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Keywords: WWII, Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill, secret deals.

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The hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921 is the perfect moment to analyze the history of this political movement and its meaning for the Romanian society during the XXth century. Founded as a section of the IIIrd Communist International, the RCP failed to represent any social change in a country full of inequalities because of its anti-national program to cancel the territorial results of the Great Union of December 1st, 1918.
Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Comintern, Sovietization, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, political repression.
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The bankruptcy of the authoritarian regime of King Carol II facilitated the establishment in September, 1940 of the "National-Legionary" State. Led by General Ion Antonescu and politically supported by the Legionary Movement, the new regime went bankrupt in four months. Our study aims to identify the motives and motives that led to the "rebellion" of January, 1941.
Keywords: Legionary Movement, "National-Legionary" State, rebellion, massacre, pogrom, Ion Antonescu, Horia Sima, Adolf Hitler.
- SEBASTIAN LIGARSKI, *The policy of Polish communist authorities on artists between 1945 and 1989*.....41**

The policy of the communist authorities towards writers and artists in the 1945 to 1989 period can be divided into several stages. The first lasted from the end of 1944 to November 1947. The second stage lasted from November 1947 until the end of 1949, when socialist realism was forcibly introduced into all areas of cultural life. The third stage ended at the beginning of 1955, when one could observe a weakening of the authorities (accused of violations of the socialist rule of law). The whole year 1955 and the turn of 1956/1957 is referred to as the “thaw” period. During Władysław Gomułka’s era (October 1956 – December 1970), the attitude adopted by the authorities towards artists remained mostly unchanged. It manifested itself as an ideological offensive and repression of any emerging signs of resistance in that community. When Edward Gierek was in power as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party (1970-1980), the policy towards writers and artists evolved in two stages. The first (1971-1976) was characterized by liberalism and pragmatism, as part of a regime’s legitimization strategy. During the second stage, lasting from February 1976 to August 1980, preventive and repressive elements began to prevail in the position taken towards artists, who increasingly voiced opposition towards the authorities. Opposition was to be quashed by more stringent censorship, numerous searches, interrogation of artists and harassment. In 1980 and 1981, the authorities concentrated on ensuring that the managing bodies of the artist/writer associations had the right political credentials, although with no effect. They supported artists with communist party affiliations and unsuccessfully tried to attract the neutral centre and to exploit it. During the martial law period, the authorities adopted a repressive policy towards artists, but they failed to put an end to their boycott of public institutions. The attempt to use artists to legitimize the activities of the authorities in the perestroika period was only partially successful. Finally, the cultural policy of the authorities was put aside altogether after the political changes of 1989.

Keywords: Poland, communist, artists, policy, history.

ELENA SIMONA GHEONEA, *Musicians and the Securitate: The Case of the Composer Mihail Andricu*.....54

This study aims, using The Securitate documents, found in the Archives of the National Council for the Study of The Securitate Archives, to show what the first three decades of the communist regime meant for the life and career of Romanian composers. We do this analysis through the composer Mihail Andricu, trying to find out how the establishment of the communist regime influenced his musical career and artistic freedom. Educated as a musician in Paris and Bucharest, one of the founders of the Society of Composers, with an important composition activity before 1945, Mihail Andricu was a well-known figure in the music world when the communist regime was established. Mihail Andricu began to be persecuted by the Securitate in September 1951 because he publicly defended some musicians criticized for political reasons. From this moment until 1974, the year of his death, he is permanently in the attention of the Securitate, the file opened in his name gathering over the years a number of 17 volumes.

Keywords: classical music, Mihail Andricu, communism, composers, ideology, The Securitate.

MICHAŁ SIEDZIAKO, *Sejm elections in the communist-ruled Poland in the light of new research*.....75

Regularly held elections are one of the most basic characteristics of democratic states. Cyclic elections took place in nearly all the dictatorships of the 20th century, including the Central and Eastern European states which fell under the dominion of the Soviet Union after the 2nd World War. Yet despite bearing the name, they were completely different from democratic elections in the West. The essay presents the current state of knowledge on the issues of their organisation and the reliability of their results on the example of Poland. It makes use of the author’s research into several Polish national and regional archives as well as the latest literature on the subject. The author discusses, among others, the pre-selection of the MPs, the composition of electoral boards, the methods of electoral propaganda and the cases of electoral fraud.

