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Totalitarianism Archives

Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volume XXVII, Number 104-105, 3-4/2019

EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, LII. Looking back in anger*.....5

The following text is a protest sent to the Board of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives regarding the public discussion that emerged after the declarations of two researchers of CNSAS questioning the responsibility of the penitentiary administration, and respectively the Communist authorities, in the horrid process of reeducation through torture. Radu Ciuceanu is an Honorable Member of the Romanian Academy, director of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, former political prisoner, and a survivor of the reeducation process that took place during 1949-1952 in several Communist prisons in Romania.

Keywords: Romania, communism, penitentiary, reeducation, Radu Ciuceanu.

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FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The Trianon Treaty and revisionist political mythology. Traditional and recent approaches*.....9

The study aims to analyze the phenomenon of the Trianon Treaty (1920) from the perspective of its use as a subject of political mythology. The research is chronologically structured, the epistemic object being the identification of functions and the dynamics of the political myth. The main hypothesis of the author is that the revisionist mythology created around the Trianon Treaty had the essential function of preserving the social status quo in inter-war Hungary, respectively to offer an ideological legitimacy to an authoritarian government after 2010. In order to prove this hypothesis, the author first analyzes whether the conduct of the Paris Peace Conference justifies the accusation of "diktat", which is the basis of the political myth. Subsequently, the research presents the main elements of revisionist political mythology and how they were used by the Miklos Horthy regime. In the last part of the study, are presented the dynamics of revisionist mythology from the Cold War period to the time of the government of Viktor Orban. The conclusion of the research is that revisionist mythology has endangered peace and stability in Central Europe, has produced countless tragedies, so relationships based on realities, not ghosts are needed.

Keywords: Treaty of Trianon, revisionism, Romania, Hungary, historiography, ethnic minorities.

A.S. STEPANOV, *The reaction of Soviet citizens to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the “Liberation campaign in Western Belarus and Ukraine” of 1939 according to the documents of the NKVD of the USSR*.....40

Considered and analyzed the negative statements of the Soviet population of the second half of September 1939 to enter the Soviet troops in Eastern Poland on the materials of the Soviet special services. Such statements are one of the important documentary evidence reflecting the mood in Soviet society at the beginning of World War II.

Keywords: Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Western Belarus, Western Ukraine, Poland, NKVD, Liberation campaign, war, anti-Soviet, repression.

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *The opponent Paul Goma – from the childhood traumas to the resentments of the young man, 1944–1956*.....53

Born in 1935 in Bessarabia, a province in the Kingdom of Romania situated on the left bank of the Prut river, Paul Goma faced the tragical historical experiences from his early years, during the Second World War. When he was 9 years old, he took refuge together with his parents in Romania. Being a true nonconformist, he was harassed by the Securitate since high school years. He was arrested during the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, when he was a student within the University of Bucharest. He went on trial and sentenced to 2 years in prison for „public agitation”. In 1958, he was released and placed under house arrest in Lătești village, in the Bărăgan Plain also known as „Romanian Siberia”.

Keywords: Bessarabian, anti-revolutionary, detention, opponent, refugee.

CONSTANTIN BUCHET, *Justinian, the patriarch of Romanian Orthodox Church, and politics in Romania, 1945–1950. Ecclesiastical diplomacy and religious geopolitics*.....69

This study emphasizes the personality of Justinian Marina, the third patriarch of Romanian Orthodox Church, serving between 1948-1977, his relations with well-known democratic politicians, with representatives of political parties, and the dialogue between the Christian Churches during the first years of communist regime, when the atheist forces were stronger and the priests have seen their influence in society diminished.

Keywords: Romanian Orthodox Church, Patriarch, ecclesiastical diplomacy, Justinian Marina; communist regime.

