



## ORIGINAL PAPER

# Changes in the composition of the “communist elite” 1941-1958 - from the “class struggle” to the collaboration with the “class enemy”

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### Abstract:

The article aims at presenting the evolution of the communist elite in Romania, between two moments essential for the history of the communist movement: the year 1941, in which Romania joins Nazi Germany in the fight against the USSR, and the year 1958, in which the Soviet troops withdraw from Romania and the Romanian political regime gradually begins to emerge from the tutelage of Moscow, following its own active cadre policy, trying to lay the foundations for a national communism.

We will see what the social and intellectual basis of the “communist elite” was, and the occurrence of the events, that was, a “class enemy” reached the top of the communist movement, stepping over the “class struggle”. There are also cases of cooperation even with politicians considered to be from the “old regime”.

**Keywords:** *class struggle, communist elite, class enemy, Romania, changes, period 1941-1958.*

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### **Preliminary and introductory considerations**

The beginnings of the communist movement in Romania must be sought during the events related to the outbreak of the Bolshevik counter-revolution of October 25 / November 7, 1917. At that time, the socialists, who were maintaining some connections with the socialist movement of the late nineteenth century had quickly dissociated themselves from the followers of the Bolshevik-inspired communist movement.

The latter had begun actions aimed at the disappearance of Romania as a state, attacks against the Romanian royal family, the confiscation of the Romanian treasure on January 26, 1918 that had been deposited in Russia in the years 1916-1917, for fear of its confiscation by the troops of the Central Powers.

The Communist Party of Romania, founded in 1921, had been quickly illegalized in 1924, because of the actions considered to be against the national integrity of Romania, which took place especially in Bessarabia (Nacu, 2019: 29).

Meanwhile, until 1941, when Istvan Foriș, a communist of Hungarian origin, became the head of the party that was illegally active, the communists had been present, even if not in such large numbers as the communist historiography later appreciated, at the strike in 1918, at the strikes in Lupeni in 1929 and Grivița in February 1933. The attack of December 8, 1920, the attacks against Constantin Argetoianu, minister of internal affairs, had been planned by communist activists coming from outside Romania, in this case, anarchists, whose existence becomes a reality from the second half of the nineteenth century in Europe, the USA, where they distinguished themselves in attacks against royalties, American presidents, etc. In the first years of life of the Romanian communist political force, the anarchists had also been present. Max Goldstein, the mastermind of the 1920 attack, was an anarchist. The anarchists, however, were unreliable because they knew nothing but to impose terror and commit violence. On the contrary, the communist administration that the Romanian communists dreamed of, similar to their Soviet and other parts-of-the-world resident comrades, was one of order, of equality imposed by force by the elimination of class enemies, while the anarchists did not believe in order because, by definition they were opponents of any norm. Thus, it is known, Soviet communism imposed itself through harsh norms, rules, the elimination of opponents and the creation of their own order, followed by the creation of the “new man”. On the other hand, anarchists could not be regarded as new people.

Dictator Joseph Visarionovici Stalin will contribute to the removal of the anarchists whom he will blame on Leon Trotsky, by his real name Lev (Leiba) Davidovich Bronștein. His assassination in 1940 by a man of Stalin's, Ramon Mercader, would somehow make anarchism disappear as a weapon of the communists on the way to power.

It is a constant fact that leaders who had no Romanian origin had been preferred in the leadership of the Party of Communists in Romania, although they had been born in the Romanian space or in the vicinity of Romania. Only the first communist leader had been Romanian: Gheorghe Cristescu, a small entrepreneur, “bourgeois” according to the canons of the class struggle, called “Plăpumarul” – the Duvet-Maker, for understandable reasons. It seems that this leader, at one time, had rented a hotel in Călimănești in the interwar years. Leaders such as carpenter Elek Koblos, of Hungarian origin, Vitaly Holostenko, a Ukrainian worker, followed by other leaders such as Alexander Gorn (a Polish Jew born in Warsaw), Boris Ștefanof (Bulgarian communist, grandson of Christian Rakovsky), the Hungarian journalist from Transylvania Istvan Foriș (Scurtu, 2007: 67).

