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ABSTRACTS

Mihaela DENIZE (STROE), *Between compromise and resistance: the recovery of the legionary historians P.P.Panaitescu and Vladimir Dumitrescu by the communist regime*

Throughout history intellectuals were interested in gaining political power and therefore showed an affinity for one ideology or another. History, especially, was closest to the political spectrum – and consequently, vulnerable to its interference. Our study brings together the figures of two historians – Petre P.Panaitescu and Vladimir Dumitrescu – the Legion, to which they adhered and the communist regime, which has recovered them. The core of our research is the way in which they reevaluated their relation with the Iron Guard after August 23, 1944 and the reasons why the two have managed to continue their careers during the communist regime.

Ionel RADOVICI, *Grigore Preoteasa's ascension within the communist structures*

The following analysis aims to present Grigore Preoteasa's ascension from a simple member of the Communist Youth Union, when he acted as an illegalist, to the period during which he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs (1955 – 1957) when he was directly involved in the process by which Romania adhered to the United Nations. The study is particularly interesting because it explores the archives and the political framework of the career of a high representative of the communist nomenclature. It also includes his ascension within the ranks of the Romanian Communist Party, while providing an image of the internal structures of the party and the written and unwritten laws that governed the relations between party members. The political friction between Grigore Preoteasa and various party members that emerged when the movement was put together can be a litmus test to measure with accuracy the formation of cleavages and divisions among various factions within the original structure of the Communist Party in Romania.

Marius STAN, Vladimir TISMĂNEANU, *The Death of a Leninist Dictator: „The memory of comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, forever living in the heart of the party, of the working class, and of the people...“*

The article is a critical synthesis of the life and fate of Leninist dictator Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, focusing on his role as a central figure within Romanian communism. At the moment of his unexpected demise on March 19, 1965, he was the undisputed leader of the

Romanian communist oligarchy. Educated in prison according to Stalin's writings, Gheorghiu-Dej was a true believer who cynically wedded the Leninist exclusionary principle „kto-kogo“ (who-whom) with pragmatic adjustments and travesties. He loathed any genuine intellectual and theoretical endeavors. When he passed away, he left behind a strategy that could have led either to Yugoslavisation (Tito's model) or to Albanisation (Hoxha's model). However, what followed was Nicolae Ceaușescu's own version of socialism, who carried to an extreme the logic of national Stalinism initiated under his former mentor and protector.

Mioara ANTON, *Social parasitism. Rules and norms for the New Man society*

At the beginning of the 70s, Romania's young generations came to the attention of party officials. The years of liberalizations (1965-1968) had led to the „contamination“ of youth with Western cultural productions which entered into contradiction with the rigid norms of the socialist system. From Ceausescu's perspective, the young were tempted by anarchist ideas which required an increase in political education. Consequently, the party decided to intervene to impose discipline and educate the young generation according to the objectives of socialist society, which meant an interruption of the liberalization course. Press campaigns, TV programmes, legislative measures, and public conferences were intended to bring the youth back onto the right path of building the communist society. The ideal young communist imagined by the regime, devoted to the party and country, fully social integrated, was endangered by the avalanche of cultural models imported from the West. Jeans, colorful shirts, fashion of the long hair, both for women and men, and strong colours of everyday clothing shocked in a conservative socialist society. On the contrary, the regime wanted to promote the exemplary young citizen whose interests, aspirations and ideals were the same with those of socialist society.

The Securitate (secret police) was deeply involved in the surveillance and correction of the youths' behaviour. State control was directed at leisure, student club activities, the limitation of distribution of Western music and movies or listening to foreign radio stations, especially Radio Free Europe. But despite the all restrictions and political pressure, the young generation did not give up to individualizing itself within socialist society.

Cristian VASILE, *Prothocronism, Dacomania, and the Literature on Geto-Dacian subjects in 1970s Romania*

The aim of this study is to briefly discuss the historical circumstances which favored both the rapprochement and interweaving between Ceaușescu's official ideology of national Stalinism and (Pre)Protochronism. One tried to study the (Pre)Protochronism mainly in connection both with 1971 “July Theses”, and the Five-Year Plan bearing in mind Ceaușescu's radicalized tone regarding the autonomy of art and literature.

Subsequently, I shed more light on the way in which Ceaușescu and his RCP ideologues suggested the development of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory by adding ideological elements of Protochronism. Instead of discussing Socialist Realism, Protochronism, and Postmodernism, perceived by some authors (Florin Mihăilescu, for instance) as postwar official/prominent literary ideologies, I preferred to look only at the 1970s, analysing Protochronism in comparison with its „higher ranking” and official doctrines: Socialist Humanism and Revolutionary Humanism.

Last but not least, I examined the relations of the Romanian Italian industrialist Iosif Constantin Drăgan with communist officials and his “thracological” expertise used for

reinventing the Ancient past of Romanians. In the end, I analysed the main products of the so-called Literature on Geto-Dacian subjects encouraged by the May 1977 speech of Ceaușescu held at the national conference of Romanian Writers.

