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Totalitarianism Archives

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The editorial explores the impact of the Artificial Intelligence on the historiography of totalitarian regimes. The author analyzes the very close relationship between the digitization of archival sources and the introduction of new computer software, including virtual reality, in humanities. Examples of AI applications in the field of public history are presented, their advantages and current limits being highlighted. The ethical dilemmas of using AI in the humanities are also presented. The main conclusion of the editorial is that AI tools will penetrate more heavily into the field of historiography, and the recommendation to historians is to have an open attitude in order to use the advantages of computer programs.

Keywords: Artificial intelligence, historiography, totalitarianism, communism, fascism, archives, AI ethics, digital humanities, digital history.

IN MEMORIAM

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, *In the world of ideas: Octavian Roske*.....15

A highly complex intellectual, always starving for knowledge, Octavian Roske intertwined originally his education in philology with contemporary history. A professor at the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Bucharest and a scholar in American studies, Octavian Roske was a pioneer of totalitarianism studies in Romania. His work in the history field consists of numerous studies, critical editions of documents, dictionaries, encyclopedias on different topics of the communist history such as the collectivization of agriculture, the penitentiary system, repression, legislation.

Keywords: Octavian Roske, NIST, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, American Studies, totalitarianism studies.

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This article revisits the 30 years fruitful collaboration of the author with Octavian Roske, founder and editor in chief of „Totalitarianism Archives” and head of the scientific activity within NIST. Dan Cătănuș emphasizes the academic critical but objective perspective of professor’ Roske despite he was an

opponent of the communist regime in the 1980s. Moreover the author highlights the remarkable human and intellectual qualities of professor Roske.

Keywords: Octavian Roske, NIST, „Totalitarianism Archives”, anti-communist dissent, Radio „Free Europe”, academic research.

IULIAN CĂNĂNĂU, *Professor Octavian Roske: A sketch of portrait*.....20

This is the sketch of a subjective portrait of Professor Octavian Roske, as I knew him. In this portrait, I share my fond and grateful memories of this exceptional man, introducing the readers of *Totalitarianism Archives* to aspects of his professional life with which they might be less familiar: as a teacher, mentor, vice dean, head of department, and scholar of American literature and history. His professional life was indeed commensurate with his luminous character.

Keywords: Octavian Roske, American Studies, liberalism, University of Bucharest, Department of English, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures.

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Keywords: Octavian Roske, NIST, Radio „Free Europe”, academic research, communism.

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This article revisits professor Ovidiu Bozgan's memories of his intellectual and personal friendship with Octavian Roske. Professor Bozgan describes O. Roske as a balanced man, who could surpass vanities and differences brought to surface when working with large groups of collaborators. O. Roske was a man of large projects, dictionaries and encyclopedias such as „Repressive mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989” and „Romania 1945-1989. Encyclopaedia of the communist regime. Repression”. Due to his moderation, balance and organizational skills, Roske had a major role in the existence and development of the NIST to which he dedicated the last three decades of his life.

Keywords: Encyclopaedia of the Communist Regime, Octavian Roske, friendship.

CONSTANTIN BUCHET, *Professor Octavian Roske, a Man of Duty and Duty's Man. Writer, Professor, Researcher*.....28

When I knew Professor Octavian I had a deep impression about a fabulous „rendez-vous” with a humanist and encyclopedic personality during the complex time of social transition from Communism to democratic life.

Professor Octavian Roske was the main architect of the *special report* of Commission for Research of Abuses and Petitions within Chamber of Deputies – Romanian Parliament (1990-1992) – under coordination of President in charge, Radu Ciuceanu - the first official document of Romanian state for condemnation of Communist terror ,crimes against humanity and limitation of human rights according to violation of constitutional norms and International agreements in the system of United Nations.

