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EDITORIAL

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At the end of 2021 Dan Berindei a historian and member of the Romanian Academy passed away at the age of 97. This article is a tribute to this great Romanian historian who dedicated his all life to his highest passion, history research.

Keywords: Dan Berindei, historian, scientific research, Romanian Academy, communist repression.

STUDIES

ALEXANDRU-MURAD MIRONOV, *The Romanian Communist Party and the Quest for Its Legitimacy.....8*

In its century-long history, the Romanian Communist Party struggled not only to gain political power, but also to be accepted by the Romanian public as an important political force. Not being very concerned with the quest of the rampant social injustice in the interwar Romania, in the beginning the Party was nothing but a Soviet fifth column, pleading for the destruction of the national State. After taking power with Soviet support after WWII and the Stalinist terror in the 1950s, the RCP started a long journey to make peace with the Romanian society through fast economical development and strenghtening patriotic feelings against Moscow control. In the end, the regime collapsed due to increased shortages and economic bankruptcy.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, Socialist ideology, Political legitimacy, Romanian-Soviet Relations, State power.

ADRIAN BRIȘCĂ, *Anticommunist Resistance in Romania. An overview.....16*

This is an overview of the anti-communist resistance in Romania after 1944: its origins, what triggers it, the componence of partisans groups, the objectives of their actions, regional spreading, the time in which they acted, and the suppression of resistance.

Keywords: Adrian Brișcă, Romania, communism, anticommunist resistance.

PETRE OPRÎȘ, *The Beginning of the Civilian Nuclear Programs in Romania and Poland, 1955-1960.....38*

After going through several files containing new documents about the civilian nuclear programs in Romania and Poland, we can say that the main link between them was made through the Soviet authorities – who launched those programs in the two countries in 1955 because the level at which were the researches in the USSR it already allowed to manufacture atomic and thermonuclear bombs. The details of the Moscow authorities’ view of using scientists from Romania, Poland and other communist countries for scientific purposes in a much broader nuclear (military and civilian) development program remain to be sought.

Keywords: Civilian Nuclear Programs, Romania, Poland, reactor, the Soviet Union, Dubna.

VASILE BUGA, *Plans for building a nuclear power plant in Romania with Soviet technical assistance, 1965-1989*.....54

During the 1960s, Romania focused primarily on industrialisation of the country and the development of energetics and nuclear energetics. Consequently, in September 1965 the Romanian Communist leadership approached the Central Committee of the CPSU with the proposal of building in Romania a nuclear power plant with Soviet technical assistance. Following negotiations, in May 1970 was signed an agreement for building a VVER Nuclear power plant with a capacity of 440 MW. However, delay in negotiations regarding the reliability of the plant in the context of Romania’s seismic activity, especially after the March 1977 earthquake, as well as Romanian concerns after the 1986 Chernobyl accident led to a progressive loss of interest in the project by the Romanian side.

Keywords: nuclear power plant, technical assistance, Soviet Union, Romania, seismic activity.

DAN CĂTĂNUȘ, *The History of Romania and the issues of Bessarabia and Transylvania as tackled in the Soviet handbooks, 1967-1968*.....80

Romanian Communist national policy at the beginning of the 1960s brought to light serious divergencies with the dominant power, the Soviet Union. That meant also the different interpretations of moments/events in the history of Romania related to the existing borders.

In 1968, Romanian diplomats in Moscow drew attention to the fact that Soviet handbooks and history journals presented Romanian participation in WWI as „imperialist”. Moreover, the union of Bessarabia, Transylvania and Northern Bukovina with Romania in 1918 were seen as consequences of the Romanian military occupation, not a result of the will of the local population. According to the Soviet interpretations, the Entente recognized the union as a reward for Romania’s active involvement in the fight with Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary.

This article highlights the differences in historical approaches of the two countries. While the Soviet historiography perpetuated the old Comintern theses, drafted at the beginning of the 1920s (in use until the collapse of the Soviet Union), in Romania, the trend in historiography favoured a return to the classic bourgeois interpretation of the national history.

Keywords: Soviet historiography, Romania, Bessarabia, Transylvania, WWI.

ANDREI COSMIN POPA, *The papers of a celebration: The Romanian Communist Party’s Semicentenary of 1971*.....93

Communist anniversaries had always had an important impact on historiography. Numerous works were published and dedicated to celebrated historical events. This was the case for the Romanian Communist Party’s Semicentenary. As well, it was the occasion of publishing its „work of identity” – an official Party history, the Romanian version of “The Short Course”.