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During this period, a number of communist leaders of various ethnic origins, as well as from different social categories stand out. Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu was a lawyer of bourgeois origin, the son of a historian and publicist D. D. Pătrășcanu, with prodigious activity at “Viața Românească”, together with Petre Marcu-Pandrea, who would become his brother-in-law, by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu will be a lawyer who will defend the communists tried, then arrested for political crimes. Ana Pauker with unfinished medical studies was a Jewish woman from Codăești-Vaslui, named Hannah Rabinshon. She will marry Marcel Pauker, a young man of wealthy, but fervent socialist family.

An elite officer of the Romanian Army, Lieutenant Emil Bodnăraș, valedictorian of the Artillery in 1930, assigned to Sadagura, near Cernăuți, leaves fraudulently for the USSR, from where he returns in 1935 and is arrested in the North Railway Station. After a period of detention, he is released and has various tasks on the part of the party. His brother, Manole Bodnăraș, worked in Craiova, at CFR-Romanian Railways. Although he is believed to have deserted, there is also the hypothesis that Emil Bodnăraș (with a mixed Ukrainian-German-Romanian origin) infiltrated the ranks of the communists in the USSR at the order of the Romanian Security. The fact is that, after 1941, he is to be an exponent of the national wing, managing the change of Istvan Foriș and the replacement with Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej (Botoran&Dobrinescu, 2003: 19).

An important component of the Romanian communists was given by communists of Jewish origin (many from Bessarabia) such as Boris Grundberg - Alexandru Nikolski, future head of the Security, Leonid Titminetki (renamed Leonte Tismăneanu), Leonte Răutu (Lev Oigenstein), Iosif Chișinevski (Jakob Roitman), Gizela Vass (Gitta Vass), Silviu Brucan (Saul Brukner); Romanian origin - Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Alexandru Drăghici, known head of the Ministry of Interior, Gheorghe Apostol, Corneliu Mănescu, Hungarian: Erno Neulander-Valter Roman Leon Szylagyi (Leontin Sălăjean), Vasile Luka (Luka Laszlo), Gagauz-Alexandru Bârlădeanu, German-French: Ion Gheorghe Maurer (Jean Georges Maurer).

Valter Roman, Leonte Tismăneanu and others were part of the international brigades that fought in Spain against General Franco.

Somehow, parallel to the communist movement, but having an anti-fascist political background, the first head of the communist government, Dr. Petru Groza, made his career. Petru Groza was a left-wing intellectual, a member of the Romanian National Party and even a minister in two interwar governments. In 1933, he founded the Ploughmen's Front, and in 1935, he created, together with MADOSZ, the Popular Anti-Fascist Front.

Petru Groza would support, during his time as prime minister, many points of view, some even contrary to the desires to marginalize names, such as Traian Vuia, for instance (Nicolescu, 2003: 250).

### **I. Period 1941-1944**

It was the period when a large part of the communists who were working in Romania, after several internships in prisons such as Doftana, Caransebeș, Văcărești and after several trials occasioned by the attacks at the Parliament, the strikes in Lupeni and Grivița, or after expulsion decisions, would take refuge in the USSR.

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Obviously, Ion Antonescu's decision to overcome the borders of Bessarabia on the Eastern Front, along with Germany, stirred the spirits not only at the level of the communists' opponents, such as Maniu, Brătianu, Mihalache, but also created an effervescence among the communists who had not liked the action of June 22, 1941, when the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany and on the territory of Romania (Smeu, 1997: 228).

However, in 1939-1940, when the interwar external orientation of Romania was finalized, most of the Romanian communists were in prisons, and from September 1940, the legionnaires were in power. However, it seems that Stalin wanted to take advantage of the establishment of the Legionary Workers' Corps in 1936, and it was then that many of the communist activists were ordered to infiltrate the Legionary Movement. This infiltration had three main directions: the first was that the Legionnaires, or the Iron Guardists, were not controlled by the Security, so the communist meetings could be made under the very noses of the Security, or the Legionnaires, somehow easier. Secondly, the legionnaires wanted to kill opponents such as Armand Călinescu (guilty of the Grivița aggressions in 1933), Nicolae Iorga (the one who had campaigned for the Great Union as a historian and had pronounced himself against the cession of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina), Virgil Madgearu (theorist of the associative-cooperative system, so an opponent of the integral communist cooperative system), people whom the communists also wanted liquidated (Antonescu also wanted them eliminated), but they did not want to assume the moral guilt of their liquidation (Berindei, 2008: 125).

