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PROLETKULT DIPLOMACY. WHAT ABOUT ROMANIA IN THE LAST MINUTES OF *TSARDOM*[1] AND THE FIRST OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA (1945-1947) FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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Abstract

The Romanian-Bulgarian relations were assigned the role of satellites belonging first to the Axis, and then to U.S.S.R., following the regulation of the territorial statute of South Dobrudja on September 7th 1940, through the Treaty from Craiova. After the Red Army has entered Bulgaria, on September 8th 1944, an unusual fact has intervened between Bucharest and Sofia, from the perspective of Kremlin's influence, of course: the priority of Bulgarian political, ideological and diplomatic factors over the Romanian ones, unprecedented fact in the history of almost seven decades of the modern bilateral relations. The lack of human and ideological resources of the Romanian Communist Party has become obvious during the not even declared competition with the Bulgarian Communists and their leader, Georgi Dimitrov. The Communist Bulgaria has become a model that Romanian communists do not only seriously took into account, yet, at least the year King Mihai I has abdicated (1947), they zestfully were also studying and copying, as the case may have been.

Being a so-called People's Republic even since September 1946, following a falsified popular referendum, Bulgaria has undertaken during the next months to coordinate plans of internal and external politics of Romania. In order to finalize a "Bulgarian way" in Romania, the government led by Petru Groza and the media of propaganda, and mainly the press official of the

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[1] *Tsardom*: Kingdom of Bulgaria, until 1946.

Romanian Communist Party, "Scânteia", have scrupulously assumed the role of protagonists. And Communist Bulgaria, just like U.S.S.R., has become for more than two years (1946- February 1948) an extremely important and valuable topic of the Romanian public speech, of the Romanian Communists' confirmation, of establishing the project for instituting the totalitarian regime. The similarity of actions and of institutes' organization is striking for this short period, and the treaty signed in January 1948 is nothing but the final of a stage extremely abundant in models and suggestions for the Romanian communists.

***Keywords**: Communism; Romania; Bulgaria; 1945-1947; Georgi Dimitrov*

The Romanian-Bulgarian relations were assigned the role of satellites belonging first to the Axis, and then to U.S.S.R., following the regulation of the territorial statute of South Dobruja on September 7th, 1940, through the Treaty from Craiova. After the Red Army has entered Bulgaria, on September 8th, 1944, an unusual fact has intervened between Bucharest and Sofia, from the perspective of Kremlin's influence, of course: the priority of Bulgarian political, ideological, and diplomatic factors over the Romanian ones, unprecedented fact in the history of almost seven decades of the modern bilateral relations. The lack of human and ideological resources of the Romanian Communist Party has become obvious during the not even declared competition with the Bulgarian Communists and their leader, Georgi Dimitrov. Communist Bulgaria has become a model that Romanian communists do not only seriously take into account, yet, at least the year King Mihai I has abdicated (1947), they zestfully were also studying and copying, as the case may have been.

Any kind of interference by the Soviet Union in the domestic affairs of Bulgaria was presented as based on the criterion of national interest. First of all, as it seemed to be a general trend in Eastern Europe, the advance of the Red Army within Bulgarian territory was not interpreted as an invasion but as a liberation campaign. The Red Army, it was claimed, had come into Bulgaria to liberate the Bulgarian nation from the German yoke and fascism rather than to liberate the Bulgarian toiling masses from capitalists' bonds. Afterwards, the stationing of the Red Army in Bulgaria was to preserve her national sovereignty and defend her from any international intervention[2]. Anne Applebaum extensively explained that even nowadays is not easy to evaluate chronology in the whole Eastern Europe in the last five

[2] Yannis Sygkelos, *Nationalism from the Left. The Bulgarian Communist Party during the Second World War and the Early Post-War Years,* Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2011, p. 135.

months of World War II because did everybody had the same memories about the events from the bloody period. In line with Soviet and national propagandist Communist standard narratives, Eastern Europe was liberated from the Nazi Germany's and Fascist yoke by the glorious Red Army, in a succession of a triumph one after another, and the Fascists were destroyed. Civilians as "people", in the liberty from 1944-1945, celebrated a new era of freedoms and people's democracy[3].

Historian Mikhail Gruev assured Red Army occupation officially lasted three years, from September 1944 to December 1947 and insisted that right in this period the maintaining of the Soviets cost Bulgaria about 133 billion leva, as it was the responsibility of the Bulgarian state under the peace agreement[4]. But, insisted Gruev, if the Red Army had not entered it, Bulgaria's situation would have been very similar to that of Greece. Probably it would have been subjected to a stronger British influence in the post war years, when the focus of the Truman Doctrine was to prevent the expansion of Communism in Europe[5].

