

MUZEUL ȚĂRII CRIȘURILOR

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BETWEEN PROFESSION AND POLITICS. ORADEA PRESS IN THE ATTENTION OF THE BIHOR COUNTY COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (1970-1989)

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ABSTRACT

During the communist period, the Romanian press was not only a way of informing the public, but especially an instrument of propaganda of the Communist Party. "Wooden language", censorship and repetitiveness were key elements of all newspapers and magazines of the time. In Oradea in the 1970s and 1980s, two dailies appeared: *Crișana* and *Făklya*, as well as the culture magazine *Familia*. The publications were in the constant attention of the local authorities. Periodically, the Romanian Communist Party and newspaper offices discussed editorial issues (errors, interpretations not very "to the liking" of the authorities, exaggerations or things that were not taken into account, but considered essential), the way of communicating, the behavior and professional performance of journalists, positive and negative aspects, with proposals for their improvement, things revealed by reports and meeting minutes, kept by the National Archives. The paper focuses on these discussions, in the context of requirements coming "from above" and the claims of the local party leadership.

Keywords: history of communism, Romanian Communist Party, Oradea and Bihor, press, censorship, archives, newspapers, journalism

Considered the fourth power of the state and a "watchdog" of democracy, the press is an essential element of a society in need of communication and information. In totalitarian regimes, the press has been (and still is) limited in exercising its natural purpose, becoming an instrument of propaganda of the political power.

The transformation of the Romanian press into an extension of communist power in Romania began shortly after the proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic (1947), under Soviet influence, in the sense of creating a soldier devoted to "the ideological front against imperialist influences"¹. Formally, the activity of newspapers and magazines, as well as of all publishing houses, was to be regulated by the General Directorate of Press and Printing (C.D.P.P.). The entity was established by Decree no. 218 of May 20, 1949 and was authorizing the publication and distribution of all publications².

The press was communicating news and stories through a carefully crafted "wooden language" based on limited and persuasive vocabulary and used to describe aspects of society

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¹ Tiberiu Troncotă, *România comunistă. Propagandă și cenzură*, Bucharest, Tritonic Publishing House, 2006, p. 82.

² <http://www.monitoruljuridic.ro/act/decret-nr-218-din-20-mai-1949-pentru-organizarea-directiei-generale-a-presei-si-tipariturilor-de-pe-linga-consiliul-de-ministri-al-republicii-populare-romane-emitent-22118.html>, accessed on January 27, 2021.

accepted by the authorities. Wooden language means the construction of phraseological units based on fixed expressions, clichés and stereotypes, all ideologically imposed, the aim being to annihilate the thinking of the masses, to replace individual thinking with that of collective suggestion and, finally, to impose the authority of the Communist Party³.

Getting out of Moscow's tutelage and easing ideological pressure in the 1960s helped the press to diversify, but after 1972 the cult of personality of the leader – namely Nicolae Ceaușescu – took more and more place in the pages of every newspaper. Even though the Press and Printing Committee was disbanded in 1977, it was replaced by “the responsibility of fear”, of self-censorship – the transfer of censorship from an institutionalized form towards each author, a “post-censorship censorship” fueled by fear of the state repression⁴. The authors had to obey the entities that published newspapers and magazines, as well as the decisions of the Propaganda and Press Section of the Central Committee of the Romanian Worker Party (R.C.P.).

In 1974, the Press Law stated that it “fulfills a high socio-political mission, serving (...) the supreme interests of the socialist nation. The press is meant to militate permanently for the translation into life of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party”, acting strictly within its imposed borders (or under its “leadership”), although the same law called it a “tribune of public opinion”. The functions of the press were, first of all, socio-political, but it was limited in strictly transmitting the “conceptions” of the R.C.P. about society, a process wrapped in the form of “education in the spirit of the ideals of socialism and communism”. The press remained a means of mass information, filtered by the C.D.P.P.. The right to publish newspapers and magazines belonged to political, state, and mass public organizations, based on a publishing authorization registered at the Council of Socialist Culture and Education. Thus, the Central Committee of the R.C.P., the county committees, industrial enterprises and cultural institutions published newspapers and magazines. The entire activity of a periodical was guided by a board of directors, which appointed an editorial board. This last entity was consisted of the editor-in-chief, activists of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., of the county party committees, representatives of the publishing organization or institution, deputy editors-in-chief, the secretary responsible for the editorial office, the secretary of the party organization and other editorial staff, members of the board of directors, all of them subordinated to the editorial entity⁵.

In Oradea, the journalistic landscape was dominated by two daily newspapers: *Crișana*, for Romanian-speaking readers, and *Fáklya*, for the Hungarian public, both “organs” of the Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.. In addition, the literary magazine *Familia*⁶ appeared locally (the 5th edition, opened in 1965 by Alexandru Andrițoiu as editor-in-chief⁷), the Țării Crișurilor Museum published the *Crisia*, *Biharea* and *Nymphaea* yearbooks, and the 3 Year Pedagogical Institute published *Lucrări științifice* (*Scientific Papers*) and the magazines *Gaudeamus* and *Philobiblon*. Occasionally, large industrial enterprises, such as Înfrățirea or the Local Construction Trust published flyers for the propaganda of their own activities.

The two local dailies, *Crișana* and *Fáklya*, published articles on the activity of economic enterprises (agricultural and industrial – on production, use of materials and equipment, personnel, etc.), construction and urban development, education, health and public services, with sections

³ Tatiana Slama-Cazacu, „Limba de lemn”, in *România literară*, year XXIV, no. 42, October 17, 1991, p. 4.

⁴ Tiberiu Troncotă, *op. cit.*, p. 190-192; Constantin Cubleşan, „Cenzura de după cenzură”, in Ilie Rad (coord.), *Cenzura în România*, Cluj-Napoca, Tribuna Publishing House, 2012, p. 69-70.

⁵ <http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocument/338>, accessed of January 27, 2021.

⁶ Ioan Laza, *Anatomia cenzurii comuniste. O perspectivă asupra revistei Familia (1966-1977)*, PhD thesis, University of Oradea, 2014, passim.

⁷ The magazine was edited by the Bihor County Committee for Culture and Socialist Education.

dedicated to sports, culture, youth, women, reader complaints and international events. In their pages appeared reports of Nicolae Ceaușescu's visits in Bihor and other large cities, some important speeches (held during the National Congresses and Conferences of the R.C.P.), materials on the activity of the R.C.P. and the Union of Communist Youth, articles on the political-ideological training of the population, as well as legislation. The last page was intended for international news and small advertising. The newsrooms had sections dedicated to each topic, with their own editors, their distribution being presented at the beginning of each year to the secretariat of the County Committee.

