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Totalitarianism Archives

Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

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EDITORIAL

FLORIN ABRAHAM, ***Transitional Justice Policies in Romania: Evaluations and Perspectives*** ***.....5***

This study analyses the evolution and effectiveness of transitional justice policies in post-communist Romania, investigating how the state and society have addressed the legacy of the totalitarian regime. The research substantiates the hypothesis of a structural paradox, conceptualized herein as „anti-communist conformism": the coexistence of a trans-ideological public discourse centred on the ritualistic condemnation of communism with a profoundly deficient institutional and legal track record. This conformism has operated as an instrument for political legitimation and the accumulation of symbolic capital, effectively instrumentalizing and frequently neutralizing the implementation of reparative and punitive measures. Through a multidimensional approach, the paper critically evaluates the primary instruments of transitional justice: the systemic failure of criminal accountability mechanisms regarding regime crimes and the 1989 Revolution, the deficiencies of property restitution policies (restitutio in integrum), the fragmented access to the former Securitate archives, and the constitutional blockages that invalidated lustration attempts. The findings reveal a major structural asymmetry. On one hand, the political and legal dimensions experienced systemic regression, generating unforeseen socio-economic consequences and numerous condemnations by the European Court of Human Rights. On the other hand, academic historiography and independent cultural production have successfully delivered a rigorous deconstruction of the repressive apparatus. The study concludes that, given the legal and demographic exhaustion of retributive justice, the focus of decommunization irreversibly shifts toward educational policies and the consolidation of a democratic collective memory.

Keywords: transitional justice, anti-communist conformism, post-communism, decommunization, property restitution, lustration, Securitate archives, collective memory, historiography

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Acad. GHEORGHE E. COJOCARU, ***From the Memoirs of a "Red Diplomat": The Soviets and the Bessarabian Question in the Late 1920s*** ***.....27***

This study demonstrates that the memoirs of the former Soviet diplomat Grigory Z. Besedovsky, who defected from the Soviet Embassy in Paris and was granted political asylum in France in 1929, remain largely unknown in Romanian historiography. Yet these memoirs offer valuable insights into the inner workings of Soviet diplomacy and the Kremlin's policy toward Bessarabia. In particular, they shed light on the Soviet leadership's efforts to prevent the ratification of the Paris Treaty of Bessarabia (28 October 1920). At the same time, Besedovsky suggests that, behind

closed doors in the Kremlin, the possibility of recognizing Romania's sovereignty over the territory between the Prut and the Dniester was not entirely ruled out, provided that certain political circumstances emerged and specific conditions were met.

Keywords: USSR, Romania, Bessarabia, Stalin, Chicherin, Litvinov, Rakowsky, Political Bureau, Narkomindel, Japan, France, Italy, Treaty of Bessarabia.

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Based on history textbooks, works, and studies published in the USSR and, more recently, in the Russian Federation, the paper presents the means of repression used by the Soviet regime against all layers of the population. Special attention is given to the Great Terror from 1937-1938 and the post-WWII period, up until the death of Joseph V. Stalin in March, 1953. It also highlights the measures taken to rehabilitate the victims of repression after the 20th Congress of the CPSU (February 1956), as well as during the policy of openness promoted by the last Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Keywords: Terror, Political Repression, Gulag, trial, rehabilitation, Stalin.

ALEXANDRU-CRISTIAN VOICU, *War, Peace, and Propaganda in Romanian Philately, 1930-1960. An Analysis of Postage Stamps as Historical Sources, II*.....49

Visual history remained neglected by scholars until the late 20th century. As technological developments enabled a much faster circulation of visual sources, specialists began to abandon the primacy of written sources. Philatelic sources are still, even today, a largely unexplored field, with postage stamps viewed primarily through their functional role: the payment of postal fees. The postage stamp was, by definition, a symbol and product of the state, alongside currency, the flag, and the national anthem, so political interference in their iconography was bound to manifest itself fully. Romanian postage stamps offer a distinctive lens through which to examine the concepts of war, peace, and propaganda, particularly in light of the country's turbulent historical trajectory between 1930 and 1960, the period selected for this study. The choice of this three-decade interval is deliberate. The year 1930 marks the accession of King Carol II, a moment when Romanian philately began to foreground visual motifs intended to legitimize the Carlist regime that consolidated toward the end of the 1930s. The 1940s constituted a phase of profound political and social upheaval in Romania, encompassing both the Antonescu dictatorship and, after 1945, the establishment and consolidation of communist totalitarianism. The terminal point of the analysis, 1960, was selected because it encompasses the first twelve years of the communist regime, during which the themes central to this study gradually diminish in philatelic representation.

Keywords: Philately, Postage Stamps, Postal History of Romania, Communism, King Carol II, Propaganda, War, Peace.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU *"20 Years in Siberia": the Drama of the Bukovina Romanians deported in June 1941 by the Soviets*

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Anița Cudla's book, first published in 1991 by Humanitas Publishing House under the title *20 Years in Siberia: Bukovinian Destiny*, recounts the drama of the Bukovinian peasants deported on the night of June 12-13, 1941 to Siberia. 600 inhabitants of Mahala, a village near Cernăuți/Chernivtsi (now in Ukraine), were deported on the basis of the *Regulation of Deportation of Certain Categories of Criminals*, approved by Stalin in May 1941. On the same night, 22,000 "active counter-revolutionaries" from Bessarabia were also deported. The 360-page notebook in which Anița Cudla recounts her life was entrusted in 1982 to her nephew Gheorghe Nandriș. As the book's editor points out, "it is a notebook filled with an unexpectedly beautiful, almost calligraphic handwriting, reminiscent of a child's handwriting." The story of her life falls into what we commonly call wounded or even diseased memory, because mourning, as Freud states, is always a reaction to the loss of a loved one or of an abstraction that has been elevated to the status of a substitute for that person, such as: homeland, freedom, ideal, etc. In the case of Anița Cudla, in addition to the loss of two loved ones, her husband and mother, she also had to cope with another trauma, that of being separated from her homeland for twenty years as a result of deportation. But, as happens in life, grief is followed by resilience, which is defined as the ability to continue to look to the future, despite destabilizing circumstances, difficult life situations or major traumas.

Keywords: Deportation, Stalinism, Trauma, Emotional Resilience.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS PETIT, ***Lutter contre les fondamentalismes politiques. Virgil Gheorghiu au coeur de la tourmente totalitaire d'après ses Mémoire…….85***

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Keywords: Virgil Gheorghiu, violence, political fundamentalism, Nazism, communism, resistance to totalitarianism, orthodoxy, Romania.

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Beginning on 12 June 1950, the authorities launched a large-scale collectivization campaign based on coercion and violence. As a result, anti-collectivization movements broke out in 22 villages. The security forces suppressed these protests through a coordinated operation carried out during the night of 22–23 September 1950 in 13 villages. Peasant householders identified as the alleged instigators of the unrest were forcibly evacuated together with their families. During the operation, clashes occurred in several villages between the security forces and local inhabitants attempting to protect the villagers, resulting in the deaths of four local residents.

Keywords: Romania, Three Seats (Háromszék) county, collectivization, riots.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, ***Soviet Model and Domestic Innovation in the Political Trial of the "Gang of Saboteurs and Wreckers from the Danube – Black Sea Canal" in 1952*** **.....101**

In this study we outline the differences and similarities between Soviet-style political trials from the 1930s and the Trial of the "Gang of Saboteurs and Wreckers from the Danube – Black Sea Canal", that took place in Constanța, Romania, during the Fall of 1952. There is no doubt that the engineers convicted in this show-trial were victims of political repression dictated by a specific scenario – one in which the technical intelligentsia, though not particularly close to the regime yet in its service, was held accountable for a fault that was not its own. Nevertheless, through their inaction and indifference toward the sufferings of the political prisoniers at the Canal, that worked under their guidance, they were passive spectators, even accomplices, to the immense injustice being committed there.

Keywords: State Socialism, Stalinism, Forced Labour, Political Justice, Danube – Black Sea Canal.

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Vasile Luca was one of the officials responsible for establishing communism in Romania. Following the power struggle within the Romanian Workers' Party, he was removed from his positions in 1952, sentenced to death in 1954 (later commuted to life at hard labor), and died in Aiud Prison in 1963. More than seven and a half years of his sentence (1955-1963) were spent in the Râmnicu Sărat penitentiary – nicknamed the "Prison of Silence" – considered by survivors the harshest facility in the system, where he nevertheless benefited from a preferential regime. The article focuses on this period, with brief references to earlier years and to the impact of his conviction on his family.

Keywords: communism, repression, political prisoners, Vasile Luca, Râmnicu Sărat Prison.

BRÂNDUȘA COSTACHE, ***The Role of the Gold Reserve of the National Bank of Romania in Supporting the Economic Directions Outlined by the Declaration of the Romanian Workers' Party in April 1964*** **.....141**

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1970, as well as the changes in the attitude of Romania's communist leaders under the influence of fluctuations in relations with the Soviet Union. Romania's position within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is particularly relevant in this context. The study also presents the orientation of Romanian authorities towards actions aimed at increasing the gold stock and diversifying the ways of leveraging it to obtain foreign currency resources, which would allow greater freedom of movement on the world market, the realization of industrialization plans, and consolidating both domestic and international prestige.
Keywords: gold reserve, National Bank of Romania, Declaration of the Romanian Workers' Party from April 1964.

ELENA NEGRU, GHEORGHE NEGRU, ***The Communist Party of Moldova in 1965. From Ideological Crisis to Anti-Romanian War*** ***.....154***

1965 marked a seismic moment in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, culminating in the Third Congress of Writers. Here, the cultural elite launched a frontal attack on the Russification policy and publicly demanded the return to the Latin alphabet, a gesture equivalent to an affirmation of Romanian national identity, supported by the symbolic capital of Romania's autonomous foreign policy. The leader of the Communist Party of Moldova, Ivan Bodiul, stamped this movement as political subversion. The Party's reaction was an immediate and violent retaliation, materialized in the December 1965 decision to launch an extensive anti-Romanian propaganda campaign. The main consequences were the drastic restriction of publications from Romania and the forced rewriting of MSSR history to consolidate Soviet Moldovenism. Thus, the internal crisis transformed into an ideological war aimed at annihilating national tendencies by labeling them as "Westward orientation" and a total subordination of the local culture to the neo-Stalinist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
Keywords: Russification, National movement, Moldavian S.S.S.R., Anti-Romanian propaganda campaign, Soviet Moldovenism.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, ***Nicolae Ceaușescu and the Politics of Rehabilitation: Preliminaries to the Third "De-Stalinization," 1965–1968, I 169***

In April 1968, Nicolae Ceaușescu publicly launched a large-scale campaign to rehabilitate individuals—including former leaders of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR), such as Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu and Ștefan Foriș—who, under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's rule, had been unjustly subjected to various forms of political repression, ranging from arrest, torture, and show trials to execution and assassination.
This campaign had been carefully prepared in advance, beginning immediately after Ceaușescu came to power in March 1965.
This article examines the measures adopted between April 1965 and April 1968, the motivations and guiding principles behind the launch of Romania's third "de-Stalinization" and the first rehabilitation cases of this period. It also analyzes the behind-the-scenes political maneuvers that accompanied the rehabilitation policy, the establishment of the party commission tasked with investigating the Pătrășcanu and Foriș cases, and the strict secrecy under which it operated.
Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, political rehabilitation, de-Stalinization, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Ștefan Foriș.

ION CONSTANTIN, ***The Bessarabia Question in the Romanian Intelligence Services' Concerns during the Communist Regime 199***

This article examines the circumstances in which, against the backdrop of the relative political liberalization in Romania at the end of the 1960s, the Department of Foreign Intelligence (Military Unit 0920) of the Department of State Security (DSS) launched Operation "Brândușa"**.** Its primary objective was to gather intelligence through specific operational methods in order to obtain information and document the realities of the Romanian territories occupied by the USSR after the Second World War.
Within the framework of Operation "Brândușa", a series of intelligence activities were carried out to document the ways in which Soviet authorities and historiography presented the history of the Romanian people, particularly that of Bessarabia. The operation also monitored how this issue was reflected in Western scholarly studies, publications, and mass media, including publications produced by the Romanian exile.
Keywords: Bessarabia, Bukovina, communism, Romania, USSR, intelligence, counterintelligence, historiography.

ANDREI-DUMITRU OLTEANU, ***A Complementary Lever: Romania, UNESCO, and the Politics of Cultural Self-Representation, 1963-1972***

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This article reconstructs Romanian activity within UNESCO between the autonomy signals of the late Gheorghiu-Dej years and the ideological closure of July 1971, and argues that the distance between Romania's external self-presentation and its internal reality is the organizing principle of the record rather than an accident within

it. Drawing principally on the declassified files of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Fond Problema 241) and reading them against the institutional record of UNESCO and the relevant historiography, it advances a single proposition along three interpretive lines, legitimation, duplicity and the gap of perception, and four analytical axes, the typology of the exported, the relation of strategy to resources, planning and reception, and finality. In the field circumscribed by the organization, Romania acted as a beneficiary of resources, prestige and access rather than as an emitter of culture, and its apparatus produced documentation about itself, which it named "propaganda" in its own correspondence, in place of influence. Its autonomy was real and capped, carrying resolutions and winning a permanent centre while deferring to inter-bloc discipline and declining contests it could not be assured of winning. The seat agreement for the European Centre for Higher Education, inaugurated in Bucharest in 1972, furnishes the sharpest case, a state of censorship and control granting by treaty an enclave of uncensored communication and visa-free entry while freeing foreign officials from obligations it retained over its own citizens. That the brightest moments of the external performance fall after the internal turn of July 1971 gives the record its duplicitous signature.
Keywords: UNESCO, Romania, Cold War, cultural diplomacy, soft power, propaganda, national-communism.

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Keywords: 23rd August 1944, Romanian historiography, The Romanian Communist Party, King Michael, World War II.

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DORIN DEMOSTENE IANCU, OCTAVIANA JIANU, *The Romanian domestic and foreign policy in Italian diplomatic documents. The report of Italian Ambassador Niccolò Moscato dated August 31, 1972, II*
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This article contains the translation of a report written by Italian Ambassador Niccolò Moscato at the end of his mission in Romania (November 1964 – August 1972). Dated August 31, 1972, the document was addressed to the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Giuseppe Medici, as required by procedure. It reflects important aspects of Romanian domestic and foreign policy during Moscato's time as ambassador in Bucharest. The Italian diplomat's reflections on Romania are grouped into general themes, such as: Romania in the context of the „Prague Spring" and the Warsaw Pact; Romanian diplomatic relations.
Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, Niccolò Moscato, USSR, Italian-Romanian relations, socialist countries

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ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, *Vasile Paraschiv (1928-2011)*.....*261*
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Keywords: Vasile Paraschiv, Nicolae Ceaușescu, free trade unions, political abuse of psychiatry, political repression.

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Keywords: King Michael I; Romania; Soviet Union; Second World War; Russian archives.

OCTAVIANA JIANU, *Testimonies from and about Exile* *277*

This review discusses Anca Stângaciu's *Dialoguri esențiale din exil* (Polirom, 2025), a collection of interviews about Romanian postwar exile.

Keywords: Romanian exile; postwar memory; oral history; political organizations; Securitate.

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EDITORIAL

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Abstract: ***"Gorbymania": between the Illusion of "Socialism with a Human Face" and the Reality of Great Power competition***

This study examines the phenomenon of "Gorbymania" as a psycho-political mechanism with systemic effects on the end of the Cold War and the dynamics of the Soviet Union's disintegration. Building on the classical debate concerning the role of personality in history, the article integrates concepts from complexity theory—most notably the notion of a "bifurcation point"—and tools of counterfactual history to assess the weight of individual decision-making in situations of structural crisis. The case of Mikhail Gorbachev is approached as a paradigmatic example of the interaction between charisma, international legitimacy, and internal institutional constraints. The analysis demonstrates that Gorbachev's popularity in the West functioned as a symbolic feedback loop that reinforced his commitment to non-violence in 1989, thereby accelerating major geopolitical transformations, while simultaneously contributing to strategic indecision and the erosion of domestic authority. By exploring the contrast between external perceptions and internal receptions of reform policies (*glasnost* and *perestroik*a), the article argues that "Gorbymania" was not merely a media-driven epiphenomenon, but a catalytic factor that reshaped the relationship between power, political image, and decision-making. The conclusion emphasizes the contingent nature of the Soviet collapse and the decisive role of leadership choice at a moment of maximum systemic instability.

Keywords: Gorbymania; Mikhail Gorbachev; personality and history; Cold War; glasnost; perestroika; international legitimacy; collapse of the USSR.

STUDIES

CONSTANTIN HLIHOR, ***The "Gorbachev factor" and the "Sinatra" doctrine. Between the illusion of the Soviet Union's salvation and the collapse of an imperial project..... 17***

The "Sinatra" Doctrine's geopolitical influence on the fall of Eastern European socialism is still regarded as one of the most important developments of the 20th century. This paper revisits some of the

questions regarding Gorbachev's misperceptions of international issues, his vision of how an empire can survive a deep crisis, the relationship between the Soviet Union and eastern socialist countries, etc., even though the topic has already been the subject of many studies and books. Some of the most widespread misunderstandings about this subject are cleared up in this article.

Keywords: Sinatra Doctrine, perestroika, glasnost, fall of communist regimes, eastern countries, Gorbachev vision on the international world.

ANEMARI MONICA NEGRU, *Helping the Wounded. Testimonies from WWI*.....33

The women who volunteered and wrote about their initiatives during the first world war were mostly members of Romania's social and intellectual elite, such as Regina Maria, Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, Neli Cornea, Alexandrina Fălcoianu, Alexandrina Gr. Cantacuzino, Zoe Râmniceanu, Letiția Ghidionescu. Through work and dedication, they managed to transform schools into hospitals, to run them, to attract volunteers, doctors, and nurses, to collect money for the functioning of these medical institutions. The National Orthodox Society of Romanian Women was a feminist association that managed to open hospitals for wounded soldiers throughout the country – for example, Hospital 113 in Bucharest –, to provide daily meals for orphaned children, as well as aid to war prisoners.

Numerous female volunteers managed to collaborate, work, and help the wounded in hospitals, to feed and educate the orphaned children or the children of soldiers mobilized, both in Bucharest and in many other localities in the country. One should mention the contribution of nuns (including Swiss nouns), priests, and scouts in Hospital 113.

Godefroy Simionescu's scout notebook can be considered a relevant archival document, because it offers a history of Bucharest in September-October 1916 and an image of the activities of the scouts, especially the volunteer ones to the hospitals. Therefore, it is a historical source about the daily life of the inhabitants of Bucharest while Romania was entering the World War I, the health service, various political figures, doctors, scouts, and active women.

Keywords: female volunteers, feminist association, hospital, soldiers, scouts.

ALEXANDRU-CRISTIAN VOICU, *War, Peace, and Propaganda in Romanian Philately, 1930-1960. An Analysis of Postage Stamps as Historical Sources, I*.....50

Visual history remained neglected by scholars until the late 20th century. As technological developments enabled a much faster circulation of visual sources, specialists began to abandon the primacy of written sources. Philatelic sources are still, even today, a largely unexplored field, with postage stamps viewed primarily through their functional role: the payment of postal fees. The postage stamp was, by definition, a symbol and product of the state, alongside currency, the flag, and the national anthem, so political interference in their iconography was bound to manifest itself fully. Romanian postage stamps offer a distinctive lens through which to examine the concepts of war, peace, and propaganda, particularly in light of the country's turbulent historical trajectory between 1930 and 1960, the period selected for this study. The choice of this three-decade interval is deliberate. The year 1930 marks the accession of King Carol II, a moment when Romanian philately began to foreground visual motifs intended to legitimize the Carlist regime that consolidated toward the end of the 1930s. The 1940s constituted a phase of profound political and social upheaval in Romania, encompassing both the Antonescu dictatorship and, after 1945, the establishment and consolidation of communist totalitarianism. The terminal point of the analysis, 1960, was selected because it encompasses the first twelve years of the communist regime, during which the themes central to this study gradually diminish in philatelic representation.

Keywords: Philately, Postage Stamps, Postal History of Romania, Communism, King Carol II, Propaganda, War, Peace.

***ROBERT PĂIUȘAN, How to punish a criminal war: Gheorghe Leon case*.....67**

Gheorghe Leon (1888-1959) belonged to the generation of important interwar Romanian economists, both as a university professor and as a publicist promoting economic nationalism. In his political life, after two short terms as undersecretary of state, Leon served as a minister during July-November 1940 in the Gigurtu and Antonescu governments a position in which he promoted laws and

measures of an anti-democratic nature, including racist provisions. For his political activity, he was tried three times: in 1946, when he was acquitted; in 1951, when he was sentenced in absentia (as he was already administratively imprisoned) to 12 years of hard labor; and in 1956, when the previous criminal ruling was annulled and he was sentenced for the same acts to 10 years of rigorous imprisonment. He was incarcerated between 1950 and 1959 in the prisons of Sighet, Făgăraș, and Râmnicu Sărat, where he died.

Keywords: Gheorghe Leon, minister, economic nationalism, Ion Antonescu, war criminal, political prisoner.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, ***Hydrometeorology and Water Management during the Communist Regime: The State Committee and the National Council of Waters (1956–1989).....85***

This article examines the evolution of hydrometeorology and water management in communist Romania through an analysis of the State Committee of Waters and its successor, the National Council of Waters, between 1956 and 1989. Drawing on archival documents, memoir literature, and the legislative framework, the study reconstructs the institutional stages, areas of competence, organizational structures, and leadership dynamics of these bodies. It highlights the growing centralization of water governance and the expansion of technocratic responsibilities in the fields of infrastructure development, environmental protection, and flood defense. The article also addresses the gap between ambitious planning objectives and the practical constraints imposed by resource shortages and political decision-making. By situating water management within the broader context of socialist governance, the study contributes to the historiography of environmental administration under state socialism.

Keywords: Hydrometeorology; Water Management; Romania; communist regime; National Council of Waters.

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Italian neorealism, a cinematic movement that emerged in the late 1940s, is heavily influenced by anti-fascism and the spirit of the Resistance. It is often associated with leftist culture and has its roots in the fascist period. Aesthetically, neorealism is marked by innovations such as on-location filming, the use of non-professional actors, documentary-style editing, and the rejection of Hollywood conventions. Authentic language, the use of regional dialects, and faithful representation of social reality became defining features of this new postwar cinematic movement. Ideologically, neorealism reflected the political tensions of the era, serving both as a form of social critique and as a tool for reconstructing collective identity. Films such as *Roma città aperta* turn cinema into a valuable primary source for historians, allowing the analysis of the interaction between individual experience, collective memory, and the political context of the postwar period. Beyond film studies, the neorealist movement has interdisciplinary relevance in social, cultural, and political history, serving as a lens through which to understand the postwar period.

Keywords: WWII, Italian Neorealism, Cinema, Fascism, War Crimes.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, ***The cadre policy of Nicolae Ceaușescu in his first year at the head of the Romanian Communist Party, 1965.....118***

Nicolae Ceaușescu made full use of the grace period of 1965, his first year at the head of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP). He redefined both the party and the state, reorganized them at the level of leadership bodies, and set in motion the vast mechanism of cadre policy, which had become rigid during Gheorghiu-Dej's rule. Although he had been installed in power in order to ensure continuity, he soon proved that he eagerly sought change: in terms of personnel, institutions, and approaches to both domestic and foreign policy.

The measures adopted showed that he was prepared to take power. He had a project, even if it was not yet clearly defined. In order to implement it, throughout 1965 he acted gradually and decisively, though not brutally. In most cases, he carried out changes carefully, offered alternatives, and preserved old privileges or granted new ones. At the same time, Ceaușescu gave many members of the second echelon hope that they would be given the chance to rise higher, and he began the still hesitant rehabilitation of former activists who had been repressed or sanctioned under the Gheorghiu-Dej regime.

Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, cadre policy, 1965, Gheorghiu-Dej.

MIOARA ANTON, ***When East (re)meets West. The stakes of Romanian-British economic interests in the 1960s and 1970s*** ***.....139***

In the context of liberalization of the 1960s and 1970s, the United Kingdom followed a policy of openness toward the communist bloc countries by fostering political, economic, and cultural relations. For its part, the government in Bucharest was interested in developing economic relations and acquiring technology. The majority of official delegations that visited Western countries in the second half of the 1960s had mainly economic missions: contracts for the acquisition of advanced technology, obtaining loans at favorable interest rates, and testing markets to boost foreign trade. As a result of the official visits and economic agreements concluded during the 1960s with the United Kingdom, Romania managed to acquire technology for important industrial projects such as the Danubiana tire factory and the Galați steelworks.

Keywords: communist economy, technological exchanges, Romanian-British exchanges, Ion Gheorghe Maurer.

OVIDIU MARIAN DRĂGOI, ***Romania, Greece and the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1965-1975*** ***.....156***

Based largely on documents from the diplomatic archive of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the press of the time, the article traces how two states that were in antagonistic political-military alliances after World War II, namely the Warsaw Pact and NATO, related to the emerging bipolarity after World War II. Member of the CMEA in the case of Romania, and an associated state of the Common Market since 1961 in the case of Greece, the two states generally positioned themselves differently towards the Soviet-American international *détente* that reached a peak in the early 1970s and subsequently towards the holding of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1972-1975), ultimately pursuing their own national interests

Keywords: CSCE, Cold War, détente, anti- hegemonic policy, Balkan cooperation.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, ***The Soviet stance on Ceaușescu's developing countries policy: the turning point of 1975*** ***.....178***

The article is based on earlier unknown archival sources and the writer sought to define most important Soviet assessments of the turning point of N. Ceausescu's Third World policy in 1975. The author provides the reader with particular data of the Soviet diplomats' attitude towards Romania's special course aimed at getting support among developing countries and conclusions on the Soviet part on combination of political, ideological and economical aspects of that policy. As follows from these documents, the Soviets were extremely suspicious of strengthening Romanian positions among the Third World nations since it could build obstacles to the Soviet plans there. The Soviet diplomats' assessments which they shared with the Foreign Ministry gave wide range of concern to Moscow on this issue.

Keywords: Africa, Asia, Ceaușescu, developing nations, DPRK, Latin America, Romania, Third World, USSR.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, ***An Ever-Present Past. Controversies in Teaching Recent History in French Schools in the Beginning of 21st Century*** ***.....195***

In this study we outline the main topics of teaching post-WWII history mostly in France, but also in UK, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. All school curricula mention issues as: foreign occupation during the Second World War, the Holocaust, decolonization, immigration, etc. Political interventions in the composition of these curricula are obvious and reach a peak in the French case, where all heads of state in the last four decades have made it their duty to influence the teaching of history. This also happens as a result of the pressure of public opinion in relation to controversial subjects. A close look at the evolution of public debates regarding the Vichy regime could provide a very good basis for a methodological approach to studying controversies in dealing with various topics of recent history in any European country.

Keywords: Holocaust, Vichy France, Textbooks, French Resistance.

DOCUMENTS

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, NIKITA BONDAREV, ***The beginning of the Soviet–Yugoslav split as seen by the Romanian ambassador in Belgrade, Teodor Rudenko, 1948..... 211***

The contradictions between the Soviet and Yugoslav leadership, which first emerged during the Trieste crisis (May-June 1945), reached a critical point in the spring of 1948. Although Yugoslavia, after the end of the World War II, resolutely turned to implementation of deep economic and political reforms in accordance with Communist doctrine, the overly independent and ambitious Josip Broz Tito did not let Moscow control properly over the situation in his country. And in this sense he did not correspond himself very much to I.V. Stalin's ideas about the leader of a country which was building socialism in accordance with the general principles of the World Communist movement. In May, Tito rejected the demand of the Soviet leadership to attend a new meeting of the Cominform bureau, and the meeting held at the end of June in Bucharest without the participation of the Yugoslav delegation adopted a resolution containing sharp accusations of nationalism against the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. An anti-Yugoslav campaign was launched within the framework of the World Communist Movement. It involved all the Communist parties of the Soviet sphere of influence, by this time already possessing full power in their states. As concerns Yugoslavia, the consolidation of Tito regime was accompanied by harsh measures against those communists who called on their leadership to submit themselves to the dictate of Moscow.

The extremely tense domestic political atmosphere in Belgrade at the end of the summer of 1948 is reflected in the description of the Romanian ambassador to Yugoslavia, Bessarabia-born Teodor Rudenko, who acted as an informant for the Soviet leadership.

Keywords: I.V. Stalin, Josip Broz Tito, Soviet-Yugoslav Conflict of 1948, Romania, Cominformbureau, Teodor Rudenko as a Romanian diplomat.

DORIN DEMOSTENE IANCU, OCTAVIANA JIANU, ***The Romanian domestic and foreign policy in Italian diplomatic documents. The report of Italian Ambassador Niccolò Moscato dated August 31, 1972, I.....227***

This article contains the translation of a report written by Italian Ambassador Niccolò Moscato at the end of his mission in Romania (November 1964 – August 1972). Dated August 31, 1972, the document was addressed to the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Giuseppe Medici, as required by procedure. It reflects important aspects of Romanian domestic and foreign policy during Moscato's time as ambassador in Bucharest. The Italian diplomat's reflections on Romania are grouped into general themes, such as: Romania in the context of the „Prague Spring" and the Warsaw Pact; Romanian diplomatic relations.

Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, Niccolò Moscato, USSR, Italian-Romanian relations, socialist countries.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, ***An X-ray of Human Rights in Communist Romania. A Memoir Addressed to the U.S. Congress, March 1979.....240***

In Romania, the human rights movement initiated by Paul Goma in the spring of 1977 created the context for a new practice within Romanian society, rooted in necessity and opportunity. This involved the drafting of open letters or memoirs requesting the observance of fundamental rights and freedoms, whether regarding cases of discrimination, freedom of conscience, freedom of movement, or the right to emigrate.

The document we are publishing is a memoir addressed to the U.S. Congress on March 5, 1979, by six Romanian citizens who were denied the right to emigrate. The document, divided into two sections, refers to human rights violations and the repressive and intimidating methods used by the communist authorities against those "guilty" of thinking or acting in contradiction with the socialist way of life.

Keywords: Romania, communism, human rights, S.L.O.M.R.

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Radu Negrescu-Suțu is the only surviving member of a group of young individuals from the 1970s who sought to flee communist Romania. The human rights movement initiated by writer Paul Goma in the winter of 1977 represented a pivotal opportunity for many Romanians to break their silence and confront their fear of the Securitate, the regime's secret police. Following Goma's arrest, Radu Negrescu-Suțu and his peers joined the broader dissident movement and established their own group, known as GRUP CANAL 77. They were all illegally sentenced to one year of forced labor, under the pretext of being „social parasites". Despite the repression, they continued to assert their rights. Eventually, under internal and external pressure, the communist authorities granted them passports, allowing them to emigrate to the free world.

Keywords: forced labor, free world, human rights, human rights movement, repression, Securitate.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, *Carmen Popescu (1943-2004)*.....*258*

Carmen Popescu was a dissident and a fighter for human rights and free trade unions in communist Romania. After several violations of her labor rights, Carmen Popescu joined in March 1979 the newly established Free Trade Union for Human Rights in Romania (S.L.O.M.R.). As a result of her activity, like other S.L.O.M.R. members, she was sentenced to four months in prison for "parasitism," under Decree no. 153/1970. After her release in March 1980, she continued her oppositional activity, drafting and attempting to send abroad documents concerning human rights violations in Romania. She was arrested again on 15 May 1981 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment for the offense of attempted propaganda against the socialist order. She was released on 10 August 1983, following the presidential decree of pardon no. 211/9 August 1983. She left the country three years later, on 13 April 1986, together with her daughter.

Keywords: Romania, Carmen Popescu, S.L.O.M.R., free trade unions, repression.

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This article is a review of the work by Igor Cetverikov, Aleksandr Palamari, and Rodion Romanov, *Names on Stone. The Last Bastion. The Experience of the Comprehensive Study of Burial Sites of Victims of Mass Political Repression in 1937–1938, based on materials from excavations conducted on the territory of the "Vladimir" Bastion of the Tiraspol Fortress* (Tiraspol, 2024).

Keywords: Great Terror, political repression, Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Tiraspol.

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *Paul Goma, between History and Histories* ……..……...265

This is the review of Aliona Grati's latest volume: *Goma's Ark: The Biography of a Writer*, Arc Publishing House, Chișinău, 2025, 696 pages.

Keywords: anti-communism, Paul Goma, a Bessarabian childhood, dissident movement, political exile, political opponent, the human rights movement, the Securitate.

TUDOR VIȘAN-MIU, *The Monarchy: A Sensitive Topic in the Historiography of the Communist Regime*……*267*

This review examines Robert-Simion Luca's doctoral thesis on communist anti-monarchical propaganda in Romania, highlighting its contribution to understanding how the monarchy was depicted in historical narratives under the regimes of Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceaușescu. The book traces the evolution of portrayals of Romania's four kings — Carol I, Ferdinand I, Carol II, and Mihai I — primarily in historical literature, identifying both ideological distortions and moments of partial rehabilitation. The volume offers a solid contribution to the study of how historical narratives were shaped by the political interests of the communist regime, using the monarchy as a revealing case study.

Abstract: Ceaușescu regime, communist propaganda, historical discourse, monarchy, Romanian historiography.

GEORGE DUMITRESCU, *Larry L. Watts and Research on Nuclear Energy in Romania*……..*273*

This is a review of the book by Larry L. Watts, Romania, *Nuclear Energy and the Atomic Bomb, Vol. I: Horia Hulubei and the Origins of Policy*, published by RAO Distribuție Publishing House (Bucharest, 2024).

Keywords: Romania, nuclear energy, communism, Horia Hulubei, the Soviet Union.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Romania and Proxy Wars in Africa*……..*277*

This is a review of Constantin Hlihor's book *With Other People's Hands. Romania and Proxy Wars in Africa (1970–1985)*, Corint Publishing House, Bucharest, 2025.

Keywords: Romania, communism, Africa, proxy wars.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, ***The Biographical Method in the Analysis of the Links between Romanian Orthodox Priests and the Legionary Movement……..280***

This is a review of the book *Orthodox Clerical Activism in the History of the Iron Guard: The Biography of Priest Valeriu Beleuță (1909–1974),* by Andreea Corca, Preface by Virgiliu-Leon Ţârău, Casa cărţii de ştiinţă, Cluj-Napoca, 2025, 290 p.

Keywords: Iron Guard, Valeriu Beleuță, priest, Romanian Orthodox Church, biography, activism.

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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.

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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
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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.

DRAGOŞ SDROBIŞ, *The Memories of a Revolutionary: Nicolae Moscăuțeanu and His Fight against the Old Romania*.....66
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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 CĂTĂNUŞ, *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 ONIŞORU, *The Communization of Romania March 6, 1945, the beginning of the bogus coalition stage* 142
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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
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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
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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 uses and abused for many years before the Communist regime.
Keywords: Legal System during Communism, Socialist Justice, Coercion, Human Rights.

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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.

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

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This is the review of Vladimir Lapshin article *Aleksandra Kollontai și armistițiul sovieto-român din anul 1944*, published in „Mejdunarodnaia Jizni", nr. 2/2025, pp. 46-57.
Keywords: World War II, Ion Antonescu, Romanian-Soviet negociations, Stockholm, Aleksandra Kollontai.

ANA- MARIA IOSIF*, The National-Legionary State: Between Ideology and Historical Reality……269*
This is the review of Florin Müller's latest volume: *The National-Legionary State (September 1940 – January 1941)*, Corint Publishing House, Bucharest, 2025, 496 pages.
Keywords: Legionary Movement, Ion Antonescu, Horia Sima, dual state, fascism, violence, anti-Semitism.

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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.

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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, Khruschev.

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 MÂȚĂ, ***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 ~~so~~me 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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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 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, Frederic Joliot-Curie, Marie Curie, Nobel Prize, Securitate files, ideologizing science, state secret.

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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 Kirițescu are emblematic of the fate of the generation that achieved the Great Union of 1918.
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Keywords: Romanian emigration, Romanian National Committee, USA, France, Cold War, organized political warfare.

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

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

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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.

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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.

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

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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**
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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.

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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.

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

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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.

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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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Keywords: USSR, COMECON**,** Romania, collaboration, historians.

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Keywords: Lucia Dragomir, cultural propaganda, Romania, "Potemkin" itineraries, translators.

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Keywords: Civil War, communism, International Brigades, Romania, Spain, volunteers.

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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..

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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.

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

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

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

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

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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.

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

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

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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, Miner s' Strike of 1977.

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FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Ceausescu and the writers. Real-time political and literary analysis*, by Anneli Ute Gabanyi, Litera Publishing House, Bucharest, 2023, 640 p……..264
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FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *A socialist defector: from Harvard to Karl-Marx-Allee*, by Victor Grossman, Corint Publishing House, Bucharest, 2024, 544 p……..…266
Keywords: defection, Cold War, East Germany, informant, Karl Marx University, journalism, Stasi, left intellectual.

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EDITORIAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANA-ALEXANDRA UȚĂ, *The Power and Persuasiveness of the Nazi Propaganda System in Germany. Adolf Hitler's Rise to Power from 1928 to 1933*..... 33
Peculiarities in German history led to the emergence of a "special path" (Sonderweg), which was represented by the rise of Adolf Hitler. Because Hitler's influence was so large, and stretched in technique and approach, it shaped the diversity of interpretations of this phenomenon. The character of Adolf Hitler cannot be understood if we use an isolated reflection on what the demagogue, the mob agitator, and the dictator of the Third Reich meant. This study serves as a guide that provides a vision that brings together the opinions and arguments of specialists and a reflection built from articles and documents on one of the most interesting characters of history, a personality declared by TIME magazine "Man of the Year" in 1938.
Keywords: oratory, demagogue, Elections, Goebbels, Nazi propaganda, Versailles system, Hitler, Nazism.

DORU LIXANDRU, *Carol II of Romania: The Rise of Monarchic Authoritarianism and Nationalism, 1934-1937, II*..... 56
In the years 1934-1937, cultural "carlism" tends to have a special dynamic. The initiatives of King Carol the Second (1930-1940) gradually set up a genuine "cultural offensive", which coincides with the work of his foundations, respectively with the activity of cultural homes in villages and with a series of strategies aimed at spreading the literacy and popularizing reading. In the name of the monarchy, three main directions of cultural action are outlined. The first is related to the policy of spreading the literacy among peasants, the second to the activity of cultural houses, and the third to the initiatives of the royal student teams. But the three strategies are also conceived as a unitary policy, focused at the same time on nationalism, monarchism and sociological research methods theorized by Dimitrie Gusti.
The rise of monarchic authoritarianism is forged and encouraged, besides the king, by a multitude of intellectuals, politicians and military, among which we mention Cezar Petrescu, Pamfil Șeicaru, Vladimir and Constantin Donescu, Nichifor Crainic, Mihail Manoilescu, Nicolae Iorga, Valer Pop, Ion Nistor and Ion Inculeț.
Keywords: King Carol the Second, authoritarian regime, interwar Romania, intellectuals, culture, propaganda.

MIHAI BURCEA, *OGPU/NKVD Residents in Romania of the 1930s. Case studies: Valeriu Bucicov, Ion Vidraşcu, Petre Goncearuc, Vasile Posteucă, and Serghie Nicolau, IV*.....74
Based on a thorough research in different Romanian archives, leading to the discovery of previously unknown documents, this study presents the personal and professional biographies of five communists from Bessarabia acting as illegal residents for the Soviet intelligence, revealing the depth of the Soviet espionage penetration into the Eastern Romanian territory, military and civilian structures.
The study covers both the data-gathering activity of the five, before the war, and their spectacular trajectories, as leaders of the new regime, in the first years after the war. Their extraordinary political evolution – but also very similar among the chosen group – is a model story about the human resources the Communists relied on before and during WWII and the troubled relationship between the „old guard" of the „Moscovites" and the thirst for power of the ethnically Romanian new leaders.
Keywords: Soviet intelligence; Russian agents; espionage; Bessarabia communists; Romanian secret police.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Unknown meetings with Stalin and Dimitrov. Chivu Stoica's visit to Moscow, July-August 1945, II*.....88
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Keywords: Chivu Stoica, Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, Romanian Communist Party, Ştefan Foriș, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

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

The People's Court was an extraordinary tribunal, established by the Romania at the end of the Second World War to try war criminals, those guilty of crimes against humanity and those who had involved Romania in

the world conflagration on the side of the defeated camp, causing hundreds of thousands of victims and had brought the country to the brink of destruction.
It was established in 1945 and convicted some 657 persons, some of the in absentia. Despite the fact that many of those put on trial were criminals, the Government influenced by Communists used the People's Court for political repression against their foes.
Keywords: war crimes, crimes against humanity, Communism, the People's Court, international justice, World War Two, Romania.

JEAN-FRANÇOIS PETIT, ***Religious Persecutions in Socialist Countries. The Case of the Romanian Assumptionists*** **.....115**
The persecution of the Assumptionist Fathers under the Romanian communist regime is an exemplary case illustrating the mechanisms of totalitarianism. From the study of the archives of the Securitate, the physionomy of the modus operandi of its repressive apparatus is studied. It shows that it could only create artificial forms of control and life without capturing the attention and support of populations, especially those who were capable of spiritual resistance.
Keywords: religious persecution, spiritual resistance, totalitarism, repression, Assumptionist Fathers, communist regime, Roumanie.

ALEXANDRA-CLARA IANC, ***The art, the artist and the press: the weapons of the Communist propaganda and ideology in Romania. The Flacăra exhibition of 1948*****.....134**
After the proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic in December 1947, a new direction in art developed. The Flacăra exhibition marks the beginning of Soviet-style socialist realism, which gradually takes hold of the Romanian art scene. The press played an essential role in the establishment of realism and exercised a particular form of control. The Communist Party realised that art and the press could be a powerful tool to convey the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The article analyses the press discourse on the works presented in Flacăra.
Keywords: art history, Romania, communism, socialist realism, press, propaganda.

FLORIAN BANU, ***The Cuban Missile Crisis, a Step of Independence of Romania towards the USSR*** **150**
The outbreak of the most powerful political crisis since the end of World War II, by secretly deploying Soviet medium-range missiles in Cuba, has taken not only the West, but also Moscow's allies by surprise. The decision to move such missiles into Cuba was kept in full secrecy by the USSR leadership, so the Warsaw Pact allies were surprised by the vehement U.S. reaction and the possibility of WWIII. The leadership of the Romanian Workers' Party (PMR) has learned with astonishment that Romania could find itself involved overnight in a devastating conflict, without even being consulted. The reaction of Gheorghiu-Dej, the Leader of PMR, and his team was vehement and led to unprecedented measures in the direction of widening the freedom of political and diplomatic action in the international arena and to strengthen the national control over the Romanian armed forces. A political and military crisis consumed thousands of kilometers away has produced major and long-term effects in Bucharest, reconfiguring the country's domestic and foreign policy for the next three decades.
Keywords: Missile Crisis, Cuba, Romania, USSR, Cold War, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

MIOARA ANTON, ***From an Iron Curtain to a Nylon one. Romania and Great Britain in the years of détente, 1960-1970*****.....174**
The article analyses the evolution of Romanian-British relations in the context of the détente. The mirror image of general and special interests, the way in which the diplomatic agenda of the two countries was structured in the light of the dynamics of the Cold War, and the transformations the world went through in the 1960s show that British interests toward Romania must be seen in the broader context of the redefinition of the UK's foreign policy towards the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. If at the beginning of the Cold War, relations between Romania and the UK were completely frozen, limited to minimal diplomatic representation, in the second half of the 1960s, a completely different dynamic can be detected.
The opening to the East was dictated by both specific interests and the traditional lines of British diplomacy in the region. On the other hand, access to technology was a priority for the Romanian Government and, as

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

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

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, ***E. Hoxha's assessments of the "Romanian factor" against the backdrop of Sino-Albanian relations, 1969-1978*** **..... 193**
The article explores the assessments of Romania's place and role in regional and international politics in the context of developing Sino-Albanian relations in 1969-1978 in the analysis of Party of Labor of Albania's (PLA) first secretary, Enver Hoxha (1908-1985). The author concludes that the main interest of the Albanian leader was to determine possibility of informal alliance between the PRC, Romania and Yugoslavia in the Balkans to resist against the USSR, as well as to change the close relations between Tirana and Beijing to similar between latter and Bucharest. Judging by the evolution of Hoxha's assessments, all of his analyses, in one way or another, actually questioned the establishment of such a tandem that was important to him when the Sino-Albanian relation were permanently coming down.
Keywords: Albania, N. Ceausescu, China, E. Hoxha, Romania, Communist Bloc.

NICOLETA ȘERBAN, ***The Romanians in exile in Paris and their influence over major French media, 1977-1989*** **..... 210**
Towards the end of the 1970s, there is a reactivation of the Romanian exile, along with the change on the international level. The contacts with the French mass media meant a lot for the Romanian refugees in exile: they now had the context to express themselves freely, and above all, to finally be listened to. Access to the major French publications, a dream for the generation of exiles in the early communist decades, now a reality – gave them a huge opening to the Western world. The few Romanians in exile gathered around Monica Lovinescu (Mihnea Berindei, Paul Goma, Dumitru Țepeneag, Marie-France Ionescu, etc.), will successfully manage to use all their resources and any means in order to attract French journalists to their side. Things became all the more serious, as the issue of journalists visiting our country became internationalized, especially in the last two years of the regime.
Keywords: communism, Romanian exile, mass-media, french journalist, Paris.

DOCUMENTS

MIRCEA-DOREL SUCIU, ***For the Third and Last Time: Richard M. Nixon in Ceaușescu's Romania (1982, June 28-30th. A New Document, III*** **..... 223**
The unpublished document – here, the third and last part of it - contains the transcript of the discussions, from June 28-30, 1982, between Nicolae Ceaușescu, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), and Richard M. Nixon, the former president of the United States, who, during the mentioned period, was for the third and last time in Bucharest, in a private visit. In Romania, Ceaușescu and Nixon had met, for the first time, in March 1967, also in the context of a private visit of the American politician (former, at that time, vice president - in two terms - of the USA), the second time, on the occasion of the historic visit official visit to SRR by President Nixon (August 2-3, 1969), the first visit of an American president not only to Romania, but also to a communist state. In 1982, the interlocutors addressed a wide range of issues discussed, from the Romanian-American relations at that time to the examination of the international political situation (for example, the relations between the great powers or the tense reality in the Middle East).
Keywords: Romanian-American relations, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Richard Nixon, Iran – Iraq war, Middle East, the situation in Poland and Soviet reaction.

BIOGRAPHIES

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, ***Cornel Chiriac (1942-1975)*** **..... 234**
Romanian journalist, radio producer, record producer and jazz drummer, Cornel Chiriac (1942–1975) was born in Bessarabia. He graduated from the University of Bucharest's Faculty of English Language. Cornel produced for Radio România the most popular music show of the 1960s – METRONOM. After Invasion of Czechoslovakia he played a ballad which relates how five small wolves and a bigger one attacked a sheepfold. Later put on The Beatles' *Back in the USSR*. He was discovered by Radio Free Europe director Noel Bernard in the Traiskirchen refugee camp and continued his activity in Munich, in RFE's Romanian-language section. He re-launched *Metronom* and *Jazz magazin*, and started *Jazz à la carte*. On March 4, 1975, Cornel was stabbed near his car, in a Munich parking lot.

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

CORNELIU BELDIMAN, *Octavian Ghibu (1912-1996)*.....237
Octavian Ghibu was born in 1912 being the eldest son of Onisifor Ghibu and Veturia Nicolau-Ghibu. He studied economics and law and received a doctorate in economics, becoming one of the youngest businessmen of interwar Romania. He was arrested in 1948, and sent in forced-labour camps during 1950-1951. In 1961, he was tried and sentenced to 17 years in prison on false charges of treason and was released in 1964. In order to earn a living for himself and his family, he was forced to work, until his retirement, in jobs incompatible with his high professional training, taking into account the fact that he had a political severely negative record. As an exception, he had the opportunity to contribute to the improvement of economic university education (insurances). For more than three decades, the main aim of his life was to systematize and publish the huge written work of his father, the scholar, professor and national unity activist Onisifor Ghibu, who was severely marginalised by the communist regime between 1945 and 1972. Octavian Ghibu played an important role in establishing relations with the Republic of Moldova from 1990 onwards and revitalising Romanian spirit in this country; he contributed to the restoration and improvement of the Romanian language and culture in Basarabia by organising the "Onisifor Ghibu" Library in Chișinău (1992).
Keywords: Basarabia, Bucharest, Cluj, communist political prosecution, economics, Octavian Ghibu, Onisifor Ghibu, Great Union, Romania, Sibiu, 140 years.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, *Király Carol (1930-2021)* 241
Carol Király (Király Károly) was born on 26 September 1930 in Târnăveni, Mureș County, into a Hungarian family. He attended four primary classes between 1939 and 1943, after which he worked as a construction worker in various construction sites in Luduș, Cluj region. In April 1946, Carol Király volunteered at the Salva-Vișeu construction site, and in 1949, he went to the Danube-Black Sea Canal construction site, where he also worked as a carpenter. He attended evening party courses. In October 1954, he was accepted as a member of the Communist Party, but remained a U.T.M. activist. In September 1956, he was sent to attend the Central School of the Moscow Comsomol for a year. After graduation in August 1957, he was appointed first secretary of the regional U.T.M. committee of the Hungarian Autonomous Region. His real rise began after Nicolae Ceausescu came to power. He became a member of the Council of State and afterwards member of the CC of the Communist Party of Romania and substitute member of the Executive Committee. On 1 April 1972 he sent a letter to the party leadership announcing that he was resigning as First Secretary of Covasna County and alternate member of the Executive Committee. In 1973, he was appointed president of the Union of Craft Cooperatives in Mureș County. In 1975 he ceased to be a member of the State Council. In the late 1970s and 1980s, he was an exponent of the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania, publicly denouncing their violation through open letters to the state leadership, interviews and material published abroad. In the context of the 1989 revolution, Carol Kiraly was co-opted into the country's new leadership. He died on 4 November 2021.
Keywords: Carol Király (Király Károly), communism, R.C.P., samizdat, ethnic Hungarians.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *Alexandru Valahu (Volohov) (1909-1967)*..... 246
Born in Bessarabia, Alexandru Volohov changed his name to Alexandru Valahu, forging his identity papers after 23 August 1944. He worked as a clerk at the Social Insurance House in Ismail from 1930 to 1932. From 1932 to 1934 he did his military service. At the same time, he carried out intense anti-communist activity, having been recruited as an informer by the Grand Headquarters to provide information on persons suspected of communist activities. In 1934 he was employed by the Ismail police as a public guard at the Law Office. In 1935 he shot a communist who was trying to escape from the security forces. He resigned from the police in 1937. Sentenced in 1948 to 3 years in prison for fraud at the Electric Company. After his release, he took a job as a translator of documents from Russian into Romanian at the Chemical Troops Command.

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

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FLORIN ABRAHAM, ***Artificial Intelligence and the history of totalitarianism*** ***5***

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

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ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *In the world of ideas: Octavian Roske*..... 15
A highly complex intellectual, always starving for knowledge, Octavian Roske intertwined originally his education in philology with contemporary history. A professor at the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures of the University of Bucharest and a scholar in American studies, Octavian Roske was a pioneer of totalitarianism studies in Romania. His work in the history field consists of numerous studies, critical editions of documents, dictionaries, encyclopedias on different topics of the communist history such as the collectivization of agriculture, the penitentiary system, repression, legislation.
Keywords: Octavian Roske, NIST, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, American Studies, totalitarianism studies.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Farewell, Professor Roske*!.....17
This article revisits the 30 years fruitful collaboration of the author with Octavian Roske, founder and editor in chief of „Totalitarianism Archives" and head of the scientific activity within NIST. Dan Cătănuş emphasizes the academic critical but objective perspective of professor' Roske despite he was an

opponent of the communist regime in the 1980s. Moreover the author highlights the remarkable human and intellectual qualities of professor Roske.
Keywords: Octavian Roske, NIST, „Totalitarianism Archives", anti-communist dissent, Radio „Free Europe", academic research.

IULIAN CĂNĂNĂU, *Professor Octavian Roske: A sketch of portrait* 20
This is the sketch of a subjective portrait of Professor Octavian Roske, as I knew him. In this portrait, I share my fond and grateful memories of this exceptional man, introducing the readers of *Totalitarianism Archives* to aspects of his professional life with which they might be less familiar: as a teacher, mentor, vice dean, head of department, and scholar of American literature and history. His professional life was indeed commensurate with his luminous character.
Keywords: Octavian Roske, American Studies, liberalism, University of Bucharest, Department of English, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures.

FLORIAN TĂNĂSESCU, *A much too short life for an initiator and an achiever of bold antitotalitarian scientific projects*.....24
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Keywords: Octavian Roske, NIST, Radio „Free Europe", academic research, communism.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, *A few words on a great friendship* 26
This article revisits professor Ovidiu Bozgan's memories of his intellectual and personal friendship with Octavian Roske. Professor Bozgan describes O. Roske as a balanced man, who could surpass vanities and differences brought to surface when working with large groups of collaborators. O. Roske was a man of large projects, dictionaries and encyclopedias such as „Repressive mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989" and „Romania 1945-1989. Encyclopaedia of the communist regime. Repression". Due to his moderation, balance and organizational skills, Roske had a major role in the existence and development of the NIST to which he dedicated the last three decades of his life.
Keywords: Encyclopaedia of the Communist Regime, Octavian Roske, friendship.

CONSTANTIN BUCHET, *Professor Octavian Roske, a Man of Duty and Duty`s Man. Writer, Professor, Researcher* 28
When I knew Professor Octavian I had a deep impression about a fabulous ,,rendez-vous" with a humanist and enciclopedic personality during the complex time of social transition from Communism to democratic life.
Professor Octavian Roske was the main architect of the *special report* of Commission for Research of Abuses and Petitions within Chamber of Deputies – Romanian Parliament (1990-1992) – under coordination of President in charge, Radu Ciuceanu - the first official document of Romanian state for condemnation of Communist terror ,crimes against humanity and limitation of human rights according to violation of constitutional norms and International agreements in the system of United Nations.
Octavian Roske could be considered a *maker of books* through *dictionaries* for the institutional *mechanisms* of Communist regime and *magna encyclopaedia* of *,,banality of Evil"* based on applied research of *repression* led by political hegemony of *Party* and *Securitate*, as political police and tool of left wing totalitarian state's violence against citizens. Also, Octavian Roske`s academic pleading for objective interpretation of Hegelian *historia rerum gestarum* (the history that was in *historical fact*, without mythology and hagiography of historiography) try to explain in cited encyclopaedia the phenomenon of national Anti – Communist *resistance* against Sovietization and Communization process in Romania.
Keywords: Octavian Roske, professor, researcher, books, NIST.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Professor Octavian Roske – repression during the communist regime: from personal experience to theoretical framework*..... 32
Octavian Roske was a genuine intellectual, interested in studying the phenomenon of totalitarianism, contributing to the development of theoretical concepts since the early 1990s. In his work, three directions of research are evident, all essential for understanding repression during the communist regime. He was

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

STUDIES

ALEXANDRU PETRICĂ OȘCA, VASILICA MANEA, ***Fighting two totalitarian regimes. The case of hero-general Livius Teiușanu, the first Romanian military attaché to the U.S.*** **39**

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

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

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

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

Based on a thorough research in different Romanian archives, leading to the discovery of previously unknown documents, this study presents the personal and professional biographies of five communists from Bessarabia acting as illegal residents for the Soviet intelligence, revealing the depth of the Soviet espionage penetration into the Eastern Romanian territory, military and civilian structures.
The study covers both the data-gathering activity of the five, before the war, and their spectacular trajectories, as leaders of the new regime, in the first years after the war. Their extraordinary political evolution – but also very similar among the chosen group – is a model story about the human resources the Communists relied on before and during WWII and the troubled relationship between the „old guard" of the „Moscovites" and the thirst for power of the ethnically Romanian new leaders.

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

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

This article discusses a sensitive topic of Romanian-Soviet relations for decades, meaning the Soviet-German Non-aggression Pact on August 23, 1939, especially the Secret Protocol.
The volumes, studies and articles published in the Soviet Union and Russian Federation highlight the difficult process of Soviet leadership's acknowledgement of the existence of the Secret Protocol on December 23-24, 1989. That was followed by analysis and views expressed by historians, politologists and Soviet/Russian politicians on the circumstances the protocol was concluded and its consequences for neighboring countries, including Romania.
Keywords: Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Secret protocol, Bessarabia, Gorbachev.

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

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

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

In this article, the author reveals the meetings communist leader Chivu Stoica had in Moscow in July 1945, with Stalin and Georgi Dimitrov. These meetings revealed just now demonstrate the interests of the Soviet leadership in Romanian Communist Party activity during the war, the ousting from power of former general secretary Ștefan Foriș, and the involvement of RCP in the coup on August 23, 1944.
The first part of this study analyses the context of Chivu Stoica's visit to Moscow, brings new information on RCP and Soviet leadership's relations during 1944-1945 and critically analyses Chivu Stoica's accounts of his talks with Dimitrov.
Keywords: Chivu Stoica, Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, Romanian Communist Party, Constantin Pârvulescu, International Labour Movement.

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

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

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

MIRCEA-DOREL SUCIU, *For the Third and Last Time: Richard M. Nixon in Ceaușescu's Romania (1982, June 28-30th). A New Document, II*.....222
The unpublished document – here, the second part of it - contains the transcript of the discussions, from June 28-30, 1982, between Nicolae Ceaușescu, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), and Richard M. Nixon, the former president of the United States, who, during the mentioned period, was for the third and last time in Bucharest, in a private visit. In Romania, Ceaușescu and Nixon had met, for the first time, in March 1967, also in the context of a private visit of the American politician (former, at that time, vice president - in two terms - of the USA), the second time, on the occasion of the historic visit official visit to SRR by President Nixon (August 2-3, 1969), the first visit of an American president not only to Romania, but also to a communist state. In 1982, the interlocutors addressed a wide range of issues discussed, from the Romanian-American relations at that time to the examination of the international political situation (for example, the relations between the great powers or the tense reality in the Middle East).
Keywords: Romanian-American relations; East-West relations during the Cold War; Middle East and the Palestinian Question; Camp David Accords; Iran-Iraq War.

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

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

RALUCA NICOLETA SPIRIDON, *Hans Bergel (1925-2022)* 237
Hans Bergel was a German-speaking Romanian writer and publicist, born in the first half of the last century. His life was constantly governed by the idea of escape. He takes refuge in the mountains to escape deportation to the U.S.S.R. and evades judicial liability when he is about to execute the punishment for the attempted fraudulent crossing of the border. On September 19, 1959, Hans Bergel was sentenced, along with Andreas Birkner, Wolf von Aichelburg and Georg Serg, to hard years in prison for the content of his literary work. In 1968 he emigrated to Federal Germany, as a last act of refusal of the totalitarian state's constraints. Hans Bergel left behind a huge cultural heritage, from novels with autobiographical nuances to poems of existentialist essence.
Keywords: German-speaking Romanian writer, escape, conviction for literary work, emigration, Security, cultural heritage.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Lina Ciobanu (n. 1929)*..... 244
Lina Ciobanu (born 1929) was among the women promoted at the highest level of Romanian Communist Party (RCP). In November 1974, together with Elena Ceaușescu, she was appointed full member of Political Executive Committee of Central Committee (PEC of CC) of RCP. Until the end of the communist regime Ciobanu held many important positions in the party and the state, such as vice prime-minister of the Romanian Government, full member of PEC of CC of RPC (reelected at the XIVth Congress of RCP in 1989), vice-president of National Commission of Demography (1971-1989), president of Women's National Committee (1974-1977), minister of Light Industry (1975-1984), member of Grand National Assembly (1965-1989). Former party comrades and historians consider that she represented a symbol of obedience to Ceaușescu family and especially to Elena Ceaușescu, whom she owed her ascension and professional career in the party.
Keywords: Lina Ciobanu, Romanian Communist Party; communism; communist women; women promotion in Romanian Communist Party.

CLARA MAREȘ, *Micaela Ghițescu (1931-2019)* 247
Arrested in 1952, for correspondence with the former director of the French Institute in Bucharest, Marcel Fontaine, the Securitate accused Micaela Ghițescu of espionage, sentencing her to four years in prison. Released in October 1955 after being imprisoned in Jilava and Mislea, she will arrive home where she will only find her mother. Meanwhile, her father and brother had died.
Forced to declare in writing that she will never apply for a position in education, Micaela Ghițescu barely manages to resume her studies, taking refuge in a discreet career as a translator. Speaking five foreign languages, Micaela Ghițescu will translate dozens of novels from Portuguese, Spanish, English, French and German.
But in communist Romania, the secret police was never too far. In the context of an invitation to the University of Illinois in 1983, she will be pressured and recruited for collaboration under the conspiratorial name "Georgescu". Although initially providing useful notes to Security, officers pointed out that the agent had not reached his potential.
The death of her husband in 1985 makes her stop any collaboration, refusing the indications received. Moreover, she voluntarily reduces her entourage to a minimum, reasoning that she has no one to provide new data about.
Insistently followed on the street, with her correspondence being opened and listening to the conversations in the house through secret microphones, the Securitate found that M. G. had preferred isolation to collaboration. In March 1987, agent "Georgescu" was abandoned due to inefficiency.
From 1990 until her death in 2019, Micaela Ghițescu participated in the editing of *Memoria* magazine, putting all her energy into remembering the sufferings of former political prisoners and their families.

For her literary merits, she was decorated with high Romanian and Portuguese distinctions. In 2012 she signed her only book *Between Forgetfulness and Memory*, published by Humanitas.
Keywords: Micaela Ghițescu, communism, political prison, collaboration, Securitate.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *Petre Preda (1907-?)*..... 251
Born on 6th of June 1907, during the folk riots, Petre Preda joined Police forces in 1932, as instructor of sports at School of Police. Due to allegations of bribery, as he received some sort of money in order to modify students' grades, he was sent to Judiciary Police, being rewarded in a circular order and in informative bulletins of the time, for the way he carried out his work.
As the regime changed, Petre Preda was one of the thousands of police officers that felt the systematic and institutionalised communist terror. He was sentenced to 25 years in prison and his fortune was confiscated, due to the his occupation, he stocked, arrested researched and abused the elements suspected of communist activity. Imprisoned in Aiud Penitentiary on 12th of November 1949, he was released due to 411/1964 Decree. After his release, he was under surveillance. In this biography informative notes are briefly presented, from the verification file reported by Security, the last entry was on 26th of march 1970.
Keywords: Police officers, communism, Petre Preda, Securitate, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, N. Ceausescu.

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Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

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EDITORIAL

FLORIN ABRAHAM, ***The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism: integration, revitalization, modernization*** **..... 5**

The editorial presents the new directions of action of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism. A first objective aims to strengthen collaboration with research institutes in Romania, respectively with the European Remembrance and Solidarity Network. Secondly, the strategy to increase the institute's international visibility is presented, through more conferences and more publications. Thirdly, the research objectives are detailed, which aim at both the completion of ongoing projects and the orientation towards social and cultural history, within non-democratic political regimes..

Keywords: The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Romanian Academy, historiography, totalitarianism, European Network Remembrance and Solidarity, transitional justice, Encyclopaedia of the communist regime.

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Keywords: Cold War, Romania, Soviet Union, United States of America, geopolitics, misperceptions, shocks theory.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, ***OGPU/NKVD About terrorism and communism in the vision of Karl Kautsky and Leon Trotsky*** **……..41**
Since its inception, the Bolshevik dictatorship has been strongly criticized by important representatives of European Social Democracy. One of these was Karl Kautsky. His book, *Terrorism and Communism. A contribution to the natural history of revolution*, is a critique of the Leninist view of the use of terror as a means of government. A year later, appeared the book *Terrorism and Communism. A reply to Karl Kautsky*, written by Leon Trotsky. For Trotsky, "the man who repudiates terrorism in principle must reject all the idea of the political supremacy of the working class and its revolutionary dictatorship and thus repudiates the Socialist Revolution".
Keywords: communism, political terror, Karl Kautsky, Leon Trotsky, political repression.

MIHAI BURCEA, ***OGPU/NKVD Residents in Romania of the 1930s. Case studies: Valeriu Bucicov, Ion Vidraşcu, Petre Goncearuc, Vasile Posteucă, Serghie Nicolau, II*****..... 56**
Based on a thorough research in different Romanian archives, leading to the discovery of previously unknown documents, this study presents the personal and professional biographies of five communists from Bessarabia acting as illegal residents for the Soviet intelligence, revealing the depth of the Soviet espionage penetration into the Eastern Romanian territory, military and civilian structures.

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

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Starting from the case of foreign languages and literatures, the article analyses the transformations that philology underwent at the University of Bucharest in the first year of the reform of education according to the Soviet model. The reorganisation of studies, the introduction of analytical syllabi and the dean's assessment of the first year allow us to observe the changes in the professional activity of academics who tried, in various ways, to adapt to the the constraints of the new political regime.
Keywords: philology, sovietization, Romania, University of Bucharest, foreign languages, curricula.

ILEANA-MARIA RATCU, ***The difficult path of the Department of German Language and Literature between 1940 and 1949 in the light of archival records*** **..... 95**
From 1938, after the retirement of Professor Simion Mândrescu, who had laid the foundations of German philology at the University of Bucharest, the Department of German Language and Literature had a difficult path. Challenging and often precarious historical conditions created unclear legislation, making it difficult to hire competent Germanists eager to integrate into higher education. The present paper traces the decade-long, continuous efforts to attract competent teaching staff to meet the teaching and research needs of German philology. Archival documents reveal known or less known names of Bucharest Germanists. It is interesting to note that over the years, there have been attempts - often unsuccessful - to bring in Germanists from other university institutions in Bucharest, Between 1942 and 1944, we also find university staff from Germany at the Department of German Language and Literature in Bucharest. Although the political situation was not favourable during the decade under review, German

philology in Bucharest managed to maintain an adequate level of performance, oscillating between adapting to political requirements and ensuring the best possible training of students.
Keywords: communism, University of Bucharest, Department of German Language and Literature, German language, university teaching staff, archival records.

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Keywords: Alexandru Popescu-Telega, Hispanist, surveillance file, communist regime, Securitate.

ANAMARIA GEBAILĂ, *Under the sign of class struggle. The beginnings of Alexandru Balaci's career (1938-1950)* 121
A representative figure for Italian studies in Romania in the second half of the XXth century, Alexandru Balaci is known not only for his contribution to literary criticism and to lexicography but also for his political representativity, which allowed him to successfully promote the Italian culture and literature. His career began under the sign of class struggle, and this article investigates the reflection of this fundamental concept for communist ideology in the personnel file of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, as well as in the first works of the Romanian academic, hoping to shed a new light on the affiliation to the communist ideology instrumental in promoting cultural aspects.
Keywords: Alexandru Balaci, class struggle, Italian studies in Romania, ideological affiliation, Romanian Communist Party.

CARMEN BURCEA, *Politics and philology. Alexandru Marcu (1895-1955) in images and documents from the archives*..... 135
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which reflects the springs of the cultural diplomacy during the war. This scientific approach it is founded mainly on unpublished archival sources, but also on memoirs and specialized studies that allow us to fulfill the portrait of an outstanding agent of the Romanian cultural diplomacy in Italy. **Keywords:** Alexandru Marcu, Italian studies, Minister of National Propaganda, Italian political culture, Italian-Romanian relations.

ALEXANDRU-CRISTIAN VOICU, *Romanian-Hungarian relations in the context of Ceaușescu's rural systematization plan, 1988-1989* **149**
Romanian-Hungarian relations were never cordial but after the Second World War they had to become "fraternal", in the name of the communist ideology adopted by both countries. However, towards the end of the 1980s, Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* contributed to the constant deterioration of the relations between the two countries that climaxed in the summer of 1988. Since the plan for rural systematization that the Ceaușescu regime wanted to implement was unfolding, and Hungary perceived it as an attack on the Hungarian minority, the two countries tried to solve the problem diplomatically without success: the Hungarian consulate in Cluj-Napoca was closed, as was the Hungarian cultural center in Bucharest.
Keywords: Systematization, Romanian-Hungarian dispute, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Karoly Grosz, Hungarian minority in Romania.

GEORGE-VADIM TIUGEA, *The Metamorphosis of Soviet Union's Foreign Policy in Putin's Russia, 1991-2020*..... 160
The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to the re-emergence of Russia, as a separate actor, on the international scene. Due to the fact that it was the main successor of the Soviet state, it inherited some of the power attributes of the USSR, among which the most important were the permanent member seat within the UN Security Council, the quasi-majority of armed forces, energy resources and nuclear weapons. The evolution of Russia's foreign policy during the last three decades were influenced by the various stages of internal economic change, by political and ideological disputes among different interest groups, but also by international events that led to the gradual reinsertion of the Russian state in the power games from the various world regions.
This article attempts to sketch, on the basis of ideas launched by consecrated authors, the manner in which Russia's current foreign policy has taken over the Soviet inheritance, both in what regards the strategy towards the West, as well as in what concerns the ideological foundations from the time of the

Cold War. Also, the main schools of thought influencing Russia's strategic thinking are emphasized.
An important role in designing the current foreign policy of the Russian states is played by Vladimir Putin. His approach is naturally influenced by his experience and the positions held over time, including functions within the former Soviet Union. At the same time, his decisions are affected by members of his power circle, made up of people belonging to power structures (*siloviki*), oligarchs or close friends from Sankt Petersburg (some of them characterized as *liberals*). Putin's presence itself at the helmet of the Russian state is the expression of the system inherited from the Soviet Union and of the tendency to restore some of the former superpower's attributes, after the hiatus following the end of the Cold War. For this reason, Putin's Russia seeks to recover supremacy over the former Soviet space and to influence world events in its favour.
The Soviet inheritance is also reflected by the main features of the internal political system, after a transition to democracy and market economy, which many authors consider to have failed. The so-called "sovereign democracy" is nothing but a new guise of a new authoritarian system, which some consider a mere continuation of Soviet totalitarianism. Internal failures are compensated by an increasingly aggressive foreign policy which antagonizes the West and attempts to revise the global order, in favour of a multipolar system dominated by emerging powers with separate influence spheres.
Keywords: Russia, post-Soviet, international relations, Vladimir Putin, sovereign democracy.

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DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The elimination of an inconvenient communist leader. The case of Virgil Trofin (September – November, 1981), II*..... 179
Seen as a possible successor of Nicolae Ceauşescu, Virgil Trofin was removed from RCP leadership in November 1981. That was unexpected and led to numerous speculations. Shortly, his death occurred after he was assigned as a director of an agriculture unit in Călăraşi county as part of his side-tracking from Party leadership. The event increased the mystery around the case.
This two-part article thoroughly studies the relationship between Nicolae Ceauşescu and Virgil Trofin. It also contains the transcript of the Political Executive Committee on November 25, 1981, the scene of the last confrontation between the two leaders.

Keywords: Virgil Trofin, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Romanian Communist Party, Political Executive Committee, party dissidents.

CARMEN STRATONE, ***The End of an Era. Institute for Promoting Romanian Culture Abroad during the events from December 1989*****..... . ..... 209**

The main topic of the article is about Institute for Promoting Romanian Culture Abroad (IRRCS - the Romanian abbreviation), institution in charge with promoting cultural diplomacy and it's predictable end when the political system collapsed during the Romanian Revolution from December 1989. This aftermath could be seen in the lack of power over the cultural diplomacy due to the fact that IRRCS had no control over the cultural and propaganda field and the result of this Romania's image abroad during the communist regime was provided exclusively by the official propaganda channels strictly controlled by the Romanian Communist Party. These propaganda channels followed the guidelines drawn by the politicians who served very well soviet interests in Romania and, in a small, almost insignificant measure this was accomplished also by traditional means, sustained by the voluntary undertakings of the men of culture, literary men, artists, or independent cultural propagators. Year 1989 was a tremendous turning point also for IRRCS and the ways of dealing with the new political and social context were discussed in a series of meetings at IRRCS headquarter. The documents preserved in IRRCS archives kept records from these meetings from November, December 1989 and January 1990.

Keywords: Institute for Promoting Romanian Culture Abroad, Cultural Propaganda, Cultural Diplomacy, Romanian Communist Party, Romanian Revolution in December 1989.

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This dictionary entry explores the biography of Ecaterina Bălăcioiu-Lovinescu, Romanian intellectual and political inmate during the communist regime. The voice highlights the following ideas about her biography: her persecution by the communist authorities and her refusal to collaborate with the Securitate after she was arrested. Like other Romanian political prisoners, Ecaterina Bălăcioiu-Lovinescu, who died in prison, was buried in an unknown place near the former Văcărești penitentiary.

Keywords: Ecaterina Bălăcioiu-Lovinescu, Monica Lovinescu, communist regime, Romanian political prisoners.

FLORIN ȘANDRU, *Dumitru Coliu (1907-1985)*..... 234
In Romania, between WWI and WWII, differently from other states such as Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or Czechoslovakia the communists represented a really minor political force. Among the ethnically non-Romanian members of the tiny Romanian Communist Party was the Bulgarian Dimităr Kolev (Dumitru Coliu) whose biography is presented in this article. The consulted documents, including a number of autobiographies, contain numerous divergent, confusing and contradictory information expressing at this level also the permanent effort of re-writing the past in agreement with different conjunctural requirements.
Keywords: Dumitru Coliu, Romanian Communist Party, Dobrudja, illegality, Comintern, Bulgaria.

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Grigore Iscu was born on 21st of January 1912 in Poduri village, Bacău County. In 1924, he was chosen for the Orthodox faith as novice at Bogdana Monastery (Bacău County). During 1943-1945 he was a missionary priest of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transnistria Region, protosyngellos and exarch of the monasteries from Oltenia Eparchy and an abbot of Tismana Monastery (1945-1948). He supported the National Anti-Communist Resistance Movement from Oltenia which led by Ioan Carlaonț and Radu Ciuceanu. Gherasim Iscu was arrested by the Securitate on 26 September 1948 and sentenced to ten years of hard prison. He was detained at Craiova, Aiud prisons and the Danube-Black Sea Canal (Poarta Albă/White Gate) work camp where he was subjected to reeducation. He died on 25 December 1951 at Târgu-Ocna prison hospital.
Keywords: Gherasim Iscu, Romanian Orthodox Church, political prisoner, National Anti-Communist Resistance Movement (Oltenia), Tismana Monastery.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Ioan Lupaș (1880-1967)*..... 244
fought for the rights of Romanians under Austria-Hungary. As a historian, he wrote numerous works on the history of Transylvanian Romanians, of the Orthodox Church. He was a member of the Romanian Academy, professor of history at the University of Cluj, parliamentarian and minister. He founded together with Alexandru Lapedatu the Institute of National History in Cluj. He was arrested in May 1950 together with other former dignitaries and intellectuals from the interwar period, being imprisoned in Sighet. There he was subjected to very harsh conditions of detention, but survived, being released in 1955. He was under the supervision of the

Securitate, and from 1957 some of his scientific works began to be published.
Keywords: Ioan Lupaș, historian, the Romanian Academy, Romanian Parliament, Goga-Cuza Government, political prisoner, Sighet prison.

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This article is a short biography of the writer Dinu Pillat. Its first aim is to highlight the main biographical aspects that made Dinu Pillat a true "class enemy" and brought him to the spotlight of the Communist "Securitate" since 1954. The article also brings forward the deeds attributed by the judicial authorities of that time to Dinu Pillat, who was arrested on the 25th of March 1959 on charges of "treason against the homeland" and "conspiracy against the social order".
Keywords: Romania, Dinu Pillat, writer, communist repression, Noica-Pillat batch, political prisoner.

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On September 12, 2022 Radu Ciuceanu died. He was an honorary member of the Romanian Academy and founding director of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism of the Romanian Academy. In this article, Octavian Roske, co-founder of the NIST, recalls how he met Radu Ciuceanu before 1989, the provocative actions against the communist regime they initiated, and how Radu Ciuceanu was surveilled by the Securitate since 1963, after serving already 15 years of prison.
Keywords: Radu Ciuceanu, National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Securitate, communist repression, Octavian Roske.

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ILIE SCHIPOR, *The „Fate" or „Destiny" of the Romanian Treasury. Considerations from Bucharest and Moscow*..... 15
Using documents identified in the Russian archives, this study intends to answer part of the many questions raised by Tatiana Pokivailova in her book *„The fate of «Romanian gold» in Russia, 1916-2020. Historical*

essays". Therefore, readers are provided with scientifically documented proofs regarding the historical context of the evacuation of the banking treasury (December 1916) and the identity treasury (July 1917) of Romania in Russia; their seizing by the bolshevik government (January 1918); the ongoing control of the soviet power on the gold and valuable Romanian goods until the final spending of the last part of the Romanian National Bank reserve (1925), the selective restitution of the archives (1935) and the partial return at Bucharest of the identity and patrimony values of Romania (1956).
Last but not least, the article uses information identified in dozens of documents found in the Moscow archives. That contradicts opinions in the previous century regarding the appropriation by the white guard or the Czechoslovak volunteers of the Romanian banking treasury, partial or total melting of the Romanian gold in 1918-1920; using it for financing the communist movement or paying Russia's war reparations after the peace at Brest-Litovsk etc.

Keywords: treasury, Romanian gold, The Soviet Union, Comintern, Lenin, jewellery, identity values, Kremlin, Armoury Palace, Ssudnaia Kazna.

MIHAI BURCEA, *OGPU/NKVD Residents in Romania of the 1930s. Case studies: Valeriu Bucicov, Ion Vidraşcu, Petre Goncearuc, Vasile Posteucă, and Serghie Nicolau, I*..... 43
Based on a thorough research in different Romanian archives, leading to the discovery of previously unknown documents, this study presents the personal and professional biographies of five communists from Bessarabia acting as illegal residents for the Soviet intelligence, revealing the depth of the Soviet espionage penetration into the Eastern Romanian territory, military and civilian structures.
The study covers both the data-gathering activity of the five, before the war, and their spectacular trajectories, as leaders of the new regime, in the first years after the war. Their extraordinary political evolution – but also very similar among the chosen group – is a model story about the human resources the Communists relied on before and during WWII and the troubled relationship between the „old guard" of the „Moscovites" and the thirst for power of the ethnically Romanian new leaders.
Keywords: Soviet intelligence; Russian agents; espionage; Bessarabia communists; Romanian secret police.

STEFANO SANTORO*, Italian cultural policies in Romania: From fascism to communism, 1943-1950*..... 78
This article examines the Italian cultural policies in Romania between 1943 and 1950, from the end of the Italian Fascist regime to the beginning of the harshest phase of the Cold War, considering the different cultural and educational institutions operating on the territory, from the Institute of Italian Culture to the primary schools. Despite all the difficulties represented by the war and the political-institutional upheavals which affected both countries, Italy still attempted to preserve its significant cultural presence in Romania even in the profoundly changed post-war context: the reality of the Cold War, however, put an end to this project.
Keywords: Italy, Romania, Cultural policies, Fascism, Communism.

GHEORGHE ONIȘORU, *The Revolt of the "fellow traveller". Gheorghe Tătărescu`s Memoir from May 22, 1947* 93
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Keywords: People's democracy, Gheorghe Tătărescu, memorandum, National Liberal Party, the emergence of communism in Romania.

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Keywords: communism, political terror, political repression, Catholic Church, treason.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *The problem of the ideological education of the Romanian Communist Party members reflected in some documents from 1971*..... 135

The Leninist dogma about the leading role of the (communist) party in society represented one of the basic features of the postwar regimes, Romania included. To ensure the most efficient playing of this role, the party members had to attend marxist-leninist politico-ideological training sessions at specialised institutions. The present article is based on some documents produced in 1971, at the level of the leadership of the communist party, regarding exactly some aspects of this problem:the institutions, the mechanisms and the level of trening (and selection) of the trainees. We must mention the fact that for the history of the communist regime in Romania the year 1971 has a double importance, marking both the 50-year jubilee of the foundation of the party and the launching on July, 6-th the famous thesis by Nicolae Ceausescu referring to the strengthening of the ideological control of the cultural life.
In this way,after some years of relative but noticeable relaxation, which started in 1963/1964, the dogmatism showd strong signs of coming back.
Keywords: regime, ideology, party, state, political education, statistics, proposals.

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The phenomenon of Romanian protochronism is examined from two perspectives in this article. The first part of the study discusses the political circumstances that led to the concept coagulation of protochronism, in the context of July 1971 ideological shift, as well as the alignment of the theory with the regime's goals. In the second phase of the inquiry, we will comprehensively examine one of the most prominent sources of protochronist discourse dissemination during the 1970s, the cultural magazine "Luceafărul." Numerous protochronist editorials appeared in the weekly's pages, culminating in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The last part of the present article analyses the reviews dedicated to Edgar Papu's books as the notoriety of the comparatist grew rapidly among the followers of the new literary theory. Although the protochronism of the comparatist Edgar Papu initially targeted the literary area, the current was later taken over and applied in several fields by the most radical of its followers.
Keywords: protochronism, nationalism, literary theory, propaganda, Edgar Papu, Luceafărul.