As to this time, memoir literature, whether it presented socialism in a negative light or tried to balance between failures and achievements, affected relatively little public feeling and the reason for this, concluded Iskra Baeva and Petya Kabakchieva, is that reading had dropped in the transition years after 1990[6]. On one of its explanations about Russophilia, same Iskra Baeva noted[7] Bulgarian resistance movement (1941-1944) was a unique phenomenon taking into consideration the fact that Bulgaria belonged to the Axis, and in addition sought to achieve the national ideal of unification of all territories inhabited by Bulgarians. The defense of Bulgarians interests by the Russians, wrote Baeva, also played a certain role

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[3] Anne Applebaum, *Cortina de fier. Represiunea sovietică în Europa de Est, 1945-1956,* Bucureşti, Editura Litera, 2015, p.69.

[4] Polina Spartyanova, *If the Red Army had not occupied Bulgaria, the country would have shared the fate of Greece after World War II,* in "GR Reporter", 12.09.2014, in http://www.grreporter.info/en/if_red_army_had_not_occupied_bulgaria_country_would_have_shared_fate_greece_aft/11689 (15.09.2019).

[5] *Ibidem*; Florin Anghel, *Iron Courtain of Memories: Dealing with Soviet Liberation of Bulgaria in September 1944,* in "Historical Yearbook", XVII, 2020, pp. 21-36.

[6] Iskra Baeva, Petya Kabakchieva, "How is Communism Remembered in Bulgaria? Research, Literature, Projects", in Maria Todorova, Augusta Dimou, Stefan Troebst editors, *Remembering Communism. Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experience in Southeast Europe*, Budapest, New York, Central European University Press, 2014, p. 74; Iskra Baeva, *Bulgarian Specifics Of The Social Crisis That Put An End To The Communist Regime And The Challenges That Bulgaria Faced On Its Path To Democracy And Market Economy,* in "Historical Yearbook", XVII, 2020, pp. 5-20.

[7] Iskra Baeva, *The day before the crash- Bulgarian-Soviet relations in the nineteen eighties,* in "Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej", vol. 47, 2012.

during the Paris Peace Conference of 1946. Bulgaria avoided a repeat of the punitive peace terms of the Treaty of Neuilly of 1919, and a third national disaster, indeed, far from suffering further territorial losses, it also retained Southern Dobruja.

Romania's inclusion in the Bulgarian area of specific ideological interests the last months before the official instauration of the totalitarian regime in Bucharest, in December 1947, represents a consequence of the strong Bulgarian influences on the evolution and structure of the Communist Party in Romania in its period of illegality, during the decades between the Two World Wars and during the Second World War[8]. In fact, it represents a continuation of the policies managed by the Bulgarian Communist leaders in setting the priorities and actions for this marginal and insignificant political party.

1. Premises on Bulgarian Communism as model for Romanian neighbouring?

On September 9, 1944, with the support of the Red Army and taking advantage of full institutional paralysis, the Bulgarian Communist Party seized control of the main state institutions and the practical levers of power[9].

Marietta Stankova wrote it seems plausible that only at the end of August 1944 did Stalin make plans for military advance in Bulgaria. It was evident that Bulgaria was not going to offer resistance to the Red Army so that Soviet occupation and the ensuing political influence over the country would be achieved without any material or human losses. But this does not confirm that Stalin had always planned the occupation of Bulgaria. On the contrary, just like the Western Allies, he had been led by military factors above all. As the military situation in the Balkans became clearer, Stalin could concentrate on political developments[10].

The arrival of the Red Army in September 1944 brought the Fatherland Front to power, and in short order the Communists had effective control of the country. By October 29, 1944, the Bulgarian Communist Party could to report to Georgi Dimitrov that "authority is in fact for the most part in our hands, and our people predominate on

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[8] Florin Anghel, *The Correct Price of Bulgarian Communism: Romania as an External Propaganda Instrument (1947),* in „Historical Yearbook"**,** XIV, 2017, pp. 57-73. Some ideas from the article are included on this chapter, also with Idem, *Iron Curtain of Memories: Dealing with Soviet Liberation of Bulgaria in September 1944,* in „Historical Yearbook", vol. XVII, 2020, pp. 21-35.

[9] Ivaylo Znepolski, Mihail Gruev, Momtchil Metodiev, Martin Ivanov, Daniel Vatchkov, Ivan Elenkov, Plamen Doynov, *Bulgaria under Communism,* London, Routledge, 2019, in introduction named "How should we write the history of communist Bulgaria?".