Thirdly, many reprehensible actions were to compromise the legionnaires even worse, as destroyers of the national economy, which would have increased the rise of the communists who would have posed as saviours.

The association between the legionnaires and Ion Antonescu, the neglectful attitude of the democratic opposition that preferred to deny itself, made the communist propaganda accuse the liberal and peasant leaders, in the 40s, of association with the fascists to the country's disaster.

Ana Pauker stayed, between 1926-1934, in the USSR, then she was arrested as a result of the trial in Craiova in 1935, and, in May 1941, she left for the USSR, being exchanged with the Bessarabian unionist Ion Codreanu, detained in the USSR.

Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, who managed to stay in the USSR, then for a while in communist prisons, would end up having a forced domicile in Poiana Țapului thanks to his family's ties to the Royal Palace.

Erno Neulander-Valter Roman, Leonte Tismăneanu and his wife Hermina Marcusohn, a nurse in the civil war, also stayed in the USSR until after the act of August 23, 1944.

By order of Ion Antonescu, all the communists from the prisons were gathered in the Târgu Jiu Camp, separated from the section where the legionnaires arrested after the 1941 Rebellion were imprisoned. There are reports that Istvan Foriș was a leader who had an agreement with the Antonescu government, being changed in 1944, by the Romanian Communists with Gheorghiu-Dej. The Romanian communists had learned (probably from their colleagues in Moscow) that Ion Antonescu had planned the execution of the communists in prisons as saboteurs in order for the public opinion to divert its attention from the incompetence of the Romanian military commanders on the front.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej was the leader of the communists in prisons. In prison, the former conspirator Victor Precup, a former colonel accused of wanting the

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assassination of Charles II, will approach the Communists and put his relations in the Army in the service of the party.

Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Emil Bodnăraș were free. Corneliu Mănescu and Ion Gheorghe Maurer had been officers on the Eastern Front, but they had managed to evade and hide, contributing to the spread of communist ideas and the increase in the number of basic organizations or communist cells.

When having to put the Romanian communist movement to rights, Stalin himself had a role. With the exception of Cristescu-Plăpumaru, Boris Ștefanof and Istvan Foriș, many Romanian communists were executed as Trotskyists. Among them, there were also Christian Racovsky, Vitali Holostenko, Elek Koblos, Alexander Gorn, Catherine Arbore or Alexander Dobrogeanu Gherea. Thus, the Moscow core that dreamed of taking power at any cost, was greatly diminished.

In 1943, Dr. Petru Groza joined the Anti-Hitlerist Popular Front. Gradually the names of doctors such as Dimitrie Bagdasar (he contributed to the “Red Aid”, in 1942, led the Union of Patriots, in 1944, he signed an appeal to Ion Antonescu, along with other intellectuals to stop the war that was increasingly unfavorable to Romania), Florica Bagdasar, Daniel Danielopolu, C.I. Parhon appear among the supporters of anti-fascism, which ensured their presence in leadership positions within the communist governments, even after March 6, 1945.

During the negotiations for the conclusion of a truce, in Cairo, Stockholm and Ankara, Barbu A. Știrbey sends the famous telegram “Create a communist party!” This comes in the context in which, as early as 1942-1943, the idea had transpired from the correspondence of the British and American diplomats that Romania would be admitted to the armistice only under the conditions dictated by the USSR (Romania was fighting against it on the Eastern Front) and the Soviet diplomats had hinted that a truce would never be negotiated with a government that would not include representatives of the Romanian communists.

Therefore, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu enters the scene, who participates in the negotiations with the historical parties, the liberals, the peasants, the social democrats, laying the foundations of the plan to remove Ion Antonescu, dictator, government leader, a plan that was accepted by King Michael, the constitutional head of the Romanian Army, a fundamental element in the action against Antonescu.

In the summer of 1944, Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej is helped to escape by Ion Gheorghe Maurer, Emil and Manole Bodnăraș. It is hidden in the house of Ioan Marina, a priest from Vâlcea, who would later become patriarch under the name of Iustinian Marina (Berindei, 2008: 129).

