

CONTENTS.
SUMMARY.
CONTRIBUTORS.



Totalitarianism Archives

Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volume XXXIII, Number 126-127, 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.

BÉNIL 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 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, 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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CONTENTS.
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Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volume XXXII, Number 124-125, 3-4/2024

EDITORIAL

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *From the „Soviet bloc” to the „New West”: 35 Years since the Fall of Communism in Europe*..... 5

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.

STUDIES

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.

CAMELIA DINU, *Historical Memory and Recent Research. Perspectives on the Leningrad Blockade* 50

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 Security*.....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.

ERZSÉBET ÁRVAY, *The State Office for Church Affairs in the political work targeting the Hungarian emigration, 1951-1969*.....132

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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CONTENTS.
SUMMARY.
CONTRIBUTORS.



Totalitarianism Archives

Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volume XXXII, Number 122-123, 1-2/2024

EDITORIAL

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The challenges of the digital revolution for historical archives in Romania*..... 5

In the editorial, the author analyses the issue of digitization of historical archives, starting from the experience gained in the USA, Germany, United Kingdom and France. The article investigates the causes of the poor digitization of historical archives in Romania: the lack of government interest, limited financial resources, a weak mobilization of researchers to request the acceleration of the integration of new information technologies. The author believes that important institutional changes are needed, and the National Archives of Romania must become a distinct institution, integrated into the Ministry of Culture, for example. The author argues the need for new legislation in the field of archives, which encourages both the digitization of classic archives and the preservation of documents created exclusively digitally, such as the content of social media (e.g., Facebook, Youtube).

Keywords: historiography, communism, fascism, archives, digital humanities, digital history, Romania, Europeana..

STUDIES

ILIE SCHIPOR, *Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archives. New information, II* 14

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 with 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.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *J.V. Stalin as a literary character*..... 36

Stalin did not keep a diary, publish his memoirs, or take a keen interest in writing a history of himself, but throughout his life as leader of the Soviet Union he strove to shape both his biography and the archive of documents that would be studied by his biographers. Our aim in this study is to present the epic dimension of Stalin's personality, as he is portrayed in literary creations either personified or alongside other historical personalities, some only mentioned, others strongly individualized or the fruit of writers' imagination.

Keywords: Stalin, Stalinism, literary character, political repression.

IONUȚ IAMANDI, „Rumanian Booklet”. *Rumanian Booklet: How tried the BBC to toot his own horn in Romania at the end of the Second World War* 69

This paper is structured in three parts. In the first one, the institutional route of a BBC editorial project for the Romanian audience is exposed. The project is a brochure from 1944-1945 presenting in Romanian the activity of the British corporation during the Second World War. In the next section, the paper attempts to describe the self-perception of the British radio establishment as it emerges from the draft brochure. The image that the BBC wanted to convey was that of a highly credible media institution that, even during wartime, observed very closely the journalistic principles. In the third part of the paper, the author tries to place the BBC's activity in the general context of British propaganda during the Second World War. The paper is based on documents held at the BBC Written Archives Centre in Caversham, Reading, UK.

Keywords: radio, broadcasting, booklet, Second World War, BBC, propaganda, media, journalism, Political Warfare Executive, Romania.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *The Last Light from the City of Lights. How the Romanians saw the Occupation and the Liberation of Paris during World War Two* 89

The study focuses on a comparison of how the Occupation of Paris, in June 1940, and the Liberation of the same city, in August 1944, were seen by the Romanian society. However, one must take into account that these events, which were overshadowed by the domestic policy – the first one taking place only a week before the military occupation of Bessarabia by the Soviet Union, while the latter happening basically in the same time as the coup of 23 August, 1944, when the military dictatorship of Marshall Ion Antonescu fell from power and Romania changed sides from the Axis to the United Nations. However, it should be noted that the two events did not have nearly the same impact on Romanian public opinion. The Second World War, which was entering new phases in the early summer of 1940 and towards the end of 1944, respectively, acted as a screen on world news, sometimes inadvertently focusing attention on events local, not only because the circulation of information had become more difficult, but also because the catastrophes were multiplying, and the closer ones were more relevant than the ones in the distance.