The press was publishing materials according to the "indications" of the County Party Committee and based on the quarterly, monthly and weekly thematic plans made together with the editors. The editorial boards of the newspapers met weekly to discuss the proposed topic for the current week, on the basis of which the summary of each newspaper was established. Oradea's editorial offices, made up of journalists with dedicated studies, were helped by volunteer correspondents from agricultural and industrial enterprises⁸. The newspaper circulation was, in 1972, 37,000 daily copies of *Crișana* and 27,000 copies of *Fáklya*, only 1% being returned as unsold⁹. In 1979, the circulation of *Crișana* was 40,000 copies¹⁰, and in 1981 the two dailies appeared together in 60,000 copies¹¹.

The various aspects of the society were discussed in the plenary and office and secretariat meetings of the Bihor County Committee (C.C.) of the R.C.P., attended by the first secretary, secretaries from various fields of activity, directors of enterprises and institutions and, in our case, the representatives of the propaganda section of the County Committee and the press section of the Central Committee, the editors-in-chief and the editorial secretaries of the local publications. Discussions revolved around the activity reports of the two newspapers and less about *Familia* magazine, editorial issues, content of the issues, how the articles reflected certain topics, as well as the work of journalists and the problems that arose. In general, the discussions were patterned and started from the informing and activity reports of the newspapers, also customary, saying that in general they worked well, improvements appeared, but there was much more to be done for one area or another, the members of the County Committee thus wanting to "fight" the "self-satisfaction" of the newsrooms with their own performance.

Oradea press in content and appearance

The early 1970s were still marked by some ideological relaxation, which began in the middle of the previous decade. There was a controlled freedom of publication, in which the Marxist-Leninist ideology was obligatory, and the interpretations – as limited as possible. Discussions in the Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P. were diverse, focusing mainly on *Crișana* and *Fáklya*, and sometimes on *Familia* magazine.

Regarding the *Crișana* (editor-in-chief Nicolae Bîlț, member of the bureau of the County Committee of the R.C.P.) and *Fáklya* (editor-in-chief Lakatos Andrei, member of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Bihor County) newspapers, the 1971 analysis, made by the C.C. of the R.C.P. through the press and propaganda section, concluded that their activity was generally good and anchored to the expectations of local decision-makers. Ioan Cumpănașu, first

⁸ In 1977, *Crișana* had 88 correspondents and *Fáklya* – 170. National Archives of Romania – Bihor County Service (from now on N.A.-B.C.S.), fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 11/1977, sheet 6v.

⁹ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 43.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, file 3/1981, sheet 126.

deputy of the Press Section of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., saw a good orientation of the two newspapers in dealing with the county's problems, in all fields¹².

The first secretary of Bihor, Victor Bolojan, was dissatisfied with the local press, because he would not have found "anything interesting" and attractive in the pages of newspapers. Thus, in 1971 he asked journalists for more local content, most of the articles being taken from Agerpres. Thus, in addition to the talent to write, the editors had to know how to choose "essential" topics for the public, from work-related to social issues. Other members of the C.C. saw the articles of the time as too technical and uninteresting to the general public, lacking the everyday man and his states¹³. The 1971 verdict of the Press Section of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. was that the quality level of the articles was very weak, the *Crișana* newspaper being too "static" and not making any qualitative leap in three years.

V. Bolojan's opinion was unchanged even after the December 1972 report, appreciating that "we have nothing to read in them (the newspapers – a.n.), they are very small (in number of pages – a.n.), poor". Thus, "in five minutes you read the whole newspaper and you have nothing to read after that"¹⁴. At that time, the two Bihor dailies appeared in a large format, similar to the national newspaper *Scînteia*, but with a maximum of four pages, and the Bihor first secretary seemed aware that this way all the decisions of the C.C. could not be respected. The situation was different with the occasional magazine edited by *Fáklya*, called *Bihari Napló* (each issue having 24 pages and its own theme¹⁵), that "when we think it's good, then it appears"¹⁶. By November 1972, four such supplements had been published, with a total circulation of 54,000 copies (not without errors and interpretations¹⁷), and by 1977 six more issues had appeared. At the time, *Fáklya* also published a weekly page of literature and art, under the heading called "Magvető", at the same time coordinating the work of the "Ády Endre" literary society¹⁸ and organizing folk creation competitions.

Bureau members saw imbalances in newspaper issues, between topics considered of primary importance and secondary ones, such as sports, which would have taken up too much space. In 1972, the secretary with propaganda problems of the County Committee, Alexandru Fodor, proposed that the newspapers appear with six pages twice a week. However, such a proposal was very difficult to approve and only "at a fairly high level". Not only was the idea not implemented, but in 1973 both newspapers began appearing in small formats to reduce paper consumption. Probably also for this reason, the articles submitted by the editors were modified, shortened, which generated truncated, interpretable sentences. During the studied time, the *Crișana* newspaper appeared only once in 16 pages, on the occasion of the publication of Nicolae Ceaușescu's speech during the joint meeting of the Plenary of the Central Committee of the R.C.P., the democratic and mass public organizations¹⁹.

The 1976 report of the Propaganda Section of the County Committee showed that the graphic appearance of local newspapers left room for improvement, especially in the ratio between

¹² *Ibidem*, file 7/1971, sheet 283.

¹³ *Ibidem*, sheet 279.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 2.

¹⁵ Among the subjects in the supplement were: regional history, museum activity in Bihor, folklore, culture, art, literature, some issues being edited before the R.C.P. Congresses. See: *Família*, year 9 (109), no. 8 (96), August 1973, p. 22; *Idem*, no. 10 (98), October 1973, p. 23; *Idem*, no. 11 (111), November 1974, p. 13; *Idem*, year 15(115), no. 11(171), November 1979, p. 15.

¹⁶ N.A.-B.C.S., fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 13/1972, sheet 19.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheet 7.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 40.

¹⁹ *Crișana*, year XLIII, no. 12970, November 30, 1988.

headlines and subtitles, underlining, as well as in the quality of the images, often poorly made of printed. The Committee was of the opinion that the pictures were either too repetitive or too small and their content could not be deduced, or the explanatory text was inconsistent with the image. The placement of the images left room for interpretations: “below are photos of people, and above their heads tractors”, so the newspapers were asked to tell photojournalists what to photograph and not to publish “random” images²⁰. It was also then proposed that large articles should not be “broken” between page 1 and pages 2-3, so that the inner ones would be treated uniformly. The proposal was never implemented. The recommendation of the Propaganda Section in 1976 was for journalists to publish in similar quantities, to avoid the situation of some of them publishing only very rarely²¹.