Octavian Roske could be considered a *maker of books* through *dictionaries* for the institutional *mechanisms* of Communist regime and *magna encyclopaedia* of „*banality of Evil*” based on applied research of *repression* led by political hegemony of *Party* and *Securitate*, as political police and tool of left wing totalitarian state's violence against citizens. Also, Octavian Roske's academic pleading for objective interpretation of Hegelian *historia rerum gestarum* (the history that was in *historical fact*, without mythology and hagiography of historiography) try to explain in cited encyclopaedia the phenomenon of national Anti – Communist *resistance* against Sovietization and Communization process in Romania.

Keywords: Octavian Roske, professor, researcher, books, NIST.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Professor Octavian Roske – repression during the communist regime: from personal experience to theoretical framework*.....32

Octavian Roske was a genuine intellectual, interested in studying the phenomenon of totalitarianism, contributing to the development of theoretical concepts since the early 1990s. In his work, three directions of research are evident, all essential for understanding repression during the communist regime. He was

involved in research on the problem of collectivization in Romania, materialized in several volumes of studies and documents published either alone or in collaboration with other authors. He coordinated the project "Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary" (from 2001 to 2011), then another project, „Romania 1945-1989. Encyclopaedia of the Communist Regime. The Repression" (2011, 2012, 2016).

Keywords: Octavian Roske, repression, studying communist regime, anti-communism, dissent, opposition.

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The article presents aspects from the biography of General Livius Teiușanu, the first Romanian military attaché in Washington (1917-1920). Born in 1888, he attended the Military School of Infantry Officers (1909), and the following year studied in Germany. He took part in the campaign against Bulgaria, and then in the battles of the First World War. After being seriously wounded in the Battle of Jiu (October 23-29, 1916), he was moved to the Infantry Military School in Iassy. After the war, he was sent on a mission as a military attaché in the United States, together with a team of diplomats who formed the first Romanian Legation in Washington. Being accused of antimonarchic attitude, he was arrested in 1930, after publishing some critical writings about King Charles II of Romania. Considered a “reactionary and anti-democratic element”, he was also arrested during the communist regime, on two occasions, in 1952 and 1959. Imprisoned at a hospital for nervous diseases, he was released in 1962. He died the following year.

Keywords: War of National Unification, hero-officer, Livius Teiușanu, military attaché, political prisoner, repression, communism.

DORU LIXANDRU, *Carol II of Romania: The Rise of Monarchic Authoritarianism and Nationalism, 1934-1937, I*.....56

This study emphasizes the political and ideological path of the monarchist movement from 1934 to 1937. Now the Liberals rule in a veritable condominium with the king, whose influence is constantly growing. In fact, the period between 1934 and 1937 not only precede, but also prepare the regime change of February 1938. Without a prior rise in the popularity and power of Charles the Second, the establishment of an authoritarian monarchist regime would have been unlikely. In the first part of the study I explore how the followers of Charles the Second perceive the relationship between the capital and the regions of Greater Romania, respectively between Bucharest and the new provinces, and then I analyse the manner in which the process of personalization of power occurs (by reference to the King). In this regard, I examine one of the most circulated hypostases of the sovereign, namely that of "King of the peasants". Subsequently, I try to highlight the usefulness of *social engineering's* concept in investigating the ideas and reform practices promoted by the monarch and the followers of Charles the Second, then I analyse the monarchical initiatives aimed at national culture and Romanian youth.

Keywords: King Carol II of Romania, authoritarian regime, interwar Romania, intellectuals, culture, propaganda.

MIHAI BURCEA, *OGPU/NKVD Residents in Romania of the 1930s. Case studies: Valeriu Bucicov, Ion Vidrașcu, Petre Gonciaruc, Vasile Posteuță, and Serghie Nicolau, III*88

Based on a thorough research in different Romanian archives, leading to the discovery of previously unknown documents, this study presents the personal and professional biographies of five communists from Bessarabia acting as illegal residents for the Soviet intelligence, revealing the depth of the Soviet espionage penetration into the Eastern Romanian territory, military and civilian structures.

