

VADEMEKUM

Contemporary History
ROMANIA

A Guide
through
Archives,
Research Institutions,
Libraries,
Societies,
Museums and
Memorial Places

Edited by
Stejărel Olaru
and
Georg Herbstritt

VADEMEKUM CONTEMPORARY HISTORY ROMANIA

A Guide through Archives, Research Institutions,
Libraries, Societies, Museums and Memorial Places

Edited by
Stejărel Olaru and Georg Herbstritt

Commissioned by
Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur
(Foundation for the Reappraisal of SED-Dictatorship)

With a Preface by Rainer Eppelmann

Stejărel Olaru / Georg Herbstritt (eds.):
Vademecum Contemporary History Romania. A Guide through Archives,
Research Institutions, Libraries, Societies, Museums and Memorial Places.

Translations by Oana Mitchell and Kian Geiselbrechtinger

Placing orders:

Institutul Român de Istorie Recentă
(Romanian Institute for Recent History)

Str. Matei Voievod 18
Sector 2, cod 021455
București

Telephone: 021 – 25 27 556; 021 – 25 27 557

Fax: 021 – 25 24 860

www.irir.ro

irir@euroweb.ro

Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur
(Foundation for the Reappraisal of SED-Dictatorship)

Otto-Braun-Str. 70/72
10178 Berlin

Telephone: 030 – 23 24 7200

Fax: 030 – 23 24 7210

www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de

buero@stiftung-aufarbeitung.de

Price: 6,00 Euro

1st edition
Berlin – Bucharest
© 2004

Layout by Thomas Klemm (Edition Leipziger Kreis)
© 2004

CONTENTS

Preface by Rainer Eppelmann	7
Foreword	9

A Introduction

The Communist Regime and its Legacy in Romania by Stejărel Olaru	11
<i>I. Romanian Communism – A History of Repression 11 / The Rise to Power. The First Signs of Terror 14 / The Means of Terror 19 / Armed Resistance in the Mountains 22 / The Universe of Romanian Detention Camps 25 / A New Leader, a New Regime: Nicolae Ceaușescu 28 / The Failure of Communist Dictatorship. Dissident Gestures 30 / The December Revolution 33</i>	
<i>II. The History of a Troubled Transition Period 34 / The First Steps Towards Democracy. A Chronology of Political Events 35 / Confronting the Past. The Trial of Communism in Romania 37 / Trials in the Postcommunist Transition. The "Gheorghe Ursu Case" 40 / Retrieving the Past. Access to the Communist Archives 42 / Present Debates 45 / Selected Bibliography 48</i>	

B List of Institutions

1. Archives	51
2. Libraries	57
3. Research Institutions	61
4. Associations and Foundations	69
5. Associations of the Victims of the Communism	73
6. Museums	75
7. Newspapers and Cultural Magazines	77
8. German Foundations and Organizations in Romania	83
9. Research Institutions in Austria and Germany	87

C Appendix

Information on Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur	98
List of Abbreviations	100
Country Codes	101
Index of Entries	102
About the Editors	108
Form for new Entries	109

PREFACE

Fifteen years ago the communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe were overthrown. In most states the revolutionary changes passed peacefully. Therefore the events of December 1989 in Romania shocked me even more deeply. While in the GDR the path to democracy was paved at "round tables", armed conflicts occurred in Bucharest and other places. Those who in 2005 will remember the peaceful revolutions should not forget the toll in blood the Romanian people paid.

Anyone who does not know about the past cannot understand the present, nor shape the future. This often quoted remark applies especially to those countries and societies that were under communist rule until 1989. In the 1990s in all those countries questions were raised about both the collaborators and the victims of the regimes. In some places the questions were raised audibly and decidedly and have more or less been answered. In other places those people prevailed who decided to seal up the past. Due to the enormous economic and social problems accompanying the return of the young democracies to Europe, the memory of the dictatorships is threatening to disappear. The causes of social and economic problems have been increasingly related to the revolution of 1989 and the years following, yet not to the reality of the political and economic system during the preceding decades. In many Eastern and Central European states important political and economic positions are still held by those who walked the corridors of power until 1989. After more than four decades of heteronomy and dictatorship, there was a great lack of counter-elites to introduce fresh personnel for a new beginning. Everybody is encouraged to learn from the consequences of the past, yet credible are only those who critically and reliably confront their individual past.

Wide-ranging public discussions concerning the understanding of the past can succeed only if the archival remains of the communist dictatorships are open to the public, if unimpeded research places the focus on this subject and if social groups and organisations support the process. Furthermore it is important that the outcome of this work may not find its way only into libraries, but also into schools and other educational institutions. Alongside this, the discussion of the history of dictatorship and its collapse must not stop at the country's borders.

The "Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur" (Foundation for the Reappraisal of SED-Dictatorship) was founded by the German Bundestag in 1998. The foundation initiates wide-ranging public debates focusing on the separation of Germany as well as the causes, history and repercussions of communist dictatorship. Moreover, the foundation opens up possibilities for international cooperative research on the history of dictatorship in general. The "Vademecum Contemporary History

Romania" will serve as a helpful guide for those who study Romanian post-war history, whether in or outside Romania. If this work is successful in contributing to the international collaboration on the subject, its purpose would be considered fulfilled. In the name of the "Stiftung Aufarbeitung" I would like to express my deep gratitude to Mr. Stejărel Olaru from Bucharest and Mr. Georg Herbstritt from Berlin for their efforts invested in the project. The Vademecum is an example of Romanian-German cooperation in reassessing communist dictatorship. May the work be continued by many more in the future!

Rainer Eppelmann, Member of the German Bundestag

Berlin, July 2004

FOREWORD

Among the defining rules that distinguish communist systems from democratic political systems, one is especially important: information has to be permanently controlled and manipulated by the state. As a consequence, a country's political as well as social, economic and cultural facts are distorted to support the communist propaganda. Life in this type of system is portrayed as a utopia on earth and history is interpreted without regard to laws of reasoning. In reality, the nationalist communist propaganda could not function without manipulating history, in particular concerning recent times. This is the reason why historians and researchers took satisfaction in an improved access to information brought about by the fall of communist regimes. A rehabilitation of historiography seemed a necessary and natural process.

However, in Romania, there are more obstacles in the transition period than initially thought. Thus, fifteen years after the fall of the Iron Curtain the mechanisms of the Romanian communist regime are not entirely known and only a fragmented history of this period has been written. The explanation is that important archives of the political institutions of the communist regime and those of the former Securitate, Ministry of Interior and army are secretive and not easily accessible to historians. Authorities seem to hinder rather than help researchers in their efforts to uncover the past.

This unfavorable situation was a motivation for a project of gathering information about various institutions of interest to a research on Romanian communism. Some institutions hold archives; others are foundations and non-governmental organizations involved with the subject. Also included are associations of individuals who were victims of the regime and publications that continue to examine episodes of the communist past.

The decision to publish this guide in English was taken in order to go beyond Romania's borders and reach a broader community of scientists, journalists, politicians, NGOs and institutions developing projects in history, political science or international relations.

Beside Romanian historians and researchers, German readers form one target group of this volume. That is why this guide mentions German foundations and institutions in Romania and institutions of the German minority in Romania. For the same reason this guide contains information about several institutions in Austria and Germany attending to a scientific reappraisal of the communist past in Romania and the transition process of the country since 1990. Those institutions maintain close scientific or institutional relations with partners in Romania. The selection of institutions in these German-speaking countries aims not to be exhaustive but merely a point of departure.

An introductory essay on the history of Romanian communism and the efforts after 1989 to deal

with this subject offers the reader general information on the topic and the background of some institutions mentioned in the handbook.

We are deeply satisfied that this guide will be published. The archives we made reference to have one thing in common: the documents pertain to the communist regime in Romania, from 1945 to 1989. Yet, because access to a large part of the archives of this period continues to be made difficult by laws, the authors are aware that the guide could not be complete. Any suggestions and comments for improvement are welcomed.

We are thankful to those who supported our efforts, in particular to the German Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur (Foundation for the Reappraisal of SED-Dictatorship) and to the Institutul Român de Istorie Recentă (Romanian Institute for Recent History). The initiative to create this instrument for research belongs to Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur and can be considered groundbreaking, as this type of publication is new on the Romanian market. We have to sincerely thank Dr Ulrich Mählert from Stiftung Aufarbeitung for his courage in initiating this project and his close supervision of it. Without him this would not have been possible. We are grateful for the close collaboration with Andrei Lascu, who gathered a large part of the information. The same gratitude must also go to Oana Mitchell, who translated and reviewed it, to Kian Geiselbrechtinger for reading the manuscript on language and style, and to Thomas Klemm for his technical support with layout and setting.

Stejărel Olaru, Georg Herbstritt

Bucharest and Berlin, July 2004

THE COMMUNIST REGIME AND ITS LEGACY IN ROMANIA

by Stejărel Olaru

I. Romanian Communism – A History of Repression

Some historians consider 1945 as the year when communism was installed in Romania and all the events thereafter to have led to its consolidation. It is true that on March 6, 1945 A. Y. Vyshinsky¹ imposed on Romania a government led by Petru Groza², with representatives of the National Democratic Front (Frontul Național Democrat, FND)³ dominating the Council of Ministers. But does the history of Romanian communism really begin at that point? Can the evolution of Romanian political life be understood by only taking into consideration what happened after 1945? This study proves the contrary. The last years of World War II also contribute to an understanding of the important roles the members of the communist party played in the unfolding of the events that led to their taking over political power.

In Romania, the pluralist political system in place since 1866 was dissolved on February 10, 1938 when King Carol II imposed an authoritarian regime, the first in a row that succeeded between 1938 and 1944. In March 1945 the communists brought an end to authoritarianism, only to replace it with "the dictatorship of the proletariat". Although the communist regime was overthrown in 1989, after 44 years its effects on the society prove to be deeper than initially thought.

The authoritarian regime of Carol II was not fascist, but it created the conditions for the extreme right to rise to power. The Constitution he promulgated on February 20, 1938 ended the separation of powers, established the supreme authority of the king and outlawed the political parties (the most

-
- 1 Andrey Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky (1883-1954), Soviet politician. In the 1930's, as the USSR's General Prosecutor, he became actively involved in politics. In the 1940's he was appointed first deputy of the People's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs (under Molotov). He made his first visit to Bucharest in November-December 1944, sent by Moscow to impose a cabinet reshuffle on the Sănătescu government. In his subsequent visits, between 1944 and 1946, he oversaw internal social transformations and the foreign policy of the new regime.
 - 2 Petru Groza (1884-1958), lawyer, deputy. He owned farms, factories, banks, and hotels and was elected president of the Romanian industrialists organization for years. He sympathized with the communists but was not a member of the Romanian Communist Party. He was prime minister between 1945 and 1952 and president of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly from 1952 until 1958. See details in his memoirs, *Adio lumii vechi*, București: Compania, 2003.
 - 3 The National Democratic Front (FND) was a broad coalition comprising the Romanian Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, Plowers Front, the Socialist Peasant Party, Patriots Union, People's Peasant Party, the United Workers Front, the Youth National Democratic Front and the Democratic University Youth. All these political formations, with the exception of the Social Democratic Party, were politically insignificant. The Groza government had 14 National Democratic Front members and two representatives of the democratic parties.

important were the National Liberal Party (Partidul Național Liberal, PNL), the National Peasants Party (Partidul Național Țărănesc, PNT), and the Social Democratic Party (Partidul Social Democrat, PSD), thus dissolving the parliamentary regime. Despite legal measures, political leaders did not abandon all activity and the royal house never used oppression against the majority of them. However, the King planned to eliminate (politically at first and then physically) Corneliu Zelea Codreanu⁴, leader of the ultra-nationalist, Orthodox and anti-Semitic party "All for the Country" ("Totul pentru Țară"), historically referred to as the Legion or the Legionnaire Movement⁵, and members of this party whom he could not control.

In the spring of 1938 the government persecuted adherents to the Legionnaire Movement, banned their propaganda materials and staged mass arrests. In May of that year Zelea Codreanu was charged with undermining the state and social order and a military tribunal sentenced him to ten years of forced labour. Although Adolf Hitler intervened in favor of the Romanian fascist leader, the King and his prime minister, Armand Călinescu, opted for a broad anti-legionnaire repression. On November 29, 1938 Zelea Codreanu and other prominent members of the Legion were summarily executed, purportedly after they attempted to escape. Today it is generally accepted that they were strangled inside prison vans. The violent oppression caused a strain in Romania's relations with Germany, to the extent that German officers decorated by Carol II returned their medals. More importantly, inside the country, "those who were executed became martyrs in the Legion's propaganda"⁶. The circle of violence did not stop and in 1939 Prime Minister Armand Călinescu was assassinated by a legionnaire commando, shortly after Romania signed an economic and political treaty with Germany. The King responded and a few hundred extreme right members fell victim to a second wave of oppression.

In Romania, the fascist ideology in the 1930's justified violence as a political tool and, even before they seized power, the nationalist fascists used methods of terror as a solution for the country's social and political problems. They assassinated two prime ministers, Ion Gheorghe Duca in 1933 and Armand Călinescu in 1939, and a number of cultural personalities. Their black lists of political enemies were long. Their argument to justify these crimes was that the movement was acting in self-defense, as a response to the persecutions it faced. However, after rising to power, they did not recant these methods.

In 1940, after Romania was forced to give up parts of its territory (in June, the Soviet Union annexed Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina and in August Northern Transylvania was to become

4 Corneliu Zelea Codreanu (1899-1938) was the most important leader of the extreme right in Romania.

5 The Legionnaire Movement is a generic term used after 1940 to describe an extreme right party known under different names. Founded in 1927 as "The Legion of the Archangel Michael" the party became the "Iron Guard" in 1930. It was outlawed in 1933 and in 1937 changed its name to "All for the Country" ("Totul pentru Țară"). It was dissolved in 1938 by its leader, Codreanu, after Carol II passed the law banning political parties.

6 Radu Ioanid, *Sabia Arhanghelului Mihail. Ideologia fascistă în România*, București: Diogene, 1994, p.28. Other details about the fascist ideology in Romania in Francisco Veiga, *Istoria Gărzii de Fier (1919-1941)*, București: Humanitas, 1995, also Andreas Hillgruber, *Hitler, Regele Carol și Mareșalul Antonescu. Relațiile germano-române 1938-1944*, București: Humanitas, 1994 and Armin Heinen, *Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail. O contribuție la problema fascismului internațional*, București: Humanitas, 1999.

part of Hungary), Carol II abdicated in favour of his son, Michael I⁷ and general Ion Antonescu⁸, the President of the Council of Ministers. Initially supported by the Legion, Antonescu installed his own authoritarian rule. In September 1940, Romania was proclaimed a National Legionnaire State. The Constitution was suspended and the Parliament dissolved, and the Legion was the only legal political group allowed to remain active. But differences of opinion between Antonescu and extreme right members of his government became insurmountable and the Romanian leader, after consulting with Hitler, proceeded to eliminate his former political allies, the legionnaires, so as to ensure political stability. Between 21st and 23rd January 1941 clashes between army troops and legionnaires resulted in numerous victims; Horia Sima, the fascist leader, had to flee to Germany.

In the summer of 1941 Romania joined the war on the side of the Axis Powers, against the Soviet Union. Antonescu declared that Romania's goal was to regain the territories the USSR had annexed in June 1940. The Jewish population continued to be victimized, subjected to purges and stripped of possessions while taxes and contributions were imposed on its members. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of Jews who died in this period. According to recent archival research 30,000 Romanian Jews lost their lives during the military operations to reconquer Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina, and another approximately 70,000 died in Transnistria, a territory under Romanian administration, between the autumn of 1941 and the spring of 1944. In addition, a number of eight to ten thousand Romanian Jews fell victim to the Iași pogrom and hundreds more were killed in Dorohoi during the legionnaire rebellion in January 1941.⁹

During World War II – after the legionnaire government – the democratic parties, especially the National Liberal Party and the National Peasant Party, refused to participate with Antonescu's government. They sent their own representatives to secretly negotiate possible peace conditions for Romania with the allied powers, but failed. King Michael I played a rather formal role since Antonescu considered him not mature enough to decide the country's policies. After building a broad coalition, King Michael I, with the support of the main political parties, staged a coup and arrested Marshal Antonescu on August 23, 1944 and changed sides in the war. Romania ceased to fight alongside Germany and joined the Allied Powers. From that moment until the end of World War II Romania fought against Nazi Germany.

Where was the communist party in this period and why was it absent from the political landscape? The Romanian Communist Party (Partidul Comunist Român, PCR) was founded in 1921 as a branch of the Communist International created by Lenin in 1919. In 1921 as well as in 1922, with the occasion of the First and Second Congresses, the party members voiced their total and unequivocal

7 King Michael I of Romania (born in 1921) reigned from 1927 to 1930 (under regency) and from 1940 to 1947. He was forced to abdicate on December 30, 1947, after communists threatened to start a civil war. He settled in Switzerland. The first time he was allowed to visit Romania after the fall of communism was in 1992.

8 Ion Antonescu (1882-1946), Marshal and leader of the state between 1940 and 1944. His death sentence and execution were ordered by Moscow.

9 See Andrei Șiperco, "Holocaustul evreilor din România: experimentul Transnistria", in: *Observatorul cultural*, 208/17-23, February 2004.

adherence to the Comintern thesis, condemning the territorial changes at the end of the World War I. These resulted in a new state, uniting all the provinces with ethnic Romanian majorities, a state also known as the Great Romania (România Mare).

Clearly the Romanian communists, from the very beginning just an instrument of the Soviet expansionist policy, were aggressively anti-national. They contested the legitimacy of the Great Romania and considered it an unnatural imperialist state precisely because Romanian provinces that had been part of Russia (from 1812 to 1918) were incorporated back into the state. They also supported the minorities that were unwilling to become part of the new Romania. Because of this political attitude the party was outlawed in 1924. Their antinationalist stance is one important reason why the communist party, before it seized power, had a peripheral existence in the country's political arena. It counted just a few hundred members and had no political influence; the PCR was certainly an insignificant political group. Moreover it was always disrupted by an internal struggle for power, most of the times as a reaction to similar events in Moscow or as a result of Stalin's direct decisions concerning Romanian communists. It is important to mention that there were several circles of power inside the party, each with its level of importance. In 1944 there was a powerful and important group in Moscow and another group locked up in the Romanian prisons. The third group was clandestine and trying to keep in contact with members in the detention camps and prisons inside the country as well as with those in Moscow.

The year 1944, while the war still raged, brought to Romanian communists an unexpected gift: their political organization became legal soon after the August 23rd coup. In Moscow, on September 12, 1944, the signing of the Armistice Agreement between Romania and the Allied forces, but also the presence of the Red Army on Romanian territory, made it possible for the communist party to receive direct support in its attempt to gain control of the country. Therefore the conditions for the PCR to become more politically aggressive were created. From then on communist influence was pervasive, and once in power, the party would not accept any compromises with their political partners. Romanian society was then set to undergo profound and lasting political, economic and social transformations.

1. The Rise to Power. The First Signs of Terror

Immediately after August 23, 1944 a new government comprising of representatives of the democratic parties PNL, PNT, PSD and some communists, under general Constantin Sănătescu, assumed political power. In November the government was reshuffled to include members of the National Democratic Front who were given one third of the ministerial seats and three positions of state secretaries. This formula was also short lived as the second Sănătescu government, pressured by the Soviets, communists and the FND, resigned on December 2, 1944. Although the communists' plans to get the seat of minister of war in the next government (led by general Nicolae Rădescu) failed, they had a state undersecretary in the Ministry of Interior. Internal conflicts determined Nicolae Rădescu to dismiss the communist representative in the Ministry of Interior in February 1945 in an attempt to

protect democracy in the country. His position only precipitated the downfall as the communists and their allies asked the King to dismiss the government and arrest Rădescu. Moreover A. Y. Vyshinsky, the Soviet envoy to Romania, gave the King an ultimatum to accept a communist government. Aware that the Romanian army was disarmed at the USSR's request, Michael I was forced to accept that Petru Groza should assemble a new, pro-communist government on March 6, 1945.

These events demonstrate that the Romanian communist regime was not the result of a revolution, as was in Russia, China or Cuba, where internal forces were strong enough to overthrow existing governments. "Just like in other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, the communist government was installed in Romania as a result of an international balance of power emerging after the Second World War and in the beginning of the Cold War. The Soviet occupation of the 40's and 50's was the decisive factor in the communist counter-elite rise to power"¹⁰. Once in the Soviet sphere of influence, the country was subjected to the strictest Marxist-Leninist ideological model.¹¹ Soon after August 29, 1944, the day when the Red Army reached Bucharest, the communists were on the offensive in their attempt to take control of power. While most of the Romanian troops were away, engaged in combat against German forces, the communist advance towards "people's dictatorship" passed the first stage of political coalition. After falsifying the outcome of the legislative elections of November 19, 1946 to win the majority of the votes, they gained total control of power by forcing the King to abdicate the throne on December 30, 1947. The People's Republic of Romania (Republica Populară Română, RPR) was proclaimed and the Social-Democratic Party was absorbed by the PCR. A new political group, Romanian Worker's Party (Partidul Muncitoresc Român, PMR), was born at the First Congress that took place in Bucharest between January 21st and 23rd 1948. Over the next four years there were competing centers of power inside the new political force. In 1952, Gheorghiu-Dej¹², the leader of the group whose members had been in prison, managed to eliminate the leading pro-Moscow group led by Ana Pauker¹³, the first foreign minister of the communist government, Vasile Luca, the minister of finance and Teohari Georgescu, the minister of interior. This marked Gheorghiu-Dej's final victory inside the party.

While internally the struggle for power was unfolding, the party was united against its external political opponents. The representatives of the traditional political groups, the National Peasant Party and

10 Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej, 1948-1965*, București: Humanitas, 1998, p. 22.

11 The stages of this process were established sometime in the beginning of the 1940's, although the precise time is not known. A documentary proof is "The Special Directive for the Implementation of Communism in the KGB empire" dated June 2, 1947. Although this NKVD directive referred to communization in Poland, the subsequent events proved that it concerned all the states occupied by the Red Army. See "Agresiunea comunismului în România", in: *Documente din arhivele secrete: 1944-1989*, vol. I, edited by Dr. Gh. Buzatu and Mircea Chirătoiu, București: Paideia, 1998, pp. 76-79. General information on the subject can also be found in "Planul de comunizare al României transmis de un agent al Oficiului de Servicii Strategice" (The communization plan for Romania reported by an agent of the Office of Strategic Services [OSS]) dated March 7, 1945. (See the text and its analysis by OSS in România. *Viața politică în documente. 1945*, coordinated by Ioan Scurtu, București: The Romanian State Archives, 1994, pp. 189-195).

12 Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901-1965), former member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party and the Political Bureau from 1945 until 1965. He was president of the Council of Ministers (1952-1955) and president of the State Council (1961-1965).

13 See details in Robert Levy, *Gloria și decăderea Anei Pauker*, Iași: Polirom, 2002.

the National Liberal Party, were accused of war crimes. In contrast, communists pointed out that they did not participate to the anti-Soviet coalition. In fact, the accusation was unfounded because these parties had been banned from government by a decision of the royal court since March 30, 1938. The true reason behind these measures was that the single party monopoly of power was incompatible with a multiparty system. The communists then proceeded to eliminate their opponents either by dissolution, as was the case of the Liberal Party, by absorption for the Social Democrats, or ban in the case of the Peasant Party. Their leaders were arrested, tried and sentenced to prison under different pretexts. Many of them found a tragic end in the infernal communist jails and forced labour camps.¹⁴

The first victims of the communist oppression were their declared enemies, members and sympathizers of the Legionnaire Movement, the Romanian fascists. Under the pressure of the Allied Control Commission, where the Soviets had a strong influence, the government passed Ordinance No. 4036 of November 11th, 1944 preparing the grounds for repression. It provided for the creation of special commissions within the Central Police Headquarters in charge of arresting and separating Legion members. The law was applied and former ministers and secretaries to former ministers were detained.¹⁵ Then, although the functions of those who were to be arrested were clearly specified, the authorities sent to prison a large number of the Legion rank-and-file, in breach of their own rules. However, some of them had managed to flee across the border while a few others were hiding and beginning to organize an armed resistance in the mountains. Between 1944 and 1945 a few hundred legionnaires tried to escape by renouncing the Legion's doctrine and joining other parties. In 1945 and 1946 some Iron Guard leaders made several agreements with the communists allowing former legionnaires to join the PCR. As a result, until 1946, about 180 of them became members of the communist party and 373 were enrolled in the Social Democratic Party.¹⁶ Then, from 1948 until 1952, the communists restricted applications for membership and proceeded to verify members' backgrounds. Subsequently those who were found to have been legionnaires or members of other political parties were expelled. The oppression against this category reached a peak in May of 1948 when in only one night, 6,000 were arrested, in violation of all prior agreements.

In 1946 the "trial of high national treason" took place, in which the defendants were members and politicians of the former government that led the country during the war. Marshal Ion Antonescu, leader between 1940 and 1944, was executed, as were Mihai Antonescu, Gheorghe Alexianu and General Constantin Vasiliu in June 1946.

Another wave of arrests occurred in the spring of 1947, this time oriented against the democratic parties, the National Peasants Party and the National Liberal Party. The People's Tribunal continued

14 Among the numerous studies in Romanian dedicated to this subject: Ion Bălan, *Regimul concentraționar din România. 1945-1964*, București, Fundația Academia Civică, 2000; Dennis Deletant, *Teroarea comunistă în România. Gheorghiu-Dej și statul polițienesc, 1948-1965*, Iași, Polirom, 2001; the series of studies *Analele Sighet*, Vol. 1 to 10, edited by Fundația Academia Civică, București.

15 Members of the government during the nationalist legionnaire state (14 September 1940 to 23 January 1941).

16 See details in Marius Oprea, ed., *Securiții partidului. Serviciul de cadre al PCR ca poliție politică*, Iași: Polirom, 2002.

to try groups of the former government. Military or public administration members blamed them for the disastrous situation the country was facing. The leader of the National Peasants Party was imprisoned in 1947 while the rest of the parties were forced to dissolve. Several top Liberals were arrested without trial and some Social Democrats were sentenced to long years in prison. These trials followed a similarly recurring, simple scenario: an initial trap that justified an investigation. An example is what is today called "The Tămădău trap": On July 14, 1947 a group of National Peasants Party leaders tried to flee to the West with the intention of informing the international public opinion about the situation in Romania. They planned to leave the country from the Tămădău airport on board two small airplanes and fly to Turkey. It was in fact a trap set up by the authorities, one of the pilots being an undercover agent of the Special Intelligence Service, the secret service at the time. "The Tămădău trap" was an occasion for the regime to behead the National Peasants Party. In an important trial, held in October and November 1947, 15 party leaders were sentenced for an alleged "plot against the state". The argument was that over the years, this party had been the true enemy of the Romanian people. Among them were Iuliu Maniu, leader of the PNȚ, and his colleague, Ion Mihalache. The press coverage of this event was enormous. Maniu, 75 years old, was sentenced to life imprisonment. He died in 1953 in the Sighet prison.

Oppressive measures also targeted ethnic Germans living in Romania. In 1918, at the end of World War I, Romanian provinces returned to the country. Also the ethnic populations of "Șvabi" in Banat and "Sași" in Transylvania, both of German origin, became Romanian citizens. The presence of the Red Army on Romanian territory triggered oppressive measures against ethnic Germans, especially those who were suspected of having helped the German army. These measures were initiated by the Allied Control Commission with the Order A/192 of February 19th, 1945. Mixed commissions of Soviet military personnel and Romanian army or police officers began selecting ethnic German men from 17 to 45 and women from 18 to 30 years of age. Factories that had contracts with the German army were closed down. Those people selected by the commissions were deported to the USSR to work in forced labour camps.¹⁷

A police report dated February 14, 1945 mentioned a number of 64,419 ethnic Germans on deportation lists. Also the statistics of the Ministry of Interior and the population censuses show that between 1948 and 1949 about 40,000 ethnic Germans returned from reconstruction work in the USSR. Some of those who had been deported preferred to go to Germany; others remained in the USSR and about 1,200 died during deportation.¹⁸ Most of the ethnic Germans who escaped being deported were sent to forced labour camps in Romania itself. At the request of the Allied Control Commission, the government passed Order No. 32.137 of December 1, 1944, establishing the rules of their confinement in forced labour camps. The following year a similar document, Order No.

17 See details about the history of Germans in Romania in Vasile Ciobanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea sașilor transilvăneni, 1918-1944*, Sibiu: Hora, 2001 and Smaranda Vultur, *Germanii în Banat prin povestirile lor*, București: Paideia, 2000.

18 *Serviciul Român de Informații (Romanian Intelligence Service, SRI), Cartea Albă a Securității*, vol. I, coordinated by Mihai Pelin, 1997, pp. 54-55.