The first secretary of Bihor between 1974-1978, Petre Blajovici, considered that the newspapers were not always “according to life and events” and, although they respected the decisions of the Party Committee, they did not give enough support to R.C.P. county organizations so that important political materials to be published in time. The editor-in-chief of *Crișana*, Gavril Pop, and that of *Fáklya*, Iliés Ferenc, were required to be more demanding of the work of journalists. He thought that the articles would be more effective if they not only presented facts, but also offered solutions to the problems found and returned to them to see if they were remedied²². It should be noted that out of 1305 articles sent for publication in the two dailies between July and October 1976, only two were rejected²³.

Another aspect in the debate of the County Committee in 1976 was the geographical distribution of articles. Naturally, Oradea was most often treated in the newspapers, but some communes were not mentioned for several consecutive months. In that year, *Fáklya* published articles on 70 communes in the county, of which 39 with a majority Romanian population. The Committee was dissatisfied that the municipality and the surrounding localities were the most present, some communes, especially from the limits of the county, being omitted from the articles. The solution would have been to draw up a map with the mentions of the localities, so that none of them would remain outside for a year²⁴. The *Fáklya* newspaper was recommended to dedicate articles to several mostly Romanian localities²⁵.

Agerpress materials were mandatory to publish, which often complicated the editorial program. In 1978, *Fáklya's* editor-in-chief, Iliés Ferenc, showed the county representatives that they were either too long or arriving at the last minute, “overturning” the newspaper’s content²⁶.

The daily problem of the newsrooms was that, given the limited number of pages, the obligations and claims of the various entities, it was impossible to publish materials so that everyone to be satisfied. If in 1972 the County Committee considered that the sports articles in *Crișana* were too long, in 1978 they were seen as too short, after the editors-in-chief gave more generous space to the decisions of the R.C.P.²⁷, and in 1981 the head of the Propaganda Section of the County

²⁰ The reports and discussions at editorial and county level repeated that the images were not accompanied by sufficient explanations. Thus, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the two entities were dissatisfied that certain facts were only captured on film “without analyzing the causes that determined them, the meanings of wide interest they represent”. See: N.A.-B.C.S., fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 19/1988, unnumbered sheet.

²¹ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheets 92, 94-95.

²² *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheets 22, 24-25.

²³ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheet 92.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, sheets 6v.-30, 93.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, file 5/1978, sheet 68.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, sheet 90.

Committee, Ioan Vulturar, thought that the rubric benefited from too much attention²⁸. The same opinion was issued in 1985, sports news taking from the space that could be used for other “important areas”²⁹.

“True communist journalists”

The issue of the “moral-political quality” of the journalists of the two dailies was a sub-topic discussed rather when problems arose. The main way in which the newspaper editors were informed about the decisions of the County Party Committee was the meeting. Some had higher education (graduated from the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy) or pursued them, being “productive” according to Nicolae Bîlț. But on the occasion of the analysis, he presented to the Committee the situation of some of *Crișana’s* journalists who violated the “moral principles”. For example, Alexandru Popescu, who “borrowed money from others and did not repay” since 1967, in 1971 was excluded from the R.C.P.³⁰. This was not a singular case, “because everyone kills themselves to buy a car and for that they are looking for a source of money”. Another, Gherorghe Codaț, considered a “superficial journalist”, was absent from work without a reason and was “well-disposed”. He asked the Municipal People’s Council for a house under the false pretext that he had been married³¹. The two, but also others, were blamed for the delays, even of weeks, with which they were sending their articles. Bîlț was considered the main culprit for the “tense, unhealthy atmosphere” in the newsroom³², being accused by the Committee of ignoring illegalities committed by his subordinates, thus being asked to be present in the newsroom for longer.

At the same time, Lakatos Andrei appreciated that “almost the entire staff” of the *Fáklya* newspaper did not correspond to the work of such an entity (“we have people working here for 5-10 and 20 years, who unfortunately have no idea about the job a journalist”), some of them not knowing Hungarian very well, appearing cases when editors migrated towards other counties³³. Regarding both newspapers, the County Committee was unhappy that some editors were frequently moved from one section to another, thus working on different topics.

After a year, in 1972, the Committee considered that no significant problems had arisen in the newsrooms, but it wanted the newspapers to write articles about the workers and peasants from the best enterprises. At the same time, more training of journalists was required, by organizing exchanges, round tables, in a manner similar to the training of the party apparatus, so as they could be better professionals and “discern between what can be published and what cannot be”, with reference to censorship³⁴.

In the following years, the editors were sent to work for a week in the Propaganda Section of the County Committee, all of them compulsorily following political-ideological education courses, so as to become “true communist journalists”. At the same time, they were involved in exchanges with journalists from Cluj, Timiș, Arad and Mureș, and twice a year with counterparts from Debrecen³⁵. Thus, the journalists had to be well prepared, to have “appropriate moral-political qualities” and to “not act as heroes in the newspaper”, as the first secretary Gheorghe Blaj thought³⁶.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, file 3/1981, sheet 124v.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, file 6/1985, sheet 185v.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, file 7/1971, sheets 394-396.

³¹ *Ibidem*, sheets 257-258, 397.

³² *Ibidem*, sheet 394.

³³ *Ibidem*, sheet 261.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheets 15, 25.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheets 36, 93.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, file 5/1978, sheet 71.

Also, the journalist had to be a man “correct in his relations, well-intentioned, in such a way that he could not be blamed for his way of living”³⁷.

By the end of the 1970s, the representatives of the County Committee were opposing to the “subjectivism” of journalists. “We have to be careful with what we write in the newspaper”, they said, so that the author’s opinion would not be too obvious. At the same time, in 1977 there was a tendency to limit the articles in which various problems in the city were presented, such as the lack of hot water or paved alleys in parks. “... citizens write (letters to the papers – a.n.) and newspapers must publish. But it’s not really like that”³⁸. Journalists are advised to refrain from personal opinions and not to consider themselves “omniscient”³⁹.

Another problem, which was revisited, was the occurrence of errors that led even to the unjust accusation of officials or workers of illegal acts. One reason would have been the few trips of the editors in the field, so they did not see the facts on the spot and would have relied only on information transmitted from sources considered primary. Shortening statements and eliminating sentences distorted the meaning of the texts. Other mistakes were those of word processing, unacceptable by the political point of view. Consequently, the secretary of propaganda, Szántó István, requested in 1979 that the party secretaries from the companies and localities in question be consulted when publishing relevant articles⁴⁰.

In the mid-1980s, the preparation and attention of journalists to everyday topics gained new value in the context of the worsening economic situation. By 1984, correspondent payments had already been reduced, many giving up working with newspapers. Thus, in the structure of the newsrooms, specialists from industry, agriculture, party members had to be co-opted, and an attempt was made to establish a certain balance between tasks, to avoid situations when some editors did not have a lot of work and other little or not at all⁴¹.

