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EDITORIAL

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In March 1990, the National Union Provisional Council's leadership, the first institution acting as a Parliament in postcommunist Romania, discussed the law of compensations for the persons repressed by the Communist regime after March 6, 1945. Radu Ciuceanu, who was present at the discussions, recalls the moment the members of the anti-communist movement and former political prisoners after 1945, some former members of the Legionary movement, were included among the beneficiaries of the law.

Keywords: Romania, anti-communist resistance, political prisoners, Legionary Movement, National Union Provisional Council.

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The development of higher technical education (HTE) in the countries of Eastern Europe after the Second World War is part of the processes of profound social and economic changes that occurred after the establishment of totalitarian regimes. In each of these countries, the transformation and evolution in this area until 1989 took place under different conditions, they shared a number of common features, as well as some peculiarities due to the specific conditions. This article deals with the cases of Bulgaria and Romania, focusing mainly on the general trends in the functioning of the HTE system in the period from its reorganization in the late 1940s to 1963-1964, when both countries entered a new stage of development in this field. The development of HTE after 1948 in both countries was characterized by massovietization and democratization and a radical change in its structure and curricula. The reform severed the ties with the training centers in the West and linked the training with the Soviet Union.

Keywords: history of higher education, massovietization, transnational model, Communist Romania, Communist Bulgaria.

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This text aims at offering an overview of two periods of significant social and political change in the Balkans – during the second half of the nineteenth century and the second half of the twentieth century. The author presents this overview through the lens of the processes of modernization – respectively Europeanization and Sovietization – and aims to address the Balkan societies' tensions and responses and draw some comparisons. The notion of *modernization* is used as a historiographical term to denote all different processes that we observe during the transformation of the pre-industrial society to an industrial society, from the point of view of social and economic history, history technology, cultural studies, etc.

Keywords: modernization, the Balkans, europeanization, sovietization, development under state socialism.

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After 1945, the Romanian Army suffered several waves of purges seeking to eliminate any officers with explicit anti-communist opinions or were „unreliable” for the new regime. One of those expelled from the military staff was Mircea Pătru, a former pilot that was constrained to work in offices due to an unfortunate accident. Knowing that he may face arrest, Pătru fled the country in 1948 and reached Paris, where, together with other former officers, formed the Intelligence Service of the Romanian Officers in Exile (SIMRE). This structure was founded with French support, but worked independently, having the goals to fight the communist regime in Romania, support internal resistance, and create spies networks. Pătru was engaged in many projects varying from contacting new agents to preparing the groups that were to be sent in the mountains to help the armed resistance. While some of them had notable success, others ended in tragedies, some claiming that Pătru was at least partially responsible for it. The article seeks to examine Mircea Pătru’s biography by putting his life events in the larger context of the secret confrontation between East and West conducted in the first decade of the Cold War.

Keywords: Romanian military exile, Mircea Pătru, Cold War, Spies, SIMRE.

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One of the objectives of communist leaders in their fight for power was the transformation of banks, particularly banks of issue, into instruments of control over the entire economy. In Romania, the restructuring of the banking system culminated in the reconfiguration of the objectives, functions, and structure of the National Bank of Romania. The reconfiguration of the issuing institution could not have been complete without eliminating those bank clerks who were seen as hostile to the changes in the organisation of the financial and banking system.

Keywords: National Bank of Romania, right deviation, financial and banking system, purge, bank clerk.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, „You tell them, Mironică!” *Miron Constantinescu’ five finest years and his relation with Gheorghiu-Dej, II: 1954-1956*.....77

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Keywords: Miron Constantinescu, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Romanian Workers Party, New Course, destalinization, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

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After the natural setback in the 1950s, when the whole world was getting reconfigured over new alignments, the inter-war institutions have been partially redeemed, keeping however only those functions considered useful and harmless for the Communist dictatorships of Eastern Europe. This article proposes a comparative analysis of two eminently socialist cultural institutions and the implications of the ideological components involved in their functioning: the I.R.R.C.S. in Romania and the Committee for Foreign Friendship and Cultural Relations in Bulgaria.

Keywords: Cultural propaganda, Romanian-Bulgarian cultural exchanges, Cultural Institutions, Romanian literature, Bulgarian literature.

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On August 24, 2019 was celebrated the 70th anniversary of the entry into force of the NATO treaty signed in Washington D.C. on April 4, 1949. Nowadays the public opinion doesn’t know almost anything about the Soviet request from 1954 regarding the accession of the Soviet Union to NATO. Therefore, in the present study we aimed to present the way in which the Soviet authorities tried to provoke the abolition of NATO with an idea that, at a certain moment, was also disseminated by the communist propaganda apparatus from Romania.