GÁBOR CSIKÓS, *Experiences of Communist Emancipation Projects in Two Hungarian Villages, 1945–1970*.....77

Communist propaganda spread the image that the visibility of women in public marked a positive change. Sources show that some groups in Hungarian society experienced it differently. This study focuses on the smallholder women’s experiences and those issues that made the process of emancipation not so warmly accepted. The first was the traumatic encounter with the horrors of war that they associated with Russians and of course, Communism. Second, the land reform endangered their owner status and made them oppose to defend their family interests. Some years later the totalitarian state started to threaten their caregiver status within the family, too. Another disastrous event was the decade-long collectivization campaign that ended with the dissolution of traditional peasantry. Soon, traditional female roles were burdened by the expectations of the state while they were working in underpaid jobs in the agricultural sector. Many improvements of the socialist system – including maternal support, health care system or growing female presence in politics – are visible, but they are also dubious due to the aforementioned contradictions.

Keywords: History of Hungary, Collectivization, Microhistory, Modern History, Communism.

VASILE BUGA, *The politics of pragmatism. Romania and CMEA during Ceaușescu’s regime, 1965–1989, I*.....92

During the '60s the Romanian leadership opposed firmly to any forms of enhancing the collaboration within CMEA through economic integration and specialisation in production as it saw as a danger to national sovereignty. This position changed with the growing economic potential of the country. Especially in the '80's the growing need of raw materials and fuel to sustain an oversized industry determined the Romanian leadership to participate in a series of multilateral collaboration programmes within CMEA, the agreement to build joint ventures, and the establishment of direct links between the enterprises from CMEA countries. In the last years, Romanian leadership reviewed its position toward the restructuration of CMEA.

Keywords: Romania, CMEA, the Soviet Union, Ceaușescu, Brezhnev, Gorbachev, integration, cooperation, specialisation.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, *The “Romanian maverick” through the Dutch intelligence eyes (mid ’60s – early ’80s)*.....110

The author dwells on assessments and visions of Romania’s position within the Eastern Bloc made the Dutch intelligence organizations, mainly of the Domestic Security Service (BVD) and to a lesser extent of the Foreign Intelligence Service or the Intelligence Service for Abroad. The Netherlands as a consistent member of the Western Bloc played an important role in decision making process in the NATO and EEC structures. On the basis of the documents recently became available to researchers the article reveals a peculiar, not similar to other NATO intelligence organizations, approach of the Dutch services to Ceaușescu’s foreign policy when from the very beginning they considered his demonstrative opposition to the USSR and the Eastern Bloc as a desire to strengthen his personal position on the international scene without any attempts to break off relations with allies and to divorce with Communism.

Keywords: Cold War, Communist Bloc, Dutch intelligence, Domestic Security Service (Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst - BVD); Domestic Security Service (Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst - BVD); Intelligence Service for Abroad (Inlichtingendienst Buitenland - IDB), the Netherlands, Romania, USSR.

DANIEL FILIP, *General’ Jaruzelski visit in Romania, 1982. Significance and outcomes*.....127

The political crisis in Poland from 1980 to 1981 ended up with the introduction of martial law and Jaruzelski’s new regime. This political change in Warsaw put both countries closer and seemed to be leading them to a similarly political vision towards the Soviet bloc development, after a period of decline in their bilateral relations. Even though the general’s visit to Romania from June 1982 was researched by Adam Burakowski, our paper continues his work and investigates the Romanian archives to see its perspective about this event. That implies to analyze how the Romanian leadership perceived the visit and its outcome and then to compare with the Polish archives to create a thorough understanding of this subject. For doing that, I will use the Romanian diplomatic correspondence from Warsaw as well as the Romanian Communist Party archives and its official newspaper, *The Sparkle – Scînteia*.

Keywords: Cold War, Soviet bloc, Jaruzelski, Ceaușescu, martial law, economic crisis.

ELENA NEGRU, GHEORGHE NEGRU, *Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika, and the Bessarabian Question, 1986-1989*.....142

The present paper reveals the way in which USSR propaganda campaigns, initiated in 1965, oriented against the „special course” of Romania and the historiography, the „nationalist” intellectuals and the Moldavian SSR population, became, during M. Gorbachev’s restructuration, a „life and death struggle” with the MSSR movement for democratisation and national emancipation. Realizing that the regime that gave it life was endangered, the CC of the CP of Moldavia tightened its rows in order to defend the soviet status quo, accepting only cosmetic, inessential modifications in the linguistic and cultural policy, in the relation with Romania. The representatives of the CC of the CPUS, delegated in 1988 and 1989 to Chișinău by the imperial center, even if they were more tolerant with the general political requests, had the same position as the leaders of CC of the PCM regarding the recognition of the identity of the language spoken in the MSSR and the Romania and the return to Romanian cultural values. In this sense, the loss of the ideological control over the masses and their rejection of the anti-Romanian moldavianism and of the Russian and Soviet imperial myths meant the irrevocable loss Bessarabia – what Moscow never wanted to accept.

