

SORIN ȘIPOȘ  
IOAN-AUREL POP

## Historian Silviu Dragomir's Investigation File

---

*The manner in which Silviu Dragomir's file was put together clearly shows that the action taken was illegal and done under political command.*

---

### **Sorin Șipoș**

Associate professor at the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations, Oradea University.

### **Ioan-Aurel Pop**

Member of the Romanian Academy, director of the Center for Transylvanian Studies, professor at Babeș-Bolyai University.

**T**HE END of the Second World War did not bring the Romanians the peace they wanted so much. For Silviu Dragomir, the Romanian historian deeply involved in the political life of King Carol II's authoritarian regime, it meant the loss of his academic position and years of detention in the communist prisons. In Romania, under various pretexts, the intellectual and academic elite suffered perhaps the worst attacks in its history, coming from the communists. Thus, the *Official Journal* published on 4 October 1947 a decision signed by Minister Ștefan Voitec on 2 October 1947, according to which 80 university professors were removed from office starting with 1 September 1947, in order to make the arrangements for the pension rights. In Cluj, on this occasion, they forced into retirement, among others, the linguist Gheorghe Giuglea, the sociologist Constantin Sudețeanu, the ethnologist Romulus Vuia, the botanist Alexandru Borza and the historian Silviu Dragomir, who was 59 years old at that time.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1948 saw the institutionalization of the communist party-state in Romania. It was also the year in which traditional, highly respected institu-

tions such as the Romanian Academy were the victims of the destruction aimed at the system of values in Romania.<sup>2</sup> At the proposal of the so-called Provisional Committee of the Academy of the Romanian Popular Republic, the Presidential Decree no. 1454 for the appointment of active full members, honorary active full members and honorary members was issued on 13 August. According to the Presidential Decree, 27 active full members were appointed, of whom only D. Pompeiu, S. Stoilov, Gh. Spacu, G. Macovei, T. Săvulescu, E. C. Teodorescu, D. Danielopolu, C. I. Parhon, A. Rădulescu, I. Iordan and M. Sadoveanu were former members.<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, a great number of former members did not find themselves in the new structure of the Academy. Historian Silviu Dragomir was also removed from the list.<sup>4</sup>

The very moment when the political changes in Romanian society were coming to an end, Silviu Dragomir, Emil Hațieganu and Ion Agârbiceanu, as well as some employees of the Cluj Agrarian Bank, were in the final stages of a criminal trial. The three of them were accused “through indictment no. 2722 of 8 of March 1948 of the Cluj Prosecutor’s Office” of having granted a loan of 1.3 million lei from the bank’s funds in order to finance the Brick and Tile Factory of Cluj. The professor was arrested in Cluj on 1 July,<sup>5</sup> and then transferred to the penitentiary in Caransebeș in order to serve his term of 6 months correctional imprisonment for infringement of the Banking Law, in addition to which he was to pay a fine of 2,6 million lei.<sup>6</sup> Later, the fine was changed into one year in prison, and Silviu Dragomir eventually spent one year and six months in a correctional facility.<sup>7</sup> On 5 May 1950, Silviu Dragomir was transferred to the prison in Sighet, thus joining the politicians and intellectuals detained here. The transfer was done quickly and under maximum security. The arrest and imprisonment as well as the transfer of the political and intellectual leaders who were still at large was done in great secrecy. If the historian’s transfer had been done only for security reasons, he should have been released on 27 December 1950, when his sentence expired. His destiny, however, took another turn.

The file according to which the communist authorities decided to prolong Silviu Dragomir’s detention was prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Directorate VIII. We presented some brief considerations upon the content of this file in our work *Silviu Dragomir—istoric*.<sup>8</sup> Given the importance of the documents in question for Silviu Dragomir’s destiny, we decided to deepen our analysis and to publish the most relevant ones upon completion of the present research. His investigation file is listed under number 10162 and comprises 44 pages. At this stage of the research it is our duty to clarify certain major problems, such as the content, the aim, and the moment the file was prepared.