Keywords: Brejnev, Ceaușescu, Khrushchev, NATO, Warsaw Treaty Organization.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Vietnam War: From Challenge of Credibility to Peace with Honour, II: Johnson Administration.....118*

On April 10, 1975, in an address before a Joint Session of the Congress President Gerald Ford said that “the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia has reached a critical phase requiring immediate and positive decisions by this government.” In his view the United States had two options. Either to “let the Government of South Vietnam save itself and what is left of its territory, if it can,” or “to enforce the Paris accords with our troops and our tanks and our aircraft and our artillery and carry the war to the enemy”. To help South Vietnam to repel communist aggression, Ford requested that “Congress consider appropriating additional funds” (\$722 million) “in very specific military supplies”. Ford also reminded the Congress of the fate of “nearly 6,000 Americans who remain in South Vietnam and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese employees of the United States Government, of news agencies, of contractors and business for many years whose lives, with their dependents, are in very grave peril.” With no Congress authorization for additional funds for Saigon troops, Ford ordered the evacuation of “all American personnel remaining in South Vietnam” (over 1,300 Americans) and around 5,600 Vietnamese. With the fall of Saigon, on April 30, 1975, the war that influenced the foreign policy decisions of four American administrations (Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford) ended. While Kennedy’s support for South Vietnam was based on his belief that “every time a country, regardless of how far away it may be from our borders passes behind the Iron Curtain the security of the United States is thereby endangered”, Johnson viewed the commitment to prevent communist expansion into Indochina as a test of credibility for the United States: “We are in South Vietnam because we have a promise to keep... Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and the value of America’s word.”

Keywords: Dean Rusk, Gerald Ford, Ho Chi Minh, John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon, Robert McNamara, Viet Cong, Vietnam War.

VASILE BUGA, *Political and social-economic issues on the agenda of the Romanian-Bulgarian high-level meetings, 1965-1985.....143*

This article aims to discuss the main points on the agenda of the Romanian-Bulgarian high-level meetings in the period 1965-1985 and is based mainly on Romanian archival documents. During their frequent meetings, Nicolae Ceaușescu and Todor Zhivkov addressed topics such as the domestic policies of the two countries; the Romanian-Bulgarian bilateral relations (political, economic, cultural and scientific); issues on the international agenda such as the collaboration in the Balkans and with other socialist countries, with the member states of the international organizations of the communist block - W.T.O. and COMECON; European security; disarmament; the international communist and labour movement etc. The two leaders paid a special attention to the bilateral talks, and sincerely intended to strengthen the collaboration between their countries. Since their first meeting, occasioned by Nicolae Ceaușescu's official visit to Bulgaria in September 1965, the idea of broadening the Romanian-Bulgarian relations by strengthening the mutual trust dominated all meetings between the two leaders, being reiterated each time. The differences of opinion on some issues on the international agenda were naturally determined by the different historical conditions in which the two countries evolved.

Keywords: Romania, Bulgaria, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Todor Zhivkov, COMECON, Warsaw Treaty Organization.

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Keywords: Romania, Interpol, Miliția, communism, international organizations, Cold War.

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This article continues previous investigations of Romanian-Polish relations after Jaruzelski visit to Bucharest in June 1982. Following a year of cold relations, due to Soviet-American tensions, in 1984, contacts resumed between Warsaw and Bucharest. These contacts at the level of delegations were preparing the next five-year plan – 1986-1990 – and, at the same time, they were setting the ground for Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Poland. Even if this visit seems to be a response to the one made by Jaruzelski two years ago, in reality, it was more than that. Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Warsaw looked more like a larger strategy promoted by the Romanian leadership to meet its energy needs with the help of the Soviet bloc and to reduce dependence on the West. At the same time, this article explores the strategy of the Romanian foreign policy after Madrid Reunion and how it tried to reconcile its relations with the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.

Keywords: Ceaușescu, Jaruzelski, Romanian-Polish relations, economic relations, coal.

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Ceaușescu's Rural Systematisation project, which meant the demolition of the Romanian villages and forced removal of the rural population, provoked a massive protest movement in the Western world, which started in Belgium in February 1989. The protest movement was called "Operation Romanian Villages" and intended the saving all the Romanian villages from demolition. Symbolically, each Romanian village was "adopted" by a western one. The Romanian revolution of December 1989 made possible the contacts between the Western communes participating in the operation and the Romanian villages they adopted. In the first months after the fall of the regime, there was a fantastic enthusiasm of the European communes, which travelled to Romania with trucks full of humanitarian aid. The contacts between the two parties, Romanians and foreigners, were impressive, provoking strong emotions. Many connections and friendship relationships that were created during that time survived in time, even today.