The study covers both the data-gathering activity of the five, before the war, and their spectacular trajectories, as leaders of the new regime, in the first years after the war. Their extraordinary political evolution – but also very similar among the chosen group – is a model story about the human resources the Communists relied on before and during WWII and the troubled relationship between the „old guard” of the „Moscovites” and the thirst for power of the ethnically Romanian new leaders.

Keywords: Soviet intelligence; Russian agents; espionage; Bessarabia communists; Romanian secret police.

VASILE BUGA, *From denial to acknowledgement of the Secret Protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in Soviet and Russian politics and historiography*.....121

This article discusses a sensitive topic of Romanian-Soviet relations for decades, meaning the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact on August 23, 1939, especially the Secret Protocol.

The volumes, studies and articles published in the Soviet Union and Russian Federation highlight the difficult process of Soviet leadership's acknowledgement of the existence of the Secret Protocol on December 23-24, 1989. That was followed by analysis and views expressed by historians, politologists and Soviet/Russian politicians on the circumstances the protocol was concluded and its consequences for neighboring countries, including Romania.

Keywords: Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Secret protocol, Bessarabia, Gorbachev.

IONUȚ IAMANDI, „*The Clandestine*”, a British radio station broadcasting in Romanian during World War 2.....145

In the early 1930s, the British government realised that it was far behind other governments (such as the German or the Soviet) in foreign propaganda over the radio airwaves, the new and revolutionary communication medium of the era. The prospect and outbreak of the Second World War precipitated London's actions in order to overcome the handicap. The European service of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the public radio company, was developed. Starting with 1939, Romanian was also among the foreign languages in which this service was approved. But the British government did not consider this measure sufficient. It also constituted a network of “clandestine radios”, complementary to the official one. These radios targeted listeners in German-allied or German-occupied countries. Such a radio also broadcast in Romanian, and soon it came to the attention of the authorities in Bucharest. The present article is based on the monitoring that the Ion Antonescu government (1940-1944) did regarding the broadcasts of this radio station, monitoring kept in the military and civil archives in Romania. Based on these documents, the article identifies the editorial line of the British clandestine radio in Romanian, in the period 1940-1943. As expected, the radio virulently criticized Nazi Germany and its Romanian ally, the Antonescu government. The clandestine radio enjoyed a much greater freedom of expression than that of the Romanian section of the BBC. Clandestine radio had a strictly secret status, but nevertheless, making use of later testimony, this paper attempts to identify the contributors to the radio, who have been mainly recruited by the British from the members of the Romanian embassy in London.

Keywords: radio, broadcasting, clandestine radio, World War II, BBC, Political Warfare Executive, Special Operation Executive, black propaganda, white propaganda, Nazi propaganda, Romania, monitoring.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *Unknown meetings with Stalin and Dimitrov. The visit of Chivu Stoica to Moscow, July-August 1945, I*.....163

In this article, the author reveals the meetings communist leader Chivu Stoica had in Moscow in July 1945, with Stalin and Georgi Dimitrov. These meetings revealed just now demonstrate the interests of the Soviet leadership in Romanian Communist Party activity during the war, the ousting from power of former general secretary Ștefan Foriș, and the involvement of RCP in the coup on August 23, 1944.

The first part of this study analyses the context of Chivu Stoica's visit to Moscow, brings new information on RCP and Soviet leadership's relations during 1944-1945 and critically analyses Chivu Stoica's accounts of his talks with Dimitrov.

Keywords: Chivu Stoica, Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, Romanian Communist Party, Constantin Pârvulescu, International Labour Movement.

