

UNEDITED ARCHIVAL EVIDENCES ON THE POLITICAL REPRESSION OF THE ROMANIAN PRESS AT THE BEGINING OF THE YEAR 1946

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Abstract. *The repression against Romanian journalists started in February 1945, when a law on the political cleaning of print media journalists was enacted. This law was based on the Armistice Convention signed in Moscow on September 12, 1944 by Romania and its allies.*

Print media cleaning was based on law no. 102 on press cleaning, published in the „Official Journal” no. 34 from February 12, 1945.

This law was the theoretical tool for implementing the political cleaning of print media institutions. After August 23, 1944, this institution tried – by its representatives and within the limits imposed by the internal and external political environment, otherwise extremely tensed – to regain its democratic status, meant to objectively inform the public opinion by excluding, as far as possible, any political interference.

The political repression on print media was made possible with the help of governmental bodies controlled by the Communist Party (the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Justice through the People’s Court, the National Propaganda Ministry), resulting in the removal of those journalists who didn’t observe the ruler’s official policy, therefore being subject to severe consequences, life imprisonment included.

Keywords: *press cleaning, Romanian Communist Party, the Ministry of Justice, the People’s Court, the National Propaganda Ministry.*

Along with the Groza Government taking over the leadership of the country at March 6th 1945, the Romanian Communist Party intensified its oppressive policy with the aim of installing a totalitarian regime. A field chat was submitted to an intense process of purification based on political criteria was the written press. The process was congruent with the assembly of the authorities’ general policy, a policy oriented towards integrally subordinating the state and the civil society structures, by eliminating all those that did not fit into the coordinates traced by the new governors.

The year 1946 witnessed the bringing of 6 journalists to the People Court.

In February 1946 took place the trial of the lot number 11, comprising of 14 “war criminals”, among which 6 were journalists. Five of the 6 have taken refuge outside the country even before 23 of August 1944: Alexandru Gregorian, Ion Sângiorgiu, Alexandru Cuzin, Horia Stamatu, Vintilă Horia, and Ion Victor Vojen.

Prior to staging the process of the 6 journalists, the citation no. 143/8 of February/1946¹ of the Panel II of the People Court, through which the respective court requested the presence of 4 of the 6 culprits had been published in the Official Journal. Alexandru Gregorian and Horia Stamatu were not mentioned in the citation.

The 4 journalists listed in the above mentioned citation were Ion Victor Vojen, Vintilă Horia, Alexandru Cuzin, and Ion Sângiorgiu.

The mentioned journalists were considered “guilty of the crimes of the country’s disaster, by committing the war crimes, provisioned by the art.2 letter j. and o. and sanctioned by the art.3 paragraph 1 and 2 of the Law no. 312 of 1945 because: They left the national territory in order to enter into the service of hitlerism and fascism and attacked the country, by writing, by speaking or in any other way; As well as for the fact that they entered into the service of hitlerism and fascism and contributed, by their own actions, to the accomplishment of their (*hitlerism and fascism t.n.*) political scopes or to the economic vassalage of the country to the detriment of the Romanian people interests.”²

The trial started on the 20th of February 1946 and ended the next day, on the 21st of February 1946 when the sentence was pronounced.

In what concerns the legal framing of the actions that the 6 journalists were accused of, it was based on the same Law no. 312/24 of April 1945 for the pursuit and sanction of those guilty of the country disaster or of war crimes³.

We should mention that out of the 6 journalists only Ioan Victor Vojen was present, lawyer by profession, the trial of his cause had been postponed though in order that the public accuser should be able to take notice of the evidence lately deposited by the accused, which has been missing.”⁴

The course of the trial consisted in the analysis, by the extraordinary court, of each file of the 5 journalists, in part, the exemplifying arguments invoqued in the support of the sentences being based on the title of the articles and on quotes from the respective articles, published in the newspapers that the journalists were activating to; these articles constituted the counts pertaining to the article 2, letters j and o of the law no. 312/24 of April 1945, the respective actions being punished by the article 3, paragraph 1 and 2 of the mentioned normative act.

¹ *Official Journal*, no. 37/13 February 1946, part I, p. 1176.

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Official Journal*, no. 94/24 April 1945, part I, p. 3362-3364.