34.376/1945, added specifications of age and priorities. The order applied to ethnic Germans who avoided being deported to the USSR. These were living in Romania without proper legal documentation or only reached 17 or 18 years of age after May 1945. In all, over 10,000 people were sent to the forced labour camps.¹⁹ In June of 1951, the Ministry of Interior drafted its Decision No. 200 which allowed the displacement and forced another 4,680 Germans to take up residence together with Romanians.

In the late 1940's the Church became another victim of the communist terror. According to a 1930 census 72,6 % of Romanians were Christian Orthodox or members of the Romanian Orthodox Church (Biserica Ortodoxă Română, BOR).²⁰ After Patriarch Nicodim's death in 1948, his successor, Patriarch Justinian, led the church until 1977. The year when Justinian was anointed the communist regime began the reforming of the Orthodox Church with the passing of the Religious Act in 1948. The state assumed total control over the church. Monasteries were transformed into manufacturing centers and monks were advised to embrace and specialize in worldlier trades, and theological studies were reorganized. The clergy met similar restrictive measures with little resistance. Nonetheless a large number of priests and clergymen were arrested and sent to deadly prisons or detention camps. The compromise Justinian reached with the communist regime had one positive outcome: he prevented the destruction of an important number of places of worship. However, between 1958 and 1963, 2,500 priests, monks and nuns were arrested, another 2,000 were forced to abandon their religious activities and in 1959 the three existing religious seminaries were closed down.²¹

The Romanian Greco-Catholic Church had to make enormous sacrifices as well. The Greco-Catholic cult was founded in 1699 when Orthodox worshippers in Transylvania, while preserving their rituals, severed all administrative ties with the high religious hierarchy and recognized the authority of the Vatican.²² In July 1948 the government denounced the agreement with the Vatican. A document concluded in 1927 between the Romanian state and the Holy See regulated the statute of the country's Greco-Catholic population. In December 1948 about 1.5 million people were affected by the government Decree No. 358 banning the cult and forcing its members to return to the "mother church". The possessions of the Greco-Catholic denomination were nationalized and most of its high clergy was arrested. The Greco-Catholic priests who opposed the measure were also arrested and soon enough Communist prisons were holding 600 priests who refused the government's decision to unify the two cults. The large number (1,725) of Greco-Catholic places of worship was an enticement for the BOR to support the authorities and "its fusion with the Greco-Catholics"²³. However, despite the BOR's position of compromise with the communist regime, members of both churches were indiscriminately victimized.

19 Ibid. p. 55.

20 Enciclopedia României, Vol. I, edited by the Scientific Association for the Romanian Encyclopaedia, București, 1937, p. 422.

21 Adrian Cioroianu, "Comunismul românesc, fețele represiunii", in: Arhiva durerii, Pionier Press, Stockholm & Fundația Academia Civică, București, 2000, p. 45.

22 In 1948 the Greco-Catholic Church had approximately 1,5 million followers, a metropolitan bishop, Ioan Suci, in Blaj, five dioceses in Oradea, Cluj, Baia Mare, Lugoj and Bucharest and 1,725 places of worship.

23 Dennis Deletant, *România sub regimul comunist*, București: Fundația Academia Civică, 1997, p. 72.

In an attempt to settle the dispute, all Greco-Catholic bishops signed a collective letter on June 29, 1948 in which they answered to the accusations made by the BOR. They explained what the union with Rome meant and why it was not a division of the Romanian people.²⁴ Nonetheless the brutal measures of “return to the mother-church” continued without restrictions. In a 1951 trial the Apostolic Nuntiatura was accused of espionage. The mockery of a trial was conceived by the Communist regime as a method to sentence hierarchally high priests to 10 years in prison or forced labour for life. After the trial, priests were put under surveillance and, in the course of the same year, 417,916 Greco-Catholics had personal files while 5,401 were in custody.²⁵

The Soviet model was applied also to the economy. Legal measures, based on the Constitution of 1948, were taken towards national ownership of capital means of production. The compensations established by law were minimal. The nationalization of private property was in fact a method of expropriation for the benefit of the state. With the purpose of creating a centralized economy, Decree No. 119 of 1948 established an economic planning body. In this the State Commission for Planning was responsible for developing a general economic plan in conformity with the outlines given by the Council of Ministers. The meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of March 3rd through 5th 1949 decided to begin with the collectivization of the land. This process was officially accomplished by April 1962, as was announced at an extraordinary meeting of the Grand National Assembly.²⁶ The fiscal reform was intended to level the differences in wealth of the population and was carried out in two phases, in 1947 and 1952. The commodity exchange was closed, the state took control of all internal and foreign trade and houses were nationalized in 1950. As a result of all these measures private property became obsolete.

2. *The Means of Terror*

On August 30, 1948, the communist government passed Decree No. 221 creating the “Direcția Generală a Securității Poporului” (DGSP)²⁷, better known as the Securitate. In January 1949 the police and the gendarmerie ceased to exist and were replaced with the Miliția. The most important apparatus of the repressive regime was now in place and it started to give the expected results. Because this was one of Moscow’s puppet regimes, the Securitate also was just an appendix of the similar Soviet institution. The political police in Romania was not just organized after the Soviet model, it was actually led by Soviet advisors. The chief advisor to the Securitate was Aleksandr Mikhailovich

24 Cristian Vasile, *Istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice sub regimul comunist 1945-1989*, Iași: Polirom, 2003, p. 11.

25 *Ibid.* p. 20.

26 See details in *Colectivizarea agriculturii în România. Dimensiunea politică 1949-1953*, coordinated by Dan Cătănuș and Octavian Roșke, edited by the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism (Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului), București, 2000 and Bogdan Tănăsescu, *Colectivizarea agriculturii între propagandă și realitate*, București: Humanitas, 1994.

27 The DGSP was restructured several times since inception. In 1951, 12 departments were created operating under the name Direcția Generală a Securității Poporului. A new restructuring took place in 1956, after which there were nine departments and six services. Between 1973 and 1989, the DGSP reduced the number of departments to six plus other surveillance, signals, research and misinformation sections. We will refer to it as the Securitate.

Sakharovsky. In the beginning the Soviet advisors were assigned to teach Romanian officers how to organize the newly created departments. In reality they were "reinforcing the group of officers and Soviet agents at the upper levels of the Securitate".²⁸ It is known that Gheorghe Pintilie²⁹, its first chief, and his assistants, Vladimir Mazuru and Alexandru Nicolschi, were all experienced Soviet agents. Although the presence of Soviet advisors in the Securitate offices was justified in agreements as being necessary to help organize work and train officers, their activity was in fact more complex. They intervened in cases they considered important, made copies of reports and recruited informers to work only for them and reported everything directly to Moscow, in breach of all the agreements between the two secret services.

In 1948 the chief of the Securitate was General Gheorghe Pintilie and the institution had ten main central departments and several regional departments. Since its creation, the secret services tried to enroll only people with a "clean" political record and devoted to the interests of the new regime. Article 2 of Decree No. 221 listed the functions it was meant to carry out and stated the need "to defend the democratic achievements and to protect the security of the People's Republic of Romania from enemies at home or abroad"³⁰. "Enemies of the people" were primarily political opponents, but were also different social groups including those classes the Communists supposedly represented—workers and peasants. It was clear the regime could only be maintained and consolidated with oppressive measures and the Securitate was intended to be the sword in the hands of an unforgiving communist party.

Surprisingly, in its first decade of existence the new institution faced a major personnel crisis despite important material advantages it offered. The criteria for selection were a "healthy social origin" and class hatred. Two years after inception the Securitate consisted of only 5,000 personnel.³¹ By 1951 that number doubled but it remained below the 15,280 persons the apparatus made provisions for on its organizational chart. These employees had the following backgrounds: 4,173 were former industrial workers, 143 had worked in agriculture, 3,484 had been poor peasants, 508 small farmers, 853 former senior civil servants, 131 civil servants, 107 former storekeepers, etc.³² The ethnic composition of the top echelons of the Securitate was as follows: of the 60 officers in decision making

28 SRI, op. cit. (see note 18), Vol. II, p. 28.

29 Gheorghe Pintilie (1902-1985) alias Pintilie Bondarenco, alias Pantelei Bodnarenko, alias Pantiuşa, was one of the most important figures in the political police hierarchy in the first years of the Communist regime. He led the Securitate in the period of Stalinist oppressions and was responsible for the arrests, deportations and internment of around 400,000 people. See biographic details in Marius Oprea, *Banalitatea răului. O istorie a Securităţii în documente 1949-1989*, Iaşi: Polirom, 2002.

30 Marius Oprea, "Naşterea Securităţii", in: *Analele Sighet 6, Anul 1948 – instituționalizarea comunismului*, Bucureşti: Fundația Academia Civică, 1998, p. 272.

31 According to Dennis Deletant, Securitate personnel increased to 15,312 persons in 1989. In addition, the number of Securitate troops was 38,682 in a country of 23 million. By comparison, the Stasi, the similar secret service in East Germany, was much larger. In 1989 the Ministry of State Security had 95,000 employees, 16,000 of them were troops, in a country of 17 million people. These numbers show that the Securitate "was half the size of the East German instrument of repression". We should also mention that the Securitate was paying 400,000 informers while the Stasi only 100,000. See Dennis Deletant, *Ceauşescu și Securitatea*, Bucureşti: Humanitas, 1998, p. 11. Jens Gieseke, *Concernul Mielke*, Bucureşti: Editura Ziua, 2002, p. 68 and p. 107, brings similar numbers; according to him in 1989 Stasi had 91,000 employees and 173,000 informers.

32 Marius Oprea, *Banalitatea răului*, op. cit., p. 43.

positions 38 were Romanian, 14 were Jewish, three Hungarian, three Russian (Pintilie, Nicolschi and Mazuru), two Ukrainians, one Czech and one Armenian.³³ The professional qualifications of 25 superior officers in the central departments were: two electricians, two carpenters, a locksmith, an iron smith, a lathe operator, a handicraft worker, a tailor, a pharmacy clerk, an elementary school teacher, a doctor, an accountant and a lawyer - one person with an elementary school education and five with higher studies. For the other five the educational background was not mentioned.³⁴

It was clear that Romanian espionage services did not have trained, qualified personnel in intelligence-gathering work. In 1948, when the institution was created, it did not have a special department for espionage and counter-intelligence (one such department existed in the Army's Information Service). In 1951 the Securitate was restructured and with this occasion it took over the espionage department and named it First Directorate. The first measure taken by this office was to check on its own personnel in order to eliminate "dishonest and shady characters"³⁵. In 1955, a yearly report assessing the progress of the new department mentioned certain shortcomings. In the First Directorate the number of foreign agents was insufficient and of lesser quality. "Because the department failed to investigate thoroughly the candidates, many double agents, dregs, infiltrated our network"³⁶.

The same report explains that the 74 officers hired in 1955 came from other sections of the Ministry of Interior: "37 of them are former frontier guards and administrative employees and have no training in intelligence work. Only eight of them have college degrees, 32 officers finished high school and 36 have just elementary school education. None of them speaks a foreign language well enough so we can use them in operative work"³⁷. The following measures were taken: 20 officers were selected and, after completing a five-month course in the Russian language, were sent to the Soviet Union for special training. The department sent its other personnel back to school, 34 of which enrolled in elementary school and 85 in middle-class. All the positions in the organizational chart were not filled, although the central and regional departments employed 161 officers (only 19 of these had a college education, 59 had high school diplomas and 83 attended only elementary school).³⁸ The new institution needed another 116.

In these conditions it is not surprising that the spies of the Communist regime, unqualified but interested in their personal financial gains, were not able to recruit new agents and were insulting and arrogant towards those working for them. In an episode the aforementioned report notes, Lt. Major Chirilescu Ilie, in charge of the London base, did not recruit one single person in four years. Moreover, when one of his agents asked him what problems to look into, the lieutenant responded: "to find a solution to lift the London fog"³⁹. Without an intellectual formation, the Romanian Securitate officers were nonetheless ruthless in their activity against "the enemies of the people".

33 Dennis Deletant, *Ceaușescu și Securitatea*, op. cit., p. 43.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

35 Central Historical National Archives of Romania, Fond PCR Central Committee, file 83/1955, leaf 101.

36 *Ibid.*, leaf. 108.

37 *Ibid.*, leaf. 121.

38 *Ibid.*, leaf 122.

39 *Ibid.*, leaf 117.

3. *Armed Resistance in the Mountains*

As expected, the institutionalized repression soon gave rise to the first forms of resistance. It involved members of the outlawed democratic parties, top politicians or businessmen whose properties were nationalized. But forms of opposition became apparent at all levels of the society, initiated by peasants who were trying to defend their traditional way of living, patriotic soldiers and intellectuals who felt they needed to protect the values of democracy. Peasants disliked the collectivization measures that deprived them of their little farms, and traders and small businessmen were also discontent. The entire Romanian society was troubled and resented the measures taken by the communists. Those who could expect reprisals, members of dissolved political parties and former members of the Legion, fled to the mountains. The waves of arrests and harsh sentences forced many in danger of falling victim to the oppression to join the ones who found refuge in remote places. This diversity of social and professional categories explains why the resistance groups did not have political platforms; their common denominator was an anti-communist struggle that lasted for over a decade.

Securitate reports indicate the proportions of these phenomena, in which a total of 1,196 resistance groups were identified between 1945 and 1959. 200 of these plus 33 "terrorist bands" were already reported as early as 1949. The groups operated in 19 geographical areas (important zones of resistance were in Bucovina, the Apuseni Mountains, Argeş, Vrancea, Muscel and Tulcea), rugged places in the mountains or isolated forests and marshes along the Danube. They received support in information and supplies from neighbouring villages.

In the beginning, the resistance groups comprised two to five persons. They "knew each other very well because they were either related or lived in the same village, belonged to the same political party, fought in war together or had been recommended by an important politician etc. Some of them would become leaders of future resistance groups".⁴⁰ Other groups were created by political leaders, especially legionnaires, who set up shelters with food and arms along the escape routes that led them out of the country.⁴¹ Initially the communist propaganda labeled them "fugitives" and maintained that they were on the run because they broke the law. Then they were coined as "bandits", "legionnaires" or "terrorists" and efforts to eliminate them were increased.

The years 1946 and 1947 saw very few conflicts between authorities and partisan groups but, by 1948, these groups were better prepared for an eventual confrontation. They had strengthened ties with locals who provided them with clothes, food, medicine, and logistic materials. They grew in number; the most important counting five to twelve persons led by a commander. Some of them were professional combatants, former officers in the Romanian army with experience in war. They had easier access to arms, especially to those big depots left behind by the retreating German army. Also, beginning with 1948, authorities became increasingly irritated by the "bands" in the mountains passing on leaflets, urging the population to defy the regime and even organizing acts of sabotage.

40 Ibid., Vol. II, p. 77.

41 Ibid.

Some rumors were circulating, spread by naïve Romanians, that the American army was supporting these acts and that the resistance in the mountains preceded the moment when American troops would cross the borders, topple the government and free the country. In reality these fighters did not receive substantial support from the West. In Europe, the United States organized training camps for volunteers from the countries behind the Iron Curtain who were then parachuted into those countries to gather intelligence and commit subversive acts. Those individuals were trained in radio signals, arms and coded military maps. The Romanian volunteers who participated in this type of mission were often eliminated by the Securitate before they could reach partisan groups. Moreover, after Stalin's death, the United States lost interest in these actions; the Soviets having adopted the doctrine of "peaceful coexistence". The West seemed to take this new line seriously while immigrant communities from the communist countries felt abandoned. In this context, in 1953 the parachuting of volunteers stopped and in 1954 the training programs were closed down.

In the meantime a new institution was created as part of the Third Directorate: Counter Sabotage Intelligence, with the mission to take action to "liquidate" the anti-communist resistance. This service set up commandos of strategists, psychologists and operatives specialized in fighting partisan groups in the mountains.⁴² "Bands Service", as it was called, brought together Securitate officers, commanders of regional Securitate troops and special Militia units. The authorities made substantial efforts to eliminate "the bands", but were worried about the legendary aura the resistance groups enjoyed among the general population and the support they received, especially between 1949 and 1950 in the areas where they operated. The danger of peasants in those regions joining the "partisans" was real, as more and more Romanian villages became the scenes of uprisings caused by recently imposed agricultural quotas. This explains why Securitate leaders started monitoring all resistance groups and improved the gathering of intelligence by recruiting agents in the rural areas where the anti-communist resistance fighters were active.

An early follow-up report on the situation dated April 16, 1951 made note of groups of partisans and isolated fugitives operating in the regions of Argeș, Timișoara, Sibiu, Brașov, Cluj, Bacău, Arad and Suceava. It also stated: "They (the groups) were able to escape our forces. As a general rule these bands show up in or around villages where their members were born, there they find support from their families, relatives and friends". The report recommended "forest keepers to be responsible for the areas where they patrol and to inform in time their superiors if they saw any criminals around. The regional Securitate departments should study the plans of forest works in their region and replenish and check on their network of forest keepers informants"⁴³. A 1951 Securitate statistic showed who the partisans were: of 804 persons arrested for being members of 17 resistance groups or their supporters 585 were peasants, 71 were workers, 30 were middle-class individuals, 25 students, 17 civil servants, 15 priests, 15 small shopkeepers, 13 former soldiers and others.⁴⁴

42 Ruxandra Cesereanu, *Călătorie spre centrul infernului. Gulagul în conștiința românească*, București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1998, p. 181.

43 ASRI, fond D, file 2168, leaf 301 and following.

Despite these arrests, the overall measures taken by authorities were not sufficient. A report on the matter dated September 16, 1952 mentioned an increase in resistance actions although a July 1952 Securitate order provided for the creation of regional mixed operative groups in charge with identifying and destroying the "bandits".⁴⁵ The lack of success was due to poor intelligence. A report made by Lt. Colonel Pavel Aranici, the chief of the "Bands Service", on February 16, 1953 pointed out the shortcomings of Securitate's actions against the partisans hiding in the mountains. One point of criticism was that "we did not insist on building a network of capable informants, we used unqualified, superficial informants some of whom were double agents. The operative group did not train the informants. We continued to recruit people without having a profile of the informer"⁴⁶.

The repressive system went through a reorganization and the Ministry of State Security was created on September 18, 1952. In a May 8, 1953 assessment of the special service in charge of the problem it is indicated that 11 members of the bands and 28 isolated fugitives were caught or killed in the first semester of the year. It also estimated the number of those who had chosen the armed anti-communist resistance at 139.

The odyssey of these people hunted by the secret police continued until 1959. The 1956 Revolution in Hungary had the effect of emboldening both parties. On one side, the anti-communist fighters believed that a popular uprising could overthrow the communist regime, and on the other side, the government decided it was time to eradicate the armed resistance in the mountains. According to Securitate documents, at the end of 1959, 13,279 people were sentenced to prison. These were not only resistance fighters but also those who helped them with information and supplies. A further 463 were confined to forced residences. The number of those killed in the mountains or in Securitate interrogations remains unknown. In 1960 the last "bandit", Gheorghe Arsenescu, was apprehended and marked the final episode of the resistance in the mountains. One exception, the fugitive Ion Gavriilă Ogoranu, leader of one of the partisan groups, continued to humiliate the Securitate agents in their attempts to catch him until 1976. His personal account concludes this chapter: "When the Securitate got back from the mountains with empty hands, without catching any of us, their hatred lashed out and they made mass arrests in Făgăraș as well as in the villages of the former county, senselessly, disorderly...They first swooped on our families and took relatives away. They sent us the message that if we did not stop they would die [...]. Priests, teachers, notaries and many peasants are being arrested. Their actions show hatred of all that is intelligence, dignity and humanity [...]. Young people are terrorized. Girls and boys are taken by the Securitate, a sane person could not understand the reason for the physical and mental torture the people of this poor corner of the country have to endure, nor could one describe it. What happened in the Securitate dungeons can be better understood in the words of a girl from Șercăița who returned, not in her right mind, and told the priest in the church preaching about hell: ,Father, Hell is not where you say it is, Hell is where I've been."⁴⁷

44 SRI, op. cit. (see note 18), p. 82.

45 ASRI, fond D, file 2168, leaf 166.

46 Ibid., leaf 87-90.

47 Ion Gavriilă Ogoranu, *Brazii se frîng, dar nu se îndoiesc*, Timișoara: Marineasa, 1993, pp. 317-318.

4. The Universe of Romanian Detention Camps

After the communists seized power they sought to build a legal framework that would justify the repression. The legislative provisions that legalized forced labour camps or sentenced certain individuals to house arrest were in some cases public, in others secret. They were drafted by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly and by the government.

These legislative acts used generic terms and they often contradicted the constitutional laws of the time. For example, articles 28 and 30 of the 1948 Constitution of the Romanian People's Republic provided that "no individual can be detained or arrested for longer than 48 hours without a warrant from the district attorney, the lawful organs or without a court order in accordance with the law"⁴⁸. Article 87 of the 1952 Constitution maintained guarantees for civil liberties in similar terms. However certain acts were passed in contradiction with the Constitution. The Decree No. 6 art. 2 from January 14, 1950 and the Decision of the Council of Ministers No. 1554/1952 gave the authorities extensive rights to decide a person's administrative internment - so extensive that anybody could have been targeted for reasons that did not even constitute as crimes.

In this way party activists, Securitate officers and forced labour camp commanders enjoyed discretionary powers. In a 1968 investigation Colonel Ilie Bădică, deputy chief of the Department of Prisons and Detention Camps in the early 1950's, declared that many detentions, arrests and internments were completely arbitrary. He exemplified saying that Gheorghe Hosu, general manager of the Danube-Black Sea Canal⁴⁹, used to call the Minister of Interior any time he needed a workforce and ask for a certain number of people. The Minister of Interior then ordered the chief of the Investigations Department to find that number. At its turn, this department made a regional distribution and proceeded to detain individuals and send them to forced labour camps. The report noted many dramatic examples of abuse. There was a case of 300 students at the Faculty of Medicine who were interned in the Rahova triage camp for three months in 1951 because, lacking adequate manuals, went to study at the French library.⁵⁰ "There was no authority that could have challenged the legality of these measures"⁵¹, concluded the report.

In other words many were arrested in clear breach of existing laws and only a posteriori did authorities pass decrees and legal acts to try to provide legality to their measures. Most of the time the files of those arrested did not contain documents proving the reasons for their arrest. It all seemed like a game of destiny in which the Communist regime was throwing the dice.

48 Ioan Muraru, *Constituțiile României*. Culegere, București: Bucharest University Press, 1980, p. 63.

49 The Danube-Black Sea Canal was a grandiose project of the Communist regime. The General Department of the Danube-Black Sea Canal Works was created in May 1949. Many construction sites (around 33) were in fact forced labour camps. In the 1950's detainees were sent to work on those sites under inhuman conditions. Later socialist construction companies took over the project and the Canal was inaugurated on May 25, 1984.

50 *România liberă* newspaper, January 2, 2004. See details about arrests and sentencing of Romanian citizens who frequented Western libraries and cultural centers in the early 1950s in Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, "Procesul bibliotecilor engleză și americană", and in the volume of studies *Anii 1949-1953. Mecanismele terorii*, București: Fundația Academia Civică, 1999, p. 321.

51 *România liberă* newspaper, January 2, 2004.

What was the true number of political prisoners during the Communist regime? It is still disputed today as different figures have been advanced. Authors who wrote memoirs spoke about much larger numbers than authorities. But it is likely that, in the early 50's, there were 180,000 prisoners in Romania for political reasons. Other figures are: 12,915 arrested between 1944 and 1949, 91,333 between 1950 and 1968. In addition, a 1961 report mentioned 34,738 peasants arrested in 1951 and 1952. A number of 60,000 was sent to a forced residence from 1949 to 1964. Another 25,740 individuals⁵² were sent to administrative internment in forced labour camps between 1950 and 1954 and again between 1958 and 1963. We also have to consider those who were arrested without legal procedures.

Forced labour camps, detention and deportation centers were set up all over the country. These places were "specialized" in categories of detainees. The Sighet prison⁵³, in the North of the country, near the border to the Soviet Union, was where the first prisoners were sent in 1948. They were political personalities, leaders of the democratic parties, Greco-Catholic bishops and intellectuals, locked away at Sighet because they were considered extremely dangerous to the regime. Generally all the detention centers of the Communist regime had a very tough system, in which precarious living conditions and physical and moral torture designed to exterminate the prisoners was rampant. The year 1949 marks the beginning, under strict secrecy, of the process of "reeducation" inside the Communist prison system. The "reeducation" was conceived as a method of rehabilitation of prisoners, a way of ensuring they would pose no risk once they returned into society. It began in December 1949, in Pitești, where the majority of inmates were students, supporters of the outlawed political parties. The Pitești experiment, as it became known, was in fact a method of "brain washing" coordinated by detainees themselves (a surprising and unsettling aspect if we consider its cruelty). A former law student, legionnaire turned communist, Eugen Țurcanu, with the support of the prison administrators and the consent of Alexandru Nicolski, deputy director of the Securitate, set up the Organization of Detainees with Communist Convictions. This organization, whose leader and coordinator was Țurcanu himself, recruited detainees in charge of the "reeducation". In reality cellmates, who often were school colleagues, were separated into torturers and victims. In order to give an idea of what torture meant, these were some methods practised: beatings with clubs, electric cords or canes, teeth pulling, finger and nail crushing with a special tongs, long interrogations, food and sleep deprivation, uninterrupted walks around the cell from 6 in the morning to 10 at night (called "roundabout"), hanging on a hook, or having one's hands tied while two or four bricks were hung from the testicles. Some prisoners had their heads pushed into the faeces bucket and were forced to eat and drink from it. Detainees infected with tuberculosis were made to spit in their colleagues' mouths and, at night, in the Trivale forest, executions were simulated.

52 Adrian Cioroianu, op. cit., p. 52.

53 The Sighet prison for common criminals was opened in 1898 and closed in 1974. After 1990, the Fundația Academia Civică (Civic Academy Foundation) transformed its premises into a research center on Communist studies and a museum dedicated to the victims of communism.

The Pitești prison, although not alone, offers probably the worst example of this type of torture. Eugen Țurcanu and his colleagues were transferred to other prisons to implement the reeducation process. The experiment ended in 1954 when the authorities executed Țurcanu and denounced his initiative. The official reason was that everything was conceived and conducted by legionnaire detainees without the knowledge of the Department of Prisons.⁵⁴

After 1953 Romania did not go through a phase of de-stalinization per se, but the openness was apparent. On the contrary side, Gheorghiu-Dej continued to eliminate his political opponents. The most prominent, Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, minister of justice between 1945 and 1948, accused of espionage and treason, was executed on April 17, 1954. During the same trial several others were sentenced to death, but their names were not released. While in the other Eastern Bloc countries the communist parties soon after Stalin's death stopped hunting the „enemies of the people”, in Romania the party leaders were still preoccupied with eliminating individuals who challenged them and had the potential of rising to leadership positions.

However, after he realized that Khrushchev supported replacing general secretaries of the communist parties with believers in de-stalinization, Dej played the card of independence. As a strategy to stay in power, he initiated a dialogue with the West. In order to ingratiate himself with governments of Western countries, in 1954 Gheorghiu-Dej offered to open negotiations with London and Washington to pay Romania's debt to the citizens of the two countries. He also asked, through the US chief of mission in Romania, for US economic assistance and cooperation. He achieved a degree of success as Romanian officials concluded a number of trade agreements, production contracts, exporting licences and improved cultural ties⁵⁵ with the US. Romania made several appeals to be allowed to join the United Nations Organization, and became a member in December 1955. Internally, between 1962 and 1964 political prisoners were freed after the Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej government passed a wave of nominal decrees. This was not exactly a humanitarian decision because it was clear at that point that those who had been in prison were not a threat to socialism anymore. Before being released, detainees were asked to sign a declaration agreeing to never reveal what they experienced in prison. The Securitate later used intimidation and threats and blackmailed many of them into becoming informers.

At the beginning of 1960's the unity of the communist Bloc was eroding. The relations between the USSR and China were deteriorating and Romania itself was facing Soviet actions, as proved by the Valev Plan. This plan proposed a specialization of the economies of the countries in the Eastern Bloc into industrial and agrarian countries. Gheorghiu-Dej, who in 1962 had opposed any program of supranational economic planning and integration, immediately rejected the plan, dissatisfied with the role as an agrarian country Romania was to play. The USSR's opposition to his plans of fast industrialization caused him to look towards the West for support. The Romanian leader went as far

54 See a selection of documents about the "Pitești experiment" from the archive of the former Securitate in Memorialul ororii. Documente ale procesului reeducării din închisorile Pitești, Gherla, București: Vremea, 1995.

