



Totalitarianism Archives

Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volum XXXIII, Number 124-125, 1-2/2025

EDITORIAL

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The Unfinished Consequences of the Second World War*..... 5
The study aims to evaluate some of the consequences of World War II that still have effects after 80 years. The justification of the war in ideological terms is an element that can still be encountered today, a good example being Russia's aggression against Ukraine. The emergence of nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race continue to be a very topical issue. The Hitler-Stalin Pact has consequences today, including the fact that Bessarabia was not reunified with Romania. The global governance system is the one created at the end of WWII, but the UN's organizational structure can no longer prevent wars from occurring, requiring a new model of world organization. Also, the memory of WWII continues to be divided, being dominated by the rival geopolitical interests of states. The main conclusion is that the memory of the tragedy of the war and the force of public opinion are not strong enough to prevent new military confrontations.

Keywords: WWII, Hitler-Stalin Pact, United Nations, Russian-Ukrainian War, memory of the WWII, Cold War, political ideologies, totalitarianism.

STUDIES

Acad. VASILE PUȘCAȘ, *World War II and the Reconfiguration of the International System* 17
Post-war historiographical analyses demonstrate the similarities and differences between World War I and World War II, noting that the period 1939-1945 saw a "total war" that created a major fracture in human society, inevitably generating a new international order. One of the objectives of World War II was to change the international system, and it concluded by transforming the interwar system into a bipolar international system, with two global sub-systems led by two superpowers – the U.S. and the USSR – which monitored their interactions through the lens of military, and especially nuclear, balance of power.

Keywords: international system, World War II, U.S., USSR, bipolar order.

Acad. GHEORGHE E. COJOCARU, *The Comintern's Line on the Bessarabian Question: Regarding the Bessarabian Commission (Mid-1920s)*..... 33

After the formation of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within Soviet Ukraine on October 12, 1924, the Ukrainian leadership took over the "Bessarabian dossier" into its own custody. Thus, at the initiative of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, a "Bessarabian commission" was formed within the Comintern. In this commission, the Ukrainian communists had a significant say regarding the destiny of the Romanian province between the Prut and Dniester rivers. Surprisingly, they would face opposition from Romanian communists who had sought refuge in Moscow and were integrated into the Comintern structures, but who had no representative on the "Bessarabian commission." Ultimately, the commission imposed the thesis that Moldovans in Bessarabia represented "a distinct people" from the Romanians, with "a distinct language," who were suffering from Romanian national oppression, and demanded that the Communist Party of Romania (PCdR) support Bessarabia's separation from the Romanian state.

Keywords: Comintern, Bessarabia, Bessarabian commission, Ukraine, PCdR, Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

ELENA NEGRU, *Romanian Communist Émigrés in the MASSR: From "Fellow Travelers" to "Enemies of the People," 1924-1938* 40

The study investigates the activity of Romanian communist emigrants in the Soviet Union in the interwar period, especially their role as instruments of Soviet foreign policy. The focus is on the analysis of their propaganda activity, which favored the interests of Russia, as promoters of the geopolitical project of creation of the Moldovan republic east of the Dniester, considered a bridgehead for the revolutionization of Romania and its transformation into a Soviet republic. In other news, it highlights the context in which they performed their activity in the second half of the 1930s, the period of the Great Terror triggered in the Soviet Union, when they were sentenced to death for espionage incriminations for the benefit of Romania.

Keywords: Soviet Union, Romania, Great Terror, Bessarabia, Romanian communist emigrants.

BÉNI L. BALOGH, *Petru Groza's Left Turn in the Late 1920s and in the Early 1930s* 52

In the late 1920s, Petru Groza embarked on an ideological quest and became intensely preoccupied with the question of Bolshevism and the person and historical role of Béla Kun. In my study, I will describe the long process, lasting several years, during which his left turn in thinking took place. Using newly discovered archival sources, I show that Groza had a strong sense of mission and vocation, and an inner conviction that he would be the leader of the new communist Romania. I argue that the final impulse for his left turn was his meeting with Hillel Kohn in December 1931 and their subsequent meetings.

Keywords: Communism, Petru Groza, left turn, sense of mission and vocation, spiritualism.

DRAGOȘ SDROBIȘ, *The Memories of a Revolutionary: Nicolae Moscăuțeanu and His Fight against the Old Romania* 66

The study explores Nicolae Moscăuțeanu's marginal yet exemplary biography during interwar Romania. A Bessarabian-born leftist, he transitioned from activist to teacher, lawyer, and socialist politician, embodying tensions between identity, nationalism, and political repression in Greater Romania. His autobiography reveals struggles with societal marginalization and repression while reflecting broader social dynamics. Employing a microhistory approach, the study examines the interplay of personal narratives and historical events in interwar Romania.