ALEXANDR STYKALIN, ***The political changes of 1989 in the countries of Eastern Europe and the revision by Moscow of the doctrine of "limited sovereignty"*****..... 164**

As early as in the 1950s, especially in connection with the events of the fall of 1956 in Hungary, the need appeared for the formation of the Soviet doctrine of intra-bloc policy aimed at keeping under the military-political control of the USSR (if it was necessary – by force) the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe, which fell under its influence as the result of the Second World War. However, this policy demanded its detailed ideological foundation as late as in 1968, when a large-scale military action was undertaken by five member countries of the Warsaw Pact to suppress the "Prague Spring". The concept of the Soviet foreign policy towards the bloc allies, which was reflected in some program manifestations of 1968, was defined in the West as the doctrine of limited sovereignty or the “Brezhnev doctrine”. Polish crisis of 1980-1981 demonstrated the objective limits that stood in the way of the practical application of this doctrine. With the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev and his team in 1985 the Soviet leadership launched a revision of the principles of its policy towards the allied countries but it was not inclined to exert pressure on the communist leaders of Eastern Europe to reassess the specific facts of the Allies' military intervention in the internal affairs of these countries. The official revision of the Soviet concept, which affirmed the principle of collective responsibility for what is happening in one of the bloc's allied countries, was announced in December 1989, after the “velvet revolution” in Czechoslovakia.
Keywords: USSR foreign policy, Eastern Europe, Soviet bloc, the doctrine of collective responsibility, the doctrine of limited sovereignty, the Hungarian events of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Polish crisis of 1980-1981, M. Gorbachev, disintegration world socialist system.

MIHAI TRĂILĂ, *The political changes of 1989 in the countries of Eastern Europe and the revision by Moscow of the doctrine of "limited sovereignty"*..... 182
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doctrine". Polish crisis of 1980-1981 demonstrated the objective limits that stood in the way of the practical application of this doctrine. With the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev and his team in 1985 the Soviet leadership launched a revision of the principles of its policy towards the allied countries but it was not inclined to exert pressure on the communist leaders of Eastern Europe to reassess the specific facts of the Allies' military intervention in the internal affairs of these countries. The official revision of the Soviet concept, which affirmed the principle of collective responsibility for what is happening in one of the bloc's allied countries, was announced in December 1989, after the "velvet revolution" in Czechoslovakia.

Keywords: USSR foreign policy, Eastern Europe, Soviet bloc, the doctrine of collective responsibility, the doctrine of limited sovereignty, the Hungarian events of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Polish crisis of 1980-1981, M. Gorbachev, disintegration world socialist system.

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PETRE OPRIŞ, *The Suicide Attempt of Paul Cornea, Director in the Ministry of Culture, March 28, 1955*..... 198

Paul Cornea (1923-2018) was a Romanian literary historian and theoretician. After a short period in politics as a young Communist intellectual, Cornea devoted himself to an academic career and became one of the most important historians of Romanian literature and a specialist in comparative literature of international reputation. On March 23, 1955 he tried to suicide because he was afraid of those who might accuse him of pointing to the books published by Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu (an enemy of the people, at that time) for use in preparing a lesson on Marxism-Leninism about the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Romania.

Keywords: Paul Cornea, Romania, Marxism-Leninism, suicide, Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The elimination of an inconvenient communist leader. The case of Virgil Trofin (September – November, 1981),*..... 205

Seen as a possible successor of Nicolae Ceauşescu, Virgil Trofin was removed from RCP leadership in November 1981. That was unexpected and led to numerous speculations. Shortly, his death occurred after he was assigned as a director of an agriculture unit in Călăraşi county as part of his side-tracking from Party leadership. The event increased the mystery around the case.

This two-part article thoroughly studies the relationship between Nicolae Ceaușescu and Virgil Trofin. It also contains the transcript of the Political Executive Committee on November 25, 1981, the scene of the last confrontation between the two leaders.
Keywords: Virgil Trofin, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romanian Communist Party, Political Executive Committee, party dissidents.

MIRCEA-DOREL SUCIU, *For the Third and Last Time: Richard M. Nixon in Ceaușescu's Romania (1982, June 28-30th). A New Document, I* 230
The unpublished document – here, the first part of our contribution - contains the transcript of the discussions, from June 28-30, 1982, between Nicolae Ceaușescu, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR), and Richard M. Nixon, the former president of the United States, who, during the mentioned period, was for the third and last time in Bucharest, in a private visit. In Romania, Ceaușescu and Nixon had met, for the first time, in March 1967, also in the context of a private visit of the American politician (former, at that time, vice president - in two terms - of the USA), the second time, on the occasion of the historic visit official visit to SRR by President Nixon (August 2-3, 1969), the first visit of an American president not only to Romania, but also to a communist state. In 1982, the interlocutors addressed a wide range of issues discussed, from the Romanian-American relations at that time to the examination of the international political situation (for example, the relations between the great powers or the tense reality in the Middle East).
Keywords: Romanian-American relations; East-West relations during the Cold War; United States and the communist world; Middle East; Soviet Union and Poland.

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Nicolae „Nicu" N. Ceaușescu was the youngest son of Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu, leaders of the Romanian Communist Party from the 1960s until the Revolution of December, 1989. Born in 1951 he was given important political position within the State and the Communist Party, whus projecting him as the natural successor of his parents in what could have been the only case of „dynastic Communism" in Europe. Nicu Ceaușescu's political career ended abruptly at the end of 1989, after the fall of the regime and the execution of his family. He died in 1996.

Keywords: Nicu Ceauşescu, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Romanian Communist Party, dynastic Communism.

CARMEN STRATONE, *Mihai Dalea (1917-1980)*..... 250
One of the important leaders ruling the destiny of the diplomatic ties of communist Romania in Moscow, Mihai Dalea was a member of nomenklatura during the Romanian socialist regime. Even if his professional trajectory wasn't always as steady as it should be for a close member of the high-ranked leaders as Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Mihai Dalea is a long lasting leaders from Romanian Communist Party. The article discuss his professional trajectory based on his Cadre file from the archive of the RCP, mostly unknown until now and memoirs of other communist leaders.
Keywords: Mihai Dalea, biography, nomenklatura, Romanian Communist Party, Moscow, Romanian ambassadors.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Nicolae Giosan (1921-1990)*..... 253
Nicolae Giosan distinguished himself in studies in the Soviet Union, through his experiences and research conducted at the chair headed by academician Trofim Lysenko. He was the first aspiring agricultural engineer in Romania to obtain the scientific title at the "Timiryazev" Academy and, in general, in the Soviet Union. At the time, he studied the biology of wheat hybrids with a view to increasing productivity. Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Forestry (1953-1955), director of the Research Institute for corn culture in Fundulea (1957-1962). First vice-president (1962-1965) and President (1965-1969) of the Superior Council of Agriculture, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry (1969), member and president of the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences (since 1969). Member of Romanian Workers' Party's Central Committee (1955-1989), alternate member of Romanian Workers' Party's Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee (1974-1989), deputy in all legislatures between 1957 and 1989 and president of the Grand National Assembly (1974-1989).
Keywords: Nicolae Giosan, agricultural engineer, member of Romanian Academy, communist statesman, Grand National Assembly's president.

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Cornel Pacoste was one of the most important RCP activists in the 1970s and 1980s, even though he was not in the high ranking.
The first part of his career was linked to academic life. After 1953, he taught at the Construction Institute in Bucharest and at the same time, he was a

party activist for the university youth. In 1973, while he was the first-secretary of the Bucharest University Centre Party Committee, he was sent to work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Headquarters as chief of direction and party secretary organization within the MFA.
He worked closely with the Foreign Intelligence Direction, especially with general Ion Mihai Pacepa. After general Pacepa' defection, Pacoste was initially side-tracked. However, in time he resumed his functions as first secretary at Timiş county (1982), Executive Political Committee deputy member (1984), and vice president of the government (1987).
During the days of the 1989 revolution in Timişoara Pacoste was sent by Nicolae Ceauşescu to calm the spirits. He was arrested on December 22, 1989 and sentenced to 20 years.
Keywords: Cornel Pacoste, Romanian Communist Party, Bucharest University Party Centre, Foreign Intelligence Direction, December 1989 Romanian Revolution.

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Totalitarianism Archives

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, LVI. In memoriam Dan Berindei: The Man and his Work*..... 5

At the end of 2021 Dan Berindei a historian and member of the Romanian Academy passed away at the age of 97. This article is a tribute to this great Romanian historian who dedicated his all life to his highest passion, history research.

Keywords: Dan Berindei, historian, scientific research, Romanian Academy, communist repression.

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In its century-long history, the Romanian Communist Party struggled not only to gain political power, but also to be accepted by the Romanian public as an important political force. Not being very concerned with the quest of the rampant social injustice in the interwar Romania, in the beginning the Party was nothing but a Soviet fifth column, pleading for the distruction of the national State. After taking power with Soviet support after WWII and the Stalinist terror in the 1950s, the RCP started a long journey to make

peace with the Romanian society through fast economical development and strenghtening patriotic feelings against Moscow control. In the end, the regime collapsed due to increased shortages and economic bankruptcy.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Socialist ideology, Political legitimacy, Romanian-Soviet Relations, State power.

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Keywords: Adrian Brişcă, Romania, communism, anticommunist resistance.

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After going through several files containing new documents about the civilian nuclear programs in Romania and Poland, we can say that the main link between them was made through the Soviet authorities – who launched those programs in the two countries in 1955 because the level at which were the researches in the USSR it already allowed to manufacture atomic and thermonuclear bombs. The details of the Moscow authorities' view of using scientists from Romania, Poland and other communist countries for scientific purposes in a much broader nuclear (military and civilian) development program remain to be sought.
Keywords: Civilian Nuclear Programs, Romania, Poland, reactor, the Soviet Union, Dubna.

VASILE BUGA, *Plans for building a nuclear power plant in Romania with Soviet technical assistance, 1965-1989*..... 54
During the 1960s, Romania focused primarily on industrialisation of the country and the development of energetics and nuclear energetics. Consequently, in September 1965 the Romanian Communist leadership approached the Central Committee of the CPSU with the proposal of building in Romania a nuclear power plant with Soviet technical assistance. Following negotiations, in May 1970 was signed an agreement for building a VVER Nuclear power plant with a capacity of 440 MW. However, delay in negotiations regarding the reliability of the plant in the context of Romania's seismic activity, especially after the March 1977 earthquake, as

well as Romanian concerns after the 1986 Chernobyl accident led to a progressive loss of interest in the project by the Romanian side.
Keywords: nuclear power plant, technical assistance, Soviet Union, Romania, seismic activity.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The History of Romania and the issues of Bessarabia and Transylvania as tackled in the Soviet handbooks, 1967-1968*..... 80
Romanian Communist national policy at the beginning of the 1960s brought to light serious divergencies with the dominant power, the Soviet Union. That meant also the different interpretations of moments/events in the history of Romania related to the existing borders.
In 1968, Romanian diplomats in Moscow drew attention to the fact that Soviet handbooks and history journals presented Romanian participation in WWI as „imperialist". Moreover, the union of Bessarabia, Transylvania and Northern Bukovina with Romania in 1918 were seen as consequences of the Romanian military occupation, not a result of the will of the local population. According to the Soviet interpretations, the Entente recognized the union as a reward for Romania's active involvement in the fight with Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary.
This article highlights the differences in historical approaches of the two countries. While the Soviet historiography perpetuated the old Comintern theses, drafted at the beginning of the 1920s (in use until the collapse of the Soviet Union), in Romania, the trend in historiography favoured a return to the classic bourgeois interpretation of the national history.
Keywords: Soviet historiography, Romania, Bessarabia, Transylvania, WWI.

ANDREI COSMIN POPA, *The papers of a celebration: The Romanian Communist Party's Semicentenary of 1971*..... 93
Communist anniversaries had always had an important impact on historiography. Numerous works were published and dedicated to celebrated historical events. This was the case for the Romanian Communist Party's Semicentenary. As well, it was the occasion of publishing its „work of identity" – an official Party history, the Romanian version of "The Short Course".
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, anniversary, Communist ideology, historiography, ISISP, The Short Course.

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The aim of this paper is to shed light on the continuities and changes that far-right movements undergo throughout historical changes. It does so by focusing on the transnational and transgenerational dynamics through which the Legionary Movement fostered its existence from the settings of the Cold War exile to post-communist Romania. In order to illustrate these transnational and transgenerational dynamics, the paper compares the activities of the legionaries in their late Cold War exile with their activities in early post-communist Romania.
Keywords: Legionary Movement; transmission of memory; Cold War exile; 1989; post-communist Romania.

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Doina Cornea is a Romanian dissident who impressed the western public opinion with her fragility, but also by the daring attitude she showed towards the regime. She was arrested in 1987, but this did not stop her in her actions. Foreign politicians and journalists are interested in her fate, which makes her famous in the West. This protected her from the cruel revenge of the Security. Foreigners who tried to contact her during 1988-1989 were treated violently, in the same manner she herself was treated. This brutal treatment only increased criticism over the Ceausescu regime, which had become detested in most chancelleries around the world.
Keywords: Doina Cornea, communism, Romania, dissident, journalist, Western world.

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LUCICA IORGA, VASILE BUGA, ***Nicolae Ceauşescu would have preferred Romania to be outside the Warsaw Pact! Talks with Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov (1982-1983)*** **..... 136**
The attempts of the Romanian leadership to put on the first plan their view about vital matters for the Soviet Union (economic cooperation between CMEA members, Sino-Soviet split, arms race, disarmament, abolition of military blocs) trigger a negative attitude on the part of the Soviets. As a result, Romania became in Moscow's eyes a dissident who constantly tried to ignore many of the Warsaw Pact rules. Yuri V. Andropov, who became on 12 November 1982 General Secretary of CC of the CPSU after the death

of Leonid I. Brezhnev, strongly believe that any dissent is a danger for the monolithic unity of the socialist bloc and might be rooted out immediately. This was the main reason for Andropov's distant and unfriendly attitude towards Romanians communist leadership, which increased when he was elected General Secretary of CC of the CPSU.
In this short period (1982-1984), Andropov met *tête-à-tête* with Nicolae Ceaușescu twice, on 21 December 1982 and on 4 January 1983. Romanian archives don't preserve the records for this meeting, but we have found the Soviet records in the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI) in the Fond Yuri V. Andropov. We are publishing a Romanian translation of these two documents.
Keywords: Romanian-Soviet relations, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Yuri V. Andropov, Warsaw Pact, disarmament, abolition of military blocs.

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Keywords: Dumitru-Dorin Prunariu, Leonid Popov, spacemen, Soyuz-40, Intercosmos program.

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Keywords: Alexandru Budișteanu, Nicolae Ceaușescu, rural systematization' program, traditional villages, "Opération Villages Roumains".

BIOGRAPHIES

ANDREEA DOBEŞ, *Ioan Bălan (1880-1959)* 174
Ordained priest on June 24th 1903, metropolitan canonic (1921), delegate to the Vatican Commission for drafting the Canonic Code of the Eastern churches (1929) in October 1936, Ioan Bălan was named Greek Catholic bishop of Lugoj. Arrested on October 29th 1948 in Lugoj, detained at the local Securitate centre, the next day was transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On October 31st 1948 he was admitted to Dragoslavele, then to the Căldăruşani Monastery (February 27th 1949). On May 24th 1950 he was transferred to the Sighet Penitentiary - the "Danube" - work colony, being employed in a working unit, following the Ministry of Internal Affairs decision No 64 from January 30th 1952 for 24 months. By the Ministry of Internal Affairs decision No 684 from December 28th 1953, the penalty was increased by 24 months, starting from January 30th 1954. On January the 4th, 1955, he was transferred from Sighet, together with bishops Iuliu Hossu and Alexandru Rusu, and was admitted two days later to the Gerota Sanatorium and on the 2nd of February 1955 to the Hospital „I.C. Frimu" from Bucharest. On May 7th 1955 he was moved with forced domicile to the monastery of the Court of Argeş. On April 23rd 1956, the three Greek Catholic bishops sent a memoir to Gheorghiu-Dej in which they protested against the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church. As a reply, the authorities decided on July 12 1956 to move the hierarchies to the Ciorogârla monastery. After priests Vasile Chindriş and Izidor Ghiurco held a liturgy in Cluj in front of several thousand believers on August 12, 1956, the next day, the three bishops were divided. Bishop Ioan Bălan remained in Ciorogârla. He died on August 4th 1959 at the age of 79. The inhuman conditions in prison, and the restrictive life during forced domicile associated with the old age, led to his death but consecrated him as a martyr, who preferred the final sacrifice in the fight to preserve his faith. On March 19th 2019 the Holy See recognized the martyrdom of Bălan. The beatification liturgy was held on June 2nd in Blaj, on the Plain of Freedom, by Pope Francis.

Keywords: Bishop Ioan Bălan, Greek Catholic Church, arrest of the Greek-Catholic bishops; penitentiary regime; Sighet penitentiary; forced domicile; Greek-Catholic martyrs.

GHEORGHE ONIŞORU, *Grigore Caraza (1929-2014)*..... 177
Grigore Caraza was one of the unknown heroes who chose the path of the anti-communist armed struggle. To this end, he founded the organization "Brotherhood of Arms", which was discovered by the Securitate in August 1949. From this moment begins the ordeal, with two periods of detention

until 1964. Although Romania officially denies the existence of political prisoners during Nicolae Ceausescu`s, however, Grigore Caraza was arrested and imprisoned again between 1970 and 1977. After his release, under pressure from the United States, he was given the right to leave the country in 1980. He returned after the fall of communism and had the opportunity to study the files drawn up in his name by the former Securitate. **Keywords:** Aiud, anti-communist resistance, human rights, exile, Grigore Caraza.

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The Sovietization of Romania and the installation of the communist regime were the consequences of two events which took place towards the end of WW II: the first was "The Agreement of Percentage" in October 1944 and the second was the advance of the Red Army towards the centre of Europe. That was supported by the force of weapons and the result was the establishment of political regimes fully controlled by and obedient to Moscow.
Gheorghe P. Dinu had a career as a lawyer and as a Police commissioner during a period of great changes in the history of Romania, 1938-1945. He worked at the Police departments of Arad, Lipova and Timişoara, where he was involved in the discovery of some legionary and communist organizations and in the arrest of their members, activity which led to his arrest and sentence in 1954 to 25 years of heavy prison.
He was freed in 1964 from the prison of Gherla. Since he knew many former police officers, he was recruited as a Security informer in September 1964. In this position, he made 198 informative notes regarding former working or detention colleagues. This ended in 1973 when his collaboration with the Securitate ended.
Keywords: Police, clandestine organizations, Legionary Movement, communism, political prisoner.

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One of the few Romanian communists that had a different ethnic background than the majority of the Romanian Communist Party, Janoș Fazekaș rose steadily through the ranks, being favoured in part by its Hungarian ethnicity. Unlike other high-ranking members of the RCP (Vasile Luca or Alexandru Moghioroș), Fazekaș has not denied his ethnicity and kept a strong and active link with his native area, as he considered that being a Hungarian is part of his political identity, while constantly trying to improve the economic and cultural state of the Szekler-populated regions.

Keyword: Janoș Fazekaș, Romanian Communist Party, Hungarian minority, Hungarian Autonomous Region.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Manea Mănescu (1916-2009)* 188
This article analyzes Manea Mănescu's life trajectory. Manea Mănescu was a member of the nomenklatura during the Romanian socialist regime and also held important positions within the State administration (between March 1974 and March 1979, he was a prime minister). The main „turning points "of Mănescu's biography came under attention, with an accent on his political activity during the Second World War and on how and why the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) reassessed this period of Mănescu's life periodically after 1945. The well-known expression of the French historian Henry Rousso - „le passé qui ne passe pas "/„the past that not pass" - which refers to the impact of the Vichy syndrome on French society after the Second World War, seems to have functioned in Manea Mănescu's case as well. From 1945 until 1960, even when he held key positions within the State and Party hierarchies, this official had to explain an alleged collaboration with the military dictatorship.

This article also briefly discusses the main developments of the Romanian state-socialist regime in the second part of the 1970s, when Manea Mănescu was a prime minister and his role in the institutionalization of the Romanian cybernetic as a scientific field.

Mănescu's biography relies on his Cadre file from the archive of the RCP, other unpublished documents, memoirs of the communist functionaries, and secondary literature.
Keywords: biography, life-trajectory, Manea Mănescu, nomenklatura, Romanian Communist Party, Romanian prime ministers, political elites, state socialist regimes.

ADRIAN NICOLAE PETCU, *Teodor M. Popescu (1893-1973)* 205
One of the greatest theologians that Romanian Orthodoxy had in the 20th century was Teodor M. Popescu, professor of Church History at the Faculty of Theology in Bucharest. Before and during the Second World War, Professor T. M. Popescu took a stand against the persecution to which Russian believers in the Soviet Union were subjected. He wrote studies and articles, gave lectures, and went to Winitza to witness the exhumation of those killed by the secret Soviet police. Later, after the installation of the communist regime in Romania, all these constituted accusations that attracted an unjust conviction at the end of the `50s.

Keywords: atheist persecution, Teodor M. Popescu, anti-communism, Church History, Theology.

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Șerban Stănciulescu asserted his vocation for freedom in his teenage years. In 1977, he joined the Human Rights Movement initiated by Paul Goma. Being constantly harassed by the Securitate, along with other young people, he was a member of the Balta Brăilei Group, named after the area where some of them have been sent to a labour camp by the communist regime. When he arrived in the West, in 1978, the director of the Romanian Department of Radio Free Europe Noel Bernard, impressed by his education and individuality, offered him to hold a series of musical encounters in the show „Metronom".
Keywords: Șerban Stănciulescu, communism, human rights, freedom, Radio Free Europe, Securitate.

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Ioan Ursu was one of the most important Romanian physicians, who specialized in atomic physics and nuclear physics. His academic activity was very well known also abroad, where he conducted specialized research in his field and became a member or in charge of different international organizations. From 1969 to 1976 he was appointed as President of the State Committee of Nuclear Energy. His prodigious achievements in the field of nuclear energy were continued with a very long academic activity, publishing more than 100 scientific paperwork, studies, and handbooks in Romania or abroad. Ioan Ursu had also political activity during the '70s, being a Communist Party member from 1961.
Keywords: Ioan Ursu, Nuclear Technology, Committee of Nuclear Energy, Romanian Nuclear Program, Romanian Communist Party.

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The article contains the author's reflections on some of the moments of World War II and how the leadership of the Great Alliance cooperated while pursuing their political interest.

Keywords: WWII, Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill, secret deals.

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The hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921 is the perfect moment to analyze the history of this political movement and its meaning for the Romanian society during the XXth century. Founded as a section of the IIIrd Communist International, the RCP failed to represent any social change in a country full of inequalities because

of its anti-national programm to cancel the territorial results of the Great Union of December 1st, 1918.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Comintern, Sovietization, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, political repression.

GHEORGHE ONIȘORU, *A Story with Expected Result: The Legionnares' Rebellion of January, 1941* 28

The bankruptcy of the authoritarian regime of King Carol II facilitated the establishment in September, 1940 of the "National-Legionary" State. Led by General Ion Antonescu and politically supported by the Legionary Movement, the new regime went bankrupt in four months. Our study aims to identify the motives and motives that led to the "rebellion" of January, 1941.
Keywords: Legionary Movement, "National-Legionary" State, rebellion, massacre, pogrom, Ion Antonescu, Horia Sima, Adolf Hitler.

SEBASTIAN LIGARSKI, *The policy of Polish communist authorities on artists between 1945 and 1989*..... 41

The policy of the communist authorities towards writers and artists in the 1945 to 1989 period can be divided into several stages. The first lasted from the end of 1944 to November 1947. The second stage lasted from November 1947 until the end of 1949, when socialist realism was forcibly introduced into all areas of cultural life. The third stage ended at the beginning of 1955, when one could observe a weakening of the authorities (accused of violations of the socialist rule of law). The whole year 1955 and the turn of 1956/1957 is referred to as the "thaw" period. During Władysław Gomułka's era (October 1956 – December 1970), the attitude adopted by the authorities towards artists remained mostly unchanged. It manifested itself as an ideological offensive and repression of any emerging signs of resistance in that community. When Edward Gierek was in power as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (1970-1980), the policy towards writers and artists evolved in two stages. The first (1971-1976) was characterized by liberalism and pragmatism, as part of a regime's legitimization strategy. During the second stage, lasting from February 1976 to August 1980, preventive and repressive elements began to prevail in the position taken towards artists, who increasingly voiced opposition towards the authorities. Opposition was to be quashed by more stringent censorship, numerous searches, interrogation of

artists and harassment. In 1980 and 1981, the authorities concentrated on ensuring that the managing bodies of the artist/writer associations had the right political credentials, although with no effect. They supported artists with communist party affiliations and unsuccessfully tried to attract the neutral centre and to exploit it. During the martial law period, the authorities adopted a repressive policy towards artists, but they failed to put an end to their boycott of public institutions. The attempt to use artists to legitimize the activities of the authorities in the perestroika period was only partially successful. Finally, the cultural policy of the authorities was put aside altogether after the political changes of 1989.
Keywords: Poland, communist, artists, policy, history.

ELENA SIMONA GHEONEA, *Musicians and the Securitate: The Case of the Composer Mihail Andricu*..... 54

This study aims, using The Securitate documents, found in the Archives of the National Council for the Study of The Securitate Archives, to show what the first three decades of the communist regime meant for the life and career of Romanian composers. We do this analysis through the composer Mihail Andricu, trying to find out how the establishment of the communist regime influenced his musical career and artistic freedom. Educated as a musician in Paris and Bucharest, one of the founders of the Society of Composers, with an important composition activity before 1945, Mihail Andricu was a well-known figure in the music world when the communist regime was established. Mihail Andricu began to be persecuted by the Securitate in September 1951 because he publicly defended some musicians criticized for political reasons. From this moment until 1974, the year of his death, he is permanently in the attention of the Securitate, the file opened in his name gathering over the years a number of 17 volumes.
Keywords: classical music, Mihail Andricu, communism, composers, ideology, The Securitate.

MICHAŁ SIEDZIAKO, *Sejm elections in the communist-ruled Poland in the light of new research*..... 75

Regularly held elections are one of the most basic characteristics of democratic states. Cyclic elections took place in nearly all the dictatorships of the 20th century, including the Central and Eastern European states which fell under the dominion of the Soviet Union after the 2nd World War. Yet despite bearing the name, they were completely different from democratic

elections in the West. The essay presents the current state of knowledge on the issues of their organisation and the reliability of their results on the example of Poland. It makes use of the author's research into several Polish national and regional archives as well as the latest literature on the subject. The author discusses, among others, the pre-selection of the MPs, the composition of electoral boards, the methods of electoral propaganda and the cases of electoral fraud.
Keywords: state-controlled elections, communist propaganda, Polish United Workers' Party, communist-ruled Poland, electoral fraud.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, ***Was there any forefeeling? Romania in COMECON through the eyes of NATO and European Commission, 1957-1962*****..... 92**

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Keywords: COMECON, Eastern bloc, European Union, NATO, Romania, USSR.

VASILE BUGA, ***Aspects of the Romanian-Soviet cooperation in the areas of military and civil technique during 1960-1980*****.....106**

The Romanian-Soviet cooperation in the military technique began with Romania's entering the Warsaw Pact (April 1955). That was justified by the need to equip the Romanian army properly. In the first years, the Soviet part granted credits for military technique. Afterwards, new forms of cooperation developed, such as granting licences, assimilation of new military techniques using documentation and Soviet technical assistance, the joint development of new weaponry, especially in aviation. This cooperation registred also setbacks as during the Czechoslovak crisis in August 1968 or due to Romanian difficulties in paying the imported technique.
Keywords: techical assistance, cooperation, specialisation, licence, credit, Ceaușescu, Brezhnev.

ALINA ILINCA, Liviu Marius Bejenaru, *The clandestine congress of August 22, 1968, of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its consequences*..... 122

Expected to take place on September 9, 1968, the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was postponed to August 22, 1968, as a result of the invasion of the country by the troops of the Warsaw Pact (except for Romania).
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The invasion of the Czechoslovakia and the cancellation of the congress led to the end of the "Prague Spring" and revisionism.
Keywords: "Prague Spring", clandestine congress, invasion, Czechoslovakia.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Vietnam War: From Challenge of Credibility to Peace with Honour, III: Nixon Administration*.....137

On April 10, 1975, in an address before a Joint Session of the Congress President Gerald Ford said that "the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia has reached a critical phase requiring immediate and positive decisions by this government." In his view the United States had two options. Either to "let the Government of South Vietnam save itself and what is left of its territory, if it can," or "to enforce the Paris accords with our troops and our tanks and our aircraft and our artillery and carry the war to the enemy". To help South Vietnam to repel communist aggression, Ford requested that "Congress consider appropriating additional funds" ($722 million) "in very specific military supplies". Ford also reminded the Congress of the fate of "nearly 6,000 Americans who remain in South Vietnam and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese employees of the United States Government, of news agencies, of contractors and business for many years whose lives, with their dependents, are in very grave peril." With no Congress authorization for additional funds for Saigon troops, Ford ordered the evacuation of "all American personnel remaining in South Vietnam" (over 1,300 Americans) and around 5,600 Vietnamese. With the fall of Saigon, on April 30, 1975, the war that influenced the foreign policy

decisions of four American administrations (Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford) ended. While Kennedy's support for South Vietnam was based on his belief that "every time a country, regardless of how far away it may be from our borders passes behind the Iron Curtain the security of the United States is thereby endangered", Johnson viewed the commitment to prevent communist expansion into Indochina as a test of credibility for the United States: "We are in South Vietnam because we have a promise to keep… Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and the value of America's word."
Keywords: Vietnam War, Lyndon B. Johnson, Gerald Ford, Ho Chi Minh, Richard Nixon, Robert McNamara, Viet Cong.

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The research is trying to trace the presence of the terrorist Carlos in the Securitate archive files, during the period when he had not yet come into contact with the Romanian intelligence services. Since 1975, Carlos the Jackal has been mentioned in the Securitate documents as a dangerous terrorist, under international surveillance by police around the world. These mentions suddenly disappeared in 1980, when it was alleged that the terrorist Carlos was contacted by the Romanian intelligence services. The study proposes to survey these mentions, trying to establish their relevance in the anti-terrorism policy of the Romanian communist state. At the end of this approach, the author advance some explanations for the lack of documents from the Securitate archives regarding the collaboration of Carlos the Jackal with this institution, as well as about the terrorist attack perpetrated on Radio Free Europe.
Keywords: Carlos the Jackal, Romania, terrorism, Cold War, communism, Middle East.

MIHAI BURCEA, *„The Red Necropolis" in Charles Park. A short history*..... 182
In the late 1950s, the Romanian communist leaders decided to build a necropolis for the remains of prominent figures of the socialist and communist movement.
The study focuses on the institutions that coordinated the construction of the monument, the origins of the building materials, the managing staff of the

site, the well-known political activists who were buried there. The sources used vary from official archival files of the era, press articles, and testimonies given, after the fall of the regime, by those directly involved in managing the memorial site.
Keywords: communism; nomenklatura; memorial sites; personality cult; state funeral practices.

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General Ion Mihai Pacepa, the operative chief of the Romanian Intelligence, vanished in the evening of 28 July 1978 from a hotel in Köln. A few days later, the west german press announced that the general had been taken over by the CIA for which he had worked for several years and was taken in to the United States where he was offered political asylum.
This article reproduces the only two existing transcripts of discussion at the level of Communist leadership regarding Pacepa's case on 14 and 16 August 1978. The 14 August transcript contains the assurances provided by the American government that they will not use Pacepa case in a mediatic campaign against Romania and President Ceauşescu.
The article presents Pacepa's case evolution, Nicolae Ceauşescu's first reactions, the Romanian-American talks in August-December 1978 on the matter. In 1987, the American government broke the agreement and allowed Pacepa to get involved in the mediatic campaign against Romania. The author presents the context of this decision and what justified it.
Keywords: General Ion Mihai Pacepa, intelligence, România, Nicolae Ceauşescu, C.I.A., Red Horizons.

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the Governor of the National Bank of Romania. In this capacity, in 1944, he coordinated the operations aimed to evacuate the central bank's gold reserve to the Tismana Monastery. Between 1950 and 1955, he was imprisoned by the communist authorities together with other former dignitaries. After his release, he was exiled and lived in Măzăreni, in the Bărăgan fields, until 1957. He died in 1973.
Keywords: National Peasant Party, National Bank of Romania, communism, repression, political elites.

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Teohari Georgescu was one of the important leaders during the beginning years of Romanian communism. A printer, Georgescu, was arrested and incarcerated several times until 1944 for illegal communist activity. After 1945 he was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs and had an important contribution to imposing a Stalinist communist regime. Together with Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca they set up a political faction. In 1952 they were accused of "right deviation" and removed from all leadership positions. Teohari Georgescu was arrested and interrogated by the Securitate until 1956, when he was released and sent to the printing shop where he had worked. In 1968, he was rehabilitated by Nicolae Ceaușescu.
Keywords: Teohari Georgescu, Romanian Communist Party, right deviation, Gheorghiu-Dej, Stalinist inquires.

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Ana-Maria Goma was born on August 14, 1946, in Bucharest. Her father, Petre Năvodaru (Peter Fischer), was a former outlawed communist, marginalized within the Communist Party, and banned from the signing after his daughter's marriage to writer Paul Goma in 1968. Due to the harassment of the Securitate, in November 1977, Ana-Maria Goma and their two-year-old son left for Paris, where they applied for asylum status. Ana-Maria Goma stood by her husband in all his actions and decisions until she died, giving up on her career as an interpreter.
Keywords: Ana-Maria Goma, Paul Goma, asylum, communism, ban, opposition, Securitate.

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colleagues and acquaintances, being sentenced on November 15, 1958 to 15 years of heavy imprisonment in the Gherla prison. After being released from prison, the agents of the Securitate contacted him and tried, without success to make him an informer. He continued to the end of his life to have a hostile attitude towards the communist regime, exposing his dissatisfactions in public, even after he got warnings from the Security about this attitude.
Keywords: Nicolae Ivănescu, Police officer, Security, informative, communism, perceptions.

MARIUS UGLEA, *Ion Pantazi (1920-1996)*..... 265
Ion Pantazi, author of the memorial volume "Am trecut prin iad" (I have been through hell), is one of the emblematic figures of the anti-communist resistance in Romania, being one of the organizers of the most spectacular escape from a labor camp: the escape from Mina Cavnic, June 6, 1953.
He was born on July 26, 1920, in Bucharest. In 1940, he graduated from the Military High School in Cernăuți, in 1942, the Military School of Cavalry Officers with the rank of lieutenant. He fought on the front in the 9th Roșiori Regiment, being promoted to lieutenant on May 10, 1945. On March 1, 1946, he was removed from the active army and expelled as a law student due to his origin and training, considered dangerous by the newly installed political regime in Romania.
Keywords: Ion Pantazi, Romania, anti-communist resistance, forced labour, political prisoners.

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Keywords: legionary movement, Nicolae Pătrașcu, The Georgescu – Pătrașcu Pact, repression, communism.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Ion Stoian* (1927 - 2012)..... 271
Ion Stoian was the last minister of Foreign Affairs of socialist Romania, appointed in November 1989, one month before the regime's fall. Stoian was born in a humble family from the Prahova region, one of the most important industrial sites in interwar Romania from where many future

socialist leaders originated. Forced to abandon school because of the lack of financial means during the Second World War, the teenager Ion Stoian began his apprenticeship to become a turner. A skilled worker by profession, after the war, he showed interest in politics as well and was recruited for one of the multiple schools created by the Communist Party to train a new political bureaucracy. At the beginning of the 1950s, Ion Stoian started a long career as a professional activist. This biography helps to explore: the typicality and atypicality of Stoian's career; how the first generation of socialist functionaries was recruited and trained; the most important positions held until 1989; his role in the fall of the regime and during the first moments of transition to post-socialism; Stoian's fate during post-socialism.
Keywords: Ion Stoian, Romanian Communist Party, political bureaucracy, foreign policy, Nicolae Ceauşescu.

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In March 1990, the National Union Provisional Council's leadership, the first institution acting as a Parliament in postcommunist Romania, discussed the law of compensations for the persons repressed by the Communist regime after March 6, 1945. Radu Ciuceanu, who was present at the discussions, recalls the moment the members of the anti-communist movement and former political prisoners after 1945, some former members of the Legionary movement, were included among the beneficiaries of the law.
Keywords: Romania, anti-communist resistance, political prisoners, Legionary Movement, National Union Provisional Council.

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The development of higher technical education (HTE) in the countries of Eastern Europe after the Second World War is part of the processes of profound social and economic changes that occurred after the establishment of totalitarian regimes. In each of these countries, the transformation and evolution in this area until 1989 took place under different conditions, they shared a number of common features, as well as some peculiarities due to the specific conditions. This article deals with the cases of Bulgaria and Romania, focusing mainly on the general trends in the functioning of the HTE system in the period from its reorganization in the late 1940s to 1963-1964, when both countries entered a new stage of development in this field. The development of HTE after 1948 in both countries was characterized by massovietization and democratization and a radical change in its structure and curricula. The reform severed the ties with the training centers in the West and linked the training with the Soviet Union.
Keywords: history of higher education, massovietization, transnational model, Communist Romania, Communist Bulgaria.

DOBRINKA PARUSHEVA (Bulgaria), ***"Old Wine in New Bottles", or about the Modernization(s) in the Balkans*** **..... 24**
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Keywords: modernization, the Balkans, europenization, sovietization, development under state socialism.

LUCIAN VASILE, ***Commander Mircea Pătru – The life and acts of a secret agent of the Romanian exile*** **..... 36**
After 1945, the Romanian Army suffered several waves of purges seeking to eliminate any officers with explicit anti-communist opinions or were „unreliable" for the new regime. One of those expelled from the military staff was Mircea Pătru, a former pilot that was constrained to work in offices due to an unfortunate accident. Knowing that he may face arrest, Pătru fled the country in 1948 and reached Paris, where, together with other

former officers, formed the Intelligence Service of the Romanian Officers in Exile (SIMRE). This structure was founded with French support, but worked independently, having the goals to fight the communist regime in Romania, support internal resistance, and create spies networks. Pătru was engaged in many projects varying from contacting new agents to preparing the groups that were to be sent in the mountains to help the armed resistance. While some of them had notable success, others ended in tragedies, some claiming that Pătru was at least partially responsible for it. The article seeks to examine Mircea Pătru`s biography by putting his life events in the larger context of the secret confrontation between East and West conducted in the first decade of the Cold War.
Keywords: Romanian military exile, Mircea Pătru, Cold War, Spies, SIMRE.

BRÎNDUȘA COSTACHE, *The Nationalisation of the National Bank of Romania and the repression of the bank clerks, 1946-1952*..... 53
One of the objectives of communist leaders in their fight for power was the transformation of banks, particularly banks of issue, into instruments of control over the entire economy. In Romania, the restructuring of the banking system culminated in the reconfiguration of the objectives, functions, and structure of the National Bank of Romania. The reconfiguration of the issuing institution could not have been complete without eliminating those bank clerks who were seen as hostile to the changes in the organisation of the financial and banking system.
Keywords: National Bank of Romania, right deviation, financial and banking system, purge, bank clerk.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *„You tell them, Mironică!" Miron Constantinescu' five finest years and his relation with Gheorghiu-Dej, II: 1954-1956*..... 77
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Keywords: Miron Constantinescu, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Romanian Workers Party, New Course, destalinization, Nicolae Ceauşescu.

CARMEN STRATONE, ***Cultural challenges for Romania and Bulgaria at the beginning of the Cold War. Institutions and means for cultural propaganda*****..... 91**
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Keywords: Cultural propaganda, Romanian-Bulgarian cultural exchanges, Cultural Institutions, Romanian literature, Bulgarian literature.

PETRE OPRIŞ, ***The Soviet Union's plan to dismantle NATO and Romania's position, 1954-1991*****.....105**
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Keywords: Brejnev, Ceauşescu, Khruschev, NATO, Warsaw Treaty Organization.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, ***The Vietnam War: From Challenge of Credibility to Peace with Honour, II: Johnson Administration*****..... 118**
On April 10, 1975, in an address before a Joint Session of the Congress President Gerald Ford said that "the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia has reached a critical phase requiring immediate and positive decisions by this government." In his view the United States had two options. Either to "let the Government of South Vietnam save itself and what is left of its territory, if it can," or "to enforce the Paris accords with our troops and our tanks and our aircraft and our artillery and carry the war to the enemy". To help South Vietnam to repel communist aggression, Ford

requested that "Congress consider appropriating additional funds" ($722 million) "in very specific military supplies". Ford also reminded the Congress of the fate of "nearly 6,000 Americans who remain in South Vietnam and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese employees of the United States Government, of news agencies, of contractors and business for many years whose lives, with their dependents, are in very grave peril." With no Congress authorization for additional funds for Saigon troops, Ford ordered the evacuation of "all American personnel remaining in South Vietnam" (over 1,300 Americans) and around 5,600 Vietnamese. With the fall of Saigon, on April 30, 1975, the war that influenced the foreign policy decisions of four American administrations (Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford) ended. While Kennedy's support for South Vietnam was based on his belief that "every time a country, regardless of how far away it may be from our borders passes behind the Iron Curtain the security of the United States is thereby endangered", Johnson viewed the commitment to prevent communist expansion into Indochina as a test of credibility for the United States: "We are in South Vietnam because we have a promise to keep… Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and the value of America's word."
Keywords: Vietnam War, Lyndon B. Johnson, Gerald Ford, Ho Chi Minh, Richard Nixon, Robert McNamara, Viet Cong.

VASILE BUGA, ***Political and social-economic issues on the agenda of the Romanian-Bulgarian high-level meetings, 1965-1985*** **..... 143**
This article aims to discuss the main points on the agenda of the Romanian-Bulgarian high-level meetings in the period 1965-1985 and is based mainly on Romanian archival documents. During their frequent meetings, Nicolae Ceaușescu and Todor Zhivkov addressed topics such as the domestic policies of the two countries; the Romanian-Bulgarian bilateral relations (political, economic, cultural and scientific); issues on the international agenda such as the collaboration in the Balkans and with other socialist countries, with the member states of the international organizations of the communist block - W.T.O. and COMECON; European security; disarmament; the international communist and labour movement etc. The two leaders paid a special attention to the bilateral talks, and sincerely intended to strengthen the collaboration between their countries. Since their first meeting, occasioned by Nicolae Ceaușescu's official visit to Bulgaria in September 1965, the idea of broadening the Romanian-Bulgarian relations

by strengthening the mutual trust dominated all meetings between the two leaders, being reiterated each time. The differences of opinion on some issues on the international agenda were naturally determined by the different historical conditions in which the two countries evolved.
Keywords: Romania, Bulgaria, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Todor Zhivkov, COMECON, Warsaw Treaty Organization.

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In 1973, Romania joined The International Criminal Police Organization - Interpol. Thus, Romania became the second country in Eastern Europe, after Yugoslavia, to join this organization. Following the accession to Interpol, the Miliția (Romanian police) was appointed as the law enforcement agency to maintain permanent relations with foreign police forces. The study aims to present the domestic and international context that made this affiliation possible, as well as the bureaucratic mechanisms used by a communist state to join an international organization belonging to the Western world.
Keywords: Romania, Interpol, Miliţia, communism, international organizations, Cold War.

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Keywords: Ceaușescu, Jaruzelski, Romanian-Polish relations, economic relations, coal.

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Keywords: Opération Villages Roumains, communism, villages, demolition, humanitarian aid, enthusiasm.

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Keywords: Romanian Army during the Communist Regime, Higher Political Directorate of the Army, Nicolae Ceaușescu, political propaganda among soldiers, Red Army in Romania, Soviet advisers.

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Spiru Blănaru was born on June 23, 1919, in the village of Crăieşti, near Tecuci. Fatherless, he ends up in the care of relatives. After graduating from

high school in Radauti, he followed the Faculty of Law and the law internship in Iasi. From his early years, he was active in the Legionary Movement. In World War II, he fought on the eastern front, where he was wounded, shortly before August 23, 1944. Sent to the Military School of Reserve Officers in Lugoj, he deserted, rejecting the idea of fighting with the Soviet army. He stayed in the Banat region, at Caransebeş and Domaşnea, where he joined the legionaries. Between 1945-1949 he was very involved in the preparations and the development of the anti-communist armed resistance in the Banat Mountains. Spiru Blănaru participated in the partisans' attack on the Gendarmerie Station in Teregova (January 12/13, 1949). Later on, he took part in the battle of Pietrele Albe (February 22, 1949). Chased by the Securitate, he was arrested on March 12, 1949. He was sentenced to death and executed on July 16, 1949.
Keywords: Romania, Spiru Blănaru, anti-communist armed resistance, Banat Mountains, Legionary Movement, 1949.

ADRIAN NICOLAE PETCU, *Constantin Galeriu (1918-2003)* 233
Constantin Galeriu is one of the most famous contemporary Romanian theologians, as a preacher of depth, charismatic and dedicated to the service of the altar. However, less is known about Father Galeriu's sufferings in the communist prison, which we found in the archives of the former political police and that we offer in this material.
Keywords: Constantin Galeriu, repression, Romanian theologians, Romanian Orthodox Church, communism

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, *Paul Goma (1935-2020)*..... 235
A writer, Paul Goma was the most famous Romanian dissident. Born in 1935 in Romanian Bessarabia, Goma had to face a life of exiles. First, he and his family were forced to take refuge to Romania after the Soviet ultimatum in June 1940. However, in Romania, they had to face the Securitate's harassments after August 23, 1944. As a student at the Faculty of Philology, Goma was arrested and convicted in November 1956 for manifesting solidarity with the Hungarian revolution. After two years in prison and three more in forced domicile, Goma resumed his studies in 1965. However, his endeavour of publishing novels on the Stalinist abuses could not be accomplished in Romania, as the censorship had denied the publishing of his works. In the spring of 1977, Goma founded the human right movement in Romania. After spending two months in arrest, Goma was released and joined the Romanian exile in Paris in November 1977.

Until his death in 2020, he remained a political refugee in France and never returned to Romania.
Keywords: Paul Goma, writer, dissident, human rights, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

COSMIN BUDEANCĂ, *Lucreția Jurj (1928-2004)*..... 242
Lucreția Jurj was one of the few women who were involved in the anti-communist armed resistance in Romania. Between 1950 and 1954 she was a member of the "Teodor Șușman" Group, active in the Apuseni Mountains. She was arrested and sentenced to forced labour for life, later reduced to 25 years of forced labour, out of which she served 10. After 1990, she shared her life experience with the larger public.
Keywords: anticommunist resistance, Romanian prisons, Lucreţia Jurj, "Teodor Șușman" Group, Apuseni Mountains.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Gheorghe Oprea (1927-1998)*..... 247
Gheorghe Oprea, a high ranked party functionary, was born in 1927 in a needy family from Prahova region. All his family, and he as well, worked for oil plants from the region. A very good, thirst for knowledge student, with an appropriate social and political background, in 1949 Oprea was selected and sent to University for Workers' Education in Bucharest. Short of well-prepared cadres, after graduation the Romanian Workers Party kept the young graduate in its central administration. Meanwhile, he completed his higher education at the Polytechnic of Bucharest. A mechanical engineer, Gh. Oprea had a long career within both the Romanian Communist Party and Romanian state central administration, being a member of party central leading bodies and a deputy prime-minister for many years, in charge of economic issues. Gh. Oprea was arrested in December 1989, when he was coming back from Turkey, where he had headed an official Romanian delegation. In the phoney years that followed the end of communism in Romania, Oprea was trailed, acquitted, trialled again and sentenced to 14 years in jail and finally pardoned in November 1996. He passed away in 1998, in Bucharest.
Keywords: Gheorghe Oprea, Romanian Communist Party, central administration, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Romanian Revolution.

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Grigore Preoteasa was one of the first foreign ministers of Communist Romania appointed shortly after Stalin's death. A genuine intellectual with studies in literature and economics but born in a poor working family, Preoteasa joined the illegal communist movement in the mid-1930s. During

1940-1944 he was kept in a camp of antifascist political prisoners. Although initially a sympathizer of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, he changed sides and became a supporter of Gheorghiu-Dej, who promoted him in several party and government positions. He died in November 1957 in a plane crash.
Keywords: Grigore Preoteasa, Romanian Communist Party, Stalinism, antifascism, minister of Foreign Affairs.

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Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

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EDITORIAL

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On the 4th of June, 2020 it was celebrated the centenary that marked the signing of the Peace Treaty in Trianon between the winning Allied Powers in the Great War and Hungary. The treaty stated the separation of the regions Transilvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș from Austria-Hungary. The mentioned territories were inhabited in majority by Romanians. This article presents the personality of Ionel Brătianu, leader of the National Liberal Party and Romania's prime-minister during 1914-1919, his role in Romania's entering the WWI on the side of the Entente and the achieving of Romanian national unity. The article offers a glimpse into the evolution of negociations with Hungary at the Peace Conference in Paris (1919-1920), and the meanings of the Treaty in Trianon for Romania 100 years after its signing.
Keywords: Peace Treaty in Trianon, Romania, Hungary, the Great War.

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Keywords: World War I, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Italy, Saint-Germain, Trianon.

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Keywords: Cesare Pavese, Antifascism, Italian culture, writers and politics, Italian Resistance, Italian Communist Party, intellectuals.

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of those people died on the way to prison or in the imprisonment. Those survived after their liberation were under continaul operative supervision of the Security till the death.
Keywords: Bessarabian statemen, Romania, refugees, communist repression, secret police.

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Keywords: Petru Groza, March 1945, Communist Takeovers, Ploughmen Front, „traveling companion", Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

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Keywords: Germans from Romania, deportations, Stalinism, ethnic minority, World War II, Communization of Romania.

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Communist Party. Like many others militants from the party's illegality period, Gaisinschi was formed and educated in an hostile environment for the RCP: clandestine political activities, political detencion, anti-Semitism, chauvinism.
Eventually she too fell victim to the internal power struggles whithin the party, being purge and retired after a Plenary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Commitee, at which several veterans of the movement were marginalized, or removed from the party.
Keywords: Elvira Gaisinschi, illegalist, investigations, purges, terror, Romanian Communist Party.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *„You tell them, Mironică!" Miron Constantinescu' five finest years and his relation with Gheorghiu-Dej, I: 1952-1954*..... 121
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The first part of this study follows the rising of Miron Constantinescu and the evolution of his relationship with Gheorghiu Dej up to their frictions regarding the sentencing to death of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, in spring 1954.
Keywords: Miron Constantinescu, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Romanian Workers Party, right-deviation, New Course, De-Stalinization.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Vietnam War: From Challenge of Credibility to Peace with Honour, I*..... 139
On April 10, 1975, in an address before a Joint Session of the Congress President Gerald Ford said that "the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia has reached a critical phase requiring immediate and positive decisions by this government." In his view the United States had two options. Either to "let the Government of South Vietnam save itself and what is left of its territory, if it can," or "to enforce the Paris accords with our troops and our tanks and our aircraft and our artillery and carry the war to the enemy". To help South Vietnam to repel communist aggression, Ford requested that "Congress consider appropriating additional funds" ($722 million) "in very specific military supplies". Ford also reminded the Congress of the fate of "nearly 6,000 Americans who remain in South Vietnam and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese employees of the United States Government, of news agencies, of contractors and business for many years whose lives, with their dependents, are in very grave peril."

With no Congress authorization for additional funds for Saigon troops, Ford ordered the evacuation of "all American personnel remaining in South Vietnam" (over 1,300 Americans) and around 5,600 Vietnamese. With the fall of Saigon, on April 30, 1975, the war that influenced the foreign policy decisions of four American administrations (Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford) ended. While Kennedy's support for South Vietnam was based on his belief that "every time a country, regardless of how far away it may be from our borders passes behind the Iron Curtain the security of the United States is thereby endangered", Johnson viewed the commitment to prevent communist expansion into Indochina as a test of credibility for the United States: "We are in South Vietnam because we have a promise to keep… Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and the value of America's word."

Keywords: Dean Rusk, Gerald Ford, Ho Chi Minh, John F. Kennedy, Richard Nixon, Robert McNamara, Viet Cong, Vietnam War.

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Keywords: Romania, CMEA, the Soviet Union, Ceaușescu, Gorbachev, integration.

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ruling authorities – strikes, rallies, street manifestations, etc. The general characterization is illustrated with specific examples taken from the author's individual research and ample literature on the subject under discussion.
Keywords: students, anti-communist opposition, People's Republic of Poland.

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Keywords: Nicolae Ceauşescu, Mikhail Gorbachev, Romania, the Soviet Union, 1989 Revolution.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, *The 1989 Romanian Revolution and the Dutch Parliament (Staten-Generaal): debates and assessments (fall 1989 – winter 1990)*..... 211
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Keywords: Romania, the Dutch Parliament, Eastern Europe, the Netherlands, 1989.

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STYKALIN, ALEKSANDR, *"This country in good hands could become a pearl ..." Romania of early summer of 1945 seen by the members of the delegation of the Soviet intelligentsia*..... 226
In early summer 1945 the first visit to Romania by a fairly representative delegation of Soviet artists and scientists took place. It was fully used by the Allied Control Commission and the Romanian Communist Party to propagate the achievements of Soviet culture and science, and indirectly the advantages of the Soviet system and its ideology. The arrival of a number of really large musicians and ballet dancers in the country attracted the Romanian public, and interest in the lectures of prominent Soviet scientists was demonstrated in the academic and university circles. A reduced record of the meeting in Moscow in June 1945 which discussed the results of the trip of the Soviet cultural delegation to Romania is published below. It may be seen that the members of the Soviet delegation, persons formed under the Soviet system and absolutely loyal to the Soviet regime, looked at the realities of postwar Romania through the prism of their ideology. But this view even not objective, but nevertheless, as a rule, benevolent, let them assess the enormous potential of Romania, which, according to Soviet observers – convinced communists, could be realized only under communist rule. Besides, even through the pink glasses of their stereotypes and their ideas about the inevitable triumph of communist project, the Soviet visitors could not help but see the real moods in Romanian society.
Keywords: Romania, 1945, ARLUS, Soviet intelligentsia, cultural propaganda, Sovietization.

BIOGRAPHIES

ALESANDRU DUŢU, ***Aurel Aldea (1897-1949)*..... 248**
Following an ordinary military career, corresponding to his rank and training, General Aurel Aldea stood out especially after the transfer to the reserve in April 1941. Starting with 1942 he joined the group of generals devoted to King Mihai I, who was preparing the aligning of Romania to the United Nations. In the summer of 1944, he pronounced for the ousting of Marshal Ion Antonescu. On August 23, 1944, Aldea was appointed Minister of Interior (until November 4, 1944). In the autumn of 1945, in the context of the conflict between King Mihai I and the government of Dr. Petru Groza, he took the initiative to establish a Central Command of the National Resistance Movement in order to coordinate the activity of its organizations: "Haiducii lui Avram Iancu", „Sumanele Negre", „Grupul Înarmat Sinaia", "Graiul Sângelui". In 1946 he was arrested, tried and sentenced to life in

prison. The sentence was eventually commuted to severe imprisonment. He died in Aiud prison, on October 17, 1949.
Keywords: anticommunist resistance, Alexandru Aldea, King Mihai I, Romanian Army, Aiud prison.

COSMIN BUDEANCĂ, *Alexandru Dejeu (1923-1958)*..... 250
Alexandru Dejeu was a veterinarian and leader (along with Dr. Iosif Capotă) of the anti-communist resistance organization "Christian National Front «Iuliu Maniu». The Group for Freedom, Homeland, and the Cross", also known as the "Capotă-Dejeu" Group. The organization operated during 1947-1957 around the town of Huedin (Cluj County), especially by drafting and disseminating manifestos on various topics, criticizing the communist regime. After his arrest, Alexandru Dejeu was sentenced to death and executed on September 2, 1958, in the Gherla penitentiary.
Keywords: anticommunist resistance, condemnation to death, executions, Alexandru Dejeu.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Ion Dincă (1928-2007)* 252
Ion Dincă (1928-2007) was among the important members of the Romanian Communist Party who were put to trial after the fall of communism. Accused of genocide, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, but, in the end, he was released after spending 5 years in prison. He was a general in the Romanian Army, Secretary of the Supreme Political Council of the Army, a deputy in the Grand National Assembly between 1961 and 1989. Among the positions he held, we mention: member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP (1976-1989), Deputy-Prime - Minister of the government and Minister of industrial construction (1979-1980), First Deputy Prime Minister of the government (1980-1989), vice president of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development (1982-1985) and Mayor of Bucharest.
Keywords: Ion Dincă**,** Romanian Communist elite, Mayor of Bucharest, General of Romanian Army, Deputy-Prime-Minister, Trial, Post-Communist Justice.

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Born on February 15, 1927, Dinu C. Giurescu was to become one of the leading historians of Romanian society. With a tradition of great historians in his family (his paternal grandfather, Constantin Giurescu, and his father, Constantin C. Giurescu were historians), during the communist regime, Dinu C. Giurescu was not admitted as a professor at the Faculty of History

of the University of Bucharest. In March 1988, the historian Dinu C. Giurescu and his family emigrated to the United States of America. Following the invitation the dean of the Faculty of History, Zoe Petre, addressed him, to join the staff at the Department of Romanian History, Dinu C. Giurescu returned to the country in the summer of 1990. Forty-one years after graduating from college, in October 1990, the historian Dinu C. Giurescu began teaching at the Faculty of History. Where, as he confessed, he wanted to enter as a graduate assistant since 1949, after completing his university studies.
Keywords: historian, professor, Constantin C. Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, communist regime.

ADRIANA COSTĂCHESCU, *Maria Iliescu (1927-2020)*..... 259
On January 21, 2020, Prof. Dr. Maria Iliescu passed away (92 years old). One of best European specialist in the field of Romance languages, Maria Iliescu has substantial contributions in the description and classification of the Neo-Latin languages, with a particular focus on French, Friulan, and Romanian (history, characteristic linguistic traits, semantics, and pragmatics). She made clear that several 'individualities' of Romanian, sometimes attributed to a linguistic Balkan influence, can be found in earlier phases of some Neo-Latin languages (such as old French) or several Romance dialects (of Italian, Spanish, Rhaeto-Romanic). Maria Iliescu taught mainly at four universities (Bucharest, Craiova, Innsbruck, Trento) but, as visiting or substitute professor, she gave academic courses at the universities of Zurich (Switzerland), Kiel, Munich, Düsseldorf, Köln (Germany), Gant (Belgium). She supervised an important number of graduation thesis and doctoral dissertations. She was Vice-president (2001-2007) and then President (2007-2010) of the *Société Internationale de Linguistique Romane* (Strasburg).
Keywords: Maria Iliescu, researcher and professor in Romance languages, studies about Friulan, French and Romance characteristics of Romanian.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Gheorghe Vasilichi (1902-1974)*..... 262
Gheorghe Vasilichi was one of the genuine figures of Romanian communism. Born in a family of poor peasants he trained as a tinker. During the 1920s he signed up in the union and afterwards he became a member of the Romanian Communist Party. He was sentenced to 12 years of hard labour for taking part in the strike of petrol workers in Prahova Valley. He escaped prison and fled to the USSR. In 1938 he was sent by the Comintern in France. He was part of the M.O.I. leadership (Main-d'Oeuvre

Immigrée) and fought in French Resistance. He was arrested in 1943 and sent to Dachau. After his return in Romania in 1945, he was assigned different positions in the party and state leadership. During the time he was accused of Titoism, antisovietism, nationalism, Maoism etc.
Keywords: Gheorghe Vasilichi, Romanian Communist Party, Comintern, M.O.I. (Main-d'Oeuvre Immigrée), French Resistence.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, LII. Looking back in anger…* *5*

The following text is a protest sent to the Board of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives regarding the public discussion that emerged after the declarations of two researchers of CNSAS questioning the responsibility of the penitentiary administration, and respectively the Communist authorities, in the horrid process of reeducation through torture. Radu Ciuceanu is an Honorable Member of the Romanian Academy, director of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, former political prisoner, and a survivor of the reeducation process that took place during 1949-1952 in several Communist prisons in Romania.

Keywords: Romania, communism, penitentiary, reeducation, Radu Ciuceanu.

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FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The Trianon Treaty and revisionist political mythology. Traditional and recent approaches*.....*9*

The study aims to analyze the phenomenon of the Trianon Treaty (1920) from the perspective of its use as a subject of political mythology. The research is chronologically structured, the epistemic object being the identification of functions and the dynamics of the political myth. The main hypothesis of the author is that the revisionist mythology created around the Trianon Treaty had the essential function of preserving the social status quo in inter-war Hungary, respectively to offer an ideological legitimacy to an authoritarian government after 2010. In order to prove this hypothesis, the author first analyzes whether the conduct of the Paris Peace Conference justifies the accusation of "diktat", which is the basis of the political myth. Subsequently, the research presents the main elements of revisionist political mythology and how they were used by the Miklos Horthy regime. In the last part of the study, are presented the dynamics of revisionist mythology from the Cold War period to the time of the government of Viktor Orban. The conclusion of the research is that revisionist mythology has endangered peace and stability in Central Europe, has produced countless tragedies, so relationships based on realities, not ghosts are needed.

Keywords: Treaty of Trianon, revisionism, Romania, Hungary, historiography, ethnic minorities.

A.S. STEPANOV, ***The reaction of Soviet citizens to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the "Liberation campaign in Western Belarus and Ukraine" of 1939 according to the documents of the NKVD of the USSR*** ***..... 40***
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Keywords: Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Western Belarus, Western Ukraine, Poland, NKVD, Liberation campaign, war, anti-Soviet, repression.

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Keywords: Bessarabian, anti-revolutionary, detention, opponent, refugee.

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Keywords: Romanian Orthodox Church, Patriarch, ecclesiastical diplomacy, Justinian Marina; communist regime.

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Keywords: History of Hungary, Collectivization, Microhistory, Modern History, Communism.

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Keywords: Romania, CMEA, the Soviet Union, Ceaușescu, Brezhnev, Gorbachev, integration, cooperation, specialisation.

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Keywords: Cold War, Communist Bloc, Dutch intelligence, Domestic Security Service (Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst - BVD); Domestic Security Service (Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst - BVD); Intelligence Service for Abroad (Inlichtingendienst Buitenland - IDB), the Netherlands, Romania, USSR.

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The political crisis in Poland from 1980 to 1981 ended up with the introduction of martial law and Jaruzelski's new regime. This political change in Warsaw put both countries closer and seemed to be leading them to a similarly political vision towards the Soviet bloc development, after a period of decline in their bilateral relations. Even though the general's visit to Romania from June 1982 was researched by Adam Burakowski, our paper continues his work and investigates the Romanian archives to see its perspective about this event. That implies to analyze how the Romanian leadership perceived the visit and its outcome and then to compare with the Polish archives to create a thorough understanding of this subject. For doing that, I will use the Romanian diplomatic correspondence from Warsaw as well as the Romanian Communist Party archives and its official newspaper, *The Sparkle – Scînteia*.
Keywords: Cold War, Soviet bloc, Jaruzelski, Ceauşescu, martial law, economic crisis.

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The present paper reveals the way in wich USSR propaganda campaigns, initiated in 1965, oriented against the ,,special cours" of Romania and the historiography, the „nationalist" intellectuals and the Moldavian SSR population, became, during M. Gorbachev's restructuration, a ,,life and death struggle" with the MSSR movement for democratisation and national emancipation. Realizing that the regime that gave it life was endangered, the CC of the CP of Moldavia tightened its rows in order to defend the soviet status quo, accepting only cosmetic, inessential modifications in the linguistic and cultural policy, in the relation with Romania. The representatives of the CC of the CPUS, delegated in 1988 and 1989 to Chişinău by the imperial center, even if they were more tolerant with the general political requests, had the same position as the leaders of CC of the PCM regarding the recognition of the identity of the language spoken in the MSSR and the Romania and the return to Romanian cultural values. In this sense, the loss of the ideological control over the masses and their rejection of the anti-Romanian moldavianism and of the Russian and Soviet imperial miths meant the irrevocable loss Bessarabia – what Moscow never wanted to accept.
Keywords: the Bessarabian Question, Moldavian SSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika, Soviet-Romanian relation, Nicolae Ceauşescu.

NICOLETA ŞERBAN, ***A model of European mobilization: "Opération Villages Roumains" and Nicolae Ceauşescu's project of rural systematization (1988-1989)*** ***..... 162***
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The results were amazing: the Belgian movement later expanded to the rest of Europe, so in December 1989, 2.000 western communes had adopted Romanian villages, which meant a population of 30 million

Europeans involved. The movement remains unique in Europe, through the spontaneity with which it was launched, but also as a way of implementation and evolution.
Keywords: Opération Villages Roumains, Belgium, Europe, Romania, villages, demolition, systematisation, protest.

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Keywords: Cold War, Socialist camp, Romanian Revolution of December 1989, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Mikhail Gorbachev, Perestroika.

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The formation and manifestation of counter-elites in totalitarian regimes emerged as a topic of scientific interest especially after the Second World War. Yet, the specificities of the formation of counter-elites in totalitarian states in conjunction with the decolonization processes, as they have manifested in the Baltic states or in the Republic of Moldova, have attracted comparatively less attention. This article aims to analyze the process of genesis of counter-elites and the transformations incurred within the elites in Soviet Estonia in the process of regaining the independence. The article relate to the Soviet elites with reformist views who designed „Economically Autonomous Estonia" and the counter-elites animated by the desire of national rebirth and total split from the Soviet past gathered around the Estonian Heritage Society, which represented two – of course, among the most important - of the numerous circles, groups, organizations that emerged in Estonia as a result of the new ideological thaw started by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Despite the differences between them, none of them adopted extreme political discourse and both maintained important dialogic availability.
Keywords: Estonia, USSR, counter-elites, elites, Singing Revolution, independence.

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First, the article unpacks the components which, together, support the right to rule of the powers that be. It argues that political legitimacy comprises basically three elements: the self-legitimacy; the popular legitimacy; and the external legitimacy. Moreover, in the particular case of the Soviet Union, one can delineate two types of external legitimacy: and intra-systemic one, in relation to Socialist countries; and an extra-systemic one, in relation to Western countries. Second, the article discusses the impact of the successive phases of the Soviet regime from Lenin to Gorbachev and of major East European crises upon the crisis of the above-mentioned types of political legitimacy. Third, the article reviews Gorbachev's major contributions to the geopolitical, socio-political and ideological changes which took place on the European continent throughout 1989-1991, including his metamorphosis from a reformer of the Soviet system into a systemic transformer of it, his abandonment of the "Brezhnev doctrine" accompanied by his non-intervention policy in East European political changes, his dual strategy of keeping momentum for the reformist forces while blocking the capacity to react of conservative forces, his unilateral disarmament measures, his connections and empathy with key Western European leaders and – last but not least – his rapprochement policy vis-à-vis the U.S., which reached its pinnacle at the Malta summit in early December 1989 and put to an end the Cold War.
Keywords: political legitimacy, legitimacy crisis, Gorbachev, East European revolutions, breakdown of the USSR, end of the Cold War.

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structural, *nation-specific* and *conjunctural* factors. Such a model helps one explain the 1989 regime changes, the democratization processes during the first post-1989 decade and the gradual authoritarian backslidings which emerged after 2010 in Central Europe and influenced to different degrees all the countries in the region. The present paper has focused on the legacies of the 1989 regime changes in ECE, with a special emphasis on the Romanian case. The argument set forth has been that Romania did not experience authoritarian backsliding on the Central European model, as one could witness in Hungary and Poland in the post-2010 period and whose main feature has been identity politics.
Keywords: Romania, Revolution of 1989, communist legacy, populist consensus, East-Central Europe.

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Keywords: totalitarianism, terror, secret police, historiography, memory.

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Keywords: Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, Stalinist investigations, repression, Stalinist trials, Romanian-Soviet relations.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *The Story of the recruitment by the C.I.A. of a Romanian diplomat in Washington: Mircea Răceanu, 1974-1975*.....*296*
On January 31, 1989, Mircea Răceanu deputy director a.i. of the America, Canada, Central and Latin America Section in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was arrested by the Romanian Counterintelligence while he was heading to the American Embassy in Bucharest. In his possession, a secret document that was to be passed on to the CIA liaison officer was found.

The criminal investigation revealed that Răceanu had been recruited by the CIA in 1974 while he worked for the Romanian embassy in Washington and from that moment on to his arrest he transmitted secret information to the American espionage service.
In this study we are publishing the handwritten confessions of Mircea Răceanu given in the first days of the criminal investigation in which the Romanian diplomat presents a a chronological and thorough description of the process of his recruitment by the CIA. Moreover, Răceanu describes how he was instructed to pass on secret information during his mission in Washington and Bucharest, after he became deputy director a.i. of America, Canada, Central and Latin America Section in the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Keywords: Mircea Răceanu, CIA, Romania, the United States of America, espionage, diplomacy.

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Keywords: Romania, Communist prisons, reeducation, torture, Radu Ciuceanu, Vintila Vais, testimonies.

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This article is a short presentation of Iosif Capotă's biography. He was born in January 24, 1912, in Mărgău (Cluj County). During the Interwar period he was an active member of the Romanian National Peasant Party. Once the Communist regime took over in Romania the authorities started to pursue him. He went into hiding between 1947 and 1957. Together with Doctor Alexandru Dejeu, he produced anticommunist manifestos that encouraged the population to resist the abuses provoked by the new regime. He was arrested in December 7, 1957, investigated, trialed and condemned to death. The sentence was carried out in Gherla Penitentiary, in September 2, 1958. Even if the group Capotă-Dejeu had a discreet, less provocative attitude, compared to other anticommunist groups active in that period, their actions were important as they kept the hope of change alive among the population.
Keywords: Iosif Capotă, Romanian anticommunist movement, repression, National Peasant Party.

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Keywords: Mugur Călinescu, Romania, anticommunist opposition, Securitate, repression.

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Keywords: Constantin Noica, Noica-Pillat batch, clandestine texts, the writings of Eliade and Cioran in Romania in the 1950s, persecution against intellectuals.

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EDITORIAL

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The article brings forward the portraits of two Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who fought for the unification of Transylvania with Romania. The first was a Romanian ethnic of the nobility, Ioan Mezei Câmpeanu, a judge at the High Court of Cassation and Justice in Budapest, an advocate of the Romanian cause and of all Romanians in the capital of Hungary. The second was Alexandru Vaida Voevod, a member of the Romanian National Party and a deputy in the Budapest Parliament where he red the the Romanians in Hungary and Transylvania's declaration of independence on 18 October 1918.
Keywords: Ioan Mezei Câmpeanu, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, Transylvania, Romanian Nation, Austro-Hungarian Empire.

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The union of Bessarabia with Romania on March 1918 had not been acknowledged by the new Soviet power in Russia. At the beginning of 1919, the Bolshevik leadership started to plan the spreading of the revolution in Bessarabia and the inclusion, once again, of this territory within Russia. Following this plan, a shadow government of Bessarabia that travelled on an armoured train was to exert control of the province after the occupation of the Red Army. The projects failed in May-June 1919 at the backdrop of the defeat of the bolshevik army on the fronts of the civil war in Ukraine.
Keywords: Romania, Bessarabia, the Bolshevik revolution, Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine, Christian Rakovsky.

CONSTANTIN CORNEANU, ***Political and Diplomatic Efforts for the Defending of Greater Romania, 1918-1940, II*****.....22**
The system of the Versailles peace treaties and the international order set up by it provided Romania with the possibility of acknowledgment of the document of December 1, 1918 by the Chancelleries of the great power centres of the world, which made it impossible to abandon the system. However, there was a sum of secret information and political-economic analyses at the time that allowed the Romanian political and state people

to consider a reversal of traditional alliances. Situated in a sensitive geopolitical area, Romania would face various dangers, ranging from Hungarian revisionism to the expansion of communism, as well as the southern neighbour's lusts. The politicians and military leaders in Bucharest remained tributaries to the obsolete principles in understanding the new movements in the international relations arena. Our geopolitical and geostrategic attitudes had implicitly involved us in the march of the great games and geopolitical changes of the mid-20th century and were, unfortunately, fatal in our becoming as a nation and in our desire of progress and modernity.
Keywords: Romania, Versailles Treaty, Adolf Hitler, Vyacheslav Molotov, Ion Antonescu, communism, revisionism.

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Since 1919, with the establishment of the Communist International based in Moscow, the relations between Romania and Russia, traditionally marked by territorial conflicts, know new and serious tensions. Both before the Great Union of the Romanians from 1918, and after its completion, "the problem of Bessarabia" strained the relations between the two neighboring and non-neighboring states, with the difference that "before" the Romanian territory between Prut and Dniester was part of the Tzarist Empire from 1812, and" after "it was part of the Romanian unitary national state.
The Comintern and its structures, immediately after its establishment, are associated with the aggressive policy of the Bolshevik government of Soviet Russia against the Royal Romania, which is perpetuated until the self-dissolution of the Communist International in 1943. They knew different forms, intensities and effects, being influenced also by the context of the evolution of international relations. All these give the image of the dramatic situation of the Romanians threatened to be crushed by the new Russian empire, during a period under the recapture of the Europeans after the disaster produced by the first World War.
Keywords: The Comintern, Romanian Communist Party, Soviet Union, Greater Romania.

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The article deals with the Comintern history and the activity of the Communist Party in Bulgaria, one of the most active communist parties within the Communist International. The article presents the activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and the role of their leaders, V. Kolarov and G. Dimitrov within the Comintern. Moreover, the article presents the main moments of the cooperation between BCP and the Comintern during the 1920', when the idea of the „global revolution" was still „vivid". Recovering from the political blow received in 1923-1925, BCP gets involved in the fulfilling of the new tactics of the Comintern with the setting up of the Popular Front during the end 1920s and 1930s. Besides, the BCP had to adjust to the sudden changes in the Soviet foreign policy at the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s. After the German-Soviet war broke off, the BCP involved in the organization of the armed resistance in Bulgaria and the setting up of the Patriotic Front. The article examines also issues regarding the Bulgarian emigration within SSSR, including the repression against it during the Great Terror.
Keyword: Comintern, Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, G. Dimitrov, V. Kolarov.

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The article analyzes the reasons and mechanism of the transition of the Communist international from the sectarian policy of the "third period" to the policy of the broad left coalition known as the "Popular front". After the VI Congress, the Comintern prescribed to the Communist parties the position of the extreme left opposition, which even to the neighbors on the political spectrum - Social-democrats are treated as accomplices of fascism. This policy allowed to accumulate the most radical masses, irreconcilable to the bourgeois system. However, after the victory of Nazism in Germany and the success of fascism and right-wing radicalism in other countries, this policy has become an anachronism. It was in conflict with the foreign policy of the USSR aimed at "collective security" and rapprochement with France against Germany. However, the policy of the broad left coalition carried with it the risks and costs that were discussed by the leadership of the Comintern in 1934, especially in connection with the events in France, where the FPC was entitled to a coalition experiment. Only in December 1934, in connection with the internal political situation in the USSR, it was decided to change the course of the Comintern, which in 1935 was fixed by its Congress.
Keywords: the Comintern, Stalin, Popular Front, Dimitrov, Thorez, the French Communist Party.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, ***The Ukrainian integral nationalism in Romania: ideology, organization and methods of propaganda, 1934-1938 ..... 90***
Over the past decade, ultranationalist and far-right groups have proliferated and gained more and more followers in Ukraine, entering for the first time, in 2012, in the Verkhovna Rada, the Ukrainian unicameral parliament, and in the government, in 2014. This phenomenon is no coincidence, given the internal troubles in the recent history of the neighbouring state and the well-known conflict with Russia, but the roots of Ukrainian nationalism are somewhat older and have a connection with Romania as well. We have thus chosen to study the past of the most important ultranationalist group of the period before the independence of Ukraine in 1991, namely the activity, organization, ideology and propaganda methods of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), set up in Poland in 1929, and its branch in Bukovina, Bessarabia and Maramureș.
Keywords: ultranationalist movement, far-right organization, Bukovina, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Dontsovism, integral nationalism.

GHEORGHE ONIŞORU, ***Preludes to 23rd of August, 1944. The King, Iuliu Maniu, and the Communist Party 111***
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Keywords: WWII, Iuliu Maniu, Marshall Ion Antonescu, King Michael of Romania, armistice, political coup.

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Keywords: WWII, Romania, Marshall Ion Antonescu, King Michael of Romania, armistice, political coup.

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, ***The Intervention of 5 countries – members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and the crisis in Soviet-Romanian relations 139***
The Ceauşescu regime in Romania, which sought to weaken Soviet influence in the country and deviated significantly in its foreign policy from the general line of the Soviet bloc, from the very beginning did not support Moscow's power pressure on the Czechoslovak reformers who initiated the Prague Spring. Ceauşescu and his team, who had no thought of making the «human face» of the Czechoslovakian or any other socialism, watched the events through the prism of their own national-communist doctrine. Thereby they viewed the Prague Spring only as a movement for the expansion of national sovereignty, and in Czechoslovak reform communists saw their potential allies in the struggle for Romania's full independence in the international arena, its liberation from the dominant Soviet influence. Sharply denouncing the intervention of August 21, 1968 in Czechoslovakia, the communist leadership of Romania did not exclude the military threat against its own country, adopting a whole range of defensive measures. Later, realizing that neither Tito's Yugoslavia, nor China, nor Western countries, will render Romania effective military assistance in case of an attack from outside, the Romanian leaders made efforts to renew a broad dialogue with the USSR.
Keywords: Prague Spring of 1968, intervention of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, Soviet bloc, Warsaw Pact, Soviet-Romanian relations.

SLAVOMÍR MICHÁLEK, ***August 68. The Invasion of Czechoslovakia and the United Nations Reaction 156***

The story of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 can be seen from multiple perspectives, eventually from different points of view. There are quite a lot of other divisions and subgroups according to the primary division of this issue into the external and internal level. In this paper I am going to focus on the position and attitude of the United Nations towards the invasion of armed forces of five Warsaw Pact countries into Czechoslovakia.

For almost twenty years Czechoslovakia had represented the model of exemplary satellite of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the reviving process in the society the primary goal of which was an effort to initiate new, more independent and more autonomous conditions in the society, faced the opposition from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Subsequently, this opposition led to the brutal armed attack at night from August 20 to 21, 1968.

Keywords: Czechoslovakia, August 1968, the Soviet Union, invasion, the United Nations.

DARIUSZ MAGIER, ***Training of local communist cadres in Poland in 1975-1990. An analysis based on the archives of the Bialskopodlaski province..... 170***

Participation in the ideological and political training of the communist party was one of the fundamental duties for its members and individual organizations. Its primary goal was to maintain the proper ideological level of members, create a scheme for promotion in the party's hierarchy and indirectly, to gradually increase the party's influence on society. A training system was permanent, applicable to everyone and perpetual in order to shape and consolidate a uniform communist mentality, along with faithfulness and dedication to the organization. It was not only a way to improve the qualifications necessary for party and bureaucratic work, but above all to maintain party activists in constant ideological readiness. The forms of communist training, which were conducted in voivodeship party structures in Poland in 1975-1990, such as candidates's training, mass training, activists' training along with the Evening Univeristy of Marxism-Leninism, circle training, lecturers' training, prove that the communist party attached great significance to this aspect at that time.

Keywords: communism, cadres, education, party, Poland, propaganda, Polish United Workers' Party, training.

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ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, ***A Succesful Business Model: The Romanian Communist Party as Capitalist Shareholder, March 1948 ..... 181***

Financing the Communist movement has always been a secretive operation. In countries where the Communist parties were legal, they gathered money from personal contributions of members, donations, commercial operation, and secret Komintern funds. In countries with no democracy or limited one, the underground Communist actions were financed through foreign conspirations and agents. This study presents an archival document, dated from March, 1948, describing the Romanian case of transition from a non-Communist regime to a full Communist one, in the late 1940s. Although the Romanian Communist Party already controlled the government, the party-state was not in place, so they could not use the public funding, as they did later. Instead, the Party gained access to managerial decision-making in private companies, factories, and bank, from which they extracted all profits.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, transition economy, socialization of property, political party finance, banking system.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, ***The Pătrăşcanu Case and the late Stalinism's inquiries. A November 1952 key-document 190***

In autumn 1952, the inquiry in Pătrășcanu case resumed at an accelerated pace. On November 7, 1952, the new chief investigator, Ioan Șoltuțiu, a lt.-col. from the Securitate, sent to the Minister of the Internal Affairs, Alexandru Drăgici, and to the RWP' leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej a report which extensively developed the theory of numerous connections that supported the treacherous activity of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu: "the right deviators" (Ana Pauker, Teohari Georgescu), the chiefs of the former Intelligence Special Service (former Soviet agents!), departments' heads within the Securitate, agents of American and English intelligence services.

The author argues that the report was written under the direct coordination of Soviet main counsellor Aleksandr M. Sakharovski. He was inspired by the "Abakumov Affair" that took place in Moscow in the summer of 1951, the purges that followed within the Ministry of State Security of the Soviet Union, and other inquiries in Moscow during the time, especially the one that became known as the "doctors' plot".
Keywords: Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, Romanian Communist Party, Stalinist inquiries, espionage, V.S. Abakumov, A.M. Sakharovski.

MIRCEA-DOREL SUCIU, ***"The French Connection" and the Beginnings of the Commercial Agency of the Romanian People's Republic in Frankfurt on Main*** **..... 221**
Based on archive information (edited and partially unpublished), as well as oral testimonies obtained by the author from two of the former Romanian officials of the Romanian People's Republic Commercial Trade Agency (CTA - RPR), the study argues that CTA-RPR in Frankurt on Main began operating for years before the Romanian – West German intergovernmental Protocol (October 17,1963) on the establishment and operation of the Trade Agencies of each party on the basis of reciprocity in Romania and West Germany, respectively. In this context, the involvement of the „Sorice" Commercial Company - controlled by the Financial Department of the French Communist Party - is brought to attention in the establishment of the CTA - RPR in Frankfurt on Main.
Keywords: Romania, West Germany, Romanian-West-German economic relations in the 50's, Romanian Commercial Agency, Frankfurt on Main, "Sorice" Company.