When analyzing the file we noticed that the documents belong to different categories and refer to different periods. Of the 44 pages, 13 contain articles

from the newspapers *Capitala*, *România*, *Universul*, *Timpul*, *Porunca Vremii*, *Cuvântul*, in which Silviu Dragomir is mentioned as minister of the minorities and secretary of the National Revival Front.<sup>9</sup> The titles alone leave no doubt as to the content of the articles and press releases. They have an electoral character, are made by the National Revival Front together with the representatives of certain national minorities such as the Hungarian, German and Bulgarian ones, and include both the name of Silviu Dragomir, in his capacity as minister of the minorities, and releases of the National Revival Front, as well as political and confessional polemical exchanges. For the communist authorities, the articles were evidence of Silviu Dragomir's involvement in the administration of Romania during the government lead by Octavian Goga and under the regime of Carol II. The political activity carried out by Silviu Dragomir is proved by documents comprised in the file. For example, Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, Ion Petrovici and Silviu Dragomir were members of the committee appointed to draft the regulations for the establishment of the National Revival Front. On 4 January 1939 the commission issued a press release, thus announcing that it had concluded its work and the content of the regulations would soon be published.<sup>10</sup> Silviu Dragomir was among the three secretaries general of the National Revival Front. At the same time, according to the press releases, Silviu Dragomir, in his capacity as minister of minorities, had talks with Hungarian,<sup>11</sup> German<sup>12</sup> and Bulgarian<sup>13</sup> representatives, which decided to join the National Revival Front.

These documents do not incriminate Silviu Dragomir, but rather prove his involvement in the National Revival Front and in the government policies devised during Carol II's reign. They show the historian fully engaged in the policy introduced by the king. Banning the political parties as well as the initiative to organize a single party under the control of the sovereign were anti-democratic measures which were criticized at that moment by the traditional parties. Carol II wanted a Romania that would glorify him. He did not succeed in convincing his citizens to do it by legal means. Silviu Dragomir became involved while he was secretary general of the National Revival Front and minister of the minorities, by organizing talks with the national minorities' leaders in order to meet their immediate demands and to determine them to join the single party. He did it in the unfavorable political context of the newly unified Romania. He was hoping that by satisfying certain political cultural and religious demands of the minorities, especially the Hungarian one, he would reduce internal discontent and the agitations in neighboring Hungary.

Silviu Dragomir's speech, "Romania's Policy for the Ethnic Minorities," delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, clearly showed his aim. The minister expressed his hope, shared by the king and the party he belonged to, that a solution to the problem of the minorities would bring peace and stability to Romania.<sup>14</sup>

But neither the policy inaugurated by Carol II nor the policy for the minorities brought about the stability claimed by Silviu Dragomir. His involvement and collaboration with the authoritarian regime established by Carol II represented a serious crime for the communist authorities. When asserting this, we rely upon the information from his personal file where, under the heading “Brief Presentation of Facts,” we find the following: “Minister of the minorities in 1938–1940, commissioner general for the minorities in 1938.”<sup>15</sup> Historian Silviu Dragomir’s crime was his position as a commissioner general having the rank of minister in Goga’s government of 30 December 1937<sup>16</sup> and his position as minister of the minorities during Carol II’s reign, between 1938 and 1940.

Silviu Dragomir was never tried for what he had done as a commissioner general for the minorities and minister of the minorities. He owes the introduction of this material into his file to the Internal Security Service (ISS). The article, declarations and press releases were written down by the ISS between 1937 and 1945. The *Securitate* identified them in the ISS archives and introduced them in Silviu Dragomir’s file, most probably between 1950 and 1955. The fact that Silviu Dragomir’s activity was monitored by the ISS could have also been regarded by the *Securitate* as a proof of guilt.

The file also contains eleven topical documents, namely, notes and reports of the Internal Security Service, most of them belonging to the period 1937–1945. We shall present a few considerations on the most important documents. For example, report number 26–054 of 20 November 1943 issued by the Regional Police Inspectorate IV Cluj—Police Security Service discusses the *Transylvanian Review* and considers it to be an anti-revisionist quarterly publication with a circulation of 1,500 copies.<sup>17</sup> The report indicates the address of the editorial office in Cluj: 40 Mico Street, the same building where Silviu Dragomir lived; it also gives the name of the editor of the review, university professor Silviu Dragomir, and the way in which financing was ensured from the funds of the ASTRA Association in Sibiu.<sup>18</sup> The material is addressed to the General Police Directorate—Press Bureau<sup>19</sup> following the request of the respective central institution expressed in note number 2329 of 1932. Beyond the attention of the state institutions for the articles and books referring to Transylvania, it is interesting to mention that in 1932 they had been seeking information about the *Transylvanian Review* even if the very first issue was to be released only in May 1934. How do we explain this? They might have decided to edit the review long before its publication and somebody had informed the Romanian state institutions about their intention.