⁴ The Direction of Central National Historical Archives Bucharest - Council of Ministers, Fund. Inv. 3039: File 45/1946, p. 2 (verso).

The first file brought to the attention of the court referred to Alexandru C. Cuzin, the facts he was accused of being covered by the provisions of the article 2 letter o of the law, for the pursuit and sanction of those guilty of the country disaster and war crimes, adopted in 1945.

Using the same terminology specific to the Romanian Communist Party and to the authorities that this party managed to subordinate, the People Court documentation recorded, with reference to Alexandru Cuzin, "that through direct actions he has contributed to the political scopes of the hitlerism in Romania: the joining of Romania to the Axis and the sustaining of the aggression war in the East, as well as the vassalage of the economic life in Bucharest, serving these purposes through his activity."⁵

Therefore, in what the journalist Alexandru Cuzin is concerned he was accused of "the propaganda in favour of hitlerism and for the annexation of Romania to the politics of the Axis, for the sustaining of the aggression war in East, propaganda for the vassalage of our economic life to Germany."⁶

Looking at Alexandru Gregorian's situation, the accusations addressed to him were similar to those of Alexandru Cuzin; he was inscribed "in the provisions of art. 2 letter o of the law no. 312/945⁷ (for the pursuit and sanction of those guilty of the country disaster and war crimes, adopted in 1945 - note by F.G.).

Therefore, Alexandru Gregorian was accused that "through direct actions he has contributed with criminal intentions to the accomplishment of the political scopes of the hitlerism in Romania: the joining of the Romania to the politics of the Axis, the sustaining of the prohitlerist dictatorships and the sustaining of the war in the East, serving these purposes through his activity."⁸

The previous accusations were supplemented, and in the same way it was proceeded in the case of Alexandru Cuzin: with the fact that "through his writings published in various publications, he has perseverant carried on a continuous propagandistic campaign in order to convince the Romanian public opinion to assume a favourable attitude towards hitlerism."⁹

The propaganda campaign recorded in the prosecution files was based, as well, on 3 themes "in favour of hitlerism that the accused Gregorian disseminated"¹⁰, these being "the propaganda for fascism and hitlerism and for the joining of Romania to the Axis policy, propaganda in favour of philo-germanic dictatorships, propaganda for the sustaining of the war in the East"¹¹.

A special consideration must be paid to the third accusation theme, the one referring to the sustaining of "the war in the East"¹², the accusation being advocated by 2 articles published in the "Sfarma Piatra" gazette in 24 and 28 of June 1941, after the Romanian army offensive for the liberation of Basarabia and the northern Bucovina from the soviet occupation had started.

The author considered that, by participating with its army on the East front, Romania was contributing to the strengthening of the European civilisation; the public opinion in the country, the democratic parties and the ones sustaining the national interest were supporting the campaign up to the moment of the liberation of Basarabia and the Northern part of Bucovina.

The Romanian army passing the Prut river, with the purpose of liberating the Romanian territories, occupied, by dictate, by the Soviet Union in June 1940, was considered by the public opinion, by the democratic parties defending the national interest as an action of re-establishment of the national integrity concluded at 1st of December 1918.

Crossing the Dniester was considered as exceeding the mission entrusted to the Romanian troops, troops that were present on a foreign territory; the national army continuing to participate in the campaign started by Germany on the soviet territory lacked the public opinion's support as well as that of the 2 important national parties, the National Peasants' Party and the National Liberal Party.

With reference to the third journalist, Horia Stamatu, judged in contumacy by the People Court in February 1946, the facts he was made responsible for were inscribed, as in the case of the previous journalists, "in the provisions of art.2 letter o of the law no. 312/945.

Horia Stamatu was being considered responsible for conveying "the race hate, through the exaltation of feelings against the cohabitant people"¹³, of "propaganda in the favour of hitlerist Germany and of fascist Italy, of the Legion movement, of dictatorship and for the vassalage of Romanian policy to the Axis."¹⁴

In what Vintilă Horia, aka Caftangioglu, is concerned, he was made guilty of facts that the accusation act inscribed "in the provisions of the art. 2 letter o of the law no. 312/945, consisting in the fact that through direct actions

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 5 (recto).

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 6 (recto).

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 7 (verso).

