ABSTRACTS

Radu TUDORANCEA, *From the refuge in Moldova to wandering abroad. The issue of the Romanian refugees in Russia (1916-1918)*

This paper examines the massive displacement and refugeedom triggered by the disastrous outcome of the military operations of the 1916 Romanian war campaign. The military defeat itself and implicitly the loss of Romanian territory to enemy forces, associated with fear, provided the initial basis for the displacement of authorities and civilians. The refugeedom exhibited sharp discrepancies among the refugees, both in terms of ways of evacuation (as the politicians, high ranking officials and influential individuals evacuated themselves by using special trains and private cars, while the boy-scouts, the peasants and other *ordinary people* travelled on horse-driven carriages or even on foot), as well as in terms of future residence and daily life of the refugees in Moldavia. The exile in Moldavia generated overpopulation, lack of food and financial resources, and the overall situation was aggravated by the extreme weather conditions and last, but not least, by the widespread typhus, which generated a huge loss of human lives. Due to the tremendous size and intensity of refugeedom, there was a massive impact (particularly from the demographic perspective) of the large number of refugees on the social and economic life in the host communities. Despite significant efforts made by the Romanian administration, the scale of Romanian (state) involvement in the matter of sheltering and supporting the refugees was limited by the financial and logistical constraints faced by Romania at that time. Also, in connection to the prospects of the war confrontations, the refugees (high ranking officials and ordinary people) had to face the prospects of *another refuge,* into various external destinations, but particularly in Russia (Odessa and Kherson).

Octavian ȚÎCU, *Bessarabia After the Union of 27 March 1918: The Establishment of Romania's Administration and the Difficulties of the Reunion*

The difficult conditions in which the Union took place, the future relations with Russia, and the need for international recognition of the reunification, left only two solutions to Romania for affirming its authority in Bessarabia. The first one, to ensure a military presence in order to maintain order and counteract the Bolshevik attempts to occupy the province; the second one, to make every effort to achieve the respect and sympathy of the Bessarabian population. While the first objective received the constant attention of the Romanian governments during the interwar period, with many complications and deformations that were abundantly researched (and often tendentious), the second was, in large part, ignored or superficially analyzed. The increased attention paid to the administration of Bessarabia, the prevention of abuses and corruption or their

punishment would certainly have reduced and prevented anti-Romanian predispositions, not just towards minorities, thus facilitating the province's relationship with the Romanian state. This became obvious immediately after the Union.

Dragoş SDROBIŞ, *A journey between political extremisms: Dumitru Corbea*

This study aims to capture an unusual typology of political radicalization of the youth in Greater Romania. Unlike the young generation's leaders who fell prey to political extremism, Dumitru Corbea didn't have a great educational and symbolic capital. However, he tried to build a reputation by writing and by using his writings as political weapons. From this point of view, his case can be regarded as a symptom of the revolutionary spirit that has encompassed a large part of the youth in Greater Romania. Originating from a poor family unable to pay for his studies, Corbea adhered to the Legionary Movement in the early 1930s. But, as a result of internal struggles within this political organization, he shifted to the left, so that at the beginning of the World War II he was a member of the illicit Communist Party of Romania (according to his own confession). However, unlike the other comitologists of his generation, Dumitru Corbea „evolved" on this axis of revolutionism from right to left, an irrational choice in the context of the times. In order to survive in such an unfriendly political environment, Corbea adopted some opportunistic strategies. He was also supported by some important figures of that period, like Mihail Ralea or Demostene Botez. After the establishment of the communist regime in Romania, Corbea made a literary career as a proletcultist writer. One can say that the study reflects the life story of a simple man with great expectations of life caught in the „ideological storms" (Hannah Arendt) of the 20th century.

Bogdan JITEA, *Cinema and propaganda: The making of Tudor (1963)*

This paper aims to reveal how the historical movie genre started its existence in communist Romania and what was the main purpose behind this decision. The regime sought to re-establish the ties with the past in terms of political instrumentalization. Therefore, in the context of a slowly emancipation from the Soviet grip we witness a revival of the national ideas which favored the making of *Tudor*. The movie follows both the social and national struggle of the revolutionary leader Tudor in the early 1800's. Also, because of its nationalistic tone, it became an important tool of the Communist propaganda and the aim was to strengthen the position of the Romanian Communist Party inside the Romanian society. Although the movie was made in the final years of the Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej regime, it was later recovered by the Ceausescu Cinema and fitted into the Romanian *National Cinema Epic'*s project.

Mihaela DENIZE, *Tension and changes in universities: the purges between 1944-1947*

The changes that took place after August 23, 1944 led to a drastic staff change within each higher education institution. Previously threatened with removal (by committees organized during the national-legionary state), some professors had the chance to initiate an outstanding carrer during the communist regime. Thus, universities became the scene of the confrontation between characters with radically different political choices.

