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# Totalitarianism Archives

## Review of the National Institute of the Study of Totalitarianism

### Volume XXX, Number 114-115, 1-2/2022

#### EDITORIAL

**OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *How I met Radu Ciuceanu*..... 5**

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.

#### STUDIES

**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 ONIŞORU, *The Revolt of the "fellow traveller". Gheorghe Tătărescu`s Memoir from May 22, 1947*.....93**

75 years ago, the Groza government was facing an unexpected crisis triggered by Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Gheorghe Tătărescu. It is a Memorandum that he sent to the leaders of the parties in power and which was a virulent attack on the communist methods of governing the country. Our study aims to determine the causes of this political gesture and its consequences.

**Keywords:** People's democracy, Gheorghe Tătărescu, memorandum, National Liberal Party, the emergence of communism in Romania.

**FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, *Guises of `betrayal` in Romanian communism* 117**

This approach is an analysis of the political repression against the Catholic Church in Romania during the first decades of the Socialist regime. The author employs historical but also and complementary tools in focusing on the concept of treason, seen also as betrayal of the State, the clerical hierarchy, friends, and family. Using psychological, legal, and political definitions, it shows the case of a political prisoner turned informer in the 1950s and 1960s.

**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 training (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 showed strong signs of coming back.

**Keywords:** regime, ideology, party, state, political education, statistics, proposals.

**VALENTIN-COSMIN GHIȚĂ, *Romanian protochronism and its expression in „Lucafařarul” magazine during the 1970s* .....151**

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 "Lucafařarul." 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, Lucafařarul.

**ALEXANDR STYKALIN, *The political changes of 1989 in the countries of Eastern Europe and the revision by Moscow 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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## DOCUMENTS

**PETRE OPRİŞ, *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 Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu (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, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu.

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

Seen as a possible successor of Nicolae Ceaușescu, 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 Călărași 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.

## **BIOGRAPHIES**

**ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *Nicu Ceaușescu (1951-1996)...* 245**  
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 Ceaușescu, 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.

**DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *Cornel Pacoste (1930-1999)*..... 256**

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's defection, Pacoste was initially side-tracked. However, in time he resumed his functions as first secretary at Timiș county (1982), Executive Political Committee deputy member (1984), and vice president of the government (1987).

During the days of the 1989 revolution in Timișoara Pacoste was sent by Nicolae Ceaușescu 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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