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 8.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

- his journalistic articles- he has contributed with criminal intention to the realisation of the political purposes of the hitlerism in Romania.”¹⁵

His articles were perceived as having a propagandistic character, this being classified in 2 main themes: “propaganda towards fascism and hitlerism and for the joining to the Axis, supporting Antonescu’s dictatorship.”¹⁶

These represented the counts for the journalist, counts that he and the three colleagues mentioned before, as well as Ion Sângiorgiu, whom we will refer to later on, didn’t have the possibility to fight against, as all 5 journalists, judged *in absentia*, had taken refuge in the democratic part of Europe.

Speaking about the fifth journalist - Ion Sângiorgiu - judged in absentia by the People Court in February 1946 within the lot no.11 of the “war criminals”, his actions were “framed by the act of accusation in the provisions of the art.2 letter j of the law no.312/945, consisting in the fact that he put himself in the service of hitlerism, leaving the country territory for the adversary territory, from where he attacked the Country.”¹⁷

According to the probing file, Ion Sângiorgiu was being accused, as in the case of Alexandru C. Cuzin, Alexandru Gregorian, Horia Stamatu and Vintilă Horia, of the fact that through his articles, from which none was mentioned, “he has made propaganda in the favour of hitlerism, thus contributing to the realisation of the hitlerist political scopes in Romania, dragging the country into the service of the Axis.”¹⁸

This accusation was supplemented by the one referring to the taking of refuge outside the country, the accusation act recording that after the publishing of some prohitlerist articles, “Sângiorgiu, when the Country managed to shake off the hitlerist yoke and to initiate the fight for the complete liberation- is leaving the Country and enters straight into the service of hitlerism, vehemently attacks the country and participates to the criminal conduct of action against Romania, carried on by the so-called national government of Horia Sima.”¹⁹

It is to be mentioned that the journalist was a minister of national education in the cabinet established on the German territory by the head of the Legion movement, a refugee, at his own turn in Berlin, as a consequence of the repressing of the Legion rebellion (that took place in Romania in January 22nd and 23, 1941), by the general Ion Antonescu.

The accusations imposed on Ion Sângiorgiu that “beneficiated” of the definitive interdiction of activating in the press, according to the Journal no. 993/4 of July 1945²⁰ are not supported, in the analysed archive document, by the presentation of articles excerpts, published by the journalist, as it was the case of his 4 work fellows, mentioned before.

According to those outlined in the document that exists in the archival fund of the Council of Ministers, the act of accusation, comprised, though, references to “journalistic articles through which the accused Ion Sângiorgiu made propaganda in the favour of hitlerism with the mentioning of each article and of the date of its annotation”²¹; these were not reflected in the document of the extraordinary court discussed in the present study.

On the basis of the respective articles that were not presented in an explicit manner, the accusation inferred the conclusion that those writings of Ion Sângiorgiu were contributing to the outlining of the culpability “of this culprit, for the fact that he contributed with criminal intent to the realisation of the hitlerist political purposes in Romania.”²²

At the same time Ion Sângiorgiu, the only sentenced to death out of the group of 4 journalists trialed in contumacy in February 1946, he was accused of “leaving the country in order to enter into the service of hitlerism, attacking the Country through what was aired by the Danube radio on January the 8th 1940 at 8:30 P.M. and of participating to the govern of Horia Sima as a minister of national education, these being committed with criminal intent, as it results from the way they were accomplished.”²³

The fifth journalists accused and sentenced in contumacy on February 1946 by the extraordinary instance of the “people”, couldn’t manage to sustain their defence through arguments in power to counteract the accusing aspects outlined in the first place in the excerpts of their own articles, comprised by the probing files of the abilities bodies.

These excerpts were demonstrating, though, a certain support, by writing, of the political-ideological and military orientations dominating in Europe, on the climate of the tolerance practiced by France and Great Britain towards the aggressive politics of Hitler’s Germany, sustained by Mussolini’s Italy and accepted by the Soviet Union with whom the German state had concluded, on the 23rd of August 1939, the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty.

Since they have taken refuge outside the country, the information referring to their activity should be considered as extremely scarce; a different situation we encounter with regard to Alexandru Gregorian, who managed to sustain a literary, university and even radio phonic activity, between 1950 -1954, he was the director of the Romanian department of the Radio Free Europe in München.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 10 (verso).

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 12 (verso).