Therefore, now we can see what role Emil Bodnăraș, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, Ion Gheorghe Maurer played in the triumph of the cause of the national communists who started before the Moscow group that would have agreed even with the destruction of Romania's integrity and its transformation into several Soviet republics or with the loss of territories in favour of the USSR, Hungary, Bulgaria.

Practically, on August 23, 1944, the Romanian communists manage to steal the start to their colleagues in Moscow, and the Soviet armies entered, on August 30, 1944, in a Bucharest liberated by the Nazis and with their push into the controlled areas of North-West Transylvania.

Towards the end of 1944, the Communists tried to get closer to the leader of the National Liberal Party, Gheorghe Tătărescu, a man who did not despise the left-wing policies and who had realized, among the few democratic people of the time, since 1943,

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that the chances for the Anglo-Americans to help Romania did not exist, a fact confessed to Raoul Bossy.

Petru Groza became deputy prime minister in the second Sănătescu government, after the moment of October 13, 1944, when the communists and social democrats, together with the Ploughmen's Front, had formed the National Democratic Front, denouncing the collaboration with PNL (National Liberal Party) and PNT (National Peasants' Party) that had led to the removal of Ion Antonescu from the head of the government.

### **II. Period 1945-1948**

Present as deputy prime minister in the Rădescu government as well, Petru Groza plays his chances and manages to be appointed prime minister by Stalin, being sworn in by King Michael on March 6, 1945. The Deputy Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister becomes Gheorghe Tătărescu, a man whom Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu and Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej considered much less compromised than Iuliu Maniu. The period is one in which everything transforms. Already the communists are isolating the royal family (the king goes on royal strike but has no internal and external supporters), winning the 1946 elections through fraud. In 1946, he sentenced the Antonescu group to death. In 1947, he arrested Iuliu Maniu and the leading peasants who wanted to leave the country, then sentenced them to heavy prison sentences. It had been an action thought out in detail by Alexander Nicholski. Gheorghe Tătărescu did not escape terror either, as he managed to be released before his death. In 1946-1947, critic Tudor Vianu, an aristocrat of culture, agreed to be Romania's ambassador to Belgrade, after which he was marginalized (Nacu, 2021: 83-87).

Another intellectual, the writer Mihail Sadoveanu, a Moldovan aristocrat agrees to join the Communists, he being the President of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly on December 30, 1947, when the people's republic was proclaimed.

On December 30, 1947, King Michael abdicated under pressure from the communists who proclaimed the People's Republic. In 1948, the nationalization of industrial properties and assets would be made, a new Constitution was given and the collectivization of agriculture began, which would end in 1962 (Constantiniu, 1997: 289).

The year 1948, more precisely the date of October 13 marks the merger of the PSD with the PCdR, in the Romanian Workers' Party (PMR). The first rupture at the top of the party begins, with the ouster of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, who had been Minister of Justice in 1944 and who had obtained the amnesty of the communists imprisoned in the era of illegality. Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu was accused of right-wing deviationism, of being an imperialist spy and executed after a trial directed in 1954.

Behind the Pătrășcanu case, it was the ego of Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej and the hatred of Ana Pauker, who dreamed of having her and the Moscow group in control of Romania. It is the last moment when there was still a cooperation between Ana Pauker and Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej.

### **III. Period 1949-1958**

Although many attribute to Marin Preda the phrase “obsessive decade”, in reference to the period when Ceaușescu dreamed of restoring the active proletarian-cultism, between 1949-1958. In 1953, Stalin's death offered Gheorghiu Dej the chance to remove the Ana Pauker-Vasile Luka-Teohari Georgescu group.

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One point needs to be made. Ana Pauker lost her husband, Marcel Pauker, executed by Stalin. She herself was in danger of being arrested at the time. Her children even remembered that, at one point, Ana Pauker had told them that if she left home and did not get to the evening, they, the children, should head to the Moscow train station and take a train to the border with Romania. It was claimed that she had just denounced her husband because this was how she could save the children and even her own life, because she had said that she could not contradict Stalin's manner of thinking. Later, in Bucharest, she had stated that she could call Stalin as many times as he wanted.

Teohari Georgescu was a communist who became head of the Ministry of the Interior. During his time, the robbery took place at the National Bank of Braşov, as well as the attack on the Romanian Legation in Bern, where the "Beldeanu group", an anti-Communist action that revealed the espionage actions of the Romanian communists under Moscow's tutelage in the West.