Although most editors were considered professionals and “special people”, the County Committee was dissatisfied with the arrogant attitude of some of them in the places where they did surveys “because they are from the newspaper and everyone is at their disposal!?” The secretary for propaganda issues, Ana Săndulescu, repeated, in 1985, the situation raised even in the 70s, as if “comrade Pop (Gavril Pop, the editor-in-chief of *Crișana* – a.n.) seems to be often afraid to make remarks to those who are already drunk at 11 o’clock”⁴². Because they seemed too unprepared or inattentive, the first secretary between 1984 and 1987 Laurean Tulai wanted, in the same year, more frequent meetings of the editors with the County Committee Bureau and the establishment of a stricter annual training program for them⁴³.

Politics and ideology, mandatory subjects

The way in which the political and administrative activity in the county appeared in the pages of the dailies was also brought up into discussion. In 1970-1971, *Fáklya* editors were accused of publishing the decisions and measures of the County Committee of the R.C.P. with a delay of 3-4 months, and in *Crișana* not enough references would have been made to the decisions of the “county party organ”⁴⁴. The Committee’s claim was that the press should follow its work

³⁷ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheet 4v.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, file 6/1985, sheets 185v., 186, 188.

⁴² *Ibidem*, sheet 186v.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, sheet 188v.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, file 7/1971, sheet 263, 398.

consistently and not wait for reports from it⁴⁵, some results appearing in 1972, when it was estimated that the analyzes in the Committee's office or secretariat reached the press the very next day. A "remarkable progress", even exceeding the thematic plan⁴⁶.

In the reflection of the activity of the county and local People's Council, gaps were also found, being treated mainly simple subjects, such as small investments and the supply of the population, the Council also requesting the dissection of more complex actions⁴⁷. The dedicated rubrics "From the activity of the People's Councils", "The deputy's agenda", "Talking to the mayor", appeared in *Crișana* for several years.

Among the political topics from 1976-1977 we can mention „Greeting the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture”, "The program of communist education in our deeds and conscience" and "The tribune of party life and activity" (in *Crișana*), respectively "Forum of party work" (in *Fáklya*), to which were added general articles on the political and ideological education of the population. In 1979, the dedicated sections were "Information on the activity of party organizations" and "The ideological program of the party in action" in *Crișana*, respectively "The party work forum" in *Fáklya*⁴⁸. Such "theoretical" materials were doubled by those on the "deeds of work" of employees who "exceeded the plan" or who "denounced" those who opposed the regime. Annually, the newspapers allocated pages to the birthdays of Elena and Nicolae Ceaușescu (January 7 and January 26), Labor Day, Youth Day, the National Day (August 23) and the Day of the Republic (December 30).

The county conferences of the R.C.P. were treated in the pages of the dailies, through articles dedicated to the discussions and decisions within them. A report from 1978 shows that between November 1977 and February 1978, the two newspapers from Bihor each published about 150 articles, surveys and interviews, plus 200 reports, notes and information on the decisions of the last conference. At the same time, the newspapers were obliged to publish 2-3 articles a week on party organizations, the training of members and propagandists, the political education of workers, with examples and critics from different factories, socialist ethics, etc.⁴⁹. Less discussed, in the opinion of the secretary with organizational issues of the Committee, George Vaida, were the aspects regarding the enrollment in the R.C.P. and of the party life in general⁵⁰. Or, if they were treated, the subjects were not "taken to the end"⁵¹.

The economy, a daily presence

One of the broadest categories of discussions referred to the way in which newspapers treated aspects related to the economy of Oradea and Bihor and from everyday life.

In the first half of the 1970s, the Committee encouraged newspapers to present "things as they are", and if problems were reported in a farm or factory, their causes should be identified. Treating problems only "by the surface", "often with a scent of incense" was not enough to find out their causes and solve them, and the Committee knew that the articles were being changed for the fear of "offending the director"⁵². Similar was the case of the notifications coming from the population,

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, sheets 19, 37.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheet 6.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, file 5/1978, sheet 87.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, file 7/1985, sheet 187v.

⁵² *Ibidem*, file 7/1971, sheets 270-271.

superficially verified⁵³. At the same time, both newspapers published too little material on the work of agricultural cooperatives and on the general meetings with employees in factories and farms⁵⁴.

A first economic field for which much attention was paid was *agriculture*.

According to the Report submitted to the Committee, from June 1970 to March 1971, the *Crișana* newspaper published 196 articles on agriculture, and *Fáklya* – 148, on topics such as the summer and autumn agricultural campaigns, the ensuring of feed for animals, sowing, animal husbandry and the general organization of activity. Although apparently there were many, the articles did not cover enough the activity in the county, and the directors of some agricultural cooperatives were dissatisfied by that, although they had reported the best results⁵⁵. At the same time, they reported to the Committee on content errors, such as the fact that in the autumn agricultural campaign of 1972 in some communes 30 trucks were used instead of 8, as many as there were in reality, or that sugar beet arrived at the sugar factory in Oradea with impurities, which was also contradicted by the company's representatives⁵⁶.

In the opinion of Gheorghe Laza, director of the General Directorate for Agriculture and Food Industry Bihor, the press was publishing too few examples of successes in the field, finding rather “criticizing articles”, the peak periods of the agricultural campaigns being also neglected⁵⁷. In return, he asked the newsrooms to write more about the specialists in the field⁵⁸. In *Fáklya*, the rubric called “On the road of economic consolidation” contained news from agriculture and in 1978 the newspaper opened the series called “Our house, garden and yard”⁵⁹. In 1979, *Crișana* published rubrics such as “Action 2000” and “From the experience of agro-industrial councils”, and *Fáklya* – “More vegetables – national nourishment” and “Tips for livestock farmers”⁶⁰. Two years later, among the sections dedicated to agriculture we mention “Maximum responsibility for ensuring an optimal density for all crops” and “Harvest 82” in *Crișana*, “Let's share the experience of the leaders in agricultural production” and “For a rich harvest”, in *Fáklya*⁶¹.

In the 1980s, dailies continued to publish articles on the work of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, comparing each other in terms of production by the hectare, and in 1983 allocated a page to communes where large harvests were reported. According to the information provided to the County Committee, “immediately after” the plenary, *Fáklya* began promoting its decisions and sending editors in institutions and economic entities to prepare articles, such as the case of the use of the sandy lands near Valea lui Mihai for agriculture. The activity of simple peasants from the hill and mountain areas was less promoted. At the same time, *Crișana* wrote about irrigation and land improvement works, animal husbandry – milk production and how animals were raised in Cefa and Popești⁶².

The newspapers also had the obligation to propagate the decisions regarding the five-year plans, as happened after the plenary of the Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P. from February 27, 1986, for the five year plan 1986-1990. Both *Crișana* and *Fáklya* prepared sections with articles divided into categories, from increasing production in different fields to irrigation and transport by carts and

⁵³ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 5.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, file 7/1971, sheet 279.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 6.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, sheets 11-12.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, file 5/1978, sheet 66v.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, file 5/1978, sheets 87-88.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, file 7/1982, sheets 107v.-108.