Keywords: the Bessarabian Question, Moldavian SSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika, Soviet-Romanian relation, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

NICOLETA ȘERBAN, *A model of European mobilization: “Opération Villages Roumains” and Nicolae Ceaușescu’s project of rural systematization (1988-1989)*.....162

Ceaușescu’s project to demolish the Romanian villages provoked a massive movement of protest in the Western world, that started in Belgium. The westerners understood that behind the idea of “modernization” promoted by the regime, it was the attempt to create *the new man* without traditions and without memory. The objective was to adopt as many Romanian villages as possible.

The results were amazing: the Belgian movement later expanded to the rest of Europe, so in December 1989, 2.000 western communes had adopted Romanian villages, which meant a population of 30 million

Europeans involved. The movement remains unique in Europe, through the spontaneity with which it was launched, but also as a way of implementation and evolution.

Keywords: Opération Villages Roumains, Belgium, Europe, Romania, villages, demolition, systematisation, protest.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Some Questions on Romanian-Soviet Relations on the Eve of the Revolution of December 1989*.....181

Romania's foreign policy in the last years of the Communist regime was characterized by improvisation, lack of vision and an unnecessary effort to safeguard the personal position of its leader, influenced by the international isolation in which it plunged. The Romanian-Soviet relation was rather not difficult, but it was dominated by disagreements between Nicolae Ceaușescu and Mikhail Gorbachev. The Romanian president showed signs of obvious lack of realism, while the Soviet leader publicly despise his counterpart's methods.

Keywords: Cold War, Socialist camp, Romanian Revolution of December 1989, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika.

SILVIU MILOIU, „*The Singing Revolution*”: *The formation of the counter-elites during the process of Estonia's separation from the USSR*.....188

The formation and manifestation of counter-elites in totalitarian regimes emerged as a topic of scientific interest especially after the Second World War. Yet, the specificities of the formation of counter-elites in totalitarian states in conjunction with the decolonization processes, as they have manifested in the Baltic states or in the Republic of Moldova, have attracted comparatively less attention. This article aims to analyze the process of genesis of counter-elites and the transformations incurred within the elites in Soviet Estonia in the process of regaining the independence. The article relate to the Soviet elites with reformist views who designed „Economically Autonomous Estonia” and the counter-elites animated by the desire of national rebirth and total split from the Soviet past gathered around the Estonian Heritage Society, which represented two – of course, among the most important - of the numerous circles, groups, organizations that emerged in Estonia as a result of the new ideological thaw started by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Despite the differences between them, none of them adopted extreme political discourse and both maintained important dialogic availability.

Keywords: Estonia, USSR, counter-elites, elites, Singing Revolution, independence.

ADRIAN POP, *The impact of the legitimacy crisis and the “Gorbachev factor” upon the breakdown of the Soviet empire and the end of the Cold War*.....207

First, the article unpacks the components which, together, support the right to rule of the powers that be. It argues that political legitimacy comprises basically three elements: the self-legitimacy; the popular legitimacy; and the external legitimacy. Moreover, in the particular case of the Soviet Union, one can delineate two types of external legitimacy: and intra-systemic one, in relation to Socialist countries; and an extra-systemic one, in relation to Western countries. Second, the article discusses the impact of the successive phases of the Soviet regime from Lenin to Gorbachev and of major East European crises upon the crisis of the above-mentioned types of political legitimacy. Third, the article reviews Gorbachev's major contributions to the geopolitical, socio-political and ideological changes which took place on the European continent throughout 1989-1991, including his metamorphosis from a reformer of the Soviet system into a systemic transformer of it, his abandonment of the “Brezhnev doctrine” accompanied by his non-intervention policy in East European political changes, his dual strategy of keeping momentum for the reformist forces while blocking the capacity to react of conservative forces, his unilateral disarmament measures, his connections and empathy with key Western European leaders and – last but not least – his rapprochement policy vis-à-vis the U.S., which reached its pinnacle at the Malta summit in early December 1989 and put to an end the Cold War.