LUCICA IORGA, ***„Our friendship is timeless and unbreakable". The Soviet transcript of the talks between Emil Bodnăraș and Soviet leaders in Moscow on 10 May 1965*** **.....*239***
Between 7th and 10th of May 1965, a Romanian delegation led by E. Bodnaras visited URSS. In Moscow, the Romanian delegation took part in the celebration of Victory Day in the Second World War. This visit has had a positive impact in softening the political tensions of the Romanian-Soviet relations. Relations between Romania and the USSR have steadily strained in previous years, so a new approach was needed. Discussion from 10th of May 1965 between M.A. Suslov, I.V. Andropov and E. Bodnăraş created the necessary conditions for resolution of the causes of past divergences.
Keywords: Romanian-Soviet relations, Victory Day, Emil Bodnăraş, Mikhail Suslov, Iuri Andropov, political-economic issues, Sino-Soviet conflict.

BIOGRAPHIES

Florin Abraham, ***Ioana Berindei (1922-2008)*** **.....*255***
The biography focuses on the repression of Ioana Berindei, along with his family. She was arrested in 1950, imprisoned in the Jilava, Mislea, Văcărești prisons. Ioana Berindei personal drama is special because she gave birth in prison. After release from detention, Ioana Berindei has found with difficulty a job, and surveillance of his family by the Securitate continued for many years.
Keywords: political prisoner; penitentiary system; intellectual elites; Jilava; Mislea; Văcărești.

Ciprian Bălăban, ***Eugen Bodor (1902-1983)*** **.....*257***
Eugen Bodor Pentecostal pastor was sentenced in 1961 to five years in prison after having been charged with mysticism and considered a social danger because he typed in 10 copies his composition called *Bible Study on the gifts of the Holy Spirit*. Apart from the criminal charges and investigation, the Securitate accepts that in his writing Eugen Bodor fully respects the profession of faith of the Pentecostal church, which was officially recognized by the communist state. Among the reasons which weighed heavily in the conviction sentence was actually a lengthy conflict with Pastor George Bradin, which at that time was president of Pentecostal Church, few anticommunist articles written between the wars and the reputation of "exploiter" that he won after some timber business and various chemicals.
Keywords: Pentecostal church, mysticism, persecution, faith.

Andrea Dobeş, ***Ilie Lazăr (1895-1976)*** **.....*260***
Leader of P.N.Ţ (National Peasant Party), president of Maramures county organization, Ilie Lazăr (1895-1976) was three times deputy of Maramureş. Considered, along with Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mihalache, one of the most charismatic and beloved leaders of P.N.Ţ, enjoying a great popularity in the village world,

especially in Transilvania, he was identified by the communists as one of the main enemies who, like his party, had to be removed as soon as possible from the political life. Arrested in July 1947, sentenced to 12 years in prison, after the conviction has expired he has not been released, being administratively retained because it was considered that his release would jeopardize ,,the state security". His attitude and behavior have determined Securitatea to begin his informative pursuit since he was in detention, action which continued even after its release, in May 1964. Until his death on November 1976, Ilie Lazăr has remained faithful to a political belief in whose name he faced the Stalinist dictatorship and for which he had to endure the torments of the communist prisons. Characterized by great optimism and a strong faith in God, Ilie Lazăr died peacefully because, as his daughter confessed, he was convinced that ,,the truth can not be defeated, anyway".
Keywords: Ilie Lazăr, P.N.Ţ., communist detention, consistency, informative pursuit.

Abstract: Cristina Roman, ***Lothar Rădăceanu (1899-1955)*** **.....** ***264***
Born on May 19, 1899, Lothar Rădăceanu was a former activist of the socialist movement in Bucovina, of German origin. He has manifested himself in political life, both as a social-democratic leader and as a communist politician. It played an important role in provoking the split of the Social-Democratic Party on March 10, 1946, having a significant contribution to the creation of the Romanian Labor Party (PMR) following the unification realized on February 21-23, 1948 between the Social-Democratic Party and the Communist Party. In 1944-1952 he held several positions at the top of the Social-Democratic Party, and from 1948 he was part of the leadership of the Romanian Labor Party. After falling into disrepute in 1952, he lost all governmental functions and those at the PMR's leadership, continuing to maintain the status of member of the PMR and that of a deputy in the Grand National Assembly.
Keywords: Lothar Rădăceanu, a left-wing politician, socialism, the Social-Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Single Labor Front, the Romanian Labor Party.

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Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, L. A Happy Ending: December 1, 1918*..... *6*

The article tackles the political and military context Romania was during the late years of World War I, which led to the unifying of all Romanian provinces. The second part of the article comprises of several portraits of Romanian politicians who made possible the founding of Greater Romania.

Keywords: World War I, 1918, Greater Romania, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Ionel Brătianu, Ioan Pelivan, Take Ionescu.

STUDIES

ANCA IRINA IONESCU, *The Contribution of Tomáš G. Masaryk to the Founding of the Czechoslovak Republic, 1914-1918*..... *12*

The paper shows T.G. Masaryk's contribution to two major activities for the birth of the independent Czechoslovak Republic after WWI: setting up the Czechoslovak Legions in France (*Nazdar*), Italy and mainly Russia (*Družina*) and establishing diplomatic contacts at the highest level with the great power of the Entente, as well as with the US President Woodrow Wilson. A. Briand the French Prime Minister, Sir R. Cecil of Great Britain, the journalists Wickham Steed and Seton-Watson, the businessman Charles R. Crane are mentioned among Masaryk's contacts.

Keywords: Tomáš G. Masaryk, Czechoslovak Legions, Bolsheviks, self-determination, awareness campaign, nation state, 1918.

CONSTANTIN BUCHET, *Romanian Volunteers in the Great War: „The First Alba-Iulia”*.....*29*

During 1914-1918, Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina had belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From these provinces, nearly 500 000 soldiers were recruited by the Austro-Hungarian Army to fight mainly in Russia (Galicia) and Northern Italy against the blocus of Antanta. After post-neutrality of Romania (august 1916), many of the former Prisoners of War were enlisted as national volunteers on the side of Antanta's coalition. The basic political act of the volunteers is the so-called *Proclamation of Darnița* (a former Russian champ of concentration in Ukraine), where the Romanian soldiers and officers

emphasised their unionist feelings. For these reasons, Darnița was called the *First Alba Iulia* according to the spirit of Great National Assembly Declaration, on December 1, 1918.
Keywords: Romania, national unity, volunteers, the spirit of the trenches, unionist proclamation, 1918.

OLGA ZASLAVSKAYA, ***1918 in the Fate of Eastern Europe's "Lost Generation": Austro-Hungarian Prisoners of War in Siberia and the Far East*** ***..... 36***
The article focuses on the events of 1918 in relation to release, repatriation and partial reintegration of the Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war through their involvement in the military and paramilitary activities during Civil War in Siberia and the Far East. Among them, there were representatives of the East European "lost generation" who had spent their young years in enduring battles of the First World War and misery of captivity.
Keywords: the First World War, Austro-Hungarian prisoners, captivity, Siberia, Russian Civil War.

MARCELA SĂLĂGEAN, ***From Greater Romania to Unified Romania. The Integration Process: Territories, Population, Infrastructure, Economy*** ***..... 62***
It is already known that, until the signing of the Peace Treaty, Greater Romania had become a physical reality, and one of the priorities faced by the authorities was the integration of the new territories. And the complexity of the problems to be solved was evident to all those involved in the process of integrating the united provinces. In that context, beginning with 1918, an intense legislative activity began, with reforms promulgated by the governments in Bucharest being extended automatically throughout Greater Romania, although the local realities of the united provinces had to be taken into account. Programs have been adopted which stipulated the need of a new constitution, administrative and legislative unification, economic stability, fundamental rights and freedoms for the citizens. The internal succes had to be defended also externally and the preservation of the state borders representing a priority of the entire Romanian political class.
Keywords: Greater Romania, 1918, union, integration, reforms, modernization, legislation.

CONSTANTIN CORNEANU, ***Political and Diplomatic Efforts for the Defending of Greater Romania, 1918-1940, I*** ***..... 78***
The system of the Versailles peace treaties and the international order set up by it provided Romania with the possibility of acknowledgment of the document of December 1, 1918 by the Chancelleries of the great power centres of the world, which made it impossible to abandon the system. However, there was a sum of secret information and political-economic analyses at the time that allowed the Romanian political and state people to consider a reversal of traditional alliances. Situated in a sensitive geopolitical area, Romania would face various dangers, ranging from Hungarian revisionism to the expansion of communism, as well as the southern neighbour's lusts. The politicians and military leaders in Bucharest remained tributaries to the obsolete principles in understanding the new movements in the international relations arena. Our geopolitical and geostrategic attitudes had implicitly involved us in the march of the great games and geopolitical changes of the mid-20th century and were, unfortunately, fatal in our becoming as a nation and in our desire of progress and modernity.
Keywords: Romania, Versailles Treaty, Adolf Hitler, Vyacheslav Molotov, communism, revisionism.

CONSTANTIN GEAMBAŞU, ***The Polish-Soviet War and Its Meanings in the Evolution of Interwar Poland*** ***..... 90***
The Polish-Bolshevik War of 1920 represents an important event in the context of establishing Poland's borders after regaining independence at the end of the First World War. The article contains information on the causes that led to the outbreak of this war (the defense of the reborn Polish state against the Bolshevik Revolution as well as the establishment of the Eastern border), and on its consequences and meanings. The confrontation between Marshal J. Pilsudski's socialist group and the nationalist group, represented by R. Dmowski, attests to the internal and international difficulties Poland faced after 1918. The re-establishment of the borders and the internal institutional system entailed the regulation of the relationship between the Polish and the national minorities on the territory of the former Polish Republic (Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians, Germans, etc.). The Polish-Bolshevik war brought to light once again the spirit of sacrifice, heroism and honor, the essential features of the Polish soul as manifested throughout history.
Keywords: Soviet-Polish War, Second Polish Republic, J. Pilsudski, minorities, Polish-Ucrainian Relations.

ELENA CAZACU, *The evacuation of Bukovina in spring 1944: Operation 1111 B*..... *98*
The German offensive outbreak on the Eastern front in the summer of 1941 meant for Romania not only regaining the lost provinces on July 26, but also the end of its neutrality period. Thus, Marshal Antonescu's decision to continue with the military campaigns beyond the Nistru river, along Germany's side, led to major material and human loses for the country. Defeated at Stalingrad by the Soviets, Germany's invincibility myth was demolished and for the first time the war was getting closer to the Romanian borders. As a result, Marshal Antonescu ordered the evacuation of Transnistria in July 1943. The further development of the war determined Antonescu, in November 1943, to include in the evacuation plan Bessarabia, Bukovina and northern Moldova. Coded under the name "Operation 1111" (1111 B for Bukovina), col. V. Mosiu was appointed with organising, coordinating and overseeing the preparations and execution of the evacuation plans. Given the decision to organise an evacuation for the targeted Romanian provinces, the present study aims to present the context that led to this order, different measures and instructions taken for operation 1111 B by "Mosiu's group".
Keywords: Operation 1111 B, evacuation plan of Bukovina, Romanian administration, instructions for evacuation.

KRZYSZTOF GAJEWSKI, *A New Tradition. Construction of Cultural Identity of Farmers in „Regained Territories" of Poland after the World War II in the Light of Their Letters to Authorities* *108*
After the Second World War Poland became a scene of huge immigration movement. One of the biggest waves flooded so called "Regained Territories" consisting of Western and Northern part of current Poland. The point of interest of the paper is the construction of the cultural identity of population settling in villages. The source for the research conducted was provided by national archives and has the form of letters sent by rural settles to the state authorities. Therefore a bottom-up perspective has been applied. After the textual analysis of the sample of 16 letters ten dimensions of cultural identity had been discovered, such as nationality, language, institutional affiliation, geographical origins, confession, political engagement, financial status, professional skills, physical shape, and gender. Some of these dimensions mingle creating types of cultural identity such as Pole-catholic, Mother-Pole, or Polish soldiers. Their opponents, described with derogatory terms, are Hitlerites, Banderites, German mistress, or looters. The research shows a precious historical and scientific value of peasants' letters, allowing to access to the information about a cultural self-identification of their authors.
Keywords: cultural identity**,** immigration, multiculturalism, communism, Poland, Regained Territories.

CSIKÓS GÁBOR*, Rumors for interpreting and foreseeing. Case study on a Hungarian micro region: Jászság, 1948-1955*.....*123*
The following study focuses rumors spreading in a Hungarian micro region, Jászság in the decade when dictatorship of the proletariat was built up. It attempts to reveal both directions of rumors: the official that targeted people and the informal that served to interpret events like elections, centralization of the education, possible war scenarios and collectivization.
Keywords: Hungary, Jászság, Local History, History of Communism, Social History, Mentalities, Rumors.

ROMINA SURUGIU, ADRIANA ŞTEFĂNEL, MĂDĂLINA BĂLĂŞESCU, ALEXANDRU MATEI, VYARA ANGELOVA, *Cultural Core in Television Programming in Romania and Bulgaria, 1963-1983*.....*134*
The article aims to analyze the cultural presence of Western countries, especially the United States, France and the United Kingdom, in the television programs in Romania between 1963 and 1983, and to compare the results with those obtained from the similar analysis on television in Bulgaria. The research is conducted within the cultural history framework of 20th century, and uses as starting point the relation core – semiperiphery – periphery, outlined by the American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein.
Keywords*:* television history, TV programs, world system analysis, Romania, Bulgaria.

FLORIAN TĂNĂSESCU, From social-democracy to communism. New accounts on Ștefan Voitec's biography (1900-1984), I.....148
In the Romanian public space, after 1989, a lot of information and portraits of the former social-democratic leaders, made of the Soviet occupants and communists, members of the Communist Party, were circulated. Ștefan Voitec is one of those, whose study shows his biography, political and journalistic approaches in a

different perspective. The author's storyline enters into the necessary and expected effort to rehabilitate this important political figure from the contemporary period of Romania's history.
Keywords: Romania, communism, journalism, social-democracy, sovietisation, Ștefan Voitec.

CRISTINA PETRESCU, DRAGOŞ PETRESCU, ***Nation, Nationalism and Nation-Building in Romania: The Union of 1918, National Identity and Legitimizing Discourses under Communism, 1945–1989*** **..... 166**
This study argues that the Union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania in 1918 did not represent the final stage in the process of creating the Romanian nation. These authors contend that the Union of 1918 only accelerated a process of nation-building that entered its final stage under communist rule in the early 1980s. At the same time, the present study demonstrates that despite the fact that nation-building in Romania took longer than many scholars and laypeople are willing to accept, the process of creating the Romanian nation entered its final and irreversible stage in late communism. The national consciousness of Romanians and their emotional attachment to the present-day national territory were put to an extreme test immediately after 1989 when the "unrealized" Czechoslovak and Yugoslav nations split among ethnic lines, which was not the case of the Romanian nation.
Keywords: post-1918 Romania, nation, nationalism, nation-building, national communism, organized solidarity, imagined community.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, ***The "Greater Romania" Project after 1989: nostalgia, realities, perspectives*** ***..... 187***
The study explores the issue of Romania's neighbourhood policy after the end of the Cold War, from the perspective of border security and state reunification projects. The study is structured in two parts. The first sub-theme of the first part is the relations between Romania and Hungary, being evaluated both the moments of collaboration and the tense ones. The second subchapter analyses the issue of the restoration of the Great Romania by uniting with the Republic of Moldova, highlighting the key elements in the bilateral relations. Finally, the third subchapter of the first part of the study makes a brief presentation of the relations between Romania and Ukraine in relation to the subject of Northern Bukovina and the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. In the second part of the research is analysed the issue of the restoration of Great Romania from the perspective of the public opinion and of the political parties in Romania and the Republic of Moldova. At the end of the study are included some observations on the prospects for the restoration of Great Romania in the foreseeable future.
Keywords: Romania, Republic of Moldova, Hungary, Russian Federation, Treaty of Trianon, borders.

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VASILE BUGA, ***Did Romania have the initiative of establishing Comecon? An unpublished letter from December 1948*** ***..... 210***
This document recently uncovered in the archive of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party brings supplementary clarifications regarding Romania's role in the establishment of the Comecon in January 1949. According to this document, Romania submitted the Soviet Union, on December 4 1948, the proposal of creating a permanent institution to coordinate the economic relations between the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.
Keywords: Comecon, Romania, Soviet Union, people's democracies, I.V. Stalin.

MIHAI BURCEA, ***Excerpts from the biography of a penitentiary commander: Nicolae Maromete, 1949-1955*** ***..... 214***
The article brings a document in the foreground signed by one of the cruel prison commanders in the 1950s. It's a memoir signed by Major Nicolae Maromete in which he exhibits disappointance with the „unjust" treatment he was subjected to by the military justice and control bodies of Ministry of Interior. The document we publish has a special importance since it presents for the first time the perspective of a commander of a political prisoners penitentiary.
Keywords: Romania, communism, repression, political prisoners, penitentiary.

TESTIMONIES

RADU CIUCEANU, *Recourse to memory. How a political party was buried?*..... *232*
The article is a fragment from the forthcoming Memoirs of Radu Ciuceanu, a former political prisoner and vice-president of the National Liberal Party at the beginning of the 1990s. The author revisits the moment in 1992 when the National Liberal Party proposed King Michael I as their candidate in the presidential elections. The decision resulted into an electoral catastrophe for the National Liberal Party.
Keywords: Romania, National Liberal Party, King Michael I, presidential elections, 1992.

POINTS OF VIEW

PUICA BUHOCI, *Fragmentary from the laboratories of the reeducation*..... *242*
This paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of the complex phenomenon of the reeducation in Communist prisons. The author gives several examples of political prisoners that underwent reeducation to prove that despite its magnitude reeducation was not irreversible.
Keywords: Romania, communism, repression, reeducation, Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa.

BIOGRAPHIES

OCTAVIANA JIANU, *Al.O. Teodoreanu (1894-1964)*..... *246*
This article shows the short biography of Al.O. Teodoreanu (Păstorel), an important writer of satirical epigrams, gastronome and enologist în the interwar period. After a collaboration of nearly three years with several propagandistic publications, Alexandru Teodoreanu was arrested in the autumn of 1959 within the Noica-Pillat batch, his main charge was the writing of anticommunist epigrams.
Keywords: Noica-Pillat batch, anticommunist epigrams, intellectuals in Communist Romania.

CORNELIU BELDIMAN, *Vasile Zorzor (1890-1952)* *250*
General Vasile Zorzor remains in our memory as an outstanding figure of a Romanian career officer in the first half of the 20th century, being one of the interwar founders of Gendarmerie and a brilliant professor. He had been one of the war heroes and creators of the Greater Romania in 1918, on the battlefield. In May 1948, he was sued in the "Group of Witnesses" within the process of the National Peasant Party leaders at the Bucharest Military Tribunal and sentenced to five years of rigorous imprisonment for "conspiracy for rebellion". He passed away in August 1952, in Făgăraş Penitentiary.
Keywords: Communist repression, Military education, Military Professional Section of the National Peasant Party, Romanian Gendarmerie, Vasile Zorzor, war heroes generals.

PUICA BUHOCI, *Vintilă Vais (1921-1974)*..... *253*
A sympathizer of the illegally RCP, Vintilă Vais was appointed a police inspector under the new political regime established in 1945. In 1948, he was removed from this position by the Securitate following different charges. In 1951 he was sentenced at 10 years in prison. He witnessed the horrors the political prisoners at Gherla penitentiary were subjected during the reeducation. After having long discussions with Radu Ciuceanu, a political prisoner at that time, he managed to send the superior party leadership a private message regarding the reeducation practices. That contributed decisively to the stopping of the reeducation.
Keywords: Romania, communism, repression, reeducation, political prisoners, Vintilă Vais.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, ***History as Ballast, XLIX. So we will remember... The Great Union of All Romanians!*** ***..... 5***

The article is dedicated to two anniversary moments that happily coincide in 2018. The first has to do with the anniversary of the centenary of the Great Union in 1918, when all Romanian provinces – the Old Kingdom of Romania, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transilvania – united into a one, national unitary state, Romania.

The second moment has to do with the anniversary of a quarter of a century of scientific activity of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism of the Romanian Academy. During its existence, NIST has become a landmark in the area of scientific research on totalitarianism in Romania and abroad.

Keywords: World War I, 1918, Greater Romania, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism.

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ACAD. FLORIN CONSTANTINIU, ***Christian Rakovski and the Theory of Bureaucratic Degeneration of Socialism in the USSR..... 9***

The article consists of a conference delivered by Academician Florin Constantiniu on February 24, 2009, at the Center of Russian and Soviet Studies within the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism of the Romanian Academy. The main theme of the conference was the theory of bureaucratic degeneration of Socialism in the Soviet Union on which Rakovsky wrote in a letter addressed to another leader of the Trotskyist opposition, G.B. Valentinov. On this occasion, Florin Constantiniu discussed the origins of Rakosky's theory, its main principles, the context in which it had been formulated and its validity not only for the Soviet Union but for the East European countries.

The article comprises also the lecturer's answers to the questions from the audience at the end of the conference.

The text represents a genuine lesson on totalitarianism history as well as the author's view on the developments in post-communist society.

Keywords: Christian Rakovsky, the Soviet Union, Trotsky, Stalin, Socialism bureaucratization, Romania.

ION CONSTANTIN, ***The Diplomatic Fight for the International Recognition of Greater Romania. The Problem of Bessarabia, 1918-1920*****.....24**
The creation of the unitary nation-state in 1918, by the union of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania with Romania, widened the perspectives for our country to engage in the international life as an independent and sovereign state. After a long and complicated procrastination, Bessarabia`s union with the Mother Country Romania was recognized *de jure* through the Treaty signed in Paris, on October 28, 1920, by Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, on one side, and Romania, on the other. Recognizing Romania`s sovereignty over Bessarabia, the parties of the Treaty assumed the obligation to „assist Romania" in case Russians would attempt to reannex Bessarabia. Although the Treaty does not bear the signature of the U.S.A., this country accepted *de facto* and *de jure* the historic right of Romania upon Bessarabia, on July 1, 1933. Moscow stubbornly refused to accept the union, although the right of the Romanian people upon Bessarabian territory and the integrity of the frontiers was implicitly acknowledged by the Soviet Union through the recurrent juridical and diplomatic acts.
Keywords: diplomatic fight, international recognition, Greater Romania, Bessarabia, the historic right of the Romanian people.

IOAN SCURTU, ***The First "Totalitarian One-Party" in Romania's History - The Party of the Nation, 1940*****.....47**
On February 10, 1938, King Charles II staged a coup d'etat that ended the democratic regime in Romania. In March, all political parties had been suppressed and in December 1938 the Front of National Renaissance was established as the one and only political organization in the state. Against the backdrop of Nazi Germany's international expansion that culminated with the occupation of France, King Charles II tried to adjust Romania's domestic and foreign policy to the new realities by aligning it to Berlin and the adoption of totalitarian type political organization. Consequently, the Front of National Renaissance was transformed into a totalitarian one-party under the name of the Party of the Nation that was to be led directly by the king.
Keywords: Romania, King Charles II, Front of National Renaissance, Party of the Nation, totalitarianism.

LILIA CRUDU, ***The fate of Bessarabian Statesmen after 1940*** **.....*54***
In this paper, the author presents the fates of the Bessarabian politicians that were arrested in Bessarabia after June 28, 1940. At the same time, the article shows that the arrests of the remarkable statesmen from Bessarabia continued after August 23, 1944, at this time in Romania. Together with the outstanding representatives of the Romanian political elite, high officials of the interwar period from Bessarabia were reckoned among the „class enemy" and arrested. They were all blamed for the „betrayal of the Soviet motherland" and for the „voting for unification with Romania". Many of the arrested were of old age and had health problems. Consequently, some of them died on their way to prison or during the imprisonment. Those who survived prison remained under the strict surveillance of the secret police up to their final days.
Keywords: Bessarabian statesmen, NKVD, refugees, political repression, the secret police.

MIHAI BURCEA, ***Romanian Antifascists in the French Resistance, 1939-1944, II*****.....*76***
After the end of the Spanish Civil War and Germany's invasion of the USSR, some of the Romanian volunteers in the International Brigades located in France joined the French Resistance and pursued its main goal: liberating the country from Nazi occupation. This study proposes an analysis of the biographical trajectories of Romanian ex-Spain fighters and the violent and non-violent action paths they finally took and followed.
Keywords: French Resistance, International Brigades, Romanian partisans, communism, German occupation of France, aggression.

GHEORGHE ONIŞORU, ***A controversial decision: Constantin Argetoianu's return to Romania, November 1946*****.....*100***
Constantin Argetoianu was one of the most famous political man in Romania, perhaps the best to illustrating the term political opportunism. With a special experience, he also became president of the Council of Ministers, being a close friend of King Carol II. After leaving the country in May 1944, he would surprise everyone in November 1946, at a time when the political horizon was closing down to experience the latest political formula, the National Union: Work and Reconstruction. This study aims to identify the mobile of this action, for which he paid with his own life.

Keywords: authoritarian regime, Romania, Constantin Argetoianu, National Union: Work and Reconstruction, people's democracy.

LEONID GHIBIANSKI, *"… The meeting is convened at the request of the governments of the USSR and Romania". How the COMECON was created* ***.....109***
In this essay, a history of the COMECON establishment is traced on the basis of a considerable range of documents of the Soviet and Easteuropean communist regimes, including those from their former archives. The author is studying an organization machinery of the COMECON making, with an analysis of the USSR and the so-called People's Democracies interaction and role of each of them in this process. The much attention is given to clearing up and comparison of real and declarative the COMECON nature and purposes.
Keywords: COMECON, Romania, Soviet Union, I.V. Stalin, Eastern Europe.

DARIUSZ JAROSZ*, Old Age and the Evolution of the Social Security System in Rural Poland in the 20th Century***..... 133***
The evolution of the "survival strategy" of old people in rural Poland in XXth century ran from life care contracts guaranteed by the family, to retirement pensions guaranteed by the state, with small participation of social organisations. The end of World War II and the assumption of power by Polish Communists did not in itself signify a telling transformation in providing old age social security in rural Poland. One of the most important changes which was made in the social security system in the 1960s and 1970s. The Acts of 1962 and 1968 created conditions for receiving pension-superannuation benefits in exchange for signing over land to the state. The Act of 1977 which also brought in the possibility of passing farms on to their heirs – it increased the number of those availing themselves of these possibilities. Letters addressed to the Letters' Office of Polish Radio and Television testify to the fact that the basic problem in complaints of old people remained the lack of their own means of subsistence. However, insofar as earlier the anti-hero in most of the letters from the countryside were ungrateful, even evil, children, then at the end of the 1970s it was the incompetent and sluggish state office.
Keywords: Communist regimes, old age, social security, retirement pensions, life care contracts.

ADRIAN CONSTANTIN ROTAR, *The Suppression of the Rural Social Elite. Dekulakization of the Villages in the Suceava Region, 1949-1962***.....147***
The communist regime had two main objectives in the rural area: the creation of new collectivist structures and „inciting class struggle". The two objectives were deeply connected because the establishing of collectivist structures depended upon intense ideological propaganda. According to the communists, class struggle was permanent and the conflict would eventually end with the victory of the exploited over the exploiters. A similar process was implemented in the case of Romanian villages. Wealthy peasants, designated in Communist propaganda as chiaburi (the kulaks) - represented the main obstacle in creating socialism. This study analyzes the methods and means used by the communist authorities to eliminate the most important landowners.
Keywords: Collectivization, kulaks, exploitation, class struggle, deportations.

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, *The Trial of Imre Nagy in the context of the relations between the Soviet Union, Hungary and Yugoslavia, 1958***..... 161***
János Kádár did not take the opportunity to hold trial of Imre Nagy in early 1958 without making death sentences, but chose to postpone this trial for another term, waiting for a new anti-Yugoslav campaign in Moscow's politics. Having shown extreme rigidity in the case of Imre Nagy (in general, not peculiar to this pragmatic politician), Kádár finally disarmed his critics on the left, supporters of the complete restoration of that system, which was decisively rejected by the Hungarian people in October 1956. Nevertheless Imre Nagy Trial created new problems for Hungarian-Yugoslav relations, which, however, were successfully overcome in the following years.
Keywords: János Kádár, Imre Nagy Trial, Hungary, Yugoslavia, the Soviet-Yugoslavian relations.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, *Secret but Obvious. Soviet-Romanian and Romanian-CMEA relations in the CIA economic intelligence analysis, the early 60s – mid-70s***.....177***
The article analyses the evolution of the CIA economic intelligence assessments on Romania's relation with the USSR and the CMEA since the early 60s till mid-70s. As the newly revealed CIA documents state

the process has passed through three main stage. Until the late 60s the intelligence analysts have had some hopes about Romania's progress in achieving more independence from the USSR and the CMEA in her economic development. At the very end of the 60s and early 70s, they already noted Ceausescu's inability to succumb directly to the Soviet and the CMEA plans due to economic difficulties. In the early 70s the CIA analysts came to the conclusion that Bucharest doomed to manoeuvre in economic and political field in order to get benefits both from the East and the West.
Keywords: Ceauşescu, CIA, CMEA, Cold War, Comecon, economic intelligence, Romania, USA, USSR.

KARINA PAULINA MARCZUK, ***A Century of Cooperation: Polish-Romanian bilateral relations, 1918-2018*** ***..... 196***
Overall, relations between Poland and Romania can be divided into three main stages: the interwar period between the end of World War I and the outbreak of World War II; from the end of World War II to the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the bipolar world order; and from that point to the present. This paper comprises three parts, each devoted to one of the phases listed above. I argue that Polish-Romanian cooperation has been primarily restricted to the economic sphere, with cultural and political relations following. It is significant that during the period analysed the two states have concluded numerous bilateral agreements, treaties and conventions, of which many are still in force. Examining them reveals what areas of bilateral relations have been predominant, and it is on such primary sources that the research presented here is based.
Keywords: anniversary, cooperation, Poland, Romania, treaty.

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CRISTINA DIAC, ***Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Elena Filipovici, the Death of a professional revolutionary, 1934-1937, II*** ***..... 199***
Starting from Elena Filipovici's case, this article explores the history of the Communist Party of Romania in the 30's, emphasising especially the period between 1934 and 1937. It refers to how the popular front strategy influenced the C.P.o.R.'s leadership and the Romanian political colony in Moscow. It also tries to explain how the political networks functioned during the Great Terror, and how the personal and professional interfered.
Elena Filipovici, a Romanian professional revolutionary, was subject to an inquiry which leaded to the activist's death in December 1937. This article concentrates on Filipovici's reactions prior to her arrest and imprisonment.
Keywords: Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, rehabilitation, Romanian political emigration, Elena Filipovici.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, ***The Death of Stalin, the release of Ana Pauker and an enigmatic talk on 8 April 1953*** ***..... 225***
Ana Pauker was arrested on 18 February 1950, at a time when the antizionist campaign was at its climax in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Soon after the death of Stalin she was released and moved to a conspirative house of the Communist Party. The circumstances of her release still remain unclear. The author of this article argues that Ana Pauker was released, but under strict surveillance, on 15 March 1953 and examines the possible reasons that led to this decision.
The article also reproduces a transcript of Ana Pauker's conversation with two leaders of the Communist Party, on 8 April 1953, that was recorded by the Securitate. During this conversation, Ana Pauker makes important revelations on the accusations she faced during her arrest and explains why she believed Emil Bodnăraş was the real traitor within Romanian Workers Party's leadership.
Keywords: Ana Pauker, I.V. Stalin, Romanian Workers Party, anti-Sionism, Emil Bodnăraş, stalinist investigation.

VASILE BUGA, ***Between ideology and reality. A Soviet Embassy in Bucharest assessment on the situation in Romania, June 1989*** ***..... 244***
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this differentiated her from its Communist allies are emphasized. The authors of the document conclude that a profound reform in Romania would not be possible unless Ceauşescu's removal from power.
Keywords: Communism, Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Mikhail Gorbachev, perestroika.

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Neculai Popa show thought for anticommunist movement since he was a teenager when he embarked to reach the West. Staying in Viena, he arrives at the American training centre in Salzburg. In March 1951, after a brief training, he returns in Romania on purpose to obtain information that will seek to destabilize the Communist regime in Bucharest. He was arrested on a train when crossing the Romanian border. He was 19 years old. After a rough inquiry, he was convicted of high treason and sentenced to 25 years of prison and hard labour. He was released in 1964, following a pardon decree targeting political prisoners. After constant harassment by the Securitate, in 1979, in order to protect his family, Neculai Popa had decided to leave the country and settle in the USA.
Keywords: anticommunism, detention, exile, Securitate.

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With solid studies graduated in Romania and abroad (France), and a brilliant military career the Brigadier General Gabriel Negrei was one of the elite members of the Royal Romanian Army whose ranks he achieved from second lieutenant to general and former President in charge of Military Professional Section of the National Peasant Party. In May 1948, he was sued in the "Group of Witnesses" within the process of the National Peasant Party leaders at the Bucharest Military Tribunal and sentenced to seven years of rigorous detention for "conspiracy for rebellion". He died at the Aiud Penitentiary.
Keywords: anti-aircraft artillery, Communist repression, Gabriel Negrei, Military Professional Section of the National Peasant Party, Romanian Royal Army, war heroes generals.

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The article discusses the presence of female officers in the Ministry of Internal Affairs during the 50s and the 60s, with a focus on the former Militia Lieutenant-Colonel Josefina Nicolschi's biography and career. She was one of the very few women who had been active in the superior officers' corps of the institution; moreover, she had held several top positions within the General Directorate of the Militia. In those days, the schools for military officers did not ensure programs for the military and professional training of female recruits, which led to a slim representation of women at the top of the ministry. This article is both a reassessment of gender-biased communist policies and a biographical monograph.
Keywords: Repression, Cadres, Militia, Officers, Communism, Josefina Nicolschi.

OCTAVIANA JIANU, *Marietta Sadova (1897-1981)*.....*265*
This article presents the biography of Marietta Sadova, a notable figure in Romanian theatrical scene and an important cultural personality of the interwar period. In this work, we look at the special relationship established between this artist and the communist regime in the 1950s. In 1956, the Romanian authorities sent Marietta Sadova to Paris with a particular mission: to win the sympathy of some valuable Romanian writers settled there for the Romanian democratic-popular regime. On her return, Sadova brought some writings of these authors, forbidden in the country, which she distributed in her entourage. Three years later, the artist got arrested for spreading clandestine texts and she was included by the communist authorities in the Noica-Pillat batch, judged and sentenced in 1960.
Keywords: Noica-Pillat batch, prohibited literature, intellectuals, Romanian democratic-popular regime, communism.

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This article is a eulogy of Justinian Marina, the first patriarch of the Communist Romania. Owing to his close relationship with the Romanian Workers' Party leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Justinian Marina was appointed Patriarch and proved to be a relentless defender of the Romanian Orthodox Church during the hardest communist years. For his conduct, historian Radu Ciuceanu compares him to England's Thomas Becket.
Keywords: Romania, communism, Patriarch Justinian, Romanian Orthodox Church, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

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After the end of the Spanish Civil War and Germany's invasion of the USSR, some of the Romanian volunteers in the International Brigades located in France joined the French Resistance and pursued its main goal: liberating the country from Nazi occupation. This study proposes an analysis of the biographical trajectories of Romanian ex-Spain fighters and the violent and non-violent action paths they finally took and followed.
Keywords: French Resistance, International Brigades, Romanian partisans, communism, German occupation, aggression.

IULIAN WARTER, LIVIU WARTER, ***Uncovering the socio-economic issues beyond the Anti-Jewish Legislation in Romania: In the shadow of the swastika, 1933-1944*** ***.....48***

There is an extensive academic literature on the origins, reasons, nature, and impact of the Holocaust. A large part of this work focuses on issues such as how societies, and individuals that lived through it have dealt with this sad experience or what lessons have been drawn from the Holocaust. The socio-economic issues are discussed in the Holocaust literature in few works referring to aspects of Anti-Jewish Legislation. The aim of this paper is to assess what the Holocaust and the loss of Jews meant for a country with a previous rich Jewish economic and cultural life, from a socio-economic point of view. This paper examines the effects caused by the expropriation of Jewish assets, and dismissal or deportation of many skilled workers in Romania.
Keywords: Anti-Jewish Legislation, Romania, Nazi Germany, economy, World War II.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, ***The Case of Vasile Luca, the Samoilov Espionage Network and the State of Romanian Communists in SSSR, II: 1945-1954*****.....57**
The second part of this study follows the events during 1945-1954. As it was argued by the Securitate, the subversive relation between Vasile Luca and the Soviet colonel Samuil Samoilov carried on after the end of the war and proved beneficial for the World Zionist Organization. The Securitate accusations talked about the support Luca and Samoilov gave to Jew emigration to Palestine and, their connections to persons or Zionist organizations. Furthermore, Samoilov, Luca's wife, Betty, and other members of the group were Jews.
Although the Securitate dropped the espionage charges against Luca in 1954, following Stalin's death, this article argues the Vasile Luca was indeed involved in espionage activity but not against the Soviet Union, instead of its behalf.
Keywords: Vasile Luca, Samuil I. Samoilov, Communist Party of Romania, espionage, Soviet Union, World War II, anti-Zionism.

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Keywords: Poland, Political Power, Communism, Roman Catholic Church, Stalinism, Crisis of 1956.

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Keywords: Soviet Union, economic reforms, XX-th Congress, CPSU, Romania, COMECON.

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Keywords: communism, Securitate, terrorist state, exile, Radio Free Europe.

CRISTINA PETRESCU, ***The Goma Movement, Forty Years After: Controversies, Amnesia and (Mis)Canonization*****.....130**
The communist period in Romania suffers from an endemic shortage of respectable heroes. Consequently, most historical reconstructions take the so-called Goma Movement of 1977 not only for a surrogate which fills this vacancy, but also for a human-rights-oriented protest which rallied a wide popular support against Ceaușescu's dictatorship. The very name under which this collective protest is canonized, however, hints at the intrinsic connection with the personality of its most known proponent, writer Paul Goma. Unlike the movement he initiated under communism, Goma has turned in post-communism from a hero into a controversial character. Based on secret police files, this study dissociates dissident Goma from the Goma Movement and revisits both considering Romania's current societal priorities in the process of democratic consolidation. As far as Paul Goma is concerned, the study illustrates that he was one of Romania's longest-active cultural and political opponents of the communist regime. Taking into account that Romania still needs to distance itself from the legacies of its non-democratic past, his systematic endeavours at preserving the independence of thinking and action, while the dictatorship was heavily curtailing it and most individuals complied with these severe limitations, are definitely worth remembering. On the contrary, the Goma Movement in which he was a prime mover, this study argues, contrary to common knowledge, was hardly a human-rights oriented protest, which deserves to be canonized as one of the most significant anti-communist revolts with wide popular support. Most of its proponents did not seek the improvement of human rights observance in Romania, but the opportunity to leave this country for good. In other words, this collective protest illustrates that the Romanians' disagreement with the communist regime manifested itself primarily not by civic engagement, but by emigration, and thus it barely represents a usable past in the process of democratic consolidation.
Keywords: communist regimes, human rights, dissent, emigration, secret police, memory.

STEFANO BOTTONI, ***Between External Constraint and Internal Crackdown: Romania's Non-Reaction to Soviet Perestroika 152***
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Keywords: Romania, Ceauşescu, IMF, perestroika, intelligence, Gorbachev.

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Keywords: the justice system, judges, prosecutors, lawyers, the *Securitate.*

EWELINA DRZEWIECKA, ***The Bulgarian Utopia: About Saints Cyril and Methodius during the Communist Period*** **.....*197***
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Keywords: utopia, Bulgaria, jubilee collections, Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, Communism, basic concepts, Reinhart Koselleck.

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Keywords: communist legacy, remembrance, lustration, decommunisation, communist crimes, policy of remembrance, post-communist Poland.

CRISTINA DIAC, ***Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Elena Filipovici, the Death of a professional revolutionary, 1934-1937*** **.....*219***
Starting from Elena Filipovici's case, this article explores the history of the Communist Party of Romania in the 30's, emphasising especially the period between 1934 and 1938. It refers to how the popular front strategy influenced the C.P.o.R.'s leadership and the Romanian political colony in Moscow. It also tries to explain how the political networks functioned during the Great Terror, and how the personal and professional interfered.

Elena Filipovici, a Romanian professional revolutionary, was subject to an inquiry which leaded to the activist's death in December 1937. This article concentrates on how this person reacted prior to her arrest and imprisonment.
Keywords: Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, „social-fascism", Marcel Pauker, Al. Daneliuk-Ștefanski, Grivița strike from 1933.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, ***Nicolae Ceauşescu and Futures Studies in Romania, II: Alvin Toffler in Bucharest, 1976*** **.....*240***
In the first half of the 1970's Romania was still interesting to the scholars and authors in future studies. Romania's opening toward the West and the privileged relationship with the United States brought to Bucharest important personalities, such as Alvin Toffler. His bestseller *Future Shock* was translated into Romanian in 1974 and enjoyed a large audience. Toffler visited Romania during 17-21 May 1976, as part of an Eastern European tour which also included Poland and the Soviet Union. During his stay, delivered several conferences, visited a factory and met the Romanian Communist leader. We publish the minutes of the discussion between the American futurologist and Nicolae Ceaușescu. During the meeting that lasted two and a half hours, the two discussed problems related to industrial development, the impact of new technologies and the challenges of future society.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, future studies, forecasting, Alvin Toffler, Nicolae Ceauşescu, „Future Shock".

VASILE BUGA, ***Romania seen from Moscow: Soviet documents drafted in March 1989*** **.....*253***

The document we publish was drafted by the researchers of the Institute of Socialist Economy of the USSR' Academy of Sciences and contains a critic analysis of the political and economic crisis in Romania and of the Romanian-Soviet relations in spring 1989. The document addressed to the highest political Soviet leaders was thoroughly documented and revealed the state of profound crisis in Romania, the errors in Ceauşescu's economic policy and the dramatic drop in living standards of the population. Several possible scenarios of Romania's evolution in the first part of the 1990's and the development of political and economic bilateral relations were envisaged. In the draft of the Russian researchers, there were several unusual recommendations, such as the appeal to isolate the Romanian leader, which proved that Ceauşescu had lost the support of Moscow.
Keywords: N. Ceauşescu, Soviet-Romanian Relations, perestroika, foreign debt, personality cult, 1989.

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FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI*, The Nuclear Programme. The Unfulfilled Dream of Nicolae Ceauşescu.* ***266***
During Ceausescu regime, Romania intensified its efforts in the nuclear research field. The first part of this article presents some important moments from the development of Romanian nuclear program: the establishment of the State's Committee for Nuclear Energy, the Romanian-Canadian and Romanian-American negotiations for buying the nuclear technology and devices. The last part presents the memoirs of Cornel Mihulecea, the president of State's Committee for Nuclear Energy (1976-1990), related to his activity.
Keywords: nuclear research, the State's Committee for Nuclear Energy, CANDU nuclear reactor, Romanian-Canadian negotiations.

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FLORI BĂLĂNESCU*, Emil Căpraru (b. 1923)* ***279***
The Romanian pediatrician Emil Căpraru had been sentenced by the communist regime to 20 years of forced labor and 8 years loss of civil rights on the grounds of „machination against the social order". In fact, as a medical student, and then as a lecturer and doctor, he helped many students and doctors persecuted by the Securitate. He spent 6 years in prison (1958-1964), being released under the terms of Decree 411 of June 24, 1964.
Keywords: fighting (for normality), re-education, resistance (to communisation).

OCTAVIANA JIANU*, Vladimir Streinu (1902-1970)* ***284***
This paper is dedicated to the figure of the literary critic Vladimir Streinu. The article aims to describe some general aspects regarding the condition of the writers's elite in communist Romania. Vladimir Streinu, a famous journalist and aesthetician of the 1930's and 1940's, began to be marginalized from 1947 due to his past and his democratic views. In the autumn of 1959, this critic was arrested and imprisoned in the Jilava Penitentiary, together with Noica-Pillat batch, because he had listened to imperialist radio stations, read banned texts and commented hostilely, together with his accomplices, the "achievements of the Romanian popular-democratic regime". He was recruited by the Secutitate durind his detention, being asked to cooperate with this repressive institution after his release.
Keywords: political prisoners, political police, leterature prohibited, elite writers, political processes of the intellectuals in the 1950s.

ANTOANETA OLTEANU*, V.M. Molotov - a First Rank Bolshevik* ***288***
The paper aims to present the personality of an important icon of Soviet Union, V.M. Molotov, Old Bolshevik, Leading figure of Soviet Government and, of course, the Soviet negociator with Hitler. The interviews Molotov gave to Feliks Chuev show a different perspective not only on that important figure,

but also on political environment during the Soviet Era, on Stalin and Party Nomenclature. Molotov presents himself as a determined person, devoted to his beloved cause, devoted to Lenin and Stalin policy and way they showed to the Soviet people. From the very beginning he shows himself a trusted party member, with strong beliefs and convictions, with no regrets about the severe decisions they made during the Soviet reign.
Keywords: Molotov, Old Bolshevik, Soviet Leader, the Ribbentropp-Molotov pact.

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RADU CIUCEANU, ***History as Ballast, XLVII. The victors' train. The Bucharest Northern Railway Station. Thalassa!*** ***5***

The article presents the story of the returning from prison of former zek Radu Ciuceanu in September 1963. Having been released from Gherla penitentiary after 15 years in prison Radu Ciuceanu recounts the adventures of the road back home and the shock of re-entering social life.
Keywords: Radu Ciuceanu, political prisoner, Romania, communism.

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In 1924, on the left bank of the Dniester the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established as part of Soviet Ukraine. Soon after, the problem of national and linguistic identity of the new state was raised. In April 1925, the Executive Committee of the Comintern sanctioned the Ukrainian and Russian communists views regarding the existence of a Moldovan language different from Romanian and of a Moldovan people different from Romanians. Further on, territorial claims could have been raised to the Romanian state, with the intent of annexation of Bessarabia and even all of Moldova to the Soviet Union.
Keywords: Bessarabia, Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Comintern, Moldovan language.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, ***Communists and Socialists in the General Elections of Interwar Romania (1926-1933). A Comparative Analysis, II*** ***20***

This study analyzes the electoral competition between the Romanian Left political movements – the social-democrats and the communists – during the interwar period. Using a large amount of statistical data, collected for the general elections which took place from 1926 until 1933, the author presents the influence of these two parties in different provinces, their electoral strategies, the electoral dynamics of candidacies, the socio-professional profile of candidates.
Keywords: Romanian Political Left, social-democracy, communist movement, The Workers-Peasants Bloc, general elections, Parliament, politicians, candidacy, electoral dynamics.

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This article explores the main outcomes of the Spanish Civil War, emphasizing the repression policies unleashed by the nationalist faction at the end of the war. The authors analyse the dynamic of repression, and how the international events, esspecialy the Second World War, influenced it. The legal system established at the end of the Civil War, the architecture of the Spanish repressive system, the mechanism of the legal denounciations are in depth analysed. The article also refferes to the victors and vanquished as social groups, how these groups emerged, how they behaved in the aftermath of the war, who benefited from Franco's victory and who lost the most from it.
Keywords: Spanish Civil War, Francisco Franco, Fascism, Francoism, repression, repressive legislation, Spanish republican exile, French internment camps.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The Case of Vasile Luca, the Samoilov Espionage Network and the State of Romanian Communists in USSR, I: 1940-1944*.....49

A prominent leader of the Romanian Workers' Party, Vasile Luca was arrested on 14 August 1952 as being a part of the "right deviation". Starting 1953, the Securitate investigation aimed at exposing Luca and other Romanian Communists' alleged espionage activity on the Soviet soil during the Second World War.
A creation of the Romanian SSI, the espionage network was allegedly run by the Soviet Colonel Samuil I. Samoilov, a jew born in Bessarabia and a former member of the Communist Party in Romania.
The declarations Vasile Luca gave while under investigation are valuable historical sources on the subversive activities of the Romanian Communists stationed in the Soviet Union during the Second World War, their relations to the NKVD, the Red Army and Comintern.
Keywords: Vasile Luca, Samuil I. Samoilov, Communist Party of Romania, espionage, Soviet Union, World War II, anti-Zionism.

NICOLAE FUŞTEI, *The situation of the Orthodox Church from the Moldavian SSR in 1940-1941* 67

In the present study, based on the archival documents, it is reflected the status of the Orthodox Church in Moldavian SSR during 1940-1941. After the occupation of Bessarabia by the USSR in June 1940, here it is organized a fierce anti-religious struggle by different ways: ideological, administrative, economic, insulting the religious feeling of believers, and the systematic terror. To achieve struggle with religion, the crucial decisions were taken by the top party organs including decision of the Bureau of Central Committee of the Communist Party of MSSR from March 7, 1941. As a result of the anti-religious policy the number of the ministering priests decreased from 1042 to 376, the number of the churches decreased from 943 to 340 only over a year.
Keywords: The Orthodox Church, antireligious terror, Soviet occupation, Moldavian SSR.

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This article is based on documents of Russian archives and considers the history of relationship between the Soviet type regime and the Roman Catholic Church in Poland during the 1940's and 1950's. The article explores particular actions of authorities that were aimed at excluding of the Church from political and

educational spheres of life; temporary retreat of the Episcopate for the sake of maintenance the connections between Church and believing people. Special attention is given to the influence of Church on evolution and development of sociopolitical crisis and the victory of reformers in 1956.
Keywords: Poland, Political Power, Communism, Roman Catholic Church, Stalinism, Crisis of 1956.

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This study aims to provide details of the two monetary reforms which took place in 1947 and 1952 as part of the changes in the Romanian economy in the aftermath of World War II, given the context of Romanian-Soviet relations.
The two monetary reforms are described as stages in the process of replacing the checks and balances that ensured monetary equilibrium in the capitalist economy with similar tools serving the purposes of the Soviet-type centrally-planned economy. We focus on the role played by the team of Soviet advisors led by I.D. Zlobin in the preparation of the two monetary reforms, as well as on the position adopted by the senior officials of the National Bank of Romania, the NBR Governor Mr Aurel Vijoli in particular, towards the enforcement of Soviet principles with regard to monetary circulation in Romania.
The conclusion of our study is that the period between 1947 and 1952 witnessed the demise of the existing financial elite, the enforcement of checks and balances specific to monetary circulation in the Soviet-type centrally-planned economy, and the removal of those National Bank of Romania and Ministry of Finance officials who, given their intellectual background or political ideals, could have proposed adjustments to the imposed Soviet model.
Keywords: Romania, monetary reform, centrally-planned economy, Stalinist model, Soviet advisers.

CÉCILE VAISSIÉ, ***The Only Stalin Price of Literature in the Western World: André Stil, an « engineer of the souls » in France*** ***..... 104***

The French writer André Stil (1921-2004) is now almost forgotten, but he was the first and only Westerner to receive, in March 1952, a Stalin prize of literature. He was then the editor of the main communist newspaper in France, *L'Humanité*, and a candidate member in the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. This was the first time that a Stalin prize was awarded to some non-Soviet writers, and the last time that it was awarded under this appellation. A question arises: why was this prize, extremely prestigious in the communist world, attributed to André Stil, and not to Louis Aragon or Paul Eluard, communist writers of incontestable literary talent? Articles and speeches of that time give an unequivocal answer: because André Stil represented then, better than anyone else in France, the literature and the writer, as conceived by Soviet ideologues. Therefore, analyzing the reasons, the context and the consequences of this specific Stalin Price means exploring the attempt to transfer and promote in France the model of writers, advocated by Andrei Zhdanov.
Keywords: André Stil, Stalin Price, literature, zhdanovism, Ridgway.

RALUCA-NICOLETA SPIRIDON, LIVIU-MARIUS BEJENARU, ***Repression and information control in the period August 30th 1948 – March 14th 1956, II*** ***.....126***

The information surveillance, the organization and reorganization of the information network, divided into certain informants, and especially the objective these one aimed at, made possible the major change of the political, economic, and social paradigms produced in Romania after 1948. During the period our study reffers to, 1948-1956, survaillance methods and repression carried aut by Securitate shadowed the political, economic, and social transformation enabled by the communist regime. The second part of our study scopes the evolution of the information network from the beginning of 50's until February 1956.
Keywords: information control, informative network, Securitate, qualified informants, operative work.

AURELIA VASILE, ***The instigation to vigilance and to denunciation. Implementation of the central directives in the organization of the Soviet film festival in 1950, I*** ***.....142***

The enlargement of the Romanian communist party between 1945 and 1948 by recruiting members without political activity or communist conviction creates a climate of general suspicion regarding potential enemies infiltrating the party. Besides the campaign of "verification" of the members launched by the Control Commission, the soviet film festival organized in many Romanian cities from August to December 1950 aimed to encourage the vigilance of the faithful members and the denunciation of "bad elements".
This article focused on the organization of the film festival, the purposes, the guidelines, the resources (technical and human) set up by the central authorities (director of the Committee for Cinema, director of Sovromfilm) and the way the local authorities (directors of cinema theaters, work unions, presidents of the local structures of the party, etc) respond to the directives which come from above.
Keywords: Soviet Films, Festival, Committee for Cinema, Sovromfilm, Romanian Communist Party.

TATIANA VOLOKITINA, ***Destalinization „à la Bulgarian". Tchervenkov-Zhivkov: the Struggle for Power, 1953-1956, II*****.....157**

Based on unedited Russian and Bulgarian documents, the article analyses the struggle for power in the Bulgarian Communist Party after Stalin's death. The article is important for the information on the relations at the highest level of the BCP, as well as Moscow's interference. Moreover, the Bulgarian pattern of the struggle for power in 1953-1956 is similar to the other Eastern European Communist parties.
Keywords: Bulgarian Communist Party, Destalinization, Tchervenkov, Zhivkov, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

KARINA PAULINA MARCZUK, ***The Origins of the Polish-German Reconciliation, 1965-1966 171***

The topic of the article concerns the origins of the process of establishing and then developing bilateral relations between Germany and Poland at the turn of 1965 and 1966. The main argument is that advancing reconciliation in bilateral Polish-German relations was possible owing to the considerable input of the Polish Catholic Church, including the memorable letter of the Polish bishops to their German counterparts ("We forgive and ask for forgiveness"). These two years are significant for the mutual relations of Poland and Germany. First, in 1965 the Polish Catholic bishops submitted to their German counterparts the letter that opened the path to an improvement in relations between the nations. Afterwards, "reconciliation" was introduced into the public discourse. Second, in 1966 the Polish Catholic Church celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the Christianisation of Poland, which became both a challenge and a chance for developing the dialogue with Germans. Therefore, the main research questions concern, first, the determinants of the tensions between Poland and both German states after World War II as well as the impact of the 1965 bishops' letter on the development of bilateral relations.
Keywords: Catholic bishops' letter of 1965, Ostdenkschrift, EKD, Germany, Poland, reconciliation.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, ***Before and After R. Nixon's Visit to Romania. Flashpoints of the Romanian "Specific Course" as seen through American and Soviet Eyes 181***

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Keywords: Nicolae Ceausescu, Richard Nixon, CIA, Cold War, Czechoslovakia, Comecon, GRU, KGB, NATO, Romania, USA, USSR, WTO.

LUMINIȚA BANU, FLORIAN BANU, ***The causes of the emigration of ethnic Germans from Romania reflected on the Security's documents, III: 1977-1989*****.....200**

German emigration from Romania was a process conducted over a half of century. As a result, the causes of this process were many and they knew its own dynamics. From the desire to integrate into the "great German nation", specific of the early years of the Second World War, to the desire to accede to a higher standard of living, area motivations of individual experienced a lot of variations. In our opinion, based on the study of archival and oral testimonies, mostly applications for emigration were motivated by a desire to

family reunification, in first decade after the Second World War, and by the economic difficulties from Romania, for the 80's.
Keywords: Germans, emigration, Securitate, family reunification, communism, Romania, minorities.

CONSTANTIN HLIHOR, ***The Geopolitical Shock: the Soviet-American Relations and the Fall of Communism*****.....*** ***214***

The unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, was such that many scholars cast their gazes backwards in an attempt to understand the roots of the collapse. Interpretations of how it ended thus remain crucial to an accurate understanding of global events and foreign policy. The reasons for the Cold War's conclusion, and the timing of its ending, are disputed to this day. In this paper we suggest as tool for Soviet-American relations assessment during the Cold War the geopolitical shocks theory to illuminate the key cataclysmic events of the 1980s and early 1990s from a range of perspectives. The effects of this shock are still being felt today. Indeed, given its unprecedented scope, speed and far reaching consequences, the impact of the collapse of the Soviet state system must be included in any discussion of shocks that have reshaped the international system. Accordingly, this study explores the trends that marked the Cold War period, the events that characterized the shock itself, and finally the social, economic, and military impact on Soviet empire. Through this process of examination, it will be evident that the collapse of Soviet Communism marked nothing less than the complete transformation of the geopolitical system.
Keywords: Cold War, geopolitical shock theory, international relations assessment, Cold War non classical weapons.

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CRISTINA DIAC, ***Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Vanda Nicolski and the Romanian emigration in U.S.S.R. during the Great Terror, 1936-1938, III*****.....*** ***235***

In order to better introduce the document I've chosen to publish, I largely explained the broader context which encompass the moment when it was written. Vanda Nicolski, a major leader of the Communist Party of Romania, a member of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau during the '30s, wrote a large report in August 1938, when she was in Moscow. Clearly, her confession, written during the Great Terror, wasn't an innocent piece of evidence scrutinizing the history of the C.P.o.R. *per se*, but it was meant to incriminate as many professional revolutionaries as possible. I tried to explain what stood behind of her statement. The contents exposed by Vanda Nicolski refers mostly to the complex and fluid relationships established into the inner circle of Party's leaders and details what steps the C.P.o.R. took in order to meet the Comintern's expectations during Popular Front era.
Keywords: Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, Popular Front, Marcel Pauker, Boris Ștefanov.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, ***Nicolae Ceauşescu and Futures Studies in Romania, I: Johan Galtung in Bucharest, 1974*****.....*** ***250***

At end of the 1960's, while already a specific research field in the United States and Western Europe, future studies developed also in Romania. That happened under the direct benediction of Nicolae Ceaușescu who saw in forecasting a useful tool to step up the way towards the socialist multilaterally developed society. Following that goal, interdisciplinary groups of researchers were set up to develop methodologies and in 1971 the Forecasting Central Commission led by Ceaușescu himself was established to prepare long-term forecasts. In 1972, Bucharest became the first Eastern European country to host the Third World Futures Research Conference. The documents published in this article reveals the acknowledgement of the importance of Romanian future studies in the 1970's. As president of the WFSF Johan Galtung mentioned in his meeting with Nicolae Ceaușescu in May 1974, Romania had become a centre of gravity in social sciences. During the meeting, the two discussed also the establishment of an International Center of Methodology for Futures and Development Studies in Bucharest.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, future studies, forecasting, Johan Galtung, Nicolae Ceaușescu, WFSF.

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Born on 18 January 1916 in Bucharest in a family of Jewish merchants, Silviu Brucan was one of the leading Communist Party activists. He had a privileged relationship with the Gheorghiu-Dej regime, holding a number of important political and public positions (Ambassador of Romania to United States of America, representative of Romania to United Nations, Vice-President of the Radio-Television Council). After Nicolae Ceausescu became the leader of the Romania, Brucan did not hold any political position. His relationship with the regime has gradually worsened in the 1980's. He launched himself as an opponent of the regime after the revolt of the workers of Brașov on 15 November 1987. The events of 22 December 1989 have made him return to the political scene, participating in the creation of the National Salvation Front.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Silviu Brucan, Stalinism, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Ceaușescu regime, "the letter of the six", the National Salvation Front.

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Father Ion Parțac (1927-1996) was one of those Romanian Catholic priests who, during the terrible persecution that characterized the totalitarian regimes of Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceaușescu, chose to join the anti-communist resistance through faith, rejecting all collaboration with atheist regime. He preferred the status of an outcast, besides that of a political inmate. He lived in an age when being a Catholic was a criminal act punishable by imprisonment.
Keywords: Communism, Catholicism, resistance, priesthood.

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The paper aims to contributing to a better understanding of the complex political situation in the central part of Europe where two major forces are now opposed. One is the Russian Federation and the other consists of European countries, such as Romania a member of the EU. The situation had been generated in 1792 when Russia got a common border on Dniester river with the Romanian medieval state of Moldova. In 1812 after a war with Turkey it occupied half of Moldova and called it Bessarabia. This is presently the Republic of Moldova. Now a part of it proclaimed itself an independent state called the Moldavian Dniester Republic (Transnistria). It is recognized by no other country but Russia considering it a component part of the Russian Federation. Moreover, its army of Russian soldiers crossed illegally the Dniester into the Republic of Moldova occupying more territory and thus creating a dangerous precedent.
Keywords: Russian Federation, European Union, Romania, Republic of Moldova, Bessarabia, Dniester, 1792, 1812, Transnistria.

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This article is dedicated to the memory of Radu Câmpeanu. Member of the leadership National Liberal Party youth organization, Radu Câmpeanu was one of the main organizers of the anticommunist and antisoviet demonstration in November 8, 1945 in Bucharest. Later, he was imprisoned for nine years by the communists. After his release from prison, he went into exile. In 1990 he was elected president of the National Liberal Party. Radu Câmpeanu was also a member in the Scientific Council of N.I.S.T.

Keywords: Radu Câmpeanu, National Liberal Party, anticommunism.

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Christian Rakovsky still remains one of the most important leaders of the Romanian socialism and also of the global communism established as a consequence of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. The goal of this paper is to add new information to his biography and actions as a socialist militant and to see how and why he took further steps from socialism to communism. This research is based mostly on primary sources, the most important being a special file on him made by the Romanian Directorate of Police and General Security (*Siguranţa*) which contains unpublished archival documents from the Romanian National Archives, regarding his actions in Romania and towards the Romanian Government in the before and aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution. Although a Romanian citizen, after the start of World War I, Rakovsky becomes a fierce adversary of his adoptive country, partly due to the actions performed against him by the Romanian Government before and during the war. This project highlights how he managed, through his actions, to gain the trust and sympathy of the Russian Bolsheviks which saw him as an important actor in their battle against the imperialist Romania who claimed Bessarabia.

Keywords: Christian Rakovsky, Communism, WWI, Bessarabia, Trotskysm.

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Keywords: Romanian Political Left, social-democracy, communist movement, The Workers-Peasants Bloc, Parliament.

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Since the takeover of the Soviet power in 1925, by adopting an ideology tributary to the Tsarist roots, Stalin succeeded – the signing of the Moscow Pact (August 23, 1939) – to impose his own 'russocentric' policy. Through the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the Soviet-German partnership that followed (1939-1941), Stalin managed to create a replica of the Russian Empire at the western borders of the USSR. The extension of Soviet influence in the territories of eastern Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and Southeastern Europe (Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina) meant ensuring a restricted security sphere at the boundaries of the west of the Soviet Union. We believe that, for Stalin, the security of the Soviet state could be fulfilled only through the international political supremacy, an ideal followed by every russian *vojdi* (leader). In our study we observe whether and to what extent the role of the Russian idea – manifested by the need for supremacy – was decisive in designing and implementing foreign policy directions by Stalin during the Soviet-German alliance (1939-1941).
Keywords: Russian Idea, Stalin, Soviet Foreign Policy, Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

ŞTEFAN BOSOMITU, ***The Romanian Communist Party Central Committee's Control Commission, 1945-1947*****.....57**

My text is considering an analysis of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Central Committee's Control Commission between 1945-1947, and tries to explain how the internal control apparatus of the RCP was institutionalized. In order to suggest a coherent description of the process, I will consider three major issues. Firstly, I am interested in understanding how and why the Control Commission was instituted. Beyond the official explanations, it would be interesting to see whether the establishment of the Commission was a simple act of institutional mimicry, or a real necessity of the Communist Party. The second issue on which I would turn my attention is the institutional dimension of the Commission and its staff. Regarding this issue – I'm interested in both the political and militant background / identity of each of the commission members (those who participated in decision-making), but also the various attempts to institutionalize the Commission. Finally, the last point on which I will turn my attention refers to the common / current activity of the Commission. Namely, I am interested in trying to understand how the Control Commission actually functioned – through the analysis of different cases, and beyond the information supplied by the activity reports.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Central Committee's Control Commission, party control, purges, statutory penalties.

LUMINIŢA BANU, FLORIAN BANU, ***The causes of the emigration of ethnic Germans from Romania reflected on the Security's documents, 1948-1989, II*****.....82**

German emigration from Romania was a process conducted over a half of century. As a result, the causes of this process were many and they knew its own dynamics. From the desire to integrate into the "great German nation", specific of the early years of the Second World War, to the desire to accede to a higher standard of living, area motivations of individual experienced a lot of variations. In our opinion, based on the study of archival and oral testimonies, mostly applications for emigration were motivated by a desire to family reunification, in first decade after the Second World War, and by the economic difficulties from Romania, for the 80's.
Keywords: Germans, emigration, Securitate, family reunification, communism, Romania, minorities.

RALUCA-NICOLETA SPIRIDON, LIVIU-MARIUS BEJENARU, ***Repression and information control in the period August 30th 1948 – March 14th 1956, I*** ***..... 99***
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Keywords: information control, informative network, Securitate, qualified informants, operative work.

TATIANA VOLOKITINA, ***Destalinization „à la Bulgarian". Tchervenkov-Zhivkov: the Struggle for Power, 1953-1956, I..... 108***

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Keywords: Bulgarian Communist Party, Destalinization, Tchervenkov, Zhivkov, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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Keywords: 1956, Hungarian Revolution, cultural-structural analysis, snowballing effect.

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Keywords: Cyprus, coup, Romania, Soviet Union, United States, security, hegemony, imperialism, foreign policy.

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Keywords: Nicolae Ceauşescu, Socialist economy, five-year plan, Communist Party control, nuclear disarmament.

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Keywords: Zhivkov, Ceauşescu, Gorbachev reforms, Soviet *perestroik*a, Bulgarian-Romanian relations.

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Keywords: the justice system, judges, prosecutors, lawyers, the Securitate.

DOCUMENTS

CRISTINA DIAC, ***Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Vanda Nicolski and the Romanian emigration in U.S.S.R. during the Great Terror, 1936-1938, II..... 202***

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Keywords: Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, Popular Front, Vanda Nicolski, Marcel Pauker, Boris Ștefanov.

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At the beginning of 1950's, Teohari Georgescu was one of the most powerful leaders of the Communist regime in Romania. In Mai 1952, he was accused of „right deviation" and he was removed from all the party and state positions. In February 1953 he was arrested. During the questioning, Teohari Georgescu was charged with serious offences: betrayal of the Communist movement during the period of illegality, acting as an informer of the bourgeois police, the „Siguranța" (up to 23 August 1944), several decisions he took as the Minister of Internal Affairs during 1945-1952, such as the conclusion of a nonagression pact

with former members of the Legionary Mouvement, the delay of a decision in the the inquiry of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, getting involved in the „right deviation" affair, support for the Jewish emigration in Romania and the Sionist activity, forming of an „fractionist" and „anti-party" group togehter with Ana Pauker şi Vasile Luca etc.
At 8 February 1956 Teohari Georgescu was proposed for a trial. However, only one month hand half later the prosecutors proposed him for release. This article reprints the prosecutors' report of 19 March 1956 regarding the proposal for Teohari Georgescu release.
Keywords: Teohari Georgescu, Romanian Workers Party, the „right deviation", antisionism, Ana Pauker, political process.

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Keyword: Cold War, Corneliu Mănescu, Dean Rusk, Raymond L. Garthoff, U.S.-Romanian relations.

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Keywords: US-Romanian Relations, MFN trade status, Mihai Botez, Nicolae Ceauşescu, human rights.

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Keywords: Romanian – West-German Relations, Helsinki, 1975, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, immigration of ethnic German population.

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On 4 December 1989, at Moscow took place the last meeting of the WTO members. Several issues concerning the situation in the socialist countries were discussed. Among them, adopting a Declaration by the five states that invaded Czechoslovakia in August 1968 and which were willing to publicly admit that the intervention had been a mistake. In this article, the author analyses the historigraphical controversy related to Nicolae Ceaușescu's refusal to sign the Declaration. Using recently declassified Russian documents, the author proves that the Romanian leader did not recant his 1968 position.
Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, Czechoslovakia 1968, Mikhail Gorbachev, Warsaw Treaty Organization, 1989.

BIOGRAPHIIES

DELIA BĂLĂICAN, *G.A. Dabija (1872-1957)*..... *304*

G.A. Dabija (born in Iaşi, on September 20-th 1872 and passed away in Bucharest in 1957) was a hostile element of the communist regime. He was a military attaché to Bulgaria and Serbia (1910-1913). He fought for his country in the battle of Mărăşti (1917) and on the Tisa front (1919) and, as reconition of his contribution in the battle of Mărăşti, he was awarded the rank of General in 1917. G.A. Dabija became known as a military writer, which led to his detention in the communist prisons at Jilava and Văcăreşti (1952-1955). His monumental work in 4 volumes entitled The Romanian Army in The First World War (1916-1918) was published between 1928 and 1937. He was director general of the Society of Mărăşti, that the obiective was buidig Mărăşti dedicated to the heroes who sacrificed their lives to the accomplisment of the national unity ideal.

Keywords: General G.A. Dabija; The First World War; the battle of Mărăşti; Romanian military writer; political prisoner at Jilava and Văcăreşti, Mărăşti Mausoleum.

IONUŢ MIRCEA MARCU, ***Alexandru Moghioroș (1911-1969)*** ***308***

This text describes and shortly analyse Alexandru Moghioroș's biography, one of the most significant communist leaders, as it appears from archival sources recently released by the National Archives of Romania, sources confronted with the secondary literature where Moghioroș's activity is mentioned. Moghioroș was a militant who devoted himself to the communist credo in his early youth. In interwar, he was prominent within the Youth Communist League-Romanian branch, quality in which he attended some important international events organized by Comintern and K.I.M. (The Communist Youth International). Arrested in 1935 and involved in Ana Pauker's trial, he was sentenced and served a ten years sentence in different Romanian jails until 1944.

During the communist regime, he held some influential position within the Party apparatus. For instance, until his death, he was an almost-permanent member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party/Romanian Communist Party, and of the Political Bureau. He was also one of the Party's secretaries, and appointed to preside some important commissions, in charge with internal inquires.

Keywords: Alexandru Moghioroș, Comintern, Youth Communist League-Romanian branch, Romanian Communist Party.

THEODORA ENACHE*, Leonte Răutu (1910-1933)*.....*312*

Leonte Răutu had one of the longest and most influential career within the Romanian communist establishment, prolonged for more than fifty years. He started his political activity in Bessarabia, his native province, at the beginning of the 30s, and finished it in the early 80s. he survived to all purges deployed within the Romanian Communist Party, displaying an amazing adaptation capacity.

In interwar, Răutu worked for the communist movement in Bessarabia, and in Bucharest, when he was a student at the Bucharest University. In 1940, when his native province was occupied by the Soviet Union, he came back there. He spent the Second World War in the Soviet Union. His activity within Radio Moscow-Romanian sector, was his most notorious assignment, which helped him after the war, due to the precious relations achieved during the job.

He came back to Romania in 1945 and held the most important positions within the Romanian Communist Party – member the Central Committee for many years (1948-1958, 1960-1984), member of the Party's Secretariat (1965-1969), member of the Executive Committee/ Political Executive Committee (1965-1981). He is best known as the formal and informal head of the propaganda sector.

Keywords: Leonte Răutu, communism, propaganda, culture, ideology.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, XLV. A lesser known plan! (1895-1914)* *5*

The article tackles the plans of Pan-Germanism supporters at the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century, including on the eve of World War I (1914-1915) regarding the territorial reorganization of Europe under the hegemonic power of the German Empire and Austro-Hungarian Empire. The author discusses Romania's place within these plans, considering the close relations between Emperor Wilhelm II and king Charles I of Romania.

Keywords: the German Empire, Pan-Germanism, World War I, Kingdom of Romania.

STUDIES

ANTOANETA OLTEANU, *Lenin and his Myths*..... *8*

After the fall of soviet regime (all) the prohibites archives were open to historians and Lenin as man and politician was one of the main topics both for historians and readers. There are still al lot of books describing Lenin from a personal, emotional, traditional Soviet point of view, but there is also a lot of unconventional approaches unveiling several episodes in the life of the great lider, so different, unexpected in comparison with the perspective of the official mythology. The paper aims to discuss some of these new aspects revealed both by Russian and western historians.

Keywords: Lenin, biography, official mythology, new approach.

IOANA ELENA SECU, *Russian Idea in the Soviet Foreign Policy, 1939-1941, I*..... *24*

Since the takeover of the Soviet power in 1925, by adopting an ideology tributary to the Tsarist roots, Stalin succeeded – the signing of the Moscow Pact (August 23, 1939) – to impose his own 'russocentric' policy. Through the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the Soviet-German partnership that followed (1939-1941), Stalin managed to create a replica of the Russian Empire at the western borders of the USSR. The extension of Soviet influence in the territories of eastern Poland, the Baltic States, Finland and Southeastern Europe

(Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina) meant ensuring a restricted security sphere at the boundaries of the west of the Soviet Union. We believe that, for Stalin, the security of the Soviet state could be fulfilled only through the international political supremacy, an ideal followed by every russian *vojdi* (leader). In our study we observe whether and to what extent the role of the Russian idea – manifested by the need for supremacy – was decisive in designing and implementing foreign policy directions by Stalin during the Soviet-German alliance (1939-1941).
Keywords: Russian Idea, Stalin, Soviet Foreign Policy, Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

ION CONSTANTIN, *The Polish Communists during the Second World War. An overview. 44*

Dissolved by a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1938, carefully supervised by Stalin himself, the Polish Communist Party was re-created in 1941 but this time, the official name of the party – The Polish Workers' Party –, deliberately ignored the „communist" denomination, in order to underline the alleged Party's independence. During the Second World War, Moscow was constantly handling the P.W.P. as an instrument good to be used against the Polish liberation movement curdled around the Home Army, and leaded by the Polish government-in-exile. As in the other Eastern European countries, in spite of its obvious weakness and lack of popularity, the P.W.R. came in power at the end of the war. Gomułka's attempt to accommodate communism to Poland's specific didn't meet Stalin's expectations, so the latter decided that the Soviet Union must be in full control regarding Polish affairs. In August 1948, Bolesław Bierut was brought to power by Moscow, as P.W.P's General Secretary. The P.W.P. completely absorbed the Socialist party, and the Polish United Workers' Party (P.U.W.P.) emerged at the end of the process. The P.U.W.P. ruled over Poland until 1989, being credited with the country's sovietisation.
Keywords: The Polish Workers' Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, Second World War, Home Army, Wanda Wasilewska.

ADAM BURAKOWSKI, *People's Tribunal in Bulgaria, 1944-1945.....65*

Although the activity of Bulgaria in World War II was limited, serious war crimes were committed, especially in territories occupied by Bulgarian forces. Simultaneously communist clandestine partisan movement was more and more active. When the communist-led Fatherland Front came to power in September 1944, the issue of moral and legal responsibility for war crimes emerged. New government created so-called People's Tribunal to judge the pre-communist elite. The genocide accusations were in many cases just a pretext to political purges. The article, based mainly on archival sources, deals with the activity of People's Tribunal.
Keywords: Bulgaria, World War II, Stalinism, war crimes, communism.

MARIUS TĂRÎŢĂ, Abstract: ***Preliminary notes on the issue of the Romanian language in Moldavian SSR during the first postwar years, 1944-1948 .....87***

In this paper the author deals with the issue of the Romanian language in the Moldavian SSR during the first postwar years. CC of the CP(B) from Moldavian SSR tried several times to determine the loyal researchers from the Institute of Scientific Research to organize teams for writing textbooks of Romanian (named by them Moldavian) language and literature. Also existed the intention to organize courses for Party staff the main part of whom came from abroad and didn't know the Romanian language. All these attempts failes as it shows the report of V. Efimenko who came from Moscow to evaluate the situation of the national staff in the republic in 1947. Even if Moldavian were 68% of inhabitants, in Universities only 25% of students had Moldavian origin. The question of the language was discussed also by writers, but they hadn't the initiative on this topic and waited for suggestions from above. For the majority of the inhabitants the main problem concerning the enseignment was the lack of the textbooks of Romanian Language and Literature, and that's why several times the newspaper were used as source of working texts. This first stage of avatars of the Romanian language in Moldavian SSR ends in 1948 when the Ministery of Education organized a control at the Pedagogical Institute from Chisinau, to establish the way the language and literature were taught. The conclusion was that at the Institute had no textbboks on several courses and

the Council of Ministers from Moldavian SSR had to impose the Institute of History, Language and Literature to elaborate the programs for teaching Moldavian language and literature in Universities.
Keywords: Moldavian SSR, CC of the CP(B) from Moldavian SSR, Romanian language, Pedagogical Institute, education.

PETRE OPRIȘ, ***A short biography of the Soviet Spy Piotr Gonciaruk*****.....*****98***

The short biography of Piotr Gonciaruk (Petre Petrescu) shows that the Soviet authorities managed to impose in Bucharest a person who can send to Moscow essential data about the Romanian espionage and counterespionage system. The same person was able to actively participate in the adoption of decisions about the control and guidance from outside of the Romanian intelligence services and the Communist authorities from Bucharest had known since 1944 about Piotr Gonciaruk's contacts with the GRU officers who arrived in Romania.
Keywords: communism, Romania, intelligence, Piotr Gonciaruk, USSR.

LUMINIȚA BANU, FLORIAN BANU, ***The causes of the emigration of ethnic Germans from Romania reflected on the Security's documents, 1948-1989, I*** **.....*****107***

German emigration from Romania was a process conducted over a half of century. As a result, the causes of this process were many and they knew its own dynamics. From the desire to integrate into the "great German nation", specific of the early years of the Second World War, to the desire to accede to a higher standard of living, area motivations of individual experienced a lot of variations. In our opinion, based on the study of archival and oral testimonies, mostly applications for emigration were motivated by a desire to family reunification, in first decade after the Second World War, and by the economic difficulties from Romania, for the 80's.
Keywords: Germans, emigration, Securitate, family reunification, communism, Romania, minorities.

ADRIAN CONSTANTIN ROTAR, ***The beginning of collectivization in Northern Moldavia and Bukovina. The peasant rebellions and communist repression, 1949*** **.....*****122***

After the switch in allegiance, and the step by step instauration of the communist regime in Romania, the rural population was gripped by a sense of unease regarding the future. This feeling was caused by the threat of a possible Soviet style collectivization. Things have become increasingly apparent with the implementation of certain measures, which had as end result the forcing of farmers to abandon land: imposing mandatory quotas, area threshing etc. All these measures, coupled with a collectivization campaign since March 1949, led to individual and collective peasant riots. These measures eventually led to direct confrontations between peasants and repressive forces (Militia and State Security) which resulted in casualties (Calafindești, Bălăceana, Frătăuții Noi etc.). The families of those shot during the direct clashes were deported to Dobrogea. They were joined by the families of wealthy peasants ("kulaks") who were opposing the collectivization. The collectivization process was finalized in the North-Eastern area of Romania, but the atrocities which happened here and in other areas, led, in to a certain extent, to the bankruptcy of the communist regime
Keywords : Collectivization, Romania, Peasant revolts, Repression, Deportations.

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, ***The Soviet-Yugoslavian closeness during 1955-1956 and the dissolution of Cominform*****..... *****141***

Set up in 1947, The Cominform was the centralizing instrument of the international Communist movement and played the main role in the anti-Yugoslavian campaign initiated by Stalin in 1948. However, the campaign was unsuccessful and Stalin lost the interest in the structure. After Stalin's death, his successors did not attempt to revitalize the Cominform. Nevertheless N. Khruschev usually nervously reacted to the comments of the Western analysts concerning future dissolution of the organization which now pretended to be no more than the form of the experience exchange in the Communist movement. In February 1956, the Soviet leadership decided the dissolution of the Cominform which was realized in April 1956. The author stresses the vital role of the Yugoslavian factor in the dissolution of the Cominform – it was first of all the gesture aimed at the convergence with the titoist Yugoslavia and the returning of this country into

the Soviet sphere of influence which was one of the priorities in the Soviet foreign policy in the first years after Stalin
Keyword: The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Tito, the Cominform, Stalin, Khruschev, XX-th CPSU Congress.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romanian Efforts for the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops from Romania, 1955-1956* *155*

During 1955-1956, using the two international „windows of opportunity" – the conclusion of the Peace Treaty with Austria, in August 1955, and the crisis in the Soviet bloc provoked by the Hungarian Revolution, in 1956 – the Romanian Communist leadership tried to force a Soviet decision regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Romania. This article recreates the circumstances of this crucial decision: Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej' strategy, Nikita Khruschev's reactions, and the divergent opinions within the RWP. Using new sources, the author revises previous interpretations and clarifies aspects remained unsolved until now.
Keywords: Romania, withdrawal of Soviet troops, 1955-1956, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Nikita Kruschev, Emil Bodnăraş.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *A "Great Leap Forward". The Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party Plenum of 26th-28th November, 1958*..... *173*

The main purpose of the Central Committee Plenum of November 1958 was the discussion and adoption of the national economic development plan of 1959 and the '60s. The plan was conceived and by the State Planning Committee with adnotations from Central Committee sections, Government etc. Given the economic data that was supposed to be realized in the future, the discussions and documents have not been made public at the time. The massive investment project decided at that plenum laid down the modernization of socialist industry and the development of the national infrastructure in the next decades.
Keywords: Communism in Romania, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, economic development, modernization of industry and infrastructure, economic history of Socialist regimes.

IONUŢ-MARIAN FILIPESCU, *Between propaganda and academic interest: The fifteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences (Bucharest, 10-17 August 1980)*..... 182

With this study we want to point out how was held the XV International Congress of Historical Sciences and the way in which the regime organized and presented to the whole world this scientific manifestation then and after the meetings were over, this one being an event within both propaganda and academic interest interwoven.
Keywords: the XV International Congress of Historical Sciences, propaganda, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Romanian Communist Party.