Keywords: Romanian Communist Party, anniversary, Communist ideology, historiography, ISISP, The Short Course.

FRANCESCO ZAVATTI, *The Legionary Movement from Cold War Exile to Post-Communist Romania, 1986–1993*.....104

The aim of this paper is to shed light on the continuities and changes that far-right movements undergo throughout historical changes. It does so by focusing on the transnational and transgenerational dynamics through which the Legionary Movement fostered its existence from the settings of the Cold War exile to post-communist Romania. In order to illustrate these transnational and transgenerational dynamics, the paper compares the activities of the legionaries in their late Cold War exile with their activities in early post-communist Romania.

Keywords: Legionary Movement; transmission of memory; Cold War exile; 1989; post-communist Romania.

NICOLETA ȘERBAN, *Doina Cornea captures the attention of the Free World: The treatment applied to Western diplomats and journalists who were interested in her fate (1987-1989)*.....120

Doina Cornea is a Romanian dissident who impressed the western public opinion with her fragility, but also by the daring attitude she showed towards the regime. She was arrested in 1987, but this did not stop her in her actions. Foreign politicians and journalists are interested in her fate, which makes her famous in the West. This protected her from the cruel revenge of the Security. Foreigners who tried to contact her during 1988-1989 were treated violently, in the same manner she herself was treated. This brutal treatment only increased criticism over the Ceausescu regime, which had become detested in most chancelleries around the world.

Keywords: Doina Cornea, communism, Romania, dissident, journalist, Western world.

DOCUMENTS

LUCICA IORGA, VASILE BUGA, *Nicolae Ceaușescu would have preferred Romania to be outside the Warsaw Pact! Talks with Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov (1982-1983)*.....136

The attempts of the Romanian leadership to put on the first plan their view about vital matters for the Soviet Union (economic cooperation between CMEA members, Sino-Soviet split, arms race, disarmament, abolition of military blocs) trigger a negative attitude on the part of the Soviets. As a result, Romania became in Moscow's eyes a dissident who constantly tried to ignore many of the Warsaw Pact rules. Yuri V. Andropov, who became on 12 November 1982 General Secretary of CC of the CPSU after the death of Leonid I. Brezhnev, strongly believe that any dissent is a danger for the monolithic unity of the socialist bloc and might be rooted out immediately. This was the main reason for Andropov's distant and unfriendly attitude towards Romanians communist leadership, which increased when he was elected General Secretary of CC of the CPSU.

In this short period (1982-1984), Andropov met *tête-à-tête* with Nicolae Ceaușescu twice, on 21 December 1982 and on 4 January 1983. Romanian archives don't preserve the records for this meeting, but we have found the Soviet records in the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI) in the Fond Yuri V. Andropov. We are publishing a Romanian translation of these two documents.

Keywords: Romanian-Soviet relations, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Yuri V. Andropov, Warsaw Pact, disarmament, abolition of military blocs.

TESTIMONIES

VASILE BUGA, *The First Romanian in Space*.....157

The article discusses the background of the first and only flight in the cosmos of a Romanian pilot, Dumitru-Dorin Prunariu. On May 14, 1981, a Soviet-Romanian team embarked on a scientific expedition in the cosmos. The event was celebrated on its 40th anniversary in a scientific session organized by the Romanian Academy.

Keywords: Dumitru-Dorin Prunariu, cosmonauts, Soyuz-40, Romanian Academy.

DR.ING. COSMONAUT DUMITRU-DORIN PRUNARIU, *60 years from the first man in the cosmos, 40 years from the first Romanian in space*.....159

The article consists of the recollections of pilot Dumitru-Dorin Prunariu, the first and the only Romanian cosmonaut, on the preparations of the spaceflight on May 14, 1981, which he took with the Soviet pilot Leonid Popov, his remarks on how the Earth is seen from space, the scientific experiments undertook during the expedition.

Keywords: Dumitru-Dorin Prunariu, Leonid Popov, spacemen, Soyuz-40, Intercosmos program.