Keywords: political legitimacy, legitimacy crisis, Gorbachev, East European revolutions, breakdown of the USSR, end of the Cold War.

DRAGOȘ PETRESCU, *Romania, Thirty Years After: The Bloody Revolution of 1989 and the Refusal of the Populist Consensus*.....229

This paper has presented a general model to explain the political developments in ECE over the period 1989–2019, which focuses on *path dependence*, *agency* and *contingency* and explores the aggregation of

structural, nation-specific and conjunctural factors. Such a model helps one explain the 1989 regime changes, the democratization processes during the first post-1989 decade and the gradual authoritarian backslidings which emerged after 2010 in Central Europe and influenced to different degrees all the countries in the region. The present paper has focused on the legacies of the 1989 regime changes in ECE, with a special emphasis on the Romanian case. The argument set forth has been that Romania did not experience authoritarian backsliding on the Central European model, as one could witness in Hungary and Poland in the post-2010 period and whose main feature has been identity politics.

Keywords: Romania, Revolution of 1989, communist legacy, populist consensus, East-Central Europe.

CRISTINA PETRESCU, *The Totalitarian Origin of an Anti-Totalitarian Narrative. Past and Present Accounts on Communism in Romania*.....252

This paper traces the origin of the post-communist historical accounts tackling the 1945–1968 period, which almost unanimously interpret this past as a clash between those in power and those who considered this power illegitimate. According to it, in communist Romania, there were only a handful of perpetrators from the secret police and a large majority of innocent victims, who tried to resist their reign of terror and repression. This paper argues that this mainstream interpretation emerged – paradoxically enough – from the post-1968 official accounts of the 1945–1968 period. It was Nicolae Ceaușescu’s belated de-Stalinization and his public condemnation of the crimes committed by the Securitate that generated an enduring discourse, which essentialized the role of the secret police in submitting the Romanian society to the communist rule, while by default absolving anyone else of responsibility. Ceaușescu’s indictment of the secret police, however, was built upon previous inquiries upon abuses committed against political prisoners, which – interestingly enough—his predecessor, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, ordered after Stalin’s death but never made public. These inquiries came out of the archives of the former secret police only after 1989 and their opening constituted a “revelation” for a new generation of professionals who lacked the personal experience of 1968, and turned such communist-produced documents into uncritically used sources for accounting terror and repression. The irony is that secret police documents suggest the communist regime maintained its power rather by attracting the collaboration of individuals who tried to integrate themselves into the new society. Such accounts that read differently the secret police documents and illustrate the multiplicity of responses to the communist dictatorship, which ranged from compliance to defiance, are yet very rare in the Romanian post-1989 historiography.

Keywords: totalitarianism, terror, secret police, historiography, memory.

DOCUMENTS

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *The end of Pătrășcanu’s case. Between domestic interests and Moscow’s „advice”, 1952-1954*.....272

This article presents the endeavours of the Romanian Workers’ Party leadership to get Moscow approval for closing down the Pătrășcanu case. As early as November-December 1952 the first information about the imminence of concluding the investigation and the beginning of the trial had been sent to the Soviet representatives. The endeavours had been resumed in July 1953 a few months after Stalin’s death. The new Soviet leadership postponed to answer and asked for further details. In the end, on March 31, 1954, the Soviets agreed to proceed with the trial but left the sentencing to the Romanian leadership. However, the lack of Soviet implication was only apparent. The Soviets shared the conviction that Pătrășcanu was guilty and knew he was to be sentenced to death. Under Moscow’s influence, Gheorghiu-Dej renounced to his initial intention to organize a wide publicized open trial. In the end, he agreed to a closed trial, following the model of Beria’s trial, in which the main defendants were executed immediately after it.