The note of 17 July 1939 specified that following the request of the Foreign Ministry and with the agreement of the Minister of the Minorities Silviu Dragomir, “the Censorship Service” decided: “The General Police Directorate and the General Security should seize and forbid Mr. Smochina’s brochures *Les Roumains*

*de Russie Soviétique*, and *Die Rumänen in Sowietrussland*, which were offprints from the *Moldova Nouă* review and had been issued by the publishing house of the Bravo Institute for Graphic Arts in Iași.<sup>220</sup> Another note dated 23 June 1942, signed by a police informant called “the Politician,” presents the fact that Silviu Dragomir, after his first “conferences” with Mihai Antonescu, told his friends that there were hardly any chances that the Axis would meet our demands. During the same discussion, the historian declared: “I also believe that, in spite of the efforts made by the newly established technical (political and historical) commission, it will achieve no results because of certain political interests (a hint to certain Anglophiles), which made me refuse to chair any of the newly established commissions.”<sup>221</sup> According to the note number 5305 dated 8 December 1943, “Silviu Dragomir suggested that the bishops of the two national Churches should act together in order to awaken the national conscience and to embark upon a more active struggle in order to restore the natural borders of Transylvania. There had been an argument according to which as long as our army was under the command of another nation (Germany), who gave full satisfaction to the Hungarian minority, we cannot expect an act of historical justice from this nation.”<sup>222</sup> Finally, note number 6691 of 29 February 1944 is a glowing review of his work *Transylvania before and after the Vienna Arbitration*.<sup>23</sup>

In the file there are three excerpts which incriminate the former politician. According to the informative note in file 3233 ISS, volume 5, p. 69, “Silviu Dragomir was mentioned in an ISS table of 1941 as a member of a Masonic Lodge.”<sup>224</sup> Then, according to another source in file number 4820 ISS, vol. 16, p. 154, “Silviu Dragomir is presented in a note as having been received by the Yugoslav Ambassador Alexandru Avacumovici, with whom he had a meeting lasting an hour and a half.”<sup>225</sup> Another informative note in file 2324, vol. 2, p. 158, “Silviu Dragomir was mentioned in a table in 1947 together with persons who formed the leading committees of the Romanian-American Association in Transylvania and Banat and was presented as a well-known reactionary.”<sup>226</sup> All these three excerpts were collected in 1940 and 1947 but were introduced in Silviu Dragomir’s file after 23 March 1955, this date appearing on the right hand corner of the page containing the notes.

**F**OLLOWING OUR analysis of the second group of materials, the so-called informative notes, made by the ISS between 1932 and 1945, we came to the conclusion that they reveal the position of both the historian and the politician regarding the national problem. Silviu Dragomir established the *Transylvanian Review* seeking to counteract the effects of the policy of Romania’s frontier revision. At the same time, by means of his scientific, political and civic involvement he acted so that Romania may keep its political configuration obtained after 1918. The content of the notes reveals the politician’s desire for the return to Romania of Northeastern Transylvania, which had been occupied in such an unjust

manner. It is in this context that the historian's scientific and publishing activity in the interwar period should be understood. The articles published in the press, the studies featured in the *Transylvanian Review*, and works such as *Transylvania before and after the Vienna Arbitration* show Silviu Dragomir defending Romania's frontiers. As a minister of the minorities, Silviu Dragomir demanded the seizure and banning of the brochures *Les Roumains de Russie Soviétique* and *Die Rumänen in Sowietrussland*. These were Soviet propaganda instruments in Romania and they presented the Romanians in the Transnistrian Moldovan Soviet Republic as being satisfied with communism.

The conclusion formulated after studying these documents is that Silviu Dragomir was a politician who identified himself with the national idea, which was in fact a crime in Romania after 1947.

The materials belonging to the third group of documents accusing the former minister of the minorities have little real substance. Silviu Dragomir attended theology courses, was a good Orthodox all his life and a member of various leading bodies of the Orthodox Church. This attitude does not exclude the fact that he was a member of a Masonic Lodge. Two other pieces of information collected by the same ISS in 1937 may be added to the previous one.<sup>27</sup> However, Horia Nestorescu-Bălcești questions the identity between the name in the ISS file and the historian. In communist Romania the politicians and the intellectuals who attended such a society were punished by the authorities. Many of them had been accused of being Freemasons without any evidence.