CRISTINA DIAC, „The cabinet became an empty shell from that moment onwards!” The first Manea Mănescu ministry, a turning point of the Romanian state socialist regime (28 March 1974 – 17 March 1975) 187

The appointment of the first Manea Mănescu’s cabinet in March 1974 offers an excellent glimpse into the mechanisms of socialist power. Nicolae Ceaușescu’s management style and the political context might be helpful to understanding the true meaning of this key moment in Romanian socialism. This article aims to answer questions such as: why did Nicolae Ceaușescu finally approve in March 1974 Ion Gheorghe Maurer’s resignation, who had been holding the position since 1961? Why was Mănescu fit for the job? What did the decision-making process imply? The second part of the article deals with the structure of this cabinet and summarizes its policies. The post-factum assessments in the memoirs of members of the socialist nomenklatura are cross-referenced with documents from the archive of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP). The meetings of the Romanian Communist Party’s decision bodies reveal Nicolae Ceaușescu’s thoughts and those around him on how the state should work in socialism and the relationship between the state and the communist party should be.

Keywords: Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Manea Mănescu ministry, socialist institutions, socialist cabinets, state socialist regime in Romania.

DOCUMENTS

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The reports of Soviet writers who traveled to Romania on creative business trips are of some interest as a historical source, since they reflect the mood in Romanian society in the era of communist construction. We pay attention of the Romanian reader to a report on the stay in Romania in the spring of 1962 by the young playwright Mikhail Shatrov. A sincere supporter of the democratization of the Soviet system, Shatrov was pleased with the reception given to him in Romania and highly appreciated the state of theatrical culture. At the same time, based on conversations with Romanian interlocutors, he had the impression that Romanian society was lagging behind Soviet society in its readiness to break with the Stalinist legacy.

Keywords: Romania, 1962, Soviet writers, Mikhail Shatrov, Stalinist legacy.

MIRCEA-DOREL SUCIU, For the Third and Last Time: Richard M. Nixon in Ceaușescu’s Romania (1982, June 28-30th). A New Document, II..... 222

The unpublished document – here, the second part of it - contains the transcript of the discussions, from June 28-30, 1982, between Nicolae Ceaușescu, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), and Richard M. Nixon, the former president of the United States, who, during the mentioned period, was for the third and last time in Bucharest, in a private visit. In Romania, Ceaușescu and Nixon had met, for the first time, in March 1967, also in the context of a private visit of the American politician (former, at that time, vice president - in two terms - of the USA), the second time, on the occasion of the historic visit official visit to SRR by President Nixon (August 2-3, 1969), the first visit of an American president not only to Romania, but also to a communist state. In 1982, the interlocutors addressed a wide range of issues discussed, from the Romanian-American relations at that time to the examination of the international political situation (for example, the relations between the great powers or the tense reality in the Middle East).

Keywords: Romanian-American relations; East-West relations during the Cold War; Middle East and the Palestinian Question; Camp David Accords; Iran-Iraq War.

BIOGRAPHIES

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, Vasile Bărbulescu (1926-1991)..... 234

Vasile Bărbulescu (1926-1991) was a high-ranking official in the area of agricultural policies during Communism. Brother-in-law of Nicolae Ceaușescu, he was promoted as deputy-chief of Agricultural

Section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in the second half of the last decade of Socialism. Of humble origins – very poor peasants from Scornicești village, the birthplace of the last Communist dictator – Vasile Bărbulescu was also a good manager and a supporter of development of his native county, Olt. Arrested in December 1989, he was released soon after and died of natural causes in 1991.

Keywords: Vasile Bărbulescu, Nicolae Ceaușescu, nomenklatura, Socialist agriculture, Romanian Communist Party, dynastic Communism.

RALUCA NICOLETA SPIRIDON, *Hans Bergel (1925-2022)*.....237

Hans Bergel was a German-speaking Romanian writer and publicist, born in the first half of the last century. His life was constantly governed by the idea of escape. He takes refuge in the mountains to escape deportation to the U.S.S.R. and evades judicial liability when he is about to execute the punishment for the attempted fraudulent crossing of the border. On September 19, 1959, Hans Bergel was sentenced, along with Andreas Birkner, Wolf von Aichelburg and Georg Serg, to hard years in prison for the content of his literary work. In 1968 he emigrated to Federal Germany, as a last act of refusal of the totalitarian state's constraints. Hans Bergel left behind a huge cultural heritage, from novels with autobiographical nuances to poems of existentialist essence.

