



## ORIGINAL PAPER

# The Political Evolution of Tulcea County (1944-1947)

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### Abstract

The events that took place after August 23, 1944 made the political life in Tulcea County not to differ in a broad way from that of the rest of the country, but to nevertheless have some specific accents. The present study is based on the research undertaken at the County Directorate of Tulcea National, but also at the Central Historical National Archives. By using data provided by the archival documents, given the small number of scientific studies dedicated to the area for describing the mentioned period, as well as of general papers and, based on the research methods such as qualitative and quantitative analysis of the mentioned documentary sources, the study tries to capture the specific accents of the political life in Tulcea County between August 23, 1944-1947. At the same time, the study tries to describe the evolution and organizational activity of the Communist Party in Tulcea county during 1944-1947.

**Keywords:** *The Romanian Communist Party; the Social Democratic Party; the Ploughmen Front; the Single Labour Front; the Block of Democratic Parties; national minorities.*

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### Introduction

The political evolution of Tulcea County cannot be detached, between August 23, 1944-1947, by the national context.

In this respect, the official historiography of the communist period reveals to us that on August 23, 1944, on the radio, starting with 10:00 pm, King Mihai began his proclamation: "In the most difficult hour of our history, I considered, in full agreement with my people that there is only one way to save the country from total catastrophe" (Vianu, Constantin, Zorin, & Bădescu, 1976: 162-163). In fact, the withdrawal from the alliance with the Axis Powers and the end of the war with the United Nations were announced. The event happened after the insurrection plan was applied and Marshal Antonescu and his government members were arrested, and the army and the guards created by the communists occupied the most important strategic points in the Capital (Vianu, Constantin, Zorin, & Bădescu, 1976: 162). On this occasion, the King also announced the end of the dictatorship and gave assurances that the new government would "signify the beginning of a new era, in which the rights and freedoms of all citizens will be guaranteed and respected" (Vianu, Constantin, Zorin, & Bădescu, 1976: 163). By Royal Decree No. 1626 of August 31, 1944, which repealed in force, even if only partially, the Constitution of March 1923, finds its legitimacy and multi-party system (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 452). However, in the months that followed, things were severely disturbed by the provisions of the Armistice Convention of September 12, 1944, provisions by which Romania became "an occupied country, subject to political subordination and economic robbery by the USSR" (Ciachir, 1996: 324-325). In essence, the Armistice Convention was "more than a capitulation, it was a legalization by the Great Allies of Romania's occupation and Sovietization<sup>1</sup>" (Ciachir, 1996: 324-325).

The advancement of the Soviet army on our territory did nothing but create "premises for the liquidation of democracy" (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 452), and Stalin's efforts to join the Communist Party in the negotiations for the exit from the war and then in the "exercise of power" resulted in the "activation of communist organizations throughout the country" and "the establishment of cooperation links with the historical parties, in the direction of changing the foreign policy as well as the internal political framework" (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 456).

Thus, since the beginning of 1944, various alliances between political parties were formed, which were aimed at achieving certain political objectives.

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<sup>1</sup>The Sovietization of Romania was the consequence of "two political processes" carried out during the Second World War, processes that represented in fact the "decisive factors" of Romania's entry into the Soviet sphere of influence and then the occupation of the country by the Red Army.

In this respect, the two political processes, according to the authors of the book *Sovietization of Romania. Anglo-American Perceptions (1944-1947)*, are "illustrated" by Churchill's statements from October 1944, and Stalin, from April 1945, as follows: Churchill told Stalin, on a visit to Moscow: "Let's regulate our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Romania and Hungary. We have interests, missions and agents there. (...) As for England and Russia, what would you say about ninety percent for you in Romania, and us to have ninety percent in Greece and each of us fifty in Yugoslavia?" (Chiper, Constantiniu, & Pop, 1993: 8-9).