55 Adrian Pop, „Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej”, in: *Dosarele Istoriei*, no. 3 (31) 1999, p. 43.

as to send the message to Western governments that Romania would remain neutral in an eventual conflict with the Eastern Bloc. In addition, Romania was the only country that, without approval from the Kremlin, could publish excerpts from the letter of the Central Committee of the Chinese communist party dated June 14, 1963, "Proposals for a common position of the communist international movement", making reference to differences of opinion between Moscow and Beijing. With this new orientation, reinforced by the decision to free political prisoners from detention centers and forced labour camps the communist regime in Bucharest tried to suggest to the West that it adopted a policy of openness, political appeasement and rejection of Stalinist repression practices. In reality, this was an illusion.

5. A New Leader, a New Regime: Nicolae Ceaușescu

Gheorghiu-Dej died on March 19, 1965. Although there is no proof, a rumour circulated that he was assassinated by Moscow. It is possible that the rumour originated inside the communist party. Supposedly Nicolae Ceaușescu, his successor, was heard saying that Dej had been irradiated by the Soviets during one of his visits to Moscow and developed an untreatable form of cancer discovered too late.⁵⁶ After the death of the party leader an intense behind-the-scenes competition for his succession began. Then, at the Plenum meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Worker's Party, held on March 22, 1965, Nicolae Ceaușescu, proposed by prime minister Gheorghe Maurer with the support of the Political Bureau, was elected First Party Secretary. It was a surprising choice as Ceaușescu was one of the least qualified in the communist nomenclature.⁵⁷ A dying Gheorghiu-Dej asked Gheorghe Maurer to support Gheorghe Apostol, his preference for a successor. However, his wish was not respected. Ceaușescu had managed to convince Maurer that he was the right person and promised him a prime minister seat for as long as he was party leader.⁵⁸

In July 1965, the IX Party Congress determined the economic policy that would shape the country's future. Taking note of the economic decline, the party decided to adopt a new strategy for the next five years (1965-1970), the aim of which was to increase industrial production. This was in fact a perpetuation of the Stalinist industrialization policy, without taking into account the country's resources or the economic laws of offer and demand. Other decisions taken on this occasion were: to change the name of the Romanian Workers Party (PMR) to Romanian Communist Party (PCR) and to take measures to limit a person's concurrent party and state functions. Later Ceaușescu disregarded this amendment and concentrated all political power in his hands while promoting his cronies in state offices. The day he was elected to the top party position Ceaușescu organized a meeting of the Central

56 See Ion Mihai Pacepa (former deputy chief of the Foreign Intelligence Department – DIE, who fled the country and found refuge in the United States in 1978), *Moștenirea Kremlinului*, București, Venus, 1993, pp. 255-256.

57 See the perceptive analysis in Ghiță Ionescu, *Communism in Rumania, 1944–1962*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964. Ghiță Ionescu was the first political analyst to predict Ceaușescu's succession years before it happened. See biographic details about Nicolae Ceaușescu in Thomas Kunze, *Nicolae Ceaușescu. Eine Biographie*, Berlin: Chr. Links, 2000.

58 About the friendship between Gheorghiu-Dej and Gheorghe Apostol see Gheorghe Apostol, *Eu și Gheorghiu-Dej*. A house edition, 1998.

Committee, State Council and Council of Ministers. At that meeting he proposed measures to immortalize Gheorghiu-Dej: editing the former leader's works and his biography, erecting his statue in Bucharest and other cities, placing commemorative plaques, creating a national scholarship under his name, naming towns and factories after him, issuing a memorial stamp etc. An opportunist, Ceaușescu understood that he had to speculate the momentous emotional reactions and, at the same time, consolidate his position. The old Gheorghiu-Dej guard did not suspect what was to come in the next three years.

Between April 22nd and 25th, 1968 Ceaușescu convened the Plenum of the Central Committee and condemned the mistakes and transgressions of "socialist laws" under the Gheorghiu-Dej regime. This was a strategic move intended to alienate certain individuals from power structures. They belonged to the former dictator's circle and he felt their loyalty was questionable. The Plenum meeting had an apparently ordinary agenda (problems in education, the international activity of the party, etc.), however the last point, number 6, referred to the rehabilitation of certain party activists. Ceaușescu condemned Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu's execution (leader of the party executed by Gheorghiu-Dej in 1954) and the assassination of Ștefan Foriș, though in reality was aiming at Alexandru Drăghici and the Ministry of Interior he was leading. Drăghici was the only communist interested in the position Ceaușescu had inside the party, and the latter felt threatened by his influence. Essentially that meeting was used by Ceaușescu to politically eliminate Drăghici.

History was repeating itself. The new communist leader put in practice the lessons learned from Gheorghiu-Dej who had eliminated his party rivals in 1952. In just three years Ceaușescu had a strategy to reach his ultimate goal: power monopoly. Far from being the "Supreme Leader" he later became, in 1965 he had to share decision-making with Chivu Stoica, president of the State Council and Gheorghe Maurer, prime minister and strongest supporter. A few years later the situation was completely different. In December 1967 Chivu Stoica lost his position to Ceaușescu who was elected president of the State Council. Maurer was eliminated some years later because his office made him more influential. He eventually gave in to the pressure and in 1974 asked to be released of his responsibilities as president of the Council of Ministers.

1968 was a crucial year in Ceaușescu's rise to power. Historian Adrian Cioroianu used an inspired phrase when he stated that "the one person who contributed to Ceaușescu's image inside the country and abroad was not his victim, Pătrășcanu, but Leonid Brezhnev when he decided to invade Socialist Czechoslovakia"⁵⁹. When Soviet tanks were deployed to suppress the Prague Spring, Nicolae Ceaușescu was the only communist leader in the Warsaw Pact countries who refused to send military aid. He took an apparently even more courageous stance when on August 21 he organized a public protest and condemned the USSR's brutality. He declared that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was a dangerous mistake and that Romania decided to defend herself and her socialist system. This political attitude transformed him "from Hero to Idol. Under these circumstances the idea of power sharing became obsolete. From that moment on Ceaușescu became the uncontested center of the

59 Adrian Cioroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

party and the members of the governing elite equated their loyalty to him with a patriotic duty"⁶⁰ Thus, at the end of 1968 Romania was regarded as a socialist country, separated from the rest of the bloc, whose leader was courageous, just, and great. Enjoying international acclaim, Ceaușescu moved to control all power structures and eliminate any sign of opposition so that soon the party existed only for him, the Leader. The "rebel" in Bucharest played the independence card so well that any opposition to him was associated with sympathy towards the USSR.⁶¹

A 1974 Plenum of the Central Committee meeting decided to create the office of President of the republic (which did not exist) and recommended Nicolae Ceaușescu for this position. After two days the Grand National Assembly (the state legislative body) amended the Constitution and created the office of President of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Ceaușescu was elected with unanimity of votes. He was reelected thereafter every five years (on March 18, 1975, March 28, 1980, and March 29, 1985) and exercised his authority until December 1989.

6. The Failure of Communist Dictatorship. Dissident Gestures

Soon enough it became clear that Ceaușescu's liberalism in the late '60s had been simply circumstantial. The economic decline was deeply affecting a population struggling in sheer poverty while the dictator's personality cult was growing out of proportion. "The liberalist circumstances were a source of personal legitimacy for him (Ceaușescu), a different source than his nomination by the Political Bureau, which was a team inherited from a former leader he had denounced.⁶² The regime changed one strategy to gain legitimacy, the liberalist concessions, with another, the personality cult of the individual who had unlimited power"⁶³. The Romanian society advanced into a post-Stalinist phase in which repression played the same well-established role. Ceaușescu's repressive measures, in the analysts' opinion today, "were not methods of punishment for mistakes, they were intended to prevent any, they had a preventive, not a punishing character; transgressions were impeded by a generalization of the presumption of guilt, only the dictator was allowed to be infallible. [...] The presumption of guilt was not directed at specific groups or individuals, it weighed on the entire population"⁶⁴. Around the same time Ceaușescu's megalomaniac plans for the country's speedy industrialization proved to be a failure. By the late 1970s and beginning 1980s the problems were serious; the industry could not perform at maximum capacity because it depended on imported raw materials (as in the case of the petrochemical industry), and the country accumulated a huge foreign

60 Ibid.

61 Although Nicolae Ceaușescu made several gestures that suggested a desire to distance himself from the Soviet Union, most were simple theatrics. His declarations of opposition to the USSR policies within the Warsaw Pact, the CAER (The Council for Mutual Economic Aid) or in UN debates did not affect Romania's relations with the USSR. General Pacepa stated that everything was carefully scripted and planned by the leaders of the two countries, the Soviet Union using Romania as an instrument to penetrate the free world.

62 Referring to Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej.

63 Pavel Câmpeanu, Ceaușescu, anii numărătorii inverse, Iași: Polirom, 2002, p. 258.

64 Ibid., p. 259

debt of over 10 billion dollars in loans it contracted and used for industrialization. This critical situation determined Ceaușescu to take an extreme and unfortunate measure: to stop taking any loans and to pay back all the country's debt. With great efforts all the foreign debt was paid by April 1989. The population had to suffer the consequences of this decision and living standards dropped dramatically. The same year, proud of this accomplishment, Ceaușescu stated that not only did Romania succeed in paying the foreign debt but was also ready to give loans to other states. While the population felt the effects of the lack of food, energy and basic products, the dictatorial couple maintained an opulent lifestyle. In addition, Ceaușescu did not give up his grandiose projects for reconstruction. The country's old and heritage buildings were torn down over night to be replaced with working-class districts resembling ghettos and gigantic buildings for different party organizations. Not only did Ceaușescu destroy the aspect of cities (Bucharest in particular), but also designed and personally supervised the process of systematization of villages. A Central Commission for Villages Systematization, created as early as 1965, was in charge with erasing thousands of villages all over the country and raising in their place small, gloomy towns, without such comforts of modern life like running water and gas. "In 1985 it was officially announced that by 1990 between 90 and 95% of the population would live in apartment buildings. Only 900 of the existing 2 705 small rural towns were to be spared and just 5,000 to 6,000 villages were to survive systematization plans, 90 to 95% reorganized".⁶⁵

Beginning in 1971 Ceaușescu also increasingly interfered with and censored cultural life. Upon his return from a visit to China and North Korea he proclaimed and staged a mini-cultural revolution of Asian inspiration. He organized giant events in stadiums and on open spaces and elaborate shows in which the presidential couple was received with adulation by "the people". The birth of the "new man" in the Communist society was proclaimed. Although the Securitate kept a tight grip on the society, there were some reactions of opposition to the Cultural Revolution. In 1972, at a meeting with Ceaușescu, poet Anatol Baconski and sculptor George Apostu voiced their protests. Writer Victor Frunză sent a letter to the news agency Reuters criticizing human rights violations and the dictator's personality cult.⁶⁶ The first significant protest against the regime was initiated by writer Paul Goma in 1977. He was inspired by events in Czechoslovakia where the movement Charter 77 was supported by many prominent Czech intellectuals. With the use of foreign radio posts like Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, he urged Romanian citizens to write a letter of sympathy to the movement, "a letter of solidarity with people repressed by the same Evil".⁶⁷ The Securitate used pressure and threats to isolate him but allowed him and those who signed the letter to leave the country. In November 1977 Goma and his family traveled to France where they were granted political asylum. In August 1977 another protest, of a social rather than political nature, occurred when the miners in Lupeni went on strike. Their initiative spread to the entire mining region Valea Jiului (Jiu Valley) and

65 Adrian Cioroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 63. For example, in order to build the People's House (today the Parliament building) in the center of Bucharest, entire districts of around 40,000 buildings were torn down.

66 See details in Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *Cultura lui Ceaușescu*, Iași: Polirom, 2003.

67 Mircea Stănescu, "Despre disidență în România comunistă (1977-1989)", in: *Sfera Politicii*, no. 106/2004, București, p. 40.

lasted for a week. State and party officials were surprised when the miners took the delegation sent there to negotiate hostage and refused to talk to anybody but to Ceaușescu himself. The party leader had no choice but to go and meet the strikers. He listened to their complaints about small wages, unsatisfactory health services, food and supply shortages, and made promises to improve their situation. After the situation was appeased the leaders of the strikers were deported and thousands of miners were displaced to other parts of the country.

There were no other mass protest demonstrations over the next 10 years, until the Brașov revolt in 1987, though there were isolated gestures and voices. In 1979, in Bucharest and other cities, the Free Union of Working People in Romania was created at the initiative of two founding members, Dr. Ionel Cană and Eng. Gheorghe Brașoveanu. The regime's reaction was swift: the two founders and some of the Union's members were arrested and isolated. In 1982, a humanities professor from Cluj, Doina Cornea, began to send numerous open letters to the West criticizing the social, cultural and economic policies of the Romanian dictator. These letters were broadcast over the radio in the free world and Doina Cornea was put under house arrest. Another dissident, Radu Filipescu, distributed anti-Ceaușescu manifestos in the mailboxes of Bucharest apartment buildings. He was sentenced to 10 years in prison. In 1985, an engineer and poet, Gheorghe Ursu, arrested by the Securitate for keeping an intimate anti-Ceaușescu journal and sending letters to Radio Free Europe, was killed in prison.⁶⁸

The Brașov uprising took place on November 15, 1987. On that day thousands of people marched on the streets chanting anti-Communist and anti-Ceaușescu slogans. In a matter of hours the authorities dispersed the demonstrators and the most troublesome individuals, thought to be their leaders, were arrested.⁶⁹ In March 1989 the Romanian public heard programmes about two letters of protest broadcast on foreign radio. The first letter was signed by six party members and became known as "the letter of the Six". Its authors were put under house arrest. The second, a pamphlet, was signed by poet Mircea Dinescu and was published in the French newspaper *Libération*. Mircea Dinescu was expelled from the party and fired from his job.⁷⁰

At the end of the 1980s the country lived in a state of terror and poverty worse than at the end of World War II. Food products were scarce, imports were drastically reduced, and energy was rationed. Nonetheless, at party congresses or public demonstrations, Ceaușescu continued to depict Romania as a country ready to offer loans to states in the Third World. He still declared that the process of building socialism was successful, as proven by the grandiose and expensive projects he personally oversaw. The new leader in Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev, and his reforms worsened the image of Ceaușescu in the West because the Romanian leader refused to adopt the new Kremlin line. By now the appreciation shown to him by the Western powers in late 1960s was practically nonexistent.

68 The Gheorghe Ursu case is a special one in the sense that, after 1990, it was the only case in which those responsible for his death were held accountable. Also biographic information and details about the "Ursu case" can be found in a book coordinated by Victor Bârsan, *Marea călătorie. Viața și moartea inginerului Gheorghe Ursu*, București: Pythagora, 1998.

69 See details in Marius Oprea and Stejărel Olaru, *Ziua care nu se uită*, 15 noiembrie 1987, Brașov, Iași: Polirom, 2002.

70 See an extensive chronology of the actions and movements of protest in the Addendum in the Romanian edition of the *Cărții negre a comunismului*, București: Humanitas and Fundația Academia Civică, 1998, pp. 773-776.

7. *The December Revolution*

In 1989, by the end of the summer, communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe were crumbling, but Romania remained quiet. Poland and Hungary were the first states where reform movements were successful. In Hungary many changes that brought about the fall of the regime were initiated from inside the party. The events escalated and the Berlin Wall fell in the German Democratic Republic, Todor Zhivkov lost power in Bulgaria and the Velvet Revolution swept over Czechoslovakia. In the last month of the year Romania captured the world's attention when a bloody revolution brought down the communist dictatorship.⁷¹

The beginning of the end of a nightmare that began after the Second World War and seemed to be everlasting came on December 15, 1989. In Timișoara, a city in the Western part of the country, a protestant minister, László Tökés, refused a transfer to an isolated parish. In solidarity, on December 15, a group of young people organized a vigil in front of the minister's church. The next day the event grew in size and the vigil became an anti-communist demonstration. December 17 was the first bloody day when the army opened fire on demonstrators and Timișoara became a city under siege. The army and Securitate troops intervened in force but the protest spread to Bucharest. Foreign radio stations reported the events and all over Romania people heard that finally communism was falling in their country. On December 21 Ceaușescu came back from a secretive visit to Iran and wanted to organize a big rally to condemn the "hooligan actions" in Timișoara. But, at the rally, things did not happen as planned and the crowd started to whistle him. On December 22 he fled from the roof of the Central Committee in a helicopter. The army joined the side of the demonstrators. Ceaușescu and his wife were caught within a few hours and were secretly locked up at a military base in Târgoviște. The public was unaware of this until, after three days, the National Salvation Front (Frontul Salvării Naționale, FSN), the political group that assumed control of power right after his escape, announced that Ceaușescu had been captured. He and his wife were tried and sentenced to death on December 25. The couple was executed by a squad at the military base where they were detained. An Extraordinary Military Tribunal was set up on December 25 on the premises of the military base where the dictatorial couple was detained. The charges against them were: genocide (over 60,000 victims), undermining the state (organizing armed interventions against the people and the state power), destroying public goods (demolition of certain buildings), undermining the country's economy and the attempt to flee the country after stashing over 1 billion dollars in foreign accounts. The sentence was expropriation and execution. Although throughout the trial the defendants refused to recognize the legitimacy of the court, they did not have time to act because the sentence was immediately carried out.⁷²

71 A comparative analysis of the communist regimes and the reformist movements that led to their dissolution can be found in R. J. Crampton, *Europa Răsăriteană în secolul al XX-lea... și după*, București: Curtea veche, 2002.

72 Studies on the subject: Constantin Sava, *Constantin Monac, Adevăr despre decembrie 1989*, București: Forum, 1999; Marius Mioc, *Revoluția fără mistere, Timișoara: Almanahul Banatului*, 2002 and the study edited by the Romanian Radio Society, *E un început în tot sfârșitul*, București:, 1998.

The armed intervention lasted until December 27 when the national television station was attacked. Petre Roman, the son of communist personality Walter Roman, was appointed prime minister of a provisional government by a decree of the Council of the National Salvation Front. On the streets of Bucharest the revolutionaries, many of them being quite young, chanted slogans. "For Christmas Romanians got their ration of freedom" was one, alluding to the fact that in the last decades of communism the population could buy food only on ration cards⁷³ from stores that were mostly empty.

II. The History of a Troubled Transition Period

The transition to democracy began after the bloody events of December 21 and 22 1989. However, the loss of lives continued over the following days as a result of a struggle for power and the new political leaders' desire to obscure secrets of the communist repression. A few figures can give an understanding of the human sacrifice during the troubled month of December 1989: between the 16th and 22nd the number of dead was 162, and 107 lay injured. After December 22, another 942 people died and 2,245 were injured.⁷⁴ These last victims of decades of communism show the heavy price the country had to pay for its liberation. Although the question of the identity of those who opened fire on demonstrators, the so-called "terrorists", was largely debated, the mystery has not been solved even to this day. Some of them were arrested at the time but none were ever tried in a court of law and they vanished, probably set free by the authorities.

In the enthusiastic days of December 22 to 25 many leaders of the Revolution expressed their willingness to assume control of power. In the meantime, inside the building of the Central Committee of the PCR, prospective governments were being formed only to last a few minutes, while the self-appointed center of power was being shaped by the National Salvation Front. The FSN was a broad organization bringing together dissidents, revolution leaders, personalities and former party members like Ion Iliescu, who had been marginalized by the Ceaușescu regime and who became the president of the Council of the National Salvation Front (Consiliul Frontului Salvării Naționale, CFSN). This organization initiated the country's first democratic measures. Initially FSN leaders stated that their intention was not to transform the organization into a political force, but to limit their role to diminishing the chaos and preparing the grounds for free elections. This initial position explains why all the emerging political groups recognized the CFSN as the legitimate interim governing body and believed that it would cease to exist after the free elections were held. On December 22, in the evening, after the Ceaușescu couple was arrested, the CFSN drafted an Address to the Country broadcast on live television. Ion Iliescu, the president of this new governing body who read the Address, would

73 In communist Romania the consumption of the population was regulated by a decision of the Grand National Assembly (no.15/1984.) adopting a scientific diet plan in which were mentioned the number of calories a citizen was entitled to in order to live a "healthy" life.

74 *Evenimentul Zilei* newspaper, December 19, 2003.

become the most influential person in the country's post-communist history. Speaking with a hoarse voice, but composed, he announced a political programme. It provided for the end of the single-party rule, free elections, separation of state powers, adopting a new Constitution, promoting a free market economy and more. In the initial general enthusiasm nobody could foresee the ill-fated role the FSN would later play in the country's transition to democracy.

1. The First Steps Towards Democracy. A Chronology of Political Events

The Council of the FSN acted to legitimize the anti-communist revolution and, on December 26, 1989, passed a series of decrees to strengthen the new democracy. The legislative decisions granting Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu titles and honors were annulled. Other laws were repealed, such as the law regarding territorial systematization, the decision of the Grand National Assembly approving of the Program for scientific consumption and the decree regulating abortions and others.

In an attempt to prove to people that the Securitate (Direcția Securității Statului, DSS) was under control, on December 26 the Council of the FSN passed a decree-law transferring it from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Defence. On December 30, another decree stipulated the dissolution of the DSS. In reality, Securitate officers were integrated into other (military) structures. The December 26th Decree signed by Ion Iliescu, had one result either intentional or not - it legalized the former Securitate. It gave DSS officers the ability to use their identification cards to free their colleagues arrested under suspicion of having opened fire on demonstrators during the Revolution.⁷⁵

On December 27, 1989, at the first Plenum of the Council of FSN, all its 145 members representing all social categories and ethnic groups were present. Aside from the decision to create regional FSN councils, it was proclaimed that "all the power structures of the Ceaușescu clique are and will remain dissolved"⁷⁶ Although it was not specified what power structures the FSN referred to, it is reasonable to assume that the Securitate and the PCR were two of them but, in reality, no one was targeted. Actually, on January 12, 1990, a street demonstration pressured the Council of FSN into passing a decree outlawing the Romanian Communist Party. But three days later, the same body reviewed its decision and concluded that the problem had to be submitted to a large public debate.⁷⁷ This debate never materialized and today several political parties claim to be PCR successors, one of them being the Socialist Working Party (Partidul Socialist al Muncii, PSM). This reluctance on the part of the new governing body to eliminate the communist party proves that it had interests to protect its political clients.

In light of these failures to make a radical break with the past we can say without any doubt that the

75 See Dennis Deletant, "Studiu introductiv. Securitatea și statul polițienesc în România", in: Marius Oprea, *Banalitatea răului*, op. cit., p. 43.

76 Stelian Neagoe, ed. *Enciclopedia istoriei politice a României (1859-2002)*, București: Institutul de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale, 2003, p. 549.

77 The CFSN debated the issue five days later, on January 17, 1990. On this occasion the Council decided to repeal the decree outlawing the PCR (117 votes for and 4 abstentions) and passed another decree transferring PCR properties to the Romanian state.

FSN, the interim political power, missed the chance of a good start. The new power did not directly and unequivocally accuse the PCR and Securitate of the country's disaster, but rested the main responsibility on the Ceaușescu couple and the highest officials of the communist regime. However, on December 31, 1989 a law was enacted creating the conditions for a normal, democratic political life. The decree-law regulating the registration and functioning of political parties and organizations in Romania guaranteed the right to assemble and register political groups. As a result, as soon as January 1990, many parties were created and began to function legally.⁷⁸

However, events on January 12, 1990 raised doubts about the FSN's willingness to relinquish control of power. That day was declared a day of national mourning in memory of the victims of the December revolution. In Bucharest, at a mass gathering that began with a few moments of silence, tens of thousands of supporters of the reinstated historical parties, PNȚCD, PNL and PSDR, started a protest demonstration in Victory Square (Piața Victoriei) in front of the government building. The intention of the demonstrators was to force the Council of FSN to state its position with regard to certain political issues. The interim governing body was asked to guarantee free elections in the presence of UN observers, reveal the real number of casualties in the December revolution and to tell the truth about who the "terrorists" were. It was also asked to hold public and transparent trials for the high officials of the communist party, outlaw the PCR and distribute its possessions to all the other political groups. But most of all, the crowd insisted that the Council should specify its political status and intentions because it was suspected that it planned to stay in power. Ion Iliescu and other Council members misled the crowd into thinking they were willing to compromise. However, these suspicions proved to be well founded when, eleven days later, the Council debated and decided to transform the FSN into a political party that would run in the parliamentary elections set for May 20, 1990. This decision, although approved with a majority of votes, provoked the outrage of some Council members. A group of participants in the revolution and leaders of opinion found the decision unacceptable, and resigned. Among them were: Doina Cornea, Ana Blandiana, Ion Caramitru and Mircea Dinescu.

The chain of events did not stop here and January 1990 proved to be one of the most violent in post-communist history. On January 23 the three main parties, PNȚCD, PNL and PSDR, denounced the decision of the Council with regard to the future of the FSN and asked the government to step down. On the 28th a large demonstration aimed at convincing the FSN to give up its power monopoly if it

78 The National Christian Democratic Peasant Party (Partidul Național Țărănesc-Creștin Democrat, PNȚCD) was founded on December 28, 1989 and registered on January 8, 1990. The German Democratic Forum (Forumul Democrat German, FDG) was also formed on December 28, The Association of Former Political Prisoners (Asociația Foștilor Deținuți Politici din România, AFDPR) was registered on January 2, 1990. The National Liberal Party (Partidul Național Liberal, PNL) reentered the political arena on January 9, The Romanian Green Movement (Mișcarea Ecologică din România, MER) on January 11, The Romanian Green Party (Partidul Ecologist Român, PER) on January 16. The Romanian Social Democratic Party (Partidul Social Democrat Român, PSDR) was reborn on January 18. The CFSN Decree regulating the registration and functioning of political parties, dated January 3, 1990, established the conditions for a group to be legally considered a political party. They included a statute, a political programme, an office and at least 251 members. Also, it was illegal to spread anarchist or fascist ideas. See Stelian Neagoe, ed. *Enciclopedia istoriei politice a României (1859-2002)*, București: Institutul de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale, 2003.

wanted to honestly participate in the May elections. The situation escalated when the FSN appealed to its Bucharest supporters and a few thousand miners from the Jiu Valley to stage a counter-demonstration. This was the first time the government called the miners to its rescue, a practice that would later be used on several occasions. After the two sides confronted each other in the street, the FSN and the political parties started a dialogue. However, the next day 200,000 pro-government demonstrators marched towards Piața Victoriei. Some of them, miners armed with bats and chains, broke into the buildings where parties had their offices and caused substantial damages. Police and army forces seemed unable to control the situation. The president of the PNȚCD, Corneliu Coposu, came close to being killed by the angry mob. Prime Minister Petre Roman came to his rescue with a military tank. These dramatic events ended on February 1 when leaders of political parties met with FSN members and came to an agreement about restructuring the FSN in order to include more representatives of political forces and social groups that participated in the anti-communist revolution. The new governing body was named the Interim Council for National Union (Consiliul Provizoriu de Uniune Națională, CPUN). It comprised of 241 members: 105 FSN representatives, another 105 were members of political parties, 27 delegates of ethnic groups and 3 members of the Association of Former Political Prisoners. During the first session, between February 9th and 11th, Ion Iliescu was elected president of the CPUN.

Almost two months after the fall of communism, it appeared that power was fairly shared in Romania. At least in the interim period this seemed to be so, until the May 1990 general elections. However, unsolved problems and frustrations (some remain unsolved today) caused other, subsequent protests and mass demonstrations. On February 18, 1990 a group of people in Bucharest organized another march, this time against the Securitate. Demonstrators attacked the government building, trashed offices and molested people inside. Miners from the Jiu Valley intervened once again to restore order in the capital. This was the second time the miners came to Bucharest. However, their intervention was limited to a dialogue with Ion Iliescu and representatives of political parties who condemned the violent actions of the demonstrators.

2. Confronting the Past. The Trial of Communism in Romania

The events of January and February 1990 give a measure of the country's political turmoil after the December 1989 Revolution. It was a time of passionate public debates about the nation's recent past. A small group of people made several attempts to initiate a trial of communism in Romania. Lacking in political support however, the group was unsuccessful. In addition, the majority of the society was not as concerned with the issue. Those who were asking for the regime to be held accountable for its crimes met the indifference of others who saw no benefit in dealing with the past. The latter argued that the past should be buried and all the society's efforts should concentrate on building a democracy. Unfortunately, because this opinion prevailed, the society that emerged after the fall of communism was not completely healthy. On the contrary, it was deeply corrupted. As mentioned before, although the DSS was legally dissolved, former officers continued to be active in new, simi-

lar structures.⁷⁹ They made some citizens weary about Securitate officers trying to retain political influence and gain economic advantages. Conspiracy theories abounded, bred by the authorities' opacity on the subject.