Keywords: German-speaking Romanian writer, escape, conviction for literary work, emigration, Security, cultural heritage.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Lina Ciobanu (n. 1929)*.....244

Lina Ciobanu (born 1929) was among the women promoted at the highest level of Romanian Communist Party (RCP). In November 1974, together with Elena Ceaușescu, she was appointed full member of Political Executive Committee of Central Committee (PEC of CC) of RCP. Until the end of the communist regime Ciobanu held many important positions in the party and the state, such as vice prime-minister of the Romanian Government, full member of PEC of CC of RPC (reelected at the XIVth Congress of RCP in 1989), vice-president of National Commission of Demography (1971-1989), president of Women's National Committee (1974-1977), minister of Light Industry (1975-1984), member of Grand National Assembly (1965-1989). Former party comrades and historians consider that she represented a symbol of obedience to Ceaușescu family and especially to Elena Ceaușescu, whom she owed her ascension and professional career in the party.

Keywords: Lina Ciobanu, Romanian Communist Party; communism; communist women; women promotion in Romanian Communist Party.

CLARA MAREȘ, *Micaela Ghițescu (1931-2019)*.....247

Arrested in 1952, for correspondence with the former director of the French Institute in Bucharest, Marcel Fontaine, the Securitate accused Micaela Ghițescu of espionage, sentencing her to four years in prison. Released in October 1955 after being imprisoned in Jilava and Mislea, she will arrive home where she will only find her mother. Meanwhile, her father and brother had died.

Forced to declare in writing that she will never apply for a position in education, Micaela Ghițescu barely manages to resume her studies, taking refuge in a discreet career as a translator. Speaking five foreign languages, Micaela Ghițescu will translate dozens of novels from Portuguese, Spanish, English, French and German.

But in communist Romania, the secret police was never too far. In the context of an invitation to the University of Illinois in 1983, she will be pressured and recruited for collaboration under the conspiratorial name "Georgescu". Although initially providing useful notes to Security, officers pointed out that the agent had not reached his potential.

The death of her husband in 1985 makes her stop any collaboration, refusing the indications received. Moreover, she voluntarily reduces her entourage to a minimum, reasoning that she has no one to provide new data about.

Insistently followed on the street, with her correspondence being opened and listening to the conversations in the house through secret microphones, the Securitate found that M. G. had preferred isolation to collaboration. In March 1987, agent "Georgescu" was abandoned due to inefficiency.

From 1990 until her death in 2019, Micaela Ghițescu participated in the editing of *Memoria* magazine, putting all her energy into remembering the sufferings of former political prisoners and their families.

For her literary merits, she was decorated with high Romanian and Portuguese distinctions. In 2012 she signed her only book *Between Forgetfulness and Memory*, published by Humanitas.

Keywords: Micaela Ghițescu, communism, political prison, collaboration, Securitate.

FLORIN ȘANDRU, *Petre Preda (1907-?)*.....251

Born on 6th of June 1907, during the folk riots, Petre Preda joined Police forces in 1932, as instructor of sports at School of Police. Due to allegations of bribery, as he received some sort of money in order to modify students' grades, he was sent to Judiciary Police, being rewarded in a circular order and in informative bulletins of the time, for the way he carried out his work.

As the regime changed, Petre Preda was one of the thousands of police officers that felt the systematic and institutionalised communist terror. He was sentenced to 25 years in prison and his fortune was confiscated, due to the his occupation, he stocked, arrested researched and abused the elements suspected of communist activity. Imprisoned in Aiud Penitentiary on 12th of November 1949, he was released due to 411/1964 Decree.

After his release, he was under surveillance. In this biography informative notes are briefly presented, from the verification file reported by Security, the last entry was on 26th of march 1970.

Keywords: Police officers, communism, Petre Preda, Securitate, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, N. Ceausescu.

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