MIOARA ANTON, *„Working with letters". Propagandistic fictions and everyday realities, II: 1980-1989* *192*

The archives of the communist party have kept letters to the power, representative of the way in which ordinary people related to a political regime that controlled their existence to the smallest degree: from private life to the norms of behaviour in a socialist society. At the end of 80s, the relationship between the leader of the communist party and Romanian society reached a critical point. There was the hope that after the repayment of the foreign debt, the internal situation was going to improve thanks to the abandonment of the programme of austerity and rationalisation. But this did not happen, the population being subjected continually to food shortages and excessive surveillance by the Securitate apparatus. Also influenced by the series of changes in the rest of the communist bloc, there emerged in Romanian society a state of expectation of the imminent collapse of the regime.
Keywords: Ceauşescu's regime, everyday life, letters to the power, food shortages, Romanian society.

DOCUMENTS

CRISTINA DIAC, ***Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Vanda Nicolski and the Romanian emigration in U.S.S.R. during the Great Terror, 1936-1938, I*** ***.....207***

In order to better introduce the published documents, I largely explained the broader context which encompass the moment when its were written. Vanda Nicolski, a major leader of the Communist Party of Romania, a member of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau during the '30s, wrote two large reports in June and August 1938, when she was in Moscow. Clearly, her confessions, written during the Great Terror, weren't innocent pieces of evidence scrutinizing the history of the C.P.o.R. *per se,* but its were meant to incriminate as many professional revolutionaries as possible. I tried to explain what stood behind her statement.

The contents exposed by Vanda Nicolski refers mostly to the complex and fluid relationships established into the Party inner circle during Al. Daneliuk-Ștefansky's mandate as general secretary of the C.P.o.R., which overlaps mostly the Great Depression. The author also provides a lot of details regarding the policies putted in place by the communist establishment, from Moscow, but from Romania too, in order to borrow the main features requested by Comintern in its so called „third period". For instance, details from the inner party circle regarding the the Grivița strike from 1933 could be very usefull for any future discussion about one of the most important upheavals in Romania's XXth century history.

Keywords: Vanda Nicolski, Communist Party of Romania, Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, „social-fascism", Marcel Pauker, Al. Daneliuk-Ștefanski.

MIHAI BURCEA, ***Olga Bancic and the last thoughts of a French Resistance member, 9 May 1944 .....244***

The letter Olga Bancic had sent to her daughter a day before the execution represents a symbolically powerful document for both the French Communist Party and the communist international movement. The PCF's support for the French Resistance was essential during World War II while the main battles against the Nazi occupant had been fought by communists of a broader European extraction (Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Italy, a.s.o).

Keywords: communism, French Resistance, Olga Bancic, Nazism.

GHEORGHE ONIŞORU, ***The last statement of Vasile Luca during the Securitate investigation, 25 September 1954*** ***.....247***

The document presented here is a file from the power struggle at the top Romanian Workers Party in 1952 - 1954. It is about removing the Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca and Georgescu Teohari group from party leadership in 1952. Arrested and interrogated, Vasile Luca had the most tragic fate passing away in prison. We present the latest statement made by Luca in front of investigators in September 1954.

Keywords: Romanian Workers Party, Vasile Luca, Ana Pauker, the „right deviation", political trial, 1954.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, ***Dissident Mihai Botez on US-Romanian Relations Between 1968-1984, I*** ***..... 262***

Concluded in 1985, Mihai Botez' analysis proposed an insight on how American-Romanian relations were seen and interpreted from Bucharest by a Romanian dissident. The survey contains five parts. The first four parts concentrate on the opening toward Romania initiated by the Nixon administration in 1968-1972, the development of US-Romanian relations in 1972-1976, the analysis of the impact of the human rights issue on US foreign policy (during the Carter administration), and the US-Romanian relations since 1980 to 1985. The last part contains Botez' views on how American foreign policy influenced the evolution of the Romanian Communist regime and the perception of the general public toward America. Even if Botez' study was not well received in the American circles, the text remains an original approach of American-Romanian relations during Ceaușescu's regime.

Keywords: US-Romanian Relations, MFN trade status, Mihai Botez, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

VASILE BUGA, *Did Ceausescu Ask for the Invasion of Poland? A Report of the Soviet Ambassador Tiajelnikov, 19 August 1989* *276*

It has been argued that Nicolae Ceauşescu asked for a joint military intervention of the WTO against Poland in August 1989. The request would have been motivated by the need of saving Polish socialism, after Solidarity's victory in parliamentary election. However, the author of this article thinks the theory ungrounded, as he publishes an excerpt of Soviet Ambassador E.M. Tiajelnikov's diary, mentioning the discussion with Nicolae Ceauşescu, in 19 August 1989. Ceauşescu's message to Gorbachev contains no reference to a potential military intervention in Poland. The author's assessment is founded also on the similar reactions of other members of WTO.
Keywords: Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Poland, Solidarity, Mikhail Gorbachev, 1989.

BIOGRAPHIIES

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *Aurel Ardeleanu (1913-1986)* *288*

Aurel Ardeleanu joined in the Communist party in 1945 and he was appointed to higher and higher position in the armed forces. In 1954 he participated as a prosecutor in the Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu and Vasile Luca's trials. After Stalin's death he became a follower of the Yugoslav leader Iosip Broz Tito and a supporter of de-Stalinization initiated in the Soviet Union. Being sentenced to 25 years in prison for „the crime of conspiracy against social order through agitation", Aurel Ardeleanu was forced to go through a terrible ordeal. We have to mention that during the Second World War he has been interned in the prison camps on the Soviet Union.
Keywords: communism, political trials, repression, De-Stalinisation, Titoism.

ANDREEA-FLORENTINA MÂNICEANU, *Iosif Rangheț (1904-1952)* *294*

Iosif Rangheț (Rangecz József) was a Romanian communist activist, born into an ethnic Hungarian family. He was a native of Olari, Arad County. Iosif Rangheț became a member of the banned Romanian Communist Party (PCR) in 1930. Rangheț was secretary of the Oradea regional committee from 1932 to 1933. He held a similar post for Cluj from 1933 to 1934; that year, he became head of the Banat and Jiu Valley regional committees. From 1943 until his death, he was a member of the party's central committee. From 1945 to 1948, Iosif Rangheț headed the PCR's cadres section; from 1949 to 1950, he presided over the state combustibles committee. He was married to Sanda Rangheț, who survived him. Iosif Rangheț dies in 1952.
Keywords: Iosif Rangheț, Communist regime, Romanian communist leaders, biography, International Lenin School.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *Nicolae Turcu (1891-1955)*..... *298*

Among the socio-professional categories hunted by the communists after taking over the power in Romania, an important place was taken by the former employees of the police and state security. The above study presents the case of a police superior officer Nicolae Turcu, former prefect of the Police of the capital city, who was under higher and higher pressure, starting in the spring of 1945. Arrested several times, without proof that could incriminate him directly or clearly, he died in 15.10. 1955 at the age of 64 in the penitenciary hospital of Vacaresti. His case is not the only one of this kind.
Keywords: Romania, Nicolae Turcu, Siguranţa, superior police officer, Communist Party of Romania, informant.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, XLIV. Russia once again…* *5*

In the recent years, the aggravation of relations between the United States and the Russian Federation endangers the fate of millions of people. This article, written by a historian who has outlived the drama of World War II and the convulsions of the Cold War, is an appeal for peace and mutual respect between the world's great powers.
Keywords: Russia, United States, imperial ambitions, World War II, Cold War.

STUDIES

IRINA LYUBOMIROVA OGNYANOVA, *External and Local Influences on the Ustasha Ideological System in the 1930s and the First Half of the 1940s* *7*

The roots of the Ustasha ideology can be found in the traditional pure Croatian nationalism (so-called "pravashestvo") of the 19th century. But it contained some new elements, which made it eclectic. At the same time, the Ustashas borrowed from the traditional Croatian nationalism, National-Socialism, and fascism. The main idea in the Ustasha ideology in the interwar and war period was the idea of the creation and preservation of an independent Croatian state. Another one was its etnic purification and homogenization. The last idea appeared because of the multi-national and multi-religious character of the Croatian territories. The Ustashas wanted to create an independent and strong state, but their ISC was one puppet state, just a satellite to Nazi Germany. The Ustasha power was entirely supported by the German military forces. This led to the collapse of the Ustasha regime at the end of war simultaneously with the German capitulation. Croats lost their brief state independence and were compelled to enter the new Communist Yugoslavia as a federated republic.
Keywords: Ustashas, Crotian nationalism, terrorism, anti-Serbian movement, homogeneous national state.

MIKHAIL NAKONECHNIY, *Mortality rates of GULAG timber camps during 1937-1938 crisis in comparative international context*.....*24*

This paper is an analytic attempt to examine mortality of prisoners in the Gulag timber camps on micro-level during Great Terror of 1937-1938. The author uses comparative methodology for his analysis. For comparison, he employs statistical data of the U.S.A. prison system, metropolitan prisons of the Third French Republic, concentration camps of Nazi Germany, as well as death-rates of comparable gender and age cohorts of the USSR's civil population. Detailed monthly absolute and relative mortality rates for all newly created timber camps are introduced in this paper for the first time in historiography, including relative death rates of Lokchimlag, Tomasinlag, Ivdellag, Ust-Vymlag camps and several others ITLs during the global crisis of 1937- 1938.
Keywords: GULAG, prisoner mortality, timber camps, Nazi concentration camps.

MIHAI BURCEA, *The career of a former NKVD agent during the years of "people's power" in Romania: Simion Babenco, II*.....45

In the 1920s and 1930s, the USSR dispatched hundreds of agents and couriers to Romania to take pulse of the society, the armed forces, the political Russian emigration to this country, as well as information about the leaders of the main parliamentary political parties. This study examines the case of such a spy (Simion Babenco) who was entrusted by the Soviet secret services to establish an informative residence in Moldova. Babenco was supposed to gather information, via recruited Romanian citizens, about the Romanian units quartered in the garrisons of Buzău and Focşani. Unfortunately for him, Babenco was arrested by the *Siguranţă* in the summer of 1939, just few weeks after crossing the border illegally. He was tried by a military tribunal and sentenced to 15 years of hard labor for attempted espionage. During detention, he meets the future leader of the Romanian Workers' Party, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, as well as other Soviet spies captured on Romanian ground, most of whom had been around Dej during detention and after communists seized power. The political fate of Babenco after August 23, 1944 was deeply influenced by the proximity to Dej and his entourage.
Keywords: network, espionage, informer, communism, nomenclature.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Emil Bodnăraş and the struggle for power within the Romanian Communist Party, April 1944 – May 1952, II*.....59

Emil Bodnăraş was one of the most mysterious characters of the Romanian communist regime. This mystery was kept alive by Emil Bodnăraş' undisclosed relations with the Soviet intelligence and his own personal features. That often brought Bodnăraş in the midst of events central for the Romanian Communist Party and Romania, such as the overthrow of Antonescu's regime, on 23 August 1944. This article follows the role played by Emil Bodnăraş during the RCP internal struggle for power, from the banishment of Ştefan Foriş, the secretary general of the party, on 4 April 1944, to the casting out of the „right deviationists" (Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Teohari Georgescu), in May 1952.
Keywords: Emil Bodnăraş, Romanian Communist Party, Soviet secret services, Gheorghiu-Dej, Ana Pauker, right deviation.

FLORIAN BANU, *From cooperation to isolation. The Securitate relations with similar Secret Services in WTO countries, 1955-1989, II*.....73

Our study aims to be an analysis of the evolution of relations between the Security and counterparts from other socialist States Member of the Warsaw Pact. Based on the information provided by the Securitate's archive documents, but also those from similar archives, available on-line or in volumes of documents, we track these relationships since the 50's through to the collapse of communism in Europe in 1989. The analysis conducted led us to the conclusion that these relations were quite sinuous, ranging from diversified forms of cooperation, in the first two decades of the interval, moving through a "cooling" institutional relations, to enter in the 80's, a phase marked by a barely disguised hostility.
Keywords: Securitate, Romania, secret services, communism, Warsaw Pact, intelligence.

MIOARA ANTON, *„Working with letters". Propagandistic fictions and everyday realities, 1965-1980*.....91

In the first years of his rule, Ceausescu managed to build a social solidarity around the party through political rehabilitations, public condemnation of the invasion of Czechoslovakia and direct involvement of the party in solving the problems of the common people (welfare, houses, and stable jobs). Encouraged to write by press campaigns as well as official declarations, the ordinary citizen of the seventies and eighties felt safe under the protection of the state/leader/party. Some of them use the elogious terms spread by the propaganda apparatus and voluntarily associate themselves with support for the activities of the party and the general secretary. People identify unconditionally with the leader's actions, supported and approved of them, and are full of gratitude for living in, or preparing to live in, a golden age. The psychology of adherence can be explained by the social changes and the effects of modernisation (urbanisation, industrialisation, electrification) which Romanian society benefited from. The deliberate hiding of daily realties and of generalised shortages are part of respecting the existing social contract between society and regime. These letters are the result of personal initiatives, they express voluntary servitude and illustrate the accommodation of the ordinary citizen with the rules imposed by the party.
Keywords: Ceauşescu's regime; everyday life; communist party; complicity; conformism.

CEZAR STANCIU, *Romania and the projects for Balkan cooperation, 1969-1975*.....*105*

This article explores Romania's proposal for Balkan cooperation, formulated in the early 1970s and met with terrible opposition at the time by its partners in the Warsaw Pact. The proposals aimed to increase political dialogue at high-level among Balkan countries members of both NATO and WTO with the aim to improve security in the region across the Iron Curtain boundaries. The countries which manifested the strongest opposition to such plans were the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. While Moscow feared a Chinese penetration of the region and was reticent of the Romanian plan to fight off Soviet influence in the Balkans, Bulgaria too was suspicious of the Romanian intentions and feared isolation. Although the Romanian initiatives were not a materialization of Chinese influence, they did however pursued an anti-hegemonic agenda, trying to limit the superpowers' influence in the peninsula and assert and independent role for the Balkans in Europe.
Keywords: Romania, Balkans, Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, cold war, cooperation.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Launching a National Development Project: Romanian Communist Party's Conference of 19-21 July 1972*.....*121*

The National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party of July 1972 represented the peak of Communist Romania's development project proposed by Nicolae Ceauşescu. It was the main economic scheme for Romania for the next nearly three decades. It did not refer solely to the economy but also the society, demographics etc. It was an attempt to finalize the national project started a century earlier through multilateral develpment.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Communist Party conference, Central Committee, Nicolae Ceauşescu, modernization.

CRISTINA PETRESCU, *Aktionsgruppe Banat Reconstructs Its Past, II: Secret Police Archives and Transitional Justice*.....*131*

This study represents the second part of an analysis focusing on Aktionsgruppe Banat and its members' endeavors to reconstruct their pre-1989 common past. Based on documents from the archives of the former Securitate, this study addresses the concerted efforts of the Aktionsgruppe members to unmask all individuals who supplied the communist secret police with information about their activities in order to delimit themselves as a group from such wrongdoers. While their case was at the time interesting enough to be turned into teaching material for the secret police staff, their current endeavors to revisit their pre-1989 past with the help of documents from the Securitate files illustrates that Aktionsgruppe was a collective victim of this infamous institution, which proved unable to turn any of the group members into its collaborators.
Keywords: memory, Securitate archives, ethno-cultural identity, communism, transitional justice.

ADAM BURAKOWSKI, *A less-known moment of Polish-Romanian relations. The visit of Wojciech Jaruzelski in Romania in June 1982*.....*145*

People's Republic of Poland and communist Romania never had close diplomatic relations. Both domestic and foreign policy led by Warsaw and Bucharest had little common points, economical ties were also not very developed. As members of Warsaw Pact and COMECON both countries maintained relations of „friendship", but nothing more. After introducing martial law in Poland in December 1981 Jaruzelski visited all countries of Soviet Bloc. Romania was the last one, but the visit inaugurated the short period of warmer relations. This however quickly faded away. The article is based on diplomatic documents from both countries.
Keywords: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Nicolae Ceauşescu, international relations, communism, Warsaw Pact, COMECON.

ANNA S. GLADYSHEVA, ***The Soviet Media on the Romanian Revolution of December 1989……157***

This article is the first attempt made in history of the December Revolution of 1989 in Romania to present one of the most dramatic events in the world history in the late twentieth century based on the Soviet press. The author highlights questions, which are still disputable.
Keywords: Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu, perestroika, Eastern Europe, Romanian Revolution of December 1989.

CONSTANTIN CORNEANU, ***December 1989. The Failure of the Romanian Elite.....169***

Ceausescu's regime did not allow the existence of a "political opposition" in the Socialist Republic of Romania. The absence of a reforming political opposition was regarded by the Kremlin's analysts as a key factor for keeping Nicolae Ceausescu in power. Col. (r) Filip Teodorescu, the former Chief assistant of DSS' Third Direction, mentioned in his memories that unlike other socialist states, in Romania there wasn't an organized dissident movement. Therefore the aim of the Ceausescu's regime adversaries was exactly the one to create an opposing group meant to surface at the right moment with the purpose of promoting the overturning of power. The statements of Chief assistant of The III-rd Direction, Counter - intelligence of DSS rises a lot of questions with regards to so called „team of tomorrow" and to the lack of a real opposition inside R.C.P. blocked silently by DSS officers. The existing connections between some prominent members of the power groups could not sustain the idea of an organized plot, a coup d'état, be it classical or not. In December 1989, political, military and intelligence elite of the Socialist Republic of Romania not only failed to reform the system but it failed at creating even the premises for such a reformation.
Keywords: Romania, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Mihai Gorbaciov, Soviet Union, Securitate, Soviet-Romanian Relations.

CIPRIAN BĂLĂBAN, ***Political Propaganda among the Religion in Romania, before and after 1989. The Case of Penticostal Denomination.....191***

The present article is an analysis of how political propaganda was disseminated within the religious area from Romania during the communist period. This usually was done by inserting prasing articles to the "achievements" of the communist regime in publications of various religious denominations. Such articles were published regularly in religious journals of the time. To better understand the details of this politicization process of religious publications a depth analysis from this perspective is done on the Pentecostal Church Bulletin. Towards the end the article contains a brief analysis of political discourse in the religious met in Romania after the 1989 revolution and churches attitude towards the religious mix with politics.
Keywords: religion, political propaganda, communism, religious journals.

ANTOANETA OLTEANU, ***Russian Anti-Totalitarian Literature*****..... 201**

The paper presents a general survey of Russian literature from the point of view of its antitotalitarian approach. The dissidence and protest in Russian literature is not for sure a event of 70s of 80s, but a sort of tradition from Imperial age. The paper aims to present esepecially the newest works published nowadays, which mark a sort of continuity of this process.
Keywords: Russian literature, antitotalitarian literature, contemporary prose, brief synopsis.

ADRIAN SOLOMON, ***Repression, Resistance, and Solidarity in Orwell's Oceania and Communist Romania: A Situationist Perspective…*** ***220***

The powerful situational forces that crushed the resistance of the first generation under communism were no longer necessary against subsequent generations: they had activated self-protective needs that eventually led to conformity and weak forms of dissidence, such as "resistance through culture". The absence of solidarity, one of the new situational forces, hampered dissent. Similar forces are at work in George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four,* the world of Ingsoc-ruled Oceania and its heroes: Winston Smith, Julia, O'Brien, Big Brother.
Keywords: systemic and situational forces, non-violent resistance under communism, absence of solidarity, George Orwell.

DOCUMENTS

IOAN CHIPER, MAGDALENA TIŢĂ, ***Gheorghi Dimitrov – Ana Pauker – Emil Bodnăraş: Inedited documents concerning internal situation of Romania and Romanian communist relations with Sofia and Moscow during spring 1945*****..... *238***

The present scientific approach is dedicated publishing two inedited documents detected within the funds of the Central State Archives-Sofija. First document is a letter of Ana Pauker (an outstanding leader of the Communist Party in Romania, that was in Moscow during the World War II) addressed to Gheorghi Dimitrov, chief of the International Information Department (OMI) (that continued disguisedly Comintern activity) besides the Central Commitee of the C.P.S.U.(b). The second documents is a relatively ample report concerning Situation in Romania, elaborated by Emil Bodnăraş on behalf of Communist Party in Romania leadership, in order to compare notes with Bulgarian communist leaders, in June 1945, about activity of the two parties in the existing political evolutions context in Romania and Bulgaria. In the preamble that anticipates the publishing of the documents the editors especially advert to importance of the organism leaded by notoriuos Bulgarian communist, Gheorghi Dimitrov (still in Moscow at that date) inside of the relations with Romanian communists. Regarding the second published document editors consider that it is noticeably because the realism and criticism of the analysis and for the novel informations and considerations being one of the most important document for knowing Romania's internal situation from a communist perspective during spring 1945.
Keywords: Gheorghi Dimitrov, Ana Pauker, Emil Bodnăraş, Communist Party in Romania, Soviet-Romanian Relations, Bulgarian-Romanian Relations.

SEBASTIAN MITRACHE, ***Romania and the Soviet Intervention against the Prague Spring. A NATO Assessment…*** ***255***

The Soviet intervention, supported by four other Moscow's allies, against the Prague Spring, occurred at a bad moment for the Western nascent policy of detente towards USSR. In NATO, this policy was encapsulated in the Harmel Report, adopted in 1967, that provided for both enhancing collective defence and promoting detente. Besides the messages of condemnation of the invasion, the NATO allies were cautious not to risk the chances for advancing detente towards Russia and the Warsaw Pact. The position taken by Romania following the intervention in Czechoslovakia was reflected in the NATO assessments and in the discussions, including at Ministerial level, on the crisis. The risks of a Soviet military action against Romania were also considered, but a key element in these assessments was that the Romanian leadership promoted a careful internal policy to avoid such a risk. At the same time, the allies had different opinions on the security implications for the Alliance of a Soviet military action against Romania. This study is based on documents from NATO Archives regarding the 1968 crisis, that reflect the approaches on Romania, including in a comparative manner with other countries under the risk to be targeted by Soviet military actions.
Keywords: NATO, North-Atlantic Council, Political Committee, Warsaw Pact, Romania, Prague Spring, invasion, detente.

BIOGRAPHIIES

IONUŢ-MARIAN FILIPESCU, ***Petre Borilă (1906-1973)*****.....*279***

Based on archival sources recently released and on the second literature also, this article briefly underlines the most relevant points of Petre Borilă's biography. A member of the inner circle of the communist power after 1945, Borilă had been a member of the illegal communist movement in interwar Romania. A Bulgarian from Cadrilater, a little province gained by Romania after the second Balkan War, in 1913, unsatisfied by the Romanian rule, he joined the Communist Party of Romania when he was 18 years old. Among many others party duties accomplished as a young professional revolutionary, he fought in the Spanish Civil War; he spent the Second World War in the Soviet Union, but after 1945, despite his common past with Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca, Borilă became one of the Gheorghiu Dej's followers, political switch that allowed him to remain in power for a very long time.
Keywords: Petre Borilă, Cadrilater, Spanish Civil War, „Tudor Vladimirescu Divizion", Central Committee of the RCP.

CRISTIAN-ADELIN DUMITRU, ***Valter Roman (1913-1983)*****..... *281***
Valter Roman (1913-1983)
Born in a Hungarian jewish family from Nagyvarad/Oradea Mare, in 1913, Valter Roman was a typical professional revolutionary. He joined the banned communist movement from interwar Romania in 1928, first as a follower. In 1931, when he was studying at Brno Polytechnic University, he became also a party member. After his return to Romania, he was imprisoned in 1934 for his political activity. When the Military Court sentenced him to 8 years, Valter Roman had already left Romania, for France. He fought in Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939. He spent the Second World War in the Soviet Union, where he worked mostly for the Third International. He returned in Romania in 1945, joined the Romanian Communist Party and held some middle-level positions within Party and State hierarchy. Until his pass-away, in 1983, he stood up for the communist idea, being a so-called „truly believer".
Keywords: International Brigades, Spanish Civil War, Comintern, „Horia, Cloşca şi Crişan" Division, Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

POINTS OF VIEW

ALEXANDRU BADEA, ***Ion Mihalache (1882 - 1963). A Sketch of a Portrait*****.....*295***

This paper contains a short description of the context and main influencing factors (events, people and situations) that have helped shaping some of the more prominent character traits of Ion Mihalache. His personality was the driving force that influenced Ion Michalache's whole public activity and political actions for the wellbeing of the Romanian people and his country, over a timeframe of five decades, until his death in the communist prisons.
Keywords: Ion Mihalache, political personalities, peasant movement, politics and morality.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, XLIII. Mişu Benvenisti and his fellows*..... *5*

This is a fragment of Radu Ciuceanu's forthcoming memories book entitled *La taină cu diavolul* (*Whispering to the Devil*). It presents the moment of the arrival of the young political prisoner Radu Ciuceanu at the Văcărești hospital penitentiary, in 1956, and his meeting with important characters such as Mișu Benvenisti, an important leader of the Zionist movement in Romania. He holds a particular place in Radu Ciuceanu's recollections.

Keywords: Romania, communism, Zionist movement, Văcărești hospital penitentiary.

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ION CONSTANTIN, *In Moscow's Shadows. The Communist Party of Poland during interwar period, 1918-1937*..... 16

This article aims to briefly encompass the history of communism in interwar Poland, since the foundation of the Communist Party of Poland, in 1918 until its disintegration during The Great Purges from 1936-1938. Based mostly on Polish literature on communism in interwar Poland, the paper overviews the most important moments of the Polish communist movement history, such as the communists during the Polish-Russian war from 1920, "the May 1926 mistake", when the Party stood for marshal Józef Piłsudski's coup d'etat etc.

Keywords: The Communist Party of Poland, the Polish-Russian war from 1920, the Popular Front, the Great Purges, Adolf Warski, Julian Leński.

ANTOANETA OLTEANU, *Common Luxury of Soviet Russia in the 1930's*..... *28*

The paper presents some characteristics of Soviet civilization. It also discuss about the life of *udarniki* and nomenklatura, but also of common people, on new products designed by the Stalin and his ideological team in their race against the Occidental way of life.

Keywords: Soviet civilization, Stalin's reforms, common products vs. luxury products, Golden Age of Soviet life.

FLORIN GRECU, ***The Single-Party State under Charles the II. A Case Study: The Ministry of National Renaissance Front, 1938-1940..... 38***

The Organizational National Renaissance Front Ministry was created with purpose to control and manage the activity of the unique political organization and to administrate the state. The rivalry, under the New Regime was translated by the surveillance of the party and its members. All decisions were transmitted to the Ministry by a hierarchical scale, and the memos of the unique party superstructures were transmitted hierarchically. The political police of the unique party was realized through the Service of Information and Statistics. The set-ins in the NRF were approved by the Ministry, and those in leading positions by the political office of the regime, namely The Superior Commission, which was also politically appointed, its members were obliged to have the approval of King Charles the II, who was proclaimed the chief of the state unique political organization.
Keywords: Single Party, surveillance, political control, Organization Ministry of National Renaissance Front, C.C. Giurescu.

TATIANA V. VOLOKITINA, ***The Antifascist Coalition and Romania: The Preparation and the Signing of the September 1944 Armistice Agreement..... 58***

Following the military victories of the antifascist alliance, in 1943 Romania using diplomatic channels such as Cairo and Stockholm started to inquire about the terms of its withdrawal from the war. The Great Britan and the United States were seen by the Bucharest leadership as the main guarantors for attaining the most favorable conditions until the advance of the Soviet troops on Romanian soil. However, the Western allies acknowledged the priority of Soviet interests in Romania and agreed on the preliminary conditions set by Moscow. These would represent the fundaments of the Agreement Armistice signed by Romania on 12 September 1944.
Keywords: World War II, Antifascist coalition, Soviet Union, Romania, 12 September 1944 Armistice Agreement.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, ***Emil Bodnăraş and the struggle for power within the Romanian Communist Party, April 1944 – May 1952, I*** ***..... 80***

Emil Bodnăraş was one of the most mysterious characters of the Romanian communist regime. This mystery was kept alive by Emil Bodnăraş' undisclosed relations with the Soviet intelligence and his own personal features. That often brought Bodnăraş in the midst of events central for the Romanian Communist Party and Romania, such as the overthrow of Antonescu's regime, on 23 August 1944. This article follows the role played by Emil Bodnăraş during the RCP internal struggle for power, from the banishment of Ştefan Foriş, the secretary general of the party, on 4 April 1944, to the casting out of the „right deviationists" (Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Teohari Georgescu), in May 1952.
Keywords: Emil Bodnăraş, Romanian Communist Party, Soviet secret services, Gheorghiu-Dej, Ana Pauker, right deviation.

GHEORGHE ONIŞORU, ***Preliminaries to the Establishment of the Petru Groza Government, on March 6, 1945..... 94***
The establishment of the Petru Groza Government, on March 6, 1945, opens a new stage in the contemporary history of Romania. Our study aims to underscore the manner in which ways the internal element played in the course of events after august 23, 1944 – despite the preponderence of th external factor. We've focused attention, justifiably, on the role played by the Communist Party which has evolved from a marginal political force on the Romanian political life, to the recognition by the democratic opposition during the preliminaries of the august 23, 1944. Of course I point out the fact that the whole political developments in Romania between august 23, 1944 and March 6, 1945 was under the Armistice of September 12, 1944, of the country's occupation by Soviet troops and, finally, the direct intervention of Stalin through its arm called Vyshinsky.
Keywords: communization, Romania, Petru Groza Government, Allied Control Commission, power seizing process.

MIHAI BURCEA, ***The career of a former NKVD agent during the years of "people's power" in Romania: Simion Babenco,*** **I 113**

In the 1920s and 1930s, the USSR dispatched hundreds of agents and couriers to Romania to take pulse of the society, the armed forces, the political Russian emigration to this country, as well as information about the leaders of the main parliamentary political parties. This study examines the case of such a spy (Simion Babenco) who was entrusted by the Soviet secret services to establish an informative residence in Moldova. Babenco was supposed to gather information, via recruited Romanian citizens, about the Romanian units quartered in the garrisons of Buzău and Focşani. Unfortunately for him, Babenco was arrested by the *Siguranţă* in the summer of 1939, just few weeks after crossing the border illegally. He was tried by a military tribunal and sentenced to 15 years of hard labor for attempted espionage. During detention, he meets the future leader of the Romanian Workers' Party, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, as well as other Soviet spies captured on Romanian ground, most of whom had been around Dej during detention and after communists seized power. The political fate of Babenco after August 23, 1944 was deeply influenced by the proximity to Dej and his entourage.
Keywords: network, espionage, informer, communism, nomenclature.

FLORIAN BANU, ***From cooperation to isolation. The Securitate relations with similar Secret Services in WTO countries, 1955-1989, I..... 125***

Our study aims to be an analysis of the evolution of relations between the Security and counterparts from other socialist States Member of the Warsaw Pact. Based on the information provided by the Securitate's archive documents, but also those from similar archives, available on-line or in volumes of documents, we track these relationships since the 50's through to the collapse of communism in Europe in 1989. The analysis conducted led us to the conclusion that these relations were quite sinuous, ranging from diversified forms of cooperation, in the first two decades of the interval, moving through a "cooling" institutional relations, to enter in the 80's, a phase marked by a barely disguised hostility.
Keywords: Securitate, Romania, secret services, communism, Warsaw Pact, intelligence.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, ***The Romanian Communist Party at Its 9th Congress, July 1965: Modernization or Bureaucratism..... 146***

Between 19 and 24 July 1965, in Bucharest took place the 9th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The first party congress of Nicolae Ceauşescu as national leader was held only months after Gheorghiu-Dej's death. The new Central Committee elected in 1965 gathered both old guard Communists and newcomers from economical and technical milieu, showing for the first time the ongoing industrialization of Romania decided in Gheorghiu-Dejs' final years.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Party congress, Central Committee, Nicolae Ceauşescu, modernization.

ELENA NEGRU, ***Soviet-Romanian Historiographical Confrontations in 1960's – 1980's..... 159***

The Soviet-Romanian historiographical confrontation was the basic element of the propagandistic war initiated by the USSR in 1965 against the "special course" of the RSR leadership. The CC of the CPSU and the CC of the CPM approved a series of "strictly classified" decisions that, on one side, disavowed the works of Romanian historians and sociologists, and on the other, foresaw the writing and publishing by Soviet researchers of multiple works that had to reflect "correctly" the "problem of Bessarabia", Russian-and Soviet-Romanian relations. The documents were sketching wide counter-propagandistic actions, in order to indoctrinate ideologically the Romanians from the MSSR and RSR. During the first stage of this confrontation (1965-1975), RSR historians' approach was considered similar to the "bourgeois" one and labeled as "revisionist", "nationalist" and "anti-Soviet". During the second stage (1976-1981), the apogee of the confrontation, they were labeled as "territorial claims towards USSR". During the third stage (1982-1985), another peak moment, the Soviet historiography was enlisted to counteract the "new historical conception" of the RSR.
Keywords: propagandistic war, historiographical confrontation, Soviet-Romanian relations, Romania.

CRISTINA PETRESCU, ***Aktionsgruppe Banat Reconstructs Its Past,*** **I:** ***Personal Memories and Collective Identity*** ***..... 180***

This study represents the first part of an analysis focusing on Aktionsgruppe Banat and its members' endeavors to reconstruct their pre-1989 common past. Based on memory sources, this first part illustrates that the members of this non-conformist group have not recently recalled their experience under Romanian communism in order to turn themselves retrospectively into dissidents. Instead, they have jointly conveyed the memory of a "collective author" with a unique identity in Ceaușescu's Romania. As the present study argues, this uniqueness derives not only from the different ethno-cultural origin of the group members, but also from their specific literary program and indeed atypical political convictions.
Keywords: Aktionsgruppe Banat, memory, ethno-cultural identity, censorship, reform communism, dissent.

ALEKSANDR S. STYKALIN, ***The New Soviet Approach of the 1956 Hungarian Crisis in the context of the reevaluation of the „Brezhnev Doctrine" at the end of the 80's and the beginning of the 1990's*** ***..... 194***

The author focuses on the evolution of the Soviet official view on the 1956 Hungarian events during Gorbachev's "perestroika" and in connection with the breakdown of Communism in Central-Eastern Europe. The military intervention of five Warsaw Treaty-states against the „Prague Spring" in august 1968 was theoretically fundamented through the so-called „Brezhnev Doctrine".
That was gradually abandoned by the Soviet leadership during the 1980's and mostly during Gorbachev's perestroika. Simultaneously a reevaluation of the Soviet official position towards the 1956 Hungarian Revolution occurred. The process reached its climax at the end of the 1980's in the context of the breakdown of the Socialist bloc.
Keywords: Hungary, Hungarian events of 1956, Gorbachev, Eastern-Central Europe of 1989.

MIHAELA ŞIMONCA, ***Norman Manea – Personal History as a Premise for Fiction. The Holocaust, Communism, Exile as Collective Drama Sublimated through Writing..... 214***

When Norman Manea left Romania for Germany in 1986, he was already an established Romanian writer. Two years later he immigrated to the United States of America and ever since he has published ten more volumes. He is currently living in New York, teaching literature at Bard College.
Manea's fiction and non-fiction books published in the United States relate closely to the concepts of history, memory and totalitarianism. The year 1986 was a turning point in his writing. Whereas America gave him the chance to reach a new fiction level, his biography became a crucial source of inspiration for his work.
His whole literary trajectory during his exile represents a process of memory incitement, of self-discovery at different ages; by narrating himself, the author bears witness to the violence and destruction caused by both forms of totalitarianism – Nazism and Communism. Using language as an ally to anamnesis, Norman Manea descends into his own past and rediscovers his identity. His memories represent the raw material for a literature that brings together stories of three fundamental experiences: Nazism (with its dehumanizing corollary, the Holocaust), communism (with the White Clown's perverse pleasure in "order and discipline") and exile, with language displacement.
Keywords: Norman Manea, *The Hooligan's Return,* identity, history, memory, exile, communism, totalitarianism, anamnesis.

DOCUMENTS

CRISTINA DIAC, ***The Communists from Romania in the Comintern Archives: Béla Breiner and the members of the Communist Party of Romania during the Great Terror, 1936-1938..... 237***

Béla Breiner was one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Romania during interwar. A volunteer in the Hungarian Red Army during 1918-1919, Béla Breiner was active in Romania, where he became a member

of the CPR in September 1923. Following his activity in the communist movement, Breiner was imprisoned for eight years (1926-1931, 1932-1935). In December 1931, at the V-th Congress of the Communist Party of Romania, he was elected member of the Central Committee. From 1937 to his death, in 1940, Béla Breiner was the leader of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, an operative structure of the Communist Party of Romania that acted as a section of the abroad Politburo.
This article publishes for the first time several documents from the Comintern Archives in Moscow. The documents were drafted by Béla Breiner during 1935-1938 and they bring a significant contribution to the understanding of the functioning of the Communist Party of Romania during interwar, of its relations to the Comintern, as well as the relations between the members of CPR in the late 1930's.
Keywords: Comintern, Communist Party of Romania, Béla Breiner, Great Terror.

VASILE BUGA, ***A holiday meeting. The minutes of the Crimean Talks between Ceauşescu and Brejnev, 3 August 1976*** ***..... 260***

In the summer of 1976, Nicolae Ceaușescu spent several days of his holiday in Yalta, Crimeea. On 3 August he had a short meeting with Soviet secretary general Leonid Brejnev, who was the host. The talks were held in a relaxed atmosphere which was made possible by the recent public declarations of the Romanian Communist leader who acknowledged there were no territorial issues between the two countries. The meeting showed the two leaders were eager to improve the relations between their countries and parties although disagreements persisted, such as the collaboration of the Balkan countries, the sino-soviet dispute, and some issues of their common history.
Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, Leonid Brejnev, Soviet-Romanian relations, Yalta, Crimeea.

BIOGRAPHIES

MIHAI BURCEA, ***Ion Anton Vidraşcu (1905-1978)*** ***..... 279***

Below we present a former Soviet spy captured in Romania in the 1930s, and his political transmogrification within the structures of the popular democratic regime. It is the case of Ukrainian born Ion Anton Vidraşcu, an unqualified worker with a poor education who deserted the Romanian Army in the USSR after a quarrel with an officer (1929). "In the motherland of workers and peasants", Vidraşcu will be recruited by the secret services and sent to Romania on some spying missions. He was caught by the *Siguranţa* few years later, trialed and sentenced to 10 years of prison for espionage. During detention he meets with the future communist leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, a biographical episode that will bring a major change to his political and professional career after August 23, 1944.
Keywords: spy, penitentiary, camp, escape, communism.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, ***History as Ballast, XLII: A 100 Years from the Crucial Romanian Crown Council*** ***.....5***

The article consists in the reflections of the author regarding the events that led to World War I. That was a war that ended a civilisation and marked the beginning of a turmoil in which the entire world was thrown into. Also, the author discusses the meanings of two crucial events: the visit of the Russian imperial family in Romania, on June 1, 1914, and the talks held in the Romanian Crown Council regarding the choosing of the political alliance – Antanta or the Central Powers.

Keywords: World War I, Romania, Russia, Austro-Hungary, Germany.

STUDIES

Cosmin Popa, ***Soviet Technological "Revolution" and the Development of Military Industrial Complex, 1945-1953*****.....*** ***15***

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, under the strong influence of the atomic bombing of Japan, the Soviet Union implemented a complex program with the purpose of upgrading the technology of the Red Army. The atomic bomb, the construction of reactive armament and the anti-missile shield were among the pillars of the program for remilitarization of an important part of the soviet post-war economy. Being sure that the Soviet Union can only keep its war conquests by reaching the same level of military potential as the USA, Stalin began from 1945 an arming race, while subordinating the economic reconstruction of the country to its military objectives. The immediate result was the reaching of a superior level of technology in the construction of military gear, but also the foundation of a grand military industrial complex, which would substantially slow down the economic development of the civic society. In this way, the cohesion of a society which barely made it through the war and which was waiting for a set

of reforms to relax the limits of the system was greatly damaged. Since the first years of the post-war era, while being sustained by an unbalanced economy and an exhausted society, the soviet military industrial complex has proved to be a much too heavier burden for the system as a whole.
While gaining the Superpower status, exclusively because of the force of its army, Stalin would condemn the soviet communism and not only to a longstanding economic and social downfall, which would only be toned down by the ignorance of the West and the chance of the international economic cycles, but which would never stop entirely.
Keywords: USSR, USA, Beria, Malenkov, Saburov, Stalin, weapons, atomic project, missiles, investments, intelligence, Nazism, military industrial complex, Soviet society, science.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, ***The Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party Plenum of 10-11 June 1948*****.....35**

The first plenum of the newly reorganized Romanian Workers Party, after the annexation of the former Social-Democratic Party by the Romanian Communists. The gathering had one major topic on the agenda: massive nationalization of industry, banks, transportation etc., as the last step in the consolidation of the Communist regime. The next day, the Government legalized the confiscation of economic assets, so the meeting was kept secret.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, nationalization, Sovietization of Romania, Central Committee, party apparatus.

MARIUS TĂRÎŢĂ, ***The preliminaries to the activity of Leonid I. Brezhnev at Chişinău in July 1950-September 1952*****.....38**

This paper deals with the cadre replacement inside the C.C. of the C.(b)P. from Moldova from July 1950 till September 1952, when L.I. Brezhnev (who replaced the local N.G. Koval) held the position of the first secretary. Among the problems the Party faced during that years were: the protectionism in several institutions, the fail of the personnel policy, the corruption, the technical problems in Agriculture and Party's education (e.g. in Orhey and Synzherey) in the province. The changes of the Party's most active members were significant – e.g. 34 of 71 members of CC of C(b)P from Moldova elected in February 1949 weren't reelected at the Party's Congress on the 1st of April 1951.
Keywords: Moldavian SSR, C.(b)P. from Moldova, Leonid I. Brezhnev, purge, cadre replacement, political section.

ANASTASIA KONOHOVA, ***Socialist thrust of the dissident movement in the Soviet Union during the 1950s - 1960s*****.....56**

The article is devoted to the beginning of dissident movement in the USSR in the second part of 1950s. The author tells about response of soviet youth to the XX conference of CPSS and destalinization. The author concentrates attention on clandestine dissident groups, which appeared after the moment when society realized that soviet leaders didn't going to reform the state. Analyzing dissidents' programs and worldview, the author makes conclusion, that the biggest part of dissidents in 1950s – 1960s were influenced by soviet propaganda and ideas of communism. The article is based on documents of the Party and Komsomol from St.Petersburg state archives, interviews with former dissidents, memories.
Keywords: dissident movement, *inakomislie*, the "Thaw", soviet students, XX conference of CPSS.

GHEORGHE COJOCARU, ***Nikita Khruschev's policy of "thaw" and the Bessarabian Question*****.....67**

After the Secret Report, read by the Soviet leader Nikita Khruschev at the 20th Communist Congress in 1956, an illusion of liberalism appear in the Soviet Union. Among others, cultural ties between Romanian People's Republic and the Soviet Moldova started. After few years, these actions were seen as nationalistic propaganda. However, it was a new start for the old Bessarabian question to be raised in the billateral discussions between Romania and the USSR.

Keywords: Nikita Khruschev, Soviet détente, Soviet Moldova, socialist culture, Karl Marx.

DUMITRU LĂCĂTUŞU, *The Biography of a Securitate Leader: Colonel Gheorghe Enoiu* ***..... 79***

This article examines the biography of Gheorghe Enoiu, director of the Penal Investigation Department of the Securitate, between 1963 and 1967, and one of the most notorious torturers from the Romanian Communist Regime. His celebrity is a consequence of the many penal investigations he conducted in his career. This study is structured in five parts (Gheorghe Enoiu – biographical aspects, The Portrait of Gheorghe Enoiu into the documents, The Penal Investigations of Gheorghe Enoiu, Justifying the crimes, and the End of a career). These sections present and analyse the most important biographical data regarding Gheorghe Enoiu, his biographical and professional trajectory, the way he was portrayed in documents by those who knew him, his main penal inquiries. In the „Justifying the crimes" section, Gheorghe Enoiu's motives for his crimes were analysed and the last part depicts the closure of his career as a member of the Securitate.
Keywords: political biography, torturer, Gheorghe Enoiu, penal investigations, Securitate, communist repression.

CSONGOR JÁNOSI, *The Extraordinary Life of An Ordinary Man. Árpád Mózes Szabó, 1927-1987, II*

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This paper sets out to offer insight into the tragic destiny of a man who was always in search of a life with better perspectives, dissatisfied with what fate had in store for him, refusing the conventional ways and means to accommodate to the society of the time. The false interpretation of the possibilities of gaining recognition, the illegal ways chosen to reach his goals, left their mark on the subsequent life of the young man who at the age of 30 was awaiting the execution of death sentence and already had multiple experiences related to the prisons of the regimes behind the Iron Curtain. These antecedents, corroborated with the obvious repulsion toward the Communist regime have diminished his possibilities of existence, leaving him no other choice after his imprisonment than to struggle for survival within the system network. The almost two decades of cooperation with the Romanian secret police – although it brought him employment, place of residence, a more decent family life, travels abroad, personal success –, eventually became unbearable and he finally chose to emigrate.

In the interpretation of events we have leaned mainly on the personal informative files, network files and investigation files kept at the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security and at the National Council for Research of Securitate Archives, on information obtained with the help of the oral history method, and last, but not least, on the documents kept by family members.
Keywords: microhistory, communist regime, secret police agencies, illegal border cross, counterrevolutionary activities, life of informant, emigration.

CRISTIAN TRONCOTĂ, *December 1989. Sibiu' Massacre* ***..... 108***

In the period between 21st and 31st of December 1989 in the martyr city of Sibiu there were registered more than 102 victims, among which 25 were officers and noncommissioned officers of the Militia, two employees of the Securitate, 4 military representatives from the Ministry of National Defense (three of them have shot one another) and almost 300 wounded persons, a lot of material and cultural loses which could not be evaluated and an undetermined number of people traumatized for the rest of their lives. Numerous buildings in the city have been destroyed, some of them being attacked with heavy military equipment under the accusation that they were hiding terrorists. It is not hard to imagine how a city were the army has used shootings looked like. In ten days not less than two million sleeves and missiles of all kinds have been used in this context. The events that took place in December 1989 in Sibiu demonstrate in the most convincing way that the repression against the population, the diversions, the massacres and acts of terrorism were not done by the Securitate officers.
Keywords: Romania, 1989 Revolution, Repression, Securitate.

CRISTINA PREUTU, ***Personnel Files of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, 1945-1989*** ***..... 121***

Cadres has been one of the main Sections of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. In order to highlight the importance of this Section in the political structures, the study aims to analyze its organizational development in the Romanian communist regime. I also analyzed its main duties, in order to reveal the contribution of this political structure in imposing the control and order over the society.
Keywords: Communist Regime, Control, Cadres, Repression, Romanian Communist Party.

DRAGOŞ PETRESCU, ***State against the Citizens and Citizens against the State: Repression and Insurgent Violence in Communist Romania, 1945–1989*** ***..... 125***

The present study addresses two interrelated issues concerning political violence, namely, *state repression* or state against the citizens, and *insurgent violence* or citizens against the state, for the case of communist Romania. In general, insurgent violence represented an answer to state repression. Over the entire communist period, that is, March 1945–December 1989, the patterns of state repression and insurgent violence resulted from attitudinal and behavioral patterns that characterized the functioning of a *triangular relational nexus*, namely, regime–society–Soviet Union. These attitudinal and behavioral patterns emerged as a result of the successive transformations of the Stalinist model imposed on the Romanian society from "abroad and above" in the aftermath of World War II.
Keywords: State repression, insurgent violence, bloody revolution, communism, Romania.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, ***To Collaborate and to Punish. Democracy and transitional justice in Romania 142***

In all ex-communist states the issue of citizens collaborating with secret services proved to be very sensitive, as it discusses the moral identity of individuals and, step by step, that of larger communities. The resolution of the collaborators' issue followed in countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania the German model of „Gauck Office" (BStU). In Romania, it witnessed significant transformations following decisions of the Constitutional Court, which altered the role of CNSAS (2008, 2012). The study is focused in two main topics. The first refers to the institutional analysis of CNSAS, aiming at several sub-topics: i) institutional transformations from the 1999-2013 period, from the perspective of democratization through transitional justice; ii) defining types of "collaboration" with the *Securitate*, according to actors categories, following legislative changes; iii) the impact of the Constitutional Court decisions upon CNSAS accomplishment of evidences concerning the statute of *Securitate* "collaborator". The second topic refers to the effects of collaborating with the *Securitate* in the public opinion. To this end, some cases will be analyzed, in order to emphasize the plural and contradictory character of public perception concerning collaboration with the *Securitate*.
Keywords: CNSAS, democratization, Romania, transitional justice, Securitate.

DOCUMENTS

CRISTINA DIAC, ***Communist Party of Romania's Leaders in the Archive of Comintern: Al. Daneliuk-Ştefanski*** ***..... 165***

This paper tries to fill in at least a few of the many gaps in the biography of Al. Daneliuk-Ştefanski, the fourth general secretary of the Communist Party of Romania (C.P.R.). Romanian-language sources devote little space to that communist leader. The document above-published is an autobiography from Daneliuk-Ştefanski's personal file existing in the archival fund related to R.C.P. from the Archive of the Comintern. In order to introduce the document, I presented the state of the art in Romanian historiography about

Daneliuk-Ştefanski and I described the major parts of the document placing it into the historical context. Resuming, the document focuses mainly on the early years of his political carrier, when he lived in the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary Russia.
Keywords: Al. Daneliuk-Ştefanski, Autobiography, Communist Party of Romania, Communist Party of Poland, Comintern, Great Purge.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, ***Memories of Collectivization in Romania 179***

In 1992 The Commission for the Investigation of Abuses and Petitions, Chamber of Deputies, started to collect information about the collectization campaign in Romania (1949-1962). The investigation looked for abuses committed during the campaign by representatives of local authority, party members, Militia and Securitate officers. The documents contain the answers of a victim of repression.
Keywords: Collectivization, repression, resistance.

ŞTEFN BOSOMITU, ***Another failed de-stalinization. A Memorandum of the Independent Communist Party, 15 May 1958 ..... 189***

The historiography of the Soviet type communist regimes granted special attention to the repressive dimension of these regimes, which was often associated to the totalitarian terror, whose purpose was the destruction of the old society and all forms of opposition adjacent to it, with the aim to establish a new order. But the dynamics of Stalinist terror did not only targeted the opponents or the class enemies. Just as frequently, the attention of those who were monitoring the perils that could affect the party, focused also onto their own cadres. Communist parties developed organizational structures the purpose of which was the internal surveillance of everything it could turn into a deviation from the rules imposed by Party line, thus becoming a threat. These institutions evolved as tools of *control* of the sociopolitical body of the Party, often endowed with discretionary powers, as to decide the exclusion from the Party ranks (*purges*), and even violent later repercussions (*repression*).
The present paper canvasses an important chapter of the Romanian Workers Party's purge history, by bringing into discussion an yet unknown document – a memorandum of a what seems to be an underground party structure, which entitles itself as the "Central Committee of the Communist Independent Party".
Keywords: Romanian Workers Party, Independent Communist Party, illegalists, purges, repression, memorandum.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *At the crossroads. Romanian-Soviet Relations after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, August-September 1968 ..... 202*

The condemning by the Romanian authorities of the military intervention in Czechoslovakia, on 21 august 1968, led to an escalation of tension in Romanian-Soviet relations. For the first time after the Communist regime was set up in Romania, Bucharest leaders considered a military confrontation with Eastern big brother. The document we publish is a monitoring of Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding Romanian-Soviet Relations between 21 August-13 September 1968, a climax of tension between the two countries.
Keywords: communism, 1968, Czechoslovakian crisis, Romanian-Soviet relations, military intervention, diplomacy.

VASILE BUGA, ***A new Romanian-Soviet high level clash. The minutes of talks in Moscow, 19 May 1970, II..... 211***

The article presents the minutes of Romanian-Soviet Talks in Moscow, in May 1970. The meeting was organized at Romanian initiative and aimed at discussing sensitive issues in economic bilateral cooperation, and divergences between the two parts in foreign relations and with the international communist movement. The Soviet part used the opportunity to rise past Romanian political stands such as the establishing of diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, in 1967, Romanian apart stand in the Middle East crisis in 1967, the Czechoslovakian crisis in August 1968, the Sino-Soviet conflict, the visit of president Richard Nixon in Bucharest, in August 1989, and the Romanian opening to the West. The

two parts came to an agreement and they decided on the signing of a new Treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance in July 1970.
Keywords: Romanian-Soviet relations, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Leonid Brejnev, Warsaw Treaty, COMECON, international communist movement.

CONSTANTIN MORARU, ***Romania and the Jewish emigration. Washington discussions between Nicolae Ceauşescu and American Jewish Organizations, 11 June 1975*** ***242***

Within Romanian-American political agenda, the topic of Jewish emigration was granted special attention. The matter was discussed with Jewish organizations in the USA, especially in 1970's and it was motivated by the Romanian interest in obtaining Most Favoured Nation clause.
The document we published is the minutes of 11 June 1975 meeting in Washington between Nicolae Ceaușescu and representatives of American Jewish Organizations, given their known influence both within Administration and Congress.
Keywords: Romania, Jewish emigration, American Jewish Organizations, MFN clause, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *C.I.A., Radio Free Europe and Romania. An 1981 „Securitate" Analysis* ***252***

The document we publish is an analysis drafted by U.M. 0544 (Foreign Intelligence of the Securitate). It reflects the objectives of Ronald Reagan administration towards the Soviet Union and its allies. Drafted in September 1981, the analysis indicates the C.I.A. as the primary intelligence service to influence the development of dissent in Romania. According to the document, C.I.A. objectives were to be implemented through the broadcastings of Radio Free Europe and undercover agents.
Keywords: C.I.A., Romania, Securitate, Radio Free Europe, psychological war.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, ***History as Ballast, XLI: Ştefan Neniţescu*** ***5***

This is a fragment from Radu Ciuceanu's *Memories*, volume V, forthcoming at N.I.S.T. Ştefan Neniţescu was a Romanian briliant poet, art critic, diplomat, and an economist during interwar. In 1949, he was arrested by the Communists and sentenced to forced life labor. Young Radu Ciuceanu met him in 1956, at Văcăreşti hospital penitentiary (in Bucharest). The author was highly influenced by the worldwide culture of Ştefan Neniţescu.

Keywords: communism, Romania, repression, Ştefan Neniţescu, Văcăreşti.

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SVETLANA SUVEICĂ, ***A Russian Diplomat in Bucharest: S.A. Poklevski-Koziell and the 'Bessarabian Cause', 1919-1920*** ***10***

The article sheds light on the activity of the Russian ambassador to Bucharest, Stanislav A. Poklevski-Koziell, in the immediate period after World War I. The diplomat considered that the Bolshevik danger was a priority which should motivate the former war allies Romania and Russia to support each other, despite the dispute over Bessarabia. Poklevski believed in the return of the region back to Russia and, in the period when at the Paris peace conference the fate of the former Russia's Western borderlands was decided, supported with materials the Russian political émigrés and diplomats as well the Bessarabians who propagated for the "Bessarabian cause". At the same time, Poklevski opted for a more pragmatic behaviour of the Kolchak government in Romania. He believed that Denikin's declaration on abstaining from any act of hostility toward Romania and compliance with the future decision of the Peace conference in regard to Bessarabia will ensure the support of Romania in the fight against the Bolsheviks.

Keywords: Borderland, Bessarabia, Russian Whites, Romania, S.A. Poklevski-Koziell.

CSONGOR JÁNOSI, ***The Extraordinary Life of An Ordinary Man. Árpád Mózes Szabó, 1927-1987, I*** ***31***

This paper sets out to offer insight into the tragic destiny of a man who was always in search of a life with better perspectives, dissatisfied with what fate had in store for him, refusing the conventional ways and means to accommodate to the society of the time. The false interpretation of the possibilities of gaining recognition, the illegal ways chosen to reach his goals, left their mark on the subsequent life of the young man who at the age of 30 was awaiting the execution of death sentence and already had multiple experiences related to the prisons of the regimes behind the Iron Curtain. These antecedents, corroborated with the obvious repulsion toward the Communist regime have diminished his possibilities of existence, leaving him no other choice after his imprisonment than to struggle for survival within the system network. The almost two decades of cooperation with the Romanian secret police – although it brought him employment, place of residence, a more decent family life, travels abroad, personal success –, eventually became unbearable and he finally chose to emigrate.
In the interpretation of events we have leaned mainly on the personal informative files, network files and investigation files kept at the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security and at the National Council for Research of Securitate Archives, on information obtained with the help of the oral history method, and last, but not least, on the documents kept by family members.
Keywords: microhistory, communist regime, secret police agencies, illegal border cross, counterrevolutionary activities, life of informant, emigration.

MIHAELA MUSTĂŢEA, ***Italy and the Failure of the European Defence Community, 1950-1954*** ***52***

The European Defence Community (E.D.C.) was a French initiative in the first years of the 1950s. Based on the plan of the French Prime Minister, René Pleven, the Pleven Plan proposed the creation of a European army, with the involvement of German units, to be placed under a single military and political European authority. This proposal sparked a little enthusiasm in Italy, and even more it was regarded as a French strategy to delay the German militarization. Italy's role in the negotiations was minor. The failure to ratify the new European Community by the French Parliament in 1954 left this project of defence integration stillborn, but paved the way for another solution for the rearmament of Germany: the creation of Western European Union (WEU), as a subgroup of NATO, including Germany and Italy. Also, after the failure of EDC it began a diplomatic process which led to the settling of Trieste issue.
Keywords: The European Defence Community, Italy, rearmament of Germany, the Pleven Plan, Trieste.

LIU YONG, ***Romania and Sino-Soviet Relations Moving Towards Split, 1960-1965*** ***65***

To research on the splitting process of Sino-Soviet relations, Romania and Sino-Romanian relations in the same period cannot be ignored. Romania mainly played the following roles in splitting of Sino-Soviet relations: in the early stages of Sino-Soviet relations' deterioration, Romania basically followed the Soviet Union to criticize and siege China so as to slight Sino-Romanian relations. With the growing tension between Romania and the Soviet, Romania actively closed with China and tried to take advantage of Sino-Soviet contradictions to contend with the Soviet, which made Sino-Soviet relations into the triangular relations among the three countries, and, to some extent, slowed the momentum of Sino-Soviet relations' rapid deteriorating. In early 1964, Romania tried to mediate in Sino-Soviet polemics and turned out to be in vain. Nevertheless, it formed a close relationship between China and Romania. Later the Romanian Workers' Party (RWP) published "Declaration of Independence", forming its own independent foreign policy, and observed neutrality in Sino-Soviet conflicts more strictly.
Keywords: Romania; Sino-Romanian Relations; Sino-Soviet Polemics; Sino-Soviet Relations.

PETRE OPRIŞ, ***Tests of the Regime from Bucharest on Acquisition of „Boeing" Airliners, 1964-1974*** ***81***

In 1964, some representants of the Romanian „Tarom" company were interested by the technique performances of „Boeing-727" American airliner and „Caravelle 10 R" French aircraft. Ten years later, the

Romanian authorities purchased six „Boeing-707" airliners from the United States. Two of these were made in VIP version and used by the Romanian President, Nicolae Ceaușescu.
Keywords: airliner, Boeing, Ceaușescu, Communism, William Crawford, Richard Nixon, Romania, USA.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, Romania's relations with Imperial Iran, 1965-1968, III ***93***

Iran became in the years 1965-1978 one of Romania's most important economic partners, and their politico-diplomatic relationships have been remarkably intense. In order to explain, in an argumentative manner, the Romanian-Iranian politics, this study aims to present these countries' bilateral relations in a wider context, taking into account both Iran's domestic and foreign policy.
Although an autocratic, dictatorial regime, according to many Western voices, Iran, at the shah's initiative, has known since 1963 – the year of the referendum that approved the 'White Revolution' – a series of reforms meant to foster social and economic modernization. The eradication of obsolete economic and social structures, the campaign for alphabetization, the investments in education, the establishment of a modern industry, but also the formal maintenance of its parliamentary regime and multi-party system, have turned Iran into a respectable partner, compatible, in some respects, with the politics embraced by the Romanian communist regime in a recent past, aspects of which are still continued.
The investigation of Iran's foreign policy plays a major role in deciding the position adopted by the Romanian authorities. A crucial aspect, bearing directly on Romania's options for foreign policy, is represented by Iran's relations with the USSR, systematically followed by the Romanian diplomacy. The improvement of the Soviet-Iranian relations after 1962 represents the elimination of any risk for Bucharest in undertaking political relations with Iran. Of course, by comparison, Romanian diplomacy is also interested in the relations Iran has developed with countries from the Soviet bloc.
Undoubtedly, the amelioration of its relations with the USSR and the Eastern Europe, provided Iran with an instrument for increasing the autonomy of its own foreign policy, granting it room for maneuver in its relations with the West and especially the USA, which had to respond more promptly to Teheran's requests. Despite some fluctuations, Iran remains and wants to be recognized by the USA as its main ally in the Gulf region.
It is in this context, diligently analyzed by the Romanian diplomacy, that the intensification of Romania's relations with Iran can be placed. Generally, both states were interested in developing bilateral relations, their motivations being primarily economic. Romania was interested in the Iranian oil, in order to avoid relying too much on Soviet hydro carbonates, as the other states in the Soviet Bloc did, under otherwise advantageous conditions, and Iran could benefit from economic and technological cooperation, on several levels, and to which Romania was willing to commit.
The series of visits they paid each other – the 1965 visit of the Romanian Prime Minister that resulted in the signing of a framework agreement for future economic, technological, and scientific cooperation, which Iran fulfilled through oil delivery, the shah's visit in 1966, the visits between the two governments, in particular the visits of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the establishment of a joint ministerial commission in 1966 for the systematization and promotion of economic relations – all demonstrate the amplitude of the Romanian-Iranian politics. The scope of the study is limited to the year 1968, when the first Iranian oil deliveries arrive in Romania. In any case, the 1965-1968 period comprises all the elements – including the instruments for bilateral cooperation – that explain the fast evolution of the Romanian-Iranian relations in the decade that follows.
Keywords: cooperation, industrialization, Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, oil, Romania, USA, USSR.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, 17-21 October 1945* ***117***

Between 17 and 21 October 1945, in Bucharest took place the conference of Romanian Communist Party. It was the first non-underground conference of the RCP, since 1924 when the Communist Party has been outlawed by the Government. In the fall of 1945, heavily dependent on Soviet Army support, the Party ran the Government and prepared itself for assuming full control of the State. The National Conference established a new Central Committee, adopted a new internal regulation and express its views on issues as: land confiscation, nationalization of industry, participation in the next elections etc.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, communization of Romania, Party congress, Central Committee, Soviet Army.

ALEXANDRA TOADER, *Mass Political Agitation* ***121***

The main purpose of this study is to highlight the particularities of political agitation during the Romanian communist regime. More specifically, it analyzes the manner in which the propagandistic discourse defined the term, and the forms in which it has been applied from top to bottom. In other words, the article underlines the content and purpose of the political agitation and points out the propagandistic veil build around the importance of this mobilizing action.
Keywords: political agitation, propaganda, agitators, Sector of Propaganda and Agitation, communist regime.

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CRISTINA DIAC, *Comunists from Romania in the Archive of the Comintern: Boris Ştefanov's Case* ***125***

This paper aims to bring into the light Boris Ştefanov's biography. Born in 1883, at Kotel-Bulgaria, Ştefanov was the fifth Communist Party of Romania's Secretary, leading the Party from 1934 to 1940. His political engagement had started in "Narrow Socialists" Party when the Cadrilater, the native Ştefanov's land, was ceded to Romania, in 1913. After that, he joined the Romanian Socialist Party, on whose list he was elected in 1920 as a member of the Romanian Parliament. In the early 20thies, he lived and worked in Romania, but in Bulgaria, Austria and Soviet Union also. Arrested in 1926, he was sentenced to eight years in prison. He left Romania in 1933 and had never came back.
Some parts of Ştefanov's biography can be known from Romanian archives, especially those related to his carrier in the Communist Party of Romania. His Bulgarian background, and also his political carrier as a functionary in the apparatus of Comintern are hard to be known just appealing to Romanian sources.
This paper had two parts. The first one creates a short portrait of Boris Ştefanov, based on both archival and secondary sources. The second one is an autobiography written by Ştefanov in 1936, when he was in Prague, holding the highest dignity among Romanian communists. The document published above is important in the information that provide. It is also an evaluation of a professional revolutionary's life, as it was seen by himself.
Keywords: Boris Ştefanov, "red autobiographies", Comintern, Communist Party of Romania, Bulgaria, communism.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The Case of Ana Pauker. An 1954 Account* ***150***

Member of the group accused in 1952 of „right deviation" (together with Vasile Luca and Teohari Georgescu), Ana Pauker was treated differently from his fellows after Stalin's death. She bennefited from the interest of her behalf by the soviet leadership, especially by Vyaceslav Molotov. This article presents the minutes of the Romanian Worker's Party Political Bureau's meeting on 11 May 1954. The talks show the willingness of the RWP leadership to grant Ana Pauker a special treatment: even though she was expelled from the party, it was decided not to prosecute her.
Keywords: Romanian Worker's Party, Ana Pauker, „right deviation", political trial, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Vyaceslav Molotov.

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, *Khruschev and Tito: A Long Discussion on Romania (Leningrad, June 1964)* ***165***

The worsening relations between the USSR and Romania was the main subject of the talks between Nikita Khruschev and Marshal Tito during their last meeting, which took place in Leningrad in June 1964. It was Khruschev who initiated the meeting and his aim was to ask the Yugoslavian leader to influence the Romanians not to deviate too far from the course of the Soviet bloc and especially to keep distance from China. As far as the Yugoslavians were the main goal of the Chinese attacks as "revisionists", Tito was not

interested in the further Romanian-Chinese rapprochement, so he promised the Soviets to influence the Romanians. According to the documents, it was considered in Belgrade that Bucharest went too far in his Fronde as concerned the Soviet policy.
Keywords: 1960-es, Khruschev, Tito, Gheorghiu-Dej, Soviet-Romanian relations, Yugoslavian-Romanian relations, China.

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, ***Bessarabia, Bucovina, Hertza Region, Chilia Channel and the Snake Island: An 1965 study on their political and diplomatic situation…*** ***.....195***

This text is an uncensored study carried out in August 1965 and filed in the Central National History Archives, more specifically in the database of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (the Administration Section). This study was most probably carried out by the historians working for the Documentation and Research Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the purpose of informing the Romanian delegation that was to go on an official visit to Moscow between September 3 and September 11, 1965. The document is titled "Bessarabia, Bucovina, Hertza Region, Chilia Channel and the Snake Island" and does not take into account the taboos of the official history of that time. Given the tense situation between Bucharest and Moscow, the problem of territory theft committed by the Soviet Union in 1940 (Bessarabia, North Bucovina, Hertza Region and 5 islands in the Danube Delta) and on February 4, 1948, was not even suggested, even if it was a breach of the Paris Peace Treaty in 1947 by annexing the Snake Island.
Keywords: Bessarabia, Chilia Channel, June 1940, North Bucovina, Snake Island, Moscow, territory theft, Hertza Region.

VASILE BUGA, ***A new Romanian-Soviet high level clash. The minutes of talks in Moscow, 19 May 1970, I..... 216***

The article presents the minutes of Romanian-Soviet Talks in Moscow, in May 1970. The meeting was organized at Romanian initiative and aimed at discussing sensitive issues in economic bilateral cooperation, and divergences between the two parts in foreign relations and with the international communist movement. The Soviet part used the opportunity to rise past Romanian political stands such as the establishing of diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, in 1967, Romanian apart stand in the Middle East crisis in 1967, the Czechoslovakian crisis in August 1968, the Sino-Soviet conflict, the visit of president Richard Nixon in Bucharest, in August 1989, and the Romanian opening to the West. The two parts came to an agreement and they decided on the signing of a new Treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance in July 1970.
Keywords: Romanian-Soviet relations, Nicolae Ceausescu, Leonid Brejnev, Warsaw Treaty, COMECON, international communist movement.

POINTS OF VIEW

ALEXANDRU BUDIŞTEANU, ***Rehabilitating USSR and Stalin at all costs?.....248***

The "Totalitarianism archives" quarterly published in its nr. 1-2/2013 issue a paper written by Mr. V. L. Musatov – a historian and former Russian Ambassador – with the title: "Stalin's role and the falsification of the history of the Great War for the Fatherland Defence". Mr. Musatov means to deal with extremely important issues that are still essential for the proper understanding and evaluation of the European and world history. The importance of Stalin's concepts and actions evidently cannot be ignored. Their predominantly negative appraisal is generally accepted considering him and Hitler the major negative political factors of the XX-th century. A general analysis of Stalin's personality and implicitly of the USSR – the State he organized and ruled – still continues. Mr. Musatov decided to be on Stalin's side stressing his predominantly positive contribution to the existence of an also positive USSR, in opposition to Hitler's
„fascist" Germany, thus playing a positive role in Europe' history (such as the liberation of the Eastern European countries etc). Mr. Musatov is also very critical of those who are not accepting the decisive role played by Stalin in achieving the victory in war and of those who contributed to the demise of the USSR such as Hrushchev. Moreover, Mr. Musatov explains that Russia actually permanently plays the same

positive historical role as it did along all its history. Of course anyone has the right to evaluate the history of his country but with the proviso not to hurt the facts concerning the correct history of other countries. Especially, when they are direct neighbours of Russia, such as the case of Romania. Mr. Musatov extends the subject of his published paper to the multi secular history of the relations between Russia and Romania. He formulates the conclusion that all the conflicts between the two countries were and are due to the permanent greed of Romania, trying to occupy territories belonging historically to Russia. This obviously is fundamentally wrong. Historical facts are either ignored or misinterpreted by Mr. Musatov. His assumption is unacceptable from the Romanian point of view. In our present world it is rather preferable for us to endeavour to improve the Romanian-Russian relationship accepting the true facts of history.
Keywords: Stalin, Soviet Union, Bessarabia, World War II, Soviet-Romanian Relations.

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Ion Taflaru (1910-1973), a former political detainee imprisoned at Făgăraş and Gherla, held the position of chief commissioner with the Siguranţă (State Security) and police chief with the General Directorate of Police. He worked for the "Body of Detectives" within the Siguranţă (State Security), leading, for a long period of time, the anti-Communist brigade of this institution. He closely watched the Communist movement, which was part of his duties, and this led initially to his imprisonment by the Communist regime. He was sentenced to heavy life imprisonment, then 20 years for "intense activity against the working class". In 1964, he was released from Gherla, according to Decree 411. After release, he was put under surveillance in order to see if he had the same "antidemocratic" behaviour towards the Communist regime, as he had had in prison. He died in suspicious circumstances in Bucharest on 2nd September 1973.
Keywords: communism, political detainee, chief commissioner, Romanian Communist Party.

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This is the speech delivered by prof. Radu Ciuceanu in the Romanian Academy Aula Magna with the occasion of the XX-th anniversary of the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism.
Keywords: National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Romanian Academy, XX-th anniversary.

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Using new biographical sources, the article explores the Soviet Union attack against Finland, emphasizing the heroic resistance of the Finnish army, as well as the aggression of Nazi Germany against Czechoslovakia, Poland and France. A major emphasis is put on the information provided by the intelligence regarding Hitler's intentions.
Keywords: World War II, Finland, Nazi Germany, Soviet Union, intelligence.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, ***Midnight in Kremlin. Gheorghiu-Dej's Meetings with Stalin, 1944-1952, II*** ***18***
During 1944-1952, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, secretary general of Romanian Communist Party, had several meetings with Stalin, in Moscow. The discussions held with these occasions as well as Stalin's indications to Dej played a significant role in the evolution of the RCP and the Romanian society. In spite of their importance, these visits are still to be fully uncovered. A reason might be related to the fact that historical sources are rare and contradicting. This study intends to clarify several key issues of Gheorghiu-Dej meetings with Stalin, such as the exact chronology, the subjects discussed, and the participants. In the context of time, these visits are relevant for the political leaders behaviour and for Romanian deeply dependence of Moscow.
Keywords: Communism, Romanian Communist Party, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, I.V. Stalin, Soviet-Romanian Relations.

IRINA GRIDAN, ***The Purges of Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Personnel, 1945-1947*****.....33**
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Keywords: Romania, Sovietization, communization, foreign policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomats, political purges.

MARIUS TĂRÎȚĂ, ***The Moldovan Literary Life during Late Stalinism, 1948-1951*****.....48**
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Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, Criticism, language question, Soviet writers, Marxism.

ALINA PAVELESCU, ***New Politics of Elites' Selection at the University of Bucharest, 1948-1955, II*****.....57**
The sovietisation of the Romanian high education system started in 1948 as part of the main process of sovietising the whole Romanian society. The main goal of this study is to underline the political criteria which reshaped the adjustment of the social profile of students and teachers according to the new criteria of elites' selection as well as the structural and qualitative changes resulted from the introduction of an ideological control on the curricula in the domain of social sciences. The study focuses on the University of Bucharest and its Faculty of Philosophy. Meanwhile, the more general context created by the new Education Law and the homogeneity of the new ideological criteria applied in the elites' selections allows a set of conclusions at a national level.
Keywords: academic education, University of Bucharest, social sciences, philosophy, sovietization.

IULIU CRĂCANĂ, ***The Enforcement Of the Law by the Popular Judge in the Regime of People's Democracy, 1948-1960*****.....76**

During 1948-1960, Justice had been used for the establishment and strengthening of the people's democracy regime. In the absence of any constitutional and legal guarantees to protect them against external pressures, and under threat of removal from the judicial system, but also willing to enjoy career opportunities offered by the regime, judges and prosecutors acted obediently toward political power. In our study this way of interpreting the law was defined as teleocratic interpretation (interpretation of the law in the interests of power). To achieve such interpretation, the Judge must always give a solution that will satisfy the political power. As a consequence, he has trained himself to guess the desire and interests of communist authorities. This „judicial conduct" led to the using of Justice as a punishement tool against all types of opponents, members of the political leadership, Communist party members or common people.
Keywords: Communism, Justice, magistrate, teleocratic interpretation, political repression.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, ***Romania's Relations with Imperial Iran, 1965-1968, II*****.....87**
Iran became in the years 1965-1978 one of Romania's most important economic partners, and their politico-diplomatic relationships have been remarkably intense. In order to explain, in an argumentative manner, the Romanian-Iranian politics, this study aims to present these countries' bilateral relations in a wider context, taking into account both Iran's domestic and foreign policy. Although an autocratic, dictatorial regime, according to many Western voices, Iran, at the shah's initiative, has known since 1963 – the year of the referendum that approved the 'White Revolution' – a series of reforms meant to foster social and economic modernization. The eradication of obsolete economic and social structures, the campaign for

alphabetization, the investments in education, the establishment of a modern industry, but also the formal maintenance of its parliamentary regime and multi-party system, have turned Iran into a respectable partner, compatible, in some respects, with the politics embraced by the Romanian communist regime in a recent past, aspects of which are still continued. The investigation of Iran's foreign policy plays a major role in deciding the position adopted by the Romanian authorities. A crucial aspect, bearing directly on Romania's options for foreign policy, is represented by Iran's relations with the USSR, systematically followed by the Romanian diplomacy. The improvement of the Soviet-Iranian relations after 1962 represents the elimination of any risk for Bucharest in undertaking political relations with Iran. Of course, by comparison, Romanian diplomacy is also interested in the relations Iran has developed with countries from the Soviet bloc. Undoubtedly, the amelioration of its relations with the USSR and the Eastern Europe, provided Iran with an instrument for increasing the autonomy of its own foreign policy, granting it room for maneuver in its relations with the West and especially the USA, which had to respond more promptly to Teheran's requests. Despite some fluctuations, Iran remains and wants to be recognized by the USA as its main ally in the Gulf region. It is in this context, diligently analyzed by the Romanian diplomacy, that the intensification of Romania's relations with Iran can be placed. Generally, both states were interested in developing bilateral relations, their motivations being primarily economic. Romania was interested in the Iranian oil, in order to avoid relying too much on Soviet hydro carbonates, as the other states in the Soviet Bloc did, under otherwise advantageous conditions, and Iran could benefit from economic and technological cooperation, on several levels, and to which Romania was willing to commit. The series of visits they paid each other—the 1965 visit of the Romanian Prime Minister that resulted in the signing of a framework agreement for future economic, technological, and scientific cooperation, which Iran fulfilled through oil delivery, the shah's visit in 1966, the visits between the two governments, in particular the visits of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the establishment of a joint ministerial commission in 1966 for the systematization and promotion of economic relations—all demonstrate the amplitude of the Romanian-Iranian politics. The scope of the study is limited to the year 1968, when the first Iranian oil deliveries arrive in Romania. In any case, the 1965-1968 period comprises all the elements—including the instruments for bilateral cooperation—that explain the fast evolution of the Romanian-Iranian relations in the decade that follows.

Keywords: cooperation, industrialization, Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, oil, Romania, USA, USSR.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Some Points of View Regarding the French-Romanian Economic Relations in 1965-1970* *105*

In the early '60s, the French authorities had agreed to develop economic relations with Romania and the Romanian market gradually received products of well-known French companies, as „Renault" or „Thomson". Later on, „Sud Aviation" and „Dassault" French companies offered different types of helicopter and aircraft to be built under license in Romania.

Keywords: Communism, Nicolae Ceauşescu, France, Romania, Renault, Thomson, USSR.

ANDREI FLORIN SORA, *The Local Political Life and its Actors during Communism: the First Secretaries of the County Committees of the RCP, 1968-1989* *115*

The accessing in the past couple of years of the archives of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), including the personnel dossiers, oral testimonies, but also recent research can provide answers and leads new approaches on the formation and the evolution of the local political elites in Communist Romania. This article analyzes the political role established at local level of the the First Secretaries of the County Committees of the RCP, their career strategies; the symbolic mechanisms for professional accession, promotion or loss of this position; the dynamics between Centre (Bucharest) and Periphery (the provinces) and last but not least, the political destiny of these elites after 1989. Starting with 1968, the First Secretary of the County Committee of the RCP also gained the position of President of the Executive Committee of the County Popular Council, becoming apparently the absolute chief of the local administration. We are aiming to identify if there is a *pattern* or more in the appointment and the retention in the County First Secretary position, and especially, to discover what is the importance leverage of the local factor. On the other hand, the holders of these functions were always dependent on the Centre - Bucharest, especially on Nicolae Ceauşescu.

Keywords: communist nomenklatura, the First Secretary of the County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP); local government, personnel dossiers.

OLGA ZASLAVSKAIA, ***Testimonies of Cold War. Samizdat Archives*** ***..... 130***
In the last decades, the traditional approach to the samizdat in the context of the Cold War heroic narrative has been called into question, suggesting analyses of this phenomenon through the concepts and the ideas of post-structuralism, the theory of social mobilization and social practices, and with the help of recent archievemnets in the field of media studies, sociology of culture, and the theory of network analysis. The process of crossing boundaries by uncensored texts in the late socialism and creating of samizdat-tamizdat system can be contextualized and researched in terms of creating symbolic capital and transnational communication. The suggested analyses of samizdat and tamizdat as a social and cultural phenomenon is based on the concept of "communication circuit" developed by Robert Darnton for research of print culture. The article focuses on the role and specificity of such actors in the network as samizdat archives which are considered not as a passive collection of documents of a bygone era, but as a specific cultural practices, which still actualizes the story of the informal culture of the Soviet era.
Keywords: samizdat, tamizdat, „communication circuit", archives, crossing boundaries, transnational.

ALEKSANDR ZHITENEV, ***Victor Krivulin as a Theorist of «Unofficial» Culture from USSR, 1976-1984*** ***..... 150***
The distinctive sign of the late soviet era is rapid development of «unofficial» culture. And one of the most important representative of the epoch is V. Krivulin, a literature and art critic, poet, the creator of «37» journal. A special merit of V. Krivulin is consideration of samizdat phenomenon, underground consciousness typology research. According to his interpretation «different culture» is «integral phenomenon that has specific features of "great style"». In its core there are «compression of historical experience into personal word», close connection of expression and personality, the possibility of «multi-layered» reading of each text. The samizdat author's purpose is to bring into correlation «the eternal language of poetry» and «the barking language of shared apartment», his role is a role of a «victim». Poverty, both material and spiritual, is considered as liberation that gives opportunity to see more than meets the eye. Poetics, which is close to underground culture, is «ascetic» poetics that destroys all conventions and offers sequential refusal of «beauty».
At the same time, V. Krivulin assumes, «unofficial culture», despite the fact that is highly self-consciousness, could define itself only through denial of the Soviet aesthetic system. The positive meaning of the new art experience slipped away from definition since the epoch of self-publishing could not associate itself with any of the existing art traditions. «Stop in the Desert» created cultural marginalization, and the self-reflection generated «negative dialectics». Connecting modernistic and post-modernistic eras of Russian literature, V. Krivulin always paid attention to history metaphysics; this fact, as well as specific interpretation of subject role, singles him out against the background of «unofficial» culture.
Keywords: «unofficial» culture, samizdat, russian literature, Victor Krivulin.

COSMIN BUDEANCĂ, ***„The Church Doesn't Emigrate". The Bishop Albert Klein and the Emigration of the Evangelical Lutheran Priests from Romania in the 1970's and the 1980's, II 165***
Albert Klein was the Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church CA in Romania between 1969-1990, period when the emigration of ethnic Germans (the Saxons implicitly) was to the highest level. Because the influence of priests in communities was very important, and their departure would have to influence the emigration, Bishop has made great efforts to limit immigration of evangelical priests. The study shows those efforts, his relations with the communist authorities in Romania, the Federal Republic of Germany or associations of Saxons who emigrated.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, Emigration, Saxons, Evangelical Lutheran Church.