Because most of the CFSN (and later CPUN) members were former PCR activists or Securitate officers, any attempt to ban these categories from holding public offices was obstructed. The two institutions that should have been accused in a trial of communism seemed to avoid being held responsible. In reality, these two former power structures understood they had to protect each other. Securitate officers proved to be useful to those former communists who, in positions of power inside the FSN, felt threatened by political pluralism. Also, those officers who had worked in the "D" Securitate directorate (D stands for disinformation) were best qualified to manipulate public opinion.

Gelu Voican Voiculescu, deputy prime minister of the new government, was asked to reorganize the former secret services. He recruited and enrolled former Securitate officers from Bucharest into a special department of the Ministry of Interior, UM 0215 or "Department of Security Services for Political Targets", which was created on February 1, 1990. This was the first intelligence service to be organized after 1989. Although its chief was commodore Cico Dumitrescu, the one who pulled the strings was Gelu Voican Voiculescu with the help of his adviser, Nicolae Doicaru, former chief of espionage services from 1972 to 1978.

Another intelligence service was created in April 1990, the Romanian Intelligence Service (Serviciul Român de Informații, SRI). Upon inception, the SRI recruited former Securitate officers from Bucharest and other parts of the country. These had belonged to the following DSS directorates: First Directorate for internal intelligence and Second Directorate for economic counter-intelligence. There were other counter-intelligence officers, specialists in operations, those who worked for the "S" department (dangerous letters and graphology expertise), radio signals, shadowing and investigations and the entire Computers and Research Center, the computerized Securitate department in charge of the archives and the network of informers.⁸⁰ In addition, the SRI inherited former conspiracy houses and other properties owned by the former Securitate.

In reaction, a part of the public opinion organized protests on several occasions. The first time, on March 11, 1990, in Timișoara, the place where the revolution was ignited, a large group of demonstrators gathered in Opera Square (Piața Operei). They issued the Timișoara Proclamation, a broad programme of anti-communist actions, in fact a petition for a trial of communism. Point 8 of the Proclamation proposed that the electoral law, under deliberation by the CPUN, should ban former communist activists and Securitate officers from running in the legislative elections or for the office

79 A secret services officer offered an insight into the fate of the Securitate after 1989: "Whoever thought that the Securitate would disappear after December 22, 1989 was completely wrong. This institution is so strong that even if people from the top would be dismissed it could function without them. It is organized after the concept of the Indian line, after it loses a chief, the one behind steps forward and replaces him and all the other positions fill automatically. This structure had only one flaw- if the chief takes a different direction, the whole organization will follow." See Marius Oprea, *Moștenitorii Securității*, in: *Despre holocaust și comunism*, Anuarul Institutului Român de Istorie Recentă (The Romanian Institute for Recent History Yearbook), Vol. 1, Iași: Polirom, 2002.

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24.

of president of the country for a period of time.⁸¹

On April 22, 1990 another protest action in Bucharest developed unprecedented proportions. After an electoral rally organized by the PNȚCD, a group of people marched to University Square (Piața Universității) in the heart of Bucharest, and blocked the two main streets. Traffic was stopped and a vigil was kept overnight in memory of the victims of the revolution. This was the first day of what would become the phenomenon Piața Universității, an anti-communist movement involving thousands of people from the capital and other regions of the country. Demonstrators shouted anti-communist slogans and declared their barricaded area "the zone free of neo-communism". Their demands were the amendment of the electoral law with Point 8 of the Timișoara Proclamation, the removal from office government members, judges and prosecutors who had been communists or secret services officers and holding accountable those Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defense officials who opened fire on demonstrators during the revolution. Their accusations directed at the CPUN met the dismissal of Ion Iliescu, who considered them simple "thugs"⁸² (golani). A dialogue between the government and the protesters camping out was impossible. On May 11, seventy people in Piața Universității began a hunger strike, trying to draw attention to Point 8 of the Proclamation. On May 20 Ion Iliescu was elected President of Romania and the FSN received 65% of the votes in the parliamentary elections. Thus the government that came to power after 1989 acquired the legitimacy of a popular vote, and would soon arrive in force to disperse the demonstration in the center of the town.⁸³ On June 13, at 4 in the morning, police forces were deployed to Piața Universității. They began to arrest the hunger strikers and protesters and, after a thorough cleaning, the area was reopened for traffic.

After the strikers were evicted from the square, clashes with the police became violent. Secret services agents were placed among the protesters to discredit their movement. They incited people to attack state institutions; Molotov cocktails were thrown inside the Police Headquarters, the Ministry of Interior, the SRI offices and the national television station. Fires inside several buildings, burned documents, stolen weapons and munitions; the city was in a state of chaos. Appearing on live broadcast, President Iliescu made an appeal to the population to help stop the violence. Factory workers answered his call promptly and for the third time, so did the miners from Jiu Valley. During the miners' intervention, on June 14 and 15, the citizens of Bucharest lived in terror. With the support of police forces they violently attacked anybody who might have looked suspicious to them.

81 See the Proclamation in Dan Pavel, Iulia Huiu, *Nu putem reuși decât împreună. O istorie analitică a Convenției Democratice, 1989-2000*, Iași: Polirom, 2003, pp. 515-518.

82 "Golan" means "Thug, vagabond". The term acquired a positive meaning after students and intellectuals protesting against neo-communism in Piața Universității were labeled „golani” by former activist Ion Iliescu. He later apologized for his words. In solidarity with the demonstrators, many political and cultural personalities proudly wore pins with the name „Golan” on them.

83 Ion Iliescu later confessed that he postponed an intervention in Piața Universității until after the May elections. He declared that: „The decisive victory, 65% of the votes for the FSN and 85% for me personally was a message from the electorate to end this anarchic movement, this source of instability and stress for the population”. See Ion Iliescu, *Revoluție și reformă*, București: Ed. Enciclopedică, 1994, p. 129.

Individuals wearing jeans and glasses, or men with a beard were particularly targeted, as they were believed to be students. They were caught and brutally beaten on the street. Groups of miners also broke into offices of political parties and opposition newspapers causing serious damage. After these events six people lay dead and several hundred were injured. Authorities arrested 185 individuals between June 13th and 15th.⁸⁴

The demonstrations in January and February 1990, the Timișoara Proclamation and the Piața Universității episode were all precipitated by the new regime's resistance to demands from victims of communism to publicly condemn the totalitarian regime and to punish those who were responsible for its repressions. During the entire year efforts were made to try to bring about a trial of communism. The last attempt occurred on 25 and 26 October, when the Romanian Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum was created. Its agenda included organizing a trial of the 1945-1989 period of communism and uncovering the truth about the December 1989 revolution, without any success. A trial of communism was not possible in Romania for the simple reason that those in power would have been directly involved.

3. Trials in the Postcommunist Transition. The "Gheorghe Ursu Case"

A trial of communism was an unattainable goal, though some former communists and Securitate officers were indicted and tried in a court of law for their crimes. Investigations conducted after the revolution resulted in 4,495 judiciary files and 245 indictments. The files that became known as the "revolution files" had similar outcomes.

Iulian Vlad, the last head of the Securitate, was arrested in December 1989. After an investigation Vlad was charged with complicity to genocide. If convicted, he faced life imprisonment. Then, without explanation, the court changed his indictment to facilitating genocide which resulted in a lesser penalty. In July 1991 he was found guilty and was sentenced to nine years in prison. He also had to serve time for a March 1991 court decision finding him guilty for illegally detaining more than 1,000 demonstrators in December 1989. Although the cumulative prison sentence amounted to 15 years, he was free by 1993. His subordinate, General Gianu Bucurescu, received a 4-year prison sentence but did not serve his full time either. Lieutenant General Gheorghe Vasile, the chief of Military Counter Intelligence, a Securitate department, and Colonel Gheorghe Goran, chief of the Bucharest Securitate office, were both acquitted.

Nicu Ceaușescu⁸⁵, the late dictator's son, was also arrested and charged with genocide and illegal possession of weapons in April 1990. He was found guilty of genocide and sentenced to twenty years

84 See details in Mihnea Berindei, Ariadna Combes and Anne Planche, *România, cartea albă*, București: Humanitas, 1991.

85 Nicu Ceaușescu (1951-1996) was one of the dictator's three sons. He had been First Secretary of the PCR Sibiu County Committee. He was arrested on December 22, 1989, while he was driving to Bucharest. His trial started on May 26, 1990 in Sibiu and was charged with the deaths of 102 persons during the revolution in Sibiu. In 1992 he had five years to serve but was released for medical reasons. He died on September 26, 1996 in Vienna where he was undergoing surgery.

in prison. In July 1991 the Supreme Court reduced his sentence to sixteen years. After an appeal in 1992 Nicu Ceaușescu was left to serve only five years for possession of an illegal weapon.

Two generals, Mihai Chițac and Victor Stănculescu⁸⁶, convicted in the Timișoara 1989 case, are free because General Prosecutor Tănase Joița appealed for the decision and suspended their sentences. He used the same method in several other cases and was openly accused in the press of political obedience. For instance he called for a mistrial in the cases of General Dumitru Drăghin, General Grigore Ghiță and commander Ion Zorilă, all three sentenced to long years in prison for the December 1989 massacre at the Otopeni airport. Drăghin was released early while Ghiță received amnesty in an order signed by Ion Iliescu. Tudor Postelnicu, former DSS chief and minister of interior until December 1989, also a suspect, was released for medical reasons.

Andruța Ceaușescu, the dictator's brother and commander of the Băneasa training school for Securitate officers, was the one who seemed to be serving his entire 15-year sentence in prison. On November 24, 1999 he filed an appeal with the General Prosecutor Office protesting the fact that he was the only person in Romania sentenced for genocide. He had been found guilty of ordering the troops to open fire on the demonstration in December 1989. He was sent to prison in 1990 and after four years was released for medical treatment. In 1998 however he had to return to the detention center for the remaining eleven years. He died in 2000 in the prison hospital.

The trials that began in January 1990 were all related to the revolution. The suspects were accused of having opened fire on the anti-communist demonstrators. Crimes that took place before 1989 were not brought to justice- with only one exception. Aside from the trial of the dictatorial couple, there had been one case in which the defendants were charged with crimes they committed before 1989. This became known in the Romanian press as the "Gheorghe Ursu case"⁸⁷.

As mentioned briefly before, engineer Gheorghe Ursu was a victim of the communist oppression. He was investigated by the Securitate in 1985 and was arrested in September of that year because he kept a diary in which he criticized in detail the failures of communism in Romania. In these personal notes he condemned the dictatorship and the secret police behind it. A woman informant, Părguța Croitoru, stole pages from Gheorghe Ursu's diary, which he kept in his office, and turned them over to the Securitate. He was immediately arrested and detained in the Militia Headquarters in Bucharest, accused of possessing illegal foreign currencies. Yet during the entire interrogation, all the questions revolved around his diary. He was repeatedly beaten in custody by Securitate and Militia officers, and by cellmates who were asked to attack him. After one such interrogation Ursu complained about severe abdominal pains and was rushed to a hospital. He died there one November morning,

86 General Stănculescu, deputy minister of defense before 1989 and minister of economy and defense after the December revolution, fled the country just before sentencing. He returned in the beginning of 2001, shortly after Tănase Joița was appointed General Prosecutor who approved of an appeal of the two generals to throw out their sentences. In March 2004 the court decided to retry the two generals but at the end of the year the trial would have to stop because their crimes have a statute of limitations of 15 years.

87 Information about Gheorghe Ursu can be found in Victor Bârsan, op. cit., and on the Ursu family Internet homepage, <http://gh-ursu.org.ro>.

as a result of the brutal beatings he endured. His family was informed of his death two days later, after the Securitate tried to cover up the circumstances of his murder.

After the fall of communism Georgeta Berdan, Gheorghe Ursu's sister, asked authorities to investigate her brother's death and to find who was responsible. Military prosecutor Dan Voinea, in charge of the case, found officers Marin Pîrvulescu, Florea Popescu, Vasile Gheorghe and Tudor Stănică guilty of the crime. But, despite his conclusions, one obstacle stood in the way of a trial: the Romanian Intelligence Service. The SRI blocked access to information because many officers who once worked in the Securitate criminal investigations department were now employed by its "J" (Judicial) department. One of these "recycled" officers, lieutenant Vasile Codiș, who became an SRI colonel after 1989, had even been involved in Gheorghe Ursu's investigation. The SRI tried to cover up evidence by replacing old documents from the archives of the former Militia and denying prosecutor Voinea access to its records. Other two prosecutors postponed a trial when the Ursu file was taken from Voinea and transferred to them.⁸⁸ As a last resort, in November 2000, Andrei Ursu, the victims' son, went on a hunger strike in protest against all the delays. Finally, in January 2002, a trial began, defendants and witnesses were examined and, on July 14, 2003, colonels Mihai Creangă and Tudor Stănică were found guilty of asking inmate Marian Clită to beat Gheorghe Ursu. They were sentenced to eleven years in prison.⁸⁹ In this way, after fourteen years, the only trial of what should have been a series of expected lawsuits came to a conclusion. But the fact that it took so many years and so much effort only proved that trying to address the crimes of communism was futile in Romania.

4. Retrieving the Past. Access to the Communist Archives

In Romania, the problem of the legacy of communism was not tackled by state institutions and, although the civil society debated on it, it lacked the instruments to implement possible measures. Some of the discussions revolved around the communist archives. It was often asked that PCR and Securitate archives should become accessible for new generations to be informed about the way the totalitarian regime functioned, specifically about the decision-making process inside the PCR and how the Securitate maintained its control. Schoolbooks in Romania give scarce information about the communist period, while the crimes and repression organized by the secret police normally are not even mentioned. It is a reflection of the political will.

88 On May 5, 2000 inmate Marian Clită, who shared the cell with Gheorghe Ursu, assumed sole responsibility for his death to protect the officers involved, and received twenty years in prison. Because Nicolae Ceaușescu had signed an amnesty decree in 1988, his sentence was reduced to ten years but because he had already served eight, for other offences, he had only two years before he would be released.

89 Officers Creangă and Stănică went into hiding hours before sentencing, as they had been informed that the sentence was going to be harsh. They turned themselves in to the police only on October 12, 2003, after the Supreme Court reduced their sentence by one year. Before their showing up, the public opinion feared that they were never going to be caught. The media was also pressing the issue. In addition, in September 2003, a member of the European Parliament, Finnish liberal Astrid Thor, sent a letter to embassies of the EU states in Bucharest asking them to monitor this case closely, especially the decision of the Supreme Court on the two officers' appeals.

Without being able to examine the communist archives, historians and researchers cannot give a pertinent analysis of this period. The situation is still unclear today and access to these documents is very restricted. What is exactly the current situation? Before 1989, Decree 472/1971, Art. 30 to 34 regulated access to archives. It required 30 years to have passed before a document could be examined so that it did not constitute a state secret.⁹⁰ Shortly after Ceaușescu's capture, orders were given (government resolution 1134 of 1990) for the communist archives to be transferred to several institutions.

At present the Ministry of Defense has handed over most of the former Central Committee records to the National Archives, in accordance with a protocol signed by the two institutions. However, the archive of the military branch of the Central Committee was not included and remains secret. The Ministry of Defense also continues to hold some documents referring to the Romanian army and its participation in the Warsaw Pact. These records are relevant for those who research the history of Romanian communism as they probably mention oppressive military actions. According to the law regulating access to the archives (Articles 20 and 22), they should be made available for examination. Other military records, gathered in the Romanian Military Archive, as well as a number of documents from the PCR archives, can be studied in Pitești at the Center for Research and Preservation of Historical Military Archives.

Beginning in 1951 the State Archives were transferred to the Ministry of Interior⁹¹, which now has possession of the former Central Committee and Council of Ministers archives. The regional branches of the National Archives store records of the former local structures of the communist party. The process of organizing these documents started in 1992 and is now finished. There are three categories of documents, based on their origin and degree of systematization: a) the former Central Committee of the communist party archive, evacuated in January-February 1990 and stored at a military unit in Clinceni, near Bucharest, is approximately 1,800 meters long and is not organized at all, b) the rest of the former Central Committee archive, handed over by the Ministry of Defense, has 3,800 meters of files, 1,500 files of which have been organized and c) the archive of the former History Institute of the PCR with 500 meters of files. In addition, the Ministry of Interior is in possession of a part of the records of the former Securitate Bucharest headquarters. It was taken over by the counter information department of the ministry (U.M. 0215) on February 1, 1990 and legally should be within the jurisdiction of the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives.

The Ministry of Justice is storing "files previously sent to the former security institutions [...] referring to individuals who served detention or house arrest sentences based on administrative decisions" in Cernica (near Bucharest). The Public Ministry (General Prosecutor Office) holds "files of individuals handled by the former security institutions who were not sent to trial" in the archives of regional

90 The source of the data on the size and location of the communist archives is Marius Oprea's study "Ghidul Arhivelor Comunismului" in the *Revista de istorie militară* (Military History Magazine), 2(66)/2001, pp. 5-14. I thank the author for allowing me to use this material.

91 In accordance with Decree no. 17/1951 Council of Ministers Resolution no. 472/1951.

military courts in Bucharest, Cluj and Iași. The files can be divided into the following categories: 300,000 cases in which 250,000 people received detention sentences; 80,000 files with sentences of internment in forced labour camps and 173,000 cases of deportation and house arrest decisions. The General Prosecutor is examining appeals on 2,400 files. The Ministry of Justice also has the important archives of the General Direction of Prisons stored in Jilava and other detention centers for political prisoners in the territory.⁹²

Although the law regulating the archives (16/1999) states clearly that documents issued 30 years ago can be examined, in reality it is different. The National Archives allow access only to records up to 1965 and motivates this position with the need to draw up an inventory of the documents. Moreover this process of making the inventory has no deadline and presumably could last a long time.

The archives of the former Securitate files that involve acts of the political police can be legally consulted without any restrictions, but not national security files. Law 187/1999, establishing the individual right to see one's personal file, has no time limitations. To make matters easier, an institution was created for the purpose of administering these archives. This is the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității, CNSAS). Even if there are no legal constraints, instead there are obstacles in front the proper implementation of the law.

It is clear that Law 187, adopted by the Parliament in 1999, is not a lustration law. In fact, when the issue of lustration and a trial of the communism faded over time, this aspect was left aside when Law 187 was debated in Parliament. Even under these circumstances, some parliamentarians tried to delay a vote, but the law passed because it had the firm support of a few politicians. Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, president of the Association of Former Political Prisoners and senator until 2000, was the initiator and its staunchest supporter. Law 187 does not provide for any punitive measures, but serves rather moral than judicial purposes. It recognizes every individual's right to know his or her past and to be informed about the background of the candidates they would choose to vote for.

One obstacle to the proper implementation of these legal rights is that the CNSAS, four years after it was created, still does not hold the entire Securitate archives. The Romanian Intelligence Service preserves most of the records with some other documents being stored at the Foreign Intelligence Service (Serviciul de Informații Externe, SIE), the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Justice. It is particularly relevant that the SRI's claim to have transferred almost 4% of the files to the CNSAS contradicts the CNSAS's belief to have received only 1%. But even if 4% were transferred over 4 years, it would still take 100 years for the entire collection to reach the CNSAS, in breach of legislative regulations requesting the immediate transfer of these documents to the council.

Because the SRI employs former Securitate officers, it has an interest to block the transfer of the documents to the institution created especially for the purpose of administering them. Furthermore, as the SRI never disclosed a clear and conclusive inventory of these documents, their precise number is still not known. In 1993, when Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu was president of the Senate commit-

92 Marius Oprea, *Ghidul Arhivelor Comunismului*, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

tee on abuse, he received from the SRI some information about the size of the Securitate archives. According to the data he was given, the SRI was in possession of 1,901,530 files. Also, between December 1989 and March 1990 reportedly a number of 78,227 files was destroyed.⁹³ This is the current data provided by the SRI on the number and circumstances surrounding these files: "During the December 1989 events over 100,000 files were stolen or destroyed, they were stored inside the filing cabinets of operative Securitate officers at the time. Also the entire archive of the Sibiu County Inspectorate, around 40,000 files, burned in a fire caused by shooting exercises at a military unit in the vicinity"⁹⁴. The SRI also estimates the size of the Securitate archives to be somewhere around 20 kilometers of papers.

On the other hand, the CNSAS did not fulfill one of its functions according to art. 17 of law 187/1999 when it refused to disclose names to the Official Gazette and to cause other biographic data of former Securitate officers, many of whom are still active, to be published. After years of activity, the CNSAS published in the Official Gazette only a list of 46 names of Securitate officers involved in practices of the political police. A third of them are already deceased and the rest are retired.⁹⁵

The only conclusion to be drawn is that, with the government's consent, laws are not applied. Ion Iliescu's own position is that the Securitate was only partially guilty. Overall, the government's attitude on the subject suggests that the truth about the communist decades and the events of December 1989 should not be pursued. Subsequently the civil society becomes increasingly frustrated and demands more public debates on these issues. A few NGOs made efforts to write the history of Romania's recent past. However, without political support, their accomplishments remain limited.

5. Present Debates

Today, 15 years later, the subject of the Revolution is still passionately debated. Television stations continue to investigate circumstances; witnesses and participants are being interviewed again. It is asked for sensitive and hastily classified files to be reopened. Such is the case of Vasile Milea, minister of defense until December 1989 who (the official version states) committed suicide on December 22 after he refused to obey Ceaușescu's order to fire on the demonstrators in the streets of Bucharest. Currently the media shares the view that he was assassinated. The General Prosecutor's Office was asked to review the circumstances surrounding his death and to find out who is responsible for the crime. Romanians are still divided when it comes to categorizing the political nature of the events of December 1989, the most discussed topic of Romanian recent history. Most of the sympathizers of the Social Democrat Party, successor of the National Salvation Front and in power today, do not ques-

93 See Ticu Dumitrescu's report in *Ziua*, January 15-18 and 21, 2002.

94 See www.sri.ro.

95 One of the best analyses of the CNSAS was made by Mircea Stănescu, who researched the institution between 2000 and 2001. It is titled "CNSAS și problema moștenirii comunismului" and was published in the cultural magazine *Timpul*, nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, Iași. Also for an insight into the first years of the CNSAS functioning see Gabriel Andreescu "Legea 187/1999 și primul an de activitate al CNSAS", in: *Drepturile Omului*, human rights magazine edited by the Association for Human Rights - Helsinki Committee, no. 20, 2001, pp. 37-53.

tion the opinion that in December 1989 a popular revolution was successful in bringing a change of regime. Ion Iliescu, the current president, shares this view and is easily offended when historians take into consideration other theories (a coup, a military putsch, a revolt). Another category of Romanians, and particularly those who do not support Ion Iliescu, the main actor in the Romanian political landscape since 1989, believe that it was a coup d'état, devised and supported by Moscow and in agreement with the United States (after all Ion Iliescu was close to Mikhail Gorbachev, since he was a student in Moscow). However, none of these camps succeeded in imposing its theory. The limited access to the archives of this period is one of the main impediments. A definition given by Petre Mihai Băcanu, director of the newspaper *România liberă*, is extremely insightful. He considered that in December 1989, a coup overthrew a revolution, meaning that it all started as a genuine popular revolution. But it was over when lower echelons of the communist nomenclature intervened and seized power.

As debates on this subject continue today, the government apparently supports institutions that research topics of recent history. In reality, only those who obey an official line receive state funding. Others, which Prime Minister Adrian Năstase considers to be politically motivated, have limited access to government funds. In addition, EU grants were reoriented towards social programmes, resulting in the consequence that objective historical research in Romania is hampered. At present, most of the foundations that are involved in research and public debates on issues of recent history do so with financial support from other European countries. Some examples are: The Romanian Institute for Recent History (Institutul Român de Istorie Recentă, IRIR), financed until recently by a grant from the government of the Kingdom of Netherlands, The Civic Academy (Academia Civică), which received important funds from the EU, the Open Society Foundation (Fundația pentru o Societate Deschisă, FSD), financed by George Soros, the Association for the Defense of Human Rights – the Helsinki Committee (Asociația Pentru Drepturile Omului – Comitetul Helsinki, APADOR-CH), the Romanian Academic Society (Societatea Academică Română, SAR) and the Pro Democracy Association (Asociația Pro Democrația, APD), all financed by Community grants. Despite difficulties, all these institutions had impressive results. Books, magazines and reports have been published which have great impact on public opinion. They also sustain and collaborate with each other, as was proved by their solidarity in March 2003 when the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives was close to being dissolved. In response, members of foundations, NGO's, labor unions and part of the media surrounded the Parliament building and formed a human chain, protesting against the blocking of CNSAS activity. Their action was successful; the government seemed to ease its political pressure on the institution.

Power structures continue to be dominated by former party members and secret services officers. This latter category became involved not just in politics but also in business and key information institutions. In March 2002, the president of the American NATO Committee, Bruce Jackson, stated during a visit to Bucharest that the problem of the former Securitate officers in the administration and intelligence services in Romania remains an issue. He also added that this is a concern for the Western NATO members in the perspective of Romania's adherence to the military organization. What was

the reaction of the Romanian officials? In April 2002 Ion Iliescu declared that this type of discussion is evidence of a primitive mentality and that purges were out of the question.⁹⁶

The Association of the Former Political Prisoners in Romania, even though many of its members passed away and the rest are senior citizens, continues to be active. Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu, president of the Association, initiated a proposal for a law that annulled the sentences of political prisoners between 1945 and 1989 and reinstated political prisoners into the rights they had before their arrests. This project has been waiting in the Senate for almost eight years. Political prisoners were given some compensation, as provided by Decree 118/1990. They were awarded an amount of money for every year spent in prison, free public transportation for where they live, six railway tickets and a free medical treatment every year. Participants to the December 1989 revolution receive other types of compensation, according to Law 42/1990 ("Law to honor the martyr heroes, to award certain rights to their families, those wounded and those who fought for the victory of the December 1989 revolution"). Participants who lost their lives were given the title "Martyr hero", another category is "Fighter with outstanding merits" for those who are alive. In addition to the gratuities the political prisoners benefit from, they are exempt from certain taxes, they have priority when applying for housing, they can obtain long-term bank loans for investments at an interest rate 50% lower than usual and can receive preferential loans for buying houses or land. All this was made available to anybody who had a certificate proving to be a revolutionary. This law consequented in the encouragement of fraud as tens of thousands of people were issued a certificate after bringing others who already were certified revolutionaries as witnesses.

For Romanians, the most important gain in democracy is that they are free to have different opinions, to say "No" when authorities overstep their boundaries or "Yes" when they perceive a general interest. Unfortunately the society remains divided over important issues and, in the transition period, Romanians did not unanimously voice either of these answers. All the debates about the past did not coalesce in generally accepted conclusions.

"When justice cannot shape memory, remembering the past can be a form of justice"⁹⁷. This might apply to other places, but not to Romania. Here, the Marxist theory that history would stop after communism, in the sense that nobody would be punished for crimes perpetrated under communism, proved to be relevant. By not passing a lustration law, all the attempts to cure the society of this illness, of communism, have failed. In a way the battle has been lost, yet some Romanians found satisfaction in having engaged in it.

