

CONTENTS.  
SUMMARY.  
CONTRIBUTORS.



# Totalitarianism Archives

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### EDITORIAL

**FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The illusion of peace in the era of the new Cold War* .....5**

The article aims to analyse the main features of international relations after Russia's aggression against Ukraine in 2022. The author's hypothesis is that after the annexation of Crimea to Russia in 2014, the stage of cold peace established at the end of the first Cold War ended, paving the way for the new or second Cold War. This last war shows similarities with the period of the bipolar Soviet-American confrontation, but there are also relevant elements of differentiation: a multipolar rivalry, the decrease in the importance of the ideological factor, the fragmentation of international politics. In the study, the author offers arguments for the relevance of history in understanding the new Cold War. At the end, the article shows that during the new Cold War there were substantial changes in the geopolitical role of Romania, which became a border state with a region of conflict, a situation that has wider political and economic implications.

**Keywords:** Cold War, New/Second Cold War, war of Ukraine, Russia, China, USA, Romania, historiography, Sovietology.

### STUDIES

**ILIE SCHIPOR, *Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archives. New information, I*.....17**

The article brings to attention some of the results of the research carried out by the author in the former Comintern Archives (now the Russian State Archives of Social-Political History / RGASPI) in Moscow, which contain thousands of files containing very important documents for the knowledge of the history of contemporary Romania.

Particularly interesting is the information that the author extracts from the archives of the Representation of the Romanian Communist Party to the Comintern and its correspondence with Romanian communists and political emigrants, from the fonds on the participation of Romanian volunteers in the internationalist brigades in Spain (1936-1938) or the tragic fate of leading Romanian communists and political emigrants who were executed during the Great Stalinist Terror of 1936-1938. Last but not least, documents on anti-fascist propaganda and 're-education' work among Romanian prisoners held (in 1941-1956) in NKVD camps and for their recruitment into the USSR's post-war foreign agents are brought to light.

**Keywords:** Comintern, Archives, Soviet Union, Romanian Communist Party.

**ANA-ALEXANDRA UȚĂ, *The Power and Persuasiveness of the Nazi Propaganda System in Germany. Adolf Hitler's Rise to Power from 1928 to 1933*.....33**

Peculiarities in German history led to the emergence of a “special path” (Sonderweg), which was represented by the rise of Adolf Hitler. Because Hitler’s influence was so large, and stretched in technique and approach, it shaped the diversity of interpretations of this phenomenon. The character of Adolf Hitler cannot be understood if we use an isolated reflection on what the demagogue, the mob agitator, and the dictator of the Third Reich meant. This study serves as a guide that provides a vision that brings together the opinions and arguments of specialists and a reflection built from articles and documents on one of the most interesting characters of history, a personality declared by TIME magazine “Man of the Year” in 1938.

**Keywords:** oratory, demagogue, Elections, Goebbels, Nazi propaganda, Versailles system, Hitler, Nazism.

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

In the years 1934-1937, cultural “carlism” tends to have a special dynamic. The initiatives of King Carol the Second (1930-1940) gradually set up a genuine “cultural offensive”, which coincides with the work of his foundations, respectively with the activity of cultural homes in villages and with a series of strategies aimed at spreading the literacy and popularizing reading. In the name of the monarchy, three main directions of cultural action are outlined. The first is related to the policy of spreading the literacy among peasants, the second to the activity of cultural houses, and the third to the initiatives of the royal student teams. But the three strategies are also conceived as a unitary policy, focused at the same time on nationalism, monarchism and sociological research methods theorized by Dimitrie Gusti.

The rise of monarchic authoritarianism is forged and encouraged, besides the king, by a multitude of intellectuals, politicians and military, among which we mention Cezar Petrescu, Pamfil Șeicaru, Vladimir and Constantin Donescu, Nichifor Crainic, Mihail Manoilescu, Nicolae Iorga, Valer Pop, Ion Nistor and Ion Inculeț.

