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EDITORIAL

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The study analyses the main transformations of Central and Eastern Europe from the fall of communism to the present. The main conclusion is that the states of the former Soviet bloc have become the New West, after their accession to NATO and the European Union. The democratization process took place in all countries, with new constitutions and political institutions being adopted, and new political ideologies. However, the consensus of liberal democracy was shaken by the emergence of illiberalism, which became state policy in Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. The institutions and rules of the market economy were adopted, and Western companies occupied the leading economic positions in post-communist Europe. A major problem of post-communist Europe is that most of them are affected by population decline and aging or, at best, stagnation (Poland). The social uniformity of communism was quickly destroyed, with new social categories emerging, such as that of coaches. The main phenomenon was social polarization, with social solidarity being affected by the emergence of a small group of very wealthy people. As such, nostalgia for communism is a widespread phenomenon in the region, despite the numerous policies of transitional justice (lustration, exposure of agents and collaborators of the political police).

Keywords: Cold War, Soviet bloc, Communism, revolutions, NATO, European Union, Romania, democracy, historical remembrance.

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ANTOANETA OLTEANU, *“What do we do with the food?” Aspects of the food crisis in the U.S.S.R. in the 1920s-1960s* 15

The food crisis was a matter of great importance in the USSR. Short periods of apparent prosperity and abundance in store goods were followed by phases of scarcity for most food and consumer goods. This article presents several key moments of the confrontation between the political leadership of Soviet Russia and the working people, who were often deceived by their expectations. As expected, in addition to the officially expressed protests and open letters sent to newspaper

editors, people also attempted to address the issue with humor.

Keywords: USSR, food crisis, apparent prosperity, Stalin, Khrushchev.

DRAGOȘ JIPA, *The Quest to Institutionalize Comparative Literature at the University of Bucharest (1936-1948)* 29

The article describes the controversies surrounding the establishment of the chair and the appointment of a professor of comparative literature at the University of Bucharest, from the 1930s until the communist educational reform of 1948. During this time, comparative literature was at the heart of a protracted conflict between philology professors, who divided into two camps and used political support to impose their favorites. The article shows how the recruitment of university professors in totalitarian contexts depended as much on scientific criteria as on the political context. Also, polarizations occur not so much on ideological criteria as on seniority.

Keywords: Comparative Literature, University of Bucharest, World War II, Nicolae Șerban, communist educational reform of 1948.

CEZAR MĂȚĂ, *Iuliu Maniu, from Carol II to Ion Antonescu (From the writings of Corneliu Coposu: journal, confessions, conferences)* 42

In his memoirs and other writings, Corneliu Coposu presents the actions and achievements of one of the key figures in interwar Romanian politics, particularly during the 1930s and the period of the Second World War, in which Romania was involved. This figure is Iuliu Maniu, the leader of the National Peasant Party. Since 1930, Corneliu Coposu had been a close associate of Maniu, supporting him in all political endeavors. Through his accounts and various written reports, Coposu reveals insights into private discussions he had with Maniu—some of which were little known at the time and remain so even today.

Additionally, Coposu sheds light on the impact of Maniu's relationships with the most important political figures of the era, including his opponents, King Carol II and General Ion Antonescu. These relationships, along with the hopes and disillusionments following the events of August 23, 1944, had a significant influence on Maniu's political journey.

Keywords: Iuliu Maniu, King Carol II of Romania, Ion Antonescu, Corneliu Coposu.

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This article synthesizes recent research produced in Russia and elsewhere, offering various perspectives on the historical event and military siege known as the Leningrad Blockade. We will identify and discuss the principal themes emerging from this recent research and categorize them into two fundamental approaches: the heroic and the accusatory. Furthermore, we will examine the advantages and limitations of these studies, compare their differing viewpoints, and analyze their contributions to the historiographical understanding of this event, as well as to a deeper comprehension of its significance. The article will conclude by comparing the work of two Russian scholars—Nikita Lomagin and Sergey Yarov—whose perspectives are essential for any analysis of the Leningrad Blockade.

Keywords: Leningrad Blockade, Siege of Leningrad, Historiography, Soviet Union, World War II.

GEORGE DUMITRESCU, *Under the Pressure of Four Dictatorships. Accusations of Espionage and Collaborationism, I* 65

The article details for the first time the complex personality of Professor Horia Hulubei. The most famous Romanian physicist, Hulubei discovered two chemical elements, came very close to winning the Nobel Prize, and lived through four dictatorships in Romania. A world-renowned figure, he was decorated and scientifically recognized both in his country and abroad. He led nuclear research for twenty years and initiated the first program for the construction of nuclear power plants. The Securitate, the communist secret police, monitored his activities and pressured him. Hulubei made compromises with the regimes in power in Romania. This article presents the

personality and work of this great scientist for the first time, without offering a tribute, highlighting both his strengths and weaknesses.