Keywords: Opération Villages Roumains, communism, villages, demolition, humanitarian aid, enthusiasm.

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Keywords: Romanian Army during the Communist Regime, Higher Political Directorate of the Army, Nicolae Ceaușescu, political propaganda among soldiers, Red Army in Romania, Soviet advisers.

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Spiru Blănaru was born on June 23, 1919, in the village of Crăiești, near Tecuci. Fatherless, he ends up in the care of relatives. After graduating from high school in Radauti, he followed the Faculty of Law and the law internship in Iasi. From his early years, he was active in the Legionary Movement. In World War II, he fought on the eastern front, where he was wounded, shortly before August 23, 1944. Sent to the Military

School of Reserve Officers in Lugoj, he deserted, rejecting the idea of fighting with the Soviet army. He stayed in the Banat region, at Caransebeş and Domaşnea, where he joined the legionaries. Between 1945-1949 he was very involved in the preparations and the development of the anti-communist armed resistance in the Banat Mountains. Spiru Blănaru participated in the partisans' attack on the Gendarmerie Station in Teregova (January 12/13, 1949). Later on, he took part in the battle of Pietrele Albe (February 22, 1949). Chased by the Securitate, he was arrested on March 12, 1949. He was sentenced to death and executed on July 16, 1949.

Keywords: Romania, Spiru Blănaru, anti-communist armed resistance, Banat Mountains, Legionary Movement, 1949.

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Constantin Galeriu is one of the most famous contemporary Romanian theologians, as a preacher of depth, charismatic and dedicated to the service of the altar. However, less is known about Father Galeriu's sufferings in the communist prison, which we found in the archives of the former political police and that we offer in this material.

Keywords: Constantin Galeriu, repression, Romanian theologians, Romanian Orthodox Church, communism.

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A writer, Paul Goma was the most famous Romanian dissident. Born in 1935 in Romanian Bessarabia, Goma had to face a life of exiles. First, he and his family were forced to take refuge to Romania after the Soviet ultimatum in June 1940. However, in Romania, they had to face the Securitate's harassments after August 23, 1944. As a student at the Faculty of Philology, Goma was arrested and convicted in November 1956 for manifesting solidarity with the Hungarian revolution. After two years in prison and three more in forced domicile, Goma resumed his studies in 1965. However, his endeavour of publishing novels on the Stalinist abuses could not be accomplished in Romania, as the censorship had denied the publishing of his works. In the spring of 1977, Goma founded the human right movement in Romania. After spending two months in arrest, Goma was released and joined the Romanian exile in Paris in November 1977. Until his death in 2020, he remained a political refugee in France and never returned to Romania.

Keywords: Paul Goma, writer, dissident, human rights, Nicolae Ceauşescu.

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Keywords: anticommunist resistance, Romanian prisons, Lucreţia Jurj, "Teodor Şuşman" Group, Apuseni Mountains.

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Gheorghe Oprea, a high ranked party functionary, was born in 1927 in a needy family from Prahova region. All his family, and he as well, worked for oil plants from the region. A very good, thirst for knowledge student, with an appropriate social and political background, in 1949 Oprea was selected and sent to University for Workers' Education in Bucharest. Short of well-prepared cadres, after graduation the Romanian Workers Party kept the young graduate in its central administration. Meanwhile, he completed his higher education at the Polytechnic of Bucharest. A mechanical engineer, Gh. Oprea had a long career within both the Romanian Communist Party and Romanian state central administration, being a member of party central leading bodies and a deputy prime-minister for many years, in charge of economic issues. Gh. Oprea was arrested in December 1989, when he was coming back from Turkey, where he had headed an official Romanian delegation. In the phoney years that followed the end of communism in Romania, Oprea was trailed, acquitted, trialled again and sentenced to 14 years in jail and finally pardoned in November 1996. He passed away in 1998, in Bucharest.

Keywords: Gheorghe Oprea, Romanian Communist Party, central administration, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Romanian Revolution.

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Grigore Preoteasa was one of the first foreign ministers of Communist Romania appointed shortly after Stalin's death. A genuine intellectual with studies in literature and economics but born in a poor working family, Preoteasa joined the illegal communist movement in the mid-1930s. During 1940-1944 he was kept in a camp of antifascist political prisoners. Although initially a sympathizer of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, he changed sides and became a supporter of Gheorghiu-Dej, who promoted him in several party and government positions. He died in November 1957 in a plane crash.

Keywords: Grigore Preoteasa, Romanian Communist Party, Stalinism, antifascism, minister of Foreign Affairs.

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