96 Emil Constantinescu, *Timpul dăruirii, timpul zidirii*, vol. IV, București: Universalia, 2002, p. 545.

97 Ana Blandiana, *Memoria ca formă de justiție*, București: Făt Frumos Pub., 1994, p. 5.

Selected Bibliography

- Andreescu, Gabriel, "Legea 187/1999 și primul an de activitate al CNSAS", in: Drepturile Omului, edited by the Association for Human Rights - Helsinki Committee, no. 20, 2001.
- Andreescu, Gabriel, Landesrat erweist sich als Mittel zur Verschleierung und nicht zur Enttarnung der Securitate. Das Gesetz 187/1999 und das erste Tätigkeitsjahr des Landesrats für die Einsichtnahme in die Unterlagen der ehemaligen Securitate (CNSAS), in: Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik, 14. Jg., Heft 1/Mai 2002, pp. 5-26 (Romanian version <http://home.t-online.de/home/totok/cnsas.htm>).
- Apostol, Gheorghe, Eu și Gheorghiu-Dej. A house edition, 1998.
- Bălan, Ion, Regimul concentraționar din România. 1945-1964. București: Fundația Academia Civică, 2000.
- Bârsan, Victor, coord., Marea călătorie. Viața și moartea inginerului Gheorghe Ursu. București: Pythagora, 1998.
- Berindei, Mihnea, Ariadna Combes, and Anne Planche, România, cartea albă. București: Humanitas, 1991.
- Blandiana, Ana, Memoria ca formă de justiție. București: Făt Frumos Pub., 1994.
- Böhm, Johann, Die Deutschen in Rumänien und das Dritte Reich 1933 – 1940. Frankfurt/M. u.a.: Lang, 1999.
- Böhm, Johann, Die Gleichschaltung der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien und das 'Dritte Reich' 1941 – 1944. Frankfurt/M. u.a.: Lang, 2003.
- Boia, Lucian, "Comunismul, o filosofie a violenței", in: Arhiva durerii. Stockholm: Pionier Press & Bucharest: Fundația Academia Civică, 2000.
- Boia, Lucian, Istorie și mit în conștiința românească. București: Humanitas, 1997. (Translated into German as Geschichte und Mythos. Über die Gegenwart des Vergangenen in der rumänischen Gesellschaft. Köln u. a.: Böhlau, 2003).
- Broun, Janice, The Catholic Church in Romania, in: Ramet, Pedro, ed. Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1990, pp.207-231.
- Buzatu, Gheorghe, Mircea Chirțoiu, eds., Documente din arhivele secrete: 1944-1989, Vol. I. București: Paideia.
- Cătănuș, Dan, Octavian Roske, eds., Colectivizarea agriculturii în România. Dimensiunea politică 1949-1953. București: Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului (National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism), 2000.
- Câmpeanu, Pavel, Ceaușescu, anii numărătorii inverse. Iași: Polirom, 2002.
- Cesereanu, Ruxandra, Călătorie spre centrul infernului. Gulagul în conștiința românească. București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1998.
- Ciobanu, Vasile, Contribuții la cunoșterea istoriei sașilor transilvăneni, 1918-1944. Sibiu: Hora, 2001.
- Cioroianu, Adrian, "Comunismul românesc, fețele represivni", in: Arhiva durerii. Stockholm: Pionier Press & Bucharest: Fundația Academia Civică, 2000.
- Constantinescu, Emil, Timpul dărâmării, timpul zidirii. Vol. IV. București: Universalia, 2002.
- Crampton, R.J., Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century – And Beyond. Second ed. New York: Routledge, 1997 (Translated into Romanian as Europa Răsăriteană în secolul al XX-lea... și după. București: Curtea Veche, 2002).
- Deletant, Dennis, Communist Terror in Romania. Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State 1948-1965. London; New York: Hurst, 1999 (Translated into Romanian as Teroarea comunistă în România. Gheorghiu-Dej și statul polițienesc, 1948-1965. Iași: Polirom, 2001).
- Deletant, Dennis, România sub regimul communist. București: Fundația Academia Civică, 1997. (Translated into English as Romania under Communist Rule. București: Fundatia Academia Civică 1998).
- Deletant, Dennis, Ceausescu and the Securitate. Coercion and Dissent in Romania, 1965-1989. London; New York: Hurst, 1996 (Translated into Romanian as Ceaușescu și Securitatea. București: Humanitas, 1998).
- Deletant, Dennis, Foreword. "Studiu introductiv. Securitatea și statul polițienesc în România", in: Marius Oprea, Banalitatea răului. Iași: Polirom, 2002.
- Frunză, Victor, Istoria stalinismului în România. Bucharest: Humanitas, 1990.
- Gabanyi, Anneli Ute, The Ceaușescu Cult. Power Politics and Propaganda in Communist Romania. București: Editura Fundatiei Culturale Romane, 2000 (Translated into Romanian as Cultul lui Ceaușescu. Iași: Polirom, 2003).
- Gabanyi, Anneli Ute, Geschichte der Deutschen in Rumänien, in: Informationen zur politischen Bildung, Heft 267. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2000 (in the Internet under <http://www.bpb.de/publikationen>).
- Gabanyi, Anneli Ute, Systemwechsel in Rumänien. Von der Revolution zur Transformation. München: Oldenbourg, 1998.
- Groza, Petru, Adio lumii vechi. București: Compania, 2003.
- Hausleitner, Mariana, Politischer Widerstand in Rumänien vor 1989, in: Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik, 8. Jg., Heft 1a/Oktober 1996, pp. 67-79 (in the Internet under <http://home.t-online.de/home/totok/radu1.htm#Widerstand>).

- Heinen, Armin, Die Legion "Erzengel Michael" in Rumänien. Soziale Bewegung und politische Organisation. München: Oldenbourg, 1986 (Translated into Romanian as Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail. O contribuție la problema fascismului internațional. București: Humanitas, 1999).
- Hillgruber, Andreas, Hitler, König Carol und Marschall Antonescu. Die deutsch-rumänischen Beziehungen 1938-1944. 2nd edition, Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1965 (Translated into Romanian as Hitler, Regele Carol și Mareșalul Antonescu. Relațiile germano-române 1938-1944. București: Humanitas, 1994).
- Iliescu, Ion, Revoluție și reformă. București: Ed. Enciclopedică, 1994 (Translated into German as Aufbruch nach Europa: Rumänien - Revolution und Reform 1989 bis 1994. Köln u.a.: Böhlau, 1995).
- Ioanid, Radu, Sabia Arhanghelului Mihail. Ideologia fascistă în România. București: Diogene, 1994.
- Ionescu, Ghiță, Communism in Rumania, 1944–1962. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Kaser, Karl, Südosteuropäische Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft. 2nd, revised and updated edition, Wien u.a.: Böhlau, 2002.
- Kunze, Thomas, Nicolae Ceaușescu. Eine Biographie. Berlin: Chr. Links, 2000 (Translated into Romanian as Nicolae Ceaușescu. O biografie. București: Vremea 2002).
- Levy, Robert, Gloria și decăderea Anei Pauker. Iași: Polirom, 2002.
- Mioc, Marius, Revoluția fără mistere. Timișoara: Almanahul Banatului, 2002.
- Muraru, Ioan, Constituțiile României. Culegere. București: Bucharest University Press, 1980.
- Neagoe, Stelian, ed., Enciclopedia istoriei politice a României (1859-2002). București: Institutul de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale (The Institute of Political Science and International Relations Press), 2003, p. 549.
- Ogoranu, Ion Gavrilă, Brazilii se frâng, dar nu se îndoiesc. Timișoara: Marineasa, 1993.
- Oprea, Marius, Securității partidului. Serviciul de cadre al PCR ca poliție politică. Iași: Polirom, 2002.
- Oprea, Marius, Banalitatea răului. O istorie a Securității în documente 1949-1989. Iași: Polirom, 2002.
- Oprea, Marius, Stejărel Olaru, Ziua care nu se uită, 15 noiembrie 1987, Brașov. Iași: Polirom, 2002 (Translated into English as The Day We Won't Forget, 15 November 1987, Brașov. Iași: Polirom, 2003).
- Oprea, Marius, "Moștenitorii Securității", in: Despre holocaust și comunism, Anuarul Institutului Român de Istorie Recentă (The Romanian Institute for Recent History Yearbook), Vol. 1, Iași: Polirom, 2002.
- Oprea, Marius, "Ghidul Arhivelor Comunismului", in: Revista de Istorie Militară (Military History Magazine), 2(66)/2001.
- Oprea, Marius, "Nașterea Securității", in: Analele Sighet 6, Anul 1948 – instituționalizarea comunismului. București: Fundația Academia Civică, 1998.
- Oschlies, Wolf, Aufarbeitung der kommunistischen Vergangenheit in Rumänien. Köln: Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien, 1998.
- Pacepa, Ioan Mihai, Moștenirea Kremlinului. București: Venus, 1993.
- Pavel, Dan, Iulia Huiu, "Nu putem reuși decât împreună". O istorie analitică a Convenției Democratice, 1989-2000. Iași: Polirom, 2003.
- Roth, Harald, Studienhandbuch östliches Europa, Bd. 1: Geschichte Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas. Köln u.a.: Böhlau, 1999.
- Roth, Harald, Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens. 2nd, revised edition, Köln u.a.: Böhlau, 2003.
- Sava, Constantin and Constantin Monac, Adevăr despre decembrie 1989. București: Forum, 1999.
- Scurtu, Ioan, coord., România. Viața politică în documente. 1945. București: The Romanian State Archives, 1994.
- Stănescu, Mircea, "Despre disidență în România comunistă (1977-1989)", in: Sfera Politicii, no. 106/2004, București.
- Stănescu, Mircea, "CNSAS și problema moștenirii comunismului", in: Timpul, no. 5-9/2003, Iași.
- Tănăsescu, Stelian, Elite și societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej, 1948-1965. București: Humanitas, 1988.
- Tănăsescu, Bogdan, Colectivizarea agriculturii între propagandă și realitate. București: Humanitas, 1994.
- Tismaneanu, Vladimir, Stalinism for all seasons. A political history of Romanian communism. Berkeley: University of California press, 2003.
- Totok, William, Zwischen autoritärer Demokratie und pluralistischer Transparenz. Der Geheimdienst im totalitären und posttotalitären Rumänien, in: Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik, 8. Jg., Heft 1a/Oktober 1996, pp. 38-50.
- Totok, William, Die Zwänge der Erinnerung. Aufzeichnungen aus Rumänien. Hamburg: Junius, 1988 (Translated into Romanian as Constrângerea memoriei. Însemnări, documente, amintiri. Editura Polirom, Iași 2001).
- Vasile, Cristian, Istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice sub regimul comunist 1945-1989. Iași: Polirom, 2003.
- Veiga, Francisco, Istoria Gărzii de Fier (1919-1941). București: Humanitas, 1995.
- Vultur, Smaranda, Germanii în Banat prin povestirile lor. București: Paideia, 2000.

1. ARCHIVES

1.1 Central Historical National Archives of Romania, Bucharest Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale ale României (ANIC), București

Address: Bd. Regina Elisabeta 49, sector 5, cod 050013, București
Telephone: 021 – 31 39 295
Fax: 021 – 31 25 841
E-mail: infodoc@mai.gov.ro
Homepage: closed down; see: www.mai.gov.ro/index1709.htm
Head: Dr. Corneliu Lungu

Brief Description: Dating from the 19th century, the state archives were reorganized in 1951, when the Ministry of Interior was granted jurisdiction over the institution. Law 16/1996 emphasized the conservation role of the National Archives as well as their importance in making collections of historical documents available to scientific research. Access to a document is allowed only 30 years after it was issued. The quantity of stored documents measures over 274,000 linear meters organized in about 33,000 archive collections. Here can be found the archive of the former Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (CC of PCR), the archive of the former History Institute of PCR, a part of the records of former Securitate Bucharest headquarters, and the records of the Council of Ministers. The regional branches of the National Archives, which exist in every county, store the records of the former local structures of the communist party and the county administration. Other collections with special historical value are: documents from institutions representing the legislative and executive powers of the state: the Parliament (1864-1950); the Royal House (1866-1948); the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (1856-1958), also records of the Ministry of Interior, Public Utility, Culture and Education and regional prefect offices.

Any application for using documents, both in Bucharest and in the regional branches, has to be sent to the Bucharest headquarters of ANIC.

Hours: Monday, Wednesday and Friday: 08.30-15.30; Tuesday and Thursday: 08.30-19.00

1.2 Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest Arhivele diplomatice ale Ministerului de Externe, București

Address: Piața Victoriei 1, sector 1, cod 011791, București
Telephone/Fax: 021 – 23 03 660 (ext.: 1472/ 1323)
E-mail: drmm@mae.ro (public relation office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
Homepage: closed down; see: www.mae.ro/index.php?unde=doc&id=5045&idlnk=0&cat=2
Head: Costin Ionescu
Contact: Ionela Anghel

Brief Description: The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were established in 1862. In 1998, the Archives and Diplomatic Documents Office (Direcția Patrimoniu Diplomatic și Arhivă) were created. At present it comprises over 8,000 linear meters of diplomatic documents. Law 16/1996 Annex 16 states that access to archival documents in this case is based on the year when they were issued. Civil records and personal files can be viewed 100 years and 75 years respectively after they were made; documents regarding the private life of an individual, 40 years after his/her death; foreign policy documents, 50 years after they were signed; judicial documents, 90 years after they were signed. Foreign citizens are allowed in the study rooms after filing a request with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Hours: Monday-Thursday: 09.00-14.00

1.3 National Council for the Study of Security Archives, Bucharest Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (CNSAS), București

Address: Str. Dragoslavele 2-4, sector 1, cod 011024, București
 Telephone: 021 – 22 30 248; 021 – 22 30 249
 Fax: 021 – 22 21 039
 E-mail: corespondenta@cnsas.ro
 Homepage: www.cnsas.ro
 Head: Dr. Gheorghe Onișoru
 Members of CNSAS: Constantin Buchet, Florian Chirițescu, Ladislau-Antoniou Csendes, Mircea Dinescu, Mihai Gheorghe, Viorel Mircea Nicolescu, Gheorghe Onișoru, Horia-Roman Patapievici, Andrei Pleșu, Aurel Pricu, Claudiu Secașiu.
 Contact: Carmen Pescaru

Brief Description: The CNSAS was founded in 1999 in accordance with Law 187/1999 establishing the right to have access to one's personal Securitate file and to uncover the Romanian secret political police. The CNSAS facilitates public access to files, documents and any other material of the former Securitate up to December 22, 1989 to all Romanian citizens as well as foreign citizens who, between 1945 and 1989, had Romanian citizenship. In addition, Law 187/1999 allows individuals, both from Romania and from abroad, accredited by the CNSAS to examine materials referring to acts of political police of the former Securitate. By law, the Romanian Parliament has control over the activity of the CNSAS.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-16.00

1.4 Romanian Military Archives, Bucharest Arhivele Militare Române, București

Address: Str. Drumul Taberei 9-11, sector 6, cod 061353, București
 Telephone: 021 – 31 44 610
 Fax: 021 – 41 07 405
 E-mail: aosca@mapn.ro; adutu@mapn.ro; vmarin@mapn.ro
 Homepage: www.mapn.ro/arhivele_militare/index.htm
 Head: Col. Alexandru Oșca
 Contact: Col. Vasile Popa

Brief Description: Law 16/1996 requires that the Ministry of Defense store its own records. The Archive and Documentation Service holds hundreds of archive materials on the history of the Romanian army and its military structures. Among them are 166 files from 1969 and 1970 referring to the activity of the Military College of Armed Forces, the relations between the defense minister and other cabinet members and visits of various foreign delegations. The documents were a source of information for the Ministry of Armed Forces and for the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, in addition to the normative acts that regulate Romania's defense activity. The Military Archives still hold the records of the military branch of the Central Committee and some documents referring to the Romanian army and its participation to the Warsaw Pact. Some military records gathered in the Romanian Military Archive, as well as a number of documents from the PCR archives, can be studied in Pitești, at the Center for Research and Preservation of Historical Military Archives. Recently the Romanian Military Archive and its German counterpart exchanged documents, according to an agreement between the two institutions. The Romanian side offered the records of the Ninth German Army in Romania while the German side enabled access to a collection of documents issued between 1940 and 1944 by the German Military Mission in Romania.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 08.00-14.00

Center for Research and Preservation of Historical Military Archives, Pitești

Address: Str. Trivale, Aleea Poarta Eroilor 14-16, cod 110058, Pitești, jud. Arges
 Telephone: 0248 – 22 34 77
 Head/Contact: Col. Cornel Carp

1.5 The Archives of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Bucharest Arhivele Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București

Address: Aleea Dealul Mitropoliei 25, sector 4, cod 040163, București
 Telephone: 021 – 33 70 830 (Chancellery of the Holy Synod)
 021 – 40 67 171 (Religious Foreign Relations)
 021 – 40 67 167 (Press Bureau)
 Fax: 021 – 40 67 167 (Press Bureau)
 E-mail: patriarhia@dnt.ro
 Homepage: www.patriarhia.ro
 Head and Contact: Gheorghe Vasilescu

Brief Description: The Archives of the Romanian Orthodox Church (BOR) are divided according to the administrative structure of the BOR. There are five Metropolitan Churches (Metropolitan of Muntenia and Dobrogea, Metropolitan of Moldova and Bucovina, Metropolitan of Transylvania, Metropolitan of Oltenia and Metropolitan of Banat) and twenty-five dioceses. Each diocese holds its own archive and requests for access have to be addressed to the local bishop. The archive of the Holy Synod, the most important, is located at the Atim Monastery in Bucharest. Requests for access to this archive have to be addressed to the Chancellery of the Holy Synod. A centralized inventory of the archival materials is lacking. The BOR Archives are organized in accordance to Law 16/1996. However, the Church has autonomy towards the state.

1.6 Roman-Catholic Diocesan and Episcopal Archives Arhivele Bisericii Romano-Catolice

Roman-Catholic Archbishop Archive, Alba Iulia Arhiva Arhiepiscopală Romano-Catolică, Alba Iulia

Address: Str. Mihai Viteazul 21, cod 510010, Alba Iulia, jud. Alba
Telephone: 0258 – 81 16 89 (diocesan authorities)
Fax: 0258 – 81 14 54
Homepage: www.hhrf.org/gyrke

Roman-Catholic Archbishop Archive, Bucharest Arhiva Arhiepiscopală Romano-Catolică, București

Address: Str. General Berthelot 19, sector 1, cod 010164, București
Telephone: 021 – 31 54 955 (diocesan authorities)
Fax: 021 – 31 21 207
E-mail: secretariat@arcb.ro
Homepage: www.arcb.ro

Roman-Catholic Bishop Archive, Iași Arhiva Episcopală Romano-Catolică, Iași

Address: Bd. Stefan cel Mare 26, cod 700064, Iași, jud. Iași
Telephone: 0232 – 21 20 08
Fax: 0232 – 21 14 76
Homepage: www.ercis.ro

Roman-Catholic Bishop Archive, Oradea Arhiva Episcopală Romano-Catolică, Oradea

Address: Str. Șirul Canoniceilor 7, CP 14, cod 410161, Oradea, jud. Bihor
Telephone: 0259 – 47 94 69 (diocesan authorities)
Fax: 0259 – 41 11 80

Roman-Catholic Bishop Archive, Satu-Mare Arhiva Episcopală Romano-Catolică, Satu-Mare

Address: Str. 1 Decembrie 1918, nr. 2, cod 440010, Satu-Mare, jud. Satu-Mare
Telephone: 0261 – 71 34 95 (diocesan authorities)
Fax: 0261 – 71 64 51

Roman-Catholic Diocesan Archive, Timișoara Arhiva Diecezană Romano-Catolică, Timișoara

Address: Str. Augustin Pacha 4, cod 300055, Timișoara, jud. Timiș
Telephone: 0256 – 49 00 81 (diocesan authorities)

Brief Description: In contrast with other historical denominations and churches in Romania, the Romanian communist state refused to recognize the Roman-Catholic Church as a religious community and ordered it to dissolve. The state accepted only the church leadership in Alba Iulia, for the entire region of Transylvania, as a „dialogue partner“, and for other parts of the country with some exceptions the church leadership in Bucharest and Iași. This situation explains why the written records in the dioceses are different. Access to the Roman-Catholic diocesan or episcopal archives might be difficult due to lack of personnel and resources. Contacting directly the archive of interest to enquire about the current situation is advisable.

1.7 Reformed Church in Romania Româniai Református Egyház

Reformed Church in Romania – District of Oradea, Church archive Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület, Nagyvárad

Address:	Str. J. Calvin 1, cod 410210, Oradea, jud. Bihor
Telephone/Fax:	0259 – 43 17 10
E-mail:	partium@rdsor.ro
Homepage:	www.kiralyhagomellek.ro
Head:	Fazakas Márta

Reformed Church in Romania - Transylvanian District, Church archive Româniai Református Egyház - Erdelyi Egyházkerület

Address:	Str I.C. Bratianu 51, cod 400079, Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj
Telephone:	0264 – 59 24 53; 0264 – 59 74 72
Fax:	0264 – 59 51 04
E-mail:	office@reformatus.ro
Head:	Prof. Dr. Sipos Gábor

Reformed Church in Romania – Târgu-Mureș District, Church archive Româniai Református Egyház - Marosvásárhely

Address:	Piața Bernády 3, cod 540072, Târgu-Mureș, jud. Mureș
Telephone/Fax:	0265 – 21 49 75;
E-mail:	marosiene@rdslink.ro
Head:	Bekméri Róbert

Brief Description: Most of the members of the Reformed Church of Romania belong to the Hungarian minority, so the history of this church is closely linked together with the history of this ethnic group. One of its best known members is today's bishop László Tökes, who was a reformed pastor in Timișoara in 1989 and became a key figure for the beginning of the revolution in Romania. The Reformed Church of Romania is organized into districts which have a common synod for legislative purposes but independent administrations. The Transylvanian District Archive, located in Cluj-Napoca, measures over 115 linear meters of documents. Among the documents in the archive are

files from 1945-1964 and 1966-1990 referring to the activity of the Consiliul Dirigent and Oficiul Episcopal. The access to the Reformed Church of Romania archives, Transylvanian District, is free and the documents can be studied immediately. Other documents of the Reformed Church are kept in the Oradea District Archive and Târgu-Mureș District Archive as well.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-16.00

**1.8 Cultural and Community Center of the Protestant Church C.A. (Confessio Augustana) in Romania „Friedrich Teutsch”, Central Archive, Sibiu
Kultur und Begegnungszentrum der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. (Augsburgischen Bekenntnisses) in Rumänien „Friedrich Teutsch“, Zentralarchiv, Hermannstadt**

Address:	Str. Mitropoliei 30, cod 550179, Sibiu, jud. Sibiu
Telephone:	0269 – 20 67 30
Fax:	0269 – 20 67 30
E-mail:	Teutsch-Haus@evlk.artelecom.net
Homepage:	www.evkl.artelecom.net (in preparation, not yet available)
Head:	Dr. Wolfram G. Theilemann
Contact:	Monica Vlaicu

Brief Description: As part of the Cultural and Community Center of the Protestant Church C.A. in Romania "Friedrich Teutsch", the Central Archive opened to the public from May of 2004. It is a department of the High Consistory, as is the Protestant Church's museum (which is still in progress). The Archive and the Cultural and Community Center dispose of three modern-equipped conference rooms. The Archive keeps the written documents of 250 protestant C.A. parishes from all over Romania, of eight regional deaneries or county consistories and the land consistory as well as those of other church leading institutions. Most of the archival material ranges from as early as the 18th century to the late 20th century and had been saved, sorted and made available only after 1990. The Central Archive provides the most important sources for research on the modern history of the Protestant Germans in Romania. The archive includes some collections such as a visual archive collection, a collection of plans, and a collection of church registers. The "Transylvanica" documentation library with 12.000 media units offers mainly literature of the 19th and 20th centuries in German, Romanian, and English language. The center is open to student volunteers (history, LIS, German/Romanian/East European studies) and occasionally offers practical paleographic courses. Publications: Starting with 2004, the archive's "Miscellanea ecclesiastica" series will publish original documents, inventories and indices. Information about current work and events can be found in the official paper of the land consistory "Landeskirchliche Informationen", which appears twice a month.

Hours: Monday and Wednesday 09.00-17.00, Tuesday and Thursday 09.00-15.00, Friday closed. Due to the limited number of places in the study room appointment is necessary.

2. LIBRARIES

NATIONAL LIBRARIES

2.1 National Library of Romania, Bucharest Biblioteca Națională a României, București

Address: Str. Ion Ghica 4, sector 3, cod 030044, București
Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 42 434; 021 – 31 42 433; 021 –31 03 552
021 – 31 57 063; 021 – 31 23 381;
E-mail: go@bibnat.ro
Homepage: www.bibnat.ro
Head: Ion Dan Erceanu
Contact: Mihaela Golban

Brief Description: The library, one of the oldest in the country, was founded in 1838. After the 1859 reunification it became a national library and in 1864 its name was changed to Central State Library. It functioned in this formula until 1901 when it was closed for the next 54 years. Soon after the fall of communism, in the beginning of January 1990, a government decision transformed the Central State Library into the National Library of Romania.

The most important regional branches of the National Library of Romania are in:

Alba-Iulia „Batthyaneum”, Str. Gabriel Bethlen 1, cod 510009, Alba Iulia, jud. Alba,
Telephone: 0258 – 81 19 39; Fax: 0258 – 81 54 3413
Craiova „Omnia”, Str. Mihail Kogălniceanu 17, cod 200390, Craiova, jud. Dolj,
Telephone: 0251 – 13 47 25.

Hours: Monday-Friday, 08.30-20.00

2.2 Romanian Academic Library, Bucharest Biblioteca Academiei Române, București

Address: Calea Victoriei 125, sector 1, cod 010071, București
Telephone: 021 – 21 28 284; 021 – 21 28 285
Fax: 021 – 21 25 856
E-mail: biblacad@bar.acad.ro; relpublic@bar.acad.ro
Homepage: www.bar.acad.ro
Head: Dr. Gabriel Stempel
Contact: Marilena Apostolescu

Brief Description: The library opened in 1867. It has a collection of over 10 million publications; of those 3.6 million are monographs and 5.3 million periodicals. At present the library has the most complete collection of Romanian periodicals in the world totaling over 60,000 titles. Since 1999 it has an on-line index (60.000 titles at present) and work has begun on an electronic index of its entire collection.

Hours: Monday-Thursday, 08.00-18.00; Friday-Saturday: 08.00-14.00

2.3 Central University Library, Bucharest Biblioteca Centrală Universitară (BCUB), București

Address: Str. Boteanu 1, sector 1, cod 010027, București
Telephone: 021 – 31 31 605; 021 – 31 31 606
Fax: 021 – 31 20 108
E-mail: refer@bcub.ro
Homepage: www.bcub.ro
Head: Dr. Mircea Regneală (regneala@bcub.ro)
Contact: Luminița Miron (miron@bcub.ro)

Brief Description: The Central University Library is an institution of culture and learning that answers to complex demands for various types of information, studies and research from students, teachers and other university personnel. In addition to its printed collection, electronic periodicals can be accessed from BCU computers. Information on BCU collections is available in electronic format.

Hours: Monday-Thursday 08.00-18.00; Friday-Saturday 08.00-14.00

2.4 National Military Library, Bucharest Biblioteca Militară Națională, București

Address: Bd. Regina Elisabeta 24, sector 5, cod 050017, București
Telephone: 021 – 31 47 801
Fax: 021 – 31 50 960
E-mail: presamapn@yahoo.com
Homepage: www.mapn.ro/biblioteca
Head: Col. Dr. Eng. Constantin Mihalcea

Brief Description: The National Military Library was established in 1860. It is a specialized library totaling 220,000 titles, 95,000 recent periodicals and books on Romanian history.

Hours: Monday-Friday 09.00-15.00

COUNTY LIBRARIES

2.5 County Library “George Barițiu”, Brașov Biblioteca Județeană „George Barițiu”, Brașov

Address: Bd. Eroilor 35, cod 500036, Brașov, jud. Brașov
Telephone: 0268 – 41 93 38; 0268 – 41 08 01
Fax: 0268 – 41 50 79
Homepage: www.deuroconsult.ro/~biblgb

Brief Description: Over 160 years old, the County Library in Brașov has over 700,000 books, periodicals, records, manuscripts, documents, maps, photographs, as well as information of general interest.

Hours: Monday-Friday 08.00-19.00; Saturday 09.00-13.00

2.6 Central University Library “Lucian Blaga”, Cluj-Napoca Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Lucian Blaga”, Cluj-Napoca

Address: Str. Clinicilor 2, cod 400006, Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj
Telephone: 0264 – 59 70 92; 0264 – 59 76 33
E-mail: webmaster@bcucluj.ro
Homepage: www.bcu.ubbcluj.ro
Head: Doru Radosav (radosav@bcucluj.ro)
Contact: Adriana Szekely (relatii@bcucluj.ro)

Brief Description: It is the largest library in Transylvania, founded in 1872. Its first book collection came from the Academy of Law Library in Sibiu (1863), the former Medicine Academy, the local archive in Cluj and private donations. The most important addition came from the library of the Ardeal Museum Society which in 1872 was totalling about 31,000 volumes. At present it stores around 3.6 million publications, 500,000 of which are periodicals.

Hours: Monday-Friday 08.00-20.00; Saturday 08.00-15.00

2.7 County Library Constanța Biblioteca Județeană Constanța

Address: Str. Mircea cel Batrân 104 A, cod 900663, Constanța, jud. Constanța
Telephone/Fax: 0241 – 61 62 44; 0241 – 61 62 45; 0241 – 61 44 82
E-mail: bjc@biblioteca.ct.ro
Homepage: www.biblioteca.ct.ro
Head: Liliana Lazia (l.lazia@biblioteca.ct.ro)

Brief Description: The library opened in 1898. It has a collection of history books and articles, works on the Aromanian, Turkish-Tartar, Armenian and Greek minorities, and documents on local events.