MARGARITA CHABANNA, ***The Methods of Shaping Social Consciousness in Totalitarian State: the Role of Psychological Manipulation 179***
The establishment of totalitarian regimes in 20th century in Europe has been significantly caused by socio-economic development of the European countries. Then the relevant changes of social consciousness have made it possible to control by totalitarian parties all social spheres, not only military, economic and political ones, but also the sphere of interpersonal relations in society. One of the most important opportunities for totalitarian parties is the opportunity to make an influence on mass psychology in order to

get the support for totalitarian movements, and to cultivate its features in order to legitimate totalitarian regimes. The methods of ideological influence, mass propaganda, and party organization aimed at manipulation of public consciousness, played the key role in the legitimating of totalitarian governing.
Keywords: totalitarian regime, psychological manipulation, mass society, mass propaganda, totalitarian organization.

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In 1940, when he was invited at Comintern for giving explanations about the situation of Communist Party of Romania from the last two years, Ştefan Foriş wrote on that occasion and a sizable autobiography. This document provides us interesting information about life story of the person above mentioned, but also introduces us in the CPoR's history between two world wars. Ştefan Foriş leaded the communist movement from 1941 until 1944, as a general secretary. Before that, he has always been close to party leadership, both as a middle-line leader and as a head of mass organizations, created and guided by communists, for their own interest. Therefore, he has had first hand information about his comrades and party's secrets.
Keywords: Communist Party of Romania, Ştefan Foriş, Komintern, autobiography.

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Keywords: Collectivization, repression, resistance.

VASILE BUGA*, Thaw in Romanian-Soviet Relations. Minutes of Moscow Meeting in May 1969, II*..... *225*
On 16 May 1969, a delegation of the RCP headed by Nicolae Ceauşescu went to Moscow, where a Romanian-Soviet summit took place. The minutes of the meeting emphasizes the interest of the Romanian part in normalizing the Romanian-Soviet relations frozen as consequence to the Romanian critical stand towards WTO intervention in Czechoslovakia. On this occasion there had been discussed aspects of bilateral relations, especially economic relations, including the identification of methods to renew them, as well as aspects of international politics such as European security, the situation in the Middle East, the Vietnam war. The talks singled out the interest both sides had in the unfreezing of the bilateral relations, as well as the maintain of divergent views regarding the preparation of the 1969 Communist parties international conference, the causes and consequences of the Czechoslovakian crisis, the approach towards the Chinese Communist Party.
Keywords: Communism, Romanian-Soviet relations, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Czechoslovakian crisis, International Communist Movement.

CONSTANTIN MORARU*, Romania and Polish crises from 1981*..... *249*
Ion Cozma, Romanian ambassador at Warsaw, who attended a socialist ambasadors' meeting, informed the Central Comittee of RCP about the Polish political crisis in June 1981. The document we publish presents the measures undertaken by Polish Communist Party against Solidarnosc.
Keywords: Communism crises, Poland, Solidarnosc, Martial Law, Ion Cozma.

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Bercu Zuckerman (1906-2000), known as Barbu Zaharescu, was a member of Romanian communist movement since 1923. For his political convictions, he was imprisoned in 1924, 1925-1931 and 1940-1944. After the second World War he was at the head of instutions such as: Institute of Political and Administrative Studies (1947), PMR Publishing House, „Lupta de clasă" review (1950-1954), „Maxim

Gorki" Institute (1950-1952), Institute of party's History (1955). In 1955 he was elected correspondent member of Academy. Between 1955 and 1961, he had diplomatic missions in Argentina, Turkey, China, Birmania, Vietnam. Member of the Central Committee (1955-1974).
Keywords: revolutionary, propaganda, jewish communist, illegal communist party, political prisoner.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, **Ion Prunescu (1915-?)** **258**
After 23 August 1944, the former policemen that fought against the communists until the interwar period and under Antonescu's regime were identified, prosecuted and sent to the harshest penitentiaries and underwent the toughest repressive methods inflicted upon them by the Romanian communist repressive bodies. An important figure among these former policemen is Ion Prunescu. Starting with 1939, Prunescu was working for the anti-communist Brigade II, achieving, within this department, the function of commissioner and chief of the surveillance division. From this position, he ordered the surveillance, identification and annihilation of communist networks, by arresting their members, prosecuting and even convicting them or extending their conviction. Among those under surveillance, chased, investigated or with extended sentences given with his contribution were such communist leaders as: Teohari Georgescu, Iosif Roitman (Chişinevschi), Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej or Chivu Stoica.
In 1946, Prunescu Ion was caught, tried and sentenced to life hard labour and wealth confiscation for "activity against the working class"; then, through a sentence of the Military Court, his punishment was commuted to 25 years of hard labour and, under the 1964 Pardon Decree, Ion Prunescu was released on 7 August after 18 years of imprisonment. After his release, he was chased by the Securitate, forced, through blackmail, to collaborate with this institution, being used as an agent to provide informative notes on his former colleagues from the police.
Keywords: commissioner, Romanian Communist Party, political regime, surveillance, detention.

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EDITORIAL

RADU CIUCEANU, ***History as Ballast, XXXIX. Hidden Histories, II*****.....5**
Using new biographical sources, the article explores the preliminaries of World War II, the successive withdrawals and the complicity of the Great Powers towards Nazi Germany' growing tendency to revise the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty. The article insists upon the consequences of the Spain Civil War, German invasion of Poland, statements of Great Powers leaders in the aftermath of the World War II.
Keywords: Versailles Peace Treaty; World War II, Edouard Daladier, Francisco Franco, Adolf Hitler.

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Keywords: Self-determination, Greater Romania, Bessarabia, civil rights, politics in 1918.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, ***Midnight in Kremlin. Gheorghiu-Dej's Meetings with Stalin, 1944-1952, I*****..... 29**
During 1944-1952, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, secretary general of Romanian Communist Party, had several meetings with Stalin, in Moscow. The discussions held with these occasions as well as Stalin's indications to Dej played a significant role in the evolution of the RCP and the Romanian society. In spite of their importance, these visits are still to be fully uncovered. A reason might be related to the fact that historical sources are rare and contradicting. This study intends to clarify several key issues of Gheorghiu-Dej meetings with Stalin, such as the exact chronology, the subjects discussed, and the participants. In the context of time, these visits are relevant for the political leaders behaviour and for Romanian deeply dependence of Moscow.

Keywords: Communism, Romanian Communist Party, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, I.V. Stalin, Soviet-Romanian Relations.

SORIN RADU, ***Mihail Ghelmegeanu and his Conception about the Distinct Way of Ploughmen's Front towards Romanian Communist Party, 1944-1947*** ***..... 48***
Our study is an analisis on the opinions of Mihail Ghelmegeanu about the role which the Ploughmen's Front had to play in the political life of Romania after the coup d'etat in 23rd of August, 1944. Our opinion is that the political vision of Ghelmegeanu about ploughmen's organization opposed to the intentions and plans of the communists and, the same time, it was dependant to the peasant ideas which were held before by the former national-peasant ideologist. Ghelmegeanu together with other leaders of the Ploughmen's Front, namely the so-called "Deva group", did not accept the political and ideological subordination of the ploughmen's organization to the Communist Party, existing some moments of resistance, attempts of "autonomy" of them, open conflicts, different political visions, also about the nature and the political purpose of the ploughmen's organization, and the ways of political fight and strategy.
Keywords: communism, Mihail Ghelmegeanu, the Ploughmen's Front, the Romanian Communist Party, "Fellow travellers".

ADRIAN VIŢALARU, ***Methods and Practices of Imposing Communist Control over the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1944 -1948)*** ***..... 61***
The process of imposing the communist control upon the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs took place between 1944 and 1948, and it was founded on a legislative basis designated to give the appearance of legality to the abuses committed by the communists. Actually, the "legal leverage" served both to justify the purging of the old diplomatic elite, and to open the doors of the ministry to those who were accepted by the government of Petru Groza. The purging and compression policy was doubled by the entry of new legal frameworks in the diplomatic and consular corps, as well as in the leading structures of the ministry – especially after 1946. These frameworks corresponded ideologically to all the rigors of the new regime established in Bucharest in March 1945. Thus, the founding of a trade union within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the infiltration of intelligence, the Law for the ministry organization from March 1946, and the repeated purging of the diplomatic and administrative staff have served as a means to impose communist control over one of the few ministries that haven't been governed by a communist leader between August 1944 and November 1947. This phase ended after Ana Pauker took over the portfolio of the Foreign Affairs and launched a harsh campaign to change the social origins of the staff, which emphasised how adrift the Romanian diplomacy, subservient to the directives sent from Moscow, was.
Keywords: Communism, Romania, diplomat, purging, communists, Foreign Affairs Ministry.

IOAN SCURTU, ***From Sighet Prison to the Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic. Case Study: Constantin C. Giurescu*** ***..... 83***
Based on the terms settled by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, Romania – as well as other countries in Central and Southeastern Europe – was transferred to the Soviet sphere of influence. Thus, a Bolshevik-type regime was established, which promoted a policy of destruction of political and intellectual elites. Constantin C. Giurescu found himself among those arrested in 1950. He was held in Sighet prison for five years and two months. After Stalin's death, given the political détente on both domestic and international levels, Giurescu was released, being gradually reintegrated in the scientific and university activities. In 1974, Constantin C. Giurescu became a full member of the Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic. Giurescu's case was not a singular one, and this fact requires a tinted approach to the political regime of the time, giving up clichés and preconceptions.
Keywords: Romania, occupation, elites, Sighet, reintegration, Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic, political regime.

ALINA PAVELESCU, ***New Politics of Elites' Selection at the University of Bucharest, 1948-1955, I*** ***..... 93***
The sovietisation of the Romanian high education system started in 1948 as part of the main process of sovietising the whole Romanian society. The main goal of this study is to underline the political criteria which reshaped the adjustment of the social profile of students and teachers according to the new criteria of elites' selection as well as the structural and qualitative changes resulted from the introduction of an ideological control on the curricula in the domain of social sciences. The study focuses on the University of

Bucharest and its Faculty of Philosophy. Meanwhile, the more general context created by the new Education Law and the homogeneity of the new ideological criteria applied in the elites' selections allows a set of conclusions at a national level.
Keywords: academic education, University of Bucharest, social sciences, philosophy, sovietization.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Romanian People's Republic and the Beginning of European Integration, 1957* *110*
Despite nowadays general opinion that "Europeanism" dominated a united Europe at least from World War II until now, an analysis based upon Communist media of the '50s emphasizes the perfect contrary. Official declarations dismissed any potential collaboration with a united Europe issued from the Rome Treaty on 1957. The Romanian Communist government copied the Soviet reactions and the state propaganda identified some special topics: imperialism against Socialism and against Western countries seen as friendly ones, rise of exploitation and poverty all over the world, social discrimination in the Capitalist camp.
Keywords: Communist Romania, European integration, the Rome Treaty of 1957, détente, press and propaganda.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, *Romania's Relations with Imperial Iran, 1965-1968, I*..... *119*
Iran became in the years 1965-1978 one of Romania's most important economic partners, and their politico-diplomatic relationships have been remarkably intense. In order to explain, in an argumentative manner, the Romanian-Iranian politics, this study aims to present these countries' bilateral relations in a wider context, taking into account both Iran's domestic and foreign policy. Although an autocratic, dictatorial regime, according to many Western voices, Iran, at the shah's initiative, has known since 1963 – the year of the referendum that approved the 'White Revolution' – a series of reforms meant to foster social and economic modernization. The eradication of obsolete economic and social structures, the campaign for alphabetization, the investments in education, the establishment of a modern industry, but also the formal maintenance of its parliamentary regime and multi-party system, have turned Iran into a respectable partner, compatible, in some respects, with the politics embraced by the Romanian communist regime in a recent past, aspects of which are still continued. The investigation of Iran's foreign policy plays a major role in deciding the position adopted by the Romanian authorities. A crucial aspect, bearing directly on Romania's options for foreign policy, is represented by Iran's relations with the USSR, systematically followed by the Romanian diplomacy. The improvement of the Soviet-Iranian relations after 1962 represents the elimination of any risk for Bucharest in undertaking political relations with Iran. Of course, by comparison, Romanian diplomacy is also interested in the relations Iran has developed with countries from the Soviet bloc. Undoubtedly, the amelioration of its relations with the USSR and the Eastern Europe, provided Iran with an instrument for increasing the autonomy of its own foreign policy, granting it room for maneuver in its relations with the West and especially the USA, which had to respond more promptly to Teheran's requests. Despite some fluctuations, Iran remains and wants to be recognized by the USA as its main ally in the Gulf region. It is in this context, diligently analyzed by the Romanian diplomacy, that the intensification of Romania's relations with Iran can be placed. Generally, both states were interested in developing bilateral relations, their motivations being primarily economic. Romania was interested in the Iranian oil, in order to avoid relying too much on Soviet hydro carbonates, as the other states in the Soviet Bloc did, under otherwise advantageous conditions, and Iran could benefit from economic and technological cooperation, on several levels, and to which Romania was willing to commit. The series of visits they paid each other—the 1965 visit of the Romanian Prime Minister that resulted in the signing of a framework agreement for future economic, technological, and scientific cooperation, which Iran fulfilled through oil delivery, the shah's visit in 1966, the visits between the two governments, in particular the visits of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the establishment of a joint ministerial commission in 1966 for the systematization and promotion of economic relations—all demonstrate the amplitude of the Romanian-Iranian politics. The scope of the study is limited to the year 1968, when the first Iranian oil deliveries arrive in Romania. In any case, the 1965-1968 period comprises all the elements—including the instruments for bilateral cooperation—that explain the fast evolution of the Romanian-Iranian relations in the decade that follows.
Keywords: cooperation, industrialization, Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Aryamehr, oil, Romania, USA, USSR.

CEZAR STANCIU, ***The Comintern's Legacy. The Romanian Communists and the Unity of World Communist Movement, 1967-1969, III*** ***.....134***
After the military intervention in Czechoslovakia, in August 1968, Ceauşescu's position in front of Moscow was much weaker. In the summer of 1969, in Moscow, after long preparations, a worldwide conference of Communist parties had been convoked. Brezhnev cared so much for it, expecting it to confirm Moscow's leading role in the World Communist Movement. Once again, Ceauşescu was in a position to resist, reaffirming his principles of foreign policy and, more than anything, to prevent a public condemnation of China, which would have ruined the balance of his policy. The fact that the conference ended without a denunciation of the Chinese was a success especially for Ceauşescu, more so as it was obtained immediately after another major event: the Sino-Soviet armed clashes at border. Using Khrushchevist arguments, the Romanian delegation opposed the condemnation of a party that was not present.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, China, ideology, conference, Ceauşescu, Brezhnev.

ELENA NEGRU, ***Reactions of the Communist Party of Soviet Moldova towards Romania's Attitude during the Soviet-Czechoslovak Crisis of 1968*** ***.....148***
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Keywords: Communism, Soviet-Romanian relations, propagandistic war, "special course", anti-Romanian campaign.

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Keywords: Romania, Communism, Emigration, Saxons, Evangelical Lutheran Church.

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Keywords: nationalism, Communism, historical discourse, Romanian Communist Party.

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Keywords: Collectivisation, Repression, Sabotage.

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Keywords: Soviet Union, N.S. Khruschev, W. Gomulka, Soviet-Polish Relations.

VASILE BUGA, ***Thaw in Romanian-Soviet Relations. Minutes of Moscow Meeting in May 1969, I*** **218**
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Keywords: Communism, Romanian-Soviet relations, Nicolae Ceauşescu, Czechoslovakian crisis, International Communist Movement.

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Keywords: Republic of Moldova, Bessarabia, city of Bălţi, Russian Soviet authorities, military cemeteries, discrimination.

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occupation. The steps taken to rehabilitate and praise war criminals, Nazi's allies and traitors are criticized. In connection with the 70th anniversary of defeat of the Romanian, Hungarian and Italian forces in the Stalingrad battle, the author points out historical responsibility of several politicians, such as I. Antonescu and M. Horthy, who for the sake of territorial acquisitions condemned their countries to participate on Hitler's side in the anti-Soviet war that caused millions of casualties.
Keywords: Falsification of history, D-Day, USSR, Germany, Miklos Horthy, Ion Antonescu.

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Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

Volume XX, Number 76-77, 3-4/2012

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Using new biographical sources, the article explores the preliminaries of World War Two, the successive withdrawals and the complicity of the Great Powers towards Nazi Germany' growing tendency to revise the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty. The article insists upon the dramatic situations that marked the destiny of Austria and Czechoslovakia.
Keywords: Versailles; Locarno; Anschluss; München.

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Keywords: economic type trials, Rákosi regime, conceptual trials, nationalization.

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conviction of those companies' former managers. Regarding Evans, former manager of the British-French owned company "Steaua Română" ("The Romanian Star"), the British Government and the British Legation in Bucharest protested against the severe custody, the illegal procedure during the inquiry and the lawsuit and tried to persuade the Groza Government to release the oilman. Finally, British Legation paid the bail and the Romanian authorities allowed Evans to leave Romania.
Keywords: Press Agency, Great Britain, Communism, Economy, Propaganda.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *The Securitate's Disinformation and Propaganda Actions against the West, 1948-1989*, III..... 53

The totalitarian nature of the conflicts of the 20th century and the extension of the concepts of national defense overpasses the traditional boundary between civil and military areas.
Psychological war, which manifested either through a threat to use means of political, economical or military constraint, or through the effective use of these means, proved to be an important feature in the state-to-state relations. Psychological actions were in the core of the 20th century war. Various methods were used in order to ruin the moral of the enemy and to get support from the people.
This paper presents the actions of disinformation and propaganda develops by the Securitate, the secret service of Romanian's communist regime, in the Western's countries. In the acceptation of the communist regimes, disinformation did not mean replacing the truth with a lie, but substitution the true information with the ideology.
Keywords: psychological war, Cold War, disinformation, propaganda, communist party, secret services.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Political and Ideological Deviations in R.C.P.: the Conciliatory Attitude*.....68

Finding its roots in Lenin and Stalin's ideology, the accusation of conciliatory attitude was raised against the members who were suspected of minimizing errors and covering up those who acted against party politics. The Romanian Communist leadership used this accusation especially in the 1950's in the context provided by the "unmasking" of the right deviation (1952) and of the campaign to "discipline" the former Communist members acting in illegality (1958). By raising the accusation of conciliatory attitude, the party leaders wanted to intimidate potential opponents, to block any support to the members labeled as "deviators" or "factionists", and to stimulate intransigent attitudes towards "class enemies".
Keywords: Conciliatory attitude, factionalism, right deviation, Romanian Communist Party.

DUMITRU LĂCĂTUŞU, *Tudor Sepeanu – The Rise and Fall of a Securitate officer*..... 74

The Head of the Capital's "Securitate" between 1948 and 1950 was the officer known by the name of Tudor Sepeanu. He was also Head of the Inspection Service within the General Directorate of Penitentiaries between 1950 and 1951. This service had an essential role in organizing the violent "reeducation" of political convicts from Pitesti Penitentiary and other detention places from the communist Gulag in Romania.
The current study proposes an overview of Tudor Sepeanu's biography in a 4 sections structure that contains the most relevant information about the latter's professional activity before and after August 23rd 1944. You will find information about the times when Tudor Sepeanu was a student next to his professional trajectory/path between the two World Wars in the first section, followed by information indicating/(referring to) Sepeanu as a war criminal during the second world war, analyzed in the second section. The third section describes Sepeanu's rise after August 23rd 1944, while the last one is an image of his activity within the Inspection Service and analyzes the "Pitesti-type" reeducation and his role in the violent action led by political convicts/prisoners from Pitesti penitentiary and other places of political detention from Communist Romania.
The current study represents a critical perspective over Tudor Sepeanu's own information given during his criminal law investigation led between 1953 and 1957.
Possible "explanations" for Tudor Sepeanu's complete change from an apparently normal person, (no different from any other of his contemporaries) into a tortionary, according to the main theories studying these types of metamorphoses may be found in our conclusions. The sources used for the current study/article are archive documents, mainly those regarding Sepeanu's criminal law investigation between

1953 and 1957 and also documents created by the former Securitate regarding his role in the Pitesti-type reeducation.
We also took into consideration some relevant pieces of information found in the already published studies/articles about the former Security officer.
Keywords: Tudor Sepeanu, biography, Security officer, torturer, penal investigator, criminal law investigation, reeducation.

TUDOR VLĂDESCU, *The Literature of Resentment in the Romanian Socialist Propaganda Novel. An Introduction to a Study of Fear in Fiction* 91

The destiny of propaganda literature belongs, universally, to the dustbin of literary history. Written under pressure from an institutionalized authority - be it religious, political or both -, or just coming out of an untangled web of opportunism and despair, the texts that forwarded ideological content under the cloak of fiction have rarely survived in the collective memory of more than one generation and - even worse - have rarely been popular for more than a decade after their publication.
This paper will work on the general context of the Russian Socialist Realism and sketch a few steps taken towards the attempted creation of a Romanian Socialist Realism in the early 1950s and its peak in the 1960s. Although there are hundreds of fragments of instances worth citing here, the only example of a socialist propaganda novel that speaks of the communist abuse and brutality chosen belongs to Dumitru Radu Popescu's *F*, one of the most important novels dedicated to cooperativization.
Keywords: novel, Socialist Realism, propaganda, cooperativization, industrialization.

CEZAR STANCIU, *The Comintern's Legacy. The Romanian Communists and the unity of World Communist Movement, 1967-1969, II*.....102

The autonomy of Romania's foreign policy depended in a large measure on maintaining a balance between China and the Soviet Union. This policy was born in the troubled context of the Sino-Soviet split, relying on a equidistance between the two super-powers of the Communist world. This balance was threatened by Brezhnev's demands to rally the World Communist Movement around Moscow through an international conference of all Communist parties. In order to safeguard Romania's autonomous position, Nicolae Ceauşescu had to do everything possible to compromise this undertaking. Initially, Romania refused to participate in the preparatory meeting which took place in 1967, but, trying to avoid isolation similar to that of Albania, it accepted to participate in the Budapest meeting of 1968. In Budapest though, Ceauşescu did everything possible to undermine the Soviet plans of rallying the World Communist Movement against China.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, China, ideology, conference, Ceauşescu, Brezhnev.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Dorin Tudoran and the Condition of the Romanian Intellectual under Communism*.....117

The article tackles Dorin Tudoran's dissent in the first part of the 1980's. A poet and publicist, Tudoran joined in the 1970's the group of the Romanian writers criticizing, within the guild, the cultural policies of the communist regime. Soon after, in the beginning of the 1980's, Tudoran took a step further and engaged into dissent. His essay *Frost or fear ?on the condition of Romanian intellectual under communist,* that reached the West in 1984, remains his most important contribution to the Romanian dissent thinking.
Using unedited and edited documents from the archive of the former Securitate and the archive of Radio Free Europe, as well as memoirs and interviews books, this article aims to analyze Tudoran's road to dissent and its concrete manifestations, such as the drafting of documents or taking public stands.
Also, the article discusses the methods used and the measures taken by the former secret police – the Securitate – to put an end to Tudoran's dissent.
Keywords: Communism, Dorin Tudoran, Dissent, Human Rights, Romania, Writers.

VASILE BUGA, *Romanian-Soviet Controversies on the Extension of Warsaw Treaty' validity, 1984-1985*

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This article deals with the controversies between Bucharest and Moscow, in 1984-1985, regarding the extension of Warsaw Treaty validity. During the meetings, Romania surprisingly used the opportunity to tackle a series of economic conditionalities. Relying on investigations in the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History, the author discovered that Romania, affected by a profound economic crisis, linked the extension of Warsaw Treaty validity to the increase in Soviet oil delivery for the next five years.
Keywords: Communism, Warsaw Treaty, Romanian-Soviet relations, Nicolae Ceauşescu'regime.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *A Military Plot against the President of Romania, october 1984*..... 144

The Romanian armed forces had been the only plausible threat to Ceauşescu's rule since the late 1960s. He had frequently rotated cadres within the Ministry of National Defense and the top military command positions to prevent the emergence of strong, politically independent military leaders.
Rumors of anti-Ceausescu conspiracies or attempted revolts within the military circulated freely in Romania in the 1980s. According to a former high-ranking Romanian military officer, General Nicolae Militaru, the plot to oust Ceauşescu was modeled in 1983-1984. Ion Iliescu claims that he began discussions of a possible coup with the military nucleus, which included Militaru, General Ion Ioniţă and General Ştefan Kostyal, as far back as 1983.
Key words: Nicolae Ceauşescu, communism, generals, plot, Romania, USSR.

CORNELIU PINTILESCU, *A Comparative Analysis of Totalitarianism. Post 1989 Anglo-Saxon and German Perspectives*..... 159

This study aims at chronicling the debates developed around the concept of *totalitarianism* by Anglo-Saxon and German scholars after the fall of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The paper focuses on a few key issues as: the comparison between Nazism and Stalinism, the monolithic character of the political power within the states labeled as totalitarian, the political repression, the connections between law as an instrument of totalitarian power and the concept of totalitarianism. The concept of *totalitarianism* has passed through a revival during 1990s due to several factors. These favoring factors included the affirmation of the anti-communism political opposition in Eastern Europe, to the "historians' dispute" in Federal Republic of Germany, but also due to the better access to the archives of former communist states. Subsequently, during 2000s, the evolution of the concept increasingly lost its supporters. Thus, the concept faced criticism, some of the critics arguing that the concept contradicts some of the new data available about the regimes labeled as totalitarian. Others suggested that it makes more difficult the understanding these regimes then it helps us to understand how that these functioned. The study concludes that although these critics have strong arguments against the concept of totalitarianism they didn`t provide an alternative terminology to be comparable in complexity with the existing one, a terminology which could help us understand the specificity of Nazism and Stalinism.
Keywords: Totalitarianism, communism, repression, historians' dispute, totalitarian law.

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The study analyzes the epistemological implications of the classic theory concerning totalitarianism. Two books represent the latter: Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* and Carl J. Friedrich, Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. The research is trying to give an answer to the issue of totalitarian theory validity for analysis of communism. The main controversy points generated by totalitarian theory are evaluated, as follows: the relation between the state-party and society; the role of terror and propaganda; their static and closed character; the role of leaders during systemic changes; implications of the fascism-communism comparisons etc. The main conclusion of the study is that totalitarian theory has, at present, a marginal utility for the study of communist regimes.
Keywords: Totalitarianism, communism, methodology, Soviet Union, Eastern Europe.

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ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *European Federalism under surveillance by the State Siguranţa, 1926, II*.....188

Despite nowadays common academic conviction that the history of the European idea in Romania has a glorious past, we try to offer some different opinion , showing that not only the fathers of the European integration were not at all known to the state bureacracy, but also that the secret police considered the Paneuropean Movement of Count Richard-Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi was suspect and his followers were either Communists, or Hungarian irredentist. The documents which are published come from the National Archives in Bucahrest, the Directorate of the Police Fund, and are dated 1926.
Keywords: Paneurope, Count Richard-Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi, history of European idea, interbellum Romania, Nationalism.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Griviţa Strike from 1933, Seen by the Main Actors. A Vasile Bâgu's Statement.*

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Vasile Bâgu, worker at Griviţa Railway Factory from Bucharest, was arrested on 21th of February 1933, for attending to a railwaymen's strike. Facing with the police's officers, Bâgu gave a long and full lenght statement, presenting the inside information about history of the strike and about organisers, nominating 21 of them in clear.
Keywords: Griviţa strike from 1933, Action Comitee, railwaymen, Vasile Bâgu.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962, XXXII*

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The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivization of agriculture between 1957 and 1962. The testimonies selected in this issue illustrate the diverse means of repression the communist authorities used in order to step up the collectivization process in Romania.
Keywords: Romania, collectivization, repression.

GHEORGHE E. COJOCARU, *Fightings on the Ideological Front in Soviet Moldova, III*……..

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The document presented in the journal's pages contains just an episode from the great anti-romanian offensive organized by Communist Party of the Soviet Union/Communist Party of Moldova on the Moldavian S.S.R. ideologic front.
In the context of worsening contradictions between the USSR and Soviet Socialist Republic, that was based both on the differrent positions and divergences in a series of international political concerns, and also on the contradictory opinions regarding the historical heritage in the field of Soviet- Romanian bilateral relations („the Bessarabian issue"), at 20 november 1970 Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova gathered the party's assets, in front of which Prime-secretary I. I. Bodiul presented the report
„About the measures regarding intensifying the ideologic activity between the labour people from the republic". On the year of Lenin's one hundred anniversary, the empowered branch from Chisinau noticed a series of pro-romanian and anti-sovietic „nationalist diversions". On the 20th of November, the ideologic front's troups received necessary instructions for fighting the „romanian danger", to protect the population of the MSSR of foreign „poisonous" influences.
Keywords: CPSU, USSR, Soviet block, Socialist Romania, Soviet-Romanian relations, Bessarabia, Moldavian SSR, Communist Party of Moldova, nationalism, party activists, ideology.

CRISTINA ROMAN, *History and Politics. The 60 Years Celebration of 1918 "Great Union"*

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The document we choose to publish presents the debates which took place on October 24th, 1978 within the ideological commission of Central Committee of Romanian Communist Party to prepare the sixty years celebration of 1918 "Great Union". According to the directives of the general secretary of Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceauşescu, the celebration had to be placed in the context of the "socialist construction" of the era. As a consequence, historical events lost their importance as the emphasis was put on the glorification of "achievements" of the communist regime in the 70s and 80s.
Keywords: The Great Union of 1918, national unity, co inhabiting nationalities, national problem, socialist construction.

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Keywords: Historiography, post-communism, Romania, historian profession, censor, anti-communism, right of reply.

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Şerban Cioculescu was one of the most important Romanian literary critics who belonged to the third generation of literary critics, together with George Călinescu, Vladimir Streinu, Pompiliu, Perpessicius. Following the Communist's politics of professional purges on political grounds, Cioculescu was expelled from the Romanian Writers' Society (1946), from the academic education system, on October 4, 1947, and from the Professional Journalist Union on October 22, 1947. In 1949, he was detained for a short period, being accused of taking part in subversive activity, but he was released for lack of evidence. In 1952, Cioculescu was in danger of being sent in a working colony for his membership in the National Pesants' Party and only several years later Cioculescu was removed from his position in the Institute of Linguistics. In the context of political liberalization started in 1962-1964, Cioculescu was rehabilitated and he was allowed to resume his teaching activities. He became a correspondent member of the Romanian Academy, in 1966, and a full member in 1974.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, literary critic, repression, Şerban Cioculescu.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *Neculae Trâmbaciu (1902-1955)* 262

Neculae Trâmbaciu was a „jandarm", a type of police officer. Most of the time, Trâmbaciu worked in his native region, Bessarabia. During 1938-1941 Trâmbaciu worked within the Bucharest Romanian Railways Legion of police officers (Legiunea de Jandarmi). Among other activities, Trâmbaciu investigated the cases of several persons suspected of Communist activity and espionage in favor of the Soviet Union. In November 1951, he was arrested under the charge of war crimes and crimes against the humanity. He was detained without a trial until 1955, when he died.
Keywords: Bessarabia, Communism, repression, Romania, World War II.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Onisifor Ghibu (1883-1972)* 264

Onisifor Ghibu was one of the first victims of Stalinist purges in the universities. On March 22, 1945, he was arrested and imprisoned for 222 days without a trial at Caracal political prisoners' camp. In 1956, O. Ghibu was arrested and sentenced by the Military Court in Sibiu for a memoir he had sent to Nikita Khruschev and Nikolai Bulganin asking for the return of Bessarabia and Bukovina to Romania. O. Ghibu, an exponent of the intellectual resistance, fought the Communist ideology to his final days.
Keywords: Onisifor Ghibu, nationalist, resistance, Stalinist purges.

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LILIANA COROBCA, *An Incursion into the Soviet Censorship (Glavlit), 1922-1991*

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Glavlit, „General Department for Press and Literature" was established in 1922 and has been called from 1933 „Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press" of the Council of Ministers in Soviet Union. Unlike the censorship from other times and other countries, Glavlit combined the control and punishment in a single institution, that was aimed at creating or training the „new man" and developing self-censorship among artists. The censorship was not exercised only by Glavlit. There were "editorial censorships", effectuated by employees of magazines, publishing houses, radios and televisions etc.; the "repressive censorship" executed by the political department (political control) of the security organizations; ideological censorship, effectuated by party leadership, which had the first and last word in why and how it should appear or be banned (The party gave indications to Glavlit); the "inside censorship" which caused authors to guess the ideological, aesthetic, political regulations of his work over numerous stages of the control. But the main institution of censorship exercised the largest operations of censorship and control. An army of censors was actually in charge of the whole process of banning, discovering the authors, information, „anti-Soviet" and harmful works. This paper aims to present the most important stages and attributions of Glavlit.

Keywords: Glavlit, censorship, communism, USSR, state secret, purge of books.

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The National-Christian Defence League reached its peak between 1926-1927, without becoming a major decisive political force for the country's destiny. Four Bucovina representatives have managed to get in the Romanian Parliament. But the lack of experience took its tole on them, making them unable to build-up a coherent political message. Moreover, the dissidences and conflicts between 1927-1928 led to the League entering (into) a shadow cone. The Statutory N.C.D.L. (the National-Christian Defence League) Organisation attracted big personalities of the time, such as Ion Zelea Codreanu or Traian Brăileanu. Even so, the statutory organization had an ephemeral existence, not having been able to obtain new electoral success. Not even the local leaders, such as Nichifor Robu, Gheorghe Cârlan or Ioan Iliuţ, who stood by
A.C. Cuza, were able to win the electorate. The 1927's electoral failure, led to the N.C.D.L.'s restructuring
. The unity's remake, in 1928, was unsolid, many of the old activists having already lost their trust. The "Cuza" anti-Semitism found votaries, but situated the League only on a position of chasing/tracing the big Romanian political parties. The existence of many ethnic communities, especially those of Jewish in the country's northern region province, allowed anti-Semitism to spread itself. Still, the realities of the Romanian society in the past century's third decade were much more complex and have not found their solution in the anti-Semitism. In this context, only some spectacular events or a new movement could have brought the Romanian Right towards electorate conquest.
Keywords: Romanian Parliament, electoral campaign, faction, reorganization, extremism, right-wing, anti-semitism.

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During the German occupation of Estonia (1941-44) the dissemination of war propaganda was one of the essential means in the German efforts of strengthening their position in the country. By the use of propagandistic means, the German holders of power tried to overcome the opposition of the Estonians and make them both loyal to German rule and willing to promote German war endeavors. On the basis of surviving historical documents it is evident that German propaganda efforts were successful to a certain degree, but in many cases they met distrust and rejection by the local people.
Keywords: Propaganda, Germany, Estonia, Second World War.

RADU PETRESCU, *The Annihilation of the Red Mountain "Bandits" Led by Colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu. The Role Played by Traian Marinescu-Geagu and Alexandru Alexandrescu* 59

Colonel Arsenescu, a former Soviet partisan hunter in the Second World War, became the prey. He set up the „Muscelul Outlaws" insurgency in January 1948, training its members in guerilla warfare. In October, he ordered them to leave the mountains and stay low. Disaster struck when two key members were arrested on March 19 and 25, 1949. Information was extracted by torture, 26 people being nabbed by April 1 (75% of those condemned on May 11, 1950). Traian Marinescu-Geagu was executed without trial on February 4, 1950. Alexandru Alexandrescu broke the silence in 2011.
Keywords: Romania, „The Muscel Outlaws" insurgency, Gheorghe Arsenescu, Traian Marinescu-Geagu, Alexandru Alexandrescu, Gheorghe Cotenescu.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *The Securitate's Disinformation and Propaganda Actions against the West, 1948-1989* 75

The totalitarian nature of the conflicts of the 20th century and the extension of the concepts of national defense overpasses the traditional boundary between civil and military areas.
Psychological war, which manifested either through a threat to use means of political, economical or military constraint, or through the effective use of these means, proved to be an important feature in the state-to-state relations. Psychological actions were in the core of the 20th century war. Various methods were used in order to ruin the moral of the enemy and to get support from the people.
This paper presents the actions of disinformation and propaganda develops by the Securitate, the secret service of Romanian's communist regime, in the Western's countries. In the acceptation of the communist

regimes, disinformation did not mean replacing the truth with a lie, but substitution the true information with the ideology.
Keywords: psychological war, Cold War, disinformation, propaganda, communist party, secret services.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Indian-Soviet-Chinese Relations in Bucharest's Perspective, 1955-1964, II* 86

Unpublished Romanian documents from the Cold War period revealed the major interests of the Romanian authorities for the maintaining a balance in their relations with India, China and USSR.
In 1956, the Indian vice-president Sarvappalli Radhakrishnan visited Romania. On the same year, a cultural delegation from India visited Romania. The respective delegation was led by the Indian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. A delegation led by Emil Bodnăraş visited the People's Republic of China, on the 10th anniversary of existence of that state. The results of the discussions with the Chinese authorities were presented by Emil Bodnăraş on the meeting of the Political Bureau of CC of RWP (October 9, 1959).
One month after the crisis of the Soviet missiles deployed in Cuba and after the visit of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in Indonesia, India and Burma, the Romanian Prime-Minister Ion Gheorghe Maurer approved a plan referring to developing the Romania's economic relations with those three Asian states.
Keywords: China, Communism, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, India, Romania, USSR.

SCHLETT ANDRÁS, *Success and Failure of the Hungarian Agrarian Model, 1960-1990.* 96

In the centre of the analysis stands the agricultural reconstruction of the sixties and seventies, moreover the eighties when the crisis of the Hungarian agrarian model emerged, and demands for economic and also political reforms could be felt. The aim of the essay is to demonstrate the characteristics of industrial like productive systems gaining ground in the Hungarian agriculture from the beginning of the sixties. In course of this the article concentrates upon the emphasis and analysis of those factors which determined the offset and development of the new production organising form in a special way. It presents what role industrialising played in the evolution, successes and failures of the given development models, and what agent role it played in the enterprise system established in the sixties and seventies and in the organization of different integration forms. In the end the history of industry like agriculture – as an outbreak attempt – can partly give an answer to the deeper correspondences of the operational problems of the socialist economic system.
Keywords: Rural Development, Socialist Agriculture, Green Revolution, Innovation, Professional Agriculture, Production Systems, Taylorism.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The Illusion of Normalcy: the Romanian Academy at the Beginning of Nicolae Ceauşescu's Regime* 109

In 1948, Romanian Academy became a state institution and it changed its name into the Academy of Romanian People's Republic. Subjected to the control of the new power, the Academy of RPR suffered the consequences of the Stalinist period and of the years to follow: purges, the loosing of its properties, ideological subordination, the breaking off of the traditional liaisons with the West. It was only in the beginning of the '60, when, under the influence of Gheorghiu-Dej' liberalization politics, the scientific and cultural life revived. During his meetings with the leadership of the Academy, Dej' successor, Nicolae Ceauşescu expressed his intention to continue the liberalization politics and to support the activity of the Academy. In addition, Ceauşescu used this opportunity to present his ideas on the future of the Academy, which were to become a reality after 1970: the guidance of the scientific research by the party leadership, removing the scientific institutes from the structure of the Academy.
Keywords: Romanian Academy, Nicolae Ceauşescu, liberalization, ideological control.

CEZAR STANCIU, *The Comintern's Legacy. The Romanian Communists and the unity of World Communist Movement, 1967-1969, I*..... 122

During the 1960s and 1970s, Romania's foreign policy demonstrated a high degree of "autonomy and ideological non-conformism", in Ghiţă Ionescu's terms. Nicolae Ceauşescu's spectacular initiatives and the courage of his opposition to the Soviet Union had, for many years, occupied the front page of foreign newspapers. The fundamental question to which this article answers is if, beyond economical and political rationalities, Romania's dissidence in the Communist bloc also had an ideological component. This article proves that Romania's autonomy in foreign policy was justified and explained to Moscow through ideological arguments, inspired by the Yugoslav (Titoist) critique of the USSR, taking advantage of the Sino-Soviet split. The Romanian Communist Party relied on Khrushchev's rhetoric, aimed at reforming Moscow's relations with the satellite parties, in order to support equality among Communist parties and a national way towards Socialism. The nature of this argumentation consisted in using a Titoist approach built on Khrushchev's arguments.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, ideology, foreign policy, Communist movement, equality.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *The Path to Freedom. Doina Cornea and Romanian Dissent in the 1980'*..... 138

Doina Cornea remains one of the leading figures of Romanian dissent in the 1980's. Encompassing a variety of actions, from writing mobilizing open letters for spiritual revival, to protesting against concrete actions of the regime such as the villages' systematization, the political abuses, the situation of the Greek-Catholic Church, Doina Cornea's dissent became well known abroad and benefited from Western support. Using a wide range of sources – archival documents, the texts drafted by Doina Cornea in the 1980's, memoirs, interviews, as well as scientific studies dedicated to the topic –, this article aims at analyzing Doinea Cornea's dissent from different perspectives: her becoming a dissident, the evolution of dissident discourse, her struggling with the repressive organs.
Keywords: communism, Doina Cornea, dissent, human rights, repression.

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The aim of this article is to present the political régime of the State Party from the point of view of the hallmark political structures. This theoretical study exploits sources of foreign authors, concerned in presenting the institutional frame specific to the left totalitarian governments, starting first of all from the analysis of the marxist-leninist ideology and of the inspiration model, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
Keywords: State-Party, marxism-leninism, Communist Party of Soviet Union, political structures.

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ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *European Federalism under Surveillance by the State Siguranţa, 1926*, I..... 184

Despite nowadays common academic conviction that the history of the European idea in Romania has a glorious past, we try to offer some different opinion , showing that not only the fathers of the European integration were not at all known to the state bureacracy, but also that the secret police considered the Paneuropean Movement of Count Richard-Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi was suspect and his followers were either Communists, or Hungarian irredentist. The documents which are published come from the National Archives in Bucahrest, the Directorate of the Police Fund, and are dated 1926.

Keywords: Paneurope, Count Richard-Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi, history of European idea, interbellum Romania, Nationalism.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962, XXXI.* 199

The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivization of agriculture between 1957 and 1962. The testimonies selected in this issue illustrate the diverse means of repression the communist authorities used in order to step up the collectivization process in Romania after 1957.
Keywords: Romania, collectivization, repression.

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In the context of the 70s political relaxation, Nicolae Ceauşescu decided to gain more support within the Romanian Communist Party by officially recognizing the contributions of more pre-1945 communist activists, the so-called "ilegalişti". The document, from the National Archives, shows the results of the internal official review process, the group structure, statistics and its profile. The report includes new political criteria used for enlarging the size of the illegal activists group involved before 1945 in communist activities and the follow-up administrative proposals to include the new group within the nomenclature structure.
Keywords: Nicolae Ceauşescu, illegal activists, Romanian Communist Party, nomenklatura, archives.

GHEORGHE E. COJOCARU, *Fightings on the Ideological Front in Soviet Moldova, II*..... 216

The document presented in the journal's pages contains just an episode from the great anti-romanian offensive organized by Communist Party of the Soviet Union/Communist Party of Moldova on the Moldavian S.S.R. ideologic front.
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„About the measures regarding intensifying the ideologic activity between the labour people from the republic". On the year of Lenin's one hundred anniversary, the empowered branch from Chisinau noticed a series of pro-romanian and anti-sovietic „nationalist diversions". On the 20th of November, the ideologic front's troups received necessary instructions for fighting the „romanian danger", to protect the population of the MSSR of foreign „poisonous" influences.
Keywords: CPSU, USSR, Soviet block, Socialist Romania, Soviet-Romanian relations, Bessarabia, Moldavian SSR, Communist Party of Moldova, nationalism, party activists, ideology.

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Keywords: German ethnics, deportation, forced labour, Soviet Union, death rate, internment camps, labour camps.

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This biography gives a detailed account of how theologian, lecturer, composer and choir conductor, lecturer, journalist, politician and former military chaplain Gheorghe Cotenescu's life crossed at certain moments the path of outstanding personalities such as the scholar Nicolae Iorga, general "a la suite" Gheorghe Rasoviceanu and chief of staff colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu, founder and leader of "The Muscel Outlaws", a major anticommunist resistance group.
Keywords: Stoenesti-Muscel, priest-professor Gheorghe Cotenescu, Nicolae Iorga, colonel Gheorghe Arsenescu, "The Muscel Outlaws".

ALIN SPÂNU, *Alexandru Ghyka (1903-1982)*.....252

A descendent of the family of Grigore Alexandru Ghica, former Moldavian ruler, Alexandru Ghyka graduated from Law Faculty in Iassy in 1930. Soon after, he began working as a magistrate in the courts of Tutova and Bujorul-Covurlui, and afterwards he became a lawyer. In 1937, Alexandru Ghyka joined the Legionary Movement, and a year later he was main lawyer in the political trial of Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu, the leader of the Legionary Movement. After the establishment of the national-legionary government, Alexandru Ghyka was appointed general director of the Police (16 September 1940 – 21 January 1941). Following the legionary rebellion, A. Ghyka was arrested, subjected to a trial and convicted to 15 years of hard labor for rebellion and high treason. He was imprisoned at the penitentiaries of Aiud, Braşov, Alba-Iulia, and Suceava.
Ghyka was released from prison on 29 June 1954 and he was set a mandatory domicile in the region of Galaţi. Only four months later, he was arrested once again, and sentenced to life in prison, in 1957.
In July 1964, Ghyka was granted a pardon and he was released from prison. He lived in Galaţi, where in order to earn his living he worked at the Enterprise of Public Transportation. After two years he began working as a legal adviser until he retired, in 1970.
Keywords: Romania, Legionary Movement, repression, political prisoners.

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Vasile Paraschiv was a simple man, a workman, and when he realized the communist regime acts against the benefits of the Romanian people, and against the workmen's interest especially, he quit the communist party. He wrote a lot of letters and memoirs to the officials, he tried to shine a light over these irregularities, abuses and illegalities committed by the communist nomenclature or by the repressive institutions (e.g. Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecution Office). He was abused, politically harassed, beaten up, and locked up in psychiatric wards based on political reasons. In 1977 he joined the Movement for Human Rights created by writer Paul Goma, and in 1979 he was co-founder of the first Free Romanian Workmen's Syndicate. This syndicate was annihilated with brutality by the authorities.
Keywords: Romania, dissent, human rights, Workers' Free Trade Union in Romania.

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Gogu Rădulescu was born in 5th of September, in 1914, in Bucharest. He was member of Communist Youth Union from Romania since 1933. Between 1935 and 1937, he was the president of the Democratic Students Front. During the Second World War, he was imprisoned by the Soviet Army. After communists took the power, he held significant positions in Romanian state. He was excluded from the Romanian Workers Party in 1952, but rehabilitated a few years after. In the 70's-80's, he reached the peak of his political career as a member of the Executive Political Comittee of the Romanian Communist Party and as a viceprime-minister. Being sick, he was not included among the nomenklaturists sentenced to prison, after the fall of communist regime, in 1990. The next year he died.
Keywords: nomenklatura, technocrat, foreign trade, Communist Party, biography, Government, underground militant.

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History and the totalitarianism are two distinct entities, and if any totalitarian system subsides as a hidden evil in society, or in the individual, its activity and manifestation forms are exposed and confirmed by its evolution's course of events. The reconstruction of the present society cannot be done on the same foundation, as two generations have been built and taken down in a half century's reality, and their chronicle is still the Romanian people's history, one and indivisible, whether it is brighter or, on the contrary, submerged in darkness and oppression.

Keywords: The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Totalitarianism, Stalinism, the Romanian armed Resistance, Memory of communism.

LAURENȚIU CONSTANTINIU, *The Soviet State's Political Police: From Leninist Revolutionarism to Stalinist Pragmatism*..... 11

At the beginning of World War II, the proletarian solidarity trumpeted ad nauseam by the Second International simply faded away. The social democratic parties in the belligerent countries had replaced internationalism, the doctrine underlying the Second International, with nationalism and chauvinism, clamoring that "the homeland is in danger"; joining sides with the national bourgeoisies, they also proclaimed the need for "social peace". Lenin's favoring of the interests of the new regime over the idea of world revolution provided the matrix for the entire foreign policy of Soviet Russia/USSR. At all the major moments that followed, the Soviet diplomacy was never guided by ideological or doctrine considerations, but by practical aspects related to maintaining the Soviet regime.

Keywords*: Russian Revolution, the First World War, the Third International, Soviet Power.*

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *And Quiet Flows the Dniester. Life and Death on the Romanian-Soviet Border, 1918-1940*..... 32

This a study on the day-to-day reality of the people living or having contact with the Romanian-Soviet border, which stood on the Dniester between 1918 and 1940.

We divided those who came into contact with the border into two main categories: deserters – we have avoided terms that would have involved any kind of tourism - and locals. The first, in turn, were of several

types - deserters, refugees and agents. While making a distinction between each of those mentioned, we have proved that deserters were those who fled from Romania to the Soviet Union for political reasons, out of idealism, to escape infringement consequences, sometimes for economic reasons, often to avoid military service in the Romanian army . Refugees came to Romania mainly for economic reasons, the largest wave of illegal border crossings occurring in the early '30s, when social and political conditions had suddenly deteriorated in the USSR when Stalin triggered the forced collectivization of agriculture. River crossings degenerated into violent incidents, resulting in hundreds of dead and wounded people, authorities on both sides making use of weapons, even if the Soviets had also used machine guns. Finally, we described how the locals viewed the tense border situation. Opinions converge in considering the Soviet bank as a kind of "beyond" world.

Keywords: Border, interwar Romania, Communism, refugees, local identity.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Candidates and Candidacies During General Elections in Romania, 1926-1928* 59

This study represents a synopsis of the research conducted during the "Parliamentary Elites and the Electoral Dynamic (1918-1937)" grant funded by C.N.C.S.I.S., from 2008 to 2009, under the supervision of professor Florin Müller. In the present study, we suggest a fresh approach to the Romanian interwar political elite, an analysis of selection strategies of candidates for obtaining membership in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate. All candidates in the general elections that took place between 1922 and 1928, for the Chamber of Deputies and for the Senate, were introduced in a database containing information about the politician's name, the district for which he stood for election, the political party to which he belonged at the moment of the elections, the political party/bloc/group on whose list he appeared, his position on the list, his profession, nationality, age. The data came to light by comparing results inside the same election, and during consecutive elections, and, finally, reuniting the three analyzed elections. We have extended the research to all parties from the political spectrum (centre, centre-left, left, far-right and far-left), including the non-parliamentary ones. In conclusion, the results have shown that between 1926-1928, 3655 candidates were registered in the electoral race for the Chamber of Deputies and 1214 candidates for the upper Body. For both Houses of Parliament, 7496 candidates were registered.

Keywords: Political elite, electoral dynamic, electoral candidates, general elections, political parties, leaders.

CRISTIAN TRONCOTĂ, *Personalities of the Secret Front in Romania: Gheorghe Cristescu* 80

Gheorghe (Gicu) Cristescu was one of the best Romanian secret service specialists in the interwar period and during World War II. Although between November 15, 1940 and August 23, 1944 he was subordinated to his brother, Eugen Cristescu, head of the Special Intelligence Service, their relations were strictly professional. In June 1948 he was sentenced in absentia to forced labor for life, for his alleged involvement in the June 26-31, 1941 massacre of the Jews in Iasi. Apprehended in 1953 in Transylvania, he was successively imprisoned at Deva, Bucharest (Uranus), Făgăraş, Gherla, Râmnicu Sărat and Aiud until his release in July 1964. He then worked as an unskilled laborer and died in anonymity in 1975.

Keywords: Interwar period, Romanian intelligence, World War II, communism.

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In the first day of September 1940, the public opinion was informed that the Government acquiesced in the surrender to Hungary of a part of Transylvania. The population received the news with vivid outrage. In the larger cities of Transylvania, crowds filled the streets to protest against the decision. In those days, the Transylvanians had been hoping that Iuliu Maniu would oppose, and that he would take up the role of leader of the struggle for territorial integrity. The latter avoided public appearances, but he had declared himself absolutely against the surrender in his discussions with King Charles II and in the messages he sent to the "arbitrators", Hitler and Mussolini. The National Peasants' Party scheduled a large protest in Alba Iulia for September 15th.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, interwar period, Comintern, Communism.

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A constant attitude in the interwar Romanian society, anti-Russianism and anti-Sovietism came to a peak in the early 1940's. June 1941 was recorded in the collective memory not only as a singular episode of revenge for national humiliation but also as a singular moment of revolt against a destructive neighbour. Russophobia reached a high point in the 1940's. Two distinct periods can be identified in this respect: the war and the years after August 1944, actually up to King Mihai's abdication in December 1947, when Romanian society faced two closely interconnected realities: the Soviet military presence, which worsened even more the negative image, given the violence and the abuses, and the attempt to impose a communist regime.

Keywords: The Second World War, Romanian Society, Soviet propaganda, Romanian Communist Party, Red Army.

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The Katyn massacres were one of the 20th century's most tragic experiences, the result of which was that a large part of the Polish elite was destroyed as dictated by the March 5, 1940 decision of the USSR leadership, at head with Stalin. The road to truth about Katyn was extremely difficult, as the Soviet authorities, the secret services and the institutions they controlled did their best to wipe away all traces of the crimes and preclude the identification of those who had ordered and performed the assassinations. They concealed, destroyed and faked evidence, denying any clues and facts. Because for a long time, it was not possible in that country to further try to establish the truth, the Polish exiles took over the task. Only after the collapse of the USSR could the archives of the former Soviet Union be actually accessed and the first investigations be made into the crimes of Katyn. Eighteen years after the fall of Communism, many aspects related to the destinies of the Poles killed in the spring of 1940 are still obscure leaders of the "historical parties," considered "reactionary".
Keywords: Katyn massacres, Soviet Union, World War II, Soviet-German Relations.

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Keywords: World War II, Soviet Union, Romanian war prisoners, repatriation.

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The article deals with the image of Finland among the Western Powers, especially the image of President Urho Kekkonen's foreign policy and his Soviet and Western relations from the mid-1950s until mid-1970s. The United States and Britain, on which the focus in the article is laid, did not have very ambitious goals in Finland, since they knew that if the Soviets wanted to make Finland a Communist state, there was very little the West could do to prevent this; Finland, although not a Warsaw bloc country and although it had remained a multi-party and free-press democracy, was in the Soviet sphere of influence, and the Western Powers did not have any hope to compete with the Soviet Union. Mainly they hoped that the situation would not get worse and Finland would not gradually slip to the grip of Communism – the so-called "Finlandization", gradual loss of independence. On the other hand, they relied on the fact that although there was a relatively strong Communist Party in Finland (about 20 % of the votes) and although Finland had a military pact with the Soviet Union since 1948, the Finnish society and the Finnish army were staunchly anti-Communist. In fact, the Communists were kept out of Government altogether between 1948 and 1966. The strategy was to give "silent" (in order not to provoke the Soviets) diplomatic and economic aid to Finland in order to stabilize Finnish domestic policy and diminish the influence of Communists and the Soviet Union. President Kekkonen (1956–1982) caused the Western Powers worries because he was regarded too timid and subservient towards the Soviets; not because he would have been an unpatriotic

man, let alone an agent, but because he seemed to have made a wrong conclusion of the outcome of the Cold War – that the Soviet Union would win it. The Americans and the British knew that they could not prevent Kekkonen from being constantly re-elected since he had the backing of two big parties (the Agrarians and the Communists), the support of the Soviet Union and only a disunited opposition against him. Moreover, he was considered to be a far more skillful politician than his rivals. Therefore the policy was to try to influence him and convince him of the Western power, and in the late 1960s his image had greatly improved in the West: now he seemed to guarantee the stability in Finland and be the only man who had the authority to oppose Moscow – but what would happen when he would retire?
Keywords: Finnish-Soviet relations, Finlandization, President Kekkonen, Cold War, Communist influence on Finland.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Indian-Soviet-Chinese Relations in Bucharest's Perspective, 1955-1964. I* 164
Unpublished Romanian documents from the Cold War period revealed the major interests of the Romanian authorities for maintaing a balance in theire relations with India, China and USSR.
In 1956, the Indian vice-president Sarvappalli Radhakrishnan visited Romania. On the same year, a cultural delegation from India visited Romania. The respective delegation was led by the Indian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
A delegation led by Emil Bodnăraş visited the People's Republic of China, on the 10th anniversary of existence of that state. The results of the discussions with the Chinese authorities were presented by Emil Bodnăraş on the meeting of the Political Bureau of CC of RWP (October 9, 1959).
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Keywords: China, Communism, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, India, Romania, USSR.

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Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, WTO, invasion of Czechoslovakia, political relations.

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Keywords: Romania, human rights, dissent, Goma movement.

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The biographical dictionary is an essential instrument for the analysis of the dinamics and the forms of the repressive system. Along with the collections of documents, studies and the legislative corpus, the biographical dictionary appeared as a need to establish the identity of the victims as well as the coordinators of the repression. It also represents a useful source for the research of the history of the repressive mechanisms of the Romanian Communist regime. The biographical dictionary has five main characteristics: it stands on a number of edited or oral sources; it has a pattern which establishes a predictable character; it has a regional or professional determination; it is circumscribed to a certain period of time and has a specific stylistic mark.

Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression, historiography, biographical dictionary.

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Keywords: Anticommunism, Legitimacy, Methodology, Recent Romanian historiography, Political actors.

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Deemed untrustworthy by the Romanian state, because of their foreign allegiance, after a short period of thriving (1945-1947), the Romanian Adventists, even though officially recognized by the state as one of the 14 legal cults in Romania, were repressed by the communist regime, which aimed at diminishing their activity and at entirely subordinating their leadership. The main point of discord with the authorities was the very essence of Adventist religious teaching and practice: maintaining Saturdays as days of rest and worship.
Keywords: the Adventist Church, communism, restrictive measures, pastors, subordination, rounding-off, unmasking, resistance, compromise.

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Keywords: Romania, totalitarian regime, communism, academia.

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The communist authorities tried to subdue the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC) by applying different measures in order to obtain control over its hierarchy and by imprisoning thousands of clergymen, during the waves of arrests, from 1945 until 1964. After the short period of liberalization (1964-1971), Nicolae Ceauşescu's regime's attitude towards the ROC grew harsher. However, the regime did not operate mass political arrests anymore. Because of the communist regime's religious policies towards the ROC, in 1989, at the dismantlement of communism, its role in the Romanian society was very weak, its activity being strictly limited to the celebration of religious services within the churches.
Keywords: the Romanian Orthodox Church, communism, monachism, priests, atheist propaganda, church demolition.

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *On Romanian Political Prison Poetry* 270
Prison poetry was one of the ways to resist the destructive pressure of the Romanian prison system. It offered thousands of political prisoners the opportunity to survive through artistic expression of a moral and spiritual predicament. The chief feature of prison poetry is its oral character: composed and then memorized by the author's fellow inmates, it crossed the prison walls in Morse code.
Keywords: Repression, Artistic expression, Prison poetry, Communism.

CARMEN RĂDULESCU, *The Union of Architects in the Romanian People's Republic and in the Socialist Republic of Romania* 278
The Union of Architects in *R.P.R./R.S.R* was the architects' mass organization that guided its members' activity during the Communist regime. Set up in November 1952 after the Soviet model of creation unions, the Union of Architects in *R.P.R./R.S.R* functioned in the same framework until April 1990 when it was reorganized according the Law 127/24 April 1990. During the '50's, the evolution of architecture was dramatically influenced by the ideological and political factors, while the only tolerated architectural style was the Soviet inspired-one, called socialist realist, which was applied in all cultural domaines. Therefore, art became state art, serving the interests of state and politcs.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, Arhitecture, Socialist Realism, Unions of creation.

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RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast, XXXVI. Seventy years after*..... 5

The article analyses the relationship between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union before the German attack against Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. Hoping to regain Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina lost in the summer of 1940, Romania under the effective leadership of general Ion Antonescu joined the troops of the Axis powers.

Keywords: Romania, World War II, Nazi Germany, Bessarabia.

RADU FLORIAN BRUJA, *The Founding of Right-Wing movement in interwar Bucovina: the case of the National-Christian Defense League* 8

The interwar period represented for Bukovina the connection to the Romanian national state from an administrative, economic and political point of view. After the Union, the electoral and agrarian reforms were felt. The political life focused on two main ideas: the rapid integration within the Romanian state structures, respectively the preservation of a large local autonomy. Thus, the first conflicts with minorities appeared in Bucovina, of which the most resounding were the ones with the Jewish. The anti-Semitism in Bucovina was not a trend specific only for the interwar period. It also existed during the Austrian period, but it manifested in a latent and much less violent way to take strident forms. The enemies of centralism and of the minorities' role in the economic and political life of the province grouped around Ion Zelea Codreanu, deputy of the Democrat Nationalist Party. In 1923, in Campulung Moldovenesc, it took place the congress for the incorporation of the organization Liga Apararii Nationale Crestine din Bucovina L.A.N.C. (National-Christian Defense League of Bucovina) and the Codreanu's group, the organizations of the Bucovina Archers, the members of the Romanian National Fascia, the local anti-Semites, the former fighters in the Autro-Hungarian army and others adhered to. Nevertheless, between 1923 and 1925 no organization action of L.A.N.C. in the region took place, the activity of the new group being limited to the media propaganda. Only after the second congress of Campulung in 1925 and the appearance of the "Gazeta Poporului" newspaper, it began the organization of the first political structures, first in Campulung and Suceava counties.

Keywords: Extremism, nationalism, anti-semitism, regionalism, inter-war Romania.

FELICIAN VELIMIROVICI, *The Origins of Soviet Historiography* 23

The article describes the main developments which occurred in the culture-politics relationship in the USSR during the Stalin period, analyzing as a case study the field of soviet historical science and the impact the *Short Course of History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* had upon it. It emphasizes

the party's progressive drive for total control over culture and historiography, and Stalin's personal drive for absolute power inside the party.
Keywords: Stalinism, Soviet historiography, M.N. Pokrovsky, Mihail Roller, marxism.

TATIANA V. VOLOKITINA, *The Image of Romania in the War-time Soviet Propaganda*..... 31
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Keywords: WWII, Soviet occupation of Romania, propaganda, war crimes, mentalities.

FELICIAN DUICĂ, *The Political Migration with the Romanians, 1919-1947, II*..... 45
Starting with August 1944, as the Communists became first actors of the Romanian political scenes, many members of the National Peasant Party and the Liberal Party, betrayed their cause. In what concerned the social-democrats, they worked with and, in the mean time, competed with the Communists in attracting new members especially from the historical parties.
At the beginning of 1945 a faction of the National Peasant Party led by Anton changed sides and joined the National Democratic Front (FDN). The same did the liberal faction led by Gheorghe Tătărescu, who motivated its decision by the country's need for reconstruction and for the good of the people. Regardless of their choice for joining the Communists, the members of these factions would not be spared of populating the jails of the new regime where they met their former colleagues, who remained loyal to their party's principles.
Keywords: Political migration, Liberal Party (Gheorghe Tătărescu), the National Peasant Party (Anton Alexandrescu), false coalition.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *The Securitate's Disinformation and Propaganda Actions against the West, 1948-1989, I*..... 61
The totalitarian nature of the conflicts of the 20th century and the extension of the concepts of national defense overpasses the traditional boundary between civil and military areas.
Psychological war, which manifested either through a threat to use means of political, economical or military constraint, or through the effective use of these means, proved to be an important feature in the state-to-state relations. Psychological actions were in the core of the 20th century war. Various methods were used in order to ruin the moral of the enemy and to get support from the people.
This paper presents the actions of disinformation and propaganda develops by the Securitate, the secret service of Romanian's communist regime, in the Western's countries. In the acceptation of the communist regimes, disinformation did not mean replacing the truth with a lie, but substitution the true information with the ideology.
Keywords: Cold War, disinformation, propaganda, communist party, secret services.

ELENA DRAGOMIR, *Reactions of the Romanian population in the context of the Hungarian revolution, 1956, II* 73
The scientific literature focusing on the subject of Romanian reactions in the context of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution has emphasized the lack of any significant anticommunist manifestations, with the exception of the student riots. Accepting this conclusion, the article makes the analytical distinctions between anti-government and anti-communist reactions, showing that the anti-government manifestations were largely outspread in October-November 1956 in Romania, while the anti-communist manifestations were indeed few. Using the instruments of the critical discourse analysis, this study advances new perspectives and hypotheses in the research of the 1956 Romanian communism. Concluding that the antigovernment reactions spread in October-November through the whole Romania, the article also advances a series of explanations as to why these reactions did not evolved in anticommunist mass movements.
Keywords: Romania, riots, Hungarian revolution, anti-government/anti-communist manifestations, R.C.P.

PIERRE BOUILLON, *Romania and Hungary within the French Foreign Policy in the Eastern Europe: Parallelism or Convergency? (1969-1974)*..... 93
There were several stages in the relationship between France and Romania under President Georges Pompidou. At first excellent, it lost partly of its importance. A parallel and then convergent evolution can be traced as for what concerns the relationship between France and Hungary. Primarily limited, they improved gradually. Hungary and Romania were neither equivalent partners for France nor a priority compared to the USSR, but they became two Eastern States with their own interest for the French policy of Détente.
Keywords: France, Romania, Hungary, Charles de Gaulle, Georges Pompidou, Nicolae Ceauşescu, János Kádár, Cold War, Détente.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Programmes for making romanian tanks and missiles*..... 105
Being aware of the fact that allocating new economic and financial resources for endowing the Romanian Army would endanger Romania's objectives for industrial development, Nicolae Ceauşescu opposed to Moscow's requests for maintaining the rhythm of modernizing the armament and combat technique belonging to the Romanian military unit's endowment, as well as for Romanian troops to participate at the joint military training programs, that took places in different states members of the Warsaw Pact.
On the same time, Nicolae Ceauşescu expressed his opinion and acted for copying all types of weapons, ammunitions and industrial technique in order to develop the Romanian military industry.
Keywords: Nicolae Ceauşescu, communism, missiles, Romania, tanks, USSR.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *A media fabrication? Similarities between Mihai Botez şi Andrei Sakharov dissidence*.....117
During the last two decades of Communist regimes the Western media often compared Romanian dissidents with their more famous colleagues in Soviet Union or Central Europe. Therefore, Paul Goma was called „a Romanian Solzhenitsyn", while mathematician Mihai Botez was often compared with Andrei Sakharov or Vaclav Havel. More than often these comparisons occurred out of mediatic reasons and of the need to direct public attention towards the few Romanian dissidents.
The article we publish tries to prove that in what concerned Mihai Botez, his comparing with Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov had real ground. However, even if similarities are to be found in the Sakharov and Mihai Botez dissidence, each of them was an exceptional individual bearing the mark of the national environment they had developed in.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, communism, dissidence, human rights.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Romanians and Polish „Solidarity", 1981-1989*.....125
The establishment of the 'Solidarity' union, in Poland, in august 1980, was received with reluctance and even hostility by the Communist government in Romania. In exchange, Romanians in the country as those from exile, saw the establishment of the first Free Union as an event likely to resuscitate the hopes of regaining the freedom for the peoples in Eastern Europe. Iulius Filip, a Romanian military chief from Cluj Napoca, found the courage to send a support letter to the Polish Free Union. The letter was read in the first Solidarity Congress plenum, in Gdansk, on September 27th 1981. The event created by Iulius Filip's letter was positively commented at 'Europa Liberă' radio station and in the prestigious Parisian newspaper 'Le Monde'. While becoming famous in the West for his courage, Iulius Filip was subjected to enormous pressures in Romania.
Keywords: Poland, Romania, Solidarity, Iulius Filip, Radio Free Europe.

MIHAELA VERZEA, *Theorizing the concept of Party-State: historiographical landmarks, II*.....133
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Keywords: State-Party, marxism-leninism, Communist Party of Soviet Union, political structures.

PUICA BUHOCI, *History and fraud. New evidences about the National Resistance Movement in Oltenia, II*.....143

The publication of documents from the archives of former Securitate (CNSAS) concerning the National Resistance Movement in Oltenia has been a constant focus of the research programmes of NIST. The article we publish is a case study of how history can be manipulated by the mysterious disappearance from the archives of a document that has been previously published in the book The National Resistance Movement in Oltenia, volume V, edited by Radu Ciuceanu and Puica Buhoci in 2007. The author publishes not only the authenticated copy of the missing document but also new sources that prove beyond doubt the veridical character of document's content.
Keywords: Romania, anti-communism, the National Resistance Movement, Securitate.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *The Comintern and the Romanian Communists as Seen by the Police Department of the Capital City, 1941, III*..... 158
This article reprints the last part of the book The Unmasking of Communism in Romania compiled in 1941 by the police commissioner Nicolae Turcu. Short after the Communists had taken over Turcu was arrested and detained without a Court sentence. He died in detention, in October 1955. Subjected to a terror regime the former commissioner was used in order to provide information on those who betrayed the Communist years during illegal year or to declare against former leaders of RCP that had fallen into disgrace after the Communist seized the power.
Keywords: Comintern, Romanian Communist Party, political police - „Siguranţă", repression.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962, XXX* 175
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Keywords: Romania, collectivization, repression.

GHEORGHE E. COJOCARU, *Fightings on the Ideological Front in Soviet Moldova* 185
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„About the measures regarding intensifying the ideologic activity between the labour people from the republic". On the year of Lenin's one hundred anniversary, the empowered branch from Chisinau noticed a series of pro-romanian and anti-sovietic „nationalist diversions". On the 20th of November, the ideologic front's troups received necessary instructions for fighting the „romanian danger", to protect the population of the MSSR of foreign „poisonous" influences.
Keywords: CPSU, USSR, Soviet block, Socialist Romania, Soviet-Romanian relation, Bessarabia, Moldovan SSR, Communist Party of Moldova, nationalism, party activists, ideology.

CRISTINA ROMAN, *Political Guidance for Romanian Participants at the 15th International History Congres, from Bucharest, 1980*..... 203
The speech made by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (R.C.P.) during the working group held at the Central Committee with the representatives of the academic historians in order to prepare the 15th Congress of the historical sciences scheduled for August 1980, at Bucharest, is an emblematic document for how the national history was written and how the `*historiographical* debates` were organized at that time.

Keywords: Historiography, national-communism, political guidance.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Institutional evolutions under Nicolae Ceauşescu'regime: The strenghtening of economic centralism and the temptation of absolute power, 1987*.....215
On June 23 and 24, 1987 the Romanian Party and State leadership organized a joint plenum of National Council of the Working People and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development. The decisions of the joint plenum went in the direction of transforming the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development in a „supreme command" for the Romanian economy and, on the other side, to strengthen the position of the Ceaușescu'family within the leadership of this institution. An assessment of this measures was broadcasted by the Radio Free Europe on June 25, 1987. In December 1987 the decisions of the June joint plenum were incorporated in a new law of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development.
Keywords: Nicolae Ceaușescu, the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, economic centralism, personal regime.

CARMEN RĂDULESCU, Romanian Institute for the Cultural Relations Abroad 223
Romanian Institute for the Cultural Relations Abroad was created in 1948 by the Communist Party as an instrument to increase its legitimity abroad, and also to provide the means for a cultural diplomacy which stated the superiority of country social and cultural development. During the '50s the evolution of this Institute was dramatically influenced by the ideological and polical factors as being under the control of two important structures of Communist regime, the Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Central Comittee of Communist Party. Later, a new orientation was assured, which consisted in a cultural diplomacy opened toward Western culture, with cultural agreements with countries to which Romania had a long tradition of collaboration.
Keywords: Cultural propaganda, Foreign Affairs, Cultural Diplomacy, Communist ideology.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, Union of Composers and Musicologists of Romanian People's Republic/Socialist Republic of Romania 229
Professional association of composers and musicologists in Socialist Romania, the Union of Composers has been a real Ministry of Music between 1949 and 1989. Copying a soviet model, this specific organization of the Communist regime managed not only the needs of musicians, but also helped in strenghtening the party control over the arts. Without the coercitive force of the State, the Union of Composers distributed all the benefits: houses, trips, access to special stores, resorts (including castles once owned by aristocracy) and reserved restaurants. Further more, the institution was the only legal collectors of copyrights, on behalf of creators. These financial assets lagely rewarded all those who ideologically served the regime.
Keywords: Communism, ideology, music, propaganda, Soviet model.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, Emil Bobu (b. 1927).....234
Appointed member of Central Comittee of Romanian Communist Party în 1965, Emil Bobu (born 1927) was one of the most devoted communist activists to Nicolae Ceaușescu. He occupied important positions in the state and party apparatus, such as: Interior minister (1973-1975), vicepresident of State Council (1975-1979), president of UGSR's Central Comittee (1979). After the fall of communist regime, he was arrested and sentenced to 10 years of prison.
Keywords: Romania, R.C.P., politics, politician, minister, communist elite.

ANA-MARIA RĂDULESCU, *Dumitru Cinciu (1904-1982)*.....239
Dumitru Cinciu (1904-1982) was a well-known Orthodox priest from Craiova, Dolj County. Although a member of the Iron Guard in the 1930s, he protected the local Jews during the government of Marshal Antonescu and earning their respect. During the WWII, he served as military chaplain on the Eastern Front. He was arrested in November 1944 as "Fascist", but released in 1945. Arrested again in 1952 and 1959, he was finally freed in 1964 together with all anti-Communist prisoners. The Communist authorities forced him to retire from the „Adormirea Maicii Domnului" – Mântuleasa parish in 1978.
Keywords: Romanian Orthodox Church, WWII, Iron Guard, communism, political repression.

RALUCA NICOLETA SPIRIDON, *Petru Dumitriu (1924-2002)* 243

Petre Dumitriu was one of the expectations of the young writers generation promoted by the communist regim. Inspired by the great novels of the Russian and French Realism, the work which brought him whole success is, undorebtedly for the Romanian public – Family Chronicale. He asked for political asylum to the Federal German Government in 1960 „choosing the liberty". His gesture did not have political reasons. Further more it standed for the broking of envy gerated by such a fulminant ascent. Treying to integrate himself to the stream and the efforts of emphasizing the working mechanisms of the totalitarism regimes, he would have published „Meeting at the doomsday" (1961) and „Incognito" (1962), the last novel being included in „Lexicon der Weltliteratur". There are key-moments in the destiny and work of this writer who will be evaluated much were by the literatury histories than historians can do.
Keywords: Romania, writer, communism, Romanian exile, socialist realism.

BRÂNDUŞA COSTACHE, *Aurel Vijoli (1902-1981)*..... 252
Aurel Vijoli (12 February 1902 – 1 July 1981) was governor of the National Bank of Romania between 18 November 1947 – 5 March 1952 and made an important contribution to the reorganization of the banking system according to the ideology of RWP. In the political context of „right deviation" Vijoli and some other high officials in the Ministry of Finance and the State Bank were arrested in March 1952 under the accusation sabotaging the monetary reform from 27 January 1952 and undermining the Romanian popular democratic regime. He was released after two years in detention without having been convicted. In 1956 he was partially rehabilitated. Between 1957- 1968 he was minister of Finance. After the Party plenary in April 1968 he was fully rehabilitated
Keywords: The National Bank of Romania, Communism, right deviation, rehabilitation.

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Editorial

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast*, XXXIV 5

Radu Ciuceanu, director of the N.I.S.T., president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, former political prisoner. Also coordinates the research theme *The Encyclopedia of the Communist Regime in Romania, 1945-1989. The Anticommunist Resistance*. Recent book: *The Katyn Massacres*, N.I.S.T., 2008 (co-author).

Keywords: World War II, Soviet-American-British negotiations 1942.

Studies

ION ILIESCU, *1989 and the Importance of the Romanian Revolution* 17

In a speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Revolution of December 1989, held at the Romanian Academy in October 2009, the former President of Romania (1990-1996 and 2000-2004) focuses mainly on the idea of a spontaneous popular revolt which occurred in Romania in December 1989, in the international context of the end of Eastern European communist regimes. The President emphasized that the revolutionary image was overshadowed by the political disputes that followed, which revoked the revolutionary individuality of December 1989 and accused the newly elected government of 1990 of involvement in a political coup d'etat against the Communist leadership, a coup disguised as revolution. Mr. Iliescu noted that the main opponents of the idea of Revolution in December 1989 are precisely those who did not participate in the revolts against Nicolae Ceauşescu's government.
Ion Iliescu – Chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front (22 December 1989), chairman of the Provisional Council of National Unity (January-May 1990); president of Romania (1990-1992, 1992-1996, 2000-2004).

Keywords: 1989 Romanian Revolution, the end of Eastern European Communist regimes.

EMIL CONSTANTINESCU, *The 1989 Revolutions as History or Myth* 24
In a speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the December 1989 Revolution, held at the Romanian Academy in October 2009, the former President of Romania (1996-2000) pointed out the gap between those accepting the idea of a true revolution in December 1989 and those suggesting a coup d'etat perpetrated by second-row communists. In this aspect, the President discerned two phases in the political changes of 1989-1990: the genuine popular revolt of December 1989 and the taking over of power by a new elite, after January 1990.
Emil Constantinescu – President of Romania (1996-2000).
Keywords: the 1989 Romanian Revolution, true revolution, coup d'etat, political elites.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Introductory Remarks on the History of the French Right-Wing: The Action Française*..... 29
Founded in 1898 as a reaction to what it seemed at the time to be the decay of France under the Third Republic political regime, the Action Française was a profoundly conservative, reactionary, antidemocratic and antiparliamentary movement. Based on a public inquiry conducted by such prominent French intellectuals as Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet, the future-to-be political party expressed deep royalist feelings, confessing loyalty toward the Duc d'Orléans, sole Pretender to the Crown of France. Their taste for action, anti-Semitism, cult for Fatherland and repudiation of the heritage of the French Revolution combined into the ideology of the Action Française: the nationalisme integral. The violent attacks against public order (carried out by the Camelots du Roi, Action Française's paramilitary organization, especially in February 1934), the opposition to the Left in power under the Popular Front, and the collaboration with the Vichy Government compromised its political influence.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov – Ph.D. in History; research scholar with NIST. Assistant professor at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. Recent volume: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (in collaboration).
Keywords: ideology of the Action Française, French intellectuals, the Vichy Government

ION CONSTANTIN, *The Soviet-Polish War (February 1919 – March 1921): The "Miracle on the Vistula"*..... 38
The Soviet-Polish war of February 1919 – March 1921 determined the setting of the borders between Soviet Russia and the second Polish Republic, after the end of World War I. In the heroic fought in the summer of 1920 against the Bolshevik forces, the Poles won one of the most brilliant victories ever, known as the "miracle on the Vistula." It played a decisive role in curbing the advance of Communism towards Europe and virtually saved the continent's countries from the "red peril." For the humiliating defeat inflicted on the Red Army in the 1920 war, Soviet dictator I.V. Stalin would take revenge against the Poles in the spring of 1940, when at Katyn and in other spots the NKVD executed a large part of the Polish military and civilian elite.
Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in History, research scholar with NIST; former Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The Katyn Massacres*, NIST, 2008 (co-author).
Keywords: the Soviet-Polish war 1919 – 1921, Communism, Polish military and civilian elite.

FELICIAN DUICĂ, *The Political Migration with the Romanians 1919-1947, I* 55
In the context of the latest moves at the level of the Romanian political parties, in particular the marked mobility of Opposition MPs towards the ruling majority, the author approaches this political migration in a historical perspective, resorting to archive documents and relevant articles from the time's press to support his approach. With several illustrative examples of treason or desertion motivated by the temptation of power, the author notes that party switching existed also in the interwar period and in the wake of World War II. Political migration stood and stands, in fact, for a way of cheating and altering the election returns, the result often being an illegitimate majority issued from a distortion of the democratic mechanisms.
Felician Duică has a Ph.D. in history; he was a research assistant with the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism (2004-2006), and since 2006 he has been a parliamentary adviser with the Chamber of Deputies Secretariat for parliamentary blocs (the National Liberal Party bloc). Volume published: *Solidarnosc: the Polish Revenge*, NIST, 2007 (coordinator).
Keywords: political migration, interwar period, World War II.

CRISTINA DIAC, *A Controversial Issue: The Communist Party and the Legionary Rebellion of January 1941*..... 67
According to certain interpretations, the communists were involved in the unrest of January 21-23, backing the Legionaries against Ion Antonescu. The fact is proved with documents from the time's authorities, the Police, the secret services, the intelligence services. Just as in the case of other marginal groups, the group of career revolutionaries was attributed the force and coherence the communists were dreaming of, although they never had it. Striking in this situation is the fact that the documents issued at the time by the communist party almost ignored the events, few specific details being provided about the days of the Rebellion. The political guidelines Stefan Foris conveyed to the communists in Romania clearly indicate that the party had never intended to participate in any unrest, no matter what kind. In the documents drafted right after the rebellion, the Communist leadership admitted that the cadre shortage and the insufficient followers of the party did not allow it to get involved in the events.
Cristina Diac is Ph.D. student, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with NIST. MA in History, University of Bucharest.
Keywords: January 1941 Legionary Rebellion, Romanian Communist Party.

ION BĂLAN, *The "Socialist Transformation of Agriculture" in Mihailesti District, 1950-1956* 82
Ion Balan's article surveys the way the collectivization was implemented locally, using the Mihailesti district of Bucharest region as an example. The author insists on how difficult it was to set up collective farms and then on the problems the new farms came across, especially as the peasants tacitly refused to support the collectivization.
Ion Bălan has a Ph.D. in history and works for the Contemporary Archives Division of the Directorate of the Central National Historical Archives. Recent volume: *A Monograph of Gogosari Commune*, Pelican Publishers, 2008 (co-author).
Keywords: collectivization, collective farms, peasants opposition to collectivization.