The procedures adopted by the two comittees regarding the selection of proffesors were largely similar. The decision to maintain or to dismiss a certain professor was directly influenced by the information contained in the self-evaluation reports, any memoirs - favorable or unfavorable - written by other professors or members of the committee. Those threatened with

dismissal could challenge the committee's decision by memorandums that could also include favorable statements of people who were trusted by members of the political regime.

In both cases, the creation of reward and penalty mechanisms led to the emergence of opportunity windows that some academics tried to take advantage of. For these people, it became obvious that after August 23, 1944, Romania had entered a completely new course and that each had to find its place from the early stage of the establishment of the communist regime. In addition, the work of the two committees reflects the evolution of interpersonal relationships, characterized by a fragmentation due to different interests or sympathies/antipathy. While limiting university autonomy, the new legislative framework provided a fertile ground for expressing frustrations and rivalries.

Vladimir TISMĂNEANU, *Dumitru Popescu, the great Pontiff of Ceaușescu's political religion*

The six volumes Memoirs of Dumitru Popescu - former N. Ceausescu's chief ideologue - is an important opportunity to analyze his political biography. Dumitru Popescu's memoirs are full of clichés regarding the class struggle, exploitation, Western imperialism, late 1980s Gorbachev's plot and so on. In fact, Popescu was a significant promoter of Nicolae Ceausescu's cult of personality who also supported the institutional mechanisms of the communist regime in order to achieve the submission of the individual to party authority and internalization of cultic rituals.

Cristian VASILE, *The Institute of Philosophy During Gheorghiu-Dej Regime, 1954-1965*

This paper examines some aspects of the institutional history of postwar Romanian philosophy with a special focus on the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of People's Republic of Romania. Using archival sources the aim of this paper is to shed more light on the main aspects of philosophical research during cultural Stalinism and to underline the inflexion points within Romanian „philosophical" writing between 1948 and 1965. One examined the lack of human resources and its impact on the emergence of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, but also the main research topics studied at the Philosophy Section of the Institute of History and Philosophy and Institute of Philosophy especially in the 1950s. We focused also on the context of unmasking and purges of the „philosophical" front mainly in late 1950s, underlining the *Agitprop* fight against Revisionism and „bourgeois" influence in social sciences.

In 1948 the lack of human resources in the field of philosophical research was obvious from Marxist-Leninist perspective. This was one the reasons why in 1948-49 the communist decision-makers did not support the creation of a separate Institute of Philosophy under the aegis of Romanian Academy. Instead between 1949 and 1953 the communist *Agitprop* agreed the functioning of a Philosophy Section within the newly born Institute of History and Philosophy (the former Institute of History founded by Nicolae Iorga). The appointment of Constantin Ionescu-Gulian as deputy director of the Philosophy Section of the Institute of History and Philosophy (in 1949) was the *Agitprop* response to the aforementioned lack of human resources in the field of philosophical research. After some hesitations in 1953-54 the communist party leadership chose again C.I. Gulian as director of the newly-created Institute of Philosophy. By periodical ideological harassment directed against Gulian *Agitprop* succeeded in fact to control the philosophical research.

Cosmin POPA, *Nicolae Ceausescu - The Mechanisms of a Dictatorship (1965-1967)*

The article describes the manner and means used by Nicolae Ceausescu between 1965-1967 for the establishment of a personal dictatorship. The reform of the party's governing bodies,

mainly by increasing the number of members, and his vast program of bureaucratic reforms, led to the removal of any potential opposition from the start. The inventing of a Romanian history of communism, the acceptance into the party of those excluded during Dej's regime and the consolidation of bureaucracy through a mix of rewarding measures and control policies, quickly transformed Ceausescu into the only source of power and legitimacy in the party. In parallel, Ceausescu undertook a true nonviolent sweep of the leading cadres, managing to quickly obtain a real power base. His true political genius consisted in the ability to combine in unique packages of measures, initiatives to strengthen his power and real modernization policies. The old leaders of the party were deprived, shortly after Ceausescu's coming, of the institutional mechanisms by which they could have opposed, but they also lacked the courage. Within a few months of his coming to power, Ceausescu undertook a political reform similar to that of Stalin in 1952. One year after his inauguration, more than half of those who led the party, the state and the economy owed their positions to the new Secretary-General. Under the pretext of modernizing the party and state apparatus, using the fact that many of the "veterans" of communism lacked academic competence, Ceausescu managed to gather an army of loyalists, giving his leadership a systemic character.