Hours: Monday: 13.00-20.00; Tuesday-Friday: 08.00-20.00; Saturday: 08.00-15.00

2.8 Central University Library “Mihai Eminescu”, Iași Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Mihai Eminescu”, Iași

Address:	Str. Păcurari 4, cod 700511, Iași, jud. Iași
Telephone:	0232 – 26 42 45
Fax:	0232 – 26 17 96
E-mail:	bcuis@bcu-iasi.ro; alcalinescu@bcu-iasi.ro; marcela@bcu-iasi.ro
Homepage:	www.bcu-iasi.ro/
Head:	Dr. Al. Călinescu
Contact:	Marcela Agheorghiesei

Brief Description: The library was established in 1860, the year when the country's first university was founded. The Central University Library in Iași, as the similar ones in Bucharest, Cluj and Timișoara, is an encyclopedic library, used primarily by academia, but is open to the general public. It holds a significant number of documents and, after the Romanian Academic Library in Bucharest, has the most valuable deposit of documents of national interest.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-13.00 / 15.00-19.00; Reference Hall: 08.30-19.00

2.9 “Astra” County Library, Sibiu Biblioteca Județeană „Astra”, Sibiu

Address:	Str. George Barițiu 5, cod 550178, Sibiu, jud. Sibiu
Telephone:	0269 – 21 05 51; 0269 – 21 57 75
E-mail:	astra@logon.ro
Homepage:	www.verena.net/bastra
Head:	Ion Maris

Brief Description: An encyclopedic library with a collection of approximately 700,000 volumes.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 08.00-20.00

2.10 County Library Timiș Biblioteca Județeană Timiș

Address:	Piața Libertății 3, cod 300077, Timișoara, jud. Timiș
Telephone:	0256 – 43 07 46
Fax:	0256 – 43 39 98
E-mail:	paulbanciu@yahoo.com
Homepage:	www.bjt.ro
Head:	Paul Eugen Banciu

Brief Description: The County Library Timișoara was established on October 29, 1904. Today the library offers its readers around 750,000 publications (books, periodicals) as well as graphical, audio and video records, in Romanian or foreign languages. It has an encyclopedic character and it addresses to all social and professional categories.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-19.00

3. RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

3.1 Faculty of History – University of Bucharest Facultatea de Istorie – Universitatea București

Address: Bd. Regina Elisabeta 4-12, sector 3, cod 030018, București
Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 45 389; 021 – 31 00 680
E-mail: HistoryUBucharest@hotmail.com
Homepage: www.unibuc.ro/ro/fac_fistr_ro
Head: Alexandru Barnea
Contact: Daniela Zaharia

Departments: Romanian History Department; World History Department

Research Centers: Center for Historical Research of the 20th Century

Doctorate Program: Modern and Contemporary History.

3.2 Faculty of Political Science – University of Bucharest Facultatea de Științe Politice – Universitatea București

Address: Str. Sfântul Ștefan 24, sector 2, cod 023997, București
Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 39 007; 021 – 31 25 378
E-mail: fspub@fspub.ro
Homepage: www.fspub.ro
Head: Dr. Daniel Barbu (danielbarbuicp@yahoo.com)
Contact: Dr. Cristian Preda
Erasmus contact: Dr. Gheorghe Stoica

Departments: Public Policy; International Relations; Political Science

Research: Institute for Political Research

Doctorate Program: Political Science

3.3 Institute for Political Research, Bucharest Institutul de Cercetări Politice (ICP), București

Address: Str. Spiru Haret 8, sector 1, cod 010175, București
 Telephone: 021 – 31 41 268; 0722 – 91 19 58 (mobile)
 Fax: 021 – 31 33 511
 E-mail: cristian.preda@icp.ro, onutoma_icp@yahoo.com
 Homepage: www.fspub.ro
 Head: Dr. Daniel Barbu
 Contact: Dr. Cristian Preda, Oana Toma

Brief Description: The Institute for Political Research was founded in 1999 by transforming the Center for Political Research of the Faculty of Political Science (founded in 1995). The Institute's areas of research are: the political system, the history of totalitarianism, elaborating comparative studies on history, law, religion and political science. In addition, the history of political thought and Romanian political concepts, European politics and post-communist transformations in Central and Eastern Europe are also subjects of interest.

Publications: The IPR publishes its research in *Studia Politica*.

3.4 International Center for Studies about Communism, Bucharest Centrul Internațional de Studii asupra Comunismului, București

Address: Piața Amzei 13, Et. 2, sector 1, cod 010343, CP 22-216, București
 Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 25 854; 021 – 31 29 852
 E-mail: acivica@fx.ro
 Homepage: www.communismsvictims.info/ro/default.asp
 Head: Dr. Romulus Rusan
 Contact: Ioana Boca

Brief Description: The Center was created by Romulus Rusan and Ana Blandiana in 1993 and was affiliated to the Civic Academy Foundation. The Center's archive stores documents on investigations and detention of former political prisoners (court sentences, investigation reports, search reports, arrest warrants, release reports). The records were acquired from private individuals or copied from various archives. The Center has also journals, written testimonies of victims of the communist regime, letters from prison or letters sent by relatives to those under arrest, over 2,000 photographs of former political prisoners, photographs from files put together by repression structures after arrests, family photos of communist leaders and documentary films about the communist period. The database comprises a list of persons who have been imprisoned and of those who died in communist jails in Romania.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-17.00

3.5 National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului (INST), București

Address: Str. Arhitect Grigore Cerchez 16, sector 1, cod 011876, București
Telephone: 021 – 23 06 992; 021 – 23 06 114
Fax: 021 – 23 07 682
E-mail: inst@home.ro
Head: Acad. Dan Berindei
Contact: Bianca Burcea

Brief Description: The National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism (INST) was founded on April 13, 1993 by the Romanian government. The INST is engaged in the collecting, archiving, study and publication of documents referring to the history of totalitarianism in Romania. The studies focus on different aspects of the communist regime (1945-1989), economic structures, social issues, institutions, legislation, culture, mentalities, language, methods of repression, forms of resistance and the daily life. Moreover, INST activity includes historical analysis of the political movements or ideological trends that challenged the parliamentary regime in the period between the two wars, in comparison with similar phenomena in Europe. The INST has a library as well as an archive of documents, audio-video materials and photos. Contact person of the INST in Germany: Vladimir Iliescu, Erkhart: Telephone (+49 211) 247151.

Publications: INST studies are published in the magazine Arhivele Totalitarismului (Totalitarianism Archives).

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-17.00

3.6 National School of Political and Administrative Studies, Bucharest Școala Națională de Studii Politice și Administrative (SNSPA), București

Address: Str. Povernei 6-8, sector 1, cod 010643, București
Telephone/Fax: 021 – 21 25 286
E-mail: webmaster@spidd.ro
Homepage: www.politice.ro
Head: Prof Dr.Vasile Secăreș

Brief Description: The National School of Political and Administrative Studies (SNSPA) was established in 1990. It offers courses in: Fundamental concepts in political science, sociology and economy; History of political ideas and sociology; Social and economic institutions; Methodology of social research; Introduction in legal theory; Political Doctrines; Human rights; Political philosophy; Political ethics; Theory of international relations; 20th century history.

3.7 “Nicolae Iorga” History Institute, Bucharest Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București

Address: Bd. Aviatorilor 1, sector 1, cod 011851, București
 Telephone: 021 – 65 09 045
 Fax: 021 – 31 10 371
 E-mail: inst.iorga@iorga.iini.ro
 Homepage: www.iorga.iini.ro (temporary unavailable)
 Head: Dr. Ioan Scurtu
 Contact: Cristian Vasile

Brief Description: The institute was founded in 1937 by a royal decree of King Carol II as the Institute of World History. The first director was Nicolae Iorga. In 1941 it changed its name to the “Nicolae Iorga” Museum of World History and G. Brătianu was appointed director. In 1948 it became the History Institute of the People’s Republic of Romania led by P. Constantinescu. In 1989 the name was changed back to “Nicolae Iorga” Museum of World History with Șerban Papacostea as director. The Institute has a section of contemporary history coordinated by Ion Chiper and Cristian Vasile.

Hours: Monday-Thursday: 08.30-16.30; Friday 08.30-13.00

3.8 The Romanian Institute for Recent History, Bucharest Institutul Român de Istorie Recentă (IRIR), București

Address: Str. Matei Voievod 18, sector 2, cod 021455, București
 Telephone: 021 – 25 27 556; 021 - 2527557
 Fax: 021 – 25 24 860
 E-mail: irir@euroweb.ro
 Homepage: www.irir.ro
 Head: Dragoș Petrescu
 Contact: Cezara Ene

Brief Description: The Romanian Institute for Recent (IRIR) was established in 2000, responding to the need for a dynamic history institute able to tackle sensitive and controversial issues in Romania’s recent history (1938 to the present). Research focuses on a period marked by the two radical ideologies of the 20th century, fascism and communism, and by the difficult post-1989 transition to democracy. The institute’s library holds more than 5,000 volumes in Romanian, English, French, German, Dutch and Russian. It also collects archival material from different sources, private and institutional. Today its archive is a repository for over twenty-six linear meters of original documents. Among them are the archive of Ghiță Ionescu, a prominent political theorist of communist regimes, documents belonging to leading figures of the Romanian emigration to the West and numerous original records from the archive of the Brașov office of the Romanian Communist Party. Recently the IRIR received a donation from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC consisting of 160,000 pages of microfilm containing documents about the deportation of Romanian Jews to Transnistria, now part of the Ukraine, during the Second World War, when the territory was under Romanian rule.

Publications: IRIR publishes a scientific yearbook

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-17.00

3.9 South Eastern European Studies Institute, Bucharest Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene, București

Address: Casa Academiei, Calea 13 Septembrie 13, sector 5, 050711 București
 Telephone: 021 – 41 07 563
 Fax: 021 – 41 06 527
 E-mail: sudest@racai.ro
 Head: Dr. Paul H. Stahl

Brief Description: Historian Nicolae Iorga founded the SEESI in 1913. In 1947 it was renamed the Balkan Institute, under director Șerban Papacostea. It has a library of over 70 books and magazines and an important collection of magazines from all South Eastern Europe. Although most of the materials focus on pre-20th century history, there are also comprehensive articles and studies on recent history.

Publications: The institute publishes a bulletin which is also available in French.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-15.00

3.10 Faculty of History – “Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca Facultatea de istorie – Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca

Address: Str. Mihail Kogălniceanu 1, cod 400084, Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj
 Tel: 0264 – 40 53 00
 (Dean Office: ext. 5276 and Chief Secretary: ext. 5326)
 Fax: 0264 – 40 53 26; 0264 – 19 19 06
 Homepage: <http://hiphi.ubbcluj.ro/hiphi/index.htm>
 E-mail: hiphi@hiphi.ubbcluj.ro
 Contact: Simona Chiorean

Brief Description: The Faculty of History and was founded in 1919 at the Cluj University. After 1959, the faculty adopted a history and philosophy curriculum. Social sciences and humanities courses were added after 1990. As the faculty grew in size, some departments became autonomous. The 2001-2002 academic year opened with two departments, seven chairs, two laboratories, autonomous centers or research institutes. There are six majors: History; Art History; Archaeology; Library studies; Jewish Studies; Philosophy.

3.11 Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration – “Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca

**Facultatea de Științe Politice și Administrație Publică –
Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca**

Address: Str. Traian Moșoiu 71, cod 400132, Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj
 Telephone/Fax: 0264 – 43 15 05
 E-mail: polito@polito.ubbcluj.ro
 Homepage: www.polito.ubbcluj.ro/stiinte%20politice
 Head: Dr. Liviu-Petru Zăpartan

Brief Description: The faculty, created in 1992, has the following research centers: Academic Center for Social Research led by Dr. Vasile Boari; Political Analysis Laboratory under Dr. Gabriel Bădescu; Defense and Security Studies Center led by Dr. Christian Hereji.

Publications: online journals, EAST (www.polito.ubbcluj.ro/east/index_EAST.html) and Europolis (www.polito.ubbcluj.ro/europolis/europolis_index.htm)

3.12 “George Bariț” History Institute, Cluj-Napoca Institutul de Istorie „George Bariț”, Cluj-Napoca

Address: Str. Napoca 11, cod 400088, Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj
 Telephone: 0264 – 43 18 42; 0264 – 43 16 69
 Fax: 0264 – 19 83 43
 E-mail: history@xnet.ro
 Home page: www.history-cluj.ro
 Head: Camil Bujor Mureșanu, member of the Academy;
 History department: Dr. Ioan Chindriș
 Contact: Codruța Balc

Brief Description: The institute was founded by King Ferdinand I in February 1920, and currently has several departments: Medieval History, Pre-modern History, Modern History, and Contemporary History. Its research programs are primarily dedicated to the history of Transylvania.

3.13 National History Research Institute Cluj-Napoca Institutul de Istorie Națională din Cluj-Napoca

Address: Str. Napoca 11, cod 400088, Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj
 Telephone/Fax: 0264 – 19 83 43
 Homepage: www.culture.ro/pages/history-cluj/index.html
 Head: Camil Mureșanu

Brief Description: Founded in 1920 with the support of King Ferdinand I, the Institute functioned in the University of Cluj-Napoca. Now it is a part of the Romanian Academy. The research activities of the institute focus particularly on the history of Transylvania, including topics like: the problems of Romanian nationals in the Habsburg Empire (1849-1918); the bibliography of Romanian history; the installation of the communist regime and the process of collectivization in Romania (1945-1962).

3.14 “A. D. Xenopol” History Institute, Iași Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași

Address: Str. Lascăr Catargi 15, cod 700107, Iași, jud. Iași
 Telephone: 0232 – 21 26 14
 Email: xeno@mail.dntis.ro
 Homepage: <http://institutulxenopol.tripod.com>
 Head: Ph. D. Prof. Alexandru Zub

The institute has its own contemporary history department led by Dorin Dobrinu.

Brief Description: The Yearbook of the Xenopol History Institute has been published since 1964. In the "A. D. Xenopol" Library miscellaneous studies were published, some dedicated to specific anniversaries. In the "Bibliotheca Historiae Universalis", analytical works were presented on the country's history and studies about important moments in world history and their impact on national events. "Restitutio Historiographica" was intended to reevaluate prominent contributors to Romanian historiography, marginalized during the communist regime. The library holds over 47.000 book titles and over 12.000 magazine titles.

Hours: Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday: 10.00-14.00; Tuesday: 10.00-12.00

3.15 Faculty of History – "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași Facultatea de Istorie – Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași

Address:	Bd. Carol I nr. 11, cod 700506, Iași, jud. Iași
Telephone:	0232 – 20 10 56; 0232 – 20 10 57
Fax:	0232 – 20 11 56
E-mail:	butuc@uaic.ro
Homepage:	history.uaic.ro
Head:	Dr. Ion Ciupercă

Brief Description: The University was founded in 1860. Its main fields of research are: universal history, historical genealogy, events and phenomena relevant to modern and contemporary history, oral history and collective thought, history of culture and ideas. Modern and Medieval History department; Romanian Contemporary History and World History departments. It received financing from the World Bank and the Ministry of Education and Research. Resources: a specialized library, with a stock of almost 33 book titles and 400 Romanian and foreign periodicals.

3.16 Faculty of Social Humanistic Science – University of Oradea Facultatea de Științe Socio-Umane – Universitatea Oradea

Address:	Str. Armatei Române 5, cod 410087, Oradea, jud. Bihor
Telephone:	0259 – 40 84 39
Fax:	0259 – 40 82 93
E-mail:	icioara@uoradea.ro
Homepage:	www.uoradea.ro/romanian/topic/28/Facultatea\$de\$Științe\$Socio-Umane.html
Head:	Dean Florica Chișeș
Contact:	Simona Popa

Brief Description: The Faculty of Social Humanistic Science is perpetuating the tradition of the Faculties of History-Geography and physical education of the Institute for Higher Education founded in 1963. It collaborates with "Țara Crișurilor" Museum and National Archives in Oradea. Main research fields are: History, Sociology, Geography and territorial planning, Psychology, Philosophy.

3.17 Socio-Humanistic Research Institute, Sibiu Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umaniste, Sibiu

Address: Str. Lucian Blaga 13, cod 550169, Sibiu, jud. Sibiu
Telephone: 0269 – 21 26 04
Fax: 0269 – 21 66 05
Email: icsu.sib@logon.ro
Head: Prof. Dr. Paul Helmut Niedermaier

Brief Description: The Institute, founded in 1990, originated in a department set up in 1956 in the Cluj branch of the Romanian Academy. In 1970, this department was transformed into an independent institution subordinated to the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. In 1990 the Institute was given its current name and returned to the Romanian Academy. The main subjects of research are: History and archaeology, Urban history, History of literature and culture, Linguistics, Ethnology and sociology.

3.18 Faculty of Political Science, Philosophy and Communications – “Western University”, Timișoara

**Facultatea de Științe Politice, Filosofie și Comunicare –
Universitatea de Vest, Timișoara**

Address: Str. Vasile Pârvan 4, Birou 233, cod 300223, Timișoara, jud. Timiș
Telephone/Fax: 0256 – 29 52 98
E-mail: decanat@polsci.uvt.ro
Homepage: www.polsci.uvt.ro

Brief Description: Founded in 1999, its main areas of research are: Political theory, Discourse analysis, Democracy and totalitarian theories, Human rights, Multi-cultural studies, Religion and society, Civic spirit in multicultural environments, Political analysis, Political behavior and attitudes in Banat.

4. ASSOCIATIONS AND FOUNDATIONS

4.1 The Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania – Helsinki Committee, Bucharest

Asociația pentru Apărarea Drepturilor Omului în România – Comitetul Helsinki (APADOR-CH), București

Address: Str. Nicolae Tonitza 8, sector 3, cod 030113, București
Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 24 528; 021 – 31 23 711
E-mail: apador@dnt.ro
Homepage: www.apador.org
Head: Manuela Ștefănescu
Contact: Manuela Ștefănescu and Valerian Stan (legislation, police, penitentiary); Gabriel Andreescu (ethnic and religious minorities); Monica Macovei (legislation, legal issues)

Brief Description: APADOR-CH was created in 1990. It is a non-government, non-profit organization that lobbies for changes in legislation and mentality with regard to civil rights, focusing on the protection of individual freedoms, the right to privacy, a fair trial, access to information as well as minority rights. APADOR-CH has a strategy of monitoring and communication with authorities and is a reliable source of information for national and international, governmental and non-governmental organizations. It has successfully maintained political independence as funding has been provided by foreign organizations and foundations.

Publications: Reports on annual activity from 1993 to 2002; special reports on police activity, prisons or special situations.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-15.00

4.2 The Center for Legal Resources, Bucharest Centrul de Resurse Juridice (CRJ), București

Address: Str. Arcului 19, sector 2, cod 021034, București
Telephone: 021 – 21 20 690; 021 – 21 20 691
Fax: 021 – 21 20 519
E-mail: office@crj.ro
Homepage: www.crj.ro
Head: Renate Weber
Contact: Livia Labo, Eva Forika, Florin Buhuceanu, Valerian Stan

Brief Description: The Center for Legal Resources (CRJ) was founded in December 1998. Its goal is to create a legal and institutional framework that will ensure respect for human rights, equal opportunities, and free access to a fair legal representation. The center offers broad access to legal expertise. The areas of interest are: discrimination, rights for the mentally disabled, corruption, reform in the justice system, domestic violence and access to information of public interest. Publications: Annual reports from 1999 to 2002.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-17.00

4.3 Civic Academy Foundation, Bucharest Fundatia Academia Civica, Bucuresti

Address: Piața Amzei 13, Et. 2, sector 1, cod 010343, CP 22-216, București
 Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 25 854; 021 – 31 29 852
 E-mail: acivica@fx.ro
 Homepage: www.memorialsighet.ro/ro/fundatia_academia_civica.asp
 Head: Ana Blandiana
 Contact: Ioana Boca

Brief Description: The Civic Academy Foundation was founded on April 21, 1994. Its areas of interest are civic education, youth education and understanding the country's past. It supports, for these purposes, the reevaluation of Romania's recent history, falsified over the years by the communist regime. The library of the Civic Academy Foundation makes available works in the fields of history and political science. Also, the foundation holds a significant audio archive, oral history interviews with former political prisoners and Romanian dissidents. Publications: The Civic Academy Foundation edits several serials dealing with the communist past in Romania, like *Analele Sighet* and *Biblioteca Sighet*.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-17.00

4.4 The Group for Social Dialogue, Bucharest Grupul pentru Dialog Social (GDS), Bucuresti

Address: Calea Victoriei 120, sector 1, cod 010093, București
 Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 41 471
 E-mail: doina@ong.ro; biblioteca-ong@ong.ro
 Homepage: www.gds.ong.ro ; www.ong.ro/ong/biblioteca-gds/ (library)
 Head: Radu Filipescu
 Contact: Doina Lazăr

Brief Description: The Group for Social Dialogue (GDS) is the first non-governmental organization, founded in December 1989. Its members are former dissidents and intellectuals not compromised during the communist regime. The Group provided critical analysis in a period marked by the violent dismantling of the communist totalitarian state. The GDS participates to the social and cultural

life through its publication, the 22 magazine, by organizing meetings and symposiums on diverse issues, primarily on social conflict, legislative initiatives, freedom of press and television, minority rights, local and general elections. The GDS coordinates the activity of its library, the Center for Resources and Communications for NGOs, the department of free Legal Consultations and the Video Dialogue studio. The GDS library is located at its main office and holds approximately 3,000 books in the fields of: politics, economy, finances, history, sociology, philosophy, law, religion and literature. The books are in Romanian, French, English and German. Collections of Romanian periodicals are: 22, Dilema Veche, Capital, Sfera Politicii. Foreign magazines are mainly on: politics, law, economy and finances (Esprit, Pouvoirs, Commentaire, Le debat, Politique étrangère, Foreign Affairs, Sais Review, American Journal of Political Science).

Hours: Monday-Saturday: 09.00-16.00

4.5 Open Society Foundation, Bucharest Fundatia pentru o Societate Deschisa (FSD), Bucuresti

Address: Str. Căderea Bastiliei 33, sector 1, cod 010613, București
Telephone: 021 – 21 21 101; 021 – 21 21 102;
021 – 21 21 103; 021 – 21 21 104; 021 – 21 21 105
Fax: 021 – 21 21 032
E-mail: info@buc.osf.ro
Homepage: www.osf.ro
Head: Renate Weber
Contact: Corina Gonteanu

Brief Description: The Open Society Foundation (FSD) was founded in 1997, as a successor to the Soros Foundation for an Open Society that activated in Romania since 1990. It is a non-governmental, non-profit and apolitical organization. Through its programs, the FSD promotes the development of democratic institutions, defends human rights and minority rights, stands for pluralism in the political system, stands for the reform of public policy in all fields essential to social life and supports Romania's integration in European structures.

Hours: Monday-Thursday: 14.00-17.00

4.6 Pro Democracy Association, Bucharest Asociația Pro Democrația (APD), București

Address: Bd. Unirii 45, Bl. E3, Sc. 3, Et. 6, apt. 76,
sector 3, cod 030824, București
Telephone: 021 – 32 77 736; 021 – 32 77 757
Fax: 021 – 32 16 744
E-mail: apd@rdsnet.ro
Homepage: www.apd.ro
Head: Cristian Pîrvulescu
Contact: Gagiu Raluca

Brief Description: The Pro Democracy Association (APD) is a non-governmental, non-profit, apolitical organization, founded in 1990. Through its programs the APD aims to improve voter knowledge, advocates a fair electoral process, civic education, citizens' participation in elaborating public policies, transparency in public institutions and control of civil society as well as respect for human rights. The APD has offices in 24 counties. Information on county offices can be found on its web site.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 09.00-17.00

4.7 Pro Europe League, Târgu Mureş Liga Pro Europa, Târgu Mureş

Address: Piaţa Trandafirilor 5, Et. 3, P.O. Box 1-154,
cod 540049, Târgu Mureş, jud. Mureş
Telephone: 0265 – 25 01 82; 0265 – 25 01 83; 0745 – 507166 (mobile)
E-mail: office@proeuropa.ro; laura@proeuropa.ro
Homepage: www.proeuropa.ro
Head: Smaranda Enache and Csiky Boldizsár
Contact: Laura Ardelean

Brief Description: The programs developed by the Pro Europe League, primarily for Transylvania, promote inter-cultural relations, human rights and minority rights, as well as civic education and conflict prevention.

Hours: Monday-Thursday 08.30-16.30; Saturday 08.30-13.30

Free human rights legal advice on Mondays and Wednesdays from 16.00-18.00

4.8 Euroregional Center for Democracy, Timișoara Centrul Euroregional pentru Democrație (CED), Timișoara

Address: Str. Semenici 10, cod 300035, Timișoara, jud. Timiș
Telephone: 0256 – 22 14 71; 0256 – 22 14 72
Fax: 0256 – 43 66 33
E-mail: office@regionalnet.org
Homepage: www.regionalnet.org
Head: Ilona Mihaieş (imihaies@regionalnet.org)
Contact: Vasile Gherheş - program coordinator (vgherhes@regionalnet.org)

Brief Description: The Euroregional Center for Democracy (CED) is involved in building democracy and consolidation in Central and South-Eastern Europe through creating, continuously and for a long term, opportunities for communication in inter-active seminars, workshops and round tables. The CED aims at strengthening collaboration between regional, national and local non-governmental institutions and the development of institutional sustainability of NGOs. The CED is a member of Soros Open Network, a network of independent Romanian organizations with the common goal of promoting open society values.

Hours: Monday-Friday 09.00-17.00

5. ASSOCIATIONS OF THE VICTIMS OF THE COMMUNISM

5.1 “15 November 1987” Association, Braşov Asociația „15 Noiembrie 1987”, Braşov

Address: Str. Mureşenilor 5, cod 500026, Braşov, jud. Braşov
Telephone/Fax: 0268 – 47 57 49
Mobile: 0745 – 05 17 46
Head: Florin Postolachi
E-mail: brasov1987@yahoo.com; asoc15nov1987@yahoo.com

Brief Description: The non-profit association, registered on January 2, 1990, promotes a democratic spirit and attempts to prevent, by any legal methods, another dictatorial regime. Thus, it initiated and participated in numerous rallies, meetings and workshops intended to strengthen the civil society. The association was created in memory of a protest strike on 15 November 1987 in Braşov that turned into an anticommunist revolt, crushed by the brutal intervention of the Securitate special forces. Its archive holds only legal statements given by some of the association’s members in 1990 and is very limited. However, members are available for interviews and eager to aid researchers interested in those events.

5.2 The Association of Former Political Prisoners in Romania, Bucharest Asociația Foștilor Deținuți Politici din România (AFDPR), București

Address: Str. Mântuleasa 10, sector 3, cod 030554, București
Telephone/Fax: 021 – 32 16 286
Head: Ticu Dumitrescu

Brief Description: It was founded on January 2, 1990, as a national association of former political prisoners, with many offices around the country. Its main purpose is to continue the fight against communism and to advocate the punishment of those responsible for crimes under the communist regime. It is a politically oriented organization; however, it offers support to researchers in their studies as all its members have experienced the communist prisons. The association initiated a law calling for the former Securitate members to be publicly exposed. The president of the association, Ticu Dumitrescu, introduced the law, which was adopted in the Parliament, although after important modifications. The association published many testimonies of political prisoners in the *Existenta* magazine (discontinued due to lack of funds). The association created a series of documentary

films with Lucia Hossu Longin called "The Memorial of Suffering" ("Memorialul Durerii") and built numerous monuments throughout the country in places where people resisted and fought Securitate officers, as well as next to prisons and labor camps. In 2004 the association will launch an album of all these monuments.

Its archives are reserved to members of the association and not available to researchers. However, with prior notice, they might become available if the president is informed on the nature and duration of the investigation by interested researchers.

Hours: Monday-Thursday: 09.00-12.00; Friday: 09.00-11.00

5.3 Association of Revolutionaries Without Privileges, Bucharest Asociația Revoluționarilor Fără Privilegii, București

Address:	Calea Victoriei 120, sector 1, cod 010093, București
Telephone:	021 – 31 24 841
Fax:	021 – 31 41 471
E-mail:	arfp@ong.ro
Homepage:	http://arfp.ong.ro/
Head:	Radu Filipescu
Vice-president:	Ion Caramitru
Contact:	Mariana Serdeliuc

Brief Description: The goals of the association is finding out the truth about the anticommunist revolution, defending its ideals, the principles of freedom and democracy as well as encouraging knowledge and moral values.

5.4 "16-22 December 1989 Revolution Memorial" Association, Timișoara Asociația „Memorialul Revoluției 16-22 Decembrie 1989”, Timișoara

Address:	Str. E. Ungureanu 8, cod 300079, Timișoara, jud. Timiș
Telephone:	0256 – 43 32 87
Homepage:	www.infotim.ro/memorial89/amr/amr.htm
E-mail:	amrtim@lasting.ro
Head:	Traian Orban

Brief Description: The Association was founded on April 24, 1990, in memory of the victims of the December 1989 Revolution. In 1998, as a result of persistent efforts, the Timișoara City Hall gave the Association the building where the National Center for Documentation and the Center for Public Information on the Romanian Revolution of December 1989 are currently located. There the Association keeps a big archive with all kind of documents about the revolution including an audio and video archive.