Regarding his audience with the Yugoslav ambassador, we must specify that Silviu Dragomir had always had strong connections with the staff at the Yugoslav Embassy in Bucharest. He could speak the Serbian language, as he had completed his studies in Novi Sad, and had a great respect for the Serb people. At his proposal the Ambassador Jovan Dučić was elected as an honorary member of the Romanian Academy. In those times a visit to the Yugoslav Embassy could have been interpreted as an act of espionage in favor of the neighboring country and constituted a very serious accusation.

Finally, the last proof that he was leading a Romanian-American Association was again a serious accusation. In those years, membership in such organizations was seen as an act of espionage. Thus, we have here "proofs" which in any democratic state could not lead to years of imprisonment.

Silviu Dragomir's file also includes ten materials from the period of his detention. His data sheet, a standard document, includes inmate Silviu Dragomir's photo, civil status data, information such as his address, assets (whether they were expropriated or nationalized), political affiliation, convictions, positions held and known languages.<sup>28</sup> In the field specifying convictions we read:

“6 months in prison served in Cluj and Caransebeş for an offence against the Banking Law of 1947.”<sup>29</sup> Still, we have convincingly demonstrated that it had been a political verdict.<sup>30</sup> In the file we can find a note from 14 December 1953 which specified the prolongation of Silviu Dragomir’s detention. Thus the politician was detained in the Labor Colony (Sighet Penitentiary) according to the Internal Affairs Ministry Decision number 334 of 1 August 1951 for a period of 38 months. Later on his detention was extended with 60 months, according to Decision 559/953.<sup>31</sup> Thus, Silviu Dragomir sentence came to an end on 1 August 1958.

We must specify that Silviu Draomir was taken to Sighet on 5 May 1950 together with 83 other Romanian intellectuals and politicians, who were brought here on 6 and 7 May, and all were imprisoned without any written order from the authorities. It was only on 1 August 1951 that the Ministry of Internal Affairs Decision number 334 signed by the Deputy Minister, Lieutenant General Gheorghe Pintilie, makes reference to 89 former dignitaries who were sent to a labor colony for 24 months. The labor colony of the former dignitaries was in fact the Sighet Penitentiary, having the code name Danube.<sup>32</sup>

There are also some holographic documents in the file, such as Silviu Dragomir’s statement of 14 September 1950 where he said he owned only “10 shares at the Agrarian Bank in Cluj.”<sup>33</sup> The communist authorities wanted to know the detainee’s assets. Silviu Dragomir also wrote: “My father was a notary public in the village. I had only 10 shares at the Agrarian Bank in Cluj. I never had and I don’t have any currency in the country or abroad. I didn’t have and I don’t have any jewelry.”<sup>34</sup> From the economic-financial point of view, Silviu Dragomir did not belong to the category that became rich by “exploiting the working class,” as they used to say in those times. In another declaration, the detainee was compelled to write about his political activity, his assets and his brothers’ and sister-in laws’ address.<sup>35</sup>

The file contains a telephone note dated 9 June 1955 and a declaration signed by the historian, bearing the same date. The documents are important both for Silviu Dragomir’s destiny and for those prisoners who survived detention. Thus, according to the telephone note sent by the Penitentiaries, Camps and Colonies Directorate in Bucharest, there was a request to set free the detainee Silviu Dragomir.<sup>36</sup> The historian, together with other dignitaries, remained at Sighet till 9 June 1955 when some of them were set free, while others were moved to other prisons.<sup>37</sup> We notice that the historian’s release was quickly done and by surprise, just like his imprisonment. Before being released he had to sign the following declaration: “I will not discuss anything with anyone and I will not disclose anything of what I came to know during the period I was in this peni-

tentiary and in other ones, and especially about the persons I was imprisoned with.”<sup>38</sup>

There is an address in the file sent by Directorate VIII (Criminal Investigations) to the C Service (Documentation. Archives) on 20 September 1955. We are informed that a few days after Silviu Dragomir’s release, the Criminal Investigation Directorate requested Silviu Dragomir’s investigation file number 10162 through address number 814/0086903 of 3 August 1955: “As the work was completed, we return the abovementioned file.”<sup>39</sup>