Keywords: biography, revolutionary, Communism, Bessarabia, Romania.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS PETIT, *French Institute of Higher Studies in Romania and the French Institute of Byzantine Studies in Bucharest during World War II* 90

This text examines the resilience of two key French cultural institutions in Bucharest—the French Institute of Higher Studies (IFHE) and the French Institute of Byzantine Studies (IFEB)—during World War II and the subsequent communist period. It highlights their role in maintaining intellectual and cultural ties between France and Romania amidst ideological pressures and attempts at suppression. Both institutes, despite facing significant challenges like war, political shifts, and surveillance, continued their academic activities and provided a haven for intellectual freedom. They fostered Franco-Romanian relations and supported Romanian scholars, even facilitating the clandestine publication of works by banned Romanian intellectuals. The commitment of their directors, Alphonse Dupront and Jean Mouton, and scholars like Vitalien Laurent, played a crucial role in upholding humanistic values against fascist and later communist regimes, ultimately demonstrating France's enduring cultural influence in Romania.

Keywords: Bucarest, French Institute of Higher Studies, French Institute of Byzantine Studies, World War II, Jean Mouton, Alphonse Dupront.

FLORIN ȘANDRU, *Champions Under the Flag: Sportspeople in the 1941 Military Campaign*.....104

Romania's entry into the World War II on June 22, 1941, in alliance with Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union, was a political and military event of great importance for the Romanian nation and army. The war against the Soviets had a strong ideological motivation, not only a territorial one, as the Soviet regime was promoting a deeply anti-Christian and anti-national ideology. Based on both edited and unedited sources, this article briefly presents the biographies of some of the heroes of the campaign in the summer and autumn of 1941—individuals who, under the tragic and complex circumstances of the moment, decided to sacrifice themselves for the nation, their country, and their faith.

Keywords: Operation Barbarossa, Greater Romania, Bessarabia, Bucovina, sportspeople, propaganda.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *The Romanian Communist Party, the Soviet Union, and the Origins of the Groza Government*.....116

On March 6, 1945, the government led by Petru Groza was established in Bucharest, marking the first government in Romania's history formed on the basis of an alliance led by the Communist Party.

In this article, the author identifies the roots of the governmental formula led by Petru Groza in the alliances built by the Romanian Communist Party during World War II and in the projects developed by the Romanian communist émigrés who were in the USSR at that time. Additionally, the article analyzes the alliance projects initiated by the RCP leadership after the overthrow of the Antonescu regime on August 23, 1944, in close correlation with Moscow's position and the direct recommendations given by Stalin.

Keywords: Romania, Petru Groza, Romanian Communist Party, Stalin, Vyshinsky, National Democratic Front, Yalta.

GHEORGHE ONIȘORU, *The Communization of Romania March 6, 1945, the beginning of the bogus coalition stage*142

Communist-type totalitarianism was established in Romania, as in other "people's democracy" states, gradually and covertly. On March 6, 1945, the second stage of this plan, developed by Stalin and put into effect with the help of indigenous communists, began with the installation of the "broad democratic concentration" government led by Petru Groza. Our study attempts to provide a perspective on the importance of the moment eight decades after the historical events.

Keywords: Romania, Petru Groza, fellow travelers, Yalta, Romanian Communist Party, Gheorghe Tătărescu, King Michael, Iuliu Maniu, Nicolae Rădescu, percentage agreement.

MARCELA SĂLĂGEAN, *The Transylvanian Question and Romanian–Hungarian Relations: Petru Groza's Vision*.....158

After his appointment as head of government, Petru Groza proceeded to adopt the legislative measures necessary for the reintegration of Northern Transylvania into the administrative framework of Romania. For the successful integration and subsequent preservation of the entire Transylvania within the borders of the Romanian state, Petru Groza realized the need for good Romanian-Hungarian collaboration and the avoidance of interethnic incidents on the country's territory. Looking at Petru Groza's policy towards ethnic issues as a whole, even if he did not manage to completely prevent interethnic incidents in Transylvania, he at least managed to mitigate them, which was very important for Romania.

Keywords: Petru Groza, northern Transylvania, Romanian-Hungarian relations, Hungarian People's Union, administration, frontier.