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Official Monitor*, no.154/11 July 1945, part I, p. 5863.

²¹ The Direction of Central National Historical Archives Bucharest - Council of Ministers, Fund. Inv. 3039: File 45/1946, p. 12 (verso).

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

As expected, the ending of the trial was brought by the pronouncing of the sentence for the 5 journalists accused within the lot no.11 of “war criminals” trailed on the 20th and 21st of February 1946, both those presents and those judged *in absentia* being entitled to recourse:

“For these reasons
In the name of the law
In unanimity
DECIDES: [...]

Sentences the accused Alexandru C. Cuzin, Romanian, journalist, former director of the „Națiunea“, „Apărarea Națională“ and „Gazeta Comerțului“ newspapers, missing today, for the crime of country disaster, by committing the war crime, comprising of the fact that he entered into the service of fascism and hitlerism and contributed by his own actions to the realization of their political purposes, fact provisioned by the art. 2 letter o and punished by the art. 3 para. 1 of the law no. 312/945, to suffer the punishment of hard detention for life and civic degradation for a period of 10 years, according to the art.25 penal code.-

Sentences the accused, Alexandru Gregorian, Romanian, major, journalist, former director of „Sfarmă Piatră“ and „Poporul“ magazine, missing today, for the crime of country disaster, by committing the war crime, comprising of the fact that he entered into the service of hitlerism and fascism, contributing by his own actions to the realization of their political purposes, fact provisioned by the art. 2 letter o and punished by the art. 3 para. 1 of the law no. 312/945, to suffer the punishment of hard detention for life and civic degradation for a period of 10 years, according to the art.25 penal code.-

Sentences the accused, Horia Stamatu, Romanian, major, journalist, former director of “Buna vestire”, missing today, domiciled in Bucharest, Gemeni street no.9, for the crime of country disaster, by committing the war crime, comprising of the fact that he entered into the service of hitlerism and fascism, contributing by his own actions to the realization of their political purposes, fact provisioned by the art. 2 letter o and punished by the art. 3 para. 1 of the law no. 312/945, to suffer the punishment of hard detention for life and civic degradation for a period of 10 years, according to the art.25 penal code.-

Sentences the accused, Vintilă Horia Caftangioglu, Romanian, major, journalist, former director at “Sfarmă Piatră”, with the last domicile in Bucharest, missing today, for the crime of country disaster, by committing war crimes, comprising of the fact that he entered into the service of hitlerism and fascism, contributing by his own actions to the realization of their political purposes, fact provisioned by the art. 2 letter o and punished by the art. 3 para. 1 of the law no. 312/945, to suffer the punishment of hard detention for life and civic degradation for a period of 10 years, according to the art.25 penal code.-

Sentences the accused, Ion Sângiorgiu, Romanian, major, former university professor, missing today, for the crime of country disaster, by committing war crimes, comprising of the fact that he left the national territory in order to enter into the service of hitlerism and fascism, attacking the country by writing and speech, fact provisioned by the art. 2 letter j. and punished by the art.3 para.2 of the law no. 312/945, to suffer the capital punishment [...]

Pursuant to art.3 last para. of the law no. 312/945, commands the seizure, for the benefit of the state, under the title of compensation, of the whole wealth belonging to the culprits Gheorghe A. Cuza, Alexandru C. Cuzin, Alexandru Gregorian, Horia Stamatu, Vintilă Horia Caftangioglu, Platon Chimoagă, Ioan Gheorghe, Sergiu Vladimir Cristi, Visarion Puiu, Ion Sângiorgiu and Gușe Nicolae, in their patrimony being comprised, too, all the goods alienated after the date of August 23rd 1944, as well as those obtained by their wives or their descendants, after September 6th 1940, with the exception of those obtained by inheritance.- [...]

The present culprits were made aware of their legal faculty of declaring recourse, which is going to be orally declared in front of this instance.

The missing convicts may declare opposition or recourse against this decision, by written request, in term of 30 days from the publishing of the decision, in excerpt, cumulatively, by posting, on the posting panel of the People Court, in a daily newspaper from the capital and by radio, pursuing to art.2 of the law 61/946.

Pronounced in public session today, February 21st 1946 in the Palace of the People Court from Bucharest, no. 98 Ferdinand ave²⁴.