The first clue concerning the opening of this file can be found on its cover, where we find a standard formula—“table comprising the arrested persons in investigation file number 10162”—where we can find Silviu Dragomir’s name. In the field “date of arrest” we read “1 July 1949.”<sup>40</sup> Inside the second cover of the file, in the field “criminal records,” we find the year 1948 and the explanation “6 months for sabotage.”<sup>41</sup> More important may be the information included in the fields “received on 1 July 1949” and “brief presentation of facts: minister of the minorities in 1938–1940, commissioner general for the minorities in 1938.”<sup>42</sup> The historian had been convicted for violation of the Banking Law to 6 months correctional imprisonment, as per criminal decision number 1584 of 5 November 1948. Silviu Dragomir’s appeal was rejected and subsequently the correctional fine, to the amount of 2.6 million lei, was changed into a year in prison. On 1 July 1949 he was arrested in Cluj and then transferred to the penitentiary in Caransebeș in order to execute the sentence. On the same day, 1 July 1949, the Ministry of Internal Affairs opened another investigation file.

An attentive analysis of the documents in the file can provide us with some clues as to the moment when the file was put together. In the historian’s personal data sheet, which can be found in the Individual File, the date of 5 May 1959 is mentioned as the date of his imprisonment in the Sighet Penitentiary.<sup>43</sup> There is also another information coming from a declaration in the file, given and signed by Silviu Dragomir: “I have one brother, Alexandru, who is 64 years old.”<sup>44</sup> Alexandru Dragomir was born in 1886, thus he was to be 64 in 1950, when Silviu Dragomir was already at Sighet. Another declaration contains the holographic annotation “on 1 September 1950,” but it had a different handwriting, probably that of the person who had asked him to write the statement. We have identified seven more documents which had been introduced in the file during the historian’s detention at Sighet. We can add to these documents the address sent by Directorate VIII to C Service on 20 September 1955 and added to the file after his release.

The other materials in the file refer to the historian and politician’s activity during the interwar period, during Carol II’s regime, and during the war,



up to 1947, the date of the last note. All these materials had been gathered by the Secret Intelligence Service which, beginning with November 1940, was called Internal Security Service and after 1948 changed its name into the People's Directorate General for Security.<sup>45</sup> All these changes were recorded on each information, note and press article. The question here is when these materials were introduced in the file. It is impossible to know and come to a firm conclusion concerning the inclusion date of the materials except for document number 31, which bears the date 23 March 1955 in the top right corner. They might have been introduced in the file between 1 July 1949, the date when he was arrested and when the investigation file was opened, and 5 May 1950, the date when Dragomir was transferred to the Sighet Penitentiary. Furthermore, we cannot ignore the assumption that certain materials had been added to the file between 5 May 1950 and 9 June 1955, when he was released from prison, especially when there is a document attesting to this fact. Also, a careful analysis of the content of the address of Directorate VIII (Criminal Investigation) of 20 September 1955 to the C Service (Documentation. Archives) may bring about certain clues. Less than two months after Silviu Dragomir's release, the Criminal Investigation Directorate in Sighet requested the investigation file number 10162 from the C Service. The statement "As the work was completed, we return the abovementioned file"<sup>46</sup> can strongly suggest that there were documents introduced in the file in order to justify the politician's detention. We have to highlight this assumption because, beginning with 1955, in Romania they questioned the legality of certain previous arrests.

It is most certain that they opened an investigation file on Silviu Dragomir just because he had been commissioner general and minister of the minorities. The opening of his file coincided with his arrest in Cluj towards his six months correctional detention. During the execution of his sentence, the investigators gathered evidence for the Transylvanian historian's file. After analyzing this investigation file we came to the conclusion that Dragomir's transfer from Caransebeş was well prepared by the communist authorities of the time. What they still had to do was to decide the place of detention and the moment when to arrest Romania's political and intellectual elite. One or two days after Dragomir's transfer, the Stalinist communist regime moved to other prisons in the country about 83 ministers, state secretaries, National Bank governors, former governors of Bessarabia and Bukovina, namely, those elements who were considered dangerous and were therefore meant to be isolated and then killed.<sup>47</sup> The arrest and transfer to Sighet of the former political dignitaries who had already been in other penitentiaries was done on the basis of an order sent to the regional directorates by Colonel Gavril Birtaş, the head of Directorate I—Internal