[10] Marietta Stankova, *Bulgaria in British Foreign Policy, 1943-1949,* London, New York, Anthem Press, 2014, p. 64.

the committees and administrations"[11]. Mikhail Gruev assured Red Army occupation officially lasted three years, from September 1944 to December 1947 and insisted that right in this period the maintaining of the Soviets cost Bulgaria about 133 billion leva, as it was the responsibility of the Bulgarian state under the peace agreement[12]. But, insisted Gruev, if the Red Army had not entered it, Bulgaria's situation would have been very similar to that of Greece. Probably it would have been subjected to a stronger British influence in the post war years, when the focus of the Truman Doctrine was to prevent the expansion of Communism in Europe[13].

Of course, the symbol of September 9, 1944 in Bulgaria, as for August 23, 1944 in Romania of take-off power, when King Mihai arrested pro-Axis Prime Minister Marshal Ion Antonescu and its Foreign Affairs Minister Mihai Antonescu, represented in the former 40 years of Communism an ideological solution to recreate also a myth of USSR "eliberation" from the Fascism or, from the 1960's, a historical novel about "national forces" who reinventing "national Communism" on "national conditions" with small or without Soviet implications[14].

In October 1944, with the gradual subsidence or arbitrary violence, the Bulgarian government decreed the setting up of a People's Court. This was the first instance in Europe of putting on trial war-time criminals and those who had collaborated with the Germans. In early February 1945, the principal trial concluded with the execution of some 100 former high-ranking Bulgarian statesmen and civil servants, while many more were imprisoned. Subsidiary People's Courts lasted until April 1945, trying over 11,000 people, of whom 2,618 were sentenced to death and 1,046 executed. Considering Bulgaria's small population (6 milions inhabitants) and its relatively insignificant role in the hostilities, this accounted for the most severe post-war retribution in any ex-Axis country[15].

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[11] Eduard Mark, *Revolution by Degrees. Stalin's National-Front Strategy for Europe, 1941-1947,* in "Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Working Paper no.31", Washington D.C., February 2001, in https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ACFB11.pdf (11.10.2019).
[12] Polina Spartyanova, "*If the Red Army had not occupied Bulgaria, the country would have shared the fate of Greece after World War II,* in "GR Reporter", 12.09.2014, in http://www.grreporter.info/en/if_red_army_had_not_occupied_bulgaria_country_would_have_shared_fate_greece_aft/11689 (15.09.2019).
[13] *Ibidem.*
[14] Florin Anghel, *Une évolution de la mystification des évènements du 23 Août 1944 dans le discourse officiel communiste, 1945-1989,* in „Revue Roumaine d'Histoire", 3-4, 1994, pp. 331-343 ; Yannis Sygkelos, *The National Discourse of the Bulgarian Communist Party on National Anniversaries and Commemorations (1944-1948),* in „The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity", vol.37, nr.4, 2009, pp. 425, 442.
[15] Marietta Stankova, *Georgi Dimitrov,* p. 185.

Traicho Kostov himself, from his position inside leadership of Bulgarian Communist Party, asked newly pro-Soviet Romanian Government of Petru Groza, installed on March 6, 1945, to had a firmly three points on a to do list, specially wrote in Sofia for powerless Communist on Bucharest. Kostov insisted, in a large interview for „Scânteia", on April 7, 1945, that Bulgarian Communist Party and himself warmly „recommended" the fight against „fascism". The four points of these to do list, insisted Kostov, included high priority People's Courts and enough punishment but relentlessly for all Romania's "gravediggers", Hitler's "Romanian agents", best organizers of the Fascism, culpables for "military and national catastrophe"[16]. Kostov added also the three "recommendations" for Romanian Government: liquidation of all "Fascist" organizations (including Democratic and legal parties as National Peasant and Liberal), a special law "against Fascism" and "Fascist" attempts to "raising head" and "restoring" failed "organizations" of the former regimes and, last but not least, Kostov insisted for "labor camps" establishment, especially for "straightening" and "re-education" of the "Fascist elements"[17]. The to do list of Bulgarian Communist for Romanian authorities was firmly focused on "people's education", especially on youth generations but attempted to the top "destroying chauvinism of Great Romania"[18].