Keywords: state-controlled elections, communist propaganda, Polish United Workers’ Party, communist-ruled Poland, electoral fraud.

ARTYOM A. ULUNYAN, *Was there any forefeeling? Romania in COMECON through the eyes of NATO and European Commission, 1957-1962*.....92

The author explores newly revealed declassified analytical and political materials of NATO’s and the EC structures that dealt with economic issued. The documents of these two organizations indicate that neither NATO nor the EU during 1957-1962 period had no assumptions about the specific behavior of Romania as

a future "troublemaker" in the Eastern Bloc, although some traces of it have not been left unnoticed. At the same time, at the analytical level and on the basis of individual data, experts made assumptions about the growth of contradictions both in the Eastern Bloc as a whole, and, in particular, its economic arm - COMECON.

Keywords: COMECON, Eastern bloc, European Union, NATO, Romania, USSR.

VASILE BUGA, *Aspects of the Romanian-Soviet cooperation in the areas of military and civil technique during 1960-1980*.....106

The Romanian-Soviet cooperation in the military technique began with Romania's entering the Warsaw Pact (April 1955). That was justified by the need to equip the Romanian army properly. In the first years, the Soviet part granted credits for military technique. Afterwards, new forms of cooperation developed, such as granting licences, assimilation of new military techniques using documentation and Soviet technical assistance, the joint development of new weaponry, especially in aviation. This cooperation registered also setbacks as during the Czechoslovak crisis in August 1968 or due to Romanian difficulties in paying the imported technique.

Keywords: technical assistance, cooperation, specialisation, licence, credit, Ceaușescu, Brezhnev.

ALINA ILINCA, LIVIU MARIUS BEJENARU, *The clandestine congress of August 22, 1968, of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its consequences*.....122

Expected to take place on September 9, 1968, the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was postponed to August 22, 1968, as a result of the invasion of the country by the troops of the Warsaw Pact (except for Romania).

On August 25, 1968, the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union canceled the Czechoslovak Communist Party's Congress, the delegation headed by Alexandr Dubček being forced to sign an agreement consenting the state of affairs.

The invasion of the Czechoslovakia and the cancellation of the congress led to the end of the "Prague Spring" and revisionism.

Keywords: "Prague Spring", clandestine congress, invasion, Czechoslovakia.

OCTAVIAN ROSKE, *The Vietnam War: From Challenge of Credibility to Peace with Honour, III: Nixon Administration*.....137

On April 10, 1975, in an address before a Joint Session of the Congress President Gerald Ford said that "the situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia has reached a critical phase requiring immediate and positive decisions by this government." In his view the United States had two options. Either to "let the Government of South Vietnam save itself and what is left of its territory, if it can," or "to enforce the Paris accords with our troops and our tanks and our aircraft and our artillery and carry the war to the enemy". To help South Vietnam to repel communist aggression, Ford requested that "Congress consider appropriating additional funds" (\$722 million) "in very specific military supplies". Ford also reminded the Congress of the fate of "nearly 6,000 Americans who remain in South Vietnam and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese employees of the United States Government, of news agencies, of contractors and business for many years whose lives, with their dependents, are in very grave peril." With no Congress authorization for additional funds for Saigon troops, Ford ordered the evacuation of "all American personnel remaining in South Vietnam" (over 1,300 Americans) and around 5,600 Vietnamese. With the fall of Saigon, on April 30, 1975, the war that influenced the foreign policy decisions of four American administrations (Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford) ended. While Kennedy's support for South Vietnam was based on his belief that "every time a country, regardless of how far away it may be from our borders passes behind the Iron Curtain the security of the United States is thereby endangered", Johnson viewed the commitment to prevent communist expansion into Indochina as a test of credibility for the United States: "We are in South Vietnam because we have a promise to keep... Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and the value of America's word."