**Keywords:** King Carol the Second, authoritarian regime, interwar Romania, intellectuals, culture, propaganda.

**MIHAI BURCEA, *OGPU/NKVD Residents in Romania of the 1930s. Case studies: Valeriu Buciov, Ion Vidrașcu, Petre Goncearuc, Vasile Posteuță, and Serghie Nicolau, IV*.....74**

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.

**DAN CĂȚĂNUȘ, *Unknown meetings with Stalin and Dimitrov. Chivu Stoica's visit to Moscow, July-August 1945, II* .....88**

In the second part of the article, the author analyses the meeting Chivu Stoica had with Stalin, as well as a series of consequences of the Romanian Communist leader’s visit to the Soviet Union: Moscow’s lost of interest in the case of Ștefan Foriș, the former general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party during the war, the weakening of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu’s political position, the election of Chivu Stoica to the new Political Bureau of the Romanian Communist Party, and Moscow’s direction of the decisions taken at the National Conference of the Communist Party in October 1945.

**Keywords:** Chivu Stoica, Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, Romanian Communist Party, Ștefan Foriș, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Gheorghie Gheorghiu-Dej.

**ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *The People’s Court in Romania, 1945-1947*.....108**

The People's Court was an extraordinary tribunal, established by the Romania at the end of the Second World War to try war criminals, those guilty of crimes against humanity and those who had involved Romania in the world conflagration on the side of the defeated camp, causing hundreds of thousands of victims and had brought the country to the brink of destruction.

It was established in 1945 and convicted some 657 persons, some of the in absentia. Despite the fact that many of those put on trial were criminals, the Government influenced by Communists used the People's Court for political repression against their foes.

**Keywords:** war crimes, crimes against humanity, Communism, the People's Court, international justice, World War Two, Romania.

**JEAN-FRANÇOIS PETIT, *Religious Persecutions in Socialist Countries. The Case of the Romanian Assumptionists* .....115**

The persecution of the Assumptionist Fathers under the Romanian communist regime is an exemplary case illustrating the mechanisms of totalitarianism. From the study of the archives of the Securitate, the physiognomy of the modus operandi of its repressive apparatus is studied. It shows that it could only create artificial forms of control and life without capturing the attention and support of populations, especially those who were capable of spiritual resistance.

**Keywords:** religious persecution, spiritual resistance, totalitarianism, repression, Assumptionist Fathers, communist regime, Roumanie.

**ALEXANDRA-CLARA IANC, *The art, the artist and the press: the weapons of the Communist propaganda and ideology in Romania. The Flacăra exhibition of 1948*.....134**

After the proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic in December 1947, a new direction in art developed. The Flacăra exhibition marks the beginning of Soviet-style socialist realism, which gradually takes hold of the Romanian art scene. The press played an essential role in the establishment of realism and exercised a particular form of control. The Communist Party realised that art and the press could be a powerful tool to convey the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The article analyses the press discourse on the works presented in Flacăra.

**Keywords:** art history, Romania, communism, socialist realism, press, propaganda.

**FLORIAN BANU, *The Cuban Missile Crisis, a Step of Independence of Romania towards the USSR*...150**

The outbreak of the most powerful political crisis since the end of World War II, by secretly deploying Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba, has taken not only the West, but also Moscow's allies by surprise. The decision to move such missiles into Cuba was kept in full secrecy by the USSR leadership, so the Warsaw Pact allies were surprised by the vehement U.S. reaction and the possibility of WWII. The leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party (PMR) has learned with astonishment that Romania could find itself involved overnight in a devastating conflict, without even being consulted. The reaction of Gheorghiu-Dej, the Leader of PMR, and his team was vehement and led to unprecedented measures in the direction of widening the freedom of political and diplomatic action in the international arena and to strengthen the national control over the Romanian armed forces. A political and military crisis consumed thousands of kilometers away has produced major and long-term effects in Bucharest, reconfiguring the country's domestic and foreign policy for the next three decades.