As it was the case of the trail of the 14 journalists judged between May 30th and June 4th 1945, the trail of the 5 journalists sentenced, from which 4 to hard detention and one to capital punishment, was reflected, at a much lower scale, in the officious press of the Romanian Communist Party, the daily newspaper “Scântea” bringing to the public opinion, in its specific manner, impregnated by the propagandistic attitude, aspects related to the process of February 1946.

Therefore, the very day of the sentence pronouncing (sentencing?), in the article “What is comprised by the accusation act against the phantom-govern from Donau radio and against the second lot of the soul poisoners”, having more sections and being published unsigned in *Scântea* no.457/21 of February 1946, some considerations and completions were made to the act of accusation of the 5 journalists, specific to the propaganda division of the Communist Party: “Since before the year 1945, just as two years ago the hitlerism was taking over the Germany, Gheorghe Cuza and Alexandru Cuzin carry on an intense propaganda in favour of fascism which has as a consequence the instalment of the legionary-antonescian dictatorship in our country. After that they strongly support this regime and

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 14-15 (recto-verso).

justify the odious crimes and the antonescian betrayals against the people and together with Alexandru Gregorian, Horia Stamatu, Vintilă Horia Caftangiolu overbidding the selling of the country to the hitlerist Germany, by the low betrayal action of the so called national Romanian govern from Germany, in which the accused have taken part: General Platon Chirnoagă, General Ion Gheorghe, Sergiu Vladimir Cristi, Visarion Puiu and Ion Sângiorgiu.

By their attitude and servility they have prepared and later on sustained the action that lead to the country disaster.

Selling themselves to the fascism they sustained and strengthened the dictatorial regime by anti-popular laws, by enslaving the working class, the peasants and all those working with their arm or mind, in order for them to encourage and sustain the war of terror, robbery and enforcement carried on against the U.S.S.R.²⁵

We can notice that the formulas are actually accusations lacking concrete examples, which could be considered an attempt to influence the "justice" in order for it to pronounce the most severe sentences provisioned by the law no.312 of April 1945.

In the article, a special attention is paid to the journalists Alexandru Cuzin and Alexandru Gregorian, as well as to the university professor Ion Sângiorgiu which had been excluded from journalism on the basis of the Journal no 993/4 of July 1945, of the Council of Ministers.

The considerations on these 3 sentenced to heavy detention for life and to capital punishment were containing the same accusations present in the process documents taking place on the 20th and 21st of February 1946, the aim being that of strengthening the accusations addressed to the 3 publicists: "Alexandru Cuzin, brought up in the school of violence and hatred, same as Gheorghe Cuza, has displayed, ever since 1935, a sustained propaganda in the favour of hitlerism, he has been evidentiased as receiving 400 000 lei from the hitlerist press attaché Friedrich Weber with the purpose of organising the National Christian Congress, held in Chișinău in 1935.

In the newspapers Apărarea Națională, Ideea Europeană, Porunca Vremii, Chemarea Vremii, as well as in Gazeta Comerțului, Cuzin is carrying on a continuous propaganda in order to influence the Romanian public opinion to approach the hitlerism and the war it caused with a more favourable attitude.

Alexandru Gregorian is par excellence the type of fascist propagandist, starting with his student's years, his manifestations pro extreme right embracing the most varied forms.

All that is a force capable of opposing fascism and hitlerism is deformed and trivially insulted by Gregorian: "England did not sincerely follow the pacification but only played upon the world's miseries (Good bye sir Reginald Hoare – Sfarmă Piatră at 18 of February 1941). Moreover he strongly supported Antonescu. [...]

Ion Sângiorgiu represents the gallery of criminals that confused the Romanian public opinion, while paid with the hitlerist propaganda money. Through a series of articles, published in various magazines and newspapers, starting with 1940 especially in „Chemarea Vremii“, he carried on a continuous propaganda for Germany. Running abroad, he enters into the service of Horia Sima, attacking the people through Donau radio.

Among the Country traitors, the war criminals and those guilty of the country's disaster, the culprits of today are an important part that will be called to give account for all the poison they have thrown for tens of years in the souls of our youth, for the crime, betrayal and sliminess acts in front of our fascist invaders.²⁶

The terminology used is in the same queue with the propaganda of the representatives of the totalitarian left movement, the appellatives addressed to all those manifesting their opposition by acts, by writing and orally against the inobservance of the democratic norms by the Communist party.