⁶² *Ibidem*, file 6/1983, sheets 69-70, 73.

tractors, all quite static (including interviews), but “accompanied by graphics”⁶³. In fact, in the spring of 1986, the articles on agriculture held the front pages of newspapers, accompanied by the rubric called “Face to face”, but also headings such as “Spring agricultural campaign – thoroughly prepared!” in *Crișana* and “Preparations for obtaining record products” in *Fáklya*, the dailies having to prioritize the “top” cooperatives. But reports, such as the one in September 1986, showed that most of the articles lacked ideas and did not convey anything, and also lacked “operability” in returning to texts that illustrated problems⁶⁴. If in May 1987, documents showed a “leap” in the form of expression, message and content⁶⁵, in 1988 the newsrooms expected more emphasis on the “responsibility of the specialist” than simple “minute like” reports⁶⁶. The preparation of the spring agricultural campaign was also presented in 1988, under headings like “Better managed, more fertile land” (*Crișana*) and “Action for record productions” (*Fáklya*)⁶⁷. In addition, in 1989, newspapers dedicated materials for the 40th anniversary of the beginning of the agricultural centralization⁶⁸.

Articles on industry and construction were also frequent. In 1971, their frequency was about 20 per month in *Crișana* and 23 in *Fáklya*, and in 1972 – 26 in *Crișana* and about 20 in *Fáklya*, regarding the use of machinery, waste prevention, new technologies and adaptation of production to the needs of the population, but those on new investments in factories were almost missing⁶⁹. In 1976, *Crișana* published 88 such articles, and *Fáklya* – 120, but the presentation of some innovations was still weak⁷⁰.

There were several dedicated rubrics, with variable periodicities: “Ideas in debate”, “We work, control, lead”, “Economic conversations”, in *Crișana* and “The man and the workplace”, “Self-directed constructions”, “Fuel saving” in *Fáklya*⁷¹. Among the headings existing in 1979 we mention: “The fourth year of the five-year plan – year of quality”, “7000 apartments – let’s all lend a helping hand to the builders” in *Crișana* and “Saving energy and raw materials”, “Organizing production and work” in *Fáklya*⁷². The articles were signed by the editors of the industry section, as well as by collaborators from factories, workers, engineers and foremen⁷³. According to the informative note on the activity from May to August 1983, *Crișana* published 14 articles on labor productivity in industry, 10 articles on the implementation of the production plan and 12 articles on new goods in production. The newspaper published almost daily articles on the extractive industry and the saving of raw materials and fuel, but less about “the man seen at work, with his concerns and aspirations”⁷⁴. Also regarding the extractive industry, in 1985 the two local newspapers published “worker’s initiatives” under the headings “For the county, as much coal as possible” or “Every crude oil well to operate at full capacity”⁷⁵.

We note, for the late 1970s and early 1980s, that articles on reducing material and energy consumption were permanent, and the Committee’s recommendation was that they appear as often

⁶³ The activity report from September 1989 showed that this type of articles were consequently published till that year. See: N.A.-B.C.S., fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 8/1989, unnumbered sheet.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, file 19/1986, unnumbered sheet.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, file 11/1987, unnumbered sheets.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, file 19/1988, unnumbered sheet.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, file 8/1989, unnumbered sheet.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheets 35-36.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheets 88-89.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, file 5/1978, sheet 87.

⁷² *Ibidem*, file 6/1979, unnumbered sheet.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, file 6/1983, sheet 67.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, sheets 72, 75.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, file 6/1985, sheet 198.

as possible, along with advice on recovering reusable materials⁷⁶. In *Fáklya*, such articles had an almost daily frequency in 1982⁷⁷, later the diversifying in both newspapers, including more general ones on the work of some factories, together with calls for increased “efficiency” in various industries⁷⁸.

Texts about industry were included also in the pages of *Familia* magazine, with an emphasis on achieving the production and export plans, interspersed with the ideological and artistic activity of cultural institutions and economic enterprises, including the political attitude and behavior of the workers⁷⁹. From time to time, extensive articles were published on the systematization of Oradea and other towns in Bihor County, including projects presented by architects. In addition, the magazine was publishing advertising pages for factories, construction enterprises and services.

In the 1980s, lengthy industry surveys were difficult to carry out on a daily basis due to lack of space. However, in 1985, the first secretary Laurean Tulai asked the editors-in-chief for investigative materials from factories and construction sites, both on producers and suppliers and on beneficiaries, following the model of *Scînteia*. He considered, like his predecessors, that “the newspaper must reveal problems and actions that influence others to think”, in the context in which, in his opinion, it presented too much news, sometimes with “bombastic” headlines, and too few investigations. The problem of both newspapers was that the small format and number of pages, and also the lack of possibilities to travel through the county, generated a certain “fear of a longer action” and a lack of covering the localities further away from Oradea. In fact, even in the 1985 report, the articles were noted as generally lacking in depth and “loaded only with empty sentences, which transmit only information” and do not influence the reader’s thinking⁸⁰.

Towards the end of the ninth decade, the County Committee reproached the newsrooms for not presenting the modernizations and innovations in industry⁸¹. But the reports show that from January 1986 to February 1987 the *Crișana* newspaper published articles such as “The prototype – a collective creation”, or about young specialists and models of good practice in new technologies in Oradea factories. In total, according to the report, over 60 articles in this field appeared, but a dedicated column – “At the tribune of Crișana’s advanced experience” – appeared “only” once a month. Therefore, the editorial board proposed the establishment of a bi-monthly column on the latest scientific and technical discoveries and innovations. Such topics were included by *Fáklya* in the “Science and Technology” section, and the “Inventor’s Corner” series was dedicated to research at the Oradea Institute of Sub-Engineers. At the same time, the Committee expected from the newsrooms articles on exports, in the context of the payment of Romania’s external debt⁸², but also on the professional development of employees⁸³.

The rubrics dedicated to industry continued in the last years of the communist regime. The *Crișana* newspaper published “Priorities and requirements in Bihor’s economy” and “For the country as much coal and oil as possible”, and *Fáklya* – “Weekly economic chronicle” and “Maximum achievements in each economic unit”⁸⁴.

Regarding *trade*, the two dailies were constantly reporting on the opening and modernization of commercial units, on the range of services and deficiencies, as well as supply problems for the population.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, file 3/1981, sheets 114v., 124.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, file 6/1983, sheet 68.

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, sheets 197v., 198v.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, file 4/1981, sheets 156-157.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, file 6/1985, sheets 183, 185v., 188, 198-198v.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, file 10/1987, unnumbered sheet.