Keywords: Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Stalinist investigations, repression, Stalinist trials, Romanian-Soviet relations.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, *The Story of the recruitment by the C.I.A. of a Romanian diplomat in Washington: Mircea Răceanu, 1974-1975*.....296

On January 31, 1989, Mircea Răceanu deputy director a.i. of the America, Canada, Central and Latin America Section in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was arrested by the Romanian Counterintelligence while he was heading to the American Embassy in Bucharest. In his possession, a secret document that was to be passed on to the CIA liaison officer was found.

The criminal investigation revealed that Răceanu had been recruited by the CIA in 1974 while he worked for the Romanian embassy in Washington and from that moment on to his arrest he transmitted secret information to the American espionage service.

In this study we are publishing the handwritten confessions of Mircea Răceanu given in the first days of the criminal investigation in which the Romanian diplomat presents a a chronological and thorough description of the process of his recruitment by the CIA. Moreover, Răceanu describes how he was instructed to pass on secret information during his mission in Washington and Bucharest, after he became deputy director a.i. of America, Canada, Central and Latin America Section in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Keywords: Mircea Răceanu, CIA, Romania, the United States of America, espionage, diplomacy.

TESTIMONIES

PUICA BUHOICI, *Pieces of the reeducation process: Testimonies and confessions*.....325

The article consists of a series of testimonies that highlights the atrocities of the reeducation process that took place in Romanian Communist prisons and the role played by prisoners Radu Ciuceanu and Vintila Vais in making the Communist leaders acknowledge and stop the tortures. Puica Puhoci was a researcher at the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism during 2006-2009. She died on 22 June 2019 as a result of an incurable disease. The publishing of this set of testimonies stands as a tribute to her strains to bring to light the tragedy of reeducation.

Keywords: Romania, Communist prisons, reeducation, torture, Radu Ciuceanu, Vintila Vais, testimonies.

BIOGRAPHIES

COSMIN BUDEANĂ, *Iosif Capotă (1912-1958)*.....338

This article is a short presentation of Iosif Capotă's biography. He was born in January 24, 1912, in Mărgău (Cluj County). During the Interwar period he was an active member of the Romanian National Peasant Party. Once the Communist regime took over in Romania the authorities started to pursue him. He went into hiding between 1947 and 1957. Together with Doctor Alexandru Dejeu, he produced anticommunist manifestos that encouraged the population to resist the abuses provoked by the new regime. He was arrested in December 7, 1957, investigated, trialed and condemned to death. The sentence was carried out in Gherla Penitentiary, in September 2, 1958. Even if the group Capotă-Dejeu had a discreet, less provocative attitude, compared to other anticommunist groups active in that period, their actions were important as they kept the hope of change alive among the population.

Keywords: Iosif Capotă, Romanian anticommunist movement, repression, National Peasant Party.

MIHAI BURCEA, *Mugur Călinescu (1965-1985)*.....341

The article evokes the political actions against the Ceaușescu's regim made by a teenager from a town from North Romania. In 1981, after hearing some radio station broadcasts of „Europa Liberă” radio, the young opposer (Mugur Călinescu) wrote anticomunist posts and slogans on the walls and fences of Botoșani, for a few months until he was captured by the officers from the local Securites. After he was arrested, Mugur Călinescu was investigated and then humiliated by the teachers of his high school and party representatives, in the front of his colleagues.

Keywords: Mugur Călinescu, Romania, anticommunist opposition, Securitate, repression.

OCTAVIANA JIANU, *Constantin Noica (1909-1987)*.....344

This article proposes the brief reconstruction of the philosopher Constantin Noica's biography. During the communist regime, his life was marked by two political events: establishment of compulsory residence in the provincial town Câmpulung-Muscel in 1949 and his arrest in december 1958. Actually, at the end of 1950s the communist judicial authorities consider the writers Constantin Noica and Constantin Pillat responsible for the subversive activities practiced by a group of 23 intellectuals, who remained in the history of communism in Romania under the name of the „Noica-Pillat batch”.

Keywords: Constantin Noica, Noica-Pillat batch, clandestine texts, the writings of Eliade and Cioran in Romania in the 1950s, persecution against intellectuals.

