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The article presents the story of the returning from prison of former zek Radu Ciuceanu in September 1963. Having been released from Gherla penitentiary after 15 years in prison Radu Ciuceanu recounts the adventures of the road back home and the shock of re-entering social life.

Keywords: Radu Ciuceanu, political prisoner, Romania, communism.

STUDIES

GHEORGHE COJOCARU, *A Comintern Ideologic and Identity Diversion: the invention of „the Moldovan language”, 1924-1925.....11*

In 1924, on the left bank of the Dniester the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established as part of Soviet Ukraine. Soon after, the problem of national and linguistic identity of the new state was raised. In April 1925, the Executive Committee of the Comintern sanctioned the Ukrainian and Russian communists views regarding the existence of a Moldovan language different from Romanian and of a Moldovan people different from Romanians. Further on, territorial claims could have been raised to the Romanian state, with the intent of annexation of Bessarabia and even all of Moldova to the Soviet Union.

Keywords: Bessarabia, Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Comintern, Moldovan language.

FLORIN-RĂZVAN MIHAI, *Communists and Socialists in the General Elections of Interwar Romania (1926-1933). A Comparative Analysis, II.....20*

This study analyzes the electoral competition between the Romanian Left political movements – the social-democrats and the communists – during the interwar period. Using a large amount of statistical data,

collected for the general elections which took place from 1926 until 1933, the author presents the influence of these two parties in different provinces, their electoral strategies, the electoral dynamics of candidacies, the socio-professional profile of candidates.

Keywords: Romanian Political Left, social-democracy, communist movement, The Workers-Peasants Bloc, general elections, Parliament, politicians, candidacy, electoral dynamics.

DIEGO GASPAR CELAYA, JULIÁN CASANOVA RUIZ, *Exclusion and repression. Franco and the Spanish Dictatorship as Outcomes of the Civil War*.....30

This article explores the main outcomes of the Spanish Civil War, emphasizing the repression policies unleashed by the nationalist faction at the end of the war. The authors analyse the dynamic of repression, and how the international events, especially the Second World War, influenced it. The legal system established at the end of the Civil War, the architecture of the Spanish repressive system, the mechanism of the legal denunciations are in depth analysed. The article also refers to the victors and vanquished as social groups, how these groups emerged, how they behaved in the aftermath of the war, who benefited from Franco's victory and who lost the most from it.

Keywords: Spanish Civil War, Francisco Franco, Fascism, Francoism, repression, repressive legislation, Spanish republican exile, French internment camps.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *The Case of Vasile Luca, the Samoilov Espionage Network and the State of Romanian Communists in USSR, I: 1940-1944*.....49

A prominent leader of the Romanian Workers' Party, Vasile Luca was arrested on 14 August 1952 as being a part of the "right deviation". Starting 1953, the Securitate investigation aimed at exposing Luca and other Romanian Communists' alleged espionage activity on the Soviet soil during the Second World War.

A creation of the Romanian SSI, the espionage network was allegedly run by the Soviet Colonel Samuil I. Samoilov, a Jew born in Bessarabia and a former member of the Communist Party in Romania.

The declarations Vasile Luca gave while under investigation are valuable historical sources on the subversive activities of the Romanian Communists stationed in the Soviet Union during the Second World War, their relations to the NKVD, the Red Army and Comintern.

Keywords: Vasile Luca, Samuil I. Samoilov, Communist Party of Romania, espionage, Soviet Union, World War II, anti-Zionism.

NICOLAE FUȘTEI, *The situation of the Orthodox Church from the Moldavian SSR in 1940-1941*....67

In the present study, based on the archival documents, it is reflected the status of the Orthodox Church in Moldavian SSR during 1940-1941. After the occupation of Bessarabia by the USSR in June 1940, here it is organized a fierce anti-religious struggle by different ways: ideological, administrative, economic, insulting the religious feeling of believers, and the systematic terror. To achieve struggle with religion, the crucial decisions were taken by the top party organs including decision of the Bureau of Central Committee of the Communist Party of MSSR from March 7, 1941. As a result of the anti-religious policy the number of the ministering priests decreased from 1042 to 376, the number of the churches decreased from 943 to 340 only over a year.

Keywords: The Orthodox Church, antireligious terror, Soviet occupation, Moldavian SSR.