⁸² *Ibidem*.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, file 19/1988, unnumbered sheet.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*.

The *Crișana* newspaper was repeatedly criticized because it only focused on trade issues. In 1971, they would have referred more to “serving under the counter”, not to other problems⁸⁵. However, the representatives of the County Committee and the editors agreed that whenever the issue of the population’s supply was put into discussion, it was unsolvable. Blaming the commercial services would have taken place, then, at a somewhat “delicate” moment: “just now when it comes to setting up the journalists’ bar, it is not good to criticize trade”, said a representative of the Committee.

Some reports regarding the supply problems were not to the liking of the Committee even if it was the entity that requested them. In 1971, the lack of potatoes in the markets was the result of the fact that “we (the County Committee of the R.C.P. – a.n.) gave the indication to sell less potatoes, so that we can have (stocks – a.n.) until the new potato harvest”⁸⁶.

Social life was also present in the newspapers, being another subject on which the Committee insisted. In the activity reports, submitted to the political decider, the two dailies were declared “means of propaganda and cultivation of the elements of socialist ethics”⁸⁷.

In the early 1970s, the Committee was seeing a lot of “gaps” in dealing with social problems, from children’s education to the behavior of adults at their workplace, in family and society⁸⁸. In 1972, the night scandals in Oradea’s city center were ignored by the press⁸⁹. Instead, *Crișana* kept, until 1989, the rubric called “Citizen Dialogue”, through which it responded to the letters received by the editorial office on various issues.

In fact, the behavior of the citizens and the non-alignment with the “socialist ethics” hat to be reported by the local press, so that individualism and selfishness could be “fought”. The newsrooms were asked to address issues related to the ideological training of workers, in addition to their professional training, so that the reader “should understand that this is how a man of our time must be”⁹⁰. However, the articles were “patterned” quite quickly, given that the topics were the same, treated in the same wooden language, the Committee demanding, in 1977, more emphasis on patriotic education, in the context of the multiethnicity of Bihor⁹¹.

As for the *cultural sphere*, the discussions were held both with the representatives of the two newspapers and of the *Familia* magazine.

Thus, a month before the five-year anniversary of the re-establishment of *Familia*⁹², the editor-in-chief Alexandru Andrițoiu claimed that the publication “did not make too much trouble to entities of Bihor County, compared to other magazines in the country” which he did not name. However, he acknowledged, “the ideological orientation of our articles has not always been clear enough”⁹³. In addition to literary texts⁹⁴, the magazine was publishing articles on local history, focused on the Romanianization and communization of Oradea, news on local cultural events, as well as on ideological, economic and legislative issues. There were also articles about folklore, handicrafts, museology, but the editor-in-chief considered that the “mass” cultural segment, with an emphasis on rural areas, was still less present⁹⁵.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, file 7/1971, sheet 264.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, sheet 288.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, sheet 292.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, sheet 300.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 8.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, file 7/1971, sheet 279.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheet 90.

⁹² The fifth series of *Familia* appeared starting with 1965.

⁹³ N.A.-B.C.S., fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 12/1970, sheet 79.

⁹⁴ Among the collaborators of the time we can mention Mircea Bradu, Dumitru Chirilă, Francois Pamfil, Stelian Vasilescu, Radu Enescu, Mircea Malița, Ovidiu Cotruș, who published novels and poetry, literary criticism, theatrical chronicles, book reviews.

⁹⁵ N.A.-B.C.S., fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 12/1970, sheets 81-82.

Andrițoiu was pointing out that “we failed to polarize *bright pens* towards our magazine”, referring to the not quite “according to the requirements” of the published poems, adding that *Familia* could not set up a literary society in Oradea due to the intention of the Pedagogical Institute of creating a similar one. The magazine was also publishing Hungarian and German literature, in addition to the Romanian one, and theatrical chronicles “equally” reaching the performances in Romanian and Hungarian languages, considered the editor-in-chief. “It is not enough”, said the local political representatives, considering that in the pages of *Familia* there would be room for dealing with several aspects of the life and professional activity of the people of Bihor in a multiethnic context⁹⁶.

A big “shortcoming” of the magazine, in Andrițoiu’s opinion, was “the fact that this popularization (to all ethnic groups – a.n.) is done in a rather arbitrary way sometimes” and in the absence of specialists. At the same time, the number of editors was small, the absence of one being able to generate an “anarchic” style of work, requiring the recruitment of new people⁹⁷. The members of the Committee, headed by the first secretary (between 1968 and 1974) Victor Bolojan, discussed, rather, the absence of the editor-in-chief, being often gone to Bucharest or abroad during the editing of the issues of the magazine and did not get to see the articles before printing them⁹⁸.

V. Bolojan insisted that the discussions with the editors of *Familia* should focus more on the “line of party politics”, because the articles “are not good to publish exactly as they are given”. Punctually, inconsistencies with the ideology raised a study by Ovidiu Cotruș about Lucian Blaga, text appreciated by the Propaganda Section of the County Committee of the R.C.P., but which had the “sin” of presenting the poet only in a positive way, or he “as a philosopher, as an ideologue – does not work”, being “outdated and having a nationalist accent”. The spread of Blaga’s philosophy was considered risky, as such materials could be rejected out because of “stubbornness in bringing out certain ideas”⁹⁹. The interventions were few, but there were also cases of return of texts and their total removal from an issue¹⁰⁰.

The “moral-educational function” of literature, both poetry and the epic genre, the “combativeness of the artistic act”, patriotism in literature, atheism and the promotion of new scientific discoveries were the general themes of the quarterly plans, with relevant articles published in each issue. In addition, the magazine dedicated generous space to the “Cântarea României” National Festival and to the county literary societies, to history and literary criticism¹⁰¹. The festival became more present in the magazine after 1983, with the introduction of result analyzes written by collaborating professors, during which time the editorial staff also focused on amateur artists of literary societies in institutions and enterprises¹⁰².

The ideologically based articles in *Familia* also dealt with historical issues, such as the revolution of 1848, the creation of the Romanian Communist Party, the workers’ strikes in 1933, the act of August 23, 1944 etc., the magazine also having to promote texts about combating religious sects and social coexistence.

In the 1980s, the publication continued to offer space in its pages for Hungarian articles and poems, exhibitions of Hungarian artists and theatrical chronicles.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, sheet 105.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, sheets 84-86.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, sheets 89-90, 104. The editor-in-chief of *Crișana*, Aurel Pop, was to be criticized because of his absence from the newsroom and from the general meetings of the newspaper’s party organization. See: *Ibidem*, file 6/1985, sheet 186v.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, file 12/1970, sheets 93, 96-97.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, sheet 103 (see two examples in Annex 1).