Keywords: Romania, Horia Hulubei, nuclear energy, Frederic Joliot-Curie, Marie Curie, Nobel Prize, Securitate files, ideologizing science, state secret.

SILVIU B. MOLDOVAN, *The past under the magnifying glass: the historian Constantin Kirişescu under the eyes of the Securitate*..... 81

The author of a highly regarded synthesis on Romania's participation in the First World War, Constantin Kirişescu (1876-1965), was investigated by the Securitate in 1945 following a denunciation, accused of being "guilty of the country's disaster" under the legislation enacted after the Second World War. However, he was removed from the criminal investigation and found not guilty.

In 1957, he was investigated and arrested again, this time accused of possessing and disseminating prohibited writings containing anti-communist and anti-Soviet ideas in two of his manuscripts—one a memoir and the other about Romania's participation in the Second World War. Despite this, he was once again removed from criminal prosecution, and the confiscated manuscripts were returned to him. The first manuscript was published in 1979, while the second was only published after the Romanian Revolution of December 1989. The persecutions faced by Constantin Kirişescu are emblematic of the fate of the generation that achieved the Great Union of 1918.

Keywords: Constantin Kirişescu, Romania, confiscated manuscripts, Great Union, Securitate.

PÉTER BENCSIK, *Emigration Policy of the East Central European State Socialist Regimes, 1945–1989* 93

The paper compares the emigration policies of East-Central European states from 1945 to 1989, shedding light on some—but by no means all—aspects of Soviet-type emigration policies. These include the selectivity and types of legal emigration, the relationship between emigration and citizenship policies, and the scope of illegal emigration and its punishment. Although the emigration policies of the Soviet Bloc were quite similar during the Stalin era, differences gradually emerged after 1953. The manifestations and causes of this process will also be summarized. The study is based on archival research for Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and on secondary sources for the other countries of the Eastern Bloc.

Keywords: emigration policy, East Central Europe, Cold War, comparison.

ADRIAN POP, *American perceptions of the Romanian exile circles in France at the beginning of the 1950s* 108

The article highlights key aspects of the situation of Romanian émigré circles in France at the beginning of the 1950s, as perceived by representatives of U.S. diplomacy. These include the political and institutional organization of Romanian emigration, the dispute surrounding the so-called National Fund, the split and reorganization of the Romanian National Committee, and the roles played by former King Mihai I and Prince Nicholas of Romania in these developments. The article argues that the disunity characterizing Romanian emigration in France at that time was largely a consequence of the split between two rival émigré groups in the U.S., marked by both personal and political quarrels. This situation led U.S. diplomats to be rather reserved in their expectations regarding the potential of the Romanian exile leadership to combat communism and represent the Romanian national interest.

Keywords: Romanian emigration, Romanian National Committee, USA, France, Cold War, organized political warfare.

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The article highlights key aspects of the situation of Romanian émigré circles in France at the beginning of the 1950s, as perceived by representatives of U.S. diplomacy. These include the

political and institutional organization of Romanian emigration, the dispute surrounding the so-called National Fund, the split and reorganization of the Romanian National Committee, and the roles played by former King Mihai I and Prince Nicholas of Romania in these developments. The article argues that the disunity characterizing Romanian emigration in France at that time was largely a consequence of the split between two rival émigré groups in the U.S., marked by both personal and political quarrels. This situation led U.S. diplomats to be rather reserved in their expectations regarding the potential of the Romanian exile leadership to combat communism and represent the Romanian national interest.

Keywords: Romanian emigration, Romanian National Committee, USA, France, Cold War, organized political warfare.

BENEDETTA FABRUCCI, *Refugees from the East! Foreigners at the Italian North-Eastern border in the 1950s and in the 1960s* 146

This paper examines the transit of foreign refugees in Trieste's relocation camps between the 1950s and 1960s. During the post-World War II resettlement, the Upper Adriatic region and Trieste served as a hinge between East and West, acting as collection points for both Italian and foreign refugees. The research focuses on several aspects: it explores the role of Trieste as a transit city and the Northeastern Italian border as a gateway to the West; it highlights the support networks involved in border crossing; and it analyzes the historical representation of Eastern European refugees, a group that, in the Cold War atmosphere, began to be seen as needing support from the "Free World."