"In April 1945, Stalin, in a discussion with the Yugoslav delegation, led by Tito, told his guests:" This war is not like that of the past. Everyone occupying a territory also imposes its own social system. Each imposes its own social system, as far as its army is advancing" (Chiper, Constantiniu, & Pop, 1993:8-9).

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In this regard, we can recall the coalition of the Democratic National Bloc, which was set up on June 20, 1944, from the National Liberal Party, the Peasant National Party, the Social Democratic Party, and on September 26, 1944, the Platform Project of the National Democratic Front would be published, which was joined by SDP and RCP, trade unions, the Ploughmen Front, the Hungarian People's Union and other organizations. Only a few days after the platform was published, the National Democratic Front was set up, which "launched a sustained struggle for the conquest of power" (Scurtu, 2005: 102-107).

In April 1944, the setting up of the Single Labour Front took place, following which in almost all the enterprises of the country the local committees of the Single Labour Front were set up (Țuțui & Aron, 1971: 65). In the files of the Central Committee of the RCP, Single Labour Front was characterized as "the engine of mobilization, organization and leadership of all the democratic and anti-Hitler forces for the national liberation of the people under the yoke of the German invaders and the country traitors" (Romanian Central National Historical Archives, fund Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, dossier no. 103/1944: 2). The plan of the Communist Party joining the "forces of the democratic parties" which led to the withdrawal of our country from the war, on August 23, 1944, was strongly criticized by Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca. The two claimed that it would have been much better "if the overthrow of the dictatorship had been left solely to the Soviet army," as it would have "made it possible for the working class to take over immediately the power without going through the co-operation phase with the bourgeois parties" (Ionescu, 1994: 103).

### **The activity of the political parties in Tulcea County and the taking over of the political power by the Romanian Communist Party.**

The advancement of the Soviet army on the territory of Romania made the Romanian Communist Party, which had around 1000 members in the whole country, begin to activate. However, Victor Frunză said that "the communist party governed, but did not exist", even after August 23, "when not only its legal existence was proclaimed, but it also participated in the government" (Frunză, 1990: 201-202).

From the excerpts of some informative reports of the Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party from 1945, the situation from the communist party in Tulcea County emerges, which had no members on August 23, 1944, but only supporters. Later, the number of members increased rapidly, reaching 800, of which 711 were Russian-Lipovans, 88, Romanians, and a single Turk, organizing cells in the county communes within a very short time. The cells were organized in the communes: Agighiol, Beștepe, Cataloi, Cășla, Domnița Maria, I.G. Duca, Sarinasulf, Pardina, Frecăței, Somova, Parcheș (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 2/1945: 1-2).

Against the background of the Soviet occupation, we can see how "gradually (...) but surely, the entire administration will reach the representatives of RCP" (Cojoc, 2001: 37). Thus, on December 3, 1945, according to a report drafted by the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Commandment of Tulcea Gendarmerie Legion, Bencu Gheorghe, the Communist Party of Tulcea organized a rally in order to install the head of the RCP organization, the lawyer Olteanu Dumitru, as prefect. As a result, since December 3, 1944, in the Prefecture, the representatives of the communist guard were installed, in large number, "armed with machine guns", and in the Prefecture 12 machine guns which were installed in different rooms were brought. Following that on December 4, 1944, the

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former prefect Mihai Ionescu was replaced, while Olteanu Dumitru remained the prefect of Tulcea County.

It is worth noting, according to the report mentioned, that the whole blow was organized by the Soviet Command, which, on December 3, 1944 had “a large number of sentries around the Command, on three lines and with reserves” (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund The Gendarmerie Legion of Tulcea County, dossier no. 25/1945: 85).