So on King Mihai I was on first pages in Autumn-Winter 1944 (together with Queen Mother Elena) on Romanian Communist Party official „Scânteia", also the three Bulgarian Regents mailed „warmy" message each other to the Romanians, directed to abolish Democratic regime (and Constitutional Monarchy) in favour to a „new" one, more „democratic" and similar to that from Bulgaria after September 1944. Regent Todor Pavlov wrote that „a centennial friendship it exist between the two peoples", with a „common destiny" and common „fights" for liberty, democracy and progres[19]. New Romania and new Bulgaria- added Regent Pavlov for his Bucharest owners- will should be living in „perfect friendship and neighboring", together with „great liberating Red Army of the USSR"[20]. Regent Venelin Ganev insisted on his Danube and Romanian childhood's neighborings and noted for Communist Romania's main media he was just in Bucharest for first

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[16] Ion Stâncă, *„Vor fi necesare încă multe eforturi şi lupte, până la victoria finală asupra fascismului şi a ajutoarelor sale". Declarațiile făcute de secretarul Comitetului Central al Partidului Muncitoresc (comunist) bulgar, Traicio Kostov, trimisului nostru special la Sofia,* in „Scânteia", an II, nr. 191, 7. 04. 1945, p. 2.

[17] *Ibidem.*

[18] *Ibidem.*

[19] *Călduroase mesagii adresate de Regenții Bulgariei poporului român. Urările adresate prin reprezentanții presei române la Sofia*, in „Scânteia", an II, nr. 192, 8.04.1945, p. 1.

[20] *Ibidem.*

time at the opera and symphonic concerts. Ganev no mentioned USSR, Red Army or "liberating" actions, nor Communists or people's wills for democracy and new life. He mentioned just "oldest friendship relations" between Romanians and Bulgarians which must be renewed[21]. The third Regent, Tzvetko Bobochevski, wished for Romanians "to fast heal" all "deep wounds" of the imposed "long and cruel" war against USSR and to recover „new economic structures" following „great agrarian reform". Danube- assured Regent Bobochevski- will be a bridge between the two peoples, which will be develop and deepen economic and cultural relations between Romania and Bulgaria[22].

Yet after the end of the Second World War and after the signature of the Peace Treaty, Romania was in the most difficult international situation from its constitution as a modern state: a defeated country, occupied by the Red Army, with no institutional power, more isolated than ever, with no hope to be admitted in the U.N.O. At its turn, Bulgaria was not far from the position of its neighbor in the North of Danube, with two significant details: it had tasted before, after the First World War, the flavor of defeat, the international isolation and the devastations of dictatorship and, at the same time, it benefited from much more openness and understanding from the part of its occupant and decision-maker, namely U.R.S.S.

2. What kind of Bulgarian control on Romania in 1946-1947?

Being a so-called People's Republic even since September 1946, following a falsified popular referendum, Bulgaria has undertaken during the next months to coordinate plans of internal and external politics of Romania. In order to finalize a "Bulgarian way" in Romania, the government led by Petru Groza and the media of propaganda, and mainly the press official of the Romanian Communist Party, "Scânteia", have scrupulously assumed the role of protagonists. And the Communist Bulgaria, just like U.S.S.R., has become for more than two years (1946- February 1948) an extremely important and valuable topic of the Romanian public speech, of the Romanian Communists' confirmation, of establishing the project for instituting the totalitarian regime. The similarity of actions and of institutes' organization is striking for this short period, and the treaty signed in January 1948 is nothing but the final of a stage extremely abundant in models and suggestions for the Romanian communists.

Two facts can be evidenced as arguments in the evaluation of Romanian-Bulgarian similarities in the period immediately after the occupation of both countries by U.S.S.R. and after the empowerment

[21] *Ibidem.*
[22] *Ibidem.*

of governments less representative yet more open to the collaboration with the Kremlin.

Thus, first of all, these governments set as having a "large democratic focus" are first hand characters of the interwar political scene and, similarly, have exactly the same executive tasks. Kimon Georgiev, the leader of "Zveno" organization had led a government in the years of Tsar Boris III and, it is true, had not hidden his ideas which were feebly related both to the course of a liberal democracy and to the constitutional monarchy. After an eloquent route as a prime minister, in the period between the coup d'état inspired by the Communists and soviets in September 9th, 1944 and the abolishment, by referendum, of the monarchy and complete institution of the totalitarian regime (November 22nd 1946), Kimon Georgiev then accepts to become Vice-President of the Council of Ministers (by now led by Georgi Dimitrov) and Minister of Foreign Affairs of one of the most isolated European states. Exactly as in Romania, where Gheorghe Tătărescu, the favorite Prime Minister of King Carol II (which has led the government in two stages: January 4th 1934 – December 28th 1937, and November 24th 1939 – July 4th 1940) and leader of one of the most important political parties has accepted, within the government installed on March 6th 1945, to be invested vice-president of the Council of Ministers and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (representing both positions until November 1947).