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, file 4/1981, sheet 155; *Ibidem*, file 6/1983, sheet 77.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, sheet 78.

Regarding the dailies, the Committee considered the cultural articles few, insufficiently objective and “contrary to some indications and instructions that come from above”. An example of subjectivism was an article on some issues of the Puppet Theater (today the Arcadia Theater – a.n.), written by an editor who had not seen any show of the institution for 2-3 years, limited to presenting information “from hearsay”¹⁰³.

The superficiality of some newspaper articles was also the result of the lack of interpretation of data and information, thus appearing “dull materials, written in the style of minutes, scratching only the surface of the problems reported”¹⁰⁴. Dull were also seen the materials on art and culture, treated inconsistently: “some large-scale actions initiated in the county, or as a result of instructions received from above – start with much impetus, but they suddenly fade, they are not supported by our newspapers”¹⁰⁵.

Like *Fáklya*, *Crișana* had a rubric dedicated to art, exhibitions, shows and books published in the county, called “Cultural agenda”, to which articles on the history of Romanians and the history of Bihor were added. In 1976, the daily opened a series of articles dedicated to the centenary of Romania’s state independence, and in the following years it dedicated materials on the “Cântarea României” National Festival. But Ioan Chira, the 1977 president of the Bihor Committee of Socialist Culture and Education, thought *Crișana’s* pages treated the cultural activity with “indifference”, and the newspapers should have been forced to popularize the repertoires of each artistic institution, museum and Romanian films¹⁰⁶.

On a small scale, the articles on *youth activity* referred to those organized by the Union of Communist Youth, schools and the 3-year Pedagogical Institute. In 1972, representatives of the County Committee showed that not all articles about local issues in the U.C.Y. were well anchored in reality. On the other hand, it was considered that there was a lack of criticism where it was needed, as in the case of the way in which the “Floare de Lotus” talent contest was organized¹⁰⁷.

Once every two weeks, for most of the analyzed period, *Crișana* published a page dedicated to youth, called “Colloquia with the youth”, and *Fáklya* had the column called “Youngsters’ page”, which were alternated by the page dedicated to women, in both newspapers. *Familia* magazine was publishing several relevant articles in collaboration with the U.C.Y. County Committee, like the two issues of the supplement “Youth Colloquia”. In fact, in 1983, the editorial office showed that about 70% of its collaborators were under 30 years old¹⁰⁸.

As the political factor leading the life of the county, the Bihor County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party wanted to demonstrate, over the years, its role as the “father” of local press. The interventions and discussions were channeled on different aspects, from the appearance of the newspapers to the content of the articles and the conduct of the journalists, the political factor taking advantage of every opportunity to submit the publications to their own desires. At least from the existing documents, we note that, although the discussions were not tensioned, the dialogues in all meetings, as well as the informing notes and reports were quite dull, written in wooden language and with repetitive ideas annually. In fact, the way newspapers were written, as well as their content, did not change significantly in the 1970s and 1980s, which shows that the press was ideologically limited, and the freedom to choose topics was also restricted.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheets 6-7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, sheet 42.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, file 11/1977, sheets 2-4.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, file 5/1978, sheets 65v.-66.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, file 13/1972, sheet 9.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, file 6/1983, sheet 77.

Annex 1

Excerpts from the note on censorship of articles in the *Familia* magazine in 1970, presented to the Bihor County Committee of the Romanian Communist Party

Familia, 1970, issue 2

On the first page was to appear the poem called *Search for the enemy only in yourselves...* by Victor Eftimiu. Upon the notification to the C.D.P.P. and the guiding organism, the poem has been eliminated, as the author gives a note of generalization the both peoples and individuals are their own enemies... We quote: *This outpouring of crowds / with bravery and cunning / Approach, called by abundance / And the victims that gnaw us deeply...*, ... *Rascally we prepare ourselves, the yoke / By itself each one falls: / It's enough a trot of cavalcades / And the old world lights its fire / ... The bastard collapsed Sadoma / He fell through laziness and pride, Rome... / From age to age, the story repeats itself.*

4 poems were reported to the guiding organism: *Philosophy, Finally, Meeting, What peace* by Ion Horea. From the fist there seems to be chaos released... *between everything that is and what is not / as in I don't know who's country / a stroll with a stretcher / o, stretcher.* Next, the poet reveals the fear in everything: *... And the dust is on the roads and the water in the puddles is verdigrised / In all only fear and congestion /.*

The second poem looks as inspired from the agrarian landscape subjected to a natural calamity by many rains, but also by the negligence or helplessness of the people who do not gather the harvest, letting it rot in the field... *and you see the hills all melting / And flows sprout from a heavenly realm / The corn is lying under the mud / No swarm has come out of the hives this summer / And the holds are ripe for a long time and they are moldy / The clover in the furrows is rotten since it was mowed / There is no sign, a streak of clear sky to cut, to let a grain of sun come out of it like a pod / And black birds walk on the streets like on gravel / People give their goodbyes and in the end they answer.*

In the poem *What peace* the author seems to confess, a state of contentment whose subtlety could be captured in the verses: *... Alas, these edges hurt, and this roundness...*, ... *And there is no enmity and nobody screams anymore / And there is no depth, no fresh water / Neither the bitterness in the hemlock, nor the lurking in the density / The star in its twinkle is extinguished and threw in the height / ... / The lines written in roads, circles roundly written / Alas, what silence in everything and what peace is in everything.*

At our notice, all 4 poems were eliminated”.

Familia, 1970, issue 3

“The governing organism and the C.D.P.P. were informed of a page entitled *About the spirit of a modern academy* which expresses the point of view of Dr.doc. Petre Vancea, about the rest of the Academy of the S.R.R. (Socialist Republic of Romania – a.n.), with the existing shortcoming within the academy, the difficulties they create in scientific research.

In expressing his point of view, he starts from the recent acceptance of Eugen Ionescu as a member of the French Academy and often quotes Paul Valery to find the sense and fait of an academy. The author is completely dissatisfied with the activity of the Academy of the S.R.R., that *... we organize and reorganize too often without finding a true formula for this institution...*, ... *that the role of the Academy in our country is to keep an inventory, permanently revised, of all problems posed by science and art, of all knowledge acquired by man...* Among other things, the academy is accused of dogmatism, which probably unsettles our conscience, including the specifics that must dominate the spirit of the academy.

The syllogisms of my bitterness at this time – the author says – *were not lyrical or metaphysical roots of a weary man but were caused by unbearable situations, born out of the substance of our nation and exaggerated by some vulgar spirits, sterile and moved by unspeakable interests.*

The state of instability at the Academy of the S.R.R. is also reported, which actually explains the state of mine here. Therefore, the author demands the establishment of a new spirit from which must be eliminated: the sterile imitation of some foreign models and the fear that fills the strong souls with bitterness and paralyzes the weak souls, disoriented and inclined to conformity...