ALBINA F. NOSKOVA, *Political Power and the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, 1944-1956, I*.....74

This article is based on documents of Russian archives and considers the history of relationship between the Soviet type regime and the Roman Catholic Church in Poland during the 1940's and 1950's. The article explores particular actions of authorities that were aimed at excluding of the Church from political and educational spheres of life; temporary retreat of the Episcopate for the sake of maintenance the connections

between Church and believing people. Special attention is given to the influence of Church on evolution and development of sociopolitical crisis and the victory of reformers in 1956.

Keywords: Poland, Political Power, Communism, Roman Catholic Church, Stalinism, Crisis of 1956.

BRÎNDUȘA COSTACHE, *Post-War World II Monetary Reforms in Romania in the Context of Romanian-Soviet Relations, 1947-1952*.....86

This study aims to provide details of the two monetary reforms which took place in 1947 and 1952 as part of the changes in the Romanian economy in the aftermath of World War II, given the context of Romanian-Soviet relations.

The two monetary reforms are described as stages in the process of replacing the checks and balances that ensured monetary equilibrium in the capitalist economy with similar tools serving the purposes of the Soviet-type centrally-planned economy. We focus on the role played by the team of Soviet advisors led by I.D. Zlobin in the preparation of the two monetary reforms, as well as on the position adopted by the senior officials of the National Bank of Romania, the NBR Governor Mr Aurel Vijoli in particular, towards the enforcement of Soviet principles with regard to monetary circulation in Romania.

The conclusion of our study is that the period between 1947 and 1952 witnessed the demise of the existing financial elite, the enforcement of checks and balances specific to monetary circulation in the Soviet-type centrally-planned economy, and the removal of those National Bank of Romania and Ministry of Finance officials who, given their intellectual background or political ideals, could have proposed adjustments to the imposed Soviet model.

Keywords: Romania, monetary reform, centrally-planned economy, Stalinist model, Soviet advisers.

CÉCILE VAISSIÉ, *The Only Stalin Prize of Literature in the Western World: André Stil, an « engineer of the souls » in France*.....104

The French writer André Stil (1921-2004) is now almost forgotten, but he was the first and only Westerner to receive, in March 1952, a Stalin prize of literature. He was then the editor of the main communist newspaper in France, *L'Humanité*, and a candidate member in the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. This was the first time that a Stalin prize was awarded to some non-Soviet writers, and the last time that it was awarded under this appellation. A question arises: why was this prize, extremely prestigious in the communist world, attributed to André Stil, and not to Louis Aragon or Paul Eluard, communist writers of incontestable literary talent? Articles and speeches of that time give an unequivocal answer: because André Stil represented then, better than anyone else in France, the literature and the writer, as conceived by Soviet ideologues. Therefore, analyzing the reasons, the context and the consequences of this specific Stalin Prize means exploring the attempt to transfer and promote in France the model of writers, advocated by Andrei Zhdanov.

Keywords: André Stil, Stalin Prize, literature, zhdanovism, Ridgway.

RALUCA-NICOLETA SPIRIDON, LIVIU-MARIUS BEJENARU, *Repression and information control in the period August 30th 1948 – March 14th 1956, II*.....126

The information surveillance, the organization and reorganization of the information network, divided into certain informants, and especially the objective these one aimed at, made possible the major change of the political, economic, and social paradigms produced in Romania after 1948. During the period our study refers to, 1948-1956, surveillance methods and repression carried out by Securitate shadowed the political, economic, and social transformation enabled by the communist regime. The second part of our study scopes the evolution of the information network from the beginning of 50's until February 1956.

Keywords: information control, informative network, Securitate, qualified informants, operative work.

AURELIA VASILE, *The instigation to vigilance and to denunciation. Implementation of the central directives in the organization of the Soviet film festival in 1950, I*.....142

The enlargement of the Romanian communist party between 1945 and 1948 by recruiting members without political activity or communist conviction creates a climate of general suspicion regarding potential enemies infiltrating the party. Besides the campaign of “verification” of the members launched by the Control Commission, the soviet film festival organized in many Romanian cities from August to December 1950 aimed to encourage the vigilance of the faithful members and the denunciation of “bad elements”.

This article focused on the organization of the film festival, the purposes, the guidelines, the resources (technical and human) set up by the central authorities (director of the Committee for Cinema, director of Sovromfilm) and the way the local authorities (directors of cinema theaters, work unions, presidents of the local structures of the party, etc) respond to the directives which come from above.

Keywords: Soviet Films, Festival, Committee for Cinema, Sovromfilm, Romanian Communist Party.