Vasile Luka had drafted the reform of the monetary stabilization that would lead to the disappearance of a large amount of money supply, under the guise of getting rid of the "bourgeois and landlord speculators". The reform would turn against him, being then tried and arrested at Râmnicu Sărat where he would die in 1963, it is said, on the same floor of the prison as the "class enemy", Ion Mihalache (Coposu, 2014: 118).

Between 1946 and 1947, Valter Roman was head of education and propaganda in the Romanian Army, then, until 1951, head of the political directorate of the Army, and later, until 1943, Minister of Post and Telecommunications. He was expelled from the party's governing bodies and, from 1957, he administrated the Political Publishing House until 1983.

Leonte Tismăneanu worked since 1948 at the PMR Publishing House, then the Political Publishing House, he taught Marxism-Leninism at the University of Bucharest. In 1956, being involved in the investigation of the student Paul Goma, together with the academicians Iorgu Iordan and Mihai Novicov, he did not agree with the arrest of Paul Goma. In 1958, he was investigated by the party for being divergent, and, in 1960 he was expelled, then working at the Meridiane Publishing House. His wife worked as a teacher in medical education and then worked in various management positions in the medical administrative system. The two are the parents of political scientist Vladimir Tismăneanu, an excellent analyst of the period of Romanian communism.

In this truly obsessive decade, the vast majority of intellectuals, politicians and exponents of the art of the interwar period were arrested and considered enemies of the people. Their extermination in the concentration system began, including at the canal construction site that would be abandoned and then resumed in other conditions by Nicolae Ceauşescu, who would only partially use the route started in the 50's (Lazitch&Drachkovitch, 1986: 383-384).

There is another aspect, rather silenced in the years of communism. In August 1945, one year after Antonescu's landing, a pact took place between Ana Pauker and the legionary leader Nicolae Petrascu. Legionnaires in the country, who had not become involved in anti-Semitic crimes against intellectuals or had not participated in the anti-Soviet war, were assured that if they laid down their weapons and denied themselves of the Iron Guard, they would be able to receive positions in the new structures. The Communists wanted not to fight on all fronts, the historical parties were hated by both communists and legionnaires. In addition, in 1936, enough communists had infiltrated the Legionary Workers' Corps. Thus, from August 1945 to May 1948, many legionnaires entered the communist lines, some with the thought the communists had

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previously had (to keep the Legionary doctrine for better times), others even attracted by the new times. The communists needed the Legionnaire fanaticism to liquidate the democratic opposition. However, from May 1948, controlling everything, the Communists turned the page and arrested the Legionnaires. It was only when Romania wanted to join the UN and was supposed to release political prisoners, in 1964, a general amnesty also released the Legionnaires from among the political prisoners, many of whom were sent to Bărăgan or as workers (Georgescu, 1992: 207).

It is worth mentioning that, in this decade, in Dobrogea, Banat, Argeş-Muscel, Făgăraş, partisan resistances took place (former royal officers, former legionnaires, young people with anti-Communist views, former legionnaires who, arrived at the Anglo-Americans, trained in commando troops and parachuted by the Anglo-Americans with combat missions). However, the espionage actions of Kim Philby, a Soviet agent infiltrated into the British secret services, made the USSR aware of the allied plans of the partisans, maps of areas and groups of resistance, which were gradually liquidated. Realizing that the Soviets were somehow aware of these actions, after the de-Stalinization initiated by Khrushchev, choosing the tactics of a cold war and against the background of decolonization in Africa and Asia, the Anglo-Americans decided to stop supporting the local anti-communist resistances. Some partisans were caught, others resisted, like Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu, who surrendered late in the 60's, not being caught.

Another delicate moment of the period of persecution of Greek Catholics. Patriarch Justinian Marina tried to convince Iuliu Hossu to switch to Orthodoxy. In addition, many hierarchs such as Antonie Plămădeală or Bartolomeu Anania agreed, in those years, to support the communist regime. Bartolomeu Anania tried, in the U.S., to convince Valerian Trifa, a legionary bishop who fled to the West to return home. Subsequently, Valerian Trifa's legionary past was made public and the U.S. withdrew his citizenship (Ramet, 1989: 374).