Keywords: Paris during German Occupation, Liberation of Paris, mentalities, diaries, World War Two, Romania.

GEORGE DUMITRESCU, *The secret city of Romanian uranium, Băița-Ștei. „Sovromquarțit”, and the interference of the Securitate in the exploitation of the first uranium mine in Romania. 1952-1956* 97

The article contains information about the first uranium mine in Romania, Băița-Ștei, 1952, which opened in the aftermath of the Soviet occupation after WWII. The article brings forward the measures applied by the Securitate to keep this activity secret, which also entailed violating some fundamental rights. The research analyses the strategic interest of the Soviet regime in taking over all the uranium for its industry. Furthermore, the study uncovers the exact quantities of uranium purchased by the USSR between 1952 and 1956.

Keywords: Romanian uranium, Romania, Soviet Union, Băița-Ștei, Securitate, state secret, human rights.

CRISTIAN CHIRCA, *Between Thaw and Perestroika. Everyday life of Soviet Writer*118

One of the most expressive scores of Soviet everyday life was performed by Soviet writers where the oppression of the regime was matched by the granting of unique privileges. Soviet writers, through their works and their everyday lives, add an important touch to the overall picture of Soviet reality. In the context of permanent surveillance (censorship), the activity of writers in both the creative and the everyday (private) areas was governed, among others, by a so-called Nikiforov Syndrome that allowed the presence of the state and its ideology both in the act of creation and in everyday life.

Keywords: everyday life, typology, Soviet man, Nikiforov Syndrome.

VASILE BUGA, *Reforms and counter-reforms in USSR from 1960s to 1980s*.....131

Initiated with the best of intentions, the reforms promoted by the post-Stalinist leaderships of the Soviet State failed, among other reasons, due to a lack of coherence and realism. Last but not least, the mistakes made and the lack of capacity to highlight any priorities, the delay in taking urgent measures to solve the economic and ethnic problems, the exacerbation of the struggle for power, the improvisations led to the collapse of the system that seemed eternal and the dissolution in December 1991 of the U.S.S.R.

Keywords: USSR, economic reforms, Soviet economy, Khrushchev, Brezhnev.

ANDREI POPA, *The origins of propaganda spectacles of socialist Romania*.....141

This paper aims to present the traits of Socialist Romania's propagandistic spectacles that took place on stadiums. The main focus will be on comparing them to the ones organized during the authoritarian regime established by King Carol II of Romania between 1938 and 1940, showing similarities and differences. We will also underline how the Soviet socialist ritual influenced Socialist Romania's spectacles and the planning of anniversaries. Our comparison will be based on 1970s and 1980s propagandistic spectacles and similar ones that took place on the Carlist Restoration Day, and the Soviet Physical Culture Day. The conclusions will highlight to what extent the spectacles can be considered original.

Keywords: propaganda, celebration, cult of personality, Nicolae Ceaușescu, King Carol II of Romania.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, *The crucial 1974th: Ceaușescu's bet on the Third World in the Soviet diplomats' information and assessments*.....158

The author focused his research on the assessments made by the Soviet diplomatic representatives in Bucharest of Romania's foreign and trade policy towards the Third World and national liberation movements in 1974, when the final cementing of N. Ceaușescu's autocracy took place. The latter's desire to use ideological and political postulates in order to implement unrealistic plans for the country's economic development and his own positions in the international arena was painfully perceived by the Soviet side, which saw this as a threat to the Eastern Bloc and its policies in the Third World. Particular importance in obtaining information by the Soviet diplomats was their close cooperation with diplomats of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact and CMEA and their joint consultations on wide range of the "Romanian agenda".

Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, CMEA, Romania, Soviet diplomats, the Third World, foreign policy, trade policy.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *Suicide or High-Level Murder? Mythological Constructions and Official Conclusions in the Case of Chivu Stoica, 1975-1976*174

Chivu Stoica was one of the few Romanian communists who held some of the highest positions not only within the party but also in the state: President of the Council of Ministers (1955-1961) and President of the State Council (1965-1967). He attained these positions thanks to his very close relationship with Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. In 1969, Chivu Stoica was removed from the political forefront by the new leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu. On February 17, 1975, Chivu committed suicide with his hunting rifle. Numerous rumors and conspiracy theories emerged in connection with this event, suggesting that he was assassinated on Ceaușescu's orders. In contrast, the party leader accused Chivu Stoica of "moral decay" and attempted to use this case to launch a moral purification campaign, including an attack on Dej, whom he accused of encouraging, through his personal example, the immoral lives of party leaders. This article extensively debates the various theories created around Chivu Stoica's suicide, weighing them against the concrete data from the official investigation and correlating them with historical sources.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Chivu Stoica, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, suicide, conspiracy theory, party dissidence.

FLORIN ȘANDRU, *Political and Diplomatic Preparations for the Space Mission of the First Romanian Cosmonaut, Dumitru Prunariu, 1980-1981* 194

Dumitru-Dorin Prunariu is the first and, so far, only Romanian astronaut. His mission was part of the “Intercosmos” program, which also included Soviet missions with astronauts from Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, and Mongolia—countries from the former Soviet bloc. Later, under the same “Intercosmos” program, French, British, and Japanese astronauts also participated in space missions. This article presents the details of the preparations for the “Soyuz 40” mission, as described in the telegraphic communications between the Romanian Embassy in Moscow and the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led by Ștefan Andrei.

Keywords: Dumitru Prunariu, Soyuz 40, U.S.S.R., N. Ceaușescu, Intercosmos.

ANETA MIHAYLOVA, *Haunting Images of the Past: WWII Monuments in Post-Communist Bulgaria* 213

The pivotal role of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the anti-fascist resistance movement and of the Soviet Union in liberating Bulgaria from fascism were the two central pillars of the narrative of the history and memory of Second World War in communist Bulgaria. The end of communism marked the beginning of a new reading of the past and an increased public interest in topics and personalities, whose historical evaluation had been caught in the grip of the established ideological canon for decades. The reassessment of Bulgarian national history also referred to the period of the Second World War. The new historical narrative necessitated also re-evaluation of the memory of the period and its visual representation. In the new political environment after 1989, when Bulgarian society was desperately seeking to break away from its recent past, the presence in public space of the ideologically grounded monuments built during the previous regime became problematic, because they represented the most visible part of the communist legacy. The question of the fate of World War II-era monuments in Bulgaria is part of the larger issue of the fate of the communist legacy, which is relevant to the whole of Eastern Europe. The aim of this article is to present in a synthesized form the changes that took place in the memory of World War II and its visual representation in post-communist Bulgaria with a major focus on the fate of the monuments devoted to the war that were built during the socialist period.

Keywords: World War II, Bulgaria, post-communism, monuments, memory.

DOCUMENTS

DORIN-DEMOSTENE IANCU, OCTAVIANA JIANU, The Romanian Revolution of

December 1989 as seen by Italian diplomats, I230

The Romanian Revolution of December 1989, during and after this historical moment, kept in the *Archivio Storico della Presidenza della Repubblica Italiana, Ufficio Affari Diplomatici*. These documents concern several aspects: the authorities and events in Romania; the interventions by the Italian authorities in Romania; telegrams congratulating President Francesco Cossiga for his attitude towards 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; telegrams concerning international aid to Romania.

Keywords: Romanian Revolution of December 1989, international adoptions, international aid, Oddo Biasini, Gianni de Michelis, Stefano Jedrkiewicz.