In this period, “a lot of RCP embedded organizations played their roles that were distributed, such as the Ploughmen Front and the National People’s Party” (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 458). The Ploughmen Front began its activity in Tulcea County on October 15, 1944 (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Ploughmen Front, dossier no. 2/1944: 5), followed by the establishment of a “section” at Slava Cercheză on November 22, 1944 (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Ploughmen Front, dossier no. 3/1944: 1), and in Telița on November 29, 1944 (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Ploughmen Front, dossier no. 1/1944: 2). After Petru Groza the rightful founder of this party became head of the government, the activity of the Ploughmen Front began to gain more consistency (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 458), having as duties: *intensification of propaganda actions in the rural area, formation of new instructors and creation of Cooperatives* (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Ploughmen Front, dossier no. 2/1944: 5-6). Thus, the number of members registered in the Ploughmen Front had reached about 15004 in Tulcea County, of which 3933 were from Tulcea, 3758 from Topolog, 3131 from Babadag, and 821 from Sulina (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Ploughmen Front, dossier no. 2/1944: 9). “Its power of influence and pressure resulted from the fact that it held most of the offices of mayors appointed in the rural communes as interlocutors of the Communist Party” (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 459).

The Ploughmen Front was the most popular organization, the committee of which consisted of peasant farmers, but as soon as RCP had seized all power, the Ploughmen's Front was maintained for a period of time as political decoration until its dissolution in 1953. Thus, even though the Communists took over the government since March 1945, RCP still needed to strengthen their power in order to face future elections (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 458). In this respect, the records of the time reveal to us that in 1945, the Communist Party of Tulcea was organized into 5 sectors. Sector 1 consisted of a cell, which had 44 members. The second sector consisted of a neighbourhood cell, which had 33 members and 6 cells of enterprises, of which 4 cells of the “port-transport”, which had 106 members, the police cell had 11 members, and the enterprise cell of wood production had 7 members. The third sector had two neighbourhood cells, with 58 members and two other cells of enterprises, with 62 members. The fourth sector had two neighbourhood cells, with 70 members and two enterprise cells, with 27 members. The fifth sector, on the other hand, consisted of only one cell, which had 27 members. Therefore, in the city of Tulcea the communist party had 445 members, of which 335 were Slavic, 92 were Romanians, 14 Jews, 1 Greek, 2 Turks and one Macedonian (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 2/1945: 4).

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Although, the members of the communist party in Tulcea County were intensely active in the county, managing to attract many members in a very short time, their activity was severely criticized by the representatives of the Communist Party in Bucharest, because although Tulcea County had 60 activists, the work was very weak, everything remaining at the level “of discussions”. The proof of the very poor work also resulted from the small number of communist members from the villages. Therefore, in the rural area, in order to attract the peasants on their side, they started the campaign for carrying out the agrarian reform. In this regard, we find out that on February 14, 1945, an Assembly of the Democratic National Front was held, where street demonstrations took place and people shouted: “Down the government, we want an Democratic National Front government!” (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund The Gendarmerie Legion of Tulcea County, dossier no. 23/1945: 27). This happened after the manifesto launched on the initiative of the Central Committee of the RCP was published on February 10, 1945, by the Ploughmen Front - by which the peasant masses were called “to occupy immediately the land of the lords, without waiting for the law of agrarian reform which the reactionary majority in the government” did not want to draft (Hartia & Dulea, 1960: 41-42). From a report of the Ploughmen Front, from August 1945, we find that: the land reform in Tulcea County “had a more special application”, as 1083 hectares in Tulcea, 550 hectares in Babadag, 1433 hectares in Topolog, and 684 hectares in Măcin were confiscated. The confiscated land was divided to 1667 inhabitants, as follows: in Tulcea, 515 inhabitants, in Babadag, 263, 542, in Topolog, and 347 in Măcin (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, found Tulcea County Committee of the Ploughmen Front, dossier no. 2/1944: 5-6). Even after the beginning of the implementation of the agrarian reform and the campaigns carried out by the communists in the rural area of Tulcea County, on December 15, 1945, the numerical situation of division of the rural population into political parties, according to a report of the Legion of Gendarmes Tulcea, was far below the expectation of communists, because, at that time, RCP amounted to a total of 24% of the rural population. The Ploughmen Front, 19%, the Social Democratic Party, 7%, the Peasant Party, 15%, the Liberal Party, 14%, and 21% of the population was “non-oriented” (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund The Gendarmerie Legion of Tulcea County, dossier no. 23/1945: 603). This was one of the reasons why Nicolae Ceausescu was sent to Constanța, in the second part of February 1946. Nicolae Ceausescu’s mission was to consolidate the communist party in Tulcea and Constanța counties, but also to calm the population from the area, because of the citizens of Russian ethnicity, from Tulcea County, who, despite the fact that they were pro-communists, demanded the joining of Dobrogea to the USSR, a fact that brought concern to the Dobrogea population. At the meeting of the Dobrogea Party Regional Office, from March 14, 1946, Ceausescu drew the attention of the communists from Tulcea, by criticizing all the political activities carried out by the communists in Tulcea County. According to him, in order to remedy the disastrous situation in the county, all the attention had to be directed towards “the treacherous elements of Tulcea”, but especially towards Mantu (he was a member of the Party of Titel Petrescu), who could also penetrate and influence the working masses to the detriment of the communist party (Coman, 2013: 657). Although, in April 1944 the establishment of the Single Labour Front took place between SDP and RCP, and after August 23, 1944, along with other satellite parties the National Democratic Front was formed, they did not ensure a good understanding between the parties. Thus, in Tulcea the relations between SDP and RCP were tensed, because the communists saw the SDP as a “minor” political party. In