In 1952, Alexandru Drăghici began his activity as a torturer, and Nicolae Ceauşescu entered the political bureau of the PMR, the first step of the later ascension.

After Stalin's death in 1953, Gheorghiu Dej eliminated the Ana Pauker-Vasile Luka-Teohari Georgescu group. Ana Pauker would be disembarked from the party leadership (in 1946 she had been Foreign Minister, appearing on the cover of Time) and died marginalized and switched to office work in 1960, still unable to be executed, although Dej would have liked to, and Teohari Georgescu would also live in the shadow of the power he once had.

In 1956, the Hungarian revolution took place, quelled by Soviet tanks. Gheorghiu Dej even wanted to send Romanian troops to Hungary. However, the reformist leader Imre Nagy was detained in Romania in Snagov, and then sent to Hungary where he was executed, being rehabilitated in the autumn of 1989. It was claimed that it was the communist leader Valter Roman who would have convinced Imre Nagy to come to Romania to escape an eventual execution in the USSR.

Other names rise in this period, such as Alexandru Moghioroş (ethnic Hungarian-Mogyoros Sandor), the journalist Grigore Preoteasa became foreign minister in 1956-1957.

The latter died in 1957, when the plane with the PMR delegation from which Dej was missing, but in which Nicolae Ceauşescu was, seriously injured at the time, inexplicably crashes at Vnukovo near Moscow.



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In 1958, Soviet troops in Romania withdrew to the USSR. At that time, Gheorghiu Dej took some measures to remove those suspected of overly obvious collaboration with the USSR and Soviet advisors.

Gradually, at the level of the party, it begins to grow the star of Gheorghe Apostol, of Constantin Pârvulescu, of Chivu Stoica, a railway worker, arrested in 1933 after the strikes in Grivița and who would become prime minister between 1955 and 1961.

Dragan Jordan Rusev, a communist illegalist of Bulgarian origin, who became Petre Borilă, who would also hold positions in the party and in the communist government, was also remarked.

Not only Tudor Vianu and Mihail Sadoveanu had been attracted by the communist ideology, even if by only a part of it. Iorgu Jordan, Alexandru Graur, renowned academics had positions of responsibility. The writer George Călinescu wrote the novel *Bietul Ioanide*, where he shows the regime changes in the interwar and post-war period (Berindei, 2008: 139).

A curious situation is that of Constantin Argetoianu, a former prominent politician in the interwar years. Although, in the 20s he was a vehement anti-Communist, ordering arrests of the communists (escaping from the attacks planned by them), then in the 40's he created the Union of Work and Good Will, in which he hoped to attract communists. In addition, although he had left the country before the waves of arrests among politicians, he returned believing that he could hold leadership positions, because he knew a lot about the undertones of the interwar policy that he thought he could exploit in front of the communists. Obviously, it was a delusion, although Argetoianu had been a master of political intrigues and betrayals, more skilful even than Iuliu Maniu, he would be arrested and die imprisoned (Nacu, 2021: 88-92).

Between 1949 and 1958, it occurs an important situation, less known in the history of Romanian communism. After the Greek civil war, which took place between 1946 and 1949, the defeated Communist partisans took refuge in socialist states, including Romania. The Greek refugees found jobs here, some even in the party apparatus being ideologized, even if they did not know Romanian (most of those who were in key positions spoke Russian rather than Romanian, because many had no Romanian origin). Subsequently, they also suffered from the purges because some Greek communists liked the Moscow line, others liked the anti-Soviet line, the latter being supported, especially after the death of Gheorghiu Dej, by Nicolae Ceaușescu. And the accusation of being a Tito supporter was brought against the Greeks who had come to Romania after having previously fled to Tito's Yugoslavia, which had been in conflict with Stalin since 1948.

After Stalin's death, many Greek activists were purged from the political apparatus, working in agriculture, industry, trade, medicine and even in the Securitate, the Army, their children attending classes in Romanian schools with the Romanian children.

### Conclusions

Therefore, we have seen that the rise to power of the Communists in Romania was not made exactly according to the rules of the “class struggle”. First of all, in the communist movement, “class enemies” entered, that is, rich people who had socialist views. They intuited the political change meant to occur after fascism and Nazism had shown their limits.