TATIANA VOLOKITINA, *Destalinization „à la Bulgarian”. Tchervenkov-Zhivkov: the Struggle for Power, 1953-1956, II*.....157

Based on unedited Russian and Bulgarian documents, the article analyses the struggle for power in the Bulgarian Communist Party after Stalin’s death. The article is important for the information on the relations at the highest level of the BCP, as well as Moscow’s interference. Moreover, the Bulgarian pattern of the struggle for power in 1953-1956 is similar to the other Eastern European Communist parties.

Keywords: Bulgarian Communist Party, Destalinization, Tchervenkov, Zhivkov, Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

KARINA PAULINA MARCZUK, *The Origins of the Polish-German Reconciliation, 1965-1966*....171

The topic of the article concerns the origins of the process of establishing and then developing bilateral relations between Germany and Poland at the turn of 1965 and 1966. The main argument is that advancing reconciliation in bilateral Polish-German relations was possible owing to the considerable input of the Polish Catholic Church, including the memorable letter of the Polish bishops to their German counterparts (“We forgive and ask for forgiveness”). These two years are significant for the mutual relations of Poland and Germany. First, in 1965 the Polish Catholic bishops submitted to their German counterparts the letter that opened the path to an improvement in relations between the nations. Afterwards, “reconciliation” was introduced into the public discourse. Second, in 1966 the Polish Catholic Church celebrated the 1000th anniversary of the Christianisation of Poland, which became both a challenge and a chance for developing the dialogue with Germans. Therefore, the main research questions concern, first, the determinants of the tensions between Poland and both German states after World War II as well as the impact of the 1965 bishops’ letter on the development of bilateral relations.

Keywords: Catholic bishops’ letter of 1965, Ostdenkschrift, EKD, Germany, Poland, reconciliation.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, *Before and After R. Nixon’s Visit to Romania. Flashpoints of the Romanian “Specific Course” as seen through American and Soviet Eyes*.....181

The developments on the eve of the U.S. President R. Nixon’s 1969 visit to Romania and the event itself called attention of the Soviet and American side. Both of them had their own understanding of the situation and possible unfolding of the events either in the nearest or in distanced future. The author of the article, based on the archival and published documents, explores several aspects of this theme.

Keywords: Nicolae Ceausescu, Richard Nixon, CIA, Cold War, Czechoslovakia, Comecon, GRU, KGB, NATO, Romania, USA, USSR, WTO.

LUMINIȚA BANU, FLORIAN BANU, *The causes of the emigration of ethnic Germans from Romania reflected on the Security’s documents, III: 1977-1989*.....200

German emigration from Romania was a process conducted over a half of century. As a result, the causes of this process were many and they knew its own dynamics. From the desire to integrate into the "great German nation", specific of the early years of the Second World War, to the desire to accede to a higher standard of living, area motivations of individual experienced a lot of variations. In our opinion, based on the study of archival and oral testimonies, mostly applications for emigration were motivated by a desire to

family reunification, in first decade after the Second World War, and by the economic difficulties from Romania, for the 80's.

Keywords: Germans, emigration, Securitate, family reunification, communism, Romania, minorities.

CONSTANTIN HLIHOR, *The Geopolitical Shock: the Soviet-American Relations and the Fall of Communism*.....214

The unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, was such that many scholars cast their gazes backwards in an attempt to understand the roots of the collapse. Interpretations of how it ended thus remain crucial to an accurate understanding of global events and foreign policy. The reasons for the Cold War's conclusion, and the timing of its ending, are disputed to this day. In this paper we suggest as tool for Soviet-American relations assessment during the Cold War the geopolitical shocks theory to illuminate the key cataclysmic events of the 1980s and early 1990s from a range of perspectives. The effects of this shock are still being felt today. Indeed, given its unprecedented scope, speed and far reaching consequences, the impact of the collapse of the Soviet state system must be included in any discussion of shocks that have reshaped the international system. Accordingly, this study explores the trends that marked the Cold War period, the events that characterized the shock itself, and finally the social, economic, and military impact on Soviet empire. Through this process of examination, it will be evident that the collapse of Soviet Communism marked nothing less than the complete transformation of the geopolitical system.

Keywords: Cold War, geopolitical shock theory, international relations assessment, Cold War non classical weapons.