Secondly, the exotic circumstances, if not plainly ridiculous, in which the press of the Romanian Communist Party "Scânteia" found itself, after August 23rd 1944: with no popular recognition and lacking all aptitude in attracting human or organizational resources to the new phase of state evolution, it has embraced the tactics of an extremely positive evaluation as political message, tactics of King Mihai I and Queen Mother Elena, up to the end of year 1947. The top office press of Romanian Communists includes, extremely frequently, on the first page, the photographical collages which represent King Mihai I and I. V. Stalin, and sometimes Queen Mother Elena.[23] Also, the telegrams of all Romanian Communist organizations are published *in extenso* after an extremely rigorous pattern: first to the King, then to Stalin and, sometimes, to the Queen Mother Elena. The Bulgarian Regent Todor Pavlov, notorious Communist, self-exiled in U.S.S.R. during 1937- 1941, also benefits, in the same Romanian press body, from a favorable presentation, only a few weeks before the abolishment of the monarchy and expulsion of Tsar Simeon II. "*A*

[23] See, for example, "Scânteia", year XVI, no. 521, May 11th 1946, issue dedicated to The National Day, May 10th. On the first page are next to one another the enlarged photos of King Mihai and I.V. Stalin, accompanied in bold, by slogans: "Long Live the King of the Democrat and Independent Romania!" "Long Live the Groza Government – the Government of National Independence!"

person issued from the people which has suffered for the people", as the author of the footage presents the Bulgarian Communist Regent. The latter would have shown at least other two qualities: the fact that he had "*a superior figure that he speaks about very often and which he profoundly respects: the people*" and the second, maybe even more important politically, that "*Regent Todor Pavlov speaks with much love about the great fighter against fascism, Georgi Dimitrov, the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party*"[24]. A great difference in perception: the political regime from Greece of King George II is permanently contested on the ground that he would be a reactionary and nondemocratic while the fate of other three Regents, those in Albania, is commented in a completely different tone, as "Scânteia" was congratulating The People's Tribunal in Tirana for the death sentence of Anton Harapi and Lef Nosi.[25]

The beginnings of the strong Bulgarian ideological control of Communism instauration in Romania could be most probably set by the visit to Sofia of a Romanian governmental delegation, starting with July 12th, 1947, led by Petru Groza, the president of the Council of Ministers which also included Gheorghe Tătărescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, the leader of the Communist Party and Minister of Industry and Commerce, Ştefan Voitec, Minister of National Education and Emil Bodnăraş, Minister Under-Secretary of State at the Presidency of the Council of Ministers[26]. Naturally, a team which reunited Communists, Liberals, Social-Democrats and agents of Moscow yet the appearances did not mislead anybody anymore, at least not after the political and institutional experiences of Romania in the previous two years. In order to strengthen the quality of the team previously sent to Bulgaria, in the beginning of the month, Gheorghiu-Dej had asked and obtained a unanimous vote to become member in the Committee of the Romanian-Bulgarian Association leaded by Petre Constantinescu-Iaşi, Vice-President of the Parliament and leader of the National Popular Party[27].

In Sofia, the Romanian delegation was welcomed warmly by the Bulgarian side, through Kimon Georgiev, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs[28] yet extremely

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[24] Minea Stan, *În vizită la Regentul Todor Pavlov,* in "Scânteia", XVI, no. 547, June 13th 1946, p. 1.
[25] *Foştii Regenţi şi fostul prim ministru al Albaniei au fost executaţi ,* in "Scânteia", XVI, no. 456, February 20th 1946, p. 4.
[26] "Scânteia", XVI, no. 870, July 14th 1947.
[27] *Ibidem,* no. 865, July 9, 1947.
[28] Kimon Georgiev had been at the head of the Bulgarian government two times: during May 19th 1934 – January 22nd 1935 and September 9th 1944 - November 22nd 1946. The second time he passed the leadership over to Georgi Dimitrov.

modestly from point of view of the international representation: Romania's Minister, Achille Barcianu, had just been joined by the ministers of U.S.S.R., Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, certified in the Bulgarian capital[29]. The image of the almost deserted platform of the railway Central Station in Sofia is, in fact, the representation of Romania's insignificant role in the international community after signing the Treaty of Peace in February 1947 and also a representation of Bulgaria's isolation in its external relations. The sensation of discomfort was not overcome not even during the reception organized by Kimon Georgiev, in the evening of July 13th, 1947, in the halls of the "Union Club": the transition model from a democracy ravaged by the soviet occupancy to a totalitarian regime is invisible, symbolic, and represented only by the task given to Gheorghe Tătărescu himself, to have the reception speech at this official dinner party. After Georgi Dimitrov, Petru Groza and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej have invoked the future, the liberal Minister of Foreign Affairs has spoken flatly and in vague commitments. "*Nothing separates us anymore* - said Gh. Tătărescu. *We have no contrary interest and I see only one policy: of collaboration and understanding. To fight for the new ideals of mankind, for peace and democracy*"[30].