Mioara ANTON, *A utopian project. The society of the new socialist man. The beginnings*

This article explores the stages of building the new socialist man. At the beginning of the Ceausescu regime, the idea of constructing the new man did not have an explicit ideological meaning. The campaigns to educate the tastes of the population, amid the development of consumption and the improvement of the living standards, aimed primarily at adapting most of the population to the challenges of the modern life. Combating social parasitism, smoking, and having a good public behavior were the main directions of the newspaper „Scânteia", which was transformed into a real amplifier for the policies of the regime. The euphoria created by the events in Czechoslovakia and the adherence of a large part of the population to the policies promoted by Ceausescu made it possible to regain control over society almost unnoticed. If the new man had been previously embodied by certain typologies, that stood out by exemplary labor and dedication, heroes of work, the Ceausescu project aimed at the whole society. The features of the new man, dutiful, submissive, ideologically educated and devoted to the regime had to dominate the entire society.

Claudia-Florentina DOBRE, *Remembering Communism in Post-Communist Romania: Memorial Regimes and Individual Recollections*

27 years after the fall of communism in Romania, the public representations of the regime are still mythologically distorted! Nuances of interpretations, although much needed, are scarce and marginalized by the two dominant public narratives which depict communism either as a 'good idea badly applied' or as an "illegitimate, criminal regime".

This article provides these nuances by means of studying different approaches and levels of communist remembrance. It allows us to go beyond the two historiographical paradigms circumscribing the memory of Communism: that of victimisation by denouncing the regime's crimes and abuses, and that of general culpability, suggesting that all Romanians are responsible for the existence and endurance of Communism.

My aims is twofold: on the one hand to show how memorial regimes are instrumental in forging a cultural memory of communism in Romania, and, on the other, to understand how people (former detainees, deportees and ordinary people) relate to their communist past and experiences. The article emphasizes the importance of the official memorial discourse in shaping personal narratives on communism.

Simion GHEORGHIU, *Science and Politics in the Historiography of the Republic of Moldova (Contemporary Period)*

The present article aims to present the historiography of the Republic of Moldova following the political changes of 1991. As it can be seen, within this historiographic renewal, the great majority of historians abandoned the Soviet model of writing history based on the adaptation of the past to the imperatives of the political power, and grounded their writings on the observance of historical truth.

In parallel, however, there was also a politicized discourse based on the old ideological dogmas that refer to the existence of a "Moldovan people" of distinct origins, speaker of a language different from the Romanian one and who would be entitled to have its own "ancestral hearth". The negative effects of such a vulgarized ideology appeared with no delay, and one of the most serious was the identity crisis of the Republic of Moldova.

Florin ANGHEL, *The topography of the Polish exile memory. Babadag, 1939-1940*

On September 23, 1939, the Polish, civil and military refugees were established in Oltenia, Muntenia and Dobrogea by the decision of the Romanian central administration. Civilian refugees were settled in Buzău, Târgovişte, Ploieşti, Pucioasa, Râmnicu Sarat, Constanţa, Giurgiu, Turnu Magurele, Craiova, Târgu Jiu, Turnu Severin, Râmnicu Valcea, Călimăneşti, Slatina, Dragăşani, Curtea de Argeş, Strehaia and Orşova. The military refugees were placed in camps created in Piteşti, Câmpulung Muscel, Slatina, Caracal, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Calafat (for ordinary soldiers), Băile Herculane (for generals), Călimăneşti (for senior officers) and Costeşti, Drăgăşani and Corabia (petty officers). The majority of the former dignitaries (ministers, state secretaries, senior officials, along with their families) were given home in the villas of Govora and Olăneşti. The most unfavorable conditions were given to military refugees stationed in the uncomfortable villages and fairs in Dobrudja. The officers were distributed, most often in the homes of the locals, in Tulcea and Babadag, while the soldiers were garrisoned in the villages of Topolog, Ciucurova, Slava Rusă, Slava Cercheza, Casimcea, Sarighiol, Atmagea (Tulcea county) and Râmnicu de Jos (Constanta county).

„Wiarus na Obczyźnie" appeared in Tulcea on 28 September 1939 and was one of the first publications of the Polish military resistance in exile. The first three numbers were published there, then from number 4 to 16, it appeared at Băile Herculane and later, in 1940, was transferred to Târgovişte until the departure of Major Otton Laskowski to Great Britain.

Raul DENIZE, *Egon Bahr and the configuration of the West German Detente Policy*

This article examines Egon Bahr's intellectual and political postwar evolution. At first, a genuine cold warrior, Bahr gradually embraced the ideea of Détente. The reasons for this change were multiple, ranging from the influence of other great German political men to the ever clearer limitations imposed on West-German foreign policy by a bipolar world. By adapting to the realities in which his country was forced to operate, Bahr was able to innovate and create a German version of Détente - *Wandel durch Annäherung* - which reconciled the acceptance of the postwar European map with the goal of reunification.