this respect, the evidence is represented by the party's files, which reveal that, during the meetings of the SLF, social democrats reproached the communists for wanting to be treated "equally" (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 2/1945: 3), considering that on November 21, 1944 the SDP had succeeded to considerably increase the number of members and the activity of the party (by creating the group of socialist teachers). Of the 650 teachers of Tulcea County, a number of 540 supported the setting up of village sections, creating party sections in 68 communes. Even in these conditions, the Communists never missed the opportunity to insult the Social Democrats, by calling them "fascists" (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Organization of the Social Democratic Party, dossier no. 1/1945: 84). Things did not improve much even in 1946 when the SDP reached 3500 members recruited from among the small rural and city bourgeoisie. However, the Social Democratic Party, in Tulcea County was fragmented into two, respectively the "right wing", which was hostile to RCP (had most members) and, "the left wing", which was close to RCP. The "right wing" of the party, in which the teachers, led by Mantu were active was guided by the indications and conceptions of Titel Petrescu, SDP President. Meanwhile, the "left wing", a minority in the county and made of workers, militated for the establishment of the Single Labour Party (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 16/1946: 69). Noticing this conflicting situation between SDP and RCP within the SLF, Nicolae Ceaușescu together with members of the Dobrogea Party Regional Office, stated that a "serious work of clarification" of the social democratic members from Tulcea must start, who "due to the weaknesses" of the communists, the SDP representatives (the adherents of Titel Petrescu's party, who promoted the individual participation in the elections) did not respond to the RCP proposal to participate on the common lists in the elections. In order to solve this situation, the members of the Dobrogea Party Regional Office tried by various means to attract on the communist side the members of the Social Democratic Party from Tulcea County, in order to create the Single Labour Front in Tulcea (Coman, 2013: 657). As a result of this fact, on July 15, 1946, both the SDM members (Petcu I. and Ionescu I.) and the RCP members (Rambu Ioan and Onescu Pavel) met during a Single Labour Front meeting, which had on the agenda "the consolidation of the Single Labour Front" and the "activization" within the Block of Democratic Parties. The members of the Social Democratic Party said that the Single Labour Front could not be consolidated until the members of the Communist Party comply with the decisions and promises made within the Single Labour Front, which were until then "only on paper". For this reason, the SDP County Committee threatened, during the meeting, that it will stop discussing (within the Single Labour Front) until the situation of the town hall in Sulina would be resolved. After long conflicting discussions, the decision to appoint a SDP member (Ursu) as mayor in Sulina was made, precisely in order not to "destroy the unity of the working class". Seeing that the RCP members showed openness to their proposals, the SDP members informed them that, at the Teachers' Congress on July 21, 1946, to be held in Bucharest, the SDP representatives would be Agachi and Zaharia. They had to support the affiliation to the General Labour Confederation (professional mass organization), as a result of the vote given by the Teaching Union Committee from Tulcea, to the motion that, in fact, allowed the transformation of the Teachers' Association into the Trade Unions. A Union that will join the General Labour Confederation. Following this meeting, on October 21, 1946, Vasile Vâlcu, P. Onescu