What they have been talking about can be understood from an interview Petru Groza has given to the informal journal of the Fatherland Front, "*Otecestven Front*", published on July 13th 1947. A careful reading makes a pretty transparent reference to a Romanian accept concerning the Bulgarian project of communist federalization of the Balkans. "*We have to break down, through perseverant work, these Chinese walls,* – was urging the head of the government in Bucharest – *to know better the neighboring peoples, setting an intense system of cultural connections and goods exchange; and by this knowledge, by this intensification of economic and cultural collaboration we would reach a political closeness, up to the identification of our interests*"[31]. "*You know well* - declared Petru Groza, to the delight of the Bulgarian audience – *there was a Little Entente built against somebody and which collapsed like a cardboard citadel at first assault. By this action of ours* (namely by getting closer to communist Bulgaria - A/N) *we do not intend to create such a Little Entente nor any other group, yet we aim at a closeness between us, in order to achieve the peace of peoples round here".*[32]

What Petru Groza did not directly mention in "*Otecestven Front*", will be included on the second day of the visit by Giorgi

[29] "Scânteia", XVI, no. 871, July 16th 1947.
[30] *Ibidem,* no. 871, July 16th 1947.
[31] *Ibidem.*
[32] *Ibidem.*

Dimitrov, at the official meeting with Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. The speech of the communist leader in Sofia sets, starting with this point, a reality which will follow Romania's evolution in the next period: Bulgaria organizes a part of the project of communization and ideologization of exterior politics of the city of Bucharest and the neighbor from North of Danube becomes, in lack of resources to build something of its own, a pretty docile instrument. "*As a Danubian state,* - declares Dimitrov on July 13th 1947 – *we will act together with Romania, Yugoslavia and the other Danubian states, in such manner as to no longer allow foreign non-Danubian forces to dominate the area of the Danube and Danubian Basin*"[33]. The Bulgarian formula of regional organization even more clearly is revealed by the message subsequently expressed by Georgi Dimitrov: more explicitly, for the international community yet also for his inhibited Romanian partners, the leader in Sofia defeats the "*rumors*" about the creation of a "*Slav block*" into the Balkans. The reasoning Dimitrov uses concerns the very characteristic of propaganda instrument that Romania was invested with by Bulgaria. "*Your visit to us* – motivates the leader of the Communists in Sofia – *is proof that it is not about a Slav block against some western states, yet merely about setting a collaboration between democrat Slav and non-Slav states, to their own interest and to the benefit of a durable peace between peoples*"[34].

Groza and Dimitrov, together, accepted that "territorial concerns", meaning Craiova Treaty of 1940 referring South Dobruja transfer to Bulgaria, are and will be "definitively regulated", as Political Bureau of Romanian Communist Party officially adopted in August 9, 1946[35].

The idea of the Federation was confirmed at that very moment by Georgi Dimitrov to Petre Constantinescu - Iaşi, the Minister of Information, during an official visit to Bulgaria, more precisely at a joint mitting in Vratsa, on June 13th 1945, for the commemoration of Hristo Botev, where he said as clearly as possible: "*the close friendship of Bulgaria with Tito's Yugoslavia is the foundation stone of the collaboration and friendship between al Balkan countries*".[36] It's not a different point of view from the known Prime Minister Kimon Georgiev's discourse from March 11, 1945 in which he noticed "eternal alliance" with USSR, "eternal union and friendship" with the

[33] *Ibidem,* no. 872, July 17th 1947.
[34] *Ibidem.*
[35] Magdalena Tiță, *Relații româno-bulgare în primele două decenii postbelice,* in „Analele Dobrogei", Constanța, IX, 2006-2008, pp. 256- 258.
[36] *Dunărea este apa care uneşte cele două popoare, român şi bulgar,* in "Scânteia", XVI, no. 548, June 15th 1945, p. 3.

"new Democratic Jugoslavia" but just "good relations with Romania, based on the Trade Agreement signed on January 9, 1945"[37].