**Keywords:** Missile Crisis, Cuba, Romania, USSR, Cold War, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

**MIOARA ANTON, *From an Iron Curtain to a Nylon one. Romania and Great Britain in the years of détente, 1960-1970*.....174**

The article analyses the evolution of Romanian-British relations in the context of the détente. The mirror image of general and special interests, the way in which the diplomatic agenda of the two countries was structured in the light of the dynamics of the Cold War, and the transformations the world went through in the 1960s show that British interests toward Romania must be seen in the broader context of the redefinition of the UK's foreign policy towards the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. If at the beginning of the Cold War, relations between Romania and the UK were completely frozen, limited to minimal diplomatic representation, in the second half of the 1960s, a completely different dynamic can be detected.

The opening to the East was dictated by both specific interests and the traditional lines of British diplomacy in the region. On the other hand, access to technology was a priority for the Romanian Government and, as

can be seen from the evolution of economic data, Romania bought industrial plant and equipment from the British market on a massive scale. On the other hand, while becoming an important partner in technology transfer, Bucharest pushed for trade liberalisation and allowing Romanian products access to the British market.

**Keywords:** East-West détente, N. Ceaușescu, Romanian-British relations, Harold Wilson.

**ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, *E. Hoxha's assessments of the "Romanian factor" against the backdrop of Sino-Albanian relations, 1969-1978*.....193**

The article explores the assessments of Romania's place and role in regional and international politics in the context of developing Sino-Albanian relations in 1969-1978 in the analysis of Party of Labor of Albania's (PLA) first secretary, Enver Hoxha (1908-1985). The author concludes that the main interest of the Albanian leader was to determine possibility of informal alliance between the PRC, Romania and Yugoslavia in the Balkans to resist against the USSR, as well as to change the close relations between Tirana and Beijing to similar between latter and Bucharest. Judging by the evolution of Hoxha's assessments, all of his analyses, in one way or another, actually questioned the establishment of such a tandem that was important to him when the Sino-Albanian relation were permanently coming down.

**Keywords:** Albania, N. Ceausescu, China, E. Hoxha, Romania, Communist Bloc.

**NICOLETA ȘERBAN, *The Romanians in exile in Paris and their influence over major French media, 1977-1989*.....210**

Towards the end of the 1970s, there is a reactivation of the Romanian exile, along with the change on the international level. The contacts with the French mass media meant a lot for the Romanian refugees in exile: they now had the context to express themselves freely, and above all, to finally be listened to. Access to the major French publications, a dream for the generation of exiles in the early communist decades, now a reality – gave them a huge opening to the Western world. The few Romanians in exile gathered around Monica Lovinescu (Mihnea Berindei, Paul Goma, Dumitru Țepeneag, Marie-France Ionescu, etc.), will successfully manage to use all their resources and any means in order to attract French journalists to their side. Things became all the more serious, as the issue of journalists visiting our country became internationalized, especially in the last two years of the regime.

**Keywords:** communism, Romanian exile, mass-media, french journalist, Paris.

## DOCUMENTS

**MIRCEA-DOREL SUCIU, *For the Third and Last Time: Richard M. Nixon in Ceaușescu's Romania (1982, June 28-30<sup>th</sup>. A New Document, III*.....223**

The unpublished document – here, the third and last 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, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Richard Nixon, Iran – Iraq war, Middle East, the situation in Poland and Soviet reaction.

## BIOGRAPHIES

**FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *Cornel Chiriac (1942-1975)*.....234**

Romanian journalist, radio producer, record producer and jazz drummer, Cornel Chiriac (1942–1975) was born in Bessarabia. He graduated from the University of Bucharest's Faculty of English Language. Cornel produced for Radio România the most popular music show of the 1960s – METRONOM. After Invasion of Czechoslovakia he played a ballad which relates how five small wolves and a bigger one attacked a

sheepfold. Later put on The Beatles' *Back in the USSR*. He was discovered by Radio Free Europe director Noel Bernard in the Traiskirchen refugee camp and continued his activity in Munich, in RFE's Romanian-language section. He re-launched *Metronom* and *Jazz magazin*, and started *Jazz à la carte*. On March 4, 1975, Cornel was stabbed near his car, in a Munich parking lot.