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and Avram Filicencu (from the RCP), Ion Petcu, Florin Calafeteanu, Anton Muratiu (from the SDP) met, and unanimously adopted the decision to replace the deputy mayor of Tulcea, Gh. Buga (SDP), with Anton Muratiu, also a social democrat, because he insulted the SDP (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 14/1946: 21-25).

In the county, the Single Labour Front was beginning to expand. Thus, on March 31, 1946, the members of the Committee of the Social Democratic Party and of the RCP of Sulina decided on the establishment of the Local Single Labour Front composed of the following: RCP delegate: Dei Andrei, Cazacliu Petre, Covaliov Alempi; SDP Delegate: Boerenco Ivan, Eremia Gheorghe, Ene Stan. On June 1, 1946, RCP and SDP members from Babadag City met at the RCP headquarters, with the participation of Marinică Ion from Tulcea County Organization of SDP, and Filat Simion from the RCP. They decided to establish the Single Labour Front in Babadag, and the composition of the SLF Committee was as follows: SDP: Tanase Dumitru, Iordan Obreşcu, Ion Mihail; RCP: Mihăilescu Mihai, Vasile Anghel, Pricop Gubrei (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 14/1946: 15-26). By gradually eliminating the opposition, RCP “has paved the way towards the single ruling party”, following the merger, in fact the forced absorption, with SDP, led since 1946 by the pro-communist party (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 458). While, on June 12, 1946, in the communist party of Tulcea County, 7000 members were registered, with 36 party cells in Tulcea City (of which: “20 neighbourhood ones, 9 of enterprise and 7 of institutions”) and 94 cells in the county (Coman, 2013: 666), at the end of September of the same year, the number of members increased to 8936, being organized into 41 cells in cities and 138 cells in villages (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 16/1946: 81).

From a RCP information note on the activity of Political Parties and mass organizations in Tulcea County it appears that the decisions of the Moscow conference determined the creation of the National Peasant Party - Anton Alexandrescu in the county. The “organizer of the party” from Tulcea was lawyer Nistor Dumitru. Nistor Dumitru was formerly a Manist and used to be the mayor of Tulcea (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 16/1946: 69-72).

The creation of the Peasant National Party - Anton Alexandrescu was seen by the communists as “something good”, especially if within the party “members from the peasant masses” were to be registered. At the same time, the creation of the peasant party, in the communists’ view, “had a special significance for the county”, “as well as for the Romanian democracy”, which aimed at “strengthening the Democratic National Front”. Despite the huge expectations, the activity of organization of the peasant party in the county was very weak (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 16/1946: 71). Another party existing in Tulcea County, during the period studied, was the National Democratic Party. The party was established by the General in reserve Popescu Corbea, “a collaborator of the Antonescu’s supporters” during the war, and he also held the position of prefect in Transnistria. The co-opting of the members in the party took place from among the former fighters of the two world wars. In Tulcea County, the party was created by the reserve commander, from the navy, Jijea Adam. With only a few members in Isaccea, the party’s political activity was non-existent. At national level, the

Minister of Home Affairs from that time, Teohari Georgescu, asked the Council of Ministers to terminate this party, because the President of the party, General Popescu “was a notorious fascist”.