The guiding organism indicated the remaking of the material, with the elimination of the signaled things, but the editorial office gave up the page.

Annex 2

The first page of Fáklya from April 9, 1986 – head articles, regarding the completion of sowing and extraction of bauxite, were dedicated to the 65th anniversary of the creation of the Romanian Communist Party

In the case of important events, the first half of the first page of Crisiana was dedicated to national news (only political), like in the issue from September 5, 1989

Annex 3

Excerpt from the joint Report of the *Crișana* and *Fáklya* newspapers on their activity of January – October 1976: frequency of headings in the main fields of activity

Targeted area	Topics addressed	Frequency of occurrences
Industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fulfilling the plan of the first year of the current five-year plan; improving product quality; use of capacity and working time; raising the professional qualification; increase of labor productivity Investments in construction Rubric "One hundred lei – one hundred factors" (<i>Fáklya</i>) "At the workplace like at home" (<i>Fáklya</i>) "Crișana opens the account of technical-scientific creation" (<i>Crișana</i>) "From the union's activity" (<i>Crișana – Fáklya</i>) "The first year of the technical-scientific revolution quinquennium has begun. The plan fulfilled rhythmically in assortments and qualities necessary for the national economy" "The worker in work hours" (<i>Crișana</i>) "Science and technics" (<i>Fáklya</i>) 	<p>-one article every 2-3 days</p> <p>-1-2 articles weekly -94 articles</p> <p>-15 articles (from August) -bi-monthly column</p> <p>-bi-monthly column -10 appearances in the first month of the year</p> <p>-bi-monthly column -monthly column</p>
Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Execution on time and in good conditions of seasonal works: animal husbandry, vegetable growing; fruit trees-viticulture (<i>Crișana – Fáklya</i>) "Animal husbandry – what it asks - what is given – what is offers?" column (<i>Crișana</i>) "Action A-2100" (<i>Crișana</i>) "From the leaders' experience", "The specialists' word" (<i>Crișana – Fáklya</i>) Recovery of the poorly developed units (<i>Crișana</i>) 	<p>-at least an article per issue</p> <p>-bi-monthly issues</p> <p>-weekly issue in the first 5 months of the year -bi-monthly issues</p> <p>-26 issues</p>
Commerce	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Realization of the program of the county party committee regarding the supply of the population and the development of the consciousness of trade workers (<i>Crișana</i>) 	<p>-from June this year an average of 6 articles per month</p>
Party life and the practical translation of the party's ideological program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aspects on internal party life (<i>Crișana – Fáklya</i>) The party's ideological program (<i>Crișana – Fáklya</i>) Pages: "Man, conscience, deed on the horizon of socialist ethics and equity" (<i>Crișana</i>) "The man and his way of life" (<i>Fáklya</i>) "Colloquia with youthfulness" and "Youngsters' page" (<i>Crișana – Fáklya</i>) Articles on socialist ethics and equity (<i>Crișana</i>) 	<p>-1-2 issues weekly -2 issues weekly -monthly</p> <p>-monthly -monthly</p> <p>-125 articles (around 12 articles monthly)</p>
People's Councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> From the activity of People's Councils, of MPs, management and systematization of localities (<i>Crișana – Fáklya</i>) 	<p>-2 issues weekly</p>

N.A.-B.C.S., fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 11/1977, sheets 37-38

Annex 4

Columns edited by Crișana newspaper in the 1970s and 1980s

PACINA 3 CRISANA

Carnet cultural

ZILE DE VACANȚĂ ÎN TABARA „TOT ÎNAINTE”

Întind săptămânii

LIȘCA

STICLA ARTISTICĂ

ECOLI TINEȚII

EXPOZIȚIE JEAN UNGUREANU

PACINA 3 CRISANA

DIALOG CETĂȚENESC

GOSPODĂRIREA EFICIENTĂ A FONDULI FUNCIAR

VALORIFICAREA RESURSELOR PROPRII

AUTOAPROVIZIONAREA...

NU DISTINGEȚI COPACII

APĂRAREA PROPRIETĂȚII SOCIALISTE - SARCINA PATRIOTICĂ A TĂRĂZOR CETAȚENILOR

Cultural notebook (left) and Citizen dialogue (right)

PACINA 1 CRISANA

Sports

CAMPIONATE • COMPETIȚII • Sports

A ÎNCEPUT TOAMNA FOTBALISTICĂ - ȘI NU FĂRĂ SURPRIZE

Un talent ce contunde

GABRIELA MEDNES

DOCI PESTE TÂMBĂ, DAR GURĂ MĂȘTINE

START ȘI ÎN DIVIZIA C

HANDBAL: PRIMUL MECI, PRIMA VICTORIE

O NESABUNTĂ ȘI TRĂGACELE-URMARI

PACINA 3 CRISANA

COLOCII CU TINERETEȚA

CU ÎNCREDERE ÎN VIITORUL FERICIT AL PĂTRIIL ÎN ÎNCĂPUȚAREA CILOR MAI ÎNDRĂZNEȚE NAZIUNII

INERETUL BIHORAN ÎNTÂMPLA CONGRESUL AL XII-LEA AL PARTIDULI

Amfiteatrele

Sports page (left) and Colloquia with youthfulness (right)

Annex 5

Thematic plan for the third quarter of 1989 of *Familia* magazine

I.

A major preoccupation of the magazine during this period will be the greeting of the 45th anniversary of August 23, 1944 and the 14th Congress of the party, for which purpose the magazine will publish a number of articles and reports to popularize the economic, social and cultural achievements of Bihor County.

-After the publication of the Directive Program of the 14th Congress and the draft of the Theses for the 14th Congress, we will publish debate materials, signed by responsible staff in party and state organisms, by workers in ideology.

II.

The magazine will continue to publish articles on the Eminescu Centenary and will begin the homage to the Creangă Centenary.

III.

For the greeting of August 23rd we will publish synthesis articles on the development of socialist culture between 1944 and 1989, especially after the Ninth Congress.

IV.

In the pages of the magazine will be analyzed mainly books and shows appropriate to the moment.

V.

The published fiction material will have an increased educational content, the creation of literary societies in Bihor and neighboring counties will be stimulated.

VI.

The magazine will publish analysis and informative articles about Bihor's presence in the final phase of "Cântarea României" National Festival.

DEPUTY EDITOR-CHIEF
Dumitru Chirilă

N.A.-B.C.S., fund *Bihor County Committee of the R.C.P.*, file 7/1989, unnumbered sheet

Annex 6

The front page of Familia magazine in a regular month (left) and in the issue dedicated to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party – the last issue published under the communist regime (November 1989) (right)