Keywords: asylum seekers, Cold war, Trieste, Refugee, Eastern Europe.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Being a Lawyer under Dictatorship. History of Legal Counsel in Romania between the Far Right and the Far Left* 161

A liberal profession, lawyering was probably the most important and visible aspect of Romania's social modernization since the 19th century. Following the Western model, especially the French one, lawyers played a central role in reforming Romanian legal institutions. Modern justice placed legal counsel at the heart of the system, although it was considered more of a vocation than a constitutive part. It also presented an excellent opportunity for enrichment and, therefore, for social ascent in a predominantly oligarchic society. Initially oriented toward the free circulation of ideas, the study of law became, after World War II, increasingly attractive to political groups that openly proposed the destruction of Romania's social order. The far-right also recruited many of its followers from the Medicine and Law faculties at all Romanian universities. After 1944, the trend of restricting freedom in this profession continued. Lawyers, with their political inclinations, automatically became suspects. Many were arrested and convicted, as they were involved in political trials where defense was irrelevant. Counselors with communist sympathies left the bar to join the judiciary due to a lack of personnel loyal to the new regime or were recruited by the government. The present study aims to trace the phases of this institutional history.

Keywords: Legal System, History of Law, Legal Counsel during State Socialism, Far-right.

BEÁTA KATREBOVÁ BLEHOVÁ, *Slovak World Congress and Human Rights Agenda in the last two decades of the Cold War* 169

The Slovak World Congress, an umbrella organization representing almost all Slovak associations, organizations, and individuals in the diaspora during the Cold War, played a significant role in the Helsinki process related to the human rights agenda. Delegations from the Slovak World Congress were present at all Helsinki Follow-Up meetings in Belgrade, Madrid, and Vienna, presenting comprehensive memoranda that included an enumeration and analysis of serious violations of human, religious, and national rights in Slovakia during the last two decades of the Cold War. From this perspective, the Western governments, as Signatory States of the Helsinki Final Act, were systematically informed about these human rights violations. In terms of highlighting the persecutions of the Czechoslovak communist regime in Slovakia, as well as addressing the Slovak

question, the activities of the Slovak World Congress were more significant compared to the much better-known dissident organization Charter 77. This paper examines the special role of the Slovak World Congress in the Helsinki Process, a topic that has not been adequately addressed by historiography to date.

Keywords: Slovak diaspora, Helsinki Process, Human rights.

CRISTINA PETRESCU, DRAGOȘ PETRESCU, *Post-Communist Anti-Communism in Romania. Secret Police Files, Transitional Justice and Production of Knowledge* 187

This study examines the phenomenon of post-communist anti-communism in Romania and explores its multifaceted relationship with two key processes that unfolded after the bloody regime change of December 1989: the historical reconstruction of the communist past and the implementation of transitional justice. In Romania, the legal framework for transitional justice was adopted only in the late 1990s, and thus post-communist anti-communism also manifested as a battle for the opening of the archives of communism, including secret police archives. However, these archives remained closed throughout the 1990s, and as a result, memory emerged as the key term associated with justice, along with the complex processes of fact-finding and truth-seeking concerning the abuses committed under the communist regime. In this context, post-1989 research on communist and early post-communist Romania focused primarily on memory studies, as witness accounts abounded while archival sources were scarce, with emphasis on the recollections of those who suffered under communism. When transitional justice legislation was finally adopted, it did not enable lustration but allowed for the systematic public exposure of the wrongdoings committed under the communist regime. Paradoxically, the actual implementation of transitional justice, under the existing legislation, combined with the post-communist anti-communist ethos, led to the creation of a large, open-access online repository. This repository has allowed for a more sophisticated, and definitely more nuanced, approach to the complicated history of communist Romania.

Keywords: Romania, post-communism, anti-communism, transitional justice, communist past, conflicting interpretations.

DOCUMENTS

VASILE BUGA, DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *"The Game of Nationalism". The Report of Historian Aleksei Sheviakov on the New Direction in Romanian Historiography and Politics in the 1960s* 208

Between December 1968 and February 1969, the Soviet historian Aleksei A. Sheviakov conducted a research visit to Romania. After returning to Moscow, he wrote a critical report on the new nationalist trends that had emerged since the early 1960s in Romanian historiography, as well as in the broader political context of the regime in Bucharest. Among the most "dangerous" aspects, he noted the return to the "bourgeois" positions of the interwar period, which supported the unity of the Romanian state achieved in 1918 and rejected the Cominternist theses that viewed Romania as an imperialist state that had forcefully occupied the territories of other countries, including Bessarabia, which was considered "Soviet."

The report also has the significant merit of detailing the "healthy forces" in Romania that opposed the nationalist course, instead supporting the internationalist positions of Moscow and the other countries in the Soviet bloc.