VASILE BUGA, *The Reflection of the Soviet Role in Russian Historiography on the Formation of the Groza Government*168

The article presents the perspective of historians from the Russian Federation on the internal and international circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Petru Groza Government in Romania on March 6, 1945. It highlights the instruments of pressure—both political and military—used by the leadership in Moscow with the aim of imposing a government aligned with the Soviet Union's political and geostrategic interests in Eastern Europe. Last but not least, the article also outlines the conciliatory stance of British and American representatives within the Allied Control Commission, consistent with their own interests.

Keywords: Armistice, Transylvania, Petru Groza, Vyshinsky, Molotov, Stalin.

ANDREI POPA, *The first celebration of August 23 – a legitimizing moment for the new government led by Petru Groza, 1945*..... 184

The aim of this paper is to highlight how the first celebration of August 23rd was meant to legitimize the pro-Soviet government led by Petru Groza. To this end, we will present the international context and Romania's domestic policy after the establishment of the new executive led by Groza. Moreover, we shall also show how the communist propaganda viewed the events from August 23rd 1944, and the way in which the event was celebrated in 1945.

Keywords: Romania, August 23rd, celebration, communism, Petru Groza, propaganda.

GEORGE DUMITRESCU, *Horia Hulubei: Under the Pressure of Four Dictatorships. Accusations of Espionage and Collaborationism, II* 198

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 Securitatea, 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, Nobel Prize, Securitate files, ideologizing science, state secret.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *The Romanian Legal System during Socialism. Coercion and Legal Rights of the Defendants* 214

This study aims to analyze how legal instruments functioned under socialism. As in many other areas, the reality of law enforcement did not match the sometimes declaratively generous principles. We retained four legal concepts, two of which belong to the prosecution and are instruments of coercion, and two are circumscribed to the guarantees offered to the defense in order to ensure a fair trial. In the first category are "acts of terror" and "plot", and in the second "parole" and "special appeal." We will try to show that none of these legal concepts belong exclusively to the socialist laws, being used and abused for many years before the Communist regime.

Keywords: Legal System during Communism, Socialist Justice, Coercion, Human Rights.

DOCUMENTS

ALIN SPÂNU, *The dissolution of the Third International and the impact on the Communist Party of Romania, in the analysis of the Special Intelligence Service (June-December 1943)*..... 224

In mid-May 1943, the Third International was dissolved, which shocked and confounded some circles. The official explanation was that this would strengthen the fight against the Axis, but this was a request from England and the USA. The Communist Party of Romania was initially shocked by the decision but quickly retreated and continued its subversive actions. The Special Intelligence Service obtained data from various sources and correctly analyzed Moscow's intention to direct the Romanian communist movement through other channels. Under the pretext of fighting German aggression, the U.S.S.R. practically pursued an alliance of national communist movements with other anti-fascist formations for the final victory. Then, in two or three steps, the takeover of political power and the establishment of communism followed. This template was identified by S.S.I. analysts, who submitted it to political and military decision-makers and was confirmed at the end and after the Second World War.

Keywords: 1943, abolition, Third International, perceptions, Communist Party of Romania, analysis, Special Intelligence Service.

BIOGRAPHIES

CARMEN STRATONE, *Ovid-Aron Densușianu (1904-1985)*..... 240

Ovid-Aron Densușianu was the son of the literary critic and historian Ovid Densușianu. Influenced in his political choices and literary writings by the Italian fascist phenomenon, he came to the attention of the

repressive organs of communist Romania starting in 1948. He served a long period of detention in various prisons and remained under the surveillance of the Securitate (the secret police) until his death in 1985. He was a distinctive figure in the Romanian literary landscape, with a remarkable cultural lineage, but his personal life was marked by his experience of imprisonment, and his cultural life by the legacy of his father, whom he never surpassed.

Keywords: Romania, Ovid-Aron Densușianu, fascism, political detention, far right, Legionary Movement.

MIHAI BURCEA, *Ion Stănescu (1929 - 2010)* 245

Ion Stănescu was a communist dignitary who led the Securitate organs during the Romanian Communist Party thaw period, which involved a large-scale reorganization and reevaluation of the cadres in the repressive structures.

Stănescu breathed new life into the oppressive system, contributing, from his positions as President of the State Security Council and Minister of Internal Affairs, to improving criminal legislation, professionalizing civilian and military personnel, improving the detention regime for prisoners, and resolving complaints regarding abuses during the Dej government.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Ion Stănescu, State Security Council, Minister of Internal Affairs.

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