Information of the DGDP.<sup>48</sup> According to Decision number 343 of the Internal Affairs Ministry, among those arrested and imprisoned at Sighet there were prominent intellectuals and politicians such as: Constantin Argetoianu, Constantin Angelescu, Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Dumitru Caracostea, Gheorghe Cipăianu, Constantin C. Giurescu, Pantelimon Halippa, Ion Hudiță, Ioan Lupaș, Ștefan Meteș, Ion Nistor, Victor Papacostea, Teofil Sauciuc-Săveanu, Victor Slăvescu, Florian Ștefănescu-Goangă, Aurel Vlad, Nicolae Zigre, etc.<sup>49</sup>

**S**ILVIU DRAGOMIR's case, together with many other similar examples, clearly demonstrates that the state authorities intended to eliminate by all means the Romanian political and intellectual elite, by abusively sentencing it to long detention years. As a consequence, the Ministry of Internal Affairs opened a file that contained information regarding Silviu Dragomir's activity between the two World Wars, his activity as a minister of the minorities and as secretary of the National Revival Front, as well as his activity during the war. They are mere information notes, quite few in number, and articles published by the historian in the contemporary press. These were the only pieces of evidence brought about to prove the historian's guilt. They are inconclusive, but they added one more piece of information to the file that was meant to give the authorities a reason to prolong the politician's detention. Silviu Dragomir never went to trial in this case. The proofs were included in order to give the impression of legality regarding the historian's arrest and detention.

In conclusion, the manner in which Silviu Dragomir's file was put together clearly shows that the action taken was illegal and done under political command. □

## Notes

1. Maria Someșan and Mircea Iosifescu, "Modificarea structurii universității în anii consolidării sistemului comunist," in *Analele Sighet 6: Anul 1948—instituționalizarea comunismului*, ed. Romulus Rusan (Bucharest, 1998), 472; Toader București, *Clio încarcerată: Mărturii și opinii privind destinul istoriografiei românești în epoca totalitarismului comunist* (Brăila, 2000), 91; Alexandru Zub, "Clio în derută: Istoriografia română a anului 1947," in *Analele Sighet 5: Anul 1947—Căderea cortinei* (Bucharest, 1997), 267.
2. Petru Popescu-Gogan and Claudiu Voiculescu-Ilie, "Desființarea Academiei Române și înființarea Academiei R. P. Române," in *Analele Sighet 6*, 498.
3. *Ibid.*, 502.
4. Ioan Scurtu and Gheorghe Buzatu, *Istoria românilor în secolul XX (1918–1948)* (Bucharest, 1999), 556.

5. "Conceptul cererii adresată de Silviu Dragomir Președintelui Prezidiului Marii Adunări Naționale," Enescu family archive, 1; Sorin Șipoș, "Historian Silviu Dragomir in the Communist Prisons," *Transylvanian Review* 15, 1 (Spring 2006): 40.
6. On 29 December 1948, during an in camera meeting, "the court ordered that the phrase *collectively* be replaced by the words '2,600,000 lei correctional fine each'" (National Archives, Hunedoara County Division, coll. *Silviu Dragomir*, file 4, p. 23).
7. "Sentenced by the Cluj Court of Appeals on 6 November 1948 for the infringement of the State Banking Law to six months in prison and a fine converted into one year in prison, I was placed under arrest in Cluj in June 1949 and eventually released on 27 December 1950" ("Autobiografia autorului," in National Archives, Hunedoara County Division, coll. *Silviu Dragomir*, file 4, p. 44).
8. Sorin Șipoș, *Silviu Dragomir—istoric*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Oradea–Kishinev, 2008), 100–103.
9. Minister of Justice Archives, coll. *Serviciul C. Arhiva operativă*. "Dosar individual a [1] lui Dragomir Silviu," no. 10162, pp. 4–30. The most important pieces are: "Minoritatea germană," *România*, 12 January 1939, p. 4; "Încheierea acordului cu minoritatea bulgară," *Capitala* 12 February 1939, p. 5; "Minoritatea maghiară și Frontul Renașterii Naționale," p. 6; "Apel către prietenii publicației *Revue de Transylvanie*," p. 9; "În preajma alegerilor județene de la Hunedoara," *Porunca Vremii*, 23 August 1937, p. 15; "Politica României față de minoritățile etnice: Expunerea d-lui ministru Silviu Dragomir la Cameră," p. 18; "Între ortodocși și uniți: Un răspuns d-lui prof. Silviu Dragomir," p. 19; "Impozanta adunare a soc. Cultura," p. 22; "Acuzațiile d-lui Silviu Dragomir: N-a fost decât o manevră politicianistă," p. 23; "Încheierea acordului cu minoritatea bulgară," p. 25; "Consfătuirea membrilor Frontului Renașterii Naționale din ținutul Olt: Cuvântarea d-lui ministru Silviu Dragomir," p. 26; "Problema minorităților și noua constituție: Opera Comisariatului General și directivele pe care în îndeplinirea gândului regal le urmărește d. Silviu Dragomir, ministru pentru minorități," p. 27. "Indicațiuni asupra înscrierilor în listele electorale și depunerii candidaturilor," pp. 28–30.
10. *Ibid.*, 24.
11. *Ibid.*, 6.
12. *Ibid.*, 4.
13. *Ibid.*, 5.
14. "At the end of this emerging chapter in the history of mankind, filled with so much blood and dark omens, we shall better understand the tremendous service to the country rendered by the political wisdom and the brilliant mind of His Majesty King Carol II who, by way of this new constitutional framework, has given the country the possibility to consolidate internally and withstand the trials of this time, however threatening they may be in the uncertain future." *Ibid.*, 18.
15. Third cover of "Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu."
16. Stelian Neagoe, *Istoria guvernelor României de la începuturi–1899, până în zilele noastre–1995* (Bucharest, 1996), 122.
17. "Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu," 44.
18. *Ibid.*