**Keywords:** 1960's in Romania, Radio Free Europe, protest music, the generation „make love, not war”, Cornel Chiriac.

**CORNELIU BELDIMAN, *Octavian Ghibu (1912-1996)*.....237**

Octavian Ghibu was born in 1912 being the eldest son of Onisifor Ghibu and Veturia Nicolau-Ghibu. He studied economics and law and received a doctorate in economics, becoming one of the youngest businessmen of interwar Romania. He was arrested in 1948, and sent in forced-labour camps during 1950-1951. In 1961, he was tried and sentenced to 17 years in prison on false charges of treason and was released in 1964. In order to earn a living for himself and his family, he was forced to work, until his retirement, in jobs incompatible with his high professional training, taking into account the fact that he had a political severely negative record. As an exception, he had the opportunity to contribute to the improvement of economic university education (insurances). For more than three decades, the main aim of his life was to systematize and publish the huge written work of his father, the scholar, professor and national unity activist Onisifor Ghibu, who was severely marginalised by the communist regime between 1945 and 1972. Octavian Ghibu played an important role in establishing relations with the Republic of Moldova from 1990 onwards and revitalising Romanian spirit in this country; he contributed to the restoration and improvement of the Romanian language and culture in Basarabia by organising the “Onisifor Ghibu” Library in Chişinău (1992).

**Keywords:** Basarabia, Bucharest, Cluj, communist political prosecution, economics, Octavian Ghibu, Onisifor Ghibu, Great Union, Romania, Sibiu, 140 years.

**ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Király Carol (1930-2021)*.....241**

Carol Király (Király Károly) was born on 26 September 1930 in Târnăveni, Mureş County, into a Hungarian family. He attended four primary classes between 1939 and 1943, after which he worked as a construction worker in various construction sites in Luduş, Cluj region. In April 1946, Carol Király volunteered at the Salva-Vişeu construction site, and in 1949, he went to the Danube-Black Sea Canal construction site, where he also worked as a carpenter. He attended evening party courses. In October 1954, he was accepted as a member of the Communist Party, but remained a U.T.M. activist. In September 1956, he was sent to attend the Central School of the Moscow Comsomol for a year. After graduation in August 1957, he was appointed first secretary of the regional U.T.M. committee of the Hungarian Autonomous Region. His real rise began after Nicolae Ceausescu came to power. He became a member of the Council of State and afterwards member of the CC of the Communist Party of Romania and substitute member of the Executive Committee. On 1 April 1972 he sent a letter to the party leadership announcing that he was resigning as First Secretary of Covasna County and alternate member of the Executive Committee. In 1973, he was appointed president of the Union of Craft Cooperatives in Mureş County. In 1975 he ceased to be a member of the State Council. In the late 1970s and 1980s, he was an exponent of the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania, publicly denouncing their violation through open letters to the state leadership, interviews and material published abroad. In the context of the 1989 revolution, Carol Kiraly was co-opted into the country's new leadership. He died on 4 November 2021.

**Keywords:** Carol Király (Király Károly), communism, R.C.P., samizdat, ethnic Hungarians.

**FLORIN ŞANDRU, *Alexandru Valahu (Volohov) (1909-1967)*.....246**

Born in Bessarabia, Alexandru Volohov changed his name to Alexandru Valahu, forging his identity papers after 23 August 1944. He worked as a clerk at the Social Insurance House in Ismail from 1930 to 1932. From 1932 to 1934 he did his military service. At the same time, he carried out intense anti-communist activity, having been recruited as an informer by the Grand Headquarters to provide information on persons suspected of communist activities. In 1934 he was employed by the Ismail police as a public guard at the Law Office. In 1935 he shot a communist who was trying to escape from the security forces. He resigned from the police in 1937. Sentenced in 1948 to 3 years in prison for fraud at the Electric Company. After his release, he took a job as a translator of documents from Russian into Romanian at the Chemical Troops Command.

On 7 January 1958, he was arrested and sentenced to 20 years' hard labour for anti-labour activities. He was released in July 1964. Having links with military representatives of several factories and plants working for the Chemical Troops Command, the security decided to recruit him as an unqualified informer. He submitted several intelligence reports with no operative importance.

**Keywords:** Bessarabia, police, Alexandru Valahu, recruitment, Security.

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