6. MUSEUMS

6.1 Jewish History Museum, Bucharest Muzeul de Istorie al Evreilor, București

Address: Str. Mămulari 3, sector 3, cod 030771, București
Telephone: 021 – 31 10 870
Fax: 021 – 31 51 045
Head: Maxim Elena

Brief Description: The museum was founded in 1978, at the initiative of Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen, by a number of Jewish historians. Its exhibits present the history of the Jewish community on Romanian territory since the 2nd century A.D. It displays religious artifacts, works of Jewish painters, small sketches of synagogues from around the country, objects representing the Jewish community creativity and culture, including the history of the Jewish theatre.

Hours: Monday, Wednesday, Sunday 09.00-13.00; Thursday 09.00-12.00 and 15.00-18.00

6.2 National History Museum, Bucharest Muzeul Național de Istorie, București

Address: Calea Victoriei 12, sector 3, cod 030026, București
Telephone: 021 – 31 58 207
Fax: 021 – 31 13 356
E-mail: relati2@mnr.ro
Homepage: www.mnr.ro
Head: Crișan Mușeteanu
Contact: Adela Danilă

Brief Description: In 1970 the History Museum opened its doors to the public in the former building of the Postal Palace. The majority of the exhibitions came from the Museum of Antiquities, and illustrate the development of human societies on Romanian territory, from ancient times to the present. The museum also holds a modern and contemporary history collection.

Hours: Tuesday-Sunday: 10.00-18.00 (summer); 09.00-17.00 (winter)

6.3 National Military Museum, Bucharest Muzeul Militar Național, București

Address: Str. Mircea Vulcănescu 125, sector 1, cod 010819, București
Telephone: 021 – 63 87 625

Brief Description: The museum was founded in 1923; on December 22, 1990 the museum opened a hall dedicated to the 1989 Revolution. The Documentation section of the National Military Museum has a collection of over 1.2 million items. Among these are rare books, documents, patents, photo-albums, original photographs, periodicals and military books, many of which are unique at a national level. It is open to specialists and museum researchers as well as to individuals interested in the military field.

Hours: Daily 09.00-17.00 (closed Monday)

6.4 The Memorial of the Victims of Communism, Sighetul Marmației Memorialul Victimelor Comunismului și al Rezistenței, Sighetul Marmației

Address: Str. Corneliu Coposu 4, cod 435500,
Sighetul Marmației, jud. Maramureș
Telephone: 0262 – 31 68 48
Fax: 0262 – 31 94 24
E-mail: Memorialul.Sighet@mail.multinet.ro
Homepage: www.memorialsighet.ro
Head: Gheorghe Mihai Bârlea

Brief Description: On April 21, 1994 dissident poet Ana Blandiana together with other 175 personalities founded the Civic Academy Foundation to promote civic education in general and, as an immediate objective, to create a memorial of the victims of communism. In Bucharest, the research center headed by Romulus Rusan was active since 1993 and was collecting materials for a museum: photographs, papers, objects, letters, newspaper collections, books, school records, photo albums, oral history recordings. Parallel to this, it was involved in organizing meetings between victims of communism and Romanian and foreign historians, publishing books of testimonies, studies, statistics and documents illustrating the anticommunist resistance and its defeat. Up to now, the center has produced 3,000 hours of recording tapes, 15,000 book pages, and conserved tens of thousands of documents (sheets of papers, photographs, audio and videotapes). The Memorial comprises a Museum of the Victims of Communism and an International Center of Communism Studies, housed in the former prison where Romania's political and cultural elite was exterminated.

Hours: Daily, 10.00-18.00

7. NEWSPAPERS AND CULTURAL MAGAZINES

7.1. “22” – Weekly Newspaper Revista „22”

Address: Calea Victoriei 120, sector 1, cod 010093, București
Telephone: 021 – 31 12 208; 021 – 31 41 776
E-mail: redactia@revista22.ro
Homepage: www.revista22.ro
Head: Gabriela Adameșteanu
Editor: Group for Social Dialogue (GDS)

Brief Description: 22 is the first weekly independent journal, founded soon after the anti-communist revolution (first issue was published on January 20, 1990). It was named after the day of December 22, 1989, when Ceaușescu fled on a helicopter from the building of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. By the end of December 1989, the Group for Social Dialogue (GDS), the first non-governmental organization, was uniting dissidents and intellectuals not compromised by collaboration with the communist regime. The GDS principles (pro-western orientation, support for democratic institutions and values, market economy, minority rights, critical attitude towards government's failures) have been promoted in the pages of the 22 magazine. Famous Romanian and foreign (American, French, German) personalities are published in the pages of this magazine. The political and economic analysis of 22 reflected the history of the past 15 years and over time, gained a wide readership. The well-known publication pays special interest to debates on interpretations of the past.

7.2 Cultural Observer Observator Cultural

Address: Str. Major Gheorghe Șonțu 8, sector 1, cod 011448, București
Telephone: 021 – 23 07 320; 021 – 23 07 321
Fax: 021 – 23 07 328
E-mail: blefter@hotmail.com
Homepage: www.observatorcultural.ro/
Head: Ion Bogdan Lefte
Editor: Carmen Mușat (carmen.musat@fx.ro)

Brief Description: The magazine publishes current cultural information, political chronicles, brief analyses and literature. *Observator Cultural* appears weekly and has a rich cultural agenda on diverse subjects, including the Romanian educational system.

7.3 The Files of History Dosarele istoriei

Address: Str. Diane 5, Et. 3, apt. 7, sector 2, cod 020971, București
 Telephone: 0745 – 055752 (mobile); 0744 – 67 18 37 (mobile); 0723 – 87 06 49 (mobile)
 E-mail: dosareleistoriei@yahoo.com
 Homepage: www.dosarele-istoriei.ro (temporary not available)
 Head: Mircea Suciú

Brief Description: Founded in 1995, the monthly journal is related to the specialized historical magazines; its themes are of national and world interest. Unlike other journals, *Dosarele istoriei* publishes articles on recent history. The authors of studies systematically analyze topics like the history of the Romanian Communist Party and the history of the Romanian secret police, the infamous Securitate. The journal also brings into debate current topics in comparative studies of the dictatorial regimes in Romania. CNSAS (National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives) experts collaborate regularly with the magazine.

7.4 Historical Magazine Magazin istoric

Address: Piața Valter Mărăcineanu 1-3, Et. 3, cam. 281, sector 1,
 P.O. Box 1-702, cod 010155, București
 Telephone/Fax: 021 – 31 50 991; 021 – 31 26 877
 E-mail: mistoric@itcnet.ro
 Homepage: www.itcnet.ro/history/magazin.htm
 Head: Dorin Matei
 Contact: Florentina Dolghin

Brief Description: The monthly journal was founded in 1968. Starting with 1991, the publication was edited by the Cultural Foundation Historical Magazine, a private, non-governmental and non-profit organization. The format of the *Magazin istoric* has remained unaltered since its first issue. It is similar to foreign publications like *History Today*, *L'Histoire*, *Historia*, *Historama*, *Historia y Vida*, *Storia illustrata*. It publishes articles on Romanian and world history, by renowned researchers, historians and political analysts. After decades of existence the magazine has an impressive archive.

7.5 History Historia

Address: Piața Presei Libere 1, corp C, Et. 3, cam. 360, sector 1, cod 013701, București
 Telephone/Fax: 021 – 22 31 236; 021 – 22 31 298
 E-mail: historia@k.ro
 Head: Ion Cristoiu
 Contact: Alina Ștefănașe

Brief Description: Founded in 2001, the monthly magazine is edited by the *Evenimentul Românesc* Press Group. Similar to other history magazines, *Historia* offers historical and political analysis. Its articles focus on recent history topics, as well as political consequences of historical events.

7.6 The Old Dilemma Dilema veche

Address: Aleea Alexandru 38, sector 1, cod 011824, București
 Telephone/Fax: 021 – 23 02 384
 E-mail: dilema@fcr.algoritma.ro
 Homepage: www.algoritma.ro/dilema/
 Editorial Staff: Augustin Buzura, Andrei Codrescu, Petru Gross, Andrei Pleșu
 Contact: Simona Sora

Brief Description: Founded in 1996, the weekly journal offers research, analyses and various investigations on social and political issues. *Dilema veche* proposes debates on political, cultural or recent history topics and publishes answers by Romanian and foreign opinion leaders.

7.7 Romanian Journal of Society and Politics

Address: Civic Education Project Office, Bd. Unirii 76, J3A, sc. A,
 apt.2, sector 3, cod 030837, București
 E-mail: reiordache@justice.com or freyberg_inan@yahoo.com or lilianap@dnt.ro
 Homepage: www.cep.org.hu/publications/rjla.html
 Head: Romanița Iordache

Brief Description: The journal contains research articles, discussions, review essays, book reviews, information. Its subject areas are: Social sciences (interdisciplinary approach) in contemporary Romania, other disciplines with relevance to Romanian politics, culture, or society. It appears semi-annually since 2001. The journal is published in English.

7.8 Romanian Political Science Magazine Revista de Științe Politice (PolSci)

Address: Str. Petofi Sandor 15, sector 1, cod 011405, București
 Telephone/Fax: 021 – 22 21 868
 E-mail: office@sar.org.ro
 Homepage: www.sar.org.ro/polsci.htm
 Head: Alina Mungiu-Pippidi

Brief Description: The magazine appeared in 2001, it is semi-annual, published by the Romanian Academic Society. Its subject areas are: Comparative politics, Public policy, Political economy, Political psychology. It covers Romanian as well as Central and South-East European issues. It is published in both English and Romanian, and issues are theme-oriented. Articles are available online.

7.9 The Sphere of Politics Sfera Politicii

Address: Piața Amzei 13, Et. 1, O. P. 22-212, sector 1, cod 010343, București
 Telephone: 021 – 65 95 790
 Fax: 021 – 31 28 496
 E-mail: sfera@totalnet.ro
 Homepage: www.dntb.ro/sfera
 Head: Stelian Tănase
 Contact: Viorela Mareș

Brief Description: *Sfera Politicii* is published and edited by the Institute of Political and Economic Research and Civil Society Foundation. Its topics are political science, modern political culture, political theory. Each issue of the monthly magazine is dedicated to a specific topic.

Online Archive: No. 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67.

7.10 Studia Politica

Address: Str. Sfântul Ștefan 24, sector 2, cod 023997, București
 Telephone: 021 – 31 39 007; 021 – 31 00 894
 Fax: 021 – 31 25 378
 Email: fspub@fspub.ro
 Homepage: www.fspub.ro/index_en.php?pag=continut/studia_en.php
 Head: Daniel Barbu

Brief Description: Edited by the University of Bucharest, Political Science Faculty, Institute of Political Research, until 2002, the subject of the quarterly magazine are: Romanian political system, totalitarianism, history and memory, law, religion and politics, history of political thought and of Romanian political concepts, European comparative politics, Post-communist transformations in Central and Eastern Europe, nation, democracy and citizenship, book reviews. The journal publishes articles in Romanian, French, English, German and Italian.

7.11 Totalitarianism Archives Arhivele Totalitarismului

Address: Str. Arh. Grigore Cerchez 16, sector 1, cod 011876, București
 Telephone: 021 – 23 06 992
 Fax: 021 – 23 07 682
 Head: Radu Ciuceanu

Brief Description: The magazine *Arhivele Totalitarismului* is edited by the National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism (INST). Its subject areas are: Contemporary history, history, social sciences, various aspects of the communist regime: economic structures, social problems, legislation, culture. The magazine publishes studies, documents, testimonies, dictionary of institutions, bibliographical dictionary, book reviews and for the INST library (publications of the institute). It has tables of contents, summaries and notes on contributors in English.

GERMAN PUBLICATIONS IN ROMANIA

7.12 General German Newspaper for Romania *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien*

Address: Piața Presei Libere 1, cam. 349, sector 1, cod 013701, București
Telephone: 021 – 22 28 537
E-mail: adz@dnt.ro, adz@directnet.ro
Homepage: www.adz.ro
Head: Emmerich Reichrath

Brief Description: The ADZ for Romania appears five times a week (Tuesday to Saturday). In 1992, the editorial team at *Neuer Weg* (1949-1992) newspaper decided it was time for a change. Thus, in 1993, with a new graphic appearance and improved content, the first issue of the daily independent *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung* was launched on the market. It is the only German daily newspaper in Central and Eastern Europe. It brings information about Romania and its German minority and has subscribers inside the country and abroad. It offers news on politics, the economy, local issues and cultural events. The weekly newspapers from Brașov, *Karpatenrundschau*, and Timișoara, *Banater Zeitung*, appear as free supplements of the ADZ. The ADZ operates correspondent offices in Brașov, Hunedoara, Reșița, Satu Mare, Sibiu, Timișoara.

7.13 Banatian Newspaper *Banater Zeitung*

Address: Str. Stelelor 4, cod 300679, Timișoara, jud. Timiș
Telephone/Fax: 0256 – 49 82 10
E-mail: banaterzeitung@mail.dnttm.ro
Head: Werner Kremm

Brief Description: *Banater Zeitung* appears as a four-page weekly supplement to *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*. It provides readers with political, cultural, economic, historical, and religious information from the Banat, the western region of Romania. Its main target group is the traditional German minority in this area.

7.14 Carpathian Review *Karpatenrundschau*

Address: Str. Mihail Sadoveanu 3, cod 500030, Brașov, jud. Brașov
Telephone/Fax: 0268 – 47 58 41
E-mail: kradz@brasovia.ro
Head and Contact: Dieter Drotleff

Brief Description: *Karpatenrundschau*, initially a daily newspaper, appeared in 1969 after publication of *Volkszeitung*, the newspaper of the German community (1957-1969) ceased. At present the *Karpatenrundschau* offers a wide range of information, but most of all social, cultural and historic events for the approximately 2,000 Germans still living in Braşov. It appears as a four-page weekly supplement to *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung*.

Hours: Monday-Friday, 08.00-15.00

Archive: All the German language newspapers.

7.15 Sibian Newspaper Hermannstädter Zeitung

Address:	Str. Tipografilor 12, cod 550164, Sibiu, jud. Sibiu
Telephone:	0269 – 21 34 22
Fax:	0269 – 43 77 65
E-mail:	hz@logon.ro
Homepage:	www.hermannstaedter.ro
Head and contact:	Horst Weber

Brief Description: *Hermannstädter Zeitung* appears weekly as an independent newspaper for the Sibiu county. In addition to local information it publishes articles on politics, economy and society in Romania.

8. GERMAN FOUNDATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN ROMANIA

8.1 German Democratic Forum in Romania, Sibiu Demokratisches Forum der Deutschen in Rumänien (DFDR), Hermannstadt

Address: Str. General Magheru 1-3, cod 550185, Sibiu, jud. Sibiu
Head: Klaus Johannis
Telephon: 0269 – 21 78 41
Fax: 0269 – 21 38 75
E-Mail: dfdr@rdslink.ro
Homepage: www.dfdr.sobis.ro (temporary unavailable)

Brief Description: The German Democratic Forum in Romania is the political organization of the German minority in the country. It operates branch offices in the main cities and towns of German settlement areas, like in Braşov or Timişoara. The headquarters are located in Sibiu.

Hours: Monday-Friday: 08.00-12.00

8.2 Goethe Institute, Bucharest Goethe-Institut, Bukarest

Address: Str. Henri Coandă 22, sector 1, cod 010668, Bucureşti
Telephone: 021 – 21 04 047; 021 – 2104118; 021 – 31 20 231
Fax: 021 – 31 20 585
E-mail: Director: goedir@fx.ro;
Programs: goeprog@fx.ro; Library: goebibl@fx.ro
Homepage: www.goethe.de/ms/buk/rmindex.htm
Head: Heidegert A. Hoesch
Contact: Uwe Lehnert, Marianne Koch

Brief Description: The Institute organizes a broad spectrum of cultural events, workshops and seminars for teachers of German as a foreign language, offers current information on different aspects of the cultural, social, and political life in Germany, makes books and media available to anybody interested in Germany or those who want to learn or teach German.

Hours: Monday-Thursday: 09.00-18.00; Friday: 09.00-15.00

Online Archive: Transcripts and schedules of meetings and conferences that took place at the institute between 2002 and 2003.

8.3 German Culture Centers Deutsche Kulturzentren / Centre Culturelle Germane

German Culture Center Cluj Deutsches Kulturzentrum Klausenburg

Address: Str. Universității 7-9, cod 400091, Cluj-Napoca, jud. Cluj
 Telephone/Fax: 0264 – 59 44 92
 E-mail: ccg@polito.ubbcluj.ro
 Homepage: www.kulturzentrum.ubbcluj.ro
 Head: Dr. Ulrich Burger

German Culture Center Timișoara Deutsches Kulturzentrum Temeswar

Address: Str. A. Pacha, nr. 2, cod 300055, Timișoara
 Telephone: 0256 – 40 70 58
 E-Mail: ccgtm@artelecom.net
 Homepage: www.artelecom.net/kulturzentrumtm

The German Culture Centers offer access to many aspects of German culture by organizing lectures, expositions, concerts and movies. Their libraries keep German newspapers, magazines and literature in German language, also belles lettres and scientific literature including history. The centers also offer German lessons. They are supported by the German foreign ministry, the Goethe Institute and other German and Romanian institutions. New centers will be opened in Brașov and Sibiu.

8.4 Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Bucharest Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Bukarest

Address: Str. Carol Davila 91, ap. 1, sector 5, cod 050453, București
 Telephone: 021 – 21 26 531; 021 – 63 72 424
 Fax: 021 – 21 26 532
 E-mail: kas@users.ro
 Homepage: www.kas.de/proj/home/home/29/1/index.html
 Head: Sabine Habersack
 Office Manager: Alina Costache

Brief Description: KAS-Bucharest accompanies the political, economic and social transformation process in Romania. The objectives are the strengthening of the German-Romanian dialogue, support of the regional and cross-border collaboration within the region South-Eastern Europe, as well as the continuation of the dialogue over the Euro-Atlantic integration of the country.

8.5 Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bucharest Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bukarest

Bucharest Office

Address: Str. Tunari nr. 43, sector 2, cod 020526, București
Telephone: 021 – 21 07 191; 031 – 40 11 235; 031 – 40 11 236
E-mail: fes@fes.ro
Homepage: www.fes.ro
Head: Dr. Alfred Pfaller

Timișoara Office

Address: Str. Ulpia Traiana 1, cod 300215, Timișoara, jud. Timiș
Telephone: 0256 – 22 07 85
E-mail: festim@rdslink.ro
Homepage: www.fes.ro

Brief Description: The fields of activity are political education, research and counselling, scholarships, social and contemporary history, socio-political researches. Main subjects and interdisciplinary projects: Regional policy, international political analysis, women's policy, human rights, syndicates, discussion forums.

Online Library: Available free of charge. Romanian, German and English publications can also be obtained from the Romanian office of Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

8.6 Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Bucharest Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, Bukarest

Address: Str. Polona 1-5, ap. 13, sector 1, cod 010491, București
Telephone: 021 – 21 19 456; 021 – 21 19 156
Fax: 021 – 21 18 213
E-mail: office17.romania@bucharest.fnst.org
Homepage: www.liberals.ro;
www.fnst.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-756/_lkm-578/i.html
Head: Dr. Wolfgang John

Brief Description: Since 1990, the Friedrich Naumann foundation supports Romania's way towards a constitutional state, towards democracy and free market economy. It strengthens liberal parties, non-governmental organizations and civil society structures. Aside other topics it offers projects about human rights and the basis of a democratic political culture.

8.7 Hanns Seidel Foundation, Bucharest Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, Bukarest

Address:	Str. Vasile Alecsandri nr. 9, sector 1, cod 010638, București
Telephone:	021 – 21 19 646
Fax:	021 – 21 14 651
E-mail:	office@hss.ro
Homepage:	www.hss.ro
Head:	Prof. Horst Kossack

Brief Description: The Hanns Seidel foundation, closely linked to the conservative Bavarian party „Christian Social Union“, aims to support Romania’s transition process towards to European Union. It cooperates with government institutions, local administrations, businessmen and private groups in order to develop democratic structures and improve efficiency in administration and economy. Being convinced that a better future only can be reached by coming to terms with the past in a critical and open way, the Hanns Seidel foundation supports the process of reappraisal in Romania, for example the activities of the Sighet memorial.

9. RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS IN AUSTRIA AND GERMANY

AUSTRIA

9.1 Center for the Study of Balkan Societies and Cultures, Graz

Address:	Abteilung für Südosteuropäische Geschichte, Universität Graz, Mozartgasse 3, A-8010 Graz
Telephone:	0316 – 380 23 77
Fax:	0316 – 380 97 35
E-mail:	csbsc@gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at
Homepage:	www.gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc
Director:	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Karl Kaser
General Secretary:	Dr. Hannes Grandits

Brief Description: The CSBSC is a young research institution for historical and cultural scientific researches on Southeast Europe. It's focused on today's social, economic and political developments. The CSBSC is a non-profit organization. It has its seat at Karl-Franzens-University in Graz and receives private and state means. Researchers working at the CSBSC cover all Southeast European states and keep close contact with institutions, scientists and politically active people in those countries.

Publications: Together with the Alternative-socialist East Europe Committee Graz (Alternativ-sozialistisches Osteuropakomitee), the CSBSC edits the quarterly review „Ost-West-Gegeninformationen“. One of its main points is the (self-)presentation of alternative parties and political, social and cultural groups who are looking for democratic, peaceful and ecological ways forward besides capitalism, nationalism and authoritarianism. Homepage of the review: <http://www.gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc/ostwest>.

9.2 Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies, Vienna Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, Wien

Address:	Josefsplatz 6, A-1010 Wien
Telephone:	01 – 51 21 895
Fax:	01 – 51 21 89 553
E-Mail:	sekretariat@osi.ac.at
Homepage:	www.osi.ac.at
Director:	Hofrat Univ.-Doz. Dr. Peter Jordan
Chairman of Supervisory board:	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Arnold Suppan

Brief Description: The Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies is a non-profit organization, founded in 1958 as "Working Group East" (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ost). It conducts its own scientific research on East-Central and Southeastern Europe with a focus on history, geography and economy, but taking into consideration researches on national minorities and inter-cultural relations, the transition process, education and science politics, politology, ecology a.o. as well. Members of the OSI teach at universities. The institute also fulfils service functions with language seminars and summer colleges, events and a place name center. Its specialized, voluminous library and its "Database of humanities and social sciences East, East-Central and Southeast Europe" contain information on researchers and institutions from 19 countries. The database is available on the OSI's homepage. In addition, the OSI organizes scientific conferences, workshops, paper presentations and lectures.

Publications: The OSI publishes several series, of which the following deal with contemporary history and questions of the transformation process in the named region: Multidisciplinary quarterly „Österreichische Osthefte“; book series „Schriftenreihe des Österreichischen Ost- und Südosteuropainstituts“, „Wiener Osteuropa-Studien“, „St. Pöltner Osteuropa-Studien“.

Hours: The library is situated in Augustinergasse 12 and is opened Monday, Wednesday, Thursday 08.00-16.30, Tuesday 08.00-12.00, Friday 08.00-14.00.

GERMANY

9.3 Bukowina Institute, Augsburg Bukowina-Institut, Augsburg

Address:	Alter Postweg 97a, D-86159 Augsburg
Telephone:	0821 – 57 70 67
Fax:	0821 – 58 26 07
E-mail:	bukinst@t-online.de
Homepage:	www.bukowina-institut.de
Head:	Prof. Dr. Reinhold Werner
General secretary and contact:	Dipl. sc. pol. Otto Friedrich Hallabrin

Brief Description: As the Bukowina includes both Romanian and Ukrainian areas and represents, in historical terms, a multi-ethnic region, the Bukowina institute, which was founded in 1988, sees itself as a research institution for the wider East-Central European region. Subject of the scientific activities are research on and documentation of history, areal studies, culture and the transformation process in the Bukowina, based on international and interdisciplinary cooperation, as at the universities of Černivci (Ukraine) and Suceava (Romania). The institute fulfils its function by publications, public lectures, exhibitions, and conferences. Since 2003 the Bukowina institute holds the status as an institute at the university of Augsburg. In cooperation with the Robert-Bosch-foundation, the

institute gives out scholarships to teachers and students aiming to become teachers, enabling them to teach the German language in schools in Romania and the Ukraine. In Augsburg courses are offered in East-/Central- and South-Eastern-European languages. The institute's library with its 20.000 volumes is considered the biggest book collection about the Bukowina in Western Europe, but is also equipped with literature on East-/Central- and South-East-Europe.

Publications: Alongside the quarterly review Kaindl-Archiv appear the following serials: Schriftenreihe des Bukowina-Instituts; Studien zu Ethnizität und Regionalismus des Bukowina-Instituts; Reihe „Zeitzeugen des 20. Jahrhunderts“.

Hours: Monday-Thursday 09.00-13.00 .

9.4 Eastern Europe Center – Document Center for Reappraisal of Totalitarian Structures in East and Southeast Europe, Berlin **Osteuropa-Zentrum – Dokumentationszentrum zur Aufarbeitung totalitärer Strukturen in Ost- und Südosteuropa, Berlin**

Address:	Ruschestraße 103, Haus 1, D-10365 Berlin
Telephone:	030 – 99 39 316; 030 – 99 40 18 87
Fax:	030 – 99 40 18 88
E-mail:	info@osteuropa-zentrum.de
Homepage:	www.osteuropa-zentrum.de
Head:	Detlef W. Stein

Brief Description: The Eastern Europe Center (OEZB, founded in 1998) is focusing on the communist time from 1944 to 1989 and its consequences on the societies of the East and Southeast European countries. As a main activity OEZB offers regularly public discussions in Berlin with guests and experts from the affected countries, and it organizes conferences abroad. The topics cover problems of how to deal with the past and how to reconstruct democratic structures. The institute's library keeps around 5.200 volumes, several reviews and a newspaper and video archive. OEZB compiles a monthly collection of press cuttings on the topic "Dealing with the communist heritage in East and Southeast European countries", evaluating the main German and foreign newspapers and periodicals. It also supports scientific projects, and produces monthly radio and TV-programmes which are broadcasted in Berlin by OKB, the "Open Channel Berlin".

Publications: In cooperation with the Working Group for History and Culture in East-Central and Southeast Europe (Arbeitskreis für Geschichte und Kultur in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa), the OEZB edits the Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik. Starting with autumn 2004, OEZB publishes every year two bibliographies on reappraisal of communism in Eastern Europe.

Hours: Library and archive: Monday-Saturday: 11.00-06.00. Appointment is requested.

9.5 Foundation Science and Politics – German Institute for International Politics and Security, Berlin

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, Berlin

Address: Ludwigkirchplatz 3-4, D-10719 Berlin
 Telephone: 030 – 880 07-0
 Fax: 030 – 880 07-100
 E-mail: swp@swp-berlin.org
 Homepage: www.swp-berlin.org
 Head: Dr. Christoph Bertram
 Contact: Dr. phil. Anneli Ute Gabanyi

Brief Description: The Foundation Science and Politics (SWP) was established in 1962. It is an independent scientific institution which consults the German federal parliament and the federal government in all questions of foreign and security policy, based on its own researches. The SWP, consisting of 130 scientific collaborators, is financed by federal means. Since 2001 it's based in Berlin. It integrated members of the former Cologne "Federal Institute for East Scientific and International Studies" ("Bundesinstitut für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien") and of Munich's Southeast-Institute's (Südost-Institut) present-day-orientated department. One of the numerous research fields is the expansion of the European Union. Here the Romanian political system and the transformation process in the country constitute for an important area in that research. In cooperation with other institutions, the SWP runs a database on literature and facts which can be used by any interested person. The SWP offers practical courses, mainly for students in political science, in economy, law, and administration.

Publications: Analyses, studies, documents, and review surveys can be found on the foundation's homepage. Besides this the SWP edits a series of books.

Hours: By appointment.

9.6 Romanian Culture Institute Titu Maiorescu, Berlin Rumänisches Kulturinstitut Titu Maiorescu, Berlin

Address: Koenigsallee 20a, 14193 Berlin
 Telephone: 030 – 89 06 19 87
 Fax: 030 – 89 06 19 88
 E-mail: rumaenisches.kulturinstitut@t-online.de
 Homepage: www.berlin.de/gek/adressen/ruma.htm
 Head: Adriana Popescu
 Contact: Gheorghe Pascu

Brief Description: Opened in 1999 in Berlin as a Romanian state institution, the Romanian Culture Institute Titu Maiorescu promotes the German-Romanian dialogue and wants to support a better understanding between the two countries. It offers public lectures and discussions which cover topics of contemporary history, politics, social questions, economy and culture and organizes literature

readings and concerts. The monthly programme is available on the homepage of the German-Romanian association ("Deutsch-Rumänische Gesellschaft"), www.deruge.org, there see link "Kulturinstitut". The library offers a basic supply of Romanian literature and is open to all interests.

Hours: Monday-Friday 09.00-06.00.