By the method of utilisation of such a terminology by the extreme left side and by the authorities they were in control of, irrespective of the power they represented, a certain purpose was followed.

What was that purpose? To create confusion in the public opinion at national and even international scale, integrating into the same category both those sustaining, in the political context of the period 1940-1944, by writing, the otherwise blameable ideology of the European extreme right and those having truly democratic convictions, being critical over the repressive and non democratic measures adopted by the totalitarian left extreme, thus becoming "sworn enemies" of the Romanian Communist Party, all these being characterized with notions that were outlined as "accusations" in various ways within the present paper.

The communist officious recorded, as well, the pronouncing of the sentence in the case of the 11 convicts, the case of Ioan Victor Vojen being postponed, Constantin Călugăreanu being acquitted; in the case of major Iona Popescu, the decision of the People Court is not offering enough details to illustrate his destiny:

- „ALEXANDRU CUZIN, hard detention for life;
- ALEXANDRU GREGORIAN, hard detention for life;
- HORIA STAMATU, hard detention for life;
- VINTILĂ HORIA CAFTANGIOGLU, hard detention for life;
- General PLATON CHIRNOAGĂ, capital punishment;
- General ION GHEORGHE, capital punishment;
- SERGIU VLADIMIR CRISTI, capital punishment;

²⁵ „What is comprised by the accusation act against the phantom-govern from Donau radio and against the second lot of the soul poisoners”, *Scânteia*, no. 457/21 February 1946, p. 5.

²⁶ „What is comprised by the accusation act against the phantom-govern from Donau radio and against the second lot of the soul poisoners”, *Scânteia*, no. 457/21 February 1946, p. 5.

- VISARION PUIU, capital punishment;
- **ION SÂNGIORGIU, capital punishment;**
- GHEORGHE CUZA, 20 years of rigorous detention;
- NICULAE GUȘE, 4 years of hard detention;
- CĂLUGĂREANU CONSTANTIN, acquitted. ²⁷

The month of July 1946 meant for the 5 journalists convicted by the sentence of the People Court on the 21st of February 1946, the seizure of their wealth: Alexandru C. Cuzin, Alexandru Gregorian, Horia Stamatu, Vintilă Horia and Ion Sângiorgiu.

This measure decided by the extraordinary instance has been actually applied by the judicial announce of the Ministry of Justice regarding the seizure of the wealth of certain convicts in the lot no.11 of the „war criminals”²⁸, irrespective of when that wealth has been acquired. Moreover, the announce of the Ministry of Justice recorded the seizure of the wealth of “the his wife and descendents, acquired after the date of September 6th 1940, in the favour of State, as compensation”²⁹, an aspect established by the sentence of February 21st 1946.

The trial of February 1946 in which the journalists were involved, represents a fundamental illustration of the repressive policy applied by the regime brutally imposed to the king Mihai in Bucharest in March 1945 by Andrei Ianuarevici Vâșinski.

This trial, same as other judicial frame-ups of those years, is illustrating the principles of Petru Groza government with regard to the functioning of the autochthonous press; within the press were allowed to stay only those journalists that were capable of aligning and responding unconditionally to the political power, the others were to be excluded from the profession, some, as it was accounted in the present lines, being even submitted in contumacy, to the judgement of the People Court and sentenced in the same contumacy, to jail, under the status of political prisoner.

The responsibility of insuring that status went with the extraordinary instance, a judicial instrument unconditionally obedient to the Communist Party, known as the People Court whose scope was to pronounce sentences already decided by the political cabinets of the governors, of Moscow in essence, whose representatives were controlling the political system from Bucharest and were fostering the instauration, having as model the Soviet Union, of the totalitarian regime of the state-party, a regime accomplished in 1948.

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- „What is comprised by the accusation act against the phantom-govern from Donau radio and against the second lot of the soul poisoners”, *Scântea*, no. 457/21 February 1946, p. 5.
- „The traitors of the phantom-govern have been sentenced to death, *Scântea*, no. 459/23 February 1946, p. 1.

²⁷ „The traitors of the phantom-govern have been sentenced to death”. *Scântea*, no. 459/23 February 1946, p. 1.

²⁸ *Official Journal*, no.159/12 July, part I, p. 7316.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.