ALEXANDRU BUDIȘTEANU, *Head of the National Center of Systematization in România, 1983-1989*.....168

This is a recollection of the memories of architect Alexandru Budişteanu, head of the National Center of Systematization in România from 1983-to 1989. During his service, he was confronted with the Nicolae Ceauşescu decisions' on the program of rural systematization which aimed at transforming the traditional villages into small towns and the increase of agricultural areas.

Keywords: Alexandru Budişteanu, Nicolae Ceauşescu, rural systematization' program, traditional villages, "Opération Villages Roumains".

BIOGRAPHIES

ANDREEA DOBEŞ, Ioan Bălan (1880-1959).....174

Ordained priest on June 24th 1903, metropolitan canonic (1921), delegate to the Vatican Commission for drafting the Canonic Code of the Eastern churches (1929) in October 1936, Ioan Bălan was named Greek Catholic bishop of Lugoj. Arrested on October 29th 1948 in Lugoj, detained at the local Securitate centre, the next day was transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On October 31st 1948 he was admitted to Dragoslavele, then to the Căldăruşani Monastery (February 27th 1949). On May 24th 1950 he was transferred to the Sighet Penitentiary - the "Danube" - work colony, being employed in a working unit, following the Ministry of Internal Affairs decision No 64 from January 30th 1952 for 24 months. By the Ministry of Internal Affairs decision No 684 from December 28th 1953, the penalty was increased by 24 months, starting from January 30th 1954. On January the 4th, 1955, he was transferred from Sighet, together with bishops Iuliu Hossu and Alexandru Rusu, and was admitted two days later to the Gerota Sanatorium and on the 2nd of February 1955 to the Hospital „I.C. Frimu" from Bucharest. On May 7th 1955 he was moved with forced domicile to the monastery of the Court of Argeş. On April 23rd 1956, the three Greek Catholic bishops sent a memoir to Gheorghiu-Dej in which they protested against the abolition of the Greek Catholic Church. As a reply, the authorities decided on July 12 1956 to move the hierarchies to the Ciorogârla monastery. After priests Vasile Chindriş and Izidor Ghiurco held a liturgy in Cluj in front of several thousand believers on August 12, 1956, the next day, the three bishops were divided. Bishop Ioan Bălan remained in Ciorogârla. He died on August 4th 1959 at the age of 79. The inhuman conditions in prison, and the restrictive life during forced domicile associated with the old age, led to his death but consecrated him as a martyr, who preferred the final sacrifice in the fight to preserve his faith. On March 19th 2019 the Holy See recognized the martyrdom of Bălan. The beatification liturgy was held on June 2nd in Blaj, on the Plain of Freedom, by Pope Francis.

Keywords: Bishop Ioan Bălan, Greek Catholic Church, arrest of the Greek-Catholic bishops; penitentiary regime; Sighet penitentiary; forced domicile; Greek-Catholic martyrs.

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GHEORGHE ONIŞORU, Grigore Caraza (1929-2014).....177

Grigore Caraza was one of the unknown heroes who chose the path of the anti-communist armed struggle. To this end, he founded the organization "Brotherhood of Arms", which was discovered by the Securitate in August 1949. From this moment begins the ordeal, with two periods of detention until 1964. Although Romania officially denies the existence of political prisoners during Nicolae Ceauşescu's, however, Grigore Caraza was arrested and imprisoned again between 1970 and 1977. After his release, under pressure from the United States, he was given the right to leave the country in 1980. He returned after the fall of communism and had the opportunity to study the files drawn up in his name by the former Securitate.

Keywords: Aiud, anti-communist resistance, human rights, exile, Grigore Caraza.

FLORIN ŞANDRU, Gheorghe P. Dinu (1916-1973?).....179

The Sovietization of Romania and the installation of the communist regime were the consequences of two events which took place towards the end of WW II: the first was "The Agreement of Percentage" in October 1944 and the second was the advance of the Red Army towards the centre of Europe. That was supported by the force of weapons and the result was the establishment of political regimes fully controlled by and obedient to Moscow.

Gheorghe P. Dinu had a career as a lawyer and as a Police commissioner during a period of great changes in the history of Romania, 1938-1945. He worked at the Police departments of Arad, Lipova and

Timișoara, where he was involved in the discovery of some legionary and communist organizations and in the arrest of their members, activity which led to his arrest and sentence in 1954 to 25 years of heavy prison.