9.7 Working Group for History and Culture in East-Central and Southeast Europe inc., Dinklage Arbeitskreis für Geschichte und Kultur in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa e.V, Dinklage

Address: Franzstraße 27, D-49413 Dinklage
 Telephone: 04443 – 91 212
 Fax: 04443 – 91 213
 E-mail: agk-dr.boehm@t-online.de
 Head: Dr. Johann Böhm

Brief Description: Founded in 1989, the supra-regional working group aims at an authentic reappraisal of the historical, economic, social, cultural and political development in Central-, East- and Southeast-Europe. Researches are focused on the development of Romania in the 20th century and on a critical analysis of traditional conceptions of history. In its publications the working group explicitly turns against all kinds of nationalism, revisionism and political extremism.

Publications: The Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik appears every six months. The online version [hjs-online](http://home.t-online.de/home/totok/halbja~1.htm), attended by William Totok, is updated monthly and is available under: <http://home.t-online.de/home/totok/halbja~1.htm>. [hjs-online](http://home.t-online.de/home/totok/halbja~1.htm) contains articles not only in German and Romanian language, but also in English and Hungarian. The editorial address is: halbjahresschrift@web.de.

9.8 Romanian Institute – Romanian Library Freiburg inc. Rumänisches Institut – Rumänische Bibliothek Freiburg e.V.

Address: Uhlandstr. 7, 79102 Freiburg
 Telephone: 0761 – 73 551
 Fax: 0761 – 73 551
 Head: Iancu-Ioan Bidian
 Contact: Rodica Moschinski

Brief Description: Founded in 1949 by Virgil Mihailescu and other exiled Romanians, the institute is recognized as a non-profit organization. It is state independent and financed only by private support. It offers lectures, publications and occasionally concerts with Romanian artists. The library consists of 90.000 volumes alongside newspapers and reviews in German, Romanian, French and English language. It is linked to the international libraries lending system. The institute is equipped with several collections such as coins, medals, photos (slides), sound carriers and an exhibition of Romanian folk art.

Publications: Until 1993 21 volumes of the Buletinul Bibliotecii Române were edited.

Hours: The library and archive are opened Monday-Friday from 10.00-13.00. An appointment is requested.

9.9 Transylvania-Institute at the University of Heidelberg, Gundelsheim Siebenbürgen-Institut an der Universität Heidelberg, Gundelsheim

Address: Schloß Horneck, D-74831 Gundelsheim/Neckar
 Telephone: 06269 – 42 10-0 (institute);
 06269 – 42 15-0 (archive and library)
 Fax: 06269 – 42 10 10 (institute);
 06269 – 42 15 30 (archive and library)
 E-mail: info@siebenbuergen-institut.de
 Homepage: www.siebenbuergen-institut.de
 Head: Dr. Harald Roth
 Contact: Gustav Binder

Brief Description: The initiator of the Transylvania institute is the Working Group for Transylvania Area Studies (Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde (AKSL)), which was founded in 1962. It is the successor of the Association for Transylvania Area Studies (Verein für siebenbürgische Landeskunde), which was founded in 1840. The institute was established in 1992 and concentrates on the research and documentation of Transylvanian history and area study with modern questions and methods, and the dissemination of their results. Researches focus on the history and culture of the Transylvanian Saxons from their beginnings up to the present day, though the 20th century is becoming more and more a central point of interest. Also researched are the other ethnic groups in this region. Since 2000 the Transylvania institute is affiliated with the university of Heidelberg. With its archive and special library, which was established in 1955 and contains 67.000 titles, the institute offers unique possibilities for research. The institute cares very much for junior researchers by accompanying students at their university studies, by offering scholarships or by organizing publishing facilities. Together with the AKSL the institute organizes several conferences and seminars each year and offers practical courses.

Publications: In collaboration with the AKSL, several review and book series are edited: Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde (since 1878, 4th series); Siebenbürgische Familienforschung; Mitteilungen aus dem Siebenbürgen-Institut; Siebenbürgisches Archiv (since 1843, 3rd series); Studia Transylvanica; Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens; Kulturdenkmäler Siebenbürgens.

Hours: The library and archive are open Tuesday-Friday from 09.00-12.00 and from 14.00-17.00. For use of the archive an appointment is required.

9.10 Friedrich Schiller University Jena Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

Course of Master of Arts and doctorate in Southeast European Studies
Magister- und Promotionsstudiengang Südosteuropastudien

Address: Ernst-Abbe-Platz 8, D-07743 Jena
 Telephone: 03641 – 94 46 60 (Prof. Dahmen);
 03641 – 94 44 61 (Prof. v. Puttkamer);
 03641 – 94 47 25 (Prof. Schubert)

E-Mail: Wolfgang.Dahmen@uni-jena.de;
 Joachim.Puttkamer@uni-jena.de;
 G.Schubert@uni-jena.de
 Homepage: www2.uni-jena.de/philosophie/soestudien
 Head: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Dahmen (Romanian studies);
 Prof. Dr. Joachim von Puttkamer (East European history);
 Prof. Dr. Gabriella Schubert (South Slavistic)

Brief Description: Since the winter term of 1997/98, Southeast European Studies can be taken as a minor subject by master of arts students and as a subject by doctorate students at the Friedrich-Schiller-University. The subject deals with the history and cultures of Southeast Europe in their specific linguistic and non-linguistic forms. It is comparative and interdisciplinary and contains history, linguistics and the science of literature and culture. The course concentrates mainly on the subjects South Slavistic, Romanian studies and East European History. Conversation is organized and holiday courses of Romanian language are offered and held in Jena every spring. The University- and Regional-Library in Jena cares for the specialized collection "Romanian language and literature". Partnerships exist with several universities in Southeast Europe, and an exchange of students or university lecturers is possible. The Romanian partner university is Alexandru-loan-Cuza-University in Iași.

9.11 Institute for German Culture and History in Southeast Europe inc., Munich Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas e.V., München

Address: Halskestraße 15, 81379 München
 Telephone: 089 – 78 06 09-0
 Fax: 089 – 78 06 09 22
 E-mail: ikgs@ikgs.de
 Homepage: www.ikgs.de
 Head: Prof. honor. Dr. Krista Zach
 Scientific collaborators: PD Dr. Mariana Hausleitner, Dr. Peter Motzan,
 Dr. Stefan Sienerth, Eduard Schneider M.A.

Brief Description: The Institute for German Culture and History in Southeast Europe inc. (IKGS) was newly established as a scientific research institute in 2001. Until then the Southeast German Culture Work inc. (Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk e. V.) had been in charge of this field, and the IKGS took over its rights and duties in 2002. In cooperation with partners from German and East- and Central European universities, the IKGS investigates history, literature, and language of the east-central- and southeast European German settlement regions, asking for historical and regional connexions. The IKGS initiates research projects and organizes professional events. Since 2002 there is an ongoing project named "Totalitarianism in poly-ethnic regions in East-Central and Southeast Europe" at the institute. The central functions of the institute are: own scientific researches, nationally and internationally orientated teaching and lecturing, scientific services including professional conferences, publications and attending the scientific work of students and of candidates for a Doctor's or a Master of Arts degree. The institute runs an archive and a library with 30.000 media units.

Publications: Quarterly review „Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter“ with up-to-date information about history, culture and art of the German minority and their neighbours in Southeast Europe; besides this there are around eight books published each year by the IKGs.

Hours: Institute: Appointment by telephone, Library: Monday-Thursday 09.00-17.00, Friday 09.00-13.00.

9.12 Southeast-Institute – Foundation for scientific research on Southeastern Europe, Munich

Südost-Institut - Stiftung für wissenschaftliche Südosteuropaforschung, München

Address: Güllstraße 7, D-80336 München
 Telephone: 089 – 74 61 33-0
 Fax: 089 – 74 61 33 33
 E-mail: soi.hist@lrz.uni-muenchen.de
 Homepage: www.suedost-institut.de
 Head: Prof. Dr. Edgar Hösch
 Contact: Dr. Gerhard Seewann

Brief Description: Founded in 1930, the Southeast-Institute is sister to the “Foundation for scientific research on Southeastern-Europe”, which runs under public law. The institute and its six scientific collaborators is financed by means of the land of Bavaria and is occupied with the research of the history and presence of Southeast Europe. On the basis of countries overlapping, researches like publication of reference-books, manuals, document editions and specialized monographs represent a main area of competence in the institute. A current main field of research is on the present minority problems in Southeast-Europe. The institute’s library covers around 120.000 titles.

Publications: The historical yearbook „Südost-Forschungen“, the review for present-day research „Südosteuropa“; book serials: „Südosteuropäischen Arbeiten“, „Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartskunde Südosteuropas“, „Südosteuropabibliographie - Ergänzungsbände“

Hours: Appointment by telephone.

9.13 German Culture Forum on Eastern Europe inc., Potsdam Deutsches Kulturforum östliches Europa e.V., Potsdam

Address: Am Neuen Markt 1, D-14467 Potsdam
 Telephone: 0331 – 20 09 80
 Fax: 0331 – 20 09 850
 E-mail: deutsches@kulturforum.info
 Homepage: www.kulturforum.info
 Head: Dr. Hanna Nogosseck

Brief Description: The German Culture Forum was established in 2000 as a public utility association with its seat in Potsdam and is financially supported by the commissioner of the federal government for culture and media. It occupies itself critically and in a future-orientated fashion with the history of those regions in Eastern Europe where Germans lived or still are living. The Culture Forum organizes exhibitions, readings, lectures, discussions, concerts, price awards and conferences.

Publications: The series „Potsdamer Bibliothek östliches Europa“ contains nonfiction, volumes of pictures and belles-lettres.

Hours: By appointment

9.14 Institute for Danube Swabian History and Areal Studies, Tübingen Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen

Address:	Mohlstr. 18, D-72074 Tübingen
Telephone:	07071 – 20 02 514
Fax:	07071 – 20 02 535
E-mail:	sekretariat@idgl.oe.uni-tuebingen.de
Homepage:	www.uni-tuebingen.de/donauschw.institut
Head:	Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. mult. Horst Förster
Scientific collaborators:	Dr. Márta Fata, Josef Wolf M.A., Dr. Matthias Beer, Dr. Horst Fassel (General Secretary)

Brief Description: The institute was established in 1987 in Tübingen as a research institution under direct subordination to the ministry of interior of the land of Baden-Württemberg. The scientific research and teaching is focused on modern and contemporary history, area studies, economic geography and on researches on literature and language in the regions populated by Germans in Southeast Europe. Furthermore, it looks into questions of flight, expulsion and integration of the German expellees. The institute promotes scientific collaboration with foreign partners. In Romania they are the universities in Timișoara and Cluj and the historical museums in Reșița and Satu Mare. It supports university teachings and organizes scientific conferences. Banat and Satu Mare are the main regions in focus in Romania, and more and more the transformation process of these regions is becoming part of the institute's interest. The institute gives out research scholarships on behalf of the land of Baden-Württemberg. It is also equipped with a library of 15.000 monographs and 250 reviews, an archive and several collections.

Publications: The institute publishes two series: Schriftenreihe des Instituts für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, and Materialien.

Hours: Monday-Wednesday and Friday 09.00-16.00, Thursday 09.00-19.00;
archive, library, collections: Monday-Thursday 09.00-13.0 and 14.00-16.00, Friday 09.00-12.30, and by appointment.

APPENDIX

Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur

Foundation directly accountable to the Federal Government

Our Mandate

The Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur contributes, in cooperation with other institutions, to the complete research of the causes, history and impact of dictatorship in the SBZ and GDR. Its aim is to keep in memory the injustice and the victims of the SED-regime as well as to foster the anti-totalitarian consensus within our society and to strengthen democracy and internal unity.

The Foundation

- promotes and supports projects, private archives and victims organizations, scientific research and political education;
- contributes particularly to maintenance, collection and documentation of material concerning resistance and opposition against SED-dictatorship;
- promotes psychological and legal assistance for victims of political persecution;
- advances international cooperation on the research of dictatorships;
- contributes with own publications and events to public debates;
- awards prizes and grants.

The foundation represents an active and pluralistic discussion of the SED-dictatorship and its impact on a re-united Germany. It acts as mediator and intersection between exploration, science, politics, media and public. A library and an archive are being established to make material about resistance and repression accessible as historical source material.

About Us

Between 1992 and 1998 two Enquete commissions of the German Bundestag (parliament) dealt with the history of the SED-dictatorship and its effects on the German Unity. On recommendation of the second inquiry commission the German Bundestag enacted a law on the establishment of the Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur on 5th June 1998, to initiate discussion about the second German dictatorship. The Foundation started its work in autumn 1998.

Management

The Stiftungsrat (board of the Foundation), elected for a five-year term, is the head of the Foundation. It is constituted of MPs of the German Bundestag, members of the German and Berlin government as well as persons committed to the challenges and questions of the investigation of the SED-dictatorship. The chairman of the Stiftungsrat, MP Markus Meckel, decides on questions concerning the Foundation's activities and examines the business of the Stiftungsrat.

The Stiftungsvorstand (managing committee of the Foundation), working on a honorary basis, regulates the business of the Foundation. Members of the managing committee are MP Rainer Eppelmann (chairman), Prof. Dr. Bernd Faulenbach (vice-chairman), Doris Liebermann, Gerd Poppe and Dr. Hermann Rudolph. The Foundation's managing committee is supported by three Fachbeiräte (advisory teams).

The office of the Foundation is working on behalf of the Foundation's managing committee. It is responsible for all questions concerning the business of the Foundation, including the funding of projects and the provision of scholarships as well as the organization of conferences and other events. It serves as a mediator between different organizations committed to the research of the SED-dictatorship and provides information about professional development.

Contact

Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur

Otto-Braun-Str. 70/72
D-10178 Berlin
Germany

Telephone: 030 – 23 24 72 00
Fax: 030 – 23 24 72 10

www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de
E-mail: buerro@stiftung-aufarbeitung.de

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFDPR	Asociația Foștilor Deținuți Politici din România (Association of Former Political Prisoners in Romania)
ap	apartament (flat)
ASRI	Arhivă SRI (SRI archive)
BOR	Biserica Ortodoxă Română (Romanian Orthodox Church)
CAER	The Council for Mutual Economic Aid
CC	Comitetul Central (Central Committee)
CFSN	Consiliul Frontului Salvării Naționale (Council of the National Salvation Front)
CNSAS	Consiliul Național pentru Studiarea Arhivelor Securității (National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives)
cod	Codul poștal (post code)
CPUN	Consiliul Provizoriu de Unitate Națională (Interim Council for National Unity)
DGSP	Direcția Generală a Securității Poporului (General Office for People's Security, the initial Securitate)
DSS	Direcția Securității Statului or Securitate (Office of State Security)
ext	extension (interior number)
EU	European Union
FDG(R)	Forumul Democrat German / al Germanilor din România (Democratic Forum of the Germans in Romania)
FND	Frontul Național Democrat (The National Democratic Front)
FSN	Frontul Salvării Naționale (National Salvation Front)
jud.	Judet (county)
KGB	Komitet Gossudarstvennoi Besopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
MER	Mișcarea Ecologică din România (Romanian Green Movement)
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NKVD	Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs)
PCR	Partidul Comunist Român (Romanian Communist Party)
PER	Partidul Ecologist Român (Romanian Green Party)
PMR	Partidul Muncitoresc Român (Romanian Workers' Party)
PNL	Partidul Național Liberal (National Liberal Party)
PNȚ	Partidul Național Țărănesc (National Peasants Party)
PNȚCD	Partidul Național Țărănesc Creștin Democrat (National Christian Democrat Peasants Party)

PSD	Partidul Social Democrat (Social Democratic Party)
PSDR	Partidul Social Democrat din România (Romanian Social Democratic Party)
PSM	Partidul Socialist al Muncii (Socialist Working Party)
RPR	Republica Populară Română (People's Republic of Romania)
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the East German communist party)
SIE	Serviciul de Informații Externe (Foreign Intelligence Service)
SRI	Serviciul Român de Informații (Romanian Intelligence Service)
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USSR	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

COUNTRY CODES

The Vademekum generally gives the telephone numbers for connections within a country. For telephone calls from abroad please place the following country codes in front. In exchange, the „0“ of the area code has to be dropped.

Austria:	0043
Germany:	0049
Romania:	0040

INDEX OF ENTRIES

ENGLISH

- "15 November 1987" Association, Braşov 73
 "16-22 December 1989 Revolution Memorial" Association, Timișoara 74
 "22" (newspaper) 77

A

- "A. D. Xenopol" History Institute, Iași 66
 Archives of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Bucharest 53
 Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania – Helsinki Committee, Bucharest 69
 Association of Former Political Prisoners in Romania, Bucharest 73
 Association of Revolutionaries Without Privileges, Bucharest 74
 "Astra" County Library, Sibiu 60
 Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies, Vienna 87

B

- Banatian Newspaper 81
 Bukowina Institute, Augsburg 88

C

- Carpathian Review 81
 Center for Legal Resources, Bucharest 69
 Center for Research and Preservation of Historical Military Archives, Pitești 53
 Center for the Study of Balkan Societies and Cultures, Graz 87
 Central Historical National Archives of Romania, Bucharest 51
 Central University Library, Bucharest 58
 Central University Library "Lucian Blaga", Cluj-Napoca 59
 Central University Library "Mihai Eminescu", Iași 60
 Civic Academy Foundation, Bucharest 70
 County Library Constanța 59
 County Library "George Barițiu", Braşov 59
 County Library Timiș 60
 Cultural and Community Center of the Protestant Church C.A. in Romania
 „Friedrich Teutsch”, Central Archive, Sibiu 56
 Cultural Observer (magazin) 77

D

- Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest 51

E

- Eastern Europe Center – Document Center for Reappraisal of Totalitarian Structures in
 East and Southeast Europe, Berlin 89
 Euroregional Center for Democracy, Timișoara 72

F

- Faculty of History – “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University, Iași 67
Faculty of History – “Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca 65
Faculty of History – University of Bucharest 61
Faculty of Political Science – University of Bucharest 61
Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration – “Babeș-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca 65
Faculty of Political Science, Philosophy and Communications - “Western University”, Timișoara 68
Faculty of Social Humanistic Science – University of Oradea 67
Files of History (magazine) 78
Foundation Science and Politics – German Institute for International Politics and Security, Berlin 90
Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bucharest 85
Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Bucharest 85
Friedrich Schiller University Jena 92

G

- General German Newspaper for Romania 81
“George Bariț” History Institute, Cluj-Napoca 66
German Culture Center Cluj 84
German Culture Center Timișoara 84
German Culture Forum on Eastern Europe inc., Potsdam 94
German Democratic Forum in Romania, Sibiu 83
Goethe Institute, Bucharest 83
Group for Social Dialogue, Bucharest 70

H

- Hanns Seidel Foundation, Bucharest 86
Historical Magazine 78
History (magazine) 78

I

- Institute for Danube Swabian History and Areal Studies, Tübingen 95
Institute for German Culture and History in Southeast Europe inc., Munich 93
Institute for Political Research, Bucharest 62
International Center for Studies about Communism, Bucharest 62

J

- Jewish History Museum, Bucharest 75

K

- Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Bucharest 84

M

- Memorial of the Victims of Communism, Sighetul Marmației 76

N

- National Council for the Study of Security Archives, Bucharest 52
National History Museum, Bucharest 75
National History Research Institute Cluj-Napoca 66
National Institute for the Study of Totalitarianism, Bucharest 63
National Library of Romania, Bucharest 57
National Military Library, Bucharest 58
National Military Museum, Bucharest 76
National School of Political and Administrative Studies, Bucharest 63
“Nicolae Iorga” History Institute, Bucharest 64

O

- Old Dilemma (journal) 79
 Open Society Foundation, Bucharest 71

P

- Pro Democracy Association, Bucharest 71
 Pro Europe League, Târgu Mureş 72

R

- Reformed Church in Romania – District of Oradea, Church archive 55
 Reformed Church in Romania – Târgu-Mureş District, Church archive 55
 Reformed Church in Romania – Transylvanian District, Church archive 55
 Roman-Catholic Archbishop Archive, Alba Julia 54
 Roman-Catholic Archbishop Archive, Bucharest 54
 Roman-Catholic Bishop Archive, Iaşi 54
 Roman-Catholic Bishop Archive, Oradea 54
 Roman-Catholic Bishop Archive, Satu-Mare 54
 Roman-Catholic Diocesan Archive, Timișoara 54
 Romanian Academic Library, Bucharest 57
 Romanian Culture Institute Titu Maiorescu, Berlin 90
 Romanian Institute – Romanian Library Freiburg inc. 91
 Romanian Institute for Recent History, Bucharest 64
 Romanian Journal of Society and Politics 79
 Romanian Military Archives, Bucharest 52
 Romanian Political Science Magazine 79

S

- Sibian Newspaper 82
 Socio-Humanistic Research Institute, Sibiu 68
 South Eastern European Studies Institute, Bucharest 65
 Southeast-Institute – Foundation for scientific research on Southeastern Europe, Munich 94
 Sphere of Politics (magazine) 80
 Studia Politica (magazine) 80

T

- Totalitarianism Archives (magazine) 80
 Transylvania-Institute at the University of Heidelberg, Gundelsheim 92

W

- Working Group for History and Culture in East-Central and Southeast Europe inc., Dinklage 91

ORIGINAL NAMES

„22” (revista) 77

A

- Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung für Rumänien 81
 Arbeitskreis für Geschichte und Kultur in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa e.V., Dinklage 91
 Arhiva Arhiepiscopală Romano-Catolică, Alba Iulia 54
 Arhiva Arhiepiscopală Romano-Catolică, București 54
 Arhiva Diecezană Romano-Catolică, Timișoara 54
 Arhiva Episcopală Romano-Catolică, Iași 54
 Arhiva Episcopală Romano-Catolică, Oradea 54
 Arhiva Episcopală Romano-Catolică, Satu-Mare 54
 Arhivele Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București 53
 Arhivele diplomatice ale Ministerului de Externe, București 51
 Arhivele Militare Române, București 52
 Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale ale României, București 51
 Arhivele Totalitarismului (revista) 80
 Asociația „15 Noiembrie 1987”, Brașov 73
 Asociația Foștilor Deținuți Politici din România, București 73
 Asociația „Memorialul Revoluției 16-22 Decembrie 1989”, Timișoara 74
 Asociația pentru Apărarea Drepturilor Omului în România – Comitetul Helsinki, București 69
 Asociația Pro Democrația, București 71
 Asociația Revoluționarilor Fără Privilegii, București 74

B

- Banater Zeitung 81
 Biblioteca Academiei Române, București 57
 Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, București 58
 Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Lucian Blaga”, Cluj-Napoca 59
 Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Mihai Eminescu”, Iași 60
 Biblioteca Județeană „Astra”, Sibiu 60
 Biblioteca Județeană Constanța 59
 Biblioteca Județeană „George Barițiu”, Brașov 59
 Biblioteca Județeană Timiș 60
 Biblioteca Militară Națională, București 58
 Biblioteca Națională a României, București 57
 Bukowina-Institut, Augsburg 88

C

- Center for the Study of Balkan Societies and Cultures, Graz 87
 Centrul de Resurse Juridice, București 69
 Centrul Euroregional pentru Democrație, Timișoara 72
 Centrul Internațional de Studii asupra Comunismului, București 62
 Consiliul Național pentru Studiarea Arhivelor Securității, București 52

D

- Demokratisches Forum der Deutschen in Rumänien, Hermannstadt 83
 Deutsches Kulturforum östliches Europa e.V., Potsdam 94
 Deutsches Kulturzentrum Klausenburg 84
 Deutsches Kulturzentrum Temeswar 84
 Dilema veche (revista) 79
 Dosarele istoriei (revista) 78

F

- Facultatea de Istorie – Universitatea „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași 67
 Facultatea de istorie – Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai”, Cluj-Napoca 65
 Facultatea de Istorie – Universitatea București 61
 Facultatea de Științe Politice – Universitatea de București 61
 Facultatea de Științe Politice și Administrație Publică – Universitatea Cluj-Napoca 65
 Facultatea de Științe Politice, Filosofie și Comunicare – Universitatea de Vest, Timișoara 68
 Facultatea de Științe Socio-Umane – Universitatea Oradea 67
 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bukarest 85
 Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, Bukarest 85
 Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena 92
 Fundația Academia Civică, București 70
 Fundația pentru o Societate Deschisă, București 71

G

- Goethe-Institut, Bukarest 83
 Grupul pentru Dialog Social, București 70

H

- Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, Bukarest 86
 Hermannstädter Zeitung 82
 Historia (revista) 78

I

- Institut für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas e.V., München 93
 Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde, Tübingen 95
 Institutul de Cercetări Politice, București 62
 Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umaniste, Sibiu 68
 Institutul de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași 66
 Institutul de Istorie „George Bariț”, Cluj-Napoca 66
 Institutul de Istorie Națională din Cluj-Napoca 66
 Institutul de Istorie „Nicolae Iorga”, București 64
 Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europene, București 65
 Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, București 63
 Institutul Român de Istorie Recentă, București 64

K

- Karpatenrundschau 81
 Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület, Nagyvárad 55
 Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Bukarest 84
 Kultur und Begegnungszentrum der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in
 Rumänien „Friedrich Teutsch”, Zentralarchiv, Hermannstadt 56

L

- Liga Pro Europa, Târgu Mureș 72

M

- Magazin istoric 78
 Memorialul Victimelor Comunismului și al Rezistenței, Sighetul Marmăției 76
 Muzeul de Istorie al Evreilor, București 75
 Muzeul Militar Național, București 76
 Muzeul Național de Istorie, București 75

O

- Observator Cultural (revista) 77
Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, Wien 87
Osteuropa-Zentrum – Dokumentationszentrum zur Aufarbeitung
totalitärer Strukturen in Ost- und Südosteuropa, Berlin 89

R

- Revista de Științe Politice 79
Romaniai Református Egyház – Erdelyi Egyházkerület 55
Romaniai Református Egyház – Marosvásárhely 55
Romanian Journal of Society and Politics 79
Rumänisches Institut – Rumänische Bibliothek Freiburg e.V. 91
Rumänisches Kulturinstitut Titu Maiorescu, Berlin 90

S

- Școala Națională de Studii Politice și Administrative, București 63
Sfera Politicii (revista) 80
Siebenbürgen-Institut an der Universität Heidelberg, Gundelsheim 92
Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, Berlin 90
Studia Politica (revista) 80
Südost-Institut – Stiftung für wissenschaftliche Südosteuropaforschung, München 94

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Stejărel Olaru (stejarelo@yahoo.com), born in 1973, graduated from the Faculty of Orthodox Theology at the Bucharest University and completed postgraduate studies in Political Science at SNSPA, Bucharest (The National School of Political and Administrative Studies). He published articles and studies related to the history of Romanian communism in the press and specialized magazines. He is currently a researcher at the Romanian Institute for Recent History, Bucharest. He is coauthor of *Securiștii partidului* (Party's Members of Securitate), Iași: Polirom, 2002 and *Ziua care nu se uită 15 noiembrie 1987, Brașov* (The Day We Won't Forget. 15 November 1987, Brașov), Iași: Polirom, 2002. Also he is the author of: *Cei cinci care au speriat Estul* (The Five who Scared the East), Iași: Polirom, 2003.

Georg Herbstritt (georg.herbstritt@gmx.de), born in 1965, studied Contemporary History and Catholic Theology at the University of Freiburg and is working as a historian for the research department of the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic in Berlin. Recent publications: *Das Gesicht dem Westen zu... DDR-Spionage gegen die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Facing the West... GDR Espionage against West Germany), Bremen: Temmen 2003 (ed. In collaboration with Helmut Müller-Enbergs); *Ein feindliches Bruderland. Rumänien im Blick der DDR-Staatssicherheit* (A Hostile Brother Country: Romania in the Spotlight of the GDR Security Service), in: *Halbjahresschrift für südosteuropäische Geschichte, Literatur und Politik*, no. 1/2004, pp. 5-13.

FORM FOR NEW ENTRIES

We are interested in completing and updating this Vademekum. Please help us by using the following form for new entries. You can photocopy this form, fill it in and send it to one of the addresses written below, or send your details by E-mail in the following order. Please write in English, Romanian or German.

NAME of the institution (original name and English translation)

TYPE of institution, if not clear by its name

ADDRESS

TELEPHONE / FAX

E-MAIL / HOMEPAGE

HEADED BY

CONTACT / Collaborators

BRIEF DESCRIPTION of institution

PUBLICATIONS

OPENING HOURS

REMARKS

Institutul Român de Istorie Recentă

Str. Matei Voievod 18, sector 2, cod 021455, București, Romania, Fax: 021 – 25 24 860, E-mail: irir@euroweb.ro

Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur

Otto-Braun-Str. 70/72, 10178 Berlin, Germany, Fax: 030 – 23247210, E-mail: buero@stiftung-aufarbeitung.de