ELENA DRAGOMIR, *Reactions of the Romanian Population in the Context of the Hungarian Revolution, 1956* 96

The scientific literature focusing on the subject of Romanian reactions in the context of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution has emphasized the lack of any significant anticommunist manifestations, except the student riots. Accepting this conclusion, the article draws the analytical distinctions between antigovernment and anticommunist reactions, showing that the antigovernment manifestations were widespread in October-November 1956 in Romania, while the anticommunist manifestations were indeed few. Using the instruments of the critical discourse analysis, this study advances new perspectives and hypotheses in the research of the 1956 Romanian communism. The article also advances several explanations as to why these reactions did not evolve into anticommunist mass movements.
Elena Dragomir – Ph.D. student at the University of Helsinki, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Social Science History; associate research scholar with The Finnish Graduate School for Russian and East European Studies, Aleksanteri Institute, Helsinki University.
Keywords: 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Communism, studen riots in Romania.

CRISTIAN RĂDUŢ, *Regarding the Withdrawal from Romania of the Soviet Occupation Troops in the Summer of 1958*..... 111
The article briefly reveals some of the main actions that established the Soviet military occupation in Romania from World War II until the summer of 1958 and also surveys the steps that made it possible for this event to take place successfully, which would undoubtedly foster a new direction in Romanian politics. Except subsequently Albania, the Romanian People's Republic was the only member country of the Warsaw Treaty from which the Soviet Union withdrew its troops. Also on this issue there are different views: was it the result of the subtlety of the Romanian Workers' Party leadership, especially Gheorghiu-Dej, as evidenced in memoirs, or higher was the economic and military purpose of the Soviet Union, especially Nikita Khrushchev, as researchers considered in terms of studying the Romanian and Soviet archival sources?
Cristian Răduţ is a graduate from the University of Craiova, Faculty of History and a Ph.D. candidate.
Keywords: 1958 Soviet troops withdrawal, Romanian Worker’s Party, Romanian politics.

A.K. SOKOLOV, *New Approaches in Russian Contemporary History*..... 122
The study analyses the evolution of Russian historiography after 1990, focusing on the subjects that were approached by scholars and made the object of many studies: political history. He shows that political history, although a tradition among Russian academia, slowly is losing interest. A new generation of historians is involved in new approaches, mainly influenced by social history and its methods. Despite the continuing publication of documents related to political history, the public shows growing interest to the history(-ies) of women, youth, childhood e.g., in pre-Revolutionary Russia or during Soviet times.
A. K. Sokolov has a Ph.D. in history; research scholar with the Russia History Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Keywords: Russian historiography, political history, social history.

Documents

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *The Comintern and the Romanian Communists as Seen by the Police Department of the Capital City, 1941, I*..... 129

The article reproduces the first part of a work compiled in 1941 by police commissioner Nicolae Turcu in connection with the origin, aim and action methods of the Comintern and the latter's relationship with the Communist Party in Romania. Comprising information about the communist movement Nicolae Turcu had collected throughout his career, the work is important no so much for its the disclosures but because it reveals the capacity of the Romanian political police to understand the overall communist phenomenon.
Florin Şandru – Research assistant with NIST; Ph.D. student, the University of Craiova.
Keywords: Comintern, Romanian Communist Party, political police.

RADU CIUCEANU, *Regiment I Heavy Artillery in its finest hour*..... 147
The documents we publish are parts of Regiment I Heavy Artillery's journal of military operations on the Eastern front in the spring of 1944. The journal reflects the capability of Romanian troops to carry successful military operations as well as the good cooperation established with the German army, respectively with the armored group commanded by general Mieth.
Keywords:World War II, Eastern front 1944, Regiment I Heavy Artillery, cooperation with the German army.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962* 166
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivization of agriculture between 1957 and 1962. The testimonies selected in this issue illustrate the diverse means of repression the communist authorities used in order to step up the collectivization process in Romania after 1957.
Octavian Roske – Ph.D., research scholar with NIST; professor, head of the English language chair at the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Bucharest Univerity. Scientific secretary of NIST. Recent volume: *Repression Mechanisms in Romania. A Biographical Dictionary,* vol. VIII: *S-Ş*, I.N.S.T., 2009 (ed.)
Keywords: collectivization of agriculture, repression.

VASILE BUGA, *A Hot Summer in Romanian-Soviet Relations. The Moscow Talks, July 1964, II*..... 179
The adoption of the R.C.P. Declaration in April 1964 generated a profound crisis in the Romanian-Soviet relations. In order to ease the tensions between the two sides, an R.C.P. delegation headed by Ion Gheorghe Maurer went to Moscow where several rounds of meetings with the Soviet counterpart took place. The thorny aspects approached on the occasion included the continued activity in Romania of the Soviet agents.
Vasile Buga – PhD in History; research scholar with NIST, coordinator of the Centre for Russian and Soviet Studies, vice-president of the Joint Romanian-Russian History Commission. Recent volume: *The Twilight of an Empire. The USSR in the Gorbachev Era, 1985-1991,* NIST, 2007.
Keywords: 1964 April Declaration, Romanian-Soviet relations, Soviet agents.

Testimonies

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Memories about the Last International Meeting of the Communist and Worker Parties (5-17 June 1969)*..... 196

Between 5-17 June 1969, as the Soviet hegemony in the Communist world was endangered by China, Moscow hosted the international meeting of communist and worker parties. Attending the proceedings for the Romanian Communist Party was a delegation led by Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Central Committee of the RCP; the delegation was made up of members of the party leadership, activists in the field of the press and propaganda, journalists and translators. The article has three parts: an introductory study about the Sino-Soviet tensions and the holding of the above-mentioned conference, and the memoirs, related to this theme, of Ion Bucheru (editor-in-chief of daily *Informaţia Bucureştiului*) and Romulus Căplescu (editor with the Agerpres news agency), who attended the event on behalf of the Romanian press.
Florin-Răzvan Mihai is research assistant with NIST. MA in International Relations, Faculty of History, University of Bucharest.
Keywords: Soviet hegemony, International Meeting of Communist and Worker Parties 1969, Sino-Soviet tensions.

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DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The State Committee on Collection of Agricultural Produce* 212
The State Committee on Collection of Agricultural Produce was the main body through which the communist regime organized the collection of the mandatory quotas from peasants. In June 1948 a State Commission on Collection of Grain was set up, and on February 18, 1950 it was replaced by the State Committee on Collection of Agricultural Produce, based on a Soviet model. It was officially dismantled on February 1, 1957, when a State Committee for the Capitalization of Agricultural Produce was set up.
Dan Cătănuş, has a Ph.D. in history, is senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: collection of agricultural produce, Communist institutions.

CARMEN RĂDULESCU, *The Plastic Artists Union* 217
The Plastic Artists Union represented Romanian fine arts from 1949 until 1989. In 1949 the Plastic Arts Fund was set up and in December 1950 the Plastic Artists Union was created after the former Trade Union of Fine Arts (set up in 1921) had been dissolved. The new institution was organized after the Soviet model of artists associations. Its new leadership was headed by Boris Caragea, who was president of the UPA until 1957. The Union operated in this Soviet-inspired formula until 1989.
Carmen Rădulescu is assistant researcher with NIST. M.A. in International Relations.
Keywords: Communist institutions, Romanian Plastic Artists Union.

FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *Prison Poetry*..... 221
Prison poetry was one of the ways to resist the destructive pressure of the Romanian prison system. It offered thousands of political prisoners the opportunity to survive through artistic expression of a moral and spiritual predicament. The chief feature of prison poetry is its oral character: composed and then memorized by the author's fellow inmates, it crossed the prison walls in Morse code.
Flori Bălănescu – Researcher with NIST. Recent volume: Flori Stanescu – Paul Goma, *Dialogue*, Vremea Publishing House, 2008.
Keywords: repression, artistic expression, prison poetry.

Biographical Dictionary

CRISTINA DIAC, *Constantin Dăscălescu (1923-2003)* 228
Constantin Dăscălescu, communist Romania's last prime minister, rose from the ranks of party activists. He had neither the intellectual breadth of the likes of Ion Gheorghe Maurer and Manea Manescu, nor the statesmanship of Ilie Verdet – the three that preceded him at the helm of the government. Having studied in Moscow, he worked in the local party apparat, where Elena Ceausescu noticed him. Details about Constantin Dăscălescu's family, education and career can be found in his file for the Cadre Division of the Central Committee. Memorialists Dumitru Popescu and Silviu Curticeanu described his personality profile, character, qualities and especially shortcomings.
Keywords: Romanian Communist government, political elites**.**

ANA-MARIA RĂDULESCU, *Emanoil Păsculescu-Orlea (1901-1967)* 231
A greatly culture man boasting a vast journalistic and literary activity, Father Emanoil Păsculescu-Orlea was close to the Royal Palace, and also a seminary colleague and friend of future Patriarch Justinian. He served as parish priest of the Mihai Voda Church and chaplain of the Michael the Brave Order. Accused of „counterrevolutionary activity" because of his liberal and monarchist political options and of his courage in speaking up against communism, he was arrested on January 31, 1952 and administratively confined in the prison at Sighetul Marmaţiei, being the only Orthodox priest imprisoned there. Released on July 20, 1955, he was taken back as assistant priest at the Mihai Voda Church, his financial situation being very severe. He died on September 19, 1967.
Ana-Maria Rădulescu – B.A. and M.A. at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Bucharest; librarian at NIST. Recent volume: *Orthodox clerics in Communist prisons. Olt County*, Editura Aius, 2006.
Keywords: repression, Orthodox priests.

ALIN SPÂNU, *Alexandru Rioşanu (1892 – 1941)*..... 237
On September 7, 1940 Gen. Ion Antonescu appointed Alexandru Rioşanu minister undersecretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior, in charge of the Police and the Security Police. He played an important role in saving several politicians in the night of November 26/27, 1940, during repression by the members of the Legionary Movement. After the liberation of Northern Bukovina, Rioşanu briefly held the position of governor of that region (1941).
Alin Spânu has a PhD in history. Recent volume: *The history of intelligence and counterintelligence Romanian services between 1919 – 1945*, Editura Demiurg, 2010.
Keywords: Ion Antonescu, Legionary Movement, Northern Bukovina.

Book Reviews

VASILE BUGA, *The Problem of Transylvania and Soviet geopolitical interests* 239
This is a review of T.M. Islamov and Tatiana Pokivailova' book *Eastern Europe in the force fields of the big powers. The question of Transylvania, 1940-1946*, Indrik Publishing House, Moscow, 2008.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Dissidence as a pledge for the truth* 244
This is a review of Doina Cornea's book *Diary – the last copybooks – followed by a discussion between Doina Cornea, Ariadna Combes and Leontin Iuhas, hosted and reported by Georgeta Pop*, Civic Academy Foundation, International Center for Studies on Communism, 2009.
Ana-Maria Cătănuş is Ph.D. candidate and a researcher with NIST. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).

VASILE BUGA, *Second Lieutenant Alexandru Ţăţulescu – Victim of Political Repression in SSSR* 247
This is a review of the book *The memorial book of the victims of political repression*, Gornaia Kniga Publishing House, Moscow, 2009.

RADU FLORIAN BRUJA, *Electors and Elected in Interwar Romania* 248
This is a review of Radu Bruja's book *Parliamentary elites and election dynamics in Romania 1919-1937*, ed. Florin Müller, Bucharest University Press, 2009;
Radu Florian Bruja is Ph.D in History. Lecturer at the University of Suceava.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *From the History of Transylvania Hungarians during Communism*.....251
This a review of the book *The Hungarian minority under communism*, edited by Olti Ágoston, Gidó Attila, Publishing House of the Institute for the Study of National Minority Problems, Cluj, 2009.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, *War Prisoner in Soviet Camps*..... 253
This is a review of Eniţă Pânzaru's book *One step to the left, one step to the right and ... Miciurinsk, Oranki-Monastyrka*, Bucharest University Press, 2008.

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The N.I.S.T. agenda describes the activity of the institute's researchers during the first half of this year. This is a short review of participation in symposiums, round tables, book releases, openings of document exhibitions, where the participants discussed issues related to the access to documents from the communist period and the debunking of certain huge historical mystifications.

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Editorial

ACAD. DAN BERINDEI, *The Breakdown of the Communism – Miracle or Inexorable Phenomenon*.....5

After 70 years of existence the „Soviet empire" collapsed. What led to the disappearence of the Soviet system was not a military defeat but its incapacity to keep the pace with the economical advance of the Western world.
The breakdown of the Communism was seen as a miracle by millions of people whose lives changed profoundly. Besides this perception, the change in system was also an inexorable phenomenon imposed by the laws of history. According to these laws oppression makes people fight for their freedom and a coercitive system can function only as long as it is economically and socially viable. Once the collapse began, it could not be stopped. That was the way the Communist system broke down and all Eastern European nations won back their freedom.

Dan Berindei - Historian, vice president of the Romanian Academy. Member of the Scientific Board of NIST.

Keywords: Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, Communism, 1989 revolutions.

Studies

CATALIN-VALENTIN RAIU, *The Principle and the Practice of Subsidiarity in Romanian Orthodoxy. I. The Interwar Period* 8

Ortodoxy and subsidiarity are two visions that focus on the human person. Orthodox Churches should support the subsidiarity principle, as a framework for the dignity of human person, as Andrei Saguna's statute provided. The option for a too hierarchical Church in the post-communist period overlooks all debates on subsidiarity, although the Romanian context keeps the memory of subsidiarity stored in the interbelic trunck.

Catalin-Valentin Raiu, graduated from the Faculty of Theology, University of Bucharest; Ph.D candidate at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Bucharest with the thesis „The Monography of the Bishop of Râmnic Noului Severin, Vartolomeiu Stănescu (1875-1954)".
Keywords: Romania, Orthodox Church.

ROMINA SURUGIU, *Revisions and Addenda: Constantin Radulescu-Motru on Romanian Culture in the Post-War Period*..... 27
The personal notebooks („Revisions and addenda", 1943-1952) of the Romanian philosopher Constantin Radulescu-Motru, represent a rich research material for studying the Romanian culture after the Second World War. The thinker, who lived the last decade of his life during the Communist regime, felt the need to explain, revise and re-analyze his philosophical and political ideas and attitudes. His notebooks, first published only 40 years after his death, contain valuable and interesting information, relevant for a proper understanding of the Romanian culture, society and their destiny after the events on August, 23, 1944.
Romina Surugiu, PhD in Philosophy, she is a university lecturer within the Faculty of Journalism and Communication Sciences, University of Bucharest.
Keywords: Romania, culture, postwar society.

ACAD. PĂUN ION OTIMAN, *The Collectivization of Romanian Agriculture* 36
Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania
This paper is an overview of the main political, legal, and institutional frameworks in which the Communist regime, seating in Romania from 1945, imposed the collectivization of agriculture to the Romanian peasantry. The author points out also on human sufferings of that Soviet-inspired policies. Mentioning the countless number of victims, the collectivization destroyed the normal development of the Romanian agriculture with difficult consequences to this day.
Păun Ioan Otiman – secretary-general of the Romanian Academy.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, Collectivization.

DAN CATANUS, *The Agrarian Component of „the Right Deviation" inside the R.C.P., 1951-1952*..... 56
During a meeting with a R.C.P. delegation, in March 1951, Stalin made accusations that in Romania there was an „unmarxist peasant policy". Next year, Gheorghiu-Dej would use this accusation, related to the advantageous fiscal protection for peasant, which didn't apply to workers, to generate „the matter of right deviation" and to eliminate his main opponents: Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca and Teohari Georgescu. Although lacking serious grounds, the theory of „enriched peasants" would have as results a harsher tax regime on peasants and the intensification of agricultural collectivization.
Dan Cătănuș, PhD in History, is senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, the Right Deviation.

Ö. KOVÁCS JÓZSEF, *The Social History of Collectivization in Hungary, 1958-1961* 68
In 1958-1961 a second wave of collectivization hit the Hungarian peasant household. In order to achieve their goals the Communist authorities used propagandistic tools as well as physical and psychologically violence against peasant who refused to join the agricultural

cooperatives. The article presents the methods used by the Communist regime in Budapest in order to achieve collectivization and the consequences this phenomenon had on the economical and social situation of the peasants as well on their state of mind.
Ö. Kovács József is lecturer within the Faculty of History, Miskolc University. Presently he studies the history of political dictatorship and the rural societies in Hungary. Recent volumes: *Introduction in social history* (co-author and coordinator, 2003 and 2006), *The paths of German social history in Modern Age* (co-author and coordinator, 2004), The *spreading of political dictatorship in social area* (co-author, 2009).
Keywords: Eastern Europe, Hungary, collectivization, social history.

IRINA GRIDAN, *Parallelisms and Convergences. I.Gh. Maurer in Paris in the Summer of 1964: Realpolitik and the Offensive of the Smile* (III) 36
This article is a first installment of a series devoted to the French-Romanian relations in the 60's. The author pursues to throw light on the mechanisms set in motion after the diplomatic negotiations, leading to rapprochement between Bucharest and Paris by the middle of the decade. This year 1964 was a crucial moment for the Romanian-French rapprochement. The article focuses on the visit of the Romanian Prime-Minister, Ion Gh. Maurer, in France, in the summer of 1964 and its immediate results. One of the most important moment of the visit was the meeting between Maurer and the President of the French Republic, General De Gaulle.
Irina Gridan is an alumna of the Ecole Normale Superieure in Paris. Assistant professor at the University of Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines. PhD candidate with a theme devoted to Romanian-Soviet relations between 1950 and 1960, under the guidance of Marie-Pierre Rey.
Keywords: France, Romania, political relations.

DRAGOS ZAMFIRESCU, *"Perestroika" and „glasnost" in the Soviet Union or the Preliminaries of the Breakdown of the Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe* 123
Perestroika and glasnost, initiated in the Soviet Union by the new leader Michail Gorbachev in mid '80's created the premises for democratic reforms in East-Central Europe countries and also led to the 1989 antitotalitarian revolutions. Although most of the Communist countries adopted perestroika, that was not the case for Romania where Ceausescu tried very hard to resist to what the Romanian leadership called to be „the fatal influences of Gorbachev's reforms".
Dragos Zamfirescu, PhD in History**;** he is specialized in Romanian right extremism in the interwar period and totalitarian models in the postwar period.
Keywords: Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, Communism breakdown, perestroika.

PETRE OPRIS, *Nicolae Ceausescu and his Political Illusion: the Simultaneous Abolishment of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty* *138*
Ceausescu's political image in the West had been seriously affected by the Romanian economical crisis and the austerity measures that the Romanians had to deal with. Ceausescu's idea of simultaneous abolishment of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, his ambition to reimburse the entire Romania's external debt and his refusal to contract new external credit contracts affected the way Western political and military leaders perceived Romania.
Petre Opris is PhD in History, lieutenant colonel (r). Recent book *Romania in the Organization of Warsaw Treaty (1955-1991)*, Military Publishing House, 2008.
Keywords: Romania, NATO, Warsaw Treaty, military alliances.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania – a Process of Societal Transformation*..... 151
The author analyses the process of collectivization from a broader period perspective, by emphasizing the consequences of land reforms of 1864, 1921 and 1945. The study achieves a structural analysis of collectivization (duration, intensity, dynamics, methods) as well as its consequences at psycho-cultural and demographic level. The last part of the study is dedicated to a concise presentation of the situation in agriculture after 1989, emphasizing the failure of the rural space modernization project and of structuring an agricultural field that would overcome the logic of a subsistence economy.
Florin Abraham is Ph.D in History; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romania's Transformation: 1989-2006. The Foreign Factors Role*, 2006.
Keywords: Romania, agriculture, collectivization.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Parallel Destinies: Romania and Poland Facing the Totalitarianisms of the XX century*..... 165
In 1918, both Poland and Romania shared a similar destiny: they became victims of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Non Aggression Treaty and were invaded by the Soviet Union at the beginning of the War World II. After the war ended both countries were economically and military integrated into organizations created by the Soviets: the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (1949) and the Warsaw Treaty (1955). Unlike Poland, in Romania there wasn't a real process of destalinization. The rise of Polish Solidarnosc, in August 1980, generated reactions throughout the world. In spite of the Romanian Communist regime repressiveness, Iulius Filip, a military master in Cluj-Napoca, sent a letter of solidarity to the Polish Sindicate.
Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in History, research scholar with NIST; former Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The Katyn Massacres*, N.I.S.T., 2008 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Poland, totalitarianism, XX century.

Documents
OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XXVII 173
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. In that case, the abuses are objectively reflected by documents from Moldavia.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is senior researcher, Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary*, vol. VIII: *S-Ş,* 2009 (coordinator).
Keywords: Romania, collectivization, repression.

CRISTINA DIAC, *The Last Victim of the Collectivization of Agriculture: The Case of Ilie Tugui, 1963-1964*..... 180
In 1963, Ilie Tugui, who was at that time officer at a miltary unit in Targu Mures, sent two anonymous letters to the Television and to „Scanteia", R.C.P. main journal. Using a poetical and literary language, Tugui criticized the policy of the Great Powers, including the Soviet Union toward the small countries and also talked about the effects of „the socialist transformation of agriculture". The author was sentenced to seven years in prison, was incancerated in Targu Mures penitentiary and died on April 1, 1964, the official cause of death was suicide by hanging. The documents that were available to historians in order

to retrace Tugui's case were mainly produced by the prosecution. This situation have turned Tugui's case into one illustrative of the limits of recent history sources.
Cristina Diac is PhD candidate, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T.
Keywords: Romania, collectivization, repression.

VASILE BUGA, *A hot summer in Romanian-Soviet Relations. The Moscow talks, July 1964,I*..... 195
The adoption of the R.C.P. Declaration in April 1964 generated a profound crisis at the level of Romanian-Soviet relations. In order to ease the tensions between the two parts, a R.C.P. delegation headed by Ion Gheorghe Maurer went to Moscow where several rounds of meetings with the Soviet counterpart took place. Both the Sovroms and Bessarabia were listed on the issues most vividly discussed.
Vasile Buga is Ph.D, senior researcher with N.I.S.T., coordinator of the Russian and Soviet Studies Center. Recent book: *The Fall of the Empire. The Soviet Union in Gorbachev Era, 1985-1989*, N.I.S.T., 2007.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, Bessarabia, political relations.

ANA-MARIA CATANUS, *Mihai Botez on Intellectuals and the European Cultural Space* 223
Mihai Botez was a mathematician, a researcher in future studies and also one of the most important Romanian dissidents. The document we publish is an essay that Botez wrote in 1985 for a conference organized in Madrid on the topic of *European cultural space*. His text, entitled *Intellectual, intellectuals and spaces without frontiers – an Eastern approach*, discusses the problem of barriers blocking the free circulation of people and ideas. In his paper, Mihai Botez emphasizes also the fact that the Western world had a distorted imagine of the Communist countries and in order to promote an Europe united through ideas, intellectuals had to become autonomous. Botez also talks about the need for activation in Eastern Europe of the largest part of intellectuals, those situated between the „aligned" intellectuals and the dissidents.
Ana-Maria Catanus is PhD candidate and a researcher with N.I.S.T. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, dissidents, intellectuals

Testimonies
ION ILIESCU, *1971 – The Year of Ideological Changes in Romania II*..... 234
On June 9, 2009, the former president Ion Iliescu presented in N.I.S.T. a lecture regarding the causes and consequences of the ideological change that Nicolae Ceausescu initiated in the summer of 1971. The article presents the second part of the conference dedicated to discussions.
Ion Iliescu – president of Romania (1990-1992, 1992-1996, 2000-2004).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, ideology.

FLOREA DUMITRESCU, *The Economic and Social Evolution in the Romanian Society in the '60's – '80's, XX century* 250
In this article, Florea Dumitrescu, former Minister of Finance and Governer of the National Bank during the Communist regime discusses a series of elements that founded Romania's developemnt policy in the '60's – '80's, XX century.
If initially the credits from the I.M.F. and the World Bank had an important role in Romanian economical development, afterwards the decision of the Romanian leadership to reimburse in

advance the external debt created a lot of tensions in the realm of the national economy. The restrictive measures taken by the government in 1980-1989 led to an excessive depreciation of industrial equipment, decreasing the production quality and the diminishing of workers' revenues.
Florea Dumitrescu – Minister of Finance, 1969-1978; he conducted the negociations with the I.M.F. and the World Bank; Governor of the National Bank, 1984 - March 1989; ambassador in China.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, society, economics.

ION BAURCEANU, *Remembrances from Aiud*..... 264
Ion Baurceanu was born in 1931 in Comanesti-Covurlui – Galati. He was arrested in 1951, subjected to a trial for anticommunist activity and sentenced to 15 years of forced labor, 5 years of civic degradation by the Bucharest Military Court. He was improsoned at Jilava, the lead mines from Baia Sprie and Cavnic, Aiud-Zarca, Gherla-Zarca, Periprava, Galati. He was pardoned in 1964, while he was imprisoned at Jilava. The article we publish respresent a short rememberance of his passing through the penitentiary of extermination from Aiud.
Ion Baurceanu is a former political prisoner.
Keywords:Romania, Communism, repression, prison.

Dictionary of Institutions
ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *State Committee for Nuclear Energy*..... 268
This material is a part of a research project entitled *The Communist Regime Encyclopedia in Romania: The Institutions.*
From 1955 and until 1990, the State Committee for Nuclear Energy was the Romanian official organization granted with full powers over coordinating, budgeting and controlling the development of atomic research and production on national scale. The Communist regime strongly encouraged this industry, first as a tool of economical modernization, then – during Nicolae Ceaușescu's leadership – as a part of the envisaged autarchy. However, the centralization of the political decision in the area proved to be highly efficient, allowing a remarkable development of atomic and nuclear domain in Romania.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is an assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, State Committee for Nuclear Energy

FLORIN-RAZVAN MIHAI, *The Commission of State Control* 271
In 1949-1961, in Romania functioned the Commission of State Control (C.S.C.), which controlled the activity of the ministeries, the state institutions, economical organizations, executive organs of local state power, as well as mass organizations and military units.The Commission was subordinated to the Council of Ministers and was conducted by a chairman.
Florin-Razvan Mihai is research assistant with NIST. MA in International Relations, Faculty of History, University of Bucharest.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, institutions, The Commission of State Control

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FLORI BALANESCU, Adriana Georgescu (1920-2005) 273
A law graduate, Adriana Georgescu was also a movie critic at „Universul literar" and nurse in a military hospital. In 1943 the Gestapo hunted her because of the chronicles she wrote of the German movies presented in the theaters from Bucharest. After 23 August 1944 she became a

political reporter for the journal „Viitorul" and soon she worked with the Prime Minister Nicolae Radescu as his secretary. Adriana Georgescu was arrested on 29 July 1945. She was brutally tortured (her head hit by the walls, whipped with a sleeve filled with sand), drugged and raped in order to transform her in a traitor used for condemning the liberal figures. Adriana Georgescu was sentenced, set free and then arrested again A. Georgescu succeeded in fleeing to West with the help of some friends. She died on 29 October 2005, in Stevenage, England.
Flori Balanescu – Researcher with NIST. Recent volume: Flori Stanescu – Paul Goma, *Dialogue*, Vremea Publishing House, 2008.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Manea Mănescu (1916-2009)*..... 277
After the 1989 revolution, Manea Mănescu was portrayed as an example of total obedience of Ceausescu couple. Neither his former colleagues remembered him differently, as seen in their memories. This is why certain biographical details extracted from Manea Mănescu's R.C.P. cadre file may come as a surprise.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, political elites

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This is a review of two books Seghei Dovlatov's book *The Compromise*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009 and Venedikt Erofeev's book *Moscova-Petuşki*, Cartier Publishing House, 2004.
CRISTINA DIAC, *Dinu C. Giurescu, spectator of his own destiny: From Sovrom Constructions 6 to Romanian Academy*..... 287
This is a review of *Dinu C. Giurescu*'s book *From Sovrom Constructions 6 to Romanian Academy. Memories. Testimonies*, Bucharest, Meronia, Publishing House 2008.

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Editorial

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast*, XXXIII..... 5

Radu Ciuceanu, director of the N.I.S.T., president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *The Encyclopedia of the Communist Regime in Romania, 1945-1989. The Anticommunist Resistance*. Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *The Katyn Massacres*, N.I.S.T., 2008 (co-author).

Keywords: Europe, World War II.

Studies

CRISTIAN TRONCOTA, *Personalities of the Secret Front in Romania: Gheorghe Cristescu* 13

Gheorghe (Gicu) Cristescu was one of the best Romanian secret service specialists in the interwar period and during World War II. Although between November 15, 1940 and August 23, 1944 he was subordinated to his brother, Eugen Cristescu, head of the Special Intelligence Service, their relations were strictly professional. In June 1948 he was sentenced in absentia to forced labor for life, for his alleged involvement in the June 26-31, 1941 massacre of the Jews in Iasi. Apprehended in 1953 in Transylvania, he was successively imprisoned at Deva, Bucharest (Uranus), Fagaras, Gherla, Ramnicu Sarat and Aiud until his release in July 1964. He then worked as an unskilled laborer and died in anonymity in 1975.

Cristian Troncota – Professor, PhD, Faculty of Intelligence, National Intelligence Academy, and Faculty of International Relations, Political Sciences and Security Studies at Lucian Blaga University in Sibiu; research scholar with NIST.

Keywords: Romania, intelligence, interwar period, World War II.

MIHAI SERBAN, *Purging of the Special Intelligence Service Cadre, 1944-1945* 22
On April 18, 1945, the Special Intelligence Service was transferred from the Ministry of War to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, and its personnel made the object of massive purges. This move targeted mainly those who had acted against the communist movement and Soviet espionage, but the purge was made to appear as defending "democratic" values. Also purged were SIS workers born in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina.
Mihai Serban – PhD in history at Bucharest University. Currently pursuing a PhD in military science and intelligence at Carol I National Defense University, focusing on Geopolitics.
Keywords: Romania, postwar years, intellingence.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Punished for Patriotism: the Case of Onisifor Ghibu in the '50s*..... 30
One of the personalities of Romanian culture that suffered after the communist takeover in Romania was academician Onisifor Ghibu, who had risen to prominence, among other things, by his struggle for Transylvania's union to Romania on December 1, 1918. Until his death, he was marginalized, and his works were censored and removed from the academic circuit. On October 31, 1956 Onisifor Ghibu sent Nikita S. Khrushchev a memorandum demanding the right to self-determination for Romanians in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina and withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Romania. He was arrested and imprisoned until January 1, 1958. Then he was under house arrest in Sibiu.
Ion Constantin – Ph.D. in history, research scholar with NIST; former Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The History of Poland and the Romanian-Polish Relations*, 2005.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, elite purges.

IRINA GRIDAN, *Parallelism and Convergence. I.Gh. Maurer in the Paris antichamber: discussions for an official meeting (1964) , II*..... 36
This article is a first installment of a series devoted to the French-Romanian relations in the 60's. The author pursues to throw light on the mechanisms set in motion after the diplomatic negotiations, leading to rapprochement between Bucharest and Paris by the middle of the decade. The year 1964 was a crucial moment for the Romanian-French rapprochement. The article focuses on the discussions that took place before the Romanian Prime Minister I. Gh. Maurer's visit to Paris in July-August 1964. This visit will influence positively the dynamics of the relations between these two countries.
Irina Gridan is an alumna of the Ecole Normale Superieure in Paris. Assistant professor at the University of Versailles Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines. PhD candidate with a theme devoted to Romanian-Soviet relations between 1950 and 1960, under the guidance of Marie-Pierre Rey.
Keywords: France, Romania, political relations.

ACAD. MIRCEA MALITA, *1968 Prague Seen from Bucharest*..... 50
The Soviet armed intervention in Czechoslovakia in the night of August 20 to 21 upset international politics. Mircea Malita, at the time deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, remembers how the evolution of the Czechoslovak problem was perceived in Bucharest during the 10-day crisis, both from Romania's point of view and from the angle of the relations between the world's two superpowers.
Mircea Malita – Mathematician, politician; deputy minister of Foreign Affairs (1962-1970); secretary-general of ADIRI (Association for International Law and International Relations), 1966-1970; member of the Romanian Academy.

Keywords: Czechoslovakia, Romania, 1968 invasion.

GHEORGHE STROE, *The Evolution of the Romanian Economy over 1970-1980: The Foreign Debt Crisis*..... 64
Due to errors pertaining to internal economic strategy and to adverse external circumstances, in the late 70s and early 80s Romania grappled with a severe foreign debt crisis that could only be surmounted by signing a 3-year standby agreement with the IMF in 1981. The external balance was restored in 1983 but the Ceausescu regime decided to pursue a policy of total repayment of the foreign debt. This decision was underlain by the bitter experience of 1981 and by fear that going on with a big foreign debt would have exerted external pressure hard to cope with. The all-out drive to repay the whole of the foreign debt deeply harmed the economy and, moreover, sacrificed the basic living conditions of the population, through shortages of food, heating and lighting and through restrictions that diminished their income by the year, while also deteriorating health care and education.
Gheorghe Stroe – Economist; director, Monetary Policies Directorate (1959-1963) and Foreign Relations Department (1963-1965) at the National Bank of Romania; economic expert with the Economic Planning Department of the CC of the RCP (1966-1967); deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee (1968-1977); first vice-president, counselor, National Bank of Romania (1990-1991).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, IMF, economy, debt crisis.

FLORIAN BANU, *A critical approach of the sources regarding the victims of the Communist regime*..... 77
After the collapse of Communism the public opinion was revealed the terrible crimes of an regime which called itself profoundly humanitarian. The first years after 1989 were characterized by an affluence of publications – many former political prisoners wrote their memoires -, documentary movies, recordings of oral history. This study critically analizes the different numbers of the victims of the Communist regime that all these sources give for real. Although good intentioned, trying to establish a number of the casualties was proved to be very difficult especially when approaches of different authours led to exagerations that threatened to make less credible the real number of the casualties.
Florian Banu is Ph.D. in history, expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent volume: *Securitatea. Structuri/cadre, obiective şi metode* [*The Securitate. Structures/Staff, Objectives and Methodes*], *vol.I: 1948-1967*, 2006 (co-edithor).

Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression, victims, memory.

TATIANA VOLOKITINA, *Russian Historiography and Eastern Europe's Postwar History – A New Approach* 101
The study analyses the evolution of Russian historiography after 1990, focusing on two subjects that were approached differently and made the object of many studies: the Cold War and Stalinism. The article insists on the perpetuation at present of certain characteristics Russian historiography had displayed in the early '90s: a fragmented character of the sources – related in many respects to the declassification of archive collections being slowed down, to the prevalence of empirical studies and a low interest in generalizations, theoretical ones included. The author also approaches the fact that a certain disproportion of the chronological dimension has not been overcome yet, which is visible in the much more intense scrutiny of the 1960s and particularly the 1970s and 1980s.

Tatiana Volokitina holds a PhD in History and is a research scholar with the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
Keywords: Russia, postwar history, historiography.

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ALEXANDRU V. DIŢĂ, *Demetrescu Radu Gyr: An Essential Autobiographical Contribution,* IV 113
Although the name Radu Gyr became a symbol for all the political prisoners, no matter the type of the dictatorship, his biography is still insufficiently known. In this article we present a document, an autobiography written by Radu Gyr while he was imprisoned, being sentenced to death.
Alexandru V. Diţă is Ph.D. in History, editor. Scientific researcher with the N.I.S.T.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, political repression.

MIOARA ANTON, *„Capitalist diversions": right-wing deviations or anti-Semitism?* 121
At the beginning of the 50s, hostility to capitalism became an obsession in the 'people's democracies'. The political context of the end of 1952 was dominated by anti-Semitic hysteria. The situation of the Jewish minorities from Eastern Europe was dramatic. All these four documents from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs represent part of a picture of a time dominated by the obsession of fighting against ,decadent capitalism'. Ana Pauker's removal as Foreign Minister launched a new process of removal from the diplomatic apparatus of all those who were considered to be inadequate or class enemies (the cases of George Macovescu, Egon Balas, Emil Lustig and Aurel Farchi). The tone used by Cornel Bogdan, at the beginning of his diplomatic carrier, exemplifies a vindictive rhetoric caused by an external and internal political context which was extremely ambiguous and fluctuating.
Mioara Anton, Ph.D. in History, senior researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History and N.I.S.T. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Eastern Europe, Communism, Jewish emigration, anti-semitism.

CEZAR STANCIU, *The Romanian-Polish Relations Two Years after the 1956 Events*..... 138
The liberal atmosphere and the tendency to break away from Moscow's influence that accompanied the establishment of the Gomulka regime in Poland in autumn 1956 meant colder relations with Romania, a country still fully subordinated to the hegemonic power in the socialist camp. Only in 1958, when Gomulka came to Bucharest, was that chilling reversed.
Cezar Stanciu – PhD in History from Valahia University in Targoviste; member of the Grigore Gafencu Center for the Research of International Relations History in Targoviste.
Keywords: Romania, Poland, Communism, political relations.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962,* XXVI..... 156
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. In that case, the abuses are objectively reflected by documents from Moldavia.

Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is senior researcher, Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary,* vol. VII: *Q-R,* 2008 (coordinator).
Keywords: Romania, agriculture, collectivization.

CONSTANTIN MORARU, *Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry on Mănescu – Rusk Meeting in New York, October 4, 1963* 166
The author presents the aide-memoire of the meeting between Corneliu Mănescu, Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dean Rusk, US Secretary of State, that took place on 4th of October, 1963, NYC. The Romanian high official pointed out the issue of Romania's neutrality in case of nuclear conflict between the two super-powers.
Constantin Moraru, PhD in History; expert at the Romanian National Archives. Recent book: *Romania's Foreign Policy (1958-1964),* Enciclopedica Publishing House, 2008.
Keywords: Romania, United States of America, diplomacy.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Seeking the Sensational: Eugen Barbu and Alexandru Andritoiu in China, 1965* 181
Over May 30 – June 31, 1965 writers Eugen Barbu and Alexandru Andritoiu visited China, where their less orthodox behavior caused discontent both among the hosts and at the Romanian diplomatic office in Beijing.
They asked, for instance, to travel to such forbidden areas as the Tibet, they refused to visit the Library of the Academia Sinica and they left a performance of the play "Pilot Women" – a play with a contemporary revolutionary theme – soon after it had begun.
Dan Cătănuş, PhD in History, is senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, China, Communism, Romanian writers.

VASILE BUGA, *History Repeats Itself: Problems of the Romanian Language and Literature in Chisinau, 1965.* 194
Some two months after the Moscow visit of a delegation headed by Nicolae Ceausescu (September 1965), the leaders of Chisinau reported to Moscow they had difficulties on the ideological front because of the Romanian propagandistic drive. The article reproduces a letter Ivan Bodiul, first secretary of the CC of the CP of Moldova had sent to the CC of the CPSU, signaling "a number of negative situations," "nationalistic" in nature, that had arisen among part of the intelligentsia in the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, notably the writers.
Vasile Buga is Ph.D., senior researcher with N.I.S.T., coordinator of the Russian and Soviet Studies Center. Recent work: *The Fall of the Empire. The Soviet Union in Gorbachev Era, 1985-1989*, N.I.S.T., 2007.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, ideology, intelligentsia.

Testimonies

ACAD. RAZVAN THEODORESCU, *March-April 1959 at the Faculty of History of Bucharest University. Recollections* 201
On March 12 1959, in the main hall of Student House 303 in Cotroceni district, professors Dionisie Pippidi, Mihai Berza and Ion Nestor from the Faculty of History were exposed before a specially convened meeting, starting from their refusal to sign a message in favor

of the Greek communist Manolis Glezos. As he sided with his professors, student Razvan Theodorescu was in his turn exposed three weeks later, being accused of conciliatoriness, anti-Sovietism, membership in a spiritualist group, elitism and so on. On April 18, 1959 he was ousted from the Youth Union (UTM) and expelled from the Faculty of History for "inimical political attitude."
Raz**van Theodorescu** – Historian, member of the Romanian Academy. Member of the Scientific Board of NIST.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression, student purges.

ION ILIESCU, *1971 – The Year of Ideological Changes in Romania* 204
In February 1971, Ion Iliescu was promoted to the position of secretary of the CC of the RCP in charge of party propaganda. At the plenum of the party's ideological cadre in July 1971, Nicolae Ceausescu outlined an ideological program designed to reinvigorate ideological and educational action in the party and in society, to make up for the lack of militancy and for the influence of certain petty bourgeois, decadent mentalities. Those criticized at the time included Ion Iliescu, accused of intellectualist tendencies. In November the Executive Committee dismissed him from the position of secretary of the CC of the RCP and assigned him to humbler jobs in Timisoara and then in Iasi. Ion Iliescu establishes a connection between the 1971 ideological veering and Nicolae Ceausescu's recent visit to countries in Asia, including China and North Korea.
Ion Iliescu – president of Romania (1990-1992, 1992-1996, 2000-2004).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, ideology, propaganda, purges.

Dictionary of Institutions
ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Workers' Committee* 221
This material is a part of a research project entitled *The Communist Regime Encyclopedia in Romania: The Institutions.*
As it was intended the workers' committees were the main instrument of control over the whole social-economical activity. As the representatives of the working masses, these gatherings of employees (industrial, agricultural and commercial workers, engineers, desk clerks, teachers etc.) shared the decision-power with hierarchical appointed managers and directors. After 1969 political decision of accelerating Socialist Romania's economical and social development, the workers' committee shared also the responsibility in implementing the five-year plans. Although they lacked real power, the workers' committee soon became another communist mean of control over ordinary people, by disposing of the distribution over assets and services (houses, holidays, cars).
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is an assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, institutions, Workers' Committee

FLORIN-RAZVAN MIHAI, *National Council of Women in Romania* 227
The National Council of Women in the RPR/SRR was the leading body of the women's mass movement in Romania under the communist regime. The single mass organization of women in Romania was set up in 1948 as the Union in Democratic Women in Romania (UFDR). In 1953 UFDR was reorganized as the Committee of Democratic Women in the RPR (1953-1958) and then as the National Council of Women (1958-1989).

Florin-Razvan Mihai – Research assistant with NIST. Graduated from the Faculty of History at Bucharest University. MA in International Relations, Faculty of History, Bucharest University.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, institutions, National Council of Women in Romania

Biographical Dictionary

FLORI BALANESCU, *M. Buracu* (1930-) 236
Mihai Buracu, Mihail Manoilescu's godson, was arrested in the night of June 7, 1949; at the time he was a student at the Traian Doda High School in Caransebes. He was put on trial and the Military Court in Timisoara sentenced him, on December 6, 1949, to two years in reformative prison, but he was imprisoned for 5 years at Aiud, Jilava and Targsor. In the autumn of 1950, Mihai Buracu arrived at Peninsula-Valea Neagra. From there he was soon sent to be "re-educated" at Pitesti, for discipline-related reasons, together with a batch of 22 students. He spent two months in room 4 of the prison sickbay where, at age 21, his hair turned completely white. An inmate at the Bicaz prison camp for two years, after a short stay at Onesti, he was moved to the Borzesti prison camp in the autumn of 1953 wherefrom he was released on May 21, 1954. He was then under house arrest at Caransebes. He managed to pass his school-leaving examination and to be admitted at the Philology Faculty in Iasi, open learning, graduating in 1960. He was a teacher for 30 years. In January 1990 he became a member of the National Peasant Party (PNT-CD), president of the Mehedinti branch of the party, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania – Mehedinti branch, and a member of Parliament for PNT-CD.
Flori Balanescu – Researcher with NIST. Recent volume: Flori Stanescu – Paul Goma, *Dialogue*, Vremea Publishing House, 2008.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, elites, repression, political prisoners.

ANA-MARIA CATANUS, *Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa* (1925-2006)..... 239
Gheorghe Calciu (1925-2006). Father Gheorghe Calciu was born on November 23, 1925 to a peasant family at Mahmudia in the Danube Delta. While a high school student, he enrolled in the youth organization of the Legionary Movement. As an undergraduate studying medicine, Calciu was arrested and charged, along with other young legionaries, of "activity against national security" on May 21, 1948. He was sentenced to eight years of hard prison. In 1949 he was already at Pitesti when the "re-education" experiment started. Involved in the second "re-education" trial, Calciu was sentenced to 15 years in prison, that term being cumulated with the initial term in prison. Gheorghe Calciu spent the following years at Casimca Jilavei and Aiud. After his release, he graduated from the Faculty of Theology and was hired at the Theological Seminary in Bucharest. On March 8, 1978, Father Calciu inaugurated the series of sermons "Seven Words to Young People," delivered as part of the evening meditation during Lent. As a result on June 15 his employment contract was severed. Involved in the creation of SLOMR (the Free Trade Union of Working People in Romania), Gheorghe Calciu was arrested on March 10, 1979. Charged of "treason by transmitting secrets," Father Calciu was sentenced, under judgment no. 35/May 4, 1979 of the Bucharest Military Court to 10 years in prison, being jailed at Jilava and Aiud. After being released on August 20, 1984, Father Calciu and his family left for the United States.
Ana-Maria Catanus is a researcher with NIST; PhD student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, Orthodox Church, dissidents.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Paul Niculescu Mizil* (1923-2008) 243

Coming from a family of old Socialist and Communist militants, Paul Niculescu-Mizil was promoted by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej in the higher party and state ranks. His „finest hour" was in the sixties when he played an important role in Romania's internal and external distancing from Moscow. After the IX-th R.C.P. Congress Mizil got promoted in the highest party position but soon he became undesirable due to his lack of obediency. After 1989 he was very active by writing many article and memory books.
Cristina Diac is PhD student, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T. MA in History, University of Bucharest.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, political elites.

Book Reviews

ALEXANDRU MURAD MIRONOV, *"Interstitio. East European Review of Historical Anthropology"* 249
This is a review of "Interstitio. East European Review of Historical Anthropology", December 2007, Volume I, Number 2", Rethinking History Center, Chişinău.
MIHAI FLORIN, *King Carol II's Party* 252
This is a review of Petre Turlea's book *A King's Party. The National Revival Front*, Enciclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006.
DAN CATANUS, *Taking distance from Moscow*..... 253
This is a review of Constantin Moraru's book *The Foreign Policy of Romania, 1958-1964*, Enciclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008.

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ANA-MARIA RADULESCU, *Books and Periodicals included in the N.I.S.T. Collections* 255
The NIST Agenda 259
The N.I.S.T. agenda describes the activity of the institute's researchers during the first half of this year. This is a short review of participation in symposiums, round tables, book releases, openings of document exhibitions, where the participants discussed issues related to the access to documents from the communist period and the debunking of certain huge historical mystifications.

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Editorial

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast,* XXXII..... 5

Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil,* 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary. Conspirative Name:The Artist,* volume I, *1963-1970,* N.I.S.T., 2005

Keywords: Europe, World War II.

Studies

RADU H. DINU, *The Legionary Movement between "Political Religion" and "Collective Effervescence"* 16

When talking about Romania's native fascist movement, scholars typically refer to it as "one of the rare modern European political movements with a religious structure" willingly inserting "strong elements of Orthodox Christianity in their political doctrine". However, these preliminary statements remain somehow general when it comes to ascertain the explicit relationship of politics and religion in Romanian fascism. One more specific approach to this issue could at first sight be to clarify the complex *personal* links between the Romanian clergy and the Legionary Movement. The other certainly more rewarding way to illuminate this reciprocal affinity between politics and religion is rather to ascertain, to what extent Romanian fascism as a whole developed (pseudo-) religious claims and if these claims entered into a conflict with the Orthodox Church. The author starts by discussing the capacity and limits of current political religion theories. In its second part, the article tries to demonstrate how the

sacralization of politics can be alternatively reconstructed from a perspective of collective experience employing Émile Durkheim's concept of "collective effervescence".
Radu H. Dinu is PhD candidate at the Max-Weber-Centre for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, Erfurt University. Doctoral thesis: "Fascism, Religion and Violence in South-Eastern Europe. A Comparative Study of the Ustasa and the Iron Guard."
Keywords: Romania, Legionary movement, Orthodox church.

ION CONSTANTIN, *The Road to Truth about Katyn* 26
The Katyn massacres were one of the 20th century's most tragic experiences, the result of which was that a large part of the Polish elite was destroyed as dictated by the March 5, 1940 decision of the USSR leadership, at head with Stalin. The road to truth about Katyn was extremely difficult, as the Soviet authorities, the secret services and the institutions they controlled did their best to wipe away all traces of the crimes and preclude the identification of those who had ordered and performed the assassinations. They concealed, destroyed and faked evidence, denying any clues and facts. Because for a long time, it was not possible in that country to further try to establish the truth, the Polish exiles took over the task. Only after the collapse of the USSR could the archives of the former Soviet Union be actually accessed and the first investigations be made into the crimes of Katyn. Eighteen years after the fall of Communism, many aspects related to the destinies of the Poles killed in the spring of 1940 are still obscure.e leaders of the "historical parties," considered "reactionary".
Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in history, reasercher within the NIST; former Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The History of Poland and the Romanian-Polish Relations*, 2005
Keywords: Soviet Union, World War II, Polish elite, Katyn massacres,

TIBERIU TĂNASE, *The Relations between the Legionary Movement and the RCP, 1945-1948* 45
The Iron-Guardist/Legionary Movement (LM) represented a strong and troublesome opponent for the Communist Party in its fighting for power before the setting up of the Communist regime.
For the Iron-Guardist Movement, the Communist – Legionary Pact was a desperate attempt of the legionary group led from inside by Nicoale Petrascu and orchestrated from exile by Horia Sima, an attempt to continue the fight for power under the cover of the Romanian Communist Party.
For the Romanian Communist Party and its representatives, who had already taken the power on March 6th, 1945 through the Petru Groza Government, it was an opportunity to have some agents infiltrated in order to find and arrest the legionnaires. After March 9th, 1945, the repression against LM reached its most violent form of manifestation. For example, members of LM who had been released from prison in 1945, as a consequence of the Communist – Legionary Pact, were arrested again in the night of May 14th/15th, 1948.
Tiberiu Tănase is lecturer at the National Intelligence Academy. PhD candidate at the Faculty of History, Bucharest University. Recent volume: *Security and defence in the European Union*, 2008 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Legionary movement, Romanian Communist Party.

DUMITRU ŞANDRU, *The Waves of Arrests in 1947* 54
The successive arrests ordered in 1947 by the leaders of the new political regime were meant to instill fear in those who opposed Communism, to weaken the resistance of the historical parties, the National Peasant Party (Maniu) and the National Liberal Party

(Bratianu), against the anti-capitalist offensive of the Communist Party. Besides, they paved the way for the banning of the political opposition. Although the regime's repression had a considerable impact on many people in Romania, on the other hand it determined a surge in the armed resistance of the anticommunist organizations set up in various regions and particularly in the mountains.
Dumitru Şandru – PhD in History, is an associate professor with the "Ştefan cel Mare" University in Suceava.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression, opposition.

MIHAIL LANCUZOV, *The Dissolution of the National Peasant Party – a New Stage in the Plan on Sovietizing Romania, II*..... 71
The establishment of Petru Groza's government on March 6, 1945 was the beginning of a significant change for the Romanian kingdom, from a democratic state to a communist-like totalitarian state. After the outrageous rigging of the November 19, 1946 elections, the next step was to annihilate the opposition by dissolving the democratic parties. The first target was the National Peasant Party. On July 14, 1947 the party was dealt a death blow when the political police agents framed up an attempt to flee the country to a group of Peasant leaders. In a few days, the government outlawed the key opposition party, closed its headquarters, neutralized the press and arrested its leaders.
Mihail Lancuzov – historian, National Museum of History, Bucharest.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, National Peasant Party, sovietization.

DRAGOŞ ZAMFIRESCU, *The Meanings of Signing the Romanian-Soviet Treaty from February 4, 1948*..... 87
The treaty Romania signed with the Soviet Union in February 4, 1948 was concluded at Soviet intiative, without preliminary consulatations, and it marked the official political-military subordination of Romania towards USSR.
Also, the treaty stipulated the giving up of the Island of Snakes to the Soviet Union. The Romanian delegation, led by the Prime Minister Petru Groza and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ana Pauker, didn't raise any objections, complying to all Soviet demands.
Dragoş Zamfirescu – PhD, is specialized in the study of right-wing extremism in Romania (the interwar years) and of the totalitarian models that emerged after WW2, when the so-called socialist camp came into being.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, 1948 treaty, sovietization.

IRINA GRIDAN, *Parallelism and Convergence. Underpinnings of the French-Romanian Rapprochement, 1956-1963,* I..... 97
This article is a first installment of a series devoted to the French-Romanian relations in the 60's. The author pursues to throw light on the mechanisms set in motion after the diplomatic negotiations, leading to rapprochement between Bucharest and Paris by the middle of the decade. That outcome was obvious notably during Gen. de Gaulle's visit to Bucharest in 1968. Beginning in 1964, western observers highlighted the convergent foreign policy outlooks of the two countries, which was also a leitmotif of the Romanian leaders and diplomats. However, for a better understanding of the so conspicuous rapprochement of the mid-60's, it is necessary to pinpoint the mechanisms that made it possible, at the beginning of the decade, to resume a dialogue that had severely declined since the onset of the communist power in Romania.
Irina Gridan is an alumna of the Ecole Normale Superieure in Paris. Assistant professor at the University of Paris I, Pantheon-Sorbonne. PhD candidate with a theme

devoted to Romanian-Soviet relations between 1950 and 1960, under the guidance of Marie-Pierre Rey.
Keywords: France, Romania, political relations, diplomacy.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The Influence of Anticommunism over Recent Romanian Historiography* 123
The aim of the study is to uncover the relation between political anticommunism, as a dominant meta-ideology in the Romanian intellectual environment, and the studying directions, language and typology of conclusions presented by historiography. The object of this study is made up of research works that can be assimilated to the 1990-2004 historiography focusing on Romanian communism. The analysis grid proposed for understanding how communism influenced Romanian historiography has four pillars: methodological options derived from major historiography currents; frequent study theme; stylistics of the historical discourse; the issue of responsibility/guilt. The predominant ideology which can be identified in the texture of Romanian historiography concerning the 1945-1989 period is anti-communism. The main problem generated by a historiography contaminated by anticommunist ideology is that history contributes to legitimizing a *sui generis* populism, nourishing the anti-modern discourse of a part of Romanian intelligentsia and political actors that use the anticommunist legitimacy in the public space.
Florin Abraham is Ph.D in History; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romania's Transformation: 1989-2006. The Foreign Factors Role*, 2006.
Keywords: Romania, anticommunism, historiography.

Documents

ALEXANDRU V. DIŢĂ, *Demetrescu Radu Gyr: An Essential Autobiographical Contribution,* III 145
Although the name Radu Gyr became a symbol for all the political prisoners, no matter the type of the dictatorship, his biography is still insufficiently known. In this article we present a document, an autobiography written by Radu Gyr while he was imprisoned, being sentenced to death.
Alexandru V. Diţă is Ph.D. in History, editor. Scientific researcher with the N.I.S.T.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, intellectuals, political repression.

LAURENŢIU CONSTANTINIU, *The Churchill-Stalin Percentages Agreement in Soviet Documents* 157
A major event marking the relations within the Great Alliance and especially the Soviet-British ones, the Percentages Agreement – under which Central and Eastern Europe were assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence – was strongly negated by Soviet historiography, being only acknowledged in 1989. The "art of disposing of others," as André Fontaine called it in a chapter of his *History of the Cold War*, appears in the Soviet shorthand account of the conversation during the Churchill-Stalin meeting on October 9, 1944. The article makes available to Romanian specialists, for the first time as far as we know, the full text of the Soviet shorthand minutes of the two meetings on October 9 and 10, 1944, when the Soviet and British delegations debated the Percentages Agreement and its implementation in Central and Southeastern Europe.
Laurenţiu Constantiniu, PhD in History, is lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Department of History.
Keywords: World War II, great alliance, percentages agreement.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XXV..... 173
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. In that case, the abuses are objectively reflected by documents from Moldavia.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, P*, 2007 (coordinator).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, agriculture, collectivization.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Differently about the Romanian-Soviet Relations: The Small Tourist Traffic*..... 181
Beyond the ups and downs the Romanian-Soviet relations experienced under communism at the level of leaders, contacts between ordinary people continued in a prevailingly positive manner. An example: Romanians used to travel to the USSR, which occasioned small tourist traffic, with advantages to either side. The friendship between the people of the two countries was thus consolidated not through propaganda, but based on the pecuniary interest stimulated by black market exchanges.
Dan Cătănuş, PhD in History, is senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, bilateral relations.

MIOARA ANTON, *After invasion: Romania in the Shadow of the "Brezhnev Doctrine". September-October 1968*..... 189
In August 1968, as a consequence of its having condemned the sending of Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia, Romania was very close to being subject to Soviet military intervention. The enunciation of the "limited sovereignty doctrine" forced a reevaluation of Romanian foreign policy. The Czechoslovakian lesson obliged the Romanian leadership to be more careful and seek a form of reconciliation with Moscow. Shortly after August 1968, for Romanian diplomats it was obvious that the Soviet foreign policy hadn't changed its strategies and that its opening to the West meant in fact the strenghtening of control over the communist bloc. Romanian diplomats understood that Bucharest's foreign policy would be dependent on Soviet goals and that Romania could not ignore the agreement which might arise between the Soviet Union and the United States.
Mioara Anton, Ph.D. in History, senior researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History and N.I.S.T. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, Communist leadership, Brezhnev Doctrine.

VASILE BUGA, *Behind-the-Scenes of Nicolae Ceauşescu's Rise to the Top*..... 203
Unraveling the mechanisms whereby Nicolae Ceausescu acceded to the top party position after Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's death in March 1965 is still a topical concern of the scientific milieus in Romania, giving rise to speculations. Accounts in the memoirs published after 1990 revealed details known only to a few insiders of the Romanian party and state leadership. In this connection, currently it is unanimously believed that it was Ion Gheorghe Maurer who played the key role in Nicolae Ceausescu's ascent. The document published here, i.e. the letter Gh. Apostol wrote on

July 30, 1970, sent to Nicolae Ceausescu on November 9, 1970, casts fresh light on the circumstances in which Ceausescu was elected to head the party.
Vasile Buga is Ph.D., senior researcher with N.I.S.T., coordinator of the Russian and Soviet Studies Center. Recent work: *The Fall of the Empire. The Soviet Union in Gorbachev Era, 1985-1989*, N.I.S.T., 2007.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, political leadership.

SIMION GHEORGHIU, *The Agony of the Communist Regime in Romania: the Ceauşescu-Gorbachev Exchange of Messages, Nov. 1989*..... 228
Moscow's signaling of an opening when Mikhail Gorbachev took the helm of the USSR was given different interpretations in the Soviet bloc. Some of the satellite countries (Hungary, Poland) adopted an even more reformist stand than that proposed by the Soviet leader, whereas others (Romania, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic) categorically rejected the perestroika-inspired reforms. The leaders of the latter, fearing the Gorbachev-like initiatives would endanger their political power, used ideological arguments to defend their position. Such was the case of Bucharest leader N. Ceausescu who, alarmed by the changes in Europe in general and by the talk about German unification in particular, requested the USSR to step up the political-ideological struggle and make no concessions to Western Germany. Nicolae Ceausescu's insistent defense of the GDR is explained by the fear that abandoning a communist member state of the Warsaw Treaty would create a dangerous precedent for the other member states. The text here presents the exchange of messages – unpublished before – between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev, which highlights the deep crisis in the Romanian-Soviet relations in 1989 and the many-sided divergences between Bucharest and Moscow.
Simion Gheorghiu is research assistant with the Nicolae Iorga History Institute. MA, University of Bucharest, PhD candidate.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, Communism, perestroika.

Biographical Dictionary

ANA MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Vlad Georgescu*..... 242
Vlad Georgescu was born on October 29, 1937, in Bucharest. He graduated from the Faculty of History (1959) and after that he was hired at the Romanian-Russian Museum in Bucharest. In 1963 he became a researcher at the Institute of East-European Studies. After an exceptional career in the field of history, Vlad Georgescu became a dissident. On March 1977, he transmitted three hostile materials regarding the Romanian regime to the United States ambassador, in order to be disseminated abroad. One day later, he was arrested and accused of treason. He was released on May 25, 1977. After leaving the country, in 1979, Vlad Georgescu worked for Radio Free Europe as director of the Romanian Section (1983-1988). Vlad Georgescu was also a person who made some compromises, one of them being that, while he was in Romania, he was an informer for the *Securitate*. He died on November 13, 1988 of brain cancer.
Ana-Maria Cătănuş is researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, intellectuals, dissidence.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Corneliu Mănescu*..... 247
Corneliu Manescu was born on February 6, 1906 in Ploiesti. In the 30's he came to the capital city to study at the Law School of Bucharest University. He got closer to the leftist

movement through poet Miron Radu Paraschivescu, who introduced him to the Democratic Student Front, a structure close to the Communist Party. Manescu became a member of the RCP in 1936 but was ousted from the party in 1952. In March 1961, Ion Gheorghe Maurer became prime minister and Corneliu Manescu – foreign minister. Manescu's term as head of the Romanian diplomacy coincided with what would later be called the "golden decade of the Romanian foreign policy." In 1972, Corneliu Manescu was removed from his position as chief diplomatist. Between 1977 and 1982 he was Romania's ambassador in Paris and permanent representative to UNESCO. In 1982 he retired from public life. In 1989 he was one of the six dignitaries to speak out against Ceausescu, so he was expelled from the party, he had to leave his home in Kiseleff Blvd. and move to the rural settlement of Chitila, being subjected to daily investigation until December 1989.
Cristina Diac is PhD student, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T. MA in History, University of Bucharest.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, political leaders.

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DUMITRU ŞANDRU, *How Others' Work Is Stolen and History Falsified,* a review of the book *Agriculture and Petty Politics. One Century of Agrarian Policy in Romania, 1907-2007* **251**
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This is a review of Ion Mircea Stănescu's book *Architect under Communism, Paideia* Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006.
Carmen Rădulescu is graduated in History, "Dimitrie Cantemir"Christian University; assistant researcher within NIST.
ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *On Bessarabia, without Passion* 259
This is a presentation of the Italian researcher Alberto Basciani's book *La difficile unione. La Bessarbia e la Grande Romania. 1918-1940 (The Difficult Union. Bessarabia and Greater Romania, 1918-1940),* Aracne Publishing House, Rome, 2007.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is an assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).

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The N.I.S.T. agenda describes the activity of the institute's researchers during the first half of this year. This is a short review of participation in symposiums, round tables, book releases, openings of document exhibitions, where the participants discussed issues related to the access to documents from the communist period and the debunking of certain huge historical mystifications.

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Editorial
RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast*, XXXI 5
Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary. Conspirative Name:The Artist*, volume I, *1963-1970*, N.I.S.T., 2005
Keywords: Europe, World War II.

Studies
MARIANA ŢĂRANU, *1922 – The Deportation of the Russian Intelligentsia* 15
The PhD thesis describes the policy promoted by the Bolshevik authorities towards the intellectuals in Russia during the first years of the Soviet power. The reasons why a certain group of intellectuals had to leave the country legally or illegally are explained. There is also a special analysis of the inhuman procedure of deportation of the democratically-minded intellectuals as one of the Bolshevik policy aspects. **Mariana Ţăranu**, Ph.D., teaches at the Free International University in Chişinău, Republic of Moldova; recent volume: *Lenin fără machiaj: teroarea intelectualităţii sovietice (1917-1922) [The Real Lenin: The Terror of the Soviet Intelligentsia]* 2007.
Keywords:Soviet Union, Russian intelligentsia, deportation.

DRAGOS ZAMFIRESCU, *Romanian-Soviet Relations in the First Postwar Years – The Work of Romania's Diplomatic Mission to Moscow, 1945-1946* 26

Romanian-Soviet diplomatic relations were resumed on August 6, 1945 as a result of the Russians applying a strategy to exert total intelligence control on Romanian developments. In this context, the "mission" of the Romanian Embassy in Moscow, headed by Iorgu Iordan, had a "decorative" role par excellence. Most of the work the Romanian diplomats performed was geared at informing Russian officials about the communist takeover and the anti-communist strategies of the leaders of the "historical parties," considered "reactionary". **Dragoş Zamfirescu**, PhD, is specialized in the study of right-wing extremism in Romania (the interwar years) and of the totalitarian models that emerged after WW2, when the so-called socialist camp came into being.
Keywords: Romania, Soviet Union, political relations, diplomacy.

PAVEL MORARU, *The History of the Moldavian S.S.R. Political Police Apparatus* ... 39
Already on the Bessarabian territory, after its annexation to the U.R.S.S. (June 28, 2008), the Soviet political police bodies contributed decisively to setting up and consolidating the Soviet regime in that territory. Their basic task, in order to secure the loyalty of the population and implementation of the "Soviet reforms", was to annihilate the "anti-Soviet elements" and also any activity hostile to the regime. They therefore resorted to intimidation, provocation, misleading, murder, deportation, expulsions, etc. **Pavel Moraru** is Ph.D. in history. Senior researcher with the N.I.S.T. Recent work: *Informaţii militare pe frontul de est* [*Military Intelligence on the Eastern Front*], 2005.
Keywords: Moldavian SSR, political police.

MIHAIL LANCUZOV, *The Dissolution of the National Peasant Party – a New Stage in the Plan on Sovietizing Romania, I*.....51
The establishment of Petru Groza's government on March 6, 1945 was the beginning of a significant change for the Romanian kingdom, from a democratic state to a communist-like totalitarian state. After the outrageous rigging of the November 19, 1946 elections, the next step was to annihilate the opposition by dissolving the democratic parties. The first target was the National Peasant Party. On July 14, 1947 the party was dealt a death blow when the political police agents framed up an attempt to flee the country to a group of Peasant leaders. In a few days, the government outlawed the key opposition party, closed its headquarters, neutralized the press and arrested its leaders. **Mihail Lancuzov** – historian, National Museum of History, Buharest
Keywords: Romania, Communism, National Peasant Party.

STELUŢA CHEFANI-PĂTRAŞCU, *"Our Luggage is Always Ready" – Requisition of Landowners' Mansions in 1948*.....61
On instructions from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 1948 the landowners' mansions were requisitioned partially or totally. Landowners represented the real authority in the world of Romanian villages. Through requisition, the communist authorities impoverished the landlords and limited their authority. The state planned to use the mansions to shelter institutions like municipalities, schools, banks, post offices, etc. or simply the staff of these institutions. There were cases when the owners were driven out of their properties and forced to rent another house.
Steluţa Chefani-Pătraşcu is PhD candidate at the University of Bucharest. Museologist at Teleorman County Museum – History Section.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, requisition, landowners.

ANDREA DOBEŞ, *The Communist Repression in Romania. Penitentiaries and Forced Labour Colonies in Maramureş, II* 71
In the beginning of the '50 the concentration camp in Maramureş become a place for the extermination of the Communist regime opponents. In this regard Sighet penitentiary was a place for the extermination of the Romanian political and intellectual elites. Also, the forced labour colonies created around the lead mines had a double purpose: on the one hand, to produce non-ferrous ores at a lower cost and on the other hand to exterminate some of the political opponents.
Andrea Dobeş is Ph.D. student at the Institute of History "George Bariţ" from Cluj Napoca. Recent book: *Ilie Lazăr. The Consistency of a Political Ideal*, Argonaut, 2005.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression, labor camps, penitentiaries.

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, *The Moscow Meetings of Communist and Worker Parties, November 1957*.....86
When the Cominform was dissolved in April 1956, the CPSU began looking for new and more efficient ways of collaboration between the communist parties. The idea of holding a general meeting of these parties came up in November 1954, right after the defeat of the Hungarian revolution, but began materializing in February 1957, when the Chinese Communist Party was approached and asked to become involved in organizing such a meeting. The actual meeting, held in Moscow in November 1957, and the compromise the Soviets and the Chinese achieved showed that the international communist movement had, at the moment, overcome the difficulties generated by the CPSU's 20th Congress.
Aleksandr Stykalin is PhD in History. Senior researcher with the Institute of Slavistics of the Russian Academy of Science.
Keywords:Soviet Union, Communism, Cominform, Communist Parties collaboration.

ASHBY CROWDER, *Romanian Interpretations of the Prague Spring: Cadres, Diplomats and the 1968 Crisis, II*.....108
The Czechoslovak crisis of 1968 had a lasting effect on Romanian politics and society. As Mary Fischer said, the Prague Spring was a "galvanizing event" for the Romanian Communist Party and for Nicolae Ceauşescu personally. It offered the chance to the Romanian dictator to appear to the whole world as a strong anti-Soviet leader, despite his Communist regime. Taking advantage from the profound anti-Soviet/Russian feelings of the Romanian people, it also offered the unique possibility to the R.C.P. to try a reconcilation with the Nation. **Ashby Crowder** - M.A. in European history at Ohio University, United States. He is a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the South East European Studies Association, and the Society for Romanian Studies.
Keywords: Czechoslovakia, Romania, Prague Spring, Romanian Communist Party.

FLORIAN BANU, *Main Tendencies in the Historiography of the Communist Regime in Romania. Test Case: the Researchers Studying the Archives of the Former Political Police* 124
In this paper, the author tries to identify the principal directions of historians' and others specialists' interests in recent Romanian history, based on the titles of their works, before proceeding on to the real investigation of the archives. These titles, correlated with information from the *Historical Bibliography of Romania,* indicate, without doubt,

that the old frustrations from the totalitarian regime are still present in the mind of many researchers, even in the young generation. **Florian Banu** is Ph.D. in history, expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent volume: *Securitatea. Structuri/cadre, obiective şi metode* [*The Securitate. Structures/Staff, Objectives and Methodes*], *vol.I: 1948-1967*, 2006 (co-edithor).

Keywords: Romania, Communism, historiography.

Documents

ALEXANDRU V. DIŢĂ, *Demetrescu Radu Gyr: An Essential Autobiographical Contribution, II*..... 133

Although the name Radu Gyr became a symbol for all the political prisoners, no matter the type of the dictatorship, his biography is still insufficiently known. In this article we present a document, an autobiography written by Radu Gyr while he was imprisoned, being sentenced to death. **Alexandru V. Diţă** is Ph.D. in History, editor. Scientific researcher with the N.I.S.T.

Keywords: Romania, Communism, intellectuls, political repression.

VASILE BUGA, *Ana Pauker: Advice on Demoralizing the Romanian Army, March 1944* 145

The report the Romanian leader released on June 9, 1944, found in the Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (RGASPI) in Moscow, recommends that the Soviet bodies undertake actions to demoralize the Romanian troops opposing the offensive of the Red Army in the Romanian territory. The author highlights the moral and political aspects of the people's mood in the "liberated" territory of Romania; also indicated are methods for the management of Soviet-controlled zones and of the goods left behind there.

Vasile Buga is Ph.D., senior researcher with N.I.S.T., coordinator of the Russian and Soviet Studies Center. Recent work: *The Fall of the Empire. The Soviet Union in Gorbachev Era, 1985-1989*,N.I.S.T., 2007.

Keywords:Romania, Soviet Union, World War II, Red Army.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XXIV..... 156

The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. In that case, the abuses are objectively reflected by documents from Moldavia. **Octavian Roske**, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *The Collectivisation of Agriculture in Romania. The Political Dimension, 1949-1953*, 2000 (co-author); *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, A-C*, 2001 (coordinator).

Keywords:Romania, Communism, agriculture, collectivization, repression.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Secret Dialogues: New Information on the Manescu-Rusk Meeting of October 4, 1963*..... 161

The things US diplomat Raymond L. Garthoff disclosed about the October 4, 1963 meeting of Corneliu Manescu and Dean Rusk have not been confirmed directly so far by other American or Romanian sources. This article resumes the discussion on this topic and presents some new information found in Romanian archives, which supports, albeit

indirectly, Garthoff's statements regarding both the date when the two foreign ministers met and the special content of the talks. **Dan Cătănuş** is PhD in History; senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, United States of America, political relations, diplomacy.

MIOARA ANTON, *A controversial episode. The establishment of Romanian-West-German diplomatic relations. January 31, 1967*..... 171
At the end of the sixties, Communist Romania began to emphasize a foreign policy different from that of the Communist bloc. The economic dimension played an important role in her strategy to detach from the Soviet bloc. One of the most important objectives for economic development was the industrialisation program which aimed to bring in Western investment and technology. In this context, West Germany became a pattern of economic development very attractive to Romanian Communist leaders. In January 1967, Romania managed to surprise her allies (especially East Germany) with her decision to establish diplomatic relations with West Germany. **Mioara Anton** is Ph.D. in History; senior researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords:West Germany, Romania, diplomatic relations.

ION CONSTANTIN, *The RCP and the Issue of Bessarabia: the meeting between Pan. Halippa and Ion Popescu-Puţuri, February 1967*..... 184
In the mid-60's, as a new course of relative independence was being promoted in Romania's foreign policy, Pantelimon Halippa, as well as other Bessarabian representatives, pinned their hopes on a change in the Romanian authorities' perception of the Bessarabian issue. He even suggested finding a unification solution for the two Romanian states inside the socialist system. It is in this context that one must consider the meeting Pantelimon Halippa, together with lawyer Adrian Brudariu, had on February 13, 1967 with Ion Popescu-Puţuri, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies attached to the Central Committee of Romanian Communist Party.**Ion Constantin** is Ph.D. in history, reasercher within the NIST; former Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The History of Poland and the Romanian-Polish Relations*, 2005
Keywords: Romania, Bessarabia, Romanian Communist Party.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *The 1971 Cultural Revolution: Preliminary Assessement…* 193
The campaign to reinforce ideology launched by Nicolae Ceauşescu in the summer of 1971 ended the liberalization period which began in the second half of the 60's. The ideological campaign began July 6, 1971. In this day N. Ceauşescu presented to the Executive Committee (former Politburo) the 17 *measure proposals* in order to improve the political-ideological activity. This was in fact a program intended to introduce policy in all areas of activity. Aiming to strengthen the discipline in all domains, the ideological campaign had another consequence: the change of ideological leadership. **Ana-Maria Cătănuş** is researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author)
Keywords: Romania, Communismt, ideology.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *French-Romanian Top-Level Meetings, 1978-1980* 208
The French and Romanian presidents, Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Nicolae Ceauşescu, met in 1979, in Bucharest, and 1980, in Paris. The talks confirm the good relations between the two countries, as attested by the two documents presented in the article. The former refers to the meeting between Romania's President Nicolae Ceauşescu and Jean Francois-Poncet, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. The latter document presents the official talks between the presidents of Romania and France, during Ceauşescu's visit to Paris in July 1980. At that moment, the two leaders discussed European and international security, disarmament, military conflicts in Afghanistan and the Middle East. **Florin-Răzvan Mihai** is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; M.A. in International Relations, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T
Keywords: France, Romania, political relations, diplomacy.

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VALERII MUSATOV, *János Kádár Seen by a Contemporary*.....222
The author of the article, a connoisseur of Central and Eastern Europe and especially of Hungary, objectively pictures the Hungarian communist leader J. Kadar, whom his contemporaries considered a reformer. Valerii Musatov, who met Kadar at various moments in his activity, enlarges upon the role Kadar played during the events in Hungary in autumn 1956, as well as on the nature of his relations with the successive leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: N.S. Khrushchev, L. I. Brezhnev, I.V. Andropov and M.S. Gorbachev.**Valerii Leonidovich Musatov** is PhD in History and is a research scholar with the Economics Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Former diplomat. Russian Federation's ambassador to Hungary, May 2000-January 2006. Author of over 70 works on the history of the Soviet Union's relations with the East European countries and on Soviet foreign policy
Keywords: Hungary, Communism, János Kádár, **Hungarian revolution.**

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FLORIN I. ŞANDRU, *Gheorghe Alexianu (1897- 1946)*.....232
Gheorghe Alexianu, law professor at the University of Cernăuţi (then in Romania), was General Governor of Transnistria appointed by Marshall Ion Antonescu's military Government after the conquest of the region in August 1941 by Romania. After a 3-year regime he was arrested as criminal of war for the crimes perpetrated during his war administration against the local population, the Jews and the Soviet Union. **Florin I. Şandru** is graduated in History, University of Piteşti, County of Argeş.
Keywords:Romania, Transnistria, repression.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Nicolae Ceauşescu*.....234
The last leader of communist Romania had a long career in the communist party, which began when he was an adolescent and ended with his death in December 1989. In the years of the party's underground activity, he was imprisoned several times. After August 23, 1944 he held several positions both in the party apparat and in the state structures. From 1954 until the death of Gheorghiu-Dej, Nicolae Ceausescu's career developed mostly in the party apparat. In 1965, when Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej died, he was appointed first secretary of the CC of the Romanian Workers Party. **Cristina Diac** is PhD student, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T. MA in History, University of Bucharest.
Keywords:Romania, Communism, political leaders, Nicolae Ceauşescu.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Octavian Goga (1881-1938)*.....239
Octavian Goga was one of the Transylvanian intellectuals who fought for the Romanian national cause. In 1910, because of his political and cultural activity, he was arrested for eight days by the Hungarian authorities. After the end of the First World War, he was appointed minister in different Romanian governments, between 1920 and 1921. Meanwhile, he became a member of Romanian Academy (1921). His political sympathy for the extreme right movement grew in the 30's. He was elected vice-president of the anti-Semitic National Christian Party and prime minister of Romania (1938). After a few months, on May 5, 1938, he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died.
Keywords: Romania, interwar period, intellectuals.

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Alexandru Herlea (1907-?)*.....242
Alexandru Herlea was born on June 24, 1907 at Vinerea – Orastie, Alba County. Herlea began his teaching career at the Academy of High Agronomic Studies in Cluj. Besides, he conducted an intense journalistic activity motivated by the country's major political, social and economic problems (1925-1947). Professor Herlea was arrested several times in August 1949, sentenced to 5 years in prison, and then in 1958. Released in 1963, professor Herlea managed as late as 1966 to be accepted as a research scholar at the Nicolae Iorga History Institute.**Adrian Brişcă** took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Enarmed Resistance in Banat*, tom I, *1945-1949*, NIST, 2004.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression, anticommunism.

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GHEORGHE BARBĂ, *The Hour of Sacrifice*.....249
This is a review of Ion Druţă's book*, Ora jertfirii. Proză, publicistică, scrisori (The Hour of Sacrifice. Fiction, Journalism, Letters)*, Cartea Moldovei Publishing House, Chişinău, 1998, 392 p.
Gheorghe Barbă, Ph.D., a philologist and Slavic specialist focusing on Russian literature and culture, teaches at the University of Bucharest. Co-author of several volumes such as: *Contemporary Soviet Prose; Pushkin in the Romanian Cultural Context; The Song of Igor's Campaign.*

VASILE BUGA, *A Quarter of a Century in the service for Nicolae Ceauşescu* 252
This is a review of Silviu Curticeanu's book, *Meditaţii necenzurate* (*Uncensored Thoughts*), Historia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, 584 p.
CRISTINA DIAC, *New Information about the Securitates' Sources* 253
This is a review of Mihai Albu's book *Informatorul. Studiu de caz asupra colaborării cu Securitatea*, (The Source. A Case-study on Collaboration with the Securitate), Polirom Publishing House, 2008, 226 p.
ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *"Crossroads Digest"*.....256
This is a presentation of "Crossroads Digest. The Journal for the Studies of Eastern European Borderland", issue 1/2006, printed in Vilnius, Lithuania.

Alexandru-Murad Mironov is an assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).

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Editorial

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast*, XXX 5
Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989*. Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary*. *Conspirative Name:The Artist*, volume I, *1963-1970*, N.I.S.T., 2005.
Keywords: Europe, Great Britan, World War II

Studies
VASILE BUGA, *The 1946 November Parliamentary Elections in the context of Soviet-Romanian Relations*..... 10
The decision taken at the Moscow Conference by the foreign ministers of Soviet Union, United States and Great Britain (December 16-26, 1945) regarding the reorganizing of Petru Groza's government and the organizing of free elections led to the ending of the constitutional crisis in Romania due to the fact that the United States and Great Britain did not recognize the Romanian government.The official results led to the victory of the Democratic Popular Bloc with 79,86%. The fake November 1946 elections, which gave legitimacy to Petru Groza's government, was a new step in consolidating the Romanian Communist regime and marked the entrance of Romania in the Soviet sphere of influence.
Vasile Buga is Ph.D., senior researcher with N.I.S.T., coordinator of the Russian and Soviet Studies Center. Recent work: *The Fall of the Empire. The Soviet Union in Gorbachev Era, 1985-1989*,N.I.S.T., 2007.
Keywords:Romania, 1946 elections, Romanian Communist Party.

MIROSLAV LONDÁK, ELENA LONDÁKOVÁ, *The Economic, Social and Cultural Evolution of Slovakia after the World War II* 31
The authors try to offer a comprehensive picture of the economic, political, social and cultural evolution of Slovakia in the context of the post World War II period. The article is also emphasising the lights and shadows in the history of Slovakia under the Communist rule.
Elena Londáková is Ph.D. in History, researcher with the Institute of History of the Slovakian Academy of Science. She published several studies dedicated to the historical connection of the Slovakian culture during 1945 and late 1970's. Recent book: *The Early Spring. The Political, Economic and Cultural Evolution in Slovakia, 1960-1967*, Bratislava, Veda 2002, (co-author).
Miroslav Londák is Ph.D. in History, researcher with the Institute of History of the Slovakian Academy of Science. He studies the economical history of Slovakia after the World War II. Recent book: *The Early Spring. The Political, Economic and Cultural Evolution in Slovakia, 1960-1967*, Bratislava, Veda 2002, (co-author).
Keywords: Europe, Slovakia, post World War II, economy, society, cultural life.