He was freed in 1964 from the prison of Gherla. Since he knew many former police officers, he was recruited as a Security informer in September 1964. In this position, he made 198 informative notes regarding former working or detention colleagues. This ended in 1973 when his collaboration with the Securitate ended.

Keywords: Police, clandestine organizations, Legionary Movement, communism, political prisoner.

ALEXANDRU-CRISTIAN VOICU, *Janoș Fazekaș (1926-2004)*.....184

One of the few Romanian communists that had a different ethnic background than the majority of the Romanian Communist Party, Janoș Fazekaș rose steadily through the ranks, being favoured in part by its Hungarian ethnicity. Unlike other high-ranking members of the RCP (Vasile Luca or Alexandru Moghioroș), Fazekaș has not denied his ethnicity and kept a strong and active link with his native area, as he considered that being a Hungarian is part of his political identity, while constantly trying to improve the economic and cultural state of the Szekler-populated regions.

Keyword: Janoș Fazekaș, Romanian Communist Party, Hungarian minority, Hungarian Autonomous Region.

CRISTINA DIAC, *Manea Mănescu (1916-2009)*.....188

This article analyzes Manea Mănescu's life trajectory. Manea Mănescu was a member of the nomenklatura during the Romanian socialist regime and also held important positions within the State administration (between March 1974 and March 1979, he was a prime minister). The main „turning points” of Mănescu's biography came under attention, with an accent on his political activity during the Second World War and on how and why the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) reassessed this period of Mănescu's life periodically after 1945. The well-known expression of the French historian Henry Rousso - „le passé qui ne passe pas” - „the past that not pass” - which refers to the impact of the Vichy syndrome on French society after the Second World War, seems to have functioned in Manea Mănescu's case as well. From 1945 until 1960, even when he held key positions within the State and Party hierarchies, this official had to explain an alleged collaboration with the military dictatorship.

This article also briefly discusses the main developments of the Romanian state-socialist regime in the second part of the 1970s, when Manea Mănescu was a prime minister and his role in the institutionalization of the Romanian cybernetic as a scientific field.

Mănescu's biography relies on his Cadre file from the archive of the RCP, other unpublished documents, memoirs of the communist functionaries, and secondary literature.

Keywords: biography, life-trajectory, Manea Mănescu, nomenklatura, Romanian Communist Party, Romanian prime ministers, political elites, state socialist regimes.

ADRIAN NICOLAE PETCU, *Teodor M. Popescu (1893-1973)*.....205

One of the greatest theologians that Romanian Orthodoxy had in the 20th century was Teodor M. Popescu, professor of Church History at the Faculty of Theology in Bucharest. Before and during the Second World War, Professor T. M. Popescu took a stand against the persecution to which Russian believers in the Soviet Union were subjected. He wrote studies and articles, gave lectures, and went to Winitza to witness the exhumation of those killed by the secret Soviet police. Later, after the installation of the communist regime in Romania, all these constituted accusations that attracted an unjust conviction at the end of the '50s.

Keywords: atheist persecution, Teodor M. Popescu, anti-communism, Church History, Theology.

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Șerban Stănciulescu asserted his vocation for freedom in his teenage years. In 1977, he joined the Human Rights Movement initiated by Paul Goma. Being constantly harassed by the Securitate, along with other young people, he was a member of the Balta Brăilei Group, named after the area where some of them have been sent to a labour camp by the communist regime. When he arrived in the West, in 1978, the director of the Romanian Department of Radio Free Europe Noel Bernard, impressed by his education and individuality, offered him to hold a series of musical encounters in the show „Metronom”.

Keywords: Șerban Stănciulescu, communism, human rights, freedom, Radio Free Europe, Securitate.

CARMEN STRATONE, Ioan Ursu (1928-2007).....212

Ioan Ursu was one of the most important Romanian physicians, who specialized in atomic physics and nuclear physics. His academic activity was very well known also abroad, where he conducted specialized research in his field and became a member or in charge of different international organizations. From 1969 to 1976 he was appointed as President of the State Committee of Nuclear Energy. His prodigious achievements in the field of nuclear energy were continued with a very long academic activity, publishing more than 100 scientific paperwork, studies, and handbooks in Romania or abroad. Ioan Ursu had also political activity during the '70s, being a Communist Party member from 1961.

Keywords: Ioan Ursu, Nuclear Technology, Committee of Nuclear Energy, Romanian Nuclear Program, Romanian Communist Party.

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