Keywords: Aleksei Sheviakov, historiography, Soviet-Romanian Relations, Bessarabia, Comintern, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

DORIN-DEMOSTENE IANCU, OCTAVIANA JIANU, *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989 as seen by Italian diplomats, II*..... 238

The Romanian Revolution of December 1989, during and after this historical moment, is

documented in the *Archivio Storico della Presidenza della Repubblica, Ufficio Per Gli Affari Diplomatici*. These documents concern several aspects: the authorities and events in Romania; interventions by the Italian authorities in Romania; telegrams congratulating President Francesco Cossiga for his stance on the bloody repression of demonstrators; telegrams and declarations of solidarity with the Romanian people, issued either by Italian politicians or by Romanian refugees in Italy; telegrams urging international adoption procedures, sent by Italian adoptive families and addressed to President Cossiga; and telegrams concerning international aid to Romania.

Keywords: Romanian Revolution of December 1989, Francesco Cossiga, Italia, international adoptions, international aid.

BIOGRAPHIES

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, Ștefan Andrei (1931-2014).....260

Ștefan Andrei was one of the long-standing representatives of the communist regime in international affairs. He was born on March 29, 1931, in Dolj County. Andrei was a gifted student who worked his way up through hard study. During his schooling, he not only demonstrated intellectual abilities but also showed an interest in socio-political activism. As a construction engineer, Ștefan Andrei proved to have a rich cultural background. He gained significant experience working within the party apparatus for foreign relations, and in 1972, he was promoted to a member of the C.C. Secretariat, responsible for international issues. He was also elected a full member of the C.C. On November 28, 1974, at the XIth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), Ștefan Andrei was elected as an additional member of the Executive Political Committee. On March 23, 1978, Andrei was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, a position he held until November 8, 1985. Until the 1989 revolution, Andrei was in charge of economic and external trade matters.

On June 4, 1990, he was sent to court for the crime of favoring genocide and was included in the so-called C.P.Ex. group. He was sentenced to 2 years and 10 months in prison but was acquitted on December 12, 1991. Following an appeal by the attorney general, Ștefan Andrei was sentenced to 14 years in prison on April 20, 1992. He served 29 months in prison and was pardoned on March 23, 1993. Ștefan Andrei died on August 31, 2014

Keywords: Romania, Ștefan Andrei, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

OCTAVIANA JIANU, Nicolae Constantin (1925-?).....266

This article provides the biography of Nicolae I. Constantin. The text presents details about the family of the communist statesman, his school years, and, most notably, his career, which was characterized by alternating political and executive positions at both the center and the local level. Among Nicolae Constantin's positions were Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and Head of the Group of Advisers to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with the rank of Minister Secretary of State. For his negative role in the repression of Romanian revolutionaries in 1989, Nicolae Constantin was sentenced by the Bucharest Military Tribunal to 11 years of imprisonment and 6 years of deprivation of rights.

Keywords: Nicolae Constantin, *letter of the six*, Central Party College, Romanian Revolution of December 1989.

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, Nicholas (Nicolae) Dima (1936 -).....271

Nicholas (Nicolae) Dima (b. 1936) grew up in Bucharest during the Stalinist years of communism. At the age of 19, he attempted to escape to Yugoslavia and the West. He was caught at the border and spent the next three and a half years in prison and labor camps. (His misadventure is described in the book *Journey to Freedom / Călătorie spre libertate*.) Later, however, he managed to graduate from Bucharest University, and in 1968, he left the country and settled in the U.S., where he returned to school and received a doctoral degree from Columbia University in New York.

His American professional career includes working for 20 years with Voice of America in Washington, as well as teaching at colleges, universities, and U.S. military schools for another ten years. Among his most rewarding achievements were meeting kings, presidents, and prime ministers as a VOA reporter and editor, teaching American officers up to the rank of full colonel, teaching in the U.S. and Africa, and promoting democracy, education, and human values worldwide. N. Dima tirelessly defended the rights of Romania and the Romanian people in the U.S. and worked to promote better Romanian-American understanding.

Keywords: Nicholas Dima, Romania, communist prison, USA, Voice of America.

FLORIN ȘANDRU, *Ioan Petrăchescu (1908 – 1979?)* 275

Ioan Petrăchescu was the son of a lower bourgeois family and was hired in 1933 by the police of the Prefecture of the Capital. Between 1939 and June 1944, he was transferred to the Royal Palace, holding the rank of commissioner and serving as the Chief of the public guard detachment. This responsibility kept him away from involvement in operational police activities of a judicial or security nature. After returning to the Prefecture of the Capital, he was placed in the disposable category.

The Security opened a file to investigate him only in April 1954. In the statements of former colleagues regarding his career, both in the Police and at the Royal Palace, there was no mention of any activities in the Security or other compromising information, so he was proposed to be released. On September 8, 1966, the Security decided to open a verification file on the former policeman, as they were informed that he had engaged in agitation activities with a hostile character against the communist regime. Ioan Petrăchescu was under the supervision of the Security until 1979.

Keywords: Ioan Petrăchescu, Romanian Police, communism, Romanian Security, informative notes.

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