BIOGRAPHIES

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, Gabriel Bălănescu (1913-1986) 241

Gabriel Bălănescu was among the legionary journalists well-known during Second World War, considered to be one of the journalists responsible for the country's disaster, after the removal from power of Marshal Ion Antonescu. A member of the Legionary Movement since 1932, he was an important contributor to the far-right and anti-Semite newspapers: *Buna Vestire, Cuvântul, Sfarmă Piatră, Porunca Vremii*. Following the outbreak of the Legionary Rebellion (1941), he was sentenced to 2 years in prison. He came to the attention of the authorities again in the context of the "Trial of nationalist journalists" (1945). He was sentenced in absentia to life imprisonment and civic degradation for 10 years. Arrested a year later, when he was already holding leadership positions in the clandestine Legionary Movement. Sentenced again to 25 years of hard labor, he was released in 1964. Thirteen years later, he emigrated to the Western countries, where he was very active as an anti-communist and legionary journalist. He died in the United States.

Keywords: Legionary Movement, anti-communism, journalism, emigration, political prisoner, far right, anti-Semitism, Gabriel Bălănescu.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, Cornel Burtică (1931-2013) 245

Cornel Burtică was a high-ranking Communist leader during the 1960s and the 1970s. Born in 1931 in a poor peasant family, Burtică resented the social inequity during childhood and became drawn to the egalitarian communist ideas. Parallel to being a good student, he enrolled on party youth organization and no later than 1949 he became a secretary of the high school U.T.M. committee. He studied at the Faculty of Geology and Electromechanics. After graduation, Burtică embarked on an academic career and worked as a university assistant at the Institute of Oil, Gas and Geology. Later on, he earned a PhD in world economics. At the beginning of the 1960s, Burtică started his diplomatic career being assigned as counsellor at the Romanian Embassy in Paris. In 1966, he was appointed ambassador to Italy, Morocco and Malta. On his return, he was appointed Ministry of Foreign Exchange during 1969-1972 and 1978-1982. Politically, Burtică advanced in the party hierarchy. In February 1960 he was elected secretary of C.C. of U.T.M. and president of the National Council of U.A.S.R. Ten years later, he was already a member of the C.C. of P.C.R., and in 1972 he was in charged with propaganda, and also became a suplimentary member of C.C. Executive Committee. The peak of his political career registered in 1977, when he was appointed member of the C.P.Ex Permanent Committee, and vice prime minister of the government. Burtică was removed from state and party positions in 1982 due to charges of abuses that damaged the national economy. He was downranked and appointed director of the „1 Mai” factory in Ploiesti, until 1990.

Keywords: Cornel Burtică; P.C.R.; propaganda; diplomacy; Ministry of Foreign Exchange; party hierarchy.

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *Victor Gomoiu (1882-1960)*..... 251

An erudite spirit, graduate of the Faculties of Medicine and Law, Victor Gomoiu distinguished himself through pioneering work in the fields of medicine, culture, social assistance, and surgery. Considered the „father of the history of Romanian medicine”, he was a member of 17 science academies worldwide. He contributed to the development of plastic surgery, peripheral nervous system surgery, urology, and traumatology. His most renowned achievement is the hospital in Bucharest that bears his name, built through his efforts in the 1920s to provide medical assistance to the underprivileged. During World War II, he protected many Jews as Minister of Health. He was imprisoned by the communist regime between 1950–1954 and refused any form of collaboration.

Keywords: communism, political detention, medicine, pioneering, Victor Gomoiu.

ALEXANDRU-CRISTIAN VOICU, *Ilie Verdeț (1925-2001)*..... 257

One of Romania's most authentic communists, with a working-class background such as mining, Verdeț achieved an impressive political rise even in a "workers' state". Along with Janoș Fazekaș, Vasile Patilineț, Ion Iliescu and Paul Niculescu-Mizil, he was part of a team of party members who were staunch supporters of Nicolae Ceausescu, both before and after his takeover. He is best known for his handling of the 1977 miners' revolt in the Jiu Valley, when he chose dialogue to armed intervention. The fall of the communist regime in December 1989 did nothing to change his political convictions.

Keywords: Ilie Verdeț, Romanian Communist Party, Romanian Prime Ministers, Jiu Valley, Miners' Strike of 1977.

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