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Then, there came the party activists with other origins but Romanian, despite the fact that they were born in Great Romania. Their origins were often Jewish, Hungarian, and there was no shortage of ethnic Bulgarians either, coming from the sphere of nationalists who had found refuge in Soviet communism, nor some ethnic Germans.

There was asked a question: why many communist activists in Russia and Romania were of Jewish origin. First of all, the first communist thinkers, such as Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea were Jews of origin. To follow the ancestry of fascism, then of Nazism, Nazism being clearly oriented on anti-Semitism and the disappearance of Jews as a race, as a nation.

Or, as anti-Jewish pogroms had taken place in Russia, Jews had to adhere to egalitarian ideologies advocating against racial hatred, and for the creation of social equality.

The road to this equality would be seen differently. The Bolshevik counter-revolution of 1917 fully triumphed in 1923, but after Lenin's death, disagreements arose between the followers of internationalist communism - Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Buharin and the national state: Stalin, Kirov, Ejov, Malenkov, Beria.

During the 30s, Stalin also had an attitude against the Jewish communists whom he accused of plotting, but also against Trotsky and his group. But until then, as Romania was seduced by right-wing extremism and anti-Semitism in the 20s and 30s (LANC, Legionary Movement, Nationalist-Agrarian Party), many Jews born in Bessarabia (some before 1918), of Russian culture adhered to Lenin's ideas and came in the interwar period to fight against Greater Romania.

However, the 30s lead to the aggregation of a structure of national thought, favoured by Stalin himself, indirectly through the hunting of the Trotskyists. The liquidation of most of the leaders of the PCdR refugees in the 30s in Moscow, the existence of intellectuals attracted by socialism or others who disliked fascism, Nazism and Iron Guardism, approached the Communists.

There were two moments when the national communists asserted themselves: in August 1944, when they avoided the establishment of a communist government brought by the Red Army, after allegedly engaged in fighting on the territory of Romania, and after 1953, at Stalin's death. It was then that the national communists got rid of the “Muscovites”.

However, names like Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu and Vasile Luca become victims of their own comrades, the first because he was a nationalist who did not believe in the supremacy of communism over the national spirit (although it seems that Dej wanted to get rid of him, because Pătrășcanu had been the man from August 23, having a moral ascendancy), the second because he had been too zealous in carrying out his tasks, and Hungarian origin was invoked when stabilisation generated negative effects above the estimated average. Ana Pauker fell for two reasons: Jewish origin and adherence to the USSR. Although Dej had given the order of arrests and executions of peasants who opposed collectivization, Dej tried to blame Ana Pauker by wanting to show that she as a Jew who had dreamed of an egalitarianism that did not fit into the Romanian communist vision. Collectivization ended in 1962, 2 years after the death of Ana Pauker, and she was seen responsible for the abuses of the years 1948-1952.

Why did intellectuals, be they with left-wing views, adhere to the communist cause? Obviously, first of all, they did not agree with fascism, Iron Guardism and

Nazism. Secondly, they had noticed the gaps between Romania and the West, the poverty in the countryside, the moral corruption in the urban area.

How can the presence in the communist governments of a Petru Groza be explained, or even of the former liberal prime minister Gheorghe Tătărescu? Evidently, they were people who had seen the decline of the system in which they had lived, democracy had been flawed and the exit to communism seemed just to them.

Obviously, many of them, in the 70's, would be at the forefront of dissent against Ceaușescu's dictatorship, but between 1964 and 1972, many of them were included in the great industrial and cultural projects, and even convinced important names in emigration, for the scientist Henri Coandă to return home.

There was also an Iron Guard component among the Romanian communists. Between 1945 and 1948, in order to more quickly seize the positions of control, the Communists tried and succeeded in a partial reconciliation with the Iron Guard. It was a manoeuvre of mutual exploration, but the communists, as they had rid themselves of the liberals and the peasants, would also get rid of the Legionnaires.

Hence, the “communist elite” was very diverse between 1941 and 1958. Initially left-wing intellectuals, former politicians, and later workers and peasants entered this PMR political elite. The contribution of foreigners was very high at first, but as national communism prevailed, the number of ethnic Romanians in positions of responsibility increased.

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