VLAD-LUCIAN POPESCU, *The Cultural Position of the Communist Party of USA after the End of World War II*..... 49
Following the end of World War II the Communist Party of the United States of America (C.P.U.S.A.) was caught in the cultural cold war between Soviet Union and USA. CPUSA, an obedient follower of the C.P.S.U., adopted the tactics and language of Andrei Zhdanov, the chief soviet ideologue of the period. Greatly exaggerating the peril of the American communists, institutions like the F.B.I. and C.I.A., managed to impose for a while their own form of cultural dogmatism onto the American society, indirectly helped by the activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy and his House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).
Vlad-Lucian Popescu – M.A. in International Relations. Ph.D. student at the University of Bucharest.
Keywords:USA, Communist Party, culture, American society

ANDREA DOBEŞ, *The Communist Repression in Romania. Penitentiaries and Forced Labour Colonies in Maramureş I*..... 61
In the beginning of the '50 the concentration camp in Maramureş become a place for the extermination of the Communist regime opponents. In this regard Sighet penitentiary was a place for the extermination of the Romanian political and intellectual elites. Also, the forced labour colonies created around the lead mines had a double purpose: on the one hand, to produce non-ferrous ores at a lower cost and on the other hand to exterminate some of the political opponents.
Andreea Dobeş is Ph.D. student at the Institute of History "George Bariţ" from Cluj Napoca. Recent book: *Ilie Lazăr. The Consistency of a Political Ideal*, Argonaut, 2005.
Keywords:Romania, Communism, repression, forced labour, penitentiaries

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The Soviet-Chinese Relations after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, II*..... 69
In the early 60's, during the open polemic between the leaderships in Beijing and Moscow, the Chinese indicated the year 1956 and the 20th Congress of the CPSU as the starting points of the rift between the two countries and parties. Nevertheless, the stands

and actions of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956 did in no way hint at the breakage they would invoke later.
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords:Soviet Uniom, China, ideology, political relations.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU BEJENARIU, *The Control of Information in Socialist Romania, 1965-1989, II* 85
During 1948-1965 the state secret was one of the instruments used for controlling the society. Although he promoted a sort of relaxation in internal policy, Nicolae Ceaușescu transformed the keeping of state secret into a strong instrument of pressure on the Romanian society.
Alina Ilinca is graduate of the History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent work: *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicţionar* [*Members of the C.C. of the R.C.P., 1945-1989. Dictionary*], 2004 (co-author).
Liviu Marius Bejenaru is graduate of the Faculty of History, University „Al. I. Cuza" of Iaşi. Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent work: *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicţionar* [*Members of the C.C. of the R.C.P., 1945-1989. Dictionary*], 2004 (co-author).
Keywords:Romania, Communism, state secret, internal policy, Romanian society.

ASHBY CROWDER, *Romanian Interpretations of the Prague Spring: Cadres, Diplomats and the 1968 Crisis, I*..... 99
The Czechoslovak crisis of 1968 had a lasting effect on Romanian politics and society. As Mary Fischer said, the Prague Spring was a "galvanizing event" for the Romanian Communist Party and for Nicolae Ceaușescu personally. It offered the chance to the Romanian dictator to appear to the whole world as a strong anti-Soviet leader, despite his Communist regime. Taking advantage from the profound anti-Soviet/Russian feelings of the Romanian people, it also offered the unique possibility to the R.C.P. to try a reconcilation with the Nation.
Ashby Crowder - M.A. in European history at Ohio University, United States. He is a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the South East European Studies Association, and the Society for Romanian Studies.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, Prague Spring, diplomacy

VASILE PALII, *Romania and the Czechoslovak Crisis. Mechanisms of Decision Making, August 1968* 117
The Bucharest officials were well informed about the events which took place in Czechoslovakia in the beginning of the 1986. Measures for monitoring the events in the communist camp were set, but in practice little was done. The information gathered allowed Romania to plan a certain behavior in the international relations. However, according to this study, one should distinguish between the short-term strategic evaluation and the way the crisis was managed in the morning of August 21st, 1968. After analyzing the decisional process undertaken in Bucharest, we can consider Ceausescu's condemnation of the invasion

as the result of the misinterpretation of the information related to the political and diplomatic actions of the Warsaw Treaty, according to which the invasion of Romania was afoot.
Vasile Palii – B.A. in History. Ph.D. student, author of several studies published in *Dilema, Privirea, Magazin istoric* and *Dosarele istoriei*.
Keywords: Romania, Czechoslovakia, Prague Spring, decision making.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Biographical Dictionary of the Repression: Methods, Pattern, Sources* 133
The biographical dictionary is an essential instrument for the analysis of the dinamics and the forms of the repressive system. Along with the collections of documents, studies and the legislative corpus, the biographical dictionary appeared as a need to establish the identity of the victims as well as the coordinators of the repression. It also represents a useful source for the research of the history of the repressive mechanisms of the Romanian Communist regime. The biographical dictionary has five main characteristics: stands on a number of edited or oral sources; it has a pattern format which establish a predictable character; it has a regional or professional determination; it is circumscribed to a certain period of time and has a specific stylistic mark.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, P*, 2007 (co-ordinator).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, repression, historiography, biographical dictionary

Documents
ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Soviet Airplanes above Bucharest: International Air Show, October 1935* 150
In the year after the recognition of the USSR by Romania and the establishment of diplomatic relations, there were no cultural, economic etc. exchanges between the two countries.
The author presents a secret police document from the Romanian inter-war period, the *Siguranţa*, containing the informative report of the Soviet delegations' activities, who took part in the International Air Show, held in Bucharest, October, 1935. The agents followed step by step the Soviet pilots in order to prevent any subversive activities of them. In fact, the Romanian authorities did precisely the same thing as the police-state did in the USSR to foreign visitors.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is an assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, USSR, interwar period, diplomacy.

CARMEN RĂDULESCU, *Art under the Communist regime: The Trade Union of Artists, 1950-1953, II* 162
The article deals with the status of the members of Trade Union of Plastic Artists in the Communist regime and the relations between the Communist Party, in its effort to gain the support of the artists in building a new world with a "new man" and artists which embraced or dissapproved the new wave coming from Moscow leaders of social realism.
Carmen Rădulescu is a graduated in History, "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest; assistant researcher with the NIST.

Keywords: Romania, Communism, art, Trade Union of Plastic Artists, "new man".

ALEXANDRU V. DIŢĂ, *Demetrescu Radu Gyr: An Essential Autobiographical Contribution, I*..... 176
Although the name Radu Gyr became a symbol for all the political prisoners, no matter the type of the dictatorship, his biography is still insufficiently known. In this article we present a document, an autobiography written by Radu Gyr while he was imprisoned, being sentenced to death.
Alexandru V. Diţă is Ph.D. in History, editor. Scientific researcher with the N.I.S.T.
Keywords:Romania, Communism, repression, intellectuals.

MIOARA ANTON, *A visit with Many Questions Marks. Khruschev's Presence in Bucharest, June 1962*..... 187
In the beginning of the '60s, Romania began to develop a new policy towards the Soviet Union. At the origin of the Romanian-Soviet dispute was the refusal of the economic integration plans launched by COMECON. The Romanian opposition was the main reason for Khruschev's visit to Bucharest in June 1962. During his visit the Soviet leader did not make any attempt to mask his unhappiness with Romanian economic progress, in both industrial and agricultural fields. From this perspective, for the Romanian leaders, Khruschev's criticism was an unacceptable way to sort out the differences between the fraternal countries.
Mioara Anton is Ph.D. in History; senior researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author); *Propaganda and War. The East Campaign, 1941-1944*, Tritonic, 2007.
Keywords: Romania, USSR, Communism, political relations, COMECON.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Comsumption's Rationalisation Policies in Romanian Economy, 1974-1989*..... 203
The World Energy Crisis at the end of 1973 took by surprise the Romanian economy, which was in that moment in a process of sustained economic growth. Worried of the consequences of the crisis, Nicolae Ceauşescu convoked on January 28, 1974 a meeting of the Permanent Presidium of R.C.P. to analyse the situation of the Romanian oil imports. In a later meeting, on April 26, 1974, Nicolae Ceauşescu criticized all his subordinates for not complying with his indications regarding the cutting down of public lighting.
Petre Opriş is Ph.D. student. Recent book: *The Romanian Industry of Defence. Documents, 1950-1989*, Ploieşti University Publishing House, 2007.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, economy, World Energy Crisis, rationalisation

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Unseen Faces. The Repression against Goma Movement*..... 225
In spring 1977, several hundred people endorsed Paul Goma's fight for the respect of human rights in Romania. Although it began as an individual action, the Goma movement grew after the *Open Letter* addressed to the Helsinki Conference was broadcasted by Radio Free Europe in February 1977. In just a few months the number of those who adhered to Goma movement amounted at 350. The signatories came from all the regions of the country and had different motivations which determined their support to Goma's actions. For some of the adherents, signing the *Open Letter* was a way to denounce the abusive behaviuor of the Communist regime, but for others it was an opportunity to be granted the emigration.

Althought this was not a happy choice, it represented a right that every citizen should have benefited from.
Ana-Maria Cătănuș is researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communist Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, dissidents, Goma movement.

Testimonies
ION COMAN*: "In 1989 Nicolae Ceauşescu's destiny was already decided" ...* 240
Beginning with this issue NIST opens a new series of debates dedicated to the Communist regime. Thus, former Communist leaders are invited to speak about the Communist regime in Romania but also of its relations with the socialist countries and democratic states.
Ion Coman, former Minister of National Defence in 1976-1980 was our first guest on the May 17th, 2007, to present his testimony about the period in which he was active in political and military areas. His lecture offered information on the Timişoara events and the relationship within Romanian Communist Party.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, internal policy, foreign relations.

MIRCEA MALIŢA, *"The Cold War was a Tremendous Agreement"*..... 246
The former Romanian diplomat Mircea Malita, counsellor of Romania's Permanent Mission to the United Nations (1956-1962), was invited by the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism to participate in a conference. The event took place on June 27, 2007 and Mircea Malita presented a new perspective on the Cold War, international relations and the place of Romania within the international diplomacy.
Keywords: Romania, Cold War, diplomacy.

Biographical Dictionary
CRISTINA DIAC, *Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901-1965)*..... 252
Gheorghe Gheorghiu's ascent to the highest levels of the Romanian state and of the Romanian Communist Party took place in a context of historical fracture. Dej was a child with a precarious education, then an apprentice in different towns, more or less industrialised, and later a union leader fascinated by the Communist ideas. He was senteced ten years in prison for his political beliefs. The first leader of the Communist Romania, the "Olimpus"of the Communist power, Dej was characterized as „a great statesman" in his times of glory.
Cristina Diac is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; assistent researcher with N.I.S.T.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, political leadership, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Anton Golimbiovschi (1911-?)*..... 257
Anton Golimbiovschi was nothing but un ordinary man. He was a peasant from historical Bucovina, who went, on a compulsory basis, to fight in WWII with the Romanian Army. He was injured and sent again in battle field. In 1944, Golimbiovschi was granted a leave of absence to visit his family. Unfortunately, his wife and two daughters have been deported by the Soviet occupation troops. Immediately, the soldier joined anti-Soviet/Communist local resistence, lead by Vladimir Macoveiciuc and Ion Vatamaniuc. Few months later, he was captured and sent to forced labour camps in USSR. In 1955, he was released and returned home.

Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Enarmed Resistance in Banat*, tom I, *1945-1949*, NIST, 2004.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, anti-Soviet/Communist resistence.
Book Reviews

ION CONSTANTIN, *New Publications on the Polish Secret Police* 259
This is a review of Henryk Głębocki's book *Poliţia secretă la lucru. Din istoria statului poliţienesc în R.P. Polonă*, (*Secret Police at Work. Some Facts from the History of the Police State in Polish P.R.*) ARCANA Publishing House, Cracovia, 2005, and Sławomir Cenckiewicz' book *Cu ochii securităţii. Schiţe şi materiale din istoria aparatului de securitate al R.P. Polone (With the Eyes of the Secret Police. Sketches and Drafts of the History of the Polish Secret Police)*, ARCANA Publishing House, 2006.
Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in history. Scientific researcher with the N.I.S.T. Recent book: *Poland in the "Solidarity" Era, 1980-1989*, NIST, 2007.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Behind the Scenes of Warsaw Treaty Organization*..... 262
This is a review of the Vojtech Mastny and Malcolm Byrne's book *A Cardboard Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955-1991*, Central European University Press, Budapest and New York, 2005.

ALEXANDRU MURAD-MIRONOV, *The Memories of a Romanian Kings'Ccourtier*..... 264
This is a review of Eugeniu Arthur Buhman memories *Patru decenii în serviciul Casei Regale a României. Memorii, 1898-1940 (Four decades in the service of the Romanian Royal House. Memoires, 1898-1940*), edited by Cristian Scarlat, Sigma Publishing House, 2006.

The NIST Library

MIHAI-VLADIMIR ILIESCU, *Books and Periodicals. Included in the NIST Collections* 268
The NIST Agenda 270

The N.I.S.T. agenda describes the activity of the institute's researchers during the first half of this year. This is a short review of participation in symposiums, round tables, book releases, openings of document exhibitions, where the participants discussed issues related to the access to documents from the communist period and the debunking of certain huge historical mystifications.

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Editorial

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast*, XXIX 5
Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary. Conspirative Name: the Artist*, volume I, *1963-1970*, N.I.S.T., 2005.
Keywords: Europe, Wold War II, postwar, great powers.

Studies

ALEXANDRU BARNEA, *The Soviet Massacres of Winnitsa, 1937-1939* 10
This paper was presented at the International Conference on *The Massacres of Katyn and Their Part in Building a Democratic Remembrance*, organized by the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, October 2006. The author focused on an article published by the official review of the Romanian Orthodox Church, concerning the findings at Winnitsa, Western Ukraine. In 1943, the German administration of occupied Ukraine found thousands of bodies, probably executed by the Soviet secret police in the late 30's.
Alexandru Barnea, Ph.D., is a professor with the Faculty of History, University of Bucharest.

Keywords:Europe, Soviet Union, Winnitsa, Ukraine, German administration, interwar, massacres.

ALIAKSANDER DALHOUSKI, *The Mass Executions at Kurapati, 1937-1941* 15
Kurapati, where the victims of Stalinist reprisals over 1937-1941 were executed and buried, was the first such place in Belarus discovered and studied in the late 80s. According to calculations made by archeologists from the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Belarus, more than 100,000 civilians were executed at this location. The executions spread over five years.
Aliaksander Dalhouski is accredited teacher (State Teaching College, University of Minsk, Belarus) / PhD candidate, Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochshule Aachen.
Keywords: Europe, Soviet Union, Belarus, Stalinist repression, massacres.

PETRE ŢURLEA, *The Parliamentary Elections of 1946. A New Perspective*.....22
This paper has been presented at the Conference *The Parliamentary Elections of November 19, 1946 – 60 Years after*, organized by the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, November 2006. The author draws a comparison between the results of the parties backing the pro-Soviet Government of Dr. Petru Groza and those of the opposition, lead by Iuliu Maniu's National-Peasant Party.
Petre Ţurlea, Ph.D., is a professor with the Faculty of History, Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University, Bucharest.
Keywords:Europe, Romania, Communism, 1946 elections.

CEZAR STANCIU, *The Romanian-German Relations in the Stalinist Period*.....27
After World War II, Romania established constructive relations with Eastern Germany, particularly because both countries followed the same political evolution. Each partner needed the other due to their different economic structure. Romania was in a position to export agricultural produce and raw materials, and Germany provided technology and industrial equipment to Romania, during the times of the Stalinist industrialization, when technology was extremely necessary but Romania didn’t have the foreign currency to pay for it.
Cezar Stanciu is Ph.D candidate at the Valahia University of Târgoviște; member of the “Grigore Gafencu” Center for Research in History of International Relations.
Keywords: Romania, Eastern Germany, Stalinist years, political relations.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Themes of the Romanian Drama in the 50's*.....44
In the first decade of the communist regime, special attention was paid to drama, reviews of theatrical performances holding, in daily *Scanteia*, even more space than book reviews. Drama performances, with their orality character, conveyed more easily the message the political authorities wanted the audiences to get. The dramatists who produced plays in the 50's continued choosing themes drawing either on the remote past or on the more recent one, in the latter case the chief idea of the plays being related to "the struggle of the party in the years of underground activity." The challenge however was to write plays inspired by the present.
Cristina Diac is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; assistent researcher with N.I.S.T.

Keywords: Romania, Communist period, Scânteia, art, drama.

DAN CATANUS, *The Soviet-Chinese Relations after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, I* .. ….....56
In the early 60's, during the open polemic between the leaderships in Beijing and Moscow, the Chinese indicated the year 1956 and the 20th Congress of the CPSU as starting points of the rift between the two countries and parties. Nevertheless, the stands and actions the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party took in 1956 did in no way hint at the breakage they would invoke later.
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Soviet Union, China, CPSU, Congress XX, political relations.

ALINA TUDOR-PAVELESCU, *La Nation socialiste – un hybride idéologique et ses enjeux politiques*..... 70
This article deals with the concept of "socialist nation" as it was defined by the RCP's ideology. After analyzing the gap between theory and practice in the Ceauşescu regime's national politics, the author concludes that the concept of a socialist Nation never went beyond the status of a utopian desideratum. The roots of the communist nationalism of the Ceaușescu era are to be found rather in the pre-war Romanian nationalist thinking than in the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Recent book: *The Staff Policy of the Romanian Working Party, 1948-1955*, 2006.
Alina Tudor-Pavelescu is historian with the Romanian National Archives; Ph.D. student.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, ideology, political concepts, „socialist nation".

ION CONSTANTIN, *Poland under Communism, II. "La Belle Epoque" or the Time of the So-Called Pragmatic Communists (1971-1980)*..... 85
As the protest movement became increasingly radical at the end of 1970, the new team steering the Polish People's Republic, headed by Edward Gierek, launched several spectacular actions intended to mark a change in government style, with more emphasis on the country's social and national interests. However, the liberalism of the new team was just a façade; the tactic of propagating the values of "socialist democracy" did not mean the repressive practices of totalitarian communism were dropped.
Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in history. Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The History of Poland and the Romanian-Polish Relations*, 2005.
Keywords: Poland, Communism, pragmatic Communists, repression.

ACAD. DAN BERINDEI, *The Decline of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1971-1989*..... 99
Beginning in 1970, the life of the Romanian Academy was seriously impaired. Deprived of the institutes that had managed to gain recognition, most of which were headed by members of the great forum, forced to cope with restrictions that affected normalcy and the existence of its members and of the institution itself, the Academy was to make proof of a heroic vitality in the increasingly grim conditions of the ensuing period. During the

last two decades of communism, academic life followed its course, despite numerous difficulties.
Dan Berindei is Vice-president of the Romanian Academy.
Keywords: Romania, Comunism, Academy of Socialist Republic of Romania, academic life.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *A Historiography Process of the "Process of Communism"* 115
In this study, the author analyses the genesis, the content and the reactions raised by the Tismăneanu Report. The study presents the main conceptual-methodological errors, deficiencies in using sources as well as the contradictions from the Report of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania. The author also analyses the meanings of the presidential declarations regarding condemnation of the communist regime, by taking into account political conflicts in 2006 Romania.
Florin Abraham is Ph.D in History; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romania's Transformation: 1989-2006. The Foreign Factors Role*, 2006.
Keywords:Romania, Communism, historiography, Tismăneanu Report.

ALEXANDRU V. DIŢĂ, *Nicolae Iorga and "Neamul românesc": Preliminaries of the 1907 Peasants Riots 135*
Nicolae Iorga, the well-known historian, saw Romania at the beginning of the XX-th century as a world he thought he could lead to progress and modernization. In achieving this goal, Iorga used two instruments, the National Democratic Party and the newspaper "Neamul românesc".
Alexandru V. Diţă is Ph.D. in History, editor.
Keywords:Romania, Nicolae Iorga, National Democratic Party, newspaper "Neamul românesc".

Documents
ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *The Journey of Prince Pavel Dolgorukov into the USSR, 1926*..... 144
The author presents a document from the Romanian intelligence services, actually a sort of diary and travel notes of the Russian Prince Pavel Dolgorukov. Born into a noble family in 1866, Moscow, Dolgorukov was among the founders of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the so called Cadet Party. Politically belonging to the famous Russian liberal intelligentsia, Pavel Dolgorukov fought in the Revolution of October 1917 and in the Civil War that followed against the Reds. Forced to flee into exile, he became a prominent figure of the White Russian diaspora. In 1926, the former Prince made a second attempt to penetrate the Soviet border, this time on the Dniester bank. He succeeded and spent no less than 40 days traveling to Odessa and Kharkov, in the Soviet Ukraine, before being arrested by CEKA. He was considered to be a spy and executed in 1927.

Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: USSR, interwar period, Cadet Party, CEKA.

CARMEN RĂDULESCU *The Union of Plastic Artists. A Political Project 1950-1953, I*..... 174

For the communist regime, the beginning of the year 1948 was the perfect moment for taking hold of the country. The first public exhibition of the plastic artists, intended to forecast the new orientation in the arts, was Flacăra Exposition, that took place at the Dalles Gallery, over April 11-25, 1948. The exhibition was organized under the patronage of Marcel Breslaşu, but other artists of indisputable leftist orientation were also part of the organization committee.
Carmen Rădulescu is graduated in History, „Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with the NIST.
Keywords: Romania, Communism, art, the Union of Plastic Artists.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *The Jewish Democratic Committee, II. Anti-Zionist Propaganda, 1952-1953*..... 185
The documents published in this issue refer to the work of the Jewish Democratic Committee in its last two years, 1952 and 1953. The first two documents highlight the steady efforts JDC activists were making to fight the anti-Zionist propaganda. Given the modest results and especially the intensified Stalinist anti-Semitism, the Romanian Workers Party leaders decided in 1953 to dissolve the JDC. On March 20, 1953, at a meeting of their Central Committee, the JDC leaders decided unanimously on "self-dissolution." In connection with that aspect, the current issue also contains a report on the self-dissolution and the cessation of the activity of the JDC's central committee, regional and local committees.

Florin-Răzvan Mihai is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; M.A. in International Relations, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T.

Keywords: Romania, Communism, Romanian Workers Party, anti-Zionist propaganda, Jewish Democratic Committee, postwar period.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression. 1957-1962, XXIII*.....200
Proceeding from the case of farmer Ion Chioreanu, the documents present the way agriculture was collectivized in the village of Garbova de Sus, Alba County, providing significant evidence as to how the communist authorities ruined the village world, as well as to the various aspects of resistance to collectivization. Pressured by the local authorities, Chioreanu applied to join the Garbova de Sus cooperative farm without oxen, carts or farm hands, and reserving at the same time the right to use the harvest of 1961 for his own needs. Although the application, including the conditions, was approved, Ion Chioreanu was subsequently arrested.

Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, N-O*, 2006 (co-ordinator).

Keywords: Romania, Communism, agriculture, collectivization, repression.

MIOARA ANTON, *The Spheres of Influence and the Nonintervention Sources in Eastern Europe: American – Soviet Relations in 1968*..... 209
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benefit economically and military. The crisis within the Soviet bloc determined the American diplomacy to understand that the Soviets will not give up to their influence zone established at the end of War World II and that they will resort to any means in order to protect it.
Mioara Anton is Ph.D. in History; senior researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Eastern Europe, American-Soviet relations, Soviet bloc, spheres of influence.

RALUCA SPIRIDON, *Vlad Georgescu and the Beginning of Romanian Dissidence*.....221
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Initiated almost at the same time as the Goma Movement, Vlad Georgescu's attempt at dissidence was soon stifled, notably as a consequence of how Nicolae Ceausescu reacted, angered by the support and media coverage Paul Goma had enjoyed and by the fact that Vlad Georgescu had managed to submit to the US Embassy three texts hostile to the regime.
Raluca Spiridon is counselor with the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, Helsinki Final Act, critical intelectuals dissidents.

ANA-MARIA CATANUS, *The "War for the Word": Father Gh. Calciu-Dumitreasa and Religious Resistance in Romania in the 70's and 80's*.....242
In the 70's more and more voices in Romania challenged the State's policy versus religion, inviting attention to the abuse religious people were subjected to. The year 1977 marked the beginning of Father Calciu's protests. On March 8, 1978, Father Calciu inaugurated his set of sermons "Seven Words for the Young Ones", delivered at the Radu-Voda church.
Ana-Maria Cătănuș is researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Romanian Intellectuals in the Communism Archives*, Nemira, 2006 (co-author).
Keywords: Romania, Communism, anti-communism, religious resistance, dissidents.

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PAVEL MORARU, *Dr. Alexandru Birkle (1896-1986)*..... 261
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Pavel Moraru is Ph.D. in history. Senior researcher with the Institute of History, State and Law, Academy of Science of Moldova. Recent work: *Informaţii militare pe frontul de est* [*Military Intelligence on the Eastern Front*], 2005.

Keywords: Soviet massacres, Katyn, Winnitsa, Tatarka.

MIOARA ANTON, *George Macovescu (1913-2002)*..... 263
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Keywords: Romania, Communism, Communist dignitaries.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Constantin Parvulescu (1895-1992)*..... 267
A member of the Communist Party in Romania since it was founded in May 1921, a "professional revolutionary," member of the leadership structures in the years of underground activity, secretary-general for a few months in 1944, later co-opted into the decision-making bodies and, in the twilight of his life, an opponent of Nicolae Ceausescu, Constantin Parvulescu was one of the leaders whose existence was closely tied to the evolution of the party.
Cristina Diac is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; assistent researcher with N.I.S.T.
Keywords:Romania, Communism, leaders.

Book Reviews

ION CONSTANTIN, *Several Volumes on the Recent History of Poland*
This is a review of the 3-volume work *Poland's Recent History* by Polish historian Wojciech Roszkowski, focusing on the period 1918-2002.
VASILE BUGA, *The Question of Totalitarianism. A Controversial Interpretation*
This is a review of Vladimir Kozlov's work *The Unknown USSR. The People's Opposition against the Power (1953-1985*).
Vasile Buga is Ph.D., senior researcher with N.I.S.T., coordinator of the Russian and Soviet Studies Center. Recent work: *Power and Society. The Soviet Bloc under the Impact of De-Stalinization, 1956*, I.N.S.T., 2006 (coordinator with Dan Cătănuş).

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Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary. Conspirative Name: the Artist*, volume I, *1963-1970*, N.I.S.T., 2005.

Studies

BERND RILL, *The Tragedy of Katyn: The German Perspective* 8

On 13 April, 1943, the German Radio news edition made clear to the world that in a small village near Smolensk, in the former Soviet territory, the German authorities discovered a mass grave, contained what it seemed to be Polish officers, captured by the Soviets during the September 1939 offensive. The author presents the German point of view of the time over this much debated affair. It was obvious that they were right in putting the blame on the Soviets also for this abominable crime, but the Nazis lack the necessary credibility. In the end, despite some efforts to establish the truth and to indicate the real guilt, the Allies refused to go to the end, fearing that the Soviet Union will leave the Nuremberg Trial.
Bernd Rill is historian, scientific referent in Hanns Seidel Foundation, München.

WOJCIECH MATERSKI, *The Crime of Katyn: The Guilt Problem* 17

The author emphasizes various degrees of guilt of the Soviet and Russian authorities in committing and hiding the crime of Katyn. Among those, we can count the Stalinist leadership in Kremlin, which ordered the massacre, the NKVD officers and employees who executed the order, the so-called Soviet inquiry commission on Katyn, which carefully dismissed all evidence about Soviet involvement, and the Soviet and later Russian judicial system who refused to take any action against the Katyn crime perpetrators. The same guilt is extended over all the Kremlin leaderships during the second half of the XXth century for not revealing the evidences in the Moscow archives.
Wojciech Materski is Prof.dr. hab., director of the Politics Study Institute, Academy of Science, Poland.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Prelude to Soviet Repression. Mass Deportations and Rumours at the former Polish Border with Romania, 1939-1940* 27

After the Soviet aggression of Poland in September 1939, many former Polish citizens seek refuge in Romania. Among them there were people belonging to all social strata and ethnic origins: Polish, Ukrainians, Jews. The Romanian population saw the moment of the deportation as a prelude to the Soviet conquest of Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia. They were also frightened by the news brought by the refugees concerning the bad treatment applied by the Soviet authorities on churches, priests, property, social and national dissatisfaction.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST.

PAVEL MORARU, *Romanian Documents on Bolshevik Atrocities in the Prut's Left River Bank*..... 39

This study examines, through the romanian epochal documents, the assassinates made by soviet union in Bessarabia and Transnistria. There are presented some revealed cases, investigated and documented by Romanian bodies came back to Bessarabia in summer of 1941. A special case, totally unknown, presented by the author, is that from Tatarca, region Odessa, where was discovered many common tombs with almost 3.500-5.000 dies – victims of soviet regime. Due to bigness of assassinates, execution' methods, discovering year (1943) and to those who investigated (dr. Alexander Birkle), the Tatarca Case can be considered like "Katyn" or "Winnitza" cases from Transnistria**.**
Pavel Moraru is Ph.D. in history. Senior researcher with the Institute of History, State and Law, Academy of Science of Moldova. Recent work: *Informaţii militare pe frontul de est* [*Military Intelligence on the Eastern Front*], 2005.

VASILE BUGA, *The Repatriation of the Romanian Prisoners of War from the Soviet Union, 1945-1952*..... *48*

After the end of the Second World War and the re-establishing of diplomatic relations between Romania and the Soviet Union one of the most important problem was that of repatriation of the Romanian soldiers taken prisoners in the Soviet Union, during the

Eastern campaign, and between August 24 and September 12, 1944. Some of the prisoners came back to Romania as members of „Tudor Vladimirescu" volunteer division, established in October 1943 in Soviet Union. These soldiers fought for the liberation of the Romanian territory as well as Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In April 15, 1948, after countless discussions, the Soviet government communicated the decision to free all Romanian prisoners.
Vasile Buga is Ph.D., senior researcher with N.I.S.T., coordinator of the Russian and Soviet Studies Center. Recent work: *Power and Society. The Soviet Bloc under the Impact of De-Stalinization, 1956*, I.N.S.T., 2006 (coordinator with Dan Cătănuş).

SILVIU MOLDOVAN, *Mihail Fărcăşanu and the National Resistance Movement ...54*

The National Resistance Movement (NRM) was destroyed by the Communist authorities in two trials: the first one in 1946, and the second one in 1948 known as the NRM trial. Also the destruction of NRM was completed in supplementary trials organized in short while. Mihail Fărcăşanu, the leader of the National Liberal Youth, was sentenced the first time in 1946 trial. In 1948, he was judged and sentenced in absence. Mihail Fărcăşanu deserves a special interest because of his long patriotically activity, as well for his activity during his political exile.
Silviu Moldovan is Ph.D., expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent volume: *Nicu Steinhardt în arhivele Securităţii* [*Nicu Steinhardt in the Securitate Files*], 2005 (coautor).

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania: the Collecting System, III* 66
The system of collecting agricultural products had eased the way for Communists towards the implementation of Socialist agricultural structures. Offering a full exemption from this duty to G.A.C. (kolkhoz) members, the collecting system represented a pressure on peasants who refused to join G.A.C. Besides economical advantages, the collecting system increased the political control over the rural population.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, N-O*, 2006 (co-ordinator).

DAN BERINDEI, *The RPR Academy – Revival and New Decline, 1955 – 1970* *82*

Although the successes of the Soviet science continued to be popularized in Romania, slow by slow there was a slight opening to the West. In this way the results of Romanian science became internationally known. The years 1968 and 1969 represented moments of glory in the history of the Academy. But, from the end of 1969 and the beginning of 1970 the Academy took a second place. In the same time, the Academy was put again under the Communist Party control.
Dan Berindei is Vice-president of the Romanian Academy.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *The April 1964 Declaration: Historical Context and International Echo* 110

The RCP leadership used the Sino-Soviet conflict for the affirmation of national sovereignty and an independent foreign policy. The April 1964 Declaration, an authentic Charta of Romanian foreign policy, emphasized Romanian's decision to avoid aligning to the position of a leading centre (USSR) and to affirm his national interests.
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: Recent work: *Power and Society. The Soviet Bloc under the Impact of De-Stalinization, 1956*, I.N.S.T., 2006 (coordinator with Vasile Buga).

FLORIAN BANU, *The Securitate Files: On the „Traps" of* Interpretation 131

The collapse of the Romanian Communist regime made necessary a scientific research of the Communist regime's history. The archives had opened their doors for researchers and secret documents became available for study. In post-Communist Romania historians were very interested in studying documents from the Diplomatic Archives, the Military Archives or the former Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. This study focuses on a special kind of historical sources - the documents of former secret police, the Securitate - and the problems that arise from studying these documents.
Florian Banu is Ph.D. in history, expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent volume: *Securitatea. Structuri/cadre, obiective şi metode* [*The Securitate. Structures/Staff, Objectives and Methodes*], *vol.I: 1948-1967*, 2006 (co-edithor).

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU BEJENARIU, *The Control of Information in Socialist Romania, 1965-1989*..... 146

During 1948-1965 the state secret was one of the instruments used for controlling the society. Although he promoted a sort of relaxation in internal policy, Nicolae Ceauşescu transformed the keeping of state secret into a strong instrument of pressure on the Romanian society.
Alina Ilinca is graduate of the History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent work: *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicţionar* [*Members of the C.C. of the R.C.P., 1945-1989. Dictionary*], 2004 (co-author).
Liviu Marius Bejenaru is graduate of the Faculty of History, University „Al. I. Cuza" of Iaşi. Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent work: *Membrii C.C. al P.C.R. 1945-1989. Dicţionar* [*Members of the C.C. of the R.C.P., 1945-1989. Dictionary*], 2004 (co-author).

ADAM BURAKOWSKI, *The 1979 Tourist Crisis – a Blow*

to Romanian Economy. 158

The author presents the evolution and the consequences of an irresponsible decision took by the Romanian Government in July 1979 of cuting down the gasoline consumption. At the time, this decision hit not only the Romanian consumers, but also the foreign tourists traveling to Romania, forcing them to pay for gasoline only in Western currencies, which was very difficult for those coming from Socialist countries. The article uses original documents from the Polish Diplomatic Archives and offers an

interesting overview on the economic situation of Romania at the end of the ’70s and the heavy energy crisis to which it was confronted to.
Adam Burakowski is MA in History (2001) and East-European Studies (2004), both at Warsaw University. In 2003 intern in the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC. From 2004 he works as an assistant in the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. Now he is preparing Ph.D. thesis on Nicolae Ceauşescu's regime under the guidance of professor Andrzej Paczkowski.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Polish Crisis’ Effects in Romania in the Early 1980’s*..... 164

In Nicolae Ceauşescu’s opinion, the incompetence and lack of discipline of the popular masses and state institutions provoked the economic crisis in Romania at the beginning of the ’80. Instead, the Romanian Communist Party, and especially its leader, was exempted from responsibility. Blaming the popular masses and the state bodies for the obvious failure of the supreme leader of RCP in the economic policy promoted in the ’70s was actually a political manoeuvre aiming at avoiding a crisis similar to the one in Poland, where workers were openly and strongly contesting the leading role of the PUWP – the leaders of this party being considered the main culprits for the economic disaster that had seized Poland at that time.
Petre Opriş is Ph.D. student.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Research’ Directions on the Communist Repression in Romania after 1989*..... 177

The author proposes a radiography of the research concerning the history of the communist regime in Romania. In order to attain the proposed objective, the author analyses, for the beginning, the ideological and political context in which initiatives regarding a “process of communism” were proposed. The study comprises an analysis of the Romanian institutions that were created for the study of the totalitarian system. Then, there is a presentation of the main features of literature on the repression. Finally, the author pleads for building more places of recollection in which both the radical left and right currents to be stigmatized.
Florin Abraham is Ph.D in History; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romania’s Transformation: 1989-2006. The Foreign Factors Role*, 2006.

Documents

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Mass Organizations in the Service of the Romanian Communist Party*..... 205
In 1945, at the end of the second world war, some representative members of the Jewish community decided to create an organization - the Jewish Democratic Committee (1945-1953) - that had to solve the problems of Romanian Jewry. The documents refer to the beginning of the J.D.C.: the first document is in fact the record of the committee’s first session, from 7 June 1945, and the second one the programme of J.D.C. (unfortunately without date, but certainly written in the same year).

Florin-Răzvan Mihai is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; M.A. in International Relations, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T.

MIOARA ANTON, *The Challenge of East-West Détente. Richard Nixon in Europe* 216

The eight days Richard Nixon's European journey, at the beginning of 1969, had a double objective. On the one hand he evaluated the position of Western European governments toward the United States' initiatives in international politics. On the other hand the United States wished for a normalisation of its rapports with the Soviet Union. At mid '60s, NATO believed that the "Eastern threat" was lowering and new plans for cooperation between the two military blocs could be drafted. The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and the Brezhnev doctrine changes NATO's attitude toward the Soviet Union.
Mioara Anton is Ph.D. in history; senior researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T. Recent book: *The Beginning of Ceauşescu Regime. Continuity and Breakdown in Romanian- Soviet Relations*, 2003 (co-author).

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *On the Eve of the Collapse.*
Ceauşescu's Regime between Internal Dissent and International Isolation, 1987 229

In the '80's , Romania experienced a deterioration of the internal situation, which led to a growing opposition of Romanian society toward Nicolae Ceauşescu's regime. There were many sources of discontent, which could be identified in the progressive economical deterioration, visible in the people's lowering living standard to the limit of subsistence, but also in the authorities disrespect for human and civil rights (the right to free speech, free conscience, the right to emigrate). Using the secret police, the Securitate, the Communist regime kept people under strict surveillance, and the ones who dared to have a different opinion or to disapprove openly with the official point of view, were harshly punished. These things had a major contribution in maintaining a state of terror over the entire society.
Ana-Maria Cătănuş is researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student. Recent work: *The End of Ceauşescu's Regime Liberalisation: The 1971 Cultural Revolution*, NIST, 2005.

Biographical Dictionary

CRISTINA DIAC, *Ion Gheorghe Maurer, 1902-2000* 242

Ion Gheorghe Maurer was the leader with the longest political careers during the Communist regime. His complex personality made the others perceive him in many different ways. The intellectual and the last bourgeois from the Communist movement, Maurer was the lawyer of the Communists from illegal period, "the right hand" of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Also, he was the man who promoted Nicolae Ceausescu to the top of the Communist Party.
Cristina Diac is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; assistent researcher with N.I.S.T.

Book Reviews

ION CONSTANTIN, *Testimonies of Katyn Massacres*
This is a review of three documents volumes *Katyń. Dokumenty zbrodni Katyń. [The Katyń's Crime Documents],* „Trio" Publishing House, Warsaw, 1995-2001.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *„I request the death penalty!"*
This is a review of Pierre Drieu de la Rochelle's book *Jurnal, 1939-1945*, [*Journal, 1939-1945*], Runa Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006.

VASILE BUGA, *The Last Years of the Soviet Power*
This is a review of Nikolai Zenkovici' book *Şto eto bîlo? 1985-1991* [*How it was, 1985-1991*], Olma Press Publishing House, Moscow, 2005.

CARMEN RĂDULESCU, *The Backstage of a Life Dedicated to Kremlin*
This is a review of Ion Calfeteanu's book Scrisori către Tovarăşa Ana (Letters to comrade Ana), Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005, 393 pages.
Carmen Rădulescu is graduated in History, „Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with the NIST.

MIOARA ANTON, *From Containment to Coexistence*
This is a review of Raymond L. Garthoff book's *A Journey through the Cold War. A Memoir of Containment and Coexistence,* Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C., 2001.

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The N.I.S.T. agenda describes the activity of the institute's researchers during the first half of this year. This is a short review of participation in symposiums, round tables, book releases, openings of document exhibitions, where the participants discussed issues related to the access to documents from the communist period and the debunking of certain huge historical mystifications. The exchange of ideas was the great advantage of these encounters and the published works show the true value both of the organizational effort and of this serious scientific approach.

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Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary. Conspirative Name: the Artist*, volume I, *1963-1970*, N.I.S.T., 2005.

Studies

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The study focuses on the issue of sending and receiving mail from USSR to Romania and from Romania to USSR during the fourth decade of the 20th century. While the Soviets were currently violated the postal correspondence, the Romanian Intelligence Services – State's *Siguranţa* – employed the same customs regarding all relations with the big neighbour, due to the fear of possible communist conspiracies. There were few types of letters coming from USSR, usually from relatives: the appologetic mail, strongly influenced by the Soviet propaganda and the letters criticizing the Communist regime. They all have in common a desperate demand of help and often the request of repatriation to Romania.

Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; senior researcher with the NIST.

MIOARA ANTON, *On Russians and Russophobia in Romania in the 1940s* 19
A constant attitude in the interwar Romanian society, anti-Russianism and anti-Sovietism came to a peak in the early fifth decade. June 1941 was recorded in the collective memory not only as a singular episode of revenge for national humiliation but also as a singular moment of revolt against destructive vicinity. Russophobia reached a high in the fifth decade. Two distinct periods can be identified in this respect: the war and the years after August 1944, actually up to King Mihai's abdication in December 1947, when Romanian society faced two closely interconnected realities: the Soviet military presence, which worsened even more the negative image, given the violence and the abuse, and the attempt to impose a communist regime. The Romanian-Soviet "brotherhood" and the subsequent "friendship" did not pass the test of time. The way the autochthonous communist leadership acted in the early and mid-60s proved how frail the circumstantial pro-Soviet attitudes were.
Mioara Anton is Ph.D. in history; senior researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T. Recent book: *The beginning of Ceausescu regime. Continuity and breakdown in Romanian- Soviet relations*, 2003 (co-author).

DANIEL HRENCIUC, *The Polish People from the Historical Bucovina during the Communist Period (1944 – 1989)* 27
This study analyses synthetically the Polish community from the South of historical Bucovina during the communist period being supported by archive sources, studies, books and oral testimonies collected from the old persons belonging to the Polish community. Between 1939–1944, the Poles from Bucovina involved directly in helping the British and Romanian spy services accomplishing services of reconnaisance and of courier collaborating with the Romanian authorities in the field – one of the well-known cases being that of Maria Lesiecka. The end of the second world war caused significant mutations in the space of Central-Eastern Europe founded on the grounds of the Churchill – Stalin fatal agreement from October 13, 1944, determining after that the setting up of the Iron Curtain and the whole suite of measures associated with a totalitarian political system of a communist essence.
Daniel Hrenciuc, Ph.D. in history, researcher within at Center of History and Civilisation Iaşi.

DUMITRU ŞANDRU, *The 1945-1947 Drought in Romania and Its Impact on the Peasantry…* 39

At the end of 1944, when a large number of Soviet troops were stationed in the territory of Romania and the Romanian army was fighting to liberate the Northwestern part of Transylvania, a domestic farming crisis broke out, becoming even more acute in the following years. Worst hit were the inhabitants in Northern Moldavia, where in the winter of 1944-1945 hunger, the bitter cold and typhoid killed about 80,000 people. Of course, the political regime that had just taken over the power cannot be blamed for the natural disaster that hit Romania, but the regime was responsible for the chaos created

in agriculture by the manner the 1945 land reform was implemented. It was also to blame for the spoliation of the wealthy farmers and of other population segments through the system of mandatory quotas, and for neglecting the poor peasantry, which it did not lend the necessary support, the result being a heavy tribute of human loss.
Dumitru Şandru, Ph.D., historian, is a Professor with the "Ştefan cel Mare" University in Suceava. Recent work: *The 1945 Agrarian Reform in Romania,* 2000.

DAN BERINDEI, *The Totalitarian Communist Regime's Takeover of the Romanian Academy*.....59
On June 9, 1948, a presidential decree ruled that the "highest scientific and cultural forum" was to become the Academy of the Romanian People's Republic and, at the same time, a "state institution." The obligation was thus laid out for the Academy to "conduct its activity in keeping with the requirements of strengthening and developing the RPR." It was to promote science and culture "in all fields" and that was to be done "with a view to raising the material and cultural level of the people." The new regime established on December 30, 1947 thus came to control the Romanian Academy. Its independence, observed for more than eight decades, was a thing of the past. The Academy became one of the state institutions, the decree disregarding the decisions of its latest general session. Subsequently, Stalin's death brought a certain relaxation, the effects of which would also mark the activity of the Academy of the People's Republic of Romania.
Dan Berindei is Vice-president of Romanian Academy.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania: the Collecting System, II* 82
The system of collecting agricultural products had eased the way for Communists towards the implementation of Socialist agricultural structures. Offering a full exemption from this duty to G.A.C. (kolkhoz) members, the collecting system represented a pressure on peasants who refused to join G.A.C. Besides economical advantages, the collecting system increased the political control over the rural population.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, M*, 2005 (co-ordinator).

CRISTINA DIAC, *The Censorship Institution in Romania during the "Obsessive Decade", 1949-1958* 96

The censorship of the 1950s represented a broad and complex phenomenon. Altering the initial manuscripts proposed by authors was just one of the multiple tasks of the General Directorate for the Press and Printed Matter. Under the law, the censorship had control powers and not ideological guidance competence, the latter being set aside for the party. Another characteristic of the institution proper resided in the fact that it did not work directly with the authors. The editorial offices of the press and of publishing houses acted as interface between the author and the censorship. Moreover, according to the internal rules of the institution, its employees could disclose their tasks not even to

family members. Consequently, most writers did not know who exactly "suggested" the changes they had to operate.

Cristina Diac is graduated in History, University of Bucharest; assistent researcher with N.I.S.T.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romanian-Soviet Disputes within COMECON and Their Impact on Romania's Foreign Policy (III)* 115

After 1956, the authorities in Bucharest took measures to restructure the national economy so as to ensure the regime's internal stability and a solid economic basis to withstand Moscow's pressure. Beginning in the late 1950s, these goals of Romania ran counter to the economic specialization within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) that the most developed countries of the communist camp – Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic – were pushing for. The latent conflict flared up in June 1962, when Nikita Khrushchev embraced the idea of specialization in the broader context of the economic integration of all the COMECON countries. Pressure from Moscow and the other COMECON partners would determine a veering in the foreign policy of Romania, with a political reorientation to China and an economic one to the West.

Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Between Beijing and Moscow. Romania and the Sino-Soviet Conflict*, 2004; *Romania and "the Prague Spring",* 2005.

ALEKSANDR S. STYKALIN, *A New Testimony about the Soviet Factor in the 1968 Czechoslovakia Events: The Memoirs of General A.M. Maiorov*..... 131

Thirty years after the Prague Spring, the comprehensive bibliography devoted to that event was rounded off with a large number of works in different languages. Accounts by the participants hold a quite important place in the literature on the events in Czechoslovakia. Unlike the memoirs of the active Prague Spring players – Zdenek Mlinar and Otta Sik – Gen. A.M. Maiorov's book is written by a man who in those days played an altogether different role, contradictory in many respects. As head of the 38th Army in August 1968, he was one of the main performers of the military invasion of Czechoslovakia, and in October the same year he was appointed first commander of the newly-created Central Army Group which had to be sent repeatedly to that Central European country.

Aleksandr Stykalin is Ph.D in history; senior researcher at the Institute of Slavistic Studies, Russian Academy of Science.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Communist Poland, II. The Edward Gierek Epoch, 1971-1980* 145

The major social unrest that shattered Poland in late 1970 determined the replacement of Wladislaw Gomulka, the first-secretary of the CC of the PUWP, with Edward Gierek. However, the change did not bring along a resolution of the economic problems Poland was facing, these problems growing worse in the '70s. Against such a background, clashes occurred between the communist authorities and representatives of the society, which created the prerequisites for the coalescing of opposition groups. The solidarity between workers and intellectuals, materialized in a first stage in the emergence of KOR (the Workers' Defense Committee), would then lead to the setting up of Solidarity, the free trade union.

Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in history. Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The History of Poland and the Romanian-Polish Relations*, 2005.

SUSANA BOCŞARU, *The Reagan Administration and the End of the Cold War (II)* 159

On November 4, 1980 Reagan won a sweeping victory, carrying 489 electoral college votes to Carter's 49, a decisive ten to one margin, and 51% of the popular votes to 41% for Carter. Reagan ran on a platform that called for a decisive foreign policy, "peace through strength", a clear break with Carter's "vacillating" policy of "chaos, confusion and failure". This concept aimed at reversing the decline of the U.S. power relative to the Soviet Union's, establishing the U.S. as the leader of the "free world" in the fight against communism, because "the President's failure to shoulder the burden of leadership in the Western alliance has placed America in danger without parallel since December 7, 1941". But most importantly it aimed at restoring "to our great nation its self-respect, its self-confidence, and its national pride". It was basically a policy of confrontation.

Susana Bocşaru is graduate of Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest, 2005.

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Armed Resistance – The Real Opposition to Romania's Communization*..... 178

Anticommunist resistance manifested in various forms. There was passive resistance and active resistance; individual resistance, either covert (economic sabotage) or open (public agitation); unarmed but organized subversive resistance and many paramilitary organizations waiting for the right moment to act, as well as a strong armed resistance. The latter type spearheaded the resistance movement against the communization of Romania. Men and women alike espoused a dignified and courageous attitude, choosing to take to the mountains and the woods, to fight and die fighting rather than die in the communist jails. The anticommunist resistance movement had a Christian and monarchist character. Its spread over the entire territory and its heterogeneous social and political composition lent it also a national character. Members and supporters of the Peasant Party and army men fought side by side with Legionnaires, students and peasants against the common enemy. There were then those who supplied food, equipment, intelligence and sometimes even housing, those who practiced economic

sabotage individually and, in a way, the majority of the Romanians, who trusted the Americans would come to liberate them.

Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Enarmed Resistance in Banat*, tom I, *1945-1949*, NIST, 2004.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Civil society in Romania from Totalitarianism to Democracy (II)* 184

In this study the author sets to analyze the forms in which civil society of Romania has rebuilt itself after the fall of the communist regime. In the first part of the paper the author defines civil society as forms of free association situated between the state and the family. The second part of this study comprises an analysis of the relation between the civic organizations and the political system, with a special emphasis on the Group for Social Dialogue, Civic Alliance and the politically active NGOs from the second generation.
Florin Abraham is Ph.D in History, Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca; senior researcher with the NIST. Recent book: *Romania from Communism to Capitalism*, 2006.

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ELIS NEAGOE-PLEŞA, *Criticizing the personality cult: recomendations for a decent press, July 2, 1952*..... 199

On 2 July 1952, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej called a meeting with the editors of local and central media in order to draw atention on exaggerations used by Romanian newspapers in order to reflect the personality cult of the Communist Party leaders, including himself. The criticism formulated by the secretary general, due mainly to the signals received from the paper "For lasting peace, for people democracy," was limited to some outer aspects of the personality cult, whithout discussing fundamental issues.
Elis Neagoe-Pleşa is graduate in History, University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent work: *The File of Ana Pauker* (co-author), 2006.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *The Budget of the Party*

and the Privileges of the RCP Nomenklatura 212

The author publishes six documents from the archives of the former Romanian Communist Party that attest to expenditure exclusively for the benefit of the party and the nomenklatura, all covered from the public budget. The privileges included: very high salaries in terms of the work done, housing built from party funds, trips abroad for personal purposes with foreign currency provided by the Party Administration Section of the CC of the WPR, vacations at closed-circuit hotels and villas the party owned in

the mountains, on the sea coast and near Bucharest, home help paid by the party etc. The WPR/RCP thus appears as a parasite that swallowed about 30.75 million dollars (in 1965 alone) from the state's resources so the top brass of the party and their henchmen should not have to relinquish the power and the communist line should be maintained in this country.

Petre Opriş is Ph.D. student.

ANA MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romanian-Soviet Tensions in the Year of the Prague Spring*..... 227

The 1965 change of leadership in Bucharest did not lessen the tensions that had shown in the Romanian-Soviet relations in the last part of the Dej epoch. The decision of the new leader, Nicolae Ceauşescu, to continue his predecessor's policy caused the divergences between the two parties to grow deeper. The tension reached a high in the summer of 1968, when the troops of the Warsaw Treaty invaded Czechoslovakia and Romania openly lashed against the invasion. The documents presented in this article provide an inventory of the hostile actions the USSR undertook in relation to Romania against the background of the events in Czechoslovakia: statements by the Soviet officials, articles in the Soviet press, meetings of the CPSU party cells to debate Romania's position.

Ana-Maria Cătănuş is researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student. Recent work: *The End of Ceausescu's Regime Liberalisation: The 1971 Cultural Revolution*, INST, 2005.

ADAM BURAKOWSKI, *A Little Known Event: The Bucharest Student Demonstration of December 24, 1968*..... 238

In 1968 on Christmas Eve, an unauthorized student manifestation took place in Bucharest, almost one thousand people taking part in it. According to various sources that provided information about the event, the demonstrators demanded "freedoms for the students," but they also chanted against the invasion of Czechoslovakia and shouted "Down with Ceauşescu!" and "We need Tito!." The demonstration ended early in the morning of December 25, without the intervention of the communist police and the *Securitate*, as the action of party activists was sufficient for sending the students back to campus. In the eyes of the communist leaders, the main cause of the event was the lacking ideological education of the students, of young people in general. The measures taken were aimed mostly at improving the activity in that respect.

Adam Burakowski is MA in History (2001) and East-European Studies (2004), both at Warsaw University. In 2003 intern in the Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC. From 2004 he works as an assistant in the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. Now he is preparing Ph.D. thesis on Nicolae Ceauşescu's regime under the guidance of professor Andrzej Paczkowski.

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General Victor Siminel was born on July 27, 1897 at Fundu Galben, Lapusna County. A career officer, he participated in the two world wars, on the East front, too, after 1941. Over August 28 – September 19, 1944 he headed the Special Intelligence Service (SSI); in September 1946 he was appointed chief of the Romanian Military Delegation in the Liaison Committee with the Allied Control Commission for the Enforcement of the Armistice. Although he even became a member of ARLUS, Victor Siminel was arrested on July 20, 1951 under charges of "intense activity against the working class," kept in custody without trial and subjected to a criminal or administrative sentence running until July 25, 1956.

Alin Spânu graduated in-depth studies in International Relations, at the History Department of Bucharest University. Volume to be published: *S.S.I. pe frontul de Est, 1941 – 1944 (The Romanian Intelligence Service on the Eastern front)*, I.N.S.T., 2004.

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Florin-Răzvan Mihai is graduated in graduated in History, University of Bucharest; M.A. in International Relations, University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with N.I.S.T.

CRISTINA DIAC, The Writers and the Party..... 259
This is a review of Lucia Demetrius book *Memorii (Memoires)*, Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005, 538 p.

CARMEN RĂDULESCU, *A Securitate File and Something More* 263
This is a review of Bujor Nedelcovici's book *Un tigru de hârtie. Eu, Nica şi Securitatea (A Tiger Made of Paper. Me, Nica and Securitate)*, Allfa Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, 318 pages.
Carmen Rădulescu is graduated in History, „Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University of Bucharest; assistant researcher with the NIST.

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RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast,* XXVI 5

Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil,* 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary. Conspirative Name: the Artist*, volume I, *1963-1970,* N.I.S.T., 2005.

Studies

DANA HONCIUC, *Acts of Independence in the Axis: Swiss-Romanian Relations, 1940-1944* 7

Playing the neutral camp Switzerland never broke the diplomatic relation with Romania, during the World War II, keeping a constant economic partnership. This was because the two countries' economies were complementary: Switzerland needed primary goods as oil and foods, while Romania needed chemicals and technology, especially ammunitions. Dana Honciuc is Ph.D. in history; senior researcher with the N.I.S.T.

VASILE BUGA, *The Communist Party of Romania's Policy towards the Soviets at the End of World War II* 12

The relations between the Communist Party of Romania and the Kremlin were reestablished after August 1944 as an initiative of Romanian Communists. In his September 1944 meeting with A.I. Vâşinski, Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu has made the first

attempt to do this but he was rejected. Moscow fully distrusted the Romanian Communists and the Soviets decided taking control over the construction of the power structures.
Vasile Buga, Ph.D. in history, is an expert at the Romanian-Russian Joint History Commission.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania: the Collecting System, I*..... 24
The system of collecting agricultural products had eased the way for Communists towards the implementation of Socialist agricultural structures. Offering a full exemption from this duty to G.A.C. (kolkhoz) members, the collecting system represented a pressure on peasants who refused to join G.A.C.
Besides economical advantages, the collecting system increased the political control over the rural population.

Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, H-L*, 2004 (co-ordinator).

CEZAR STANCIU, *Aspects Regarding the Economic Relations of Stalinist Romania*..... 36
As a member of the "socialist camp", Romania was forced to denounce its traditional relations with the western allies and look for possibilities of foreign trade within the camp. A close cooperation among the "popular democracies" had also the important role of increasing the dependence of these countries to each other and to the Soviet Union. Starting with the 50s, Romania tried to improve its relations with the former partners from the west, in order to obtain the technology necessary for the industrialization process, in which case Romania had to find a solution to satisfy these states` conditions deriving from their losses caused by the Nationalization Act of 1949.
Cezar Stanciu is Ph.D candidate at the Valahia University of Târgovişte; member of the "Grigore Gafencu" Center for Research in History of International Relations.

ALEKSANDR STYKALIN, *The Soviet-Yugoslav Relations and the Imre Nagy Affair*..... 50

Despite the controversial character of events in Hungary in the autumn of 1956, the violent approach to resolving the problem adopted by the Soviet leadership was in a sharp contradiction to international law and clearly demostrated to the world the limits of Khrushchev's XXth Congress rhetoric about rejecting Stalinist political practice and accepting a variety of paths to socialism. The USSR's action in Hungary also had a negative impact on its international prestige, showing the inability of Soviet leaders to break completely with their Stalinist legacy in foreign policy. Imre Nagy had been detained in Romania after his fall.
Aleksandr Stykalin is Ph.D in history; senior researcher at the Institute of Slavistic Studies, Russian Academy of Science.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romanian-Soviet Disputes within COMECON and Their Impact on Romania's Foreign Policy (II)*.....77

After 1956, the authorities in Bucharest took measures to restructure the national economy so as to ensure the regime's internal stability and a solid economic basis to withstand Moscow's pressure. Beginning in the late 1950s, these goals of Romania ran counter to the economic specialization within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) that the most developed countries of the communist camp – Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic – were pushing for. The latent conflict flared up in June 1962, when Nikita Khrushchev embraced the idea of specialization in the broader context of the economic integration of all the COMECON countries. Pressure from Moscow and the other COMECON partners would determine a veering in the foreign policy of Romania, with a political reorientation to China and an economic one to the West.

Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Between Beijing and Moscow. Romania and the Sino-Soviet Conflict,* 2004; *Romania and "the Prague Spring",* 2005.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Forms of Dissidence in Romania in the '70: Paul Goma and the Movement for Defending Human Rights*.....99

In Romania, in the last two decades of Communism, there had been few cases of dissidence. One of the dissidents was the writer Paul Goma. He was arrested in 1956, in the context of the Hungarian revolution and sent to prison for two years. In January 1977, he addressed a letter of solidarity to the of Czechoslovakian Charter 77 signatories. The movement for defending human rights in Romania that Paul Goma initiated at the end of the '70 had been sustained by approximately 200 people, who were demanding the respect of their constitutional rights. In April 1977, Paul Goma was arrested and after he was released, he was forced into exile.

Ana-Maria Cătănuş is assistant researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Several Aspects Concerning Romanian-Polish Relations in the Early 1980s*.....123

As the system crisis in Poland worsened in the early 1980s, a new chill occurred in the Bucharest-Warsaw relationship, which became even more serious after 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev launched the glasnost and perestroika policy. A fierce opponent of the idea of revision of existing structures, Bucharest's Nicolae Ceauşescu viewed the change in Poland as a potential danger to the values of Communism. Although official Warsaw, just as the Polish opposition and public opinion hailed the victory of the Romanian revolution, at first Poland took a wait-and-see attitude. There were several reasons for this, such as the change of regime in Romania, the events of March 1990 in Târgu Mureş, and the miners' riots on June 13-15, 1990. The fascination exerted by the West was one of the reasons why closer cooperation, which would serve both sides, was delayed, relations with the formerly Communist neighbours being relegated to the background. After the Romanian revolution of December 1989, the bilateral relations developed gradually, based on contacts, visits and meetings at all echelons, top-level included, which produced agreements in various areas.

Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in history. Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The History of Poland and the Romanian-Polish Relations*, 2005.

JERZY HOLZER, *The Polish "Solidarity" and the Great European Change at the End of XXth Century* 129
The summer 1980 strike wave that gave birth to the Solidarity movement was an event many historians and political scientists regard as the beginning of the agony of the system of „real socialism" in Central-Eastern Europe. Jerzy Holzer presents a brief analysis on the Solidarity phenomenon.
Jerzy Holzer is Ph.D in history; member of Solidarity during the Communist regime; former director of the Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Science.

SUSANA BOCŞARU, *The Reagan Administration and the End of the Cold War, I* 144
On November 4, 1980 Reagan won a sweeping victory, carrying 489 electoral college votes to Carter's 49, a decisive ten to one margin, and 51% of the popular votes to 41% for Carter. Reagan ran on a platform that called for a decisive foreign policy, "peace through strength", a clear break with Carter's "vacillating" policy of "chaos, confusion and failure". This concept aimed at reversing the decline of the U.S. power relative to the Soviet Union's, establishing the U.S. as the leader of the "free world" in the fight against communism, because "the President's failure to shoulder the burden of leadership in the Western alliance has placed America in danger without parallel since December 7, 1941". But most importantly it aimed at restoring "to our great nation its self-respect, its self-confidence, and its national pride". It was basically a policy of confrontation.
Susana Bocşaru is graduate of Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest, 2005.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Civil society in Romania from Ttotalitarianism to Democracy, I.* 176
In this study the author sets to analyze the forms in which civil society of Romania has rebuilt itself after the fall of the communist regime. In the first part of the paper the author defines civil society as forms of free association situated between the state and the family. The second part of this study comprises an analysis of the relation between the civic organizations and the political system, with a special emphasis on the Group for Social Dialogue, Civic Alliance and the politically active NGOs from the second generation.
Florin Abraham is Ph.D candidate; scientific researcher with the NIST.

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War and the war with Poland increased the danger, to Soviet eyes, that Romania could join other countries in their intervention against the Moscow government.
This and the endless dispute over Bessarabia transformed the Eastern border of Romania in an area where spies were everywhere.
Alin Spânu graduated in-depth studies in International Relations, at the History Department of Bucharest University. Volume to be published: *S.S.I. pe frontul de Est, 1941 – 1944 (The Romanian Intelligence Service on the Eastern front)*, I.N.S.T., 2004.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *World University Winter Games in Poiana Stalin, 1951*..... 192
The documents presented show the reality of Communist Romania in the context of World University Winter Games in Poiana Braşov (at the time called Stalin). The official propaganda presented the games as a display of the growing force of "democrat" students within the peace movement. Due to the severe limitations imposed by the International Students Association, a quasi-Communist organization, the atmosphere was very tense and glacial.
Alina Ilinca is an graduate of the History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives.
Liviu Marius Bejenaru is an graduate of the Faculty of History , University „Al. I. Cuza" of Iaşi. Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Regaining the Control. National Party Conference, December 1967*.....204
This article belongs with the set of documents originating in the archives of Radio Free Europe and currently in the custody of the Open Society Archives in Budapest.
The National Party Conference held on December 6-8 set the stage for an unprecedented concentration of power resulting in a fusion of Party and government (or state) positions at various levels – and for a considerable consolidation of Nicolae Ceauşescu's political authority.
The "collective leadership", established after the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, slowly became an illusion, as Ceauşescu's policy of incresing the control over the main institutions and offices advance, as the "old guard" is pushed away.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; researcher with the NIST.

FLORIAN BANU, *The Justice and the Securitate in the County of Olt, during the '70s and '80s* 213
The author is editing and commenting two documents issued by the *Securitate* Service from the county of Olt, one from 1974 and another from 1986.
These are informative reports and analysis of the situation inside the Communist Justice system in Romania and the political problems which could appear, putting in danger the regime. The *Securitate* set a number of measures to be taking to prevent it.
The documents belong to the archives of the National Council for the Study of *Securitate* Archives.
Florian Banu is alumnus of the "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galaţi. Ph.D. in history. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent volume: *The "Spring" of Bucharest. How Romania's "Declaration of Independence" was Adopted,* 2004 (co-author).

MIOARA ANTON, *The climax of détente. Leonid Brejnev in Washington, July 1973*..... 222
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Mioara Anton is Ph.D. student; researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T. Recent book: *The beginning of Ceausescu regime. Continuity and breakdown in Romanian- Soviet relations*, 2003 (co-author).

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MIHAI MARCU, *„Democratic" Elections thirty years ago in Todireni*.....220
Elections in the Communist regime were always a fake. Organized in detail, it created the illusion of democratic involvement in decision-making. All sort of collective councils and committees, purely powerless, gathered „representatives of the working class". This is testimony of a former Communist Mayor who has been involved in organizing such fake elections.
Mihai Marcu is former Communist Mayor of Todireni, Botoşani, 1976-1980. Volum recent: *Cincinalul unui primar comunist (The memories of a Communist Mayor)*, I.N.S.T., 2005.

Biographical Dictionary

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Constantin (Dinu) I.C. Brătianu, 1866 – 1950*..... 244
He was born on January 13, 1866 at Florica as the second son of Ion C. Brătianu (1821-1891), prime-minister of Romania between 1876-1888. Dinu Brătianu had a technical formation, but he worked a long time in financial institutions.In 1930 Constantin (Dinu) I.C. Brătianu opposed to the return of King Carol II on the Romanian throne. He was President of the National Liberal Party, 1934-1947.In 1947 Bratianu's liberals suspended their activity. In 1950 Dinu Brătianu was arrested and sent to prison to Sighet. He died incarcerated in March 13, 1950 at the age of 84.Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Enarmed Resistance in Banat*, tom I, *1945-1949*, NIST, 2004.

ALIN SPÂNU, *Alexandru Proca, 1900 – 1945* 247
Alexandru Proca was October 15, 1900 in Brasov. He was intelligence officer in the Romanian Secret Service and during World War II he took part in German-Romanian joint commisions, as translater for Marshall Ion Antonescu. On March 27, 1945 he was

arrested by the Communist autorities and incarcerated at Malmaison. He commited suicide two days later.

CAMELIA IVAN DUICĂ, *Ioan Popşa, 1922-1952* 250
Ioan Popsa was born on November 1, 1922, a former member of the National Peasants Party. In 1948 he created with his brother, Vasile Popsa, and other two students an anticommunist organisation. After his brother was killed by the Securitate, Ioan Popsa founded a new organization. He was arrested in June 1949, condamne dat 20 years of hard labour. He died three years after his incarceration.
Camelia Ivan Duică is Ph.D candidate at University of Craiova; expert with CNSAS. Recent volume: *Rezistenţa anticomunistă din Maramureş. Gruparea Popşa (1948-1949) (Anticommunist Resistence in Maramureş. The Popşa group, 1948-1949)*, I.N.S.T., 2005.

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Laurenţiu Constantiniu is assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student.

FELICIAN DUICĂ, *Steinhardt in the Files of Securitate*..... 256
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Felician Duică is assistant researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student.

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Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil,* 2002. Recent book: *A Quiet Man's Diary. Conspirative Name: the Artist,* volume I, *1963-1970,* N.I.S.T., 2005.

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At the beginning of World War II, the proletarian solidarity trumpeted ad nauseam by the Second International simply faded away. The social democratic parties in the belligerent countries had replaced internationalism, the doctrine underlying the Second International, with nationalism and chauvinism, clamoring that "the homeland is in danger;" joining sides with the national bourgeoisies, they also proclaimed the need for "social peace". Lenin's favoring of the interests of the new regime over the idea of world revolution provided the matrix for the entire foreign policy of Soviet Russia/USSR. At all the major moments that followed, the Soviet diplomacy was never guided by ideological or doctrine considerations, but by practical aspects related to maintaining the Soviet regime.

Laurenţiu Constantiniu is assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student.

DANA HONCIUC, *The Legionary National State. The Legal Framework*..... 29
Against the background of a gradual deterioration of the democratic system in Romania, the ceding of Northern Transylvania marked the point when social, political and national discontent favored the success of Gen. Ion Antonescu's coup, backed by the Legionary Movement through public actions.

The stage of the takeover by Gen. Ion Antonescu outlined the legislative framework of the new regime, based on Law Decrees 3052-3057 that functioned as constitutional acts whereby Antonescu became the real head of state while the king was deprived of most of his traditional prerogatives.

The establishment of a bipolar regime, with one pole being revolutionary and the other conservative-military in nature, contributed to defining the character of the new political regime and also marked the beginning of its collapse.

Dana Honciuc is Ph.D. in history; senior researcher with the N.I.S.T.

CRISTIAN VASILE, *Orthodox Hierarchy's Resistance to Political Pressure 1946-1948, II*..... 41
After 1946 one of the goals of the procommunist government's religious policy was the removal of the „recalcitrant" prelates from the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Thus the Groza government could replace them with its favourite clergy perceived as obedient executioners of the political orders.
Some of the radical Communist circles wanted even the overthrow of the Romanian patriarch Nicodim Munteanu, but the governmental authorities focussed only on the preparation of a successor. At the same time the Communist officials and the Police launched a mean campaign of disparage against Irineu Mihălcescu, the metropolitan of Moldavia.
Cristian Vasile is Ph.D. in history; researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

ION CONSTANTIN, *Communist Poland, from Bierut to Gomulka, 1948-1970* 55

The generation of Polish communists trained in Moscow and imposed by Stalin to lead Poland after 1948, began losing ground to the "national" communists when destalinization started in the spring of 1956. Despite the conservative trend at the top echelons of the Polish United Workers Party and with all the opposition of Khrushchev, Wladislaw Gomulka was appointed first secretary of the party in October 1956. Keeping Poland on the communist track, Gomulka managed to prevent Soviet armed intervention while also conducting a much more liberal policy compared to other communist states. However, he gradually lost his reform-geared élan as well as grassroots support and was forced to give up the power following the popular revolts of December 1970.

Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in history. Romanian diplomat. Recent book: *The History of Poland and the Romanian-Polish relations*, 2005.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romanian-Soviet Disputes within COMECON and Their Impact on Romania's Foreign Policy (I)*.....68

After 1956, the authorities in Bucharest took measures to restructure the national economy so as to ensure the regime's internal stability and a solid economic basis to withstand Moscow's pressure. Beginning in the late 1950s, these goals of Romania ran counter to the economic specialization within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) that the most developed countries of the communist camp – Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic – were pushing for. The latent conflict flared up in June 1962, when Nikita Khrushchev embraced the idea of specialization in the broader context of the economic integration of all the COMECON countries. Pressure from Moscow and the other COMECON partners would determine a veering in the foreign policy of Romania, with a political reorientation to China and an economic one to the West.

Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; senior researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *Between Beijing and Moscow. Romania and the Sino-Soviet Conflict,* 2004; *Romania and "the Prague Spring",* 2005.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *The Cooperation Military Exercise developed by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. October, 26th –November, 3rd 1966*.....81

Gheorghiu-Dej wanted in fact increased autonomy within the Soviet bloc, along with maintaining the Communist system in Romania and saw Moscow only as the agent ensuring the political, economical and military protection of all the states in Central and South-Eastern Europe that were under its influence. In such circumstances, the relationship between the Romanian and the Soviet military rapidly deteriorated. One example is the cooperation application of the Soviet, Romanian and Bulgarian military signal forces developed in the Black Sea in the period 8-11 March 1965 (only days before the death of the Romanian Workers' Party leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej). The Romanian Marine Forces participating in the operations questioned at that time the decision of the commander of the application, vice-admiral Cernobai, chief of the General Staff of the Black Sea Fleet of USSR, to consider that the maritime fleet of Romania was part of a "joint fleet" of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.
"The friendship among people" had to be in the foreground again for the public from Romania and the Soviet Union. The political directions had to be closely followed even though, behind the group picture, the tensions between Moscow and Bucharest were more and more visible.
Petre Opriş is Ph.D. student.

DIMITAR GRIGOROV, *„For Fatherland and Leader!". Letters Expressing Popular Support in Romania under the Russian Threat, 1968*.....88

This short paper is based on the documentary material from state archives in Romania. It presents some letters sent to the party and state leadership but mainly to the leader Nicolae Ceauşescu as an expression of the support of the policy conducted during the Warsaw treaty's intervention in Czechoslovakia. Without drawing some general conclusions the article is aiming to show a new source which could be useful for the

study of the public attitudes towards the leader, the enemies from within and outside and the self perception of the Romanian people in the crucial for Eastern Europe as a whole and Romania in particular 1968.
Dimitar Grigorov is a junior lecturer at University of Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski", Department for History. His scientific field is Contemporary Balkan History and he is investigating some of the problems which the historical interpretations of the events in the socialist systems on the Balkans are confronted with. Dimitar Grigorov was a fellow of the New Europe College (October 2004 – February 2005) and at present is taking part in CLIOHRES.net project. As a doctoral student at the University of Sofia he is preparing a Ph. D. thesis on the state and party leaders in Yugoslavia and Romania.

RALUCA PETRE, *The Region of Dobrogea and its Ethnic Groups in the Nineteenth Century. A Case of „Proto-cosmopolitanism"* 98
In this paper the author plan to explore the ethnic phenomenon in the region of Dobrogea in a diachronic perspective. Dobrogea is considered to be an interesting example of „protocosmopolitanism", with many ethnic groups living together side by side and finding means of accommodating each other.
The sociological context in which this work is set ist hat of new ethnicities, revived identities. Raluca Petre relied on the theory of Barth to „read" the ethnic dynamics in a historical perspective, specific identity lines and borders developed.
Raluca Petre is junior assistant professor within the Department of Literature (Media Studies), „Ovidius" University of Constanţa. MA in Sociology at Central European University, Budapest. Ph.D. student at Graduate School for Social Research, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Science.

Documents

ALEXANDER VEZENKOV, *Decisions of crucial importance: defining the domains of competence of the CC secretaries* 111
Focusing on the Romanian case, the present publication examines how the Secretariat of the CC of the communist parties functioned in the post-Stalinist period. The party leader attributed specific tasks to the CC secretaries, while the Secretariat hardly acted as a collegial body. Insightful in this regard are the decisions defining the domains of competence of the CC secretaries. The texts of the decisions of April 1954, January 1956, March 1961, July 1965 and December 1967 are published.

Alexander Vezenkov: Studies in history in the University of Sofia (MA, 1995), in CEU – Budapest (MA, 1998) and in EHESS – Paris (DEA, 2000). Ph.D. in history from the University of Sofia in 2001, dissertation: "Urbanization process and demographic changes in Bulgaria, 1944-1989." Freelance scholar, currently fellow at the Center of Advanced Study, Sofia. Articles on XIX-XX c. urban history and institutional history of the communist regimes.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture.*
Total Repression, 1957-1962, XXII 120

The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. The abuses are objectively reflected by documents from all the regions: Moldavia, Oltenia and Transylvania. In 1956, the search and sequestration policy was extended throughout the country.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, H-L,* 2004 (co-ordinator).

OVIDIU BOZGAN, DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romania in 1964. A Report of the Ambassador of France to Bucharest*.....127
The report for 1964 of the French ambassador to Bucharest speaks of how Romania emerged from anonymity on the international stage, mostly owing to the spectacular developments in this country's foreign policy. According to Jean Louis Pons, the basic element in this policy was Romania's effort to reject the Soviet hegemony, with the ensuing tendency to draw closer to the West and the consolidation of the Gheorghiu-Dej regime at home, all this making it both possible and necessary to have a slight liberalization.The no. 1 conclusion of the French ambassador's report is that 1964 was to be the year of Romania's definitive breakaway from the situation of a satellite of the Soviet Union, which it had been since the end of World War II.

Ovidiu Bozgan is Ph.D. in history, lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He is the head of the Center of Church History, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *A History of the University from Bucharest*, 2004.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romanian Writers and the Limits of Liberalization, 1965-1971*.....154
The liberalization that occurred in the early stages of the Ceauşescu regime marked all areas, the cultural one included. The developments of 1965-1971 decisively contributed to cultural progress in Romania and to this country's opening on the world. Romanian writers published more books and more translations from world literature were issued. International contacts also multiplied. Yet the liberalization had its limits, the most obvious being the censorship and the surveillance of the intelligentsia by the political police, these being instruments the totalitarian state could not give up without endangering its own existence. The close watch kept over the Romanian authors during the most liberal period in the history of communism in Romania was an indication that the repressive nature of the regime hadn't really mellowed.

Ana-Maria Cătănuş is assistant researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Power and Policy in Ceauşescu's Romania* 169
This article belongs with the set of documents originating in the archives of Radio Free Europe and currently in the custody of the Open Society Archives in Budapest.
To Nicolae Ceauşescu August 1968 represented the top of his political path and a justification to his foreign policy in the years to come. The analysts of the Free Europe Radio station succeed in discovering and emphasizing a possible link between the events following the death of Gheorghiu-Dej and the so-called policy of independence toward Moscow practiced by the last Communist leader of Romania. The documents are focusing mainly on the Central Committee Plenum of April 1968 and the political

rehabilitation of that moment. These acts – the revival of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, Ştefan Pătrăşcanu etc. – were considerably link to the removal of those involved in the purges. Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; researcher with the NIST.

ALINA PAVELESCU, *May 1968 – Charles de Gaulle and the "Big Ambitions" of the Romanian Communists*.....191
Gen. Charles de Gaulle, President of the French Republic, visited Romanian over May 14-18, 1968, the visit being reflected in the Romanian media – and later in the historiography of the Ceauşescu regime – as one of the events that sanctioned President Nicolae Ceauşescu's international prestige while also enhancing his popularity at home. As the first visit to Romania by a French head of state and also the first visit by the leader of the major Western power after 1944, its symbolism was more evident than any practical effects it generated.

Charles de Gaulle's visit to Romania, the end of which was hastened by the outbreak of the student protests in Paris, brought Nicolae Ceauşescu the first invitation to pay an official visit to a big Western state. That visit took place in July 1970, when Georges Pompidou was President of France.

Alina Pavelescu historian within the Romanian National Archives; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *The Romanian Communist Party during the years of World War II, 1939-1944*, 2004.

MIOARA ANTON, *From Confrontation to Détente. Richard Nixon in Moscow, May 1972*.....209
The "structure of peace" imagined by the Nixon Administration confronted the diplomacy of the 70s with a real challenge: harmonizing strategic and economic interests with the ideological barriers, very inflexible in the Soviet case and even more so in the case of China. The plans of the Nixon administration pursued mainly to restore the position of the USA as the prime mediator in the international arena.

The SALT I agreement signed on May 26, 1972 certainly was one of the American president's major diplomatic successes in Moscow. The two big powers seemed to find solutions also to the other issues on their agenda, except Vietnam. Thus the USSR obtained the most favored nation status. The agreements concluded in Moscow in May 1972 ushered in a new stage in international relations: coexistence prevailing over expansion.

Mioara Anton is Ph.D. student; researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T. Recent book: *The beginning of Ceausescu regime. Continuity and breakdown in Romanian- Soviet relations*, 2003 (co-author).

TESTIMONIES

Acad. RADU P. VOINEA, *Pages from the History of the Romanian Academy, 1948-1989*.....220

The article represents a brief review, in a memoir-like manner, of several moments in the history of the Romanian Academy under the communist regime, with special focus on the events directly experienced by the author, i.e. those after March 1963, when he was elected a corresponding member of this high scientific forum.

As general secretary between 1967-1974 and then president of the Romanian Academy over 1984-1989, Radu P. Voinea witnessed the continuous deterioration of the Romanian academic environment, due to the shortage of financial resources, to infrequent contacts with foreign countries and, finally, to the growing ideologization of scientific life.

Radu Voinea was general secretary of the Romanian Academy (1967-1974); president of the Romanian Academy (1984-1989).

STELIAN TITU PAULIAN, *Students Expelled from University in December 1962* 227
Early in 1962, the regime in Bucharest announced that, following the completion of collectivization in agriculture, all candidates would be allowed to take the examination for admission to university, irrespective of social origin. Later, as they realized there were too many young people who had passed the exam but whose parents were political detainees, they decided to expel them and enroll them again gradually, after repeated checks and reassessments.

Stelian Titu Paulian graduated from the Academy of Economical Studies, 1968, and also from Law Faculty, the University of Bucharest.

PAUL NICULESCU-MIZIL, *About the "Ideological Plenum", July-November 1971* 229
The text presents the testimony of a high official of the communist regime about the events of July-November 1971, which led to an ideological clampdown in Romania. The author, an active participant in those events, describes extensively the debates on ideological issues that took place between the moment the "theses of July 1971" were enunciated and the ideological plenum of November 1971, the international developments in the same interval, and the way they influenced the situation in Romania.

Paul Niculescu-Mizil was secretary of the Romanian Communist Party' Central Committee (1965-1972), member of Executive Political Committee (1965-1989).

Biographical Dictionary

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Victor-Ion (Vichi) Kreissl (1931-1988)* 248
Victor Ion Kreissl was born on January 10, 1931 in Cernauti and attended the first grades at the Ion Heliade Radulescu High School. Beginning in June 1940, the Kreissls were forced to seek refuge at Câmpina. After the occupier had changed, in the autumn of 1944, they were harassed because of the father's German origin. The young Victor Ion Kreissl enrolled in sixth grade at the Ion Maiorescu High School, wherefrom he graduated in 1949. On September 2, 1949 he was arrested, questioned at the headquarters of the political police in Giurgiu and then transferred to the Uranus

military prison in Bucharest. By the ruling no. 1354 of December 21, 1949, the Bucharest Military Court sentenced Victor Ion Kreissl to six years in prison for sedition. He spent his prison term at the jails of Jilava, Targsor, Peninsula and Aiud. He was released on August 31, 1955.

Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Enarmed Resistance in Banat*, tom I, *1945-1949*, NIST, 2004.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *Leonte Tismăneanu (1913-1981)* 252
Leonte Tismăneanu (Leonid Tisminetski by his real name) was born in 1913 at Soroca. He joined the Communist Party in 1933. In 1935, Leonte Tismăneanu was expelled from university because of his communist activism and sent to prison together with Grigore Preoteasa, who would later be foreign minister of Romania (October 4, 1955 – July 16, 1957). When his term in prison ended, Leonte Tismăneanu participated in the war in Spain and later sought refuge with his wife in the USSR, becoming an editor with Radio Moscow in 1941. Returning to Romania in March 1948, he was appointed editor-in-chief of the Publishing House for Political Literature (set up in October 1944) and head of the Marxism chair. Toward the end of the '50s, he fell out with Gheorghiu-Dej and was expelled from the Romanian Workers Party in 1960, only to be readmitted on February 18, 1964.

Book Reviews

VASILE BUGA, *Knowledge of our History*.....257
This is a review of the Romanian Institute of Recent History Yearbook *Politică externă şi exil anticomunist* (*Communist Foreign Policy and Anti-Communist Exile*), vol. II/2003, Polirom Publishin House, Iaşi, 2004.
Vasile Buga, Ph.D. in history, is a collaborator of the Romanian-Russian Joint History Commission.

FELICIAN DUICĂ, *The Eves of the Romanian Communist Rule*.....259
This is a review of Dinu C. Giurescu's book *Uzurpatorii. România 6 martie 1945-7 ianuarie 1946*, (*The Usurpers. Romania March, 6 1945-January, 7 1946*) Vremea XXI Publishing House, 2004.

Felician Duică is assistant researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student.

The NIST Library

MIHAI-VLADIMIR ILIESCU, *Books and Periodicals. Included in the NIST Collections*..... 264

The NIST Agenda 266
The N.I.S.T. agenda describes the activity of the institute's researchers during the first half of this year. This is a short review of participation in symposiums, round tables,

book releases, openings of document exhibitions, where the participants discussed issues related to the access to documents from the communist period and the debunking of certain huge historical mystifications. The exchange of ideas was the great advantage of these encounters and the published works show the true value both of the organizational effort and of this serious scientific approach.

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Editorial

RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast,* XXIV 5
Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council; Ph.D. in history, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989.* Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil,* 2002. Recent book: *The National Resistance Movement from Oltenia,* vol. II, *1949-1952,* 2003.

Studies

ION CONSTANTIN, *Poland in the Early Years of Communism, 1944-1948*..... 8
By geographical location and size, Poland was one of the linchpins in ensuring Moscow's dominant strategic and political position in Central and Eastern Europe. Establishing a communist regime in Poland was a major goal of the Soviet leadership at the end of World War II. In the rigged elections of January 19, 1947, the parties of the communist bloc got 80% of the vote while the Polish Peasant Party headed by Stanislaw Mikolajczyk emerged with only a meager 10%. The election returns sanctioned the defeat of the Polish political opposition, whose representatives were ousted from the government. Mikolajczyk and a few of his associates had to go into exile (October 1947) to avoid the fate of the leaders of similar political groupings, such as those in Romania or Bulgaria.

Ion Constantin is Ph.D. in history. Romanian diplomat.

CRISTIAN VASILE, *Orthodox Hierarchy's Resistance to Political Pressure 1946-1948* 18
After 1946 one of the goals of the procommunist government's religious policy was the removal of the „recalcitrant" prelates from the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Thus the Groza government could replace them with its favourite clergy perceived as obedient executioners of the political orders.
Some of the radical Communist circles wanted even the overthrow of the Romanian patriarch Nicodim Munteanu, but the governmental authorities focussed only on the preparation of a successor. At the same time the Communist officials and the Police launched a mean campaign of disparage against Irineu Mihălcescu, the metropolitan of Moldavia.
Cristian Vasile is a Ph.D. in history; assistant researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

ALEXANDRU-ALIN SPANU, *Turkey – A Target of Section Two Intelligence and Counterintelligence, 1946-1947* 28
At the end of World War II, Romanian-Turkish relations seemed to be reverting to their generally good pre-war status, but Romania was encompassed in Moscow's sphere of interest and so that prospect was delayed by several decades. In such a context, Section Two Intelligence and Counterintelligence of the General Staff was assigned the task of keeping an eye on Turkey, a country receiving American support and therefore considered ideologically hostile. When King Mihai abdicated on December 30, 1947 and Romania was proclaimed a people's republic, a new chill occurred in the relations between Bucharest and Ankara, especially after 1952, when Turkey and Greece joined NATO.

Alexandru-Alin Spanu graduated in-depth studies in International Relations, at the History Department of Bucharest University. Volume to be published: *The Romanian Gendarmerie, September 1940-August 1944.*

FLORIAN BANU, *The Myth of the Americans' Coming Reflected in* Securitate *Documents*..... 34
Having entered the Soviet sphere of influence even before the end of the great war, the Romanians concocted a myth to help them cope with the brutal changes they were forced to live through: the myth of the Americans' coming.

The author of this study attempts to explain how this myth came into being, insisting on how it was reflected in the documents drawn up after 1948 by the *Securitate* (the political police) and the role it played in the resistance against communism.
Florian Banu is alumnus of the "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galaţi. Ph.D. in history. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives. Recent volume: *The "Spring" of Bucharest. How Romania's "Declaration of Independence" was Adopted,* 2004 (co-author).

VASILE BUGA, *The Romanian-Soviet Political Relations, 1953-1958, II*.....46

Between 1953 and 1958 Romania did not really break away from the Soviet sphere of influence, timid steps in that directions being all that happened. That was so because the Romanian leaders feared they might jeopardize their position and were concerned not to strain the relations with Moscow, especially after the events in Hungary. Only after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops did Romania gradually leave Moscow's fold, yet only in point of foreign policy. Unfortunately, on the domestic front the Soviet model was further followed in building a totalitarian society.
Vasile Buga, Ph.D. in history, is a collaborator of the Romanian-Russian Joint History Commission.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romanian-Yugoslav Relations Resumed. Tito's Visit to Bucharest, June 23-26, 1956* 72
In 1956, en route for Moscow, Tito and his retinue stopped in Bucharest for a brief meeting with the Romanian leadership. This first meeting on May 31, 1956 was followed by Tito's official visit to Romania over June 23-26, an occasion for opinions to be exchanged on problems of the past for exploring cooperation opportunities for the future. After the visit, Romanian-Yugoslav relations no longer reflected the meandering Soviet policy versus Tito. Even if between 1958 and 1960 a certain chill would occur, once resumed, the relations between the two countries were pragmatic, with stress particularly on economic cooperation and not on ideological differences.
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania. The Repression*, tom I, *1949-1953*, 2004 (co-author); *Between Beijing and Moscow. Romania and the Sino-Soviet Conflict*, 2004.

CRISTINA PĂIUŞAN, *The Yom Kippur War and Romania's Involvement. Diplomatic Perceptions*..... 87
Romania's involvement in Middle East issues, its pertinent position during the Six-Day War, then the efforts to establish a Romanian channel for negotiations during the war of attrition, 1969-1971, and the stand taken in the wake of the Yom Kippur War represented attempts to break free from the suffocating Soviet guardianship, to conduct a foreign policy of its own, taking advantage of changes in the international political arena. The moves of the Romanian state led to its recognition as a partner to the countries in the Middle East.
Cristina Păiuşan is an graduate of the History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student; Deputy Director with the European Fundation "Nicolae Titulescu". Recent books: *The Romanian Orthodox Church under the Communist Regime*, tom I, *1945-1958*, NIST, 2003 (co-author).

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *The Role of International Relations in the Changes of the Communist Camp in the '80s*.....98
The end of the Cold Ward should not be considered as unavoidable although we tend to believe so. International relations followed a certain course after 1983 and history should have been different without Gorbachev, Reagan, Bush or Kohl. This study analizes the role of internal and external factors in the collapse of Communism.

Florin Abraham, assistant-researcher with NIST; graduate of the In-Depth Study Program of the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj; Ph.D. student.

LAURA VIŞAN, *Seeing Romania with American Eyes. Cultural Stereotypes Between Endorsement and Rejection*.....110
This paper deals with the cultural shock of the American writers, journalists or researchers who visited Romania both before and after the 1989 Revolution. It provides the reaction of the American traveler when confronted to a plethora of Romanian realities, the feedback he gets from the people here, as well as their insight upon inland realities. This insight ranges from an idealized vision upon our destiny in the world, doubled by a sense of helplessness in front of the international conspiracy against Romania, to defeatist approaches that point at this country as doomed, unless the international powers will urgently intervene.
Laura Vişan is alumnus of the Department of Letters at Bucharest University (class of 2000). Master of Arts in American Studies at the Department of Foreign Languages at Bucharest University (2003). Articles published in *Dilema* (2000, 2001). She has been working in public relations and advertising since graduation from university.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, *The Intelligentsia and Communism. The Case of Physicist Alexandru Sanielevici* 136
Alexandru Sanielevici belonged to a distinguished family of Jewish intellectuals. Anti-Semitic persecutions and the exclusion enforced by Antonescu's government exacerbated his antifascism and anti-Nazi feeling and formally propelled him into the ranks of the communist party. He was able to pursue a remarkable career after 1944 because in fact he never became an opponent of the Establishment. A review of nuclear physicist Alexandru Sanielevici's case provides arguments for historians to focus on the groups of intellectuals that gravitated around the communist party.

Ovidiu Bozgan is Ph.D. in history, lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He is the head of the Center of Church History, University of Bucharest. Recent work: *A History of the University from Bucarest*, 2004.

CĂLIN MORAR-VULCU, *Newspeak and the Historical Research*.....149
The paper deals with the issue of the utility of the framework generically named "Newspeak" („Limba de lemn"). The first part refuted some fundamental propositions of the "Newspeak" theory as a theory of communication in the totalitarian states: "Newspeak" distorts reality and promotes the lie, "Newspeak" is a language which communicates nothing and it is through "Newspeak" that those in power consciously manipulate „the masses". Following Patrick Seriot, the term of *discourse* is proposed instead that of "Newspeak".
The second part of the paper deals with the relationship between the "Newspeak" theory and the traditional theories of historical research (especially the Positivist tradition), underlining some reasons for which the "Newspeak" theory is widely accepted by the historians of totalitarianism and refuting these reasons along the same lines as those used in the first part. At the same time, the paper emphasizes the potential benefits of the „new" historical research (post-Linguistic Turn) for the research of totalitarian/authoritarian systems.
Calin Morar-Vulcu is alumnus of the Babes-Bolyai University, Department of History and Philosophy, History section; graduated a program of in-depth studies; doctoral

candidate at the Babes-Bolyai University, with the theme "Building of political identities and the official rhetoric in Romania, 1948-1965."

Documents

LIVIU ŢĂRANU, *The "New Trend" in Communist Romania's Economic Policy. August 1953, II* 167
After Stalin's death in March 1953, major changes occurred in the economic policy of the countries in the Communist bloc. Romania was no exception. One can find the reasons why the authorities in Bucharest espoused the "new trend" in the summer of 1953 in two documents from the archives of the former Central Committee of the RCP (the enhanced report of the committee led by Miron Constantinescu and the shorthand report of the Politburo meeting when the report was amended) which are considered significant for the changes in the economic strategy of the Gheorghiu-Dej governance.
Liviu Ţăranu is alumnus of the History Department of the Al. I. Cuza University of Iaşi. Senior adviser to the National Council for the Study of the Former Political Police Archives; Ph.D. in history. Recent volume: *The "Spring" of Bucharest. How Romania's "Declaration of Independence" was Adopted*, 2004 (co-author).

PETRE NIŢU, *The First Batches of Political Detainees to Be Freed. Sighet* 189
The changes having occurred in Moscow after Stalin's death prompted the communist leaders in Bucharest to take a number of measures much like those in the Soviet Union. Relaxing the repression, the Dej regime stopped the work on the Danube-Black Sea Canal and a first batch of political prisoners were set free based on a March 11, 1954 decision of the Council of Ministers. The document reproduced here comprises three annexes to Decision no. 1199 of June 25, 1955 issued by the Council of Ministers to pardon the first major batch of political detainees, dignitaries of the former regime who were to be released from the Sighet Penitentiary.
Petre Niţu is alumnus of the Department of History at Bucharest University. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XXI 202
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. The abuses are objectively reflected by documents from all the regions: Moldavia, Oltenia and Transylvania. In 1956, the search and sequestration policy was extended throughout the country.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania. The Repression*, vol. I, *1949-1953*, 2004 (co-author); *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, D-G*, 2003 (co-ordinator).

MIOARA ANTON, *Diversity in Unity. American Perceptions of the Communist Bloc, 1962* 211
Late in 1962, the US Administration revised its plans for the East-European countries. Going from reserve to stagnation, they envisaged "much more normal and active

relations with the governments of East-European countries." With all the impediments arising from the nature of the political regimes, coordination of the cooperation plans was not impossible. The two documents reveal that the Americans were interested in the states in the Soviet sphere of influence. Even if at first there was no hint a change of political regime would be encouraged, such a turn was not out of the question. However, the events of 1961-1962 convinced the US that such an approach of the relations with the socialist states could only be counterproductive.
Mioara Anton is a Ph.D. student; researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *"Communism's Rising Stars". Possible Political Successors in Eastern Europe, 1965* 224
This article belongs with the set of documents originating in the archives of Radio Free Europe and currently in the custody of the Open Society Archives in Budapest.
This time the documentalists from the Munich-based radio station focus exclusively on the possible successors in the leadership in Eastern Europe. Brief biographies of second-rank leaders from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia are available.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the NIST.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Dorin Tudoran or the Tribulations of a Romanian Intellectual in Conflict with the Communist Regime* 232
In the early 1980s, Dorin Tudoran joined the few voices that publicly contested the regime. Tudoran spoke out about problems related to culture and literature, but also about proven plagiarism cases involving well-known figures of the literary world. His daring attitude was not without consequences. Harassed by the communist authorities, Tudoran applied in the spring of 1984 for permission to emigrate. On July 25, 1985, after years of persecution, Tudoran managed to leave the country.
Ana-Maria Cătănuş is assistent researcher with the NIST; Ph.D. student of the „Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

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ANA-MARIA RĂDULESCU, *Aurelian Barbici (1894-1959)*..... 244
The Rev. Aurelian Barbici (who lived in Targu Jiu as of 1928) served as confessor for people arrested and in custody and then as priest at the St. Nicholas Church, until June 1, 1948 when he was suspended because of his activity as a member of the National Liberal Party. A political police file was put together for him in November 1947. He was arrested several times: March 1948 (when he was held for one month at the Targu Jiu Penitentiary), on March 25, 1949 and the third time on August 15/16, 1952. He was sent to prison in Pitesti; when he was released he was sent to live in Targu Jiu.
Ana-Maria Radulescu is alumnus of the Political Science Department, Bucharest University; doctoral candidate at the same university. Recent volume: *The Conservatives in Dolj County between 1899 and 1913*. 2004.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Mihai Botez (1940-1995)*.....248
Mathematician, Mihai Botez has been an important figure of Romanian scientific community. As academic Mihai Botez was well known for his professional value. In 1976 he was awarded the Woodrow Wilson prise by the American Smithsonian Institute. As dissident, Mihai Botez challenged the Communist regime to respect human rights. Although he was persecuted, Mihai Botez refused to emigrate until 1987.

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Alexandru Cartojan (1901-1965)*.....252
Professor Alexandru Cartojan conducted a considerable political activity as an outstanding member of the National Peasant Party. He was arrested in 1950 and in 1953 his punishment was increased by another three years. On December 16, 1954 a new warrant was issued, Cartojan being accused of "intense activity against the working class." On January 24, 1962, he was arrested yet again, and a new trial was staged against him, the outcome being a sentence of seven years in prison for sedition.
Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Rezistenţa armată din Banat (Enarmed Resistance in Banat)*, tom I, *1945-1949*, NIST, 2004.

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Oana Şolică is student of the Department of Sociology-Psychology of the "Spiru Haret" University.

CRISTIAN GOJINESCU, *Destinies Lost in the Soviet Gulag*.....263
Review of *Prizonierii de razboi in URSS. 1939-1956* (POWs in the USSR. 1939-1956), ed. M. M. Zagoruliko, Moscow, Jloroc, 2000, 1120 p.
Cristian Gojinescu is assistant researcher with the NIST. Ph.D. student of the University „Al. I. Cuza", Iaşi

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RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast,* XXIII 5

Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989*. Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *The National Resistance Movement from Oltenia*, vol. II, *1949-1952*, 2003.

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GEORGE ENACHE, *Political Interference in Electing the Leaders of the Romanian Orthodox Church*..... 7

One of the aspects of church life in which political influence was most manifest was the election or removal of prelates from the church hierarchy. Under a totalitarian regime, the individual is not rewarded or punished for his real merits or mistakes, but according to how this serves or not the power. The Orthodox prelates, with a few exceptions, were not arrested because the communists had methods that suited their goals better: forcible retirement, withdrawal, and the dissolution of dioceses. Any arrest would have seriously affected the myth of perfect cooperation between the Communist state and the Orthodox Church. Therefore prelates dismissed from their position were the victims of Communist terror against the church.

George Enache is a junior assistant professor within the History Department of the "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galaţi; a Ph.D. student.

MIOARA ANTON, *The Communist Party and the Intelligentsia in Romania, 1945-1955* 33
The results of the Communist party's cultural policy in the early 1950s could be defined as an unfortunate combination of what the pro-Moscow and the national groupings wanted. From the pro-Moscow grouping this policy took over the suspicion about what the Romanian thinking could produce and the anti-Western attitude, while from the national grouping it took over a suspicious attitude versus the intelligentsia. The Zhdanov model was transposed mechanically, a strict, humiliating discipline being enforced. Soviet values were seen as the only source of inspiration, and the national thinking school was annihilated. Nothing could be published without permission from the Communist party.
The imprisonment and elimination of certain outstanding figures can be considered a failure of the party in its quest for legitimacy. Subsequent development strategies were based on this simple scenario: either everyone complied or the protesters were eliminated.
Mioara Anton is a Ph.D. student; researcher within "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History; researcher within N.I.S.T.

PETRE OPRIŞ, *The Scope of European Security between 1945 and 1950*.....46
A scrutiny of the events that took place in Europe between 1945 and 1948 will evidence the conclusion that Sovietization was begun and conducted without unitary planning. What the Truman doctrine and Zhdanov's theses had anticipated materialized in the partitioning of Germany, which in 1949 was acknowledged by all states. As of that moment, the Gordian knot in the East-West clash in Europe was German reunification.
Petre Opriş holds a Ph.D. in history.

MARIAN COJOC, *Perceptions of the Cold War: Dobruja in the First Post-War Decade* 57
This study focuses on the perception of the Cold War from the angle of its propaganda. The analysis is based on archive documents of the regional committees of the Communist party or of other local administration bodies in Dobruja. The press in Dobruja focuses on the major events both within the Communist bloc and at the international level, as the party directives dictated. The East-West rift, the Yugoslav schism, and the Middle East events – such were the subjects the press in Dobruja approached in the first post-war decade.
Marian Cojoc holds Ph.D. in history; Dean of the History Department of the "Ovidius" University of Constanţa. Recent books: *Rezistenţa armată în Dobrogea (Enarmed Resistance in Dobrudja), 1945-1960*, NIST, 2004.

IOAN SCURTU, *The Impact of the Cold War on Romanian Historiography* 68
During the Cold War, history was used in the propaganda against Western states and to glorify the Soviet Union and its leaders. Many historians were involved in this propaganda, providing mystified accounts of the past and writing history as the political interests of the moment dictated. Upright historians like Constantin Daicoviciu also

took part in this campaign but most of those involved were impostors who had no qualms about distorting the past.
When the Soviet troops were withdrawn from Romania in 1968 and relations with the Western world (France and Italy in the first place) were resumed, ideological pressure relaxed somewhat, but real freedom was still impossible under a totalitarian regime.
Ioan Scurtu holds a Ph.D. in history and he is professor within "Spiru Haret" University, Bucharest, currently teaching recent history of Romania. He is director general of "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History in Bucharest. Recent work: *Formaţiuni şi ideologie de dreapta în România*, vol.: *1934-1938*, NIST, 2003 (co-ordinator).

FLORIAN BANU, *The Communist Police in the Romanian People's Republic and the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." 1949-1956* 77
As soon as it was created, the Communist police (*Miliţia*) began being used as an instrument of institutionalized terror. The Communist police officers were recruited from among opportunists and the lower, frustrated walks of life. Indoctrinated by the Political Directorate and well paid, they formed a body of loyal supporters of the regime, ready to commit any abuses under the pretext of defending the law. Like the personnel of the political police (*Securitate*), the employees of the regular police considered they were intangible and above ordinary people, therefore behaving arbitrarily.
The police (*Miliţia*) also conducted political police actions, this force acting throughout that period as a faithful ally to the *Securitate.*
Florian Banu is alumnus of the "Dunărea de Jos" University of Galaţi. Ph.D. in history. Expert at the National Council for the Study of *Securitate* Archives. Recent work: *„Primăvara" de la Bucureşti. Cum s-a adoptat „Declaraţia de independenţă" a României?*, 2004 (co-author).

VASILE BUGA, *Romanian-Soviet Relations, 1953-1958*..... 95
Between 1953 and 1958, Romanian-Soviet relations were marked by the failure of the Romanian leadership to take a firm stand and break away from the Soviet sphere of influence. The leaders of the Romanian Workers Party did their best to observe the recommendations and instructions they received from Moscow and to apply mechanically the same measures the Soviet Union applied. Significantly, despite a certain liberalization initiated by the new Kremlin leaders after Stalin's death, the Romanian leaders still stuck to the Soviet model.
Vasile Buga, Ph.D. in history, is a collaborator of the Romanian-Russian Joint History Commission.

ALINA TUDOR-PAVELESCU, *Gheorghiu-Dej's Successor: Power Transfer Techniques, 1965-1969* 117
The means and techniques of the power transfer operated between 1965 and 1969 to be benefit of Nicolae Ceausescu had a major role in outlining the future profile of the

regime the latter headed until 1989. The new power mechanisms actuated on the occasion functioned the same way also while Ceausescu exerted absolute control over the party and state bodies. Most of the developments with respect to political rhetoric and the management of the political and state machinery after 1969 actually represented cosmetic changes. Consequently, the period 1965-1969 can be considered, despite the public perception that it was a time when political control over the Romanian society relaxed, the basic moment in the building of the neo-Stalinist model the Ceausescu regime represented.
Alina Tudor-Pavelescu is Ph.D. student at University of Bucharest. Researcher at the National Archives of Romania; recent books: *The Romanian Communist Party during the Second World War*, National Archives of Romania, Bucharest, 2003.

CONSTANTIN MORARU, *Romania and European Security, 1966-1975*.....129
In 1975, at Helsinki, it was agreed that certain general principles should be observed in the relations between Western and Eastern Europe: good neighborliness, a peaceful climate, economic and cultural ties, human rights and so on.
Romania signed the Declaration on the principles of mutual relations between the states participating in the All-European Conference, considering the Helsinki Final Act could provide the framework for all states to make a greater contribution to the settlement of the Continent's problems, based on active cooperation.
Constantin Moraru is Ph.D. student at University of Bucharest. Researcher at the National Archives of Romania.

IOAN DAN, *The Trial of the Politburo in a Historical Perspective*.....138
This text is made up of memories jotted down by the former military prosecutor, an inspector having the rank of colonel with the Directorate of the Military Prosecutor within the General Prosecutor's Office. Light is cast on what went on behind the scenes while preparing the trial of the former Communist leaders. In the author's view, it was the orders given to the troops to use real ammunition against the demonstrators in Timişoara and Bucharest that triggered the tragic events of December 1989.
Former Military Prosecutor during Communist regime.

Documents

LIVIU ŢĂRANU, *The "New Trend" in Communist Romania's Economic Policy. August 1953*.....143
After Stalin's death in March 1953, major changes occurred in the economic policy of the countries in the Communist bloc. Romania was no exception. One can find the reasons why the authorities in Bucharest espoused the "new trend" in the summer of 1953 in two documents from the archives of the former Central Committee of the RCP (the enhanced report of the committee led by Miron Constantinescu and the shorthand report of the Politburo meeting when the report was amended) which are considered significant for the changes in the economic strategy of the Gheorghiu-Dej governance.
Liviu Ţăranu is an graduate of the Faculty of History , University „Al. I. Cuza" of Iaşi. Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of *Securitate* Archives.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *French Diplomacy and 1956 Romania* 168
1956 was a milestone in the evolution of Communist states. Present-day historians find it interesting to see how a foreign observer perceived the Bucharest regime at that time. The article contains the synthesis-report of France's minister to Bucharest, Pierre Francfort, on the situation in 1956 Romania. The French diplomat notes the "discreet way" the Gheorghiu-Dej regime conducted the destalinization process. The document comes from the Archives of France's Foreign Ministry.
Ovidiu Bozgan is Ph.D. in history, Lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He is the head of the Center of Church History, University of Bucharest. Recent work: *Romania vs. Vatican*, 2000.
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; researcher with N.I.S.T.; Ph.D. student. Recent book: *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania. The Repression*, tom I, *1949-1953*, 2004 (co-author).

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XX..... 193
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. The abuses are objectively reflected by documents from all the regions: Moldavia, Oltenia and Transylvania. In 1956, the search and sequestration policy was extended throughout the country.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania. The Repression*, vol. I, *1949-1953*, 2004 (co-author); *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, D-G*, 2003 (co-ordinator).

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUŞ, *Culture and Art at the Beginning of the Ceauşescu Regime*..... 202
On May 19, 1965 Nicolae Ceausescu, recently appointed First secretary of the party, was meeting with representatives of the literary and arts world, to tell them how he anticipated the development of art and culture. Without making any direct reference to the Dej epoch, Ceausescu hinted that he would maintain the liberal trend that had prevailed in the field of culture until he had come to power. Moreover, he proved willing to broaden the limits imposed in this sector. The concessions he announced could create the impression the regime was condoning a freedom of speech no one had hoped for before, yet the Communist leader made a point of what the party meant and how it expected the new line to be applied.
The party's offer – limited freedom of artistic creation – was sanctioned into an official directive on the occasion of the 4th Congress of the RWP (9th of the RCP).
Ana-Maria Cătănuş is an assistant researcher with the N.I.S.T., alumnus of History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Gheorghiu-Dej's political heirs. An interpretation of Radio "Free Europe, 1965"*..... 224
This article belongs with the set of documents addressing the first years of the regime headed by Nicolae Ceausescu, originating in the archives of Radio Free Europe and currently in the custody of the Open Society Archives in Budapest.

This time the documentalists from the Munich-based radio station focus exclusively on the evolution of relations between Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's successors in the party and state leadership.
The text contains brief biographies of those who were identified as the chief communist leaders of Romania, as well as a membership list of the first Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party elected in July 1965, after the death of Gheorghiu-Dej.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a assistant professor within History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the NIST.

Biographical Dictionary

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Marcel Băltărescu (1914-1991)*.....236
Former lawyer and war veteran Marcel Băltărescu was arrested in 1947, "because of his past and his anti-communist beliefs," being imprisoned at Gherla until May 1, 1948.
On August 10, 1952 he was arrested gain, dealt an administrative sentence and sent to the Danube-Black Sea Canal, first at the labor camp of Gales and then at Peninsula. He was released on May 27, 1954 but he was not admitted to the Bar so he worked for a long time as a day laborer in constructions.
Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Rezistenţa armată din Banat (Enarmed Resistance in Banat)*, tom I, *1945-1949*, NIST, 2004.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *Ion Eremia (1913-2004)*..... 238
Gen. Ion Eremia joined the Communist party in 1942, when it was still an underground party. After the war he was appointed to higher and higher positions in the armed forces, but after 1953 his career faded and he gradually turned away from the party's official policy. Because of a memorandum sent to Gheorghiu-Dej after debating the matter with other former underground activists (Victor Dusa, Dumitru Petrescu, C. Agiu, etc.), he was ousted from the party in 1956, for "factional activity." He was arrested in October 1956, for having tried to send to France for publication the novel *Gulliver in the Land of Lies*, in which he lashed at the Bucharest regime. Freed in 1964, rehabilitated in 1979, he was not taken back into the ranks of the party.
Alina Ilinca is an graduate of the History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives.
Liviu Marius Bejenaru is an graduate of the Faculty of History , University „Al. I. Cuza" of Iaşi. Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives.

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CRISTINA PĂIUŞAN, *The greek-catholics under the communist rule. Introspection and historical controversial point*..... 245

This is a review of Cristian Vasile's book *Between Vatican and Kremlin. The greek-catholics under the communist rule*, Curtea Veche, Bucharest, 2003.
Cristina Păiuşan is an graduate of the History Department of the University of Bucharest; Ph.D. student; Deputy Director with the European Fundation "Nicolae Titulescu". Recent books: *The Romanian Orthodox Church under the Communist Regime*, tom I, *1945-1958*, NIST, 2003 (co-author).

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Gheorghe Neacşu is a historian; recent books: *23 August 1944 in the Communist Archives*, 200; *Communist Ideology and Structures in Romania, 1920-1921*, vol. III, 2001 (co-author).

CRISTINA ROMAN, *Myths and realities in Southern* Europe….....250
A review of Walter Kolarz's book Myths and realities in Southern Europe, Polirom, Iaşi, 2003.
Cristina Roman is an graduate of the History Department of the University of Bucharest. Museum Curator with The Village Museum in Bucharest.

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Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989*. Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *The Prison System in Romania, 1940-1962,* 2002.

Studies

GHEORGHE BARBĂ, Solzhenitsyn and the Russian question 8
Solzhenitsyn's role in the world, the place he has been assigned in Russian culture has already been praised in countless writings. He was said to represent "Russia's hope", to have "given us back the grandeur and sense of morality," to be "the symbol of our epoch," to have won recognition as "the Great Witness in the trial of communism;" likewise, it was said that he left an extraordinary mark on those living in the West.

A very correct and comprehensive characterization comes from the Montenegrin Milovan Djilas (1911-1995), another famous dissident from the ex-communist space: "Solzhenitsyn fills the vacuum created in the Russian culture and consciousness. He gave Russia back its soul, that soul which was revealed to the world by the likes of Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov and Gorki."
Professor Gheorghe Barbă, Ph.D., a philologist and Slavic specialist focusing on Russian literature and culture, teaches at the University of Bucharest. *Mikhail Sholokhov in the Romanian Literary Universe; A History of Ancient Russian Literature,*

11th-17th Centuries; Lectures on Russian Literature and Romanian-Russian Literary Relations. Co-author of several volumes such as: *Contemporary Soviet Prose; Pushkin in the Romanian Cultural Context; The Song of Igor's Campaign.*

DUMITRU ŞANDRU, *The Moscow conference of December 1945 and its impact on Romania* 17
Western historians agree, as Romanian ones do, that in Moscow, insofar as Romania was concerned, Britain and the US yielded to the Soviet Union. Consequently, what was decided in Moscow by the foreign ministers of the three major powers did not have a favourable impact on events in Romania. Actually, there was no way those decisions could favour Romania since they were implemented under Vyshinsky's direct patronage. What they did, however, was temper in part, and for a brief period, the antidemocratic zeal of the Romanian communists, who soon after reverted to their actions against the Opposition parties.

Dumitru Şandru, Ph.D., historian, is a Professor with the "Ştefan cel Mare" University in Suceava. Recent work: *The 1945 Agrarian Reform in Romania,* 2000.

ADELINA ŞTEFAN, *The Stakhanovite in Romania of the 1950s: between propaganda and economic realities*..... 33
In Romania, the campaign to impose Stakhanovism began in 1945 with a number of articles in the central press. Labour unions played the most important role in spreading it. Party orders were that the work methods successfully applied in the USSR should be made known to as many people as possible. The aim was to make the Stakhanovite a role model. The process of promoting Stakhanovism implied not only the spreading of images but also of values society had to assume.
It didn't take the Establishment long to impose the "new-type values" – very generous but inconsistent ideas – and, concurrently, its control over society at large. Stakhanovism became a method of reforming people in the spirit of the goals the regime pursued: control, order, discipline and, last but not least, a compliant role model.
Adelina Ştefan is a M.A. student; graduate from University of Bucharest, Faculty of History

BRÂNDUŞA COSTACHE, *Specialization and cooperation. Agriculture within COMECON. 1954-1965* 40
At COMECON level, agricultural issues grew in importance in step with the interest in new forms of economic cooperation. The article presents the stands of the COMECON countries versus the USSR-proposed agricultural policies, insisting on the context that determined Romania to reject the proposals for agricultural specialization in 1956-1965.

Brânduşa Costache – Graduate from University of Bucharest, Faculty of History; Ph.D. student.

CRISTIAN VASILE, *The Intelligence Network of the* Securitate *in*

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The membership of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the World Council of Churches as of 1961 favoured the articulation of an ecclesiastical diplomacy that often accompanied Nicolae Ceausescu's maverick foreign policy. This church diplomacy also integrated priest-teachers that had been political detainees. Late in the '70s, there occurred a rise in the number of those who refused to collaborate with the communist regime. Father Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa, imprisoned between 1979 and 1984, and the priests who taught at the Theological Institute of Alba Iulia were among the opponents of the regime that the *Securitate* kept under scrutiny and incriminated.

Cristian Vasile is a Ph. D. student; assistant researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

AMY HAMPARTUMIAN, *The Relationship between Britain and Romania during the rule of Nicolae Ceausescu, 1966-1989*..... 54
An abridged version of Amy Hampartumian's final dissertation at the University of London, this text describes how the relations between the UK and socialist Romania developed at the time of Ceausescu's dictatorship.
The author surveys these relations from their peak in the late '60s and early '70s, when the British monarchy honored the Romanian leader with the highest awards for his anti-Soviet stance, up to the moment when blame was cast on the communist regime for its human rights abuses in the '80s. In doing so Hampartumian attempts to make out the interests behind those political stands.
Using sources the Romanian readership can hardly access – the British press, diplomatic documents of the Foreign Office in London – the work could be of major interest to students of both the British foreign policy towards the communist countries and communist Romania's policy in relation to the West.
Amy Hampartumian is BA. with honours in History and Social Science, March 2002, Great Britain.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Central Europe at the end of the Cold War*..... 76
Central Europe, defined as a geographical space between the Elbe, the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, between the German world and the Russian one, shows several significant characteristics. First comes its geopolitical frailty in relation to neighbours having repeatedly manifested hegemonic or imperial tendencies. It was used as a *buffer zone, a space of compensatory understandings, experimental space, and battlefield* or to attract occasional allies. This versatility of the space also explains the many ways it has been called: Central Europe, including Germany in the interwar period, Eastern Europe during the Cold War, "transition states" after the fall of communism, or New Europe as significant rifts emerged between America, on the one hand and France and Germany, on the other, on how international issues should be solved.
Florin Abraham - Assistant-researcher with NIST; graduate of the In-Depth Study Program of the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj; Ph.D. student.

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ANA-MARIA LASCU, *The release of the social-democrats from communist prisons, 1956*.....92
The Romanian social-democrats were released from jail under Decree no. 206/April 24, 1956. The gesture of the Romanian leadership fell in line with a behaviour implying imitation of the Soviet policy, which the Bucharest regime had espoused as soon as it had taken office. The decision to set free the social-democrats was consonant with the new directives Khruschev was issuing in Moscow, at the 20th CPSU Congress, at the height of a peaceful coexistence policy. The document is the transcript of a shorthand report of the debates conducted on April 25, 1956 by several representatives of the RWP leading bodies and the social-democrat Romulus Dan, recently out of prison.

Ana-Maria Lascu is an assistant researcher with the NIST. BA, 2002, History Department of the University of Bucharest.

FLORENTIN BREAZU, *1956 as seen by the Bucharest Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior*..... 105
The Report of the Bucharest Regional Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, published by Florentin Breazu, shows how the Romanian repression machinery applied the instructions from the capital of the communist camp, without reforming or in any way altering its functioning. The *Securitate* people were still focusing on repression measures while also insisting on the need for a closer cooperation with the party apparatus.
Florentin Breazu is graduate from University of Bucharest, archivist with Giurgiu National Archives.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XIX 120
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. The abuses are objectively reflected by documents from all the regions: Moldavia, Oltenia and Transylvania. In 1956, the search and sequestration policy was extended throughout the country.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *The Collectivisation of Agriculture in Romania. The Political Dimension, 1949-1953*, 2000 (co-author); *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, A-C*, 2001 (coordinator).

MIHAELA CRISTINA VERZEA, *Desovietization of Romanian culture at the beginning of the seventh decade, II*..... 127
The desovietization process that started in the early ‘60s and the assertion of an independent attitude versus the Soviet Union were a fact. On September 15, 1963, the Maxim Gorki Russian-Language Institute, a Russophilic body, was dissolved, actually being included in the Institute of Foreign Languages and Literatures attached to Bucharest University. The agenda of the Political Bureau of the CC of the RWP at the end of August – beginning of September 1963 included certain organizational changes

in the study of foreign languages at university level, such as abolishing the obligation of learning Russian, as of academic year 1963-1964.

Mihaela Cristina Verzea graduated from the advanced studies programme "Romania in the 20th Century." Museum curator at the National History Museum of Romania, Contemporary History section. Ph.D. student at of the University of Bucharest. Recent work: *Politics Structures in Central Europe and South-Eastern Europe*, 2003 (co-author)

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romania and the Soviet-Chinese schism, VII. The plenum of April 15-22, 1964* 145
At the end of the '50s, Romania was striving to achieve a more active international position. Political and economic consolidation of the regime at home seemed to justify such a tendency. Romania's efforts to further its own interests began being construed internationally as a long-term policy and not a circumstantial one. Concurrently, the worsening Soviet-Chinese conflict provided a window of opportunity not to be neglected. The real standtaking came during the plenary meeting of the CC of the Romanian Workers Party in April 1964, later to materialize in a document recorded in history as the *Declaration of April 1964.* According to RWP leader Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, this document was designed to express publicly "our party's stand on the core issues of the international communist and worker movement, which however should indicate clearly that we do not take up polemics either on the side of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or on the side of the Chinese Communist Party."
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; researcher with N.I.S.T. Recent books: *Failed De-Stalinization. Backstage Aspects of the Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevschi Case, 1956-1961,* 2001 (co-author); *The Cadrilater. Cominternist Ideology and Bulgarian Irredentism,* 2001.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Gheorghiu-Dej's political heirs. An interpretation of Radio "Free Europe, 1965"* 175
This article belongs with the set of documents addressing the first years of the regime headed by Nicolae Ceausescu, originating in the archives of Radio Free Europe and currently in the custody of the Open Society Archives in Budapest.
This time the documentalists from the Munich-based radio station focus exclusively on the evolution of relations between Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's successors in the party and state leadership.
The text contains brief biographies of those who were identified as the chief communist leaders of Romania, as well as a membership list of the first Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party elected in July 1965, after the death of Gheorghiu-Dej.
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a junior assistant professor with the History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the NIST.

DANIEL BARBU, RADU CIUCEANU, OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *Will Survive Bucharest untill 1984?, II.*..... 200

The authors present a document secretly carried out and sent for broadcasting to the Free Europe radio station in mid-'80s, pointing out the abuses committed by the communist authorities against the old architecture of Bucharest.

Daniel Barbu is an University Professor with the Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Bizanţ versus Bizanţ*, 2001.

Biographical Dictionary

OVIDIU BOZGAN, *Aron Marton, 1896-1980*.....212
The study of anticommunist resistance in Romania cannot deal exclusively with the manifestations of the majority ethnic group. Regrettably, the current tendency, which favours parallel histories written by members of the different ethnic groups living in Romania, implacably leads to a ghettoization of the survey of the communist past. Of course, there are explanations, running from linguistic barriers to ethnic prejudice. Such is the case of Roman-Catholic Bishop of Alba Iulia, Aron Marton, a prominent personality of Catholicism in Romania. Bishop Aron Marton was not a Romanian patriot, some of his statements being such as to indicate the contrary; nevertheless his opposition to the communist regime, to its policy of curtailing religious freedom and the freedom of conscience assign him to the same camp joined tacitly or publicly by most citizens of communist Romania.

Ovidiu Bozgan – Lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He is the head of the Center of Church History, University of Bucharest. Recent work: *Romania vs. Vatican*, 2000.

CORNEL CONSTANTIN ILIE, *Octav Livezeanu, 1902-1975* 220
Octav Livezeanu was able to build a political career under the communist regime, on the basis of the activity he had conducted as a journalist and politician in the interwar period and during World War II. A former member of the National Peasant Party, following the NPP's fusion with the Peasant Party, he joined Mihai Ralea's Socialist Peasant Party. During World War II, his activity was a low-profile one, Livezeanu being arrested on two occasions (January 1942 and February 1943) for "defeatist propaganda and news damaging the national security." Livezeanu had a way of approaching the communists, and that afforded him a rapid rise in his political career.

Cornel Constantin Ilie is graduate from History Department of the University of Bucharest. MA, 2003. He teaches History.

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ALINA TUDOR PAVELESCU, *Le communisme comme miroir tendu a la France*..... 230
A review of Marc Lazar's book *Le communisme, une passion française*, Perrin, Paris, 2002.
Alina Tudor is Ph.D. student at University of Bucharest. Researcher at the National Archives of Romania; recent books: *The Romanian Communist Party during the Second World War*, National Archives of Romania, Bucharest, 2003.

GHEORGHE NEACŞU, *Romania between 1939 and 1944 and its relations with Germany* 233
A review of the book *Relatiile militare romano-germane, 1939-1940. Documente* (Romanian German Military Relations, 1939-1940. Documents), published by the Stefan Gusa Foundation with Europa Nova Publishers, Bucharest, 2000.
Gheorghe Neacşu is a historian; recent books: *23 August 1944 in the Communist Archives*, 200; *Communist Ideology and Structures in Romania, 1920-1921*, vol. III, 2001 (co-author).

ALEXANDRU-ALIN SPÂNU, *SSI on the Eastern front*..... 235
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Alexandru-Alin Spânu is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest.

ALIN NIŢU, *Stalin Unknown*..... 238
A review of Jores Medvedev and Roy Medvedev's book *Neizvestnîi Stalin*, Folio, Moscow, 2002.
Alin Niţu is graduated in History at the University of Bucharest; master student at Russian University "Friendship of the People" in Moscow.

VICTOR CRISTIAN GOJINESCU, *The black book of Romanian torturers*..... 242
A review of Doina Jela's book *Lexiconul negru. Unelte ale represiunii comuniste* (Black Lexicon. Tools of the Communist Repression), Humanitas, Bucharest, 2001, 344 p.
Victor Cristian Gojinescu is assistant researcher with the NIST. Ph.D. student at University "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" of Iaşi.

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of certain huge historical mystifications. The exchange of ideas was the great advantage of these encounters and the published works show the true value both of the organizational effort and of this serious scientific approach.

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RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast,* XX 5
Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989*. Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *The Prison System in Romania, 1940-1962*, 2002.

Studies

GHEORGHE NEACŞU, *Some data on the events of August 1944* 9
Given the importance of the political act of August 23, 1944 for Romania's subsequent evolution, partisan attitudes have often marked its analysis. Thus, it is either the political parties and the King or the communists that appear as having initiated that move. Resorting to documents from the archives of the former Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies, this article tries to pinpoint the role and the relations established between the forces that set in motion the events of August 1944.

Gheorghe Neacşu is a historian; recent books: *23 August 1944 in the Communist Archives*, 200; *Communist Ideology and Structures in Romania, 1920-1921*, vol. III, 2001 (co-author).

DUMITRU ŞANDRU, *Hungarian ethnics return to Romania after August 23, 1944*..... 20

The return to Transylvania of Hungarian ethnics who had left the country was quite an intense process, notably in the case of those who had fled illegally during the end-period of WW2. Their return was rendered possible by the support the Soviets gave the former fugitives and by the goodwill shown by the local communist authorities, as a compensation for the Hungarians' massive adherence to the Communist party.

Dumitru Şandru, Ph.D., historian, is a Professor with the "Dunărea de Jos" University in Galaţi. Recent work: *The 1945 Agrarian Reform in Romania,* 2000.

OANA ILIE, *The propaganda of political trials under the communist regime, 1945-1953* 37
A political dictionary defines the term "propaganda" as "systematic action to spread a doctrine or an opinion in order to make them known and determine the people to accept them, based not only on facts but also on emotional aspects." Unlike the propaganda of democratic regimes, that of totalitarian regimes is characterized by the government's monopoly over it as well as by the avowed goal of communist propaganda – to shape a new man.

Although subjectivism is not excluded, the fragmentary recollections presented by the author reveal an universe of terror that the regime presented as a victory of the new government: the bringing to justice of war criminals. If in the beginning (1945, 1946) the persons involved were well known, in time the trials came to be staged for ordinary people, arrested for minor offences.
Oana Ilie is a Museum curator at the National Museum of History.

LIVIU ŢĂRANU, *The socialist economy and the problems of Romania's economic modernization, 1948-1965*..... 50
The platform of the communists who came to power was geared to the idea of economic advancement based on industrialization. Their economic model was the Soviet one, which was actually implemented with the help of Soviet advisers. The first step in the new program was to nationalize all production means, the state taking over the whole production and distribution of goods and services. The second economic move consisted in the switch to a planned economy, as of 1949. Initially the planning was to be done for only one year, the Romanian communists considering that a five-year plan was not yet possible. Beginning in 1953, a different kind of economic policy was espoused, with negotiations starting with a view to dismantling the sovroms. The following decade, 1955-1965, was marked by consistent economic growth – though quality did not improve – based on domestic resources, modernization in agriculture and the building of industries using the latest technologies bought from the West.

Liviu Ţăranu is an graduate of the Faculty of History , University „Al. I. Cuza" of Iaşi. Ph.D. student. Expert at the National Council for the Study of *Securitate* Archives.

ALEXANDR STYKALIN, *The Romanian Party Leadership and the Fate of Imre Nagy* 69
On November 2, 1956 Nikita Khrushchev secretly met in Bucharest with the leaders of Romania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia to inform them of the Soviet plans to overthrow the Imre Nagy government. The Romanians suggested that their troops should also

participate in the military operation. Romania was considered by the Soviets a more reliable allied than any other Socialist country. Turning into an active advocate and even participant of the violence over the former Hungarian Prime Minister, the Romanian Party leader Gheorghiu-Dej did more than merely submitted himself to the order of "elder brother", he tried to derive maximum benefit from the events in the neighbor country. Mortally frightened by the Hungarian revolt, the Romanian communists succeeded in using it in the interests of strengthening their power.

Alexandr Stykalin held a PhD in history. Reasercher with the Slavistic Institute, Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation.

LOREDANA NECULA, *Preliminaries to the "Daciada" national contest, 1971-1976* 77
In the late 1970s, a new ideological-propagandistic invention was making its way in this country: the "Daciada great national contest – a source of good health, vigour, and high spirits." This article dwells on some of the events instrumental in preparing the "Daciada." It is fit here to show that mass sports had existed long before the "Daciada." Moreover, neither the concept of mass sports nor the Daciada-like manifestations were Romanian inventions, but were taken over from the Soviet model.
Loredana Nicula has graduated from the Faculty of History, Bucharest University; currently pursuing a master's degree from the Central European University in Budapest.

FLORIAN BANU, *Joining the anticommunist armed resistance – individual and collective motivations*..... 85
Resistance to communism was fuelled from the start by the firm belief that the situation Romania had to cope with was transient and that the West, the US in particular, would not condone the Soviet empire's expansion over half of Europe. Though unaware of what the communist regime was really about, people instinctively rejected the new establishment Moscow had helped to power. The resistance groups mainly pursued to remove the communist regime. But most of them knew that by themselves they would never be able to overthrow the regime. Despite the longevity of certain resistance pockets and the large number of "subversive organizations" identified by the *Securitate*, at no moment did the resistance movement endanger the communist regime in Romania. The resistance movement in Romania needs to be approached and re-evaluated responsibly, while avoiding exaggeration of any kind and appraising the various groups according to strict standards.
Florian Banu is an alumnus of the "Lower Danube" University of Galaţi. PhD in history. Expert at the National Council for the Study of *Securitate* Archives.

The Rethoric of the Image

ADIRAN BRIŞCĂ, *Radu Bercea and the Romanian gulag. A pictorial autobiography* 101
Radu Bercea was 20 and a senior high school student when he was arrested, together with a group of schoolmates, for having been part of a subversive anticommunist organization. It happened on April 30, 1959.

He was sentenced to 20 years hard labour, and he served 5 years in the labour camps of the Danube Delta. The horrors experienced there inspired the drawings reproduced here, which are part of an exhibition hosted in August 2002 by the community center in Campulung Moldovenesc, an exhibition that illustrates the artist's life in detention.
Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Armed Resistance in Bukovina, 1950-1952*, vol. II, 2000.

Documents

OVIDIU BOZGAN, DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *1948 Romania in the focus of French diplomacy*. 114
On April 11, 1949 the French Legation in Bucharest sent back home a report entitled "One year of people's democracy in Romania, December 30, 1947 – January 1, 1949." The report had been drafted by Philippe de Luze, a Legation adviser, and was based on information regarding the situation in Romania, as perceived by French diplomats in 1948. The political, economic and cultural developments in Romania represented just the beginning in the application of the Soviet model. Quoting the title of an article published in *Scanteia* of October 14, 1948 ("Love for the USSR is the cornerstone of patriotism"), the French diplomat sadly remarked, "Romania's fate was no longer in the hands of its inhabitants."
Ovidiu Bozgan is lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He is the head of the Center of Church History, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Romania vs. Vatican*, 2000.
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; researcher with N.I.S.T. Recent books: *Failed De-Stalinization. Backstage Aspects of the Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevschi Case, 1956-1961*, 2001 (co-author); *The Cadrilater. Cominternist Ideology and Bulgarian Irredentism*, 2001.

VASILE BUGA, *The Romanian-Soviet talks of January-February 1954* 140
The difficulties that confronted Romania in 1953 (because of an erroneous industrial and agrarian policy, of excessive imports of military equipment, costly investment projects above the country's economic possibilities, such as the Danube-Black Sea Canal) determined the Romanian government to ask the Soviets for a loan of about 400 million rubles.

Vasile Buga published documents that rendered the talks and the atmosphere at the meeting between the two party and state leaderships. The topics debated suggest that the Soviets had kept abreast of economic and social developments in Romania, as well as of many other problems such as the preparations and the progress of the Pătrăşcanu trial. The Kremlin leaders tacitly accepted the measures taken by the Romanian leaders, allowing the latter to decide on the final verdict, which proved a crime since even the Soviets had begun reviewing certain Stalinist trials involving communist activists.
Vasile Buga, PhD in history, is a collaborator of the Romanian-Russian Joint History Commission.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XVIII.....156
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. The abuses are objectively reflected by documents from all the regions: Moldavia, Oltenia and Transylvania. In 1956, the search and sequestration policy was extended throughout the country.
Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *The Collectivisation of Agriculture in Romania. The Political Dimension, 1949-1953*, 2000 (co-author); *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, A-C*, 2001 (coordinator).
MIHAELA CRISTINA VERZEA, *The desovietization of Romanian culture in the early seventh decade, I*.....167
After March 6, 1945, Sovietization spread from the socio-political and economic sector to the cultural one as well. The newly created institutional framework included: the Romanian Association for Closer Ties with the Soviet Union (ARLUS), the "Russian Book" publishing house and bookstore (1946), the Institute of Romanian-Soviet Studies (1947), the Romanian-Russian Museum (1948) and the "Maxim Gorki" Russian Language Institute (1948).

In the early seventh decade, a distancing from the Soviet Union determined a review of the relations with the big neighbour in the East. The text reproduces two documents about the desovietization process in Romania. Interesting aspects are revealed about the closing of two institutions that had played a major role in the Sovietization of Romanian culture. The formula the communist elite adopted was very artful, i.e. it specified not the uselessness of certain bodies but the overlapping of their activity with that of other similar institutions.

Mihaela Cristina Verzea graduated from the advanced studies programme "Romania in the 20th Century." Museum curator at the National History Museum of Romania, Contemporary History section.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romania and the Sino-Soviet rift, VI. Conclusions after N.S. Khrushchev's last visit to Bucharest, 1963*.....172
In June 1963, Bucharest hosted Khrushchev's last Romanian-Soviet summit. Tenser Romanian-Soviet relations and the growing crisis in the international communist movement provided the background for the talks which addressed issues ranging from economic integration within COMECON, through the situation related to the Iron Gates hydro-electric station, the issue of the Soviet agents, to the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis and the relations with China and Yugoslavia.

Dan Cătănuș is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; researcher with N.I.S.T. Recent books: *Failed De-Stalinization. Backstage Aspects of the Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevschi Case, 1956-1961*, 2001 (co-author); *The Cadrilater. Cominternist Ideology and Bulgarian Irredentism*, 2001.

MIOARA ANTON, *The Limits of Sovereignty. Nicolae Ceauşescu's visit to Moscow, September 1965, I*.....206
In the early 60s Romanian-Soviet relations entered a new stage, when the Romanian communists refused to accept subordination to the Soviets. In September 1965 the new Bucharest team traveled to Moscow, on a so-called confirmation visit, with an agenda that caused bewilderment and even irritation with the Soviets. The Romanian delegation mainly asked for clarification of certain political and economic issues (returning of Romania's treasury and the party archives, the relations within the Warsaw Treaty, etc.).

As the visit drew to an end, the Soviet leadership promised that the "subjectivism" of the Khrushchev era would be dumped as far as bilateral relations were concerned. But Bucharest wanted firm Soviet guarantees that equality relations would be maintained in the spirit of the April 1964 Declaration.

Mioara Anton is a Ph.D. student; researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Away from Moscow. The foreign policy of the Ceauşescu regime, 1965-1967*.....228
When Ceaușescu came to power, the Romanian communist regime's distancing from the "big brother" in the East – a move initiated in the early 60s by the then first secretary of the communist party, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej – became increasingly obvious, at least at a declarative level. The new leader in Romania was careful enough to gradually dissociate from everything that could have identified him with the old party, which Romanian public opinion perceived exclusively as an offshoot of the Soviet authorities. Aware of its chronic lack of legitimacy, the socialist regime began playing more and more insistently on the national sentiment of the population, hoping for reconciliation with the society. Nothing could be more popular in the time's Romania than anti-Soviet rhetoric.
This did not go unnoticed abroad either, as attested also by the two analyses presented in this issue of *Totalitarianism Archives*, made by J.F. Brown and A. Ross Johnson from Radio Free Europe Research, the documentation section of Radio Free Europe. The texts in this issue come from the Open Society Archives in Budapest.

Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a junior assistant professor with the History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the NIST.

GABRIELA DUMITRESCU, *Literature and politics. Debates at the Writers Union, 1975, III*.....255
The "cultural revolution" was maybe the most difficult period of the Ceauşescu era. The communists tried to replace the universal principles governing literary creation with party directives. Everything had to follow the drift of the "revolution," literature and the other arts being expected to help shape the awareness of socialist-type "new man."

Starting from Ioan Petrovici's view that "culture alone can create the best conditions for a sincere democracy and genuine equality," we wish to facilitate, by publishing this document, a more accurate image of an era that ended not too long ago. The author reproduces the shorthand report of the meeting of the Bureau of the Writers Union of the Socialist Republic of Romania, October 15, 1975.

Gabriela Dumitrescu is a bibliographer, head of section at the Manuscripts and Rare Books Cabinet of the Romanian Academy Library. Volumes recently published: Constantin Radulescu-Motru, *Diary. 1946-1956*, 2001; Constantin Radulescu-Motru, *Dialectics,* 2002.

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ALEXANDRU-ALIN SPÂNU, TUDOR STOMFF, *Constantin Tobescu (1893-1951)* ... 270
Gen. Constantin Tobescu was one of the prominent officers of the Romanian army. His participation in the Second Balkan War and in WWI was remarkable and determined his appointment as head of the Gendarmerie Service of the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie (1940) and his promotion to brigadier general (1943). Arrested in 1944, subjected to an inquiry in the USSR and sentenced to 10 years in prison, Gen. Constantin Tobescu died in 1951.

Alin Alexandru Spânu is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest.
Tudor Stomff is an engineering professional and the grandson of Gen. Tobescu.

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Ioan-Liviu Vucu (1913-1969?)* 274
Ioan-Liviu Vucu participated in WWII, being present on the Eastern front as a military doctor. After the communist takeover, his Legionary past – in 1935 he had joined the Legionary Movement – determined the political police to keep an eye on him. In 1948/1949 he opted for resistance and became the leader of a partisan group. Arrested by the *Securitate* troops in 1952, Ioan-Liviu Vucu was sentenced in 1953 to many years in prison.

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Florin Constantiniu is a Ph.D.; member of Romanian Academy

DANA BELDIMAN, *Once again about rebelion. January 1941 mirrored in foreign documents*……..
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The author reviews Ottmar Traşcă and Ana-Maria Stan's book *The Legionary rebellion mirrored in foreign archives (German, Hungarian, French),* Albatros Publishers, Bucharest, 2002, 477 p., 4 illustrations.
Dana Beldiman is Ph.D.; researcher with the NIST.
ADELINA ŞTEFAN, *The evolution of Romanian literature under communism: theory and
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We publish a review of Anneli Ute Gabanyi's book *Literature and politics in Romania after 1945,* Romanian Cultural Foundation Publishers, Bucharest, 2001, translated by Irina Cristescu.
Adelina Ştefan is a M.A. student; graduate from University of Bucharest, Faculty of History

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RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast,* XX 5
Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989*. Memoirs: *The Seal of the Devil*, 2002. Recent book: *The Prison System in Romania, 1940-1962*, 2002.

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DANA BELDIMAN, *The Romanian Armed Forces and the Right-wing and Extreme Right-wing Movements, 1921-1937*..... 11
The objective approach of the relations established between the institution of the Armed Forces and the right-wing and extreme right-wing movements could make a necessary contribution to reconsidering certain events and phenomena that occurred over 1921-1937. Mention should be made that the Armed Forces as an institution – whatever the personal beliefs of their members – fulfilled their duty as established by the laws and regulations in force at the time.
Dana Beldiman, Ph.D., is a researcher with the NIST. Recent work: *The Army and the Iron Guard*, 2002.

ALIN NIȚU, *The Soviet Purges in the '30s. A Bibliographical Approach* 21
The author focused on specialized literature dedicated to the Great Terror era of the Stalinist regime in an effort to overview the multitude of historical approaches concerning the general history of the USSR.

Alin Niţu is graduated in History at the University of Bucharest; master student at Russian University "Friendship of the People" in Moscow.

LAURA SECRIERU, *The Spanish Exile of Carol II and its Diplomatic Implications* 38
Having abdicated in favour of his son on September 6, 1940, Carol II left Romania for Portugal. Between September 12, 1940 and March 5, 1941, Carol was "retained' in Spain, upon pressure from the Romanian authorities. This study analyses the diplomatic context of the former king's Spanish exile, a period Carol, in his memoirs, described as the darkest after he had given up the throne.
Laura Secrieru is master student at University of Bucharest.

DUMITRU ŞANDRU, *Arrests in Romania in the first half of 1947*..... 47
The text reveals how, in the first years of the totalitarian regime, the communists got rid of the political enemies of their party, therefore of everyone that had a different political hue. Particular attention is given to identifying the "legal" reasons, invented overnight in order to maintain a façade of legality (pluralist Romania still existed, though increasingly deprived of content), on which the arrests were based.
Dumitru Şandru, Ph.D., historian, is a Professor with the "Dunărea de Jos" University in Galaţi. Recent work: *The 1945 Agrarian Reform in Romania,* 2000.

MIHAELA CRISTINA VERZEA, *The State-Party. A Comparative Analysis of the Constitutions of the Communist Regime in Romania* 59
Under the communist regime, Romanian society "benefited" by the provisions of three constitutions – those of 1948, 1952 and 1965. Though allegedly submitted to debate by the masses of people, those fundamental laws mirrored not the will of the entire Romanian society but the will of a single political party, the communist party, which had arrogated all the powers of the state, holding an absolute monopoly over decision-making. The democratic provisions were applied only in part. Subordination of the state bodies was accompanied also by subordination of economic affairs and, implicitly, by a total enslavement of the individual.
Mihaela Cristina Verzea graduated from the advanced studies programme "Romania in the 20th Century." Museum curator at the National History Museum of Romania, Contemporary History section.

OANA ILIE, *The Danube-Black Sea Canal in the Literature of 1949-1953* 80
The building of the Danube-Black Sea Canal had full propaganda support since its start in 1949. The literature of the Communist regime excelled at publicizing the favorable aspects of this huge Stalinist building site, emphasizing mostly its would-be economic and educational virtues, which appeared much lesser after Stalin's death in 1953.
Oana Ilie is a Museum curator at the National History Museum of Romania.

CRISTIAN VASILE, *An Undergroud Survival: the Romanian Greek Catholic Church in the 1950's*..... 97
After December 1, 1948 the Romanian Greek Catholic Church was banned and in the 1950's many of its clergy were injailed under the pretext of political offences or even "spying activity", but their only "fault" was the fidelity for the old confession. The Communist authorities tried to break the Greek Catholic faithful's resistance even

through the agency of absurd measures: the removal of the Romanian language from the Transylvanian Catholic Latin-rite churches. This paper emphasizes the activity of Ioan Ploscaru and Ioan Chertes, two of the bishops ordained in secret who contributed together with the underground clergy to the survival of the forbidden Church.
Cristian Vasile is a Ph. D. student; assistant researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

CRISTIAN TRONCOTĂ, *"The New Policy" in the Secret Services of the Romanian Communist Regime, 1965-1989*..... 112
The *Securitate* was mainly a reppressive institution created to totally and radically transform the Romanian society, relying on antidemocratic methods. Gradually, from traditional methods to strategies of manipulating people and control through terror simulation, the *Securitate* succeeded in creating the image of an omnipresent, omnipotent repressive institution.
Cristian Troncotă held a Ph. D. in military history and he is an university lecturer professor at the National Intelligence Institute. Recent work: *The History of the Romanian Secret Services. From Cuza to Ceauşescu*, 1999.

EVANTIA BOZGAN, OVIDIU BOZGAN, *The Long Wait of an Orthodox Bishop. About the Life and Work of Antim Nica*..... 134
Survival and the collaboration between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the communist authorities has been one of the main subjects of research after 1990. The present biographical study, devoted to the life and work of one of the Orthodox prelates during the dictatorship, Antim Nica, attempts to render the atmosphere in the first decades of the communist totalitarianism, with emphasis on how difficult it was for clerics to survive in those times. Antim Nica began his ecclesiastical career during the military dictatorship (which doomed him in the eyes of the regime that followed), but managed to remain in the religious leadership at the cost of compromise. With all the many proofs of loyalty, the regime however assigned him only much later a bishop's seat. In his new position, Antim Nica made no concession to administrative claims.
Evantia Bozgan is a History teacher.
Ovidiu Bozgan is lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He is the head of the Center of Church History, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Romania vs. Vatican*, 2000.

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ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Rewards for Loyal Service: Writers' Incomes under the Communist Regime*..... 149
The article addresses the issue of material rewards granted by the communist regime, through the agency of an institution designed to exert control over literature – the Writers Union of the Romanian People's Republic, to literati willing to serve the political project of the totalitarian party. The value of these rewards was sometimes huge (100 times the salary of a worker). The authorities knew how to repay their "friends."
Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a junior assistant professor with the History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the NIST.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romania and the Soviet-Chinese Schism, V, Soviet Moves, 1963* 164
When at the plenum of the CC of the Romanian Workers Party of March 5-8, 1963 they openly addressed the existence of disputes between the Romanian People's Republic and the USSR, notably as far as COMECON was concerned, Moscow became restless. To prevent a possible new schism in the international communist movement, after the cases of Albania and China, in only two months, N.S. Khrushchev sent two delegations to Bucharest, at head with such front-ranking apparatchiks as A.I. Andropov and N.V. Podgonyi, to try and stop the deterioration of the Romanian-Soviet relations. The two delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union insistently asked for a top-level meeting between Gheorghiu-Dej and N. S. Khrushchev. The RWP leadership only accepted it when it was sure the Kremlin was to make all the possible concessions.
Dan Cătănuş is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest; researcher with N.I.S.T. Recent books: *Failed De-Stalinization. Backstage Aspects of the Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevschi Case, 1956-1961,* 2001 (co-author); *The Cadrilater. Cominternist Ideology and Bulgarian Irredentism,* 2001.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962,* XVII 196
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. The abuses are objectively reflected by documents from all the regions: Moldavia, Oltenia and Transylvania. In 1956, the search and sequestration policy was extended throughout the country. Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent books: *The Collectivisation of Agriculture in Romania. The Political Dimension, 1949-1953,* 2000 (co-author); *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, A-C,* 2001 (coordinator).

ALESANDRU DUŢU, *Romanian Proposals on Improving Relations within the Warsaw Treaty (1966-1969)*..... 207
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DANIEL BARBU, RADU CIUCEANU, OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *Will Survive Bucharest untill 1984?*..... 231
The authors present a document secretly carried out and sent for broadcasting to the Free Europe radio station in mid-'80s, pointing out the abuses committed by the communist authorities against the old architecture of Bucharest.

Daniel Barbu is an University Professor with the Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest. Recent book: *Bizanţ versus Bizanţ*, 2001.

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ION CEAUŞU, *The Forced Collectivization of the Peasants in the Former District of Potcoava, Piteşti Region* 242
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Ion Ceauşu was a teacher in the former district of Potcoava, Piteşti region, during the collectivization of that area.

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ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Traian Andreescu (1913-2000)*..... 247
Traian Andreescu, a police officer and lawyer, graduated from two faculties (Law, and Philosophy and Letters). He was arrested and tortured under charges of espionage established by the Security of the Capital in 1948. He made the object of several sham trials and was sentenced to hard prison. Having been released, the *Securitate* again arrested him twice and tortured him. His life under the communist regime was an ordeal he bore stoically.
Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Armed Resistance in Bukovina, 1950-1952*, vol. II, 2000.

ALEXANDRU-ALIN SPÂNU, *Constantin (Pichi) Z. Vasiliu (1882-1946)* 254
Gen. Constantin (Pichi) Z. Vasiliu was chief of the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie between September 1940 and August 1944. Arrested on August 23, 1944, he then accompanied Marshal Ion Antonescu during detention in the USSR. He was sentenced to death and executed on June 1, 1946, at the same time with Ion Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu and Gh. Alexianu.
Alin Alexandru Spânu is an alumnus of the In-Depth Studies Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest.

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The author reviews Ioana Boca's book *1956-The Year of the Split. Romania between the Proletarian Internationalism and the Anti-Sovietic Stalinism,* Fundaţia Academia Civică Publishers, Bucharest, 2001.

Mioara Anton is a Ph.D. student; researcher with the NIST and the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

ANA-MARIA LASCU, *The Destiny of a Dictator* 262
This is a review of Pavel Câmpeanu's book *Ceauşescu, Counting Back the Last Years,* Polirom, 2002.
Ana-Maria Lascu is an assistant researcher with the NIST.

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We publish a review of Dennis Deletant's book *Communist Terror in Romania, Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948-1965,* Polirom, 2001.
Cornel Ilie is a History teacher.

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RADU CIUCEANU, *History as Ballast,* XIX..... 5
Radu Ciuceanu, president of the N.I.S.T. Scientific Council, also coordinates the research theme *Comparative studies on the formation and activity of the anti-Bolshevik resistance organizations in Romania and Bessarabia, 1940-1989*. Memoirs: *Entrance to Tunnel*, 1991; *The Unlucky Horseshoe*, 1994. Recent books: *A Dynasty's Fate. Autocracy and Nationalism*, 2001; *Beginnings of the resistance movement in Romania*, volume II, 2001 (co-author).

Studies

CONSTANTIN BUCHET, Geopolitics as Myth, Geopolitics as Propaganda. The Japanese Case, 1919-1940..... 12
After World War I, Japan became involved in changing the political-territorial order in the Far East, by military expansion and geopolitical domination over the area. The "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," the "Asia for the Asians," the Japanese pan-Asian messianism were elements of geopolitical and geoeconomic engineering, components of the Japanese political ideology that pursued to establish Japan's hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. Recent volume: *Romania and the Weimar Republic. Economics, Diplomacy and Geopolitics*, 2001.

FLORIAN BANU, *The German Ethnic Group in Romania – An Organization of the Totalitarian Type* 24
The German Ethnic Group in Romania is known to have carried on an intense activity between 1940 and 1944, based on a well-oiled machinery and a large membership (over 500,000). The organization's totalitarian character is highlighted by the ideological components GEG strove to put into practice: the demographic policy, the so-called celibacy tax, the patriotic guards, the "voluntary" contributions, control over the press and control over the individual by including them into some sort of organization. Florian Banu is a researcher with the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives; a Ph.D. student.

DUMITRU ŞANDRU, *The Departure of Slavic and Armenian Ethnics from Romania for the USSR, 1944-1948*..... 38
Over 1944-1948 many Romanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Tartars who had become Soviet citizens under the March 8, 1941 decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR sought refuge in Romania, across the Prut river, and the Russian military commands rounded up the inhabitants having come from Bessarabia, northern Bukovina and the USSR to settle down in the territory of the Romanian state. Besides this, the period was marked by the voluntary departure for the Soviet Union of a number of Lippovans, Rutenians and Armenians from different parts of the country who were Romanian citizens. Dumitru Șandru, Ph.D., historian, is a Professor with the "Dunărea de Jos" University in Galaţi. Recent work: *The 1945 Agrarian Reform in Romania,* 2000.

CRISTIAN VASILE, *Monsignor Vladimir Ghika under the Scrutiny of Intelligence Services, 1945-1948*..... 46
After the pro-Communist government led by Petru Groza had taken over on March 6, 1945, a strict surveillance was instituted against the representatives of the Catholic Church, who were suspected of anti-Communism and an anti-Soviet attitude. Monsignor Vladimir Ghika, a prince of the Catholic Church, was arrested in 1952 under charges of "treason" and "espionage in favor of the Vatican." After a sham trial he was incarcerated at Jilava, where he died, probably on May 17, 1954. Cristian Vasile is a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, *The French Diplomacy Mirroring the Elections of November 1946* 52
Though not containing any spectacular revelations about the real returns of the November 1946 ballot, the French diplomatic documents provide interesting information on the position of the main actors in the drama that played out in the autumn of 1946 and on the stance of the Anglo-Saxon powers and the French diplomats with respect to the political trial held here. Ovidiu Bozgan is lecturer with the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History. He is the head of the Center of Church History, University of Bucharest. Recent work: *Romania vs. Vatican*, 2000.

COSMIN POPA, *The Cominform's Role in the Soviet Foreign Policy*..... 59

Next to the signing of mutual friendship and assistance treaties, both between the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe and between them and the USSR, setting up the Information Bureau of Communist parties (Cominform) was part of the Soviet strategy designed to help create an interstate zonal system likely to secure and guarantee the dependence of the states and parties targeted by Moscow in general and Stalin in particular. This study is intended to analyze the activity of the Information Bureau, in the context of the strategic changes occurring in the Soviet foreign policy in 1946-1947 and of the initiatives of the Soviet leaders who pursued to create a new body to coordinate the Communist parties. Cosmin Popa is a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

OANA ILIE, *The Danube-Black Sea Canal in the Press of 1949-1953* 79
The building of the Danube-Black Sea Canal had full propaganda support since its start in 1949. The press of the Communist regime excelled at publicizing the favorable aspects of this huge Stalinist building site, emphasizing mostly its would-be economic and educational virtues, which appeared much lesser after Stalin's death in 1953. Oana Ilie is a Museum curator at the National Museum of History.

CLAUDIU MIHAIL FLORIAN, *Die Auflösung der Arbeitslager in der Sowietunion, 1953-1957*, I..... 94
Stalin's death in 1953 and the change in rule in Moscow fostered a "new path" for Soviet policy. One of the most important steps to be made on this path was the closing down of labour camps, a phenomenon whose intensity increased following February 1956. Claudiu Mihail Florian is a graduate of the in-depth study programm of the University of Bucharest, the Interdisciplinary Humanistic Studies department in German, candidate for Ph.D. with the dissertation *The Ethnic Germans of Transylvania in the Romanian-German Relations, 1939-1967*.

VICTORIA ISABELA CORDUNEANU, *New Methodologies and Themes in Historical Research* 110
The author focuses on the debates of the new theoretical methods in study of contemporary and recent history. This article analyzes different points of view sustained by well-known scholars, in the methodology of history writing. Its purpose is to familiarize Romanian public with the newest options of Western historiography. Victoria Isabela Corduneanu is a graduate from University of Bucharest, Faculty of History; Ph.D. candidate.

The Rethoric of Image

NICOLAE ANDERCO, **AUREL DUŢU**, *Assault on Public Monuments in the Fifties* 123
The late authors present a list of destroyed or still in place statues that once decorated streets and squares of Bucharest, many of these being important masterpieces. The communist regime decided that those of the monuments that were no more on ideological 'line' should be demolished and replaced by an art showing the new socialist realities. The article contents some evaluation of the historical figures represented by the monuments and their chances to be or not integrated in the new

public historical image. Nicolae Anderco was museum curator at the History Museum of Bucharest City. Aurel Duţu was museum curator at the History Museum of Bucharest City.

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BRANDUŞA COSTACHE, *The Romanian-Bulgarian Economical Relations, 1950-1957* 131
In the '50s the Romanian-Bulgarian relations unfolded within COMECON. A major aspect of these relations was the problem of energy sources. Romania was supplying oil, oil products and power to Bulgaria. The two states were interested in cooperating in building power stations on the common course of the Danube. Brânduşa Costache is a graduate from University of Bucharest, Faculty of History; Ph.D. candidate.

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Political Attitudes at Communist Power counter part Population Problems after Death of Stalin* 140
After the death of Stalin appeared question administration his legacy, of vision about economy. Neither Romanian communist leaders don't elusive this pressure. The document present discussions among Gheorghiu-Dej and local chiefs of department of cooperatist system. Gheorghiu-Dej criticize deficiencies of state-planned economy in a non-dogmatic style, at the moment when the communist leadership was focused on ensuring popular support for the government and to avoiding any sort of contestation. Florin Abraham is Assistant-researcher with NIST; graduate of the In-Depth Study Program of the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj; candidate for Ph.D.

FLORENTIN BREAZU, *Echoes of the RWP Plenum of June-July 1957*..... 147
The secret report N.S. Khrushchev presented at the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956 triggered a fierce dispute at the top in the Romanian Workers Party. Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevschi tried to capitalize on the de-Stalinization trend and make Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej appear as a little local Stalin that had to be dismissed. The dispute only ended in the summer of 1957, when the two mavericks were removed from the RWP leadership. Florentin Breazu is graduate from University of Bucharest, archivist with Giurgiu National Archives.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Collectivization of Agriculture. Total Repression, 1957-1962*, XVI 156
The documents continue the series of historical accounts of the final stage of collectivisation of agriculture between 1958 and 1962. The abuses are objectively reflected by documents from all the regions: Moldavia, Oltenia and Transylvania. In 1956, the search and sequestration policy was extended throughout the country. Octavian Roske, Ph.D., is Scientific Secretary of the NIST and associate professor with the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Bucharest. Recent works: *The Collectivisation of Agriculture in Romania. The Political Dimension, 1949-1953*, 2000 (co-author); *Repressive Mechanisms in Romania, 1945-1989. Biographical Dictionary, A-C*, 2001 (coordinator).

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Marin Preda: Journey in USSR, 1962* **166**
These documents present the journey of Marin Preda, a famous Romanian writer, and his wife in the early 60s to the Soviet Union. The authors of the above-mentioned documents remained anonymous and, in fact, they were spying the activities of Preda's family during the visit. The Romanian Writers' Association considered necessary to confront Marin Preda to his surveyor's report. Alexandru-Murad Mironov is a junior assistant professor with the History Department of the University of Bucharest; a Ph.D. student; assistant researcher with the NIST.

DAN CĂTĂNUŞ, *Romania and the Sino-Soviet Schism, IV, The Conflict within COMECON, 1962-1963*..... 174
One of the most important accelerators of Romania's break with the Soviets and of its rapprochement with China was N.S. Khrushchev's intention to revamp the COMECON after the Common Market model. Greater economic integration, superstate planning, creation of joint enterprises by branches would have benefited the more developed countries of the communist bloc and favored a partial loss of national sovereignty. All these aspects incurred a determined opposition from the RWP leaders, who started looking for new economic alternatives (in the West) and political options (in China). Recent volumes: *Failed De-Stalinization. Backstage Aspects of the Miron Constantinescu and Iosif Chisinevschi Case, 1956-1961,* 2001 (co-author); *The Quadrilateral. Cominternist Ideology and Bulgarian Irredentism,* 2001.

MIOARA ANTON, *The First Confrontation Brejnev-Ceauşescu: Moscow – September 1965*.....194
Gheorghiu-Dej's death in March 1965 did not entail a change in the Romanian foreign policy in point of the relations with Moscow. The new leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, in his first visit to Moscow as secretary-general of the Romanian Communist Party, surprised the Kremlin with the daring demands he set forth: the return of the Romanian treasury sent to Moscow for safekeeping in 1917, and of the RCP archives, as well as an alteration of the management structure of the Warsaw Treaty. Such demands were not of a nature to improve the Romanian-Soviet relations. Mioara Anton is a Ph.D. student; researcher with the "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History.

DANIEL BARBU, RADU CIUCEANU, OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Condition of the Monument under the Communist Regime,* III 205
The second part of the study secretly carried out by Radu Ciuceanu, Daniel Barbu and Octavian Roske in 1980 and broadcast by the Free Europe radio station in the summer of 1981 is a valuable document postul de radio Europa Liberă în vara anului 1981 reprezintă un valoros document relating the abuses committed by the communist authorities against the Romanian patrimony. The first part is dedicated to the typology of aggressions and abuses committed by the Direction of Natural Cultural Patrimony. This attitude was responsible for the degradation of frescoes and paintings in churches and monastries, especially from Northern Moldavia, as well as the incredible "evacuation" of priceless religious monuments brought to ruins, abandoned and put on the demolition list; the porch of St. Gheorghe Church is the best known case. Daniel Barbu is an

University Professor with the Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest. Recent works: *The Romanian Character*, 2000 (coordinator).

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MARIN C. STĂNESCU, *The Last Major Cominternist Northerly Wind after August 23, 1944*..... 230
The June 9-13, 1958 plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party saw the purge from the party of the last major group of opponents, made up of second-tier apparatchiks that shared the same trait, i.e. they were former underground militants. The plenum was followed by a huge wave of purges, which Marin C. Stanescu witnessed while a young research scholar at the History Institute of the RWP, one of the worst hit institutions. Marin C. Stănescu is Ph.D. Recent work: *Communist Ideology and Structures in Romania, 1920-1921*, volume III, 2001 (co-author).

Biographical Dictionary

FLORIN ABRAHAM, *Iosif Chişinevschi (1905-1963)*..... 233
Iosif Chişinevschi (1905-1963) is born in Bessarabia, of the Jewish origin. Member at Communist Romanian Party in illegality at 1928, imprisoned at Galatzi and Doftana. After 1945 possessed several positions in Romanian establishment. Chişinevschi to became after the Second World War gray eminence in apparatchiks and ideological problems. In 1952 prepared, cooperatively by Miron Constantinescu and Alexandru Moghioroş, accusation against Ana Pauker-Vasile Luca group. Entering in conflict by Gheorghiu-Dej, Chişinevschi is replaced from political positions in Plenary meeting P.S.M. (June 28-29, 1957), together by Miron Constantinescu.

OVIDIU BOZGAN, *Mihai Ralea (1896-1964)*..... 235
Professor Mihai Ralea was a typical ally of the Romanian communist regime of the first years. Despite his "bourgeois" origins and his collaboration with King Carol II, whose minister has been during the royal dictatorship, Ralea was appointed ambassador to Washington between 1946 and 1948. Losing this position, he led various cultural institutions dealing with foreign cultural exchange.

NICOLAE CIOBANU, *Radu R. Rosetti (1877-1949)*..... 240
Historian, former general of the Romanian Army, Radu R. Rosetti had important contribution to Romanian historiography, concerning the military past. Member of the Romanian Academy, director of the largest library in Romania, Library of the Romanian Academy and founder of the National Army's Museum, Radu R. Rosetti was arrested for his collaboration with Marshall Antonescu's regime as a Minister for Education. He died in prison. Nicolae Ciobanu, Ph.D., General (r) is professor at the Academy of Higher Military Studies.

ADRIAN BRIŞCĂ, *Mihail Ştefănescu (1910-?)*..... 243
Mihail Ştefănescu was military prosecutor during the World War II. During this time he prosecuted several political prisoners. After the war, he managed to escape from the accusation of war crimes and continued his job successfully under communist as military judge. In the late forties he condemned thousand of "enemy of the people", many of them being executed. In 1950 he was arrested and convicted to 6 years imprisonment. After 5 he was excused. Adrian Brişcă took part in the anticommunist resistance. Since 1989 he has dedicated to the study of the partisan movement in Romania. Recent work: *Armed Resistance in Bukovina, 1950-1952*, vol. II, 2000.

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This is a review of Cristian Troncotă book *A History of the Romanian Intelligence Services from Cuza to Ceausescu*, Ion Cristoiu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999. Florinel Marian is an alumnus of the Specialised Study Programme by the History Department of the University of Bucharest.

ADELINA STEFAN, *Confessions of a Diplomat*..... 259
We publish a review of Lavinia Betea's book *Unfinished Talks. Corneliu Mănescu Talking to Lavinia Betea*, Polirom, 2001. Adelina Ştefan is a student of University of Bucharest, Faculty of History.

OANA ILIE, *The Trial of the Generals*..... 261
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