Keywords: Vietnam War, Lyndon B. Johnson, Gerald Ford, Ho Chi Minh, Richard Nixon, Robert McNamara, Viet Cong.

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The research is trying to trace the presence of the terrorist Carlos in the Securitate archive files, during the period when he had not yet come into contact with the Romanian intelligence services. Since 1975, Carlos the Jackal has been mentioned in the Securitate documents as a dangerous terrorist, under international surveillance by police around the world. These mentions suddenly disappeared in 1980, when it was alleged that the terrorist Carlos was contacted by the Romanian intelligence services. The study proposes to survey these mentions, trying to establish their relevance in the anti-terrorism policy of the Romanian communist state. At the end of this approach, the author advance some explanations for the lack of documents from the Securitate archives regarding the collaboration of Carlos the Jackal with this institution, as well as about the terrorist attack perpetrated on Radio Free Europe.

Keywords: Carlos the Jackal, Romania, terrorism, Cold War, communism, Middle East.

MIHAI BURCEA, „*The Red Necropolis*” in Charles Park. A short history.....182

In the late 1950s, the Romanian communist leaders decided to build a necropolis for the remains of prominent figures of the socialist and communist movement.

The study focuses on the institutions that coordinated the construction of the monument, the origins of the building materials, the managing staff of the site, the well-known political activists who were buried there. The sources used vary from official archival files of the era, press articles, and testimonies given, after the fall of the regime, by those directly involved in managing the memorial site.

Keywords: communism; nomenklatura; memorial sites; personality cult; state funeral practices.

DOCUMENTS

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *General Ion Mihai Pacepa Defection, Ceaușescu's Reaction and the Assurances of the American Government, 1978-1987*.....207

General Ion Mihai Pacepa, the operative chief of the Romanian Intelligence, vanished in the evening of 28 July 1978 from a hotel in Köln. A few days later, the west german press announced that the general had been taken over by the CIA for which he had worked for several years and was taken in to the United States where he was offered political asylum.

This article reproduces the only two existing transcripts of discussion at the level of Communist leadership regarding Pacepa's case on 14 and 16 August 1978. The 14 August transcript contains the assurances provided by the American government that they will not use Pacepa case in a mediatic campaign against Romania and President Ceaușescu.

The article presents Pacepa's case evolution, Nicolae Ceaușescu's first reactions, the Romanian-American talks in August-December 1978 on the matter. In 1987, the American government broke the agreement and allowed Pacepa to get involved in the mediatic campaign against Romania. The author presents the context of this decision and what justified it.

Keywords: General Ion Mihai Pacepa, intelligence, România, Nicolae Ceaușescu, C.I.A., Red Horizons.

BIOGRAPHIES

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Born in Bucharest in 1883, Constantin Angelescu was a Romanian lawyer, banker and politician, a member of the Conservative Democratic, National Peasant and National Renaissance Front parties. He was several times a member of the governments of the parties mentioned above. In 1930, when he was a Secretary of State with the Ministry of the Interior, he was the victim of a failed assassination attempt. On several occasions, he was also the Governor of the National Bank of Romania. In this capacity, in 1944, he coordinated the operations aimed to evacuate the central bank's gold reserve to the Tismana Monastery. Between 1950 and 1955, he was imprisoned by the communist authorities together with other former dignitaries. After his release, he was exiled and lived in Măzăreni, in the Bărăgan fields, until 1957. He died in 1973.

Keywords: National Peasant Party, National Bank of Romania, communism, repression, political elites.

- DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, Teohari Georgescu (1908-1976).....247**
 Teohari Georgescu was one of the important leaders during the beginning years of Romanian communism. A printer, Georgescu, was arrested and incarcerated several times until 1944 for illegal communist activity. After 1945 he was appointed Minister of Internal Affairs and had an important contribution to imposing a Stalinist communist regime. Together with Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca they set up a political faction. In 1952 they were accused of "right deviation" and removed from all leadership positions. Teohari Georgescu was arrested and interrogated by the Securitate until 1956, when he was released and sent to the printing shop where he had worked. In 1968, he was rehabilitated by Nicolae Ceaușescu.
Keywords: Teohari Georgescu, Romanian Communist Party, right deviation, Gheorghiu-Dej, Stalinist inquires.
- FLORI BĂLĂNESCU, Ana-Maria Goma (1946-2017).....257**
 Ana-Maria Goma was born on August 14, 1946, in Bucharest. Her father, Petre Năvodaru (Peter Fischer), was a former outlawed communist, marginalized within the Communist Party, and banned from the signing after his daughter's marriage to writer Paul Goma in 1968. Due to the harassment of the Securitate, in November 1977, Ana-Maria Goma and their two-year-old son left for Paris, where they applied for asylum status. Ana-Maria Goma stood by her husband in all his actions and decisions until she died, giving up on her career as an interpreter.
Keywords: Ana-Maria Goma, Paul Goma, asylum, communism, ban, opposition, Securitate.
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- FLORIN ȘANDRU, Nicolae Ivănescu (1914-1977).....261**
 Nicolae Ivănescu was a police officer in Bucharest between August 8, 1942 and May 21, 1945. He was arrested and sent as a political inmate in the gulag of Slobozia for almost a year. Coming back to Bucharest, he became a target for the Securitate, due to the informative notes written by his colleagues and acquaintances, being sentenced on November 15, 1958 to 15 years of heavy imprisonment in the Gherla prison. After being released from prison, the agents of the Securitate contacted him and tried, without success to make him an informer. He continued to the end of his life to have a hostile attitude towards the communist regime, exposing his dissatisfactions in public, even after he got warnings from the Security about this attitude.
Keywords: Nicolae Ivănescu, Police officer, Security, informative, communism, perceptions.
- MARIUS UGLEA, Ion Pantazi (1920-1996).....265**
 Ion Pantazi, author of the memorial volume "Am trecut prin iad" (I have been through hell), is one of the emblematic figures of the anti-communist resistance in Romania, being one of the organizers of the most spectacular escape from a labor camp: the escape from Mina Cavnic, June 6, 1953.
 He was born on July 26, 1920, in Bucharest. In 1940, he graduated from the Military High School in Cernăuți, in 1942, the Military School of Cavalry Officers with the rank of lieutenant. He fought on the front in the 9th Roșiori Regiment, being promoted to lieutenant on May 10, 1945. On March 1, 1946, he was removed from the active army and expelled as a law student due to his origin and training, considered dangerous by the newly installed political regime in Romania.
Keywords: Ion Pantazi, Romania, anti-communist resistance, forced labour, political prisoners.
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 Nicolae Pătrașcu was a representative figure among the leaders of the legionary movement in Romania. Born in 1903, he joined the Legion in 1929, becoming its secretary-general in 1940. He fled the country after the January 1941 rebellion but returned in November 1944. He is famous for his "pact" with Communist Interior Minister Teohari Georgescu, signed in December 1945, which remained in force until May 1948. He was then arrested for 16 years. Released in 1964, he died four years later.
Keywords: legionary movement, Nicolae Pătrașcu, The Georgescu – Pătrașcu Pact, repression, communism.
- CRISTINA DIAC, Ion Stoian (1927 - 2012).....271**
 Ion Stoian was the last minister of Foreign Affairs of socialist Romania, appointed in November 1989, one month before the regime's fall. Stoian was born in a humble family from the Prahova region, one of the

most important industrial sites in interwar Romania from where many future socialist leaders originated. Forced to abandon school because of the lack of financial means during the Second World War, the teenager Ion Stoian began his apprenticeship to become a turner. A skilled worker by profession, after the war, he showed interest in politics as well and was recruited for one of the multiple schools created by the Communist Party to train a new political bureaucracy. At the beginning of the 1950s, Ion Stoian started a long career as a professional activist. This biography helps to explore: the typicality and atypicality of Stoian's career; how the first generation of socialist functionaries was recruited and trained; the most important positions held until 1989; his role in the fall of the regime and during the first moments of transition to post-socialism; Stoian's fate during post-socialism.

Keywords: Ion Stoian, Romanian Communist Party, political bureaucracy, foreign policy, Nicolae Ceaușescu.

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