian negotiations.

BIOGRAPHIES

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *Emil Căpraru (b. 1923)*.....279

The Romanian pediatrician Emil Căpraru had been sentenced by the communist regime to 20 years of forced labor and 8 years loss of civil rights on the grounds of „machination against the social order”. In fact, as a medical student, and then as a lecturer and doctor, he helped many students and doctors persecuted by the Securitate. He spent 6 years in prison (1958-1964), being released under the terms of Decree 411 of June 24, 1964.

Keywords: fighting (for normality), re-education, resistance (to communisation).

OCTAVIANA JIANU, *Vladimir Streinu (1902-1970)*.....284

This paper is dedicated to the figure of the literary critic Vladimir Streinu. The article aims to describe some general aspects regarding the condition of the writers’s elite in communist Romania. Vladimir

Streinu, a famous journalist and aesthete of the 1930's and 1940's, began to be marginalized from 1947 due to his past and his democratic views. In the autumn of 1959, this critic was arrested and imprisoned in the Jilava Penitentiary, together with Noica-Pillat batch, because he had listened to imperialist radio stations, read banned texts and commented hostilely, together with his accomplices, the "achievements of the Romanian popular-democratic regime". He was recruited by the Securitate during his detention, being asked to cooperate with this repressive institution after his release.

Keywords: political prisoners, political police, literature prohibited, elite writers, political processes of the intellectuals in the 1950s.

ANTOANETA OLTEANU, *V.M. Molotov - a First Rank Bolshevik*.....288

The paper aims to present the personality of an important icon of Soviet Union, V.M. Molotov, Old Bolshevik, Leading figure of Soviet Government and, of course, the Soviet negotiator with Hitler. The interviews Molotov gave to Feliks Chuev show a different perspective not only on that important figure, but also on political environment during the Soviet Era, on Stalin and Party Nomenclature. Molotov presents himself as a determined person, devoted to his beloved cause, devoted to Lenin and Stalin policy and way they showed to the Soviet people. From the very beginning he shows himself a trusted party member, with strong beliefs and convictions, with no regrets about the severe decisions they made during the Soviet reign.

Keywords: Molotov, Old Bolshevik, Soviet Leader, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact.

© Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2017.