Consequently, it was as clear as possible that Georgi Dimitrov affords to lie to the Romanian delegation. It was, after all, an ideological commitment of the new Popular Republic of Bulgarian to get involved in monitoring and transforming Romania into the exemplary satellite of Kremlin and a mediocre actor in regional policies, to the detriment of the Bulgarian neighbor.

3. Upgrading ideological ingredients of Bulgarian Communist influences in Romania in the second middle of 1947

The main lines drawn for the next period were setting the development of the economic and commercial connections, of the cultural ones, the energy delivery from the part of Romania until the project – only politically assumed up to then – of building a bridge across the Danube[38]. As soon as any forms of independent institutional forms of Romania were dynamited and eliminated, and as soon as the destruction of constitutional monarchy and of the political opposition became a matter of days, the informal journal of the Romanian Communist Party through its daily speech prepared the general subordination of the country ideologically to the U.S.S.R. interests and, regionally, openly, to Bulgaria.

The fact that the Bulgarian Communists have copied the Soviet model and that they were involved in protecting the frail process of communization in Romania can be seen from the vast propagandistic action of the government in Sofia, set from the very first months of year 1946, immediately after the exile of Tsar Simeon II. It is about the gesture of donating the Romanian state 1,000 wagons of cereals (mainly wheat), to diminish the effects of drought and hunger in Moldova.

More precisely, this decision, a political one in itself, to send cereals from a country who also suffered from hunger, namely Bulgaria, to one who was experiencing the most severe food crisis of the century, namely Romania, was intensely mediatized by the responsible persons in Sofia and by the communist bodies in Bucharest. Naturally, the propaganda does not exclude at all the emotional ability of many Bulgarian inhabitants to work effectively, under circumstances close to slavery imposed by the authorities, in order to help, as much as possible, the neighbors in the immediate vicinity, the Romanians they were resembling a lot. The humanitarian expedition took place while Bulgaria had started, at the end of 1946,

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[37] *Salvarea poporului bulgar a fost realizată din inițiativa partidului comunist. Situația internă și externă a Bulgariei expusă de d. prim-ministru Kimon Gheorghieff,* în „Scânteia", an II, nr. 66, 13 martie 1945, p. 4.

[38] "Scânteia", XVI, no. 873, July 18th 1947.

a vast campaign of crop confiscation (crop that was poor anyway) and reductions were announced for the bread rations.[39]

What was interesting is that the entire Bulgarian donation of wheat came from the fertile plains of South Dobruja, the Romanian Cadrilater conceded to Bulgaria in September 1940, and the 1,000 wagons were sent on the railway which connected Medgidia to Negru Vodă and Bazargic (now Dobrich). Uploading of the crop took place in stations of Kardam and General Toshevo, found right near the frontier.[40]

In turn, the Bulgarian Minister in Bucharest, Sava Ganovski, was announcing, at his last press conference in this capacity (before undertaking the mission in Belgrade), on February 13th 1947, that 1,000 Romanian children from Moldova were about to arrive in his country to dwell in "collective homes" where they would be granted "*good care, medical assistance, education in their native language*". Coincidently or not, the children in Moldova were to be accommodated, in general, in cities that up to September 1940 belonged to Romania (Silistra, Bazargic, Turtucaia/Tutrakan) or which were right near the frontier, with unbreakable connections with the space from the North of Danube (Ruse, Vidin, Veliko Turnovo, Pleven).[41] The Bulgarian gestures were politically welcomed: The Assembly of the Deputies in Bucharest, chosen in November 1946, has publically thanked, by its president, Mihail Sadoveanu, in February 1947, both to the government leaded by Georgi Dimitrov, and to *Sobranie* for the "*helping actions organized by the Bulgarian people in our regions which were struck by drought*".[42]

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[39] *Reducerea raţiilor de pâine în Bulgaria,* in "Scânteia", XVI, no. 725, January 16th 1946.

[40] *Inima poporului bulgar bate în acelaşi ritm cu inima poporului nostrum,* in „Scânteia", XVI, no. 694, December 4th 1946, p.2.

[41] *Noi nu dăm din ceea ce ne prisoseşte ci din puţinul ce avem. Problemele de azi ale Bulgariei şi prietenia româno- bulgară,* in "Scânteia", XVI, no. 750, February 15th 1947, p.1. Sava Ganovski (March 1st 1897 – April 24th 1993) was minister of Bulgaria in Bucharest during 1945-1947. Correspondent member of the Romanian Academy (January 18th 1957) and member of the Academies of Science in Bulgaria, U.S.S.R. and Democrat Republic of Germany. From 1951, after concluding the diplomatic mission in Belgrade, he was a teacher at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University in Sofia. On April 28th 1971, in his position of president of the Bureau of the Popular Assembly of People's Republic of Bulgaria, he was decorated by Nicolae Ceauşescu with the "Tudor Vladimirescu" Order, class I. He has repeatedly visited Romania, officially, either as president of some delegations of the State Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (June 10th - 23rd 1956) and of the Science Academy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (May 1971), or as a member of the official delegations of Todor Zhivkov.