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., 21.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., 33.
23. Ibid., 35.
24. Ibid., 31.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Horia Nestorescu-Bălcești, *Enciclopedia ilustrată a francmasoneriei din România*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 2005), 373.
28. “Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu,” 44.
29. Ibid.
30. Şipoş, 88–98.
31. “Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu,” 2.
32. Claudiu Secaşiu, “Contribuții privind distrugerea elitei politice românești,” in *Memoria închisorii Sighet*, ed. Romulus Rusan (Bucharest, 1999), 263.
33. “Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu,” 3.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 0003.
36. Ibid., 42.
37. Release note no. 193534 of 1956 indicates that Silviu Dragomir was released on 9 June 1955 (National Archives, Hunedoara County Division, coll. *Silviu Dragomir*, file 4). The date is also confirmed by the special train ticket, third class, series A, no. 0635301, issued to Silviu Dragomir (ibid.).
38. “Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu,” 43.
39. “Adresa a Direcției a VIII-a, din 20 septembrie 1955, către Serviciul C,” in ibid.
40. Front cover of “Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu.”
41. Third cover of “Dosar individual a lui Dragomir Silviu.”
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 1.
44. Ibid., 0003.
45. Mihai Şerban, *De la Serviciul Special de Informații la Securitatea Poporului, 1944–1948* (Bucharest, 2009).
46. “Adresa a Direcției a VIII-a.”
47. Andrea Dobeş and Ioan Ciupea, “Decapitarea elitelor: Metode, mijloace, mod de acțiune,” in *Memoria închisorii Sighet*, 177. See also Vasile Rămneanțu, “Le Procès de Coriolan Băran—un procès politique stalinien,” *Transylvanian Review* 17, 2 (Summer 2008): 55–56.
48. Secaşiu, 249.
49. Dobeş and Ciupea, 186–190.

**Abstract**

## Historian Silviu Dragomir's Investigation File

For Silviu Dragomir, the Romanian historian deeply involved in the political life of King Carol II's authoritarian regime, the end of the Second World War meant the loss of his academic position and years of detention in the communist prisons. As one of the former executives of the Cluj Agrarian Bank, he was accused of having granted a loan of 1.3 million lei from the bank's funds in order to finance the Brick and Tile Factory of Cluj. After his imprisonment, the authorities continued to seek evidence against him, simply because he had been a minister in Goga's government of 30 December 1937 and minister of the minorities during Carol II's reign, between 1938 and 1940. In point of fact, as the analyzed investigation file demonstrates, Silviu Dragomir was a politician who identified himself with the national idea, which was in fact a crime in Romania after 1947. Besides, the manner in which Silviu Dragomir's file was put together clearly shows that the action taken was illegal and done under political command.

**Keywords**

Silviu Dragomir, persecution of intellectuals, *Securitate*, investigation file