During the period studied for the National Liberal Party-Tătărescu the most important local achievement of this Party, in the communists’ view, was the installation of Gioga Mihail as prefect of the county. He was distributed in accordance with the decisions of the government, which granted this party a number of 11 prefectures in the country, and Tulcea was one of them. Until the Prefect was installed, we could not talk about a National Liberal Party organization in the county, but once it was installed, a significant number of members were co-opted, especially from among the Macedonian population. When taking over the office, the Prefect said “he understands to cooperate with the Democratic Parties and that he will pay special attention to workers and their interests” (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 16/1946: 70-71). The proof of this fact can be found in a Report of the one year anniversary of the government of Dr. Petru Groza, in Tulcea, Report drafted by the Head of the Press Section, Schwartz Zissu. From it, we find out that a spectacular street event took place, attended by the parties and Political Organizations that made up, at that time, the Democratic Concentration Government Dr. Petru Groza, followed by an endless column of unionized workers. At the event, from the National-Liberal Party (Gh. Tătărescu), M. Gioga took the floor, as prefect of the county. During this, M. Gioga, said that “the Romanian people have confidence in the great work of democracy consolidation along with the Great United Nations, with the Soviet Union, lovers of peace and freedom, at the forefront” (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 14/1946: 7). Cahu Mihai spoke on behalf of the National People’s Party, who declared that “March 6, 1945 is a day of the victory of the people against the reaction led by Maniu and Brătianu”. On behalf of the RCP and on behalf of the RCP Central Committee Nicolae Ceausescu spoke, who said that march 6, 1945 meant for the RCP, “a day of victory of the Romanian people against the reaction that, one more time sought to stop the historical march of the people released on August 23, 1944 by the glorious Red Liberating Army”. At the same time, Nicolae Ceaușescu, also pointed out that March 6, 1946 was “the day in which his wish to participate with all his love and determination to strengthen democracy and to create a lasting peace among the people comes true” (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund Tulcea County Committee of the Romanian Labour Party, dossier no. 14/1946: 7). The event was also attended by the representative of the army, Lieutenant Stroe, lawyer Nistor Dumitru (from National Peasant Party - Anton Alexandrescu), Vintilă Voinea (from the Ploughmen Front).

In Tulcea County, there were also the National Liberal Party-Brătianu and the National Peasants’ Party - Maniu. In addition, the minorities sought to support the new authorities, “a conduct from which they expected the defense of their specific interests”, precisely in order to adapt to changing realities (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 459). Consequently, at the county level, there were the following committees: *the Russian National Liberation Committee* (Dobrogea wanted to join the USSR), *the Russian-Ukrainian Democratic Committee*, *the Greek Democratic Committee*, *the Armenian Democratic Committee*, *the Tulcea Sub-branch* (Rădulescu & Bitoleanu, 1998: 459). On November 19, 1946, when the parliamentary elections were held, the turnout was of 91% per region, and the votes cast for the Block of Democratic Parties totalled 87% in



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Tulcea County out of the total number of voters who had the right to vote. As a result of the election results, according to a report drafted by the Gendarmes Legion of Tulcea, the idea of falsification of the elections occurred, as many voters in Tulcea County who had the right to vote, were omitted from the electoral lists, being thus unable to express their vote. At the polling stations in Tulcea County, the delegates and the assistants of the opposition assistants were also removed from polling station offices. Due to these facts, the population of the county expressed great dissatisfaction with the way in which these elections were conducted, considering, in this respect, that they were neither free nor objective, because by removing the delegates and assistants from the office election, the result could be modified very easily (County Directorate of Tulcea National Archives, fund The Gendarmerie Legion of Tulcea County dossier no. 60/1946: 189; Gheramidoglu, 2014: 128-130).

The period August 1945-1946 “showed that the country could be ruled without a king, and the decisions of the Moscow Conference emphasized that the sovereign could not exercise one of his important prerogatives, namely the removal of the government which he had appointed on March 6, 1945” (Scurtu, 2011: 95). 1947 marked the “definitive stay” of the regime imposed on March 6, 1945 and ended with “the change of the state form” (Giurescu, Ștefănescu, & Țiu, 2010: 22). As a result, one will see “how the country with the fewest communists became the country with the most numerous communist party” (Boia, 2016: 9).

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