[42] *Adunarea Deputaţilor mulţumeşte Guvernului şi Parlamentului bulgar pentru acţiunea de ajutorare a Moldovei ,* in "Scânteia", XVI, no. 755, February 21st 1947, p. 1.

The release jointly signed by the two government heads on July 16th was precisely depicting the line of the bilateral relations for the next period and the contents of the text reveals as clearly as possible both the Bulgarian autocrat and, especially, the interest of the communist regime in Sofia to give an explicit touch of superiority to the relation with the neighbor from the north of Danube. As categorically as possible, seven years from signing the Treaty in Craiova and from South Dobruja's concession to Bulgaria, the official document states that "*all territorial issues between Romania and Bulgaria are definitively settled*"[43]. This fact had been officially and publicly reiterated a few times before, amongst other by the very Prime-Minister Kimon Georgiev, in the Autumn of 1945, in a long interview given to "*New York Times*" journal: "*The agreement signed at Craiova* - explained Georgiev - *has reset the old Romanian-Bulgarian frontier from 1878. As to Dobruja, between the two neighbor countries there is no frontier litigation*"[44].

It is good to notice that at the beginning of 1948 Romanian Communist authorities launched an original debate about the new university course referring to the history of recent born People's Republic of Romania. Propaganda and *agitprop* Section of Workers' Party (after absortion of Social-Democrats into Communist Party, in February 1948) insisted about rewriting a lot of historical events from XIX and XX centuries, including Romanian-Bulgarian relations, especially about Georgi Dimitrov visit in Bucharest in January 1948. *Proletkult* Propagandists of new Workers' Party insisted in an ideological key, so they strong criticized "old" interpretations and actions of Bucharest, especially from 1913-1940. In the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) noticed recommendations of the propagandists to the new universitary course Romania brought a war of occupying against Bulgaria, in Cadrilater also (South Dobruja). Workers' Party qualified just "conquest" Romania's annexation of Cadrilater in 1913 and participation at the First World War (1916-1918)[45].

Conclusions

The ideological differences between the already Communist Bulgaria, in 1947, and Romania, with a profoundly amputated democratic regime, start to diminish as the three main objectives, decided by Stalin, become more and more clear: the ideological Balkan unification, according to the model of the designed federation between

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[43] *Comunicatul comun al guvernelor român şi bulgar asupra rezultatului întrevederilor de la Sofia*, in "Scânteia", XVI, no. 873, July 18th 1947.

[44] *Declarațiile primului ministru al Bulgariei făcute ziarului "New York Times",* in „Scânteia", XVI, no. 392, November 30th 1945, p. 4.

[45] M. Nițescu, *Sub zodia proletcultismului. O carte cu domiciliu forțat (1979-1995). Dialectica puterii. Eseu politologic* , Bucureşti Editura Humanitas, 1995, p. 63.

Yugoslavia and Albania, should be also solved in case of Romania and Bulgaria.

This objective is, otherwise, the basis of the Romanian-Bulgarian bilateral treaty from January 1948 and especially of the Georgi Dimitrov's expectations concerning the future of Romania as a simple ideological annex of the regime in Sofia, and, thirdly, the communist Bulgaria offers expertise to its neighbor in the North of Danube in terms of the steps to follow in instituting the totalitarian regime in the second half of year 1947. It will be came so-called "Europe's Thirld World"[46] in the Balkans, as Robert D. Kaplan named, on a totally influence from USSR and, primary, from Stalin.

Having a particular and personal relation with Stalin, the Bulgarian communist leader Georgi Dimitrov faced, in Bucharest, a rarely seen admiration, and the major decisions of external politics of the government in Bucharest seemed perfectly in line with some commitments elaborated by the Kremlin and sent through Moscow. A formula we can extremely visibly distinguish in the period between the autumn of 1947 and the first two or three months of year 1948, culminating with the signature of the bilateral treaty. And, especially, a period which ended the way it has started: with the unexpected decision of the Kremlin to cancel the plans of Balkan federalization and of integrating Romania into Bulgaria.

[46] Robert D. Kaplan, *The Balkans: Europe's Third World,* "The Atlantic", July 1989, in https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1989/07/the-balkans-europes-third-world/518019 (17.11.2019).