DOCUMENTS

CRISTINA DIAC, *Romanian Communists in the Comintern Archive: Vanda Nicolski and the Romanian emigration in U.S.S.R. during the Great Terror, 1936-1938, III*.....235

In order to better introduce the document I've chosen to publish, I largely explained the broader context which encompass the moment when it was written. Vanda Nicolski, a major leader of the Communist Party of Romania, a member of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau during the '30s, wrote a large report in August 1938, when she was in Moscow. Clearly, her confession, written during the Great Terror, wasn't an innocent piece of evidence scrutinizing the history of the C.P.o.R. *per se*, but it was meant to incriminate as many professional revolutionaries as possible. I tried to explain what stood behind of her statement. The contents exposed by Vanda Nicolski refers mostly to the complex and fluid relationships established into the inner circle of Party's leaders and details what steps the C.P.o.R. took in order to meet the Comintern's expectations during Popular Front era.

Keywords: Great Purges, Moscow Show Trials, Popular Front, Marcel Pauker, Boris Ștefanov.

ANA-MARIA CĂTĂNUȘ, *Nicolae Ceaușescu and Futures Studies in Romania, I: Johan Galtung in Bucharest, 1974*.....250

At end of the 1960's, while already a specific research field in the United States and Western Europe, future studies developed also in Romania. That happened under the direct benediction of Nicolae Ceaușescu who saw in forecasting a useful tool to step up the way towards the socialist multilaterally developed society. Following that goal, interdisciplinary groups of researchers were set up to develop methodologies and in 1971 the Forecasting Central Commission led by Ceaușescu himself was established to prepare long-term forecasts. In 1972, Bucharest became the first Eastern European country to host the Third World Futures Research Conference. The documents published in this article reveals the acknowledgement of the importance of Romanian future studies in the 1970's. As president of the WFSF Johan Galtung mentioned in his meeting with Nicolae Ceaușescu in May 1974, Romania had become a centre of gravity in social sciences. During the meeting, the two discussed also the establishment of an International Center of Methodology for Futures and Development Studies in Bucharest.

Keywords: Romania, Communism, future studies, forecasting, Johan Galtung, Nicolae Ceaușescu, WFSF.

BIOGRAPHIES

CRISTINA ROMAN, *Silviu Brucan (1916-2006)*.....263

Born on 18 January 1916 in Bucharest in a family of Jewish merchants, Silviu Brucan was one of the leading Communist Party activists. He had a privileged relationship with the Gheorghiu-Dej regime, holding a number of important political and public positions (Ambassador of Romania to United States of America, representative of Romania to United Nations, Vice-President of the Radio-Television Council). After Nicolae Ceausescu became the leader of the Romania, Brucan did not hold any political position. His relationship with the regime has gradually worsened in the 1980's. He launched himself as an opponent of the regime after the revolt of the workers of Braşov on 15 November 1987. The events of 22 December 1989 have made him return to the political scene, participating in the creation of the National Salvation Front.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Silviu Brucan, Stalinism, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Ceauşescu regime, "the letter of the six", the National Salvation Front.

DĂNUŢ DOBOŞ, *Ion Parţac (1927-1996)*.....269

Father Ion Parţac (1927-1996) was one of those Romanian Catholic priests who, during the terrible persecution that characterized the totalitarian regimes of Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceauşescu, chose to join the anti-communist resistance through faith, rejecting all collaboration with atheist regime. He preferred the status of an outcast, besides that of a political inmate. He lived in an age when being a Catholic was a criminal act punishable by imprisonment.

Keywords: Communism, Catholicism, resistance, priesthood.

POINTS OF VIEW

ALEXANDRU BUDIŞTEANU, *The Eastern Border of Moldova – an Aria of Trouble and Conflict*.....287

The paper aims to contributing to a better understanding of the complex political situation in the central part of Europe where two major forces are now opposed. One is the Russian Federation and the other consists of European countries, such as Romania a member of the EU. The situation had been generated in 1792 when Russia got a common border on Dniester river with the Romanian medieval state of Moldova. In 1812 after a war with Turkey it occupied half of Moldova and called it Bessarabia. This is presently the Republic of Moldova. Now a part of it proclaimed itself an independent state called the Moldavian Dniester Republic (Transnistria). It is recognized by no other country but Russia considering it a component part of the Russian Federation. Moreover, its army of Russian soldiers crossed illegally the Dniester into the Republic of Moldova occupying more territory and thus creating a dangerous precedent.

Keywords: Russian Federation, European Union, Romania, Republic of Moldova, Bessarabia, Dniester, 1792, 1812, Transnistria.

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