Cosmin POPA, *The Academy of Social and Political Sciences or Stalinism 2.0*

The article describes the organization of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences from the early 1970s and the developments that occurred in the institutional communist system and in the Romanian academic milieu. It contains the biographical portraits of the main players in the academic world. A special attention is given to the end of Ceaușescu's „liberalism“ and the turn to an upgraded variant of Stalinism and also to the impact of this transformation on party propaganda and social sciences in Romania.

Simion GHEORGHIU, *The reform policy in USSR: Lavrenti P. Beria, Nikita S. Hrușciiov, Iuri V. Andropov*

The reforms initiated by M. S. Gorbachev in 1985 seemed for many a surprising phenomenon on the USSR political scene. Actually, previous attempts to restructure the soviet regime existed before as well and were put into practice by different leaders in different periods of time.

The attempts to reform exercised successively by L.P. Beria, N.S. Khrushchev and I.V. Andropov were not able to eliminate the soviet system's erosion factors. Brezhnev's era known as „the era of stagnation“ aggravated the existing crises. The reform was condemned to fail even from its inception; the soviet system was simply impossible to restructure since any change could have determined a chain reaction which would have weakened it even more.

Radu TUDORANCEA, *The facets of the resistance. Charity societies, hospitals and fundraising campaigns in Romania during the First World War*

Over the last decades, the scientific interest regarding the research themes dedicated to First World War remained relatively constant, even though Western research centers have been tackling areas of research and scientific themes by following rather a multidisciplinary approach regarding First World War. When it comes to Romanian historiography, it should be stressed that it remained dominated, for a long period, by research themes and topics rather related to the political dispute surrounding Romania's participation into the War, or more or less focused on the military confrontations and the War evolution and confrontations *per se*. The present paper examines a rather neglected or less considered area of research regarding First World War, namely the War relief actions initiated and conducted during Romania's involvement into the conflict, beginning with fund raising campaigns dedicated to wounded soldiers and refugees and continuing with the activity of various hospitals, orphanages and asylums, across the occupied territory and within the Romanian controlled territory (Moldova) as well.

Maria Camelia ZAVARACHE, *Juvenile delinquency or „the problem of the morally deviant child“ in interwar Romania*

During the XXth century, juvenile delinquency has become one of the most worrisome social problems. During the Interwar period, the Romanian elite has made consistent efforts to analyse and design the proper strategies in order to cope with this phenomenon. Different categories of professionals, concerned with what they believed to be a serious threat to the society, have drawn attention on the importance of the child's personality and social environment, when faced with juvenile delinquency. These intellectuals started pleading for special measures for juvenile offenders, promoting the idea that the punishment should be replaced with an effort to re-educate and rehabilitate, in order for them to become harmless and usefull individuals. This perspective has been adopted by social and criminal law, in an attempt to supervise and controle marginal communities, perceived as dangerous and prone to violence and criminality.

Florin ANGHEL, *Ignored neighbours. The Polish community in Bessarabia in the interwar period*

The mentality of most of the members of the Polish community in Bessarabia influenced by the ideological, cultural and political legacy of the Russian Empire and civically unencouraged by the Romanian authorities, had a strong impact on their final fate. How much was the Polish community in Bessarabia reduced? Unfortunately, the lack of any appetite (and I say, even interest, be it political or scientific) for the existence of this ethnic groups between the Prut and Dniester have led to conflicting data/statistics. It should be added, essentially, that the Polish community in Bessarabia does not have a specific place of collective memory (an area of origin, as in the case of most of the Poles in Bucovina): Poles settled in Bessarabia due to material or professional interests or desiring to obtain freedom in an underdeveloped region.

The effort to revive national values, to resist against the pressures of the majority (through political, economic and educational-cultural leverage) have ended with the incorporation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the USSR after Kremlin's ultimatum from June 26-28, 1940. Only the independence of the Republic of Moldova in 1991 in other geographical frameworks than the interwar Romanian Bessarabia, allowed the rebirth and reevaluation of the values of the much depleted Polish ethnic community, between the Prut and Dniester.

Georgiana ȚĂRANU, *„The spiritual duke“ of the Romanian people: Nicolae Iorga at the forefront of the government from Bucharest and the relations with Fascist Italy (1931-1932)*

This paper explores a period of intense interaction between Fascist Italy and Romania by examining Prime minister Nicolae Iorga's favourable standpoint towards Rome over his oneyear-long stay in power (April 1931-June 1932). It argues that Iorga's government, headed by such an Italophile intellectual as he was, represented the second best key moment for the Italian diplomacy's cultural interests in Romania, after Alexandru Averescu's premiership of 1926-1927. It is particularly concerned with the ways in which the renowned historian, right after taking office, was highly courted by the Fascist authorities and media, while being, in his turn, very keen and prompt to satisfy Rome's main demand on the bilateral agenda: the mandatory teaching of Italian as a foreign language in the Romanian public secondary schools. Thus, an increasing presence of the Italian language, regulated through the so-called 'Iorga law' of July 1931, seemed to have given impetus to the Fascist cultural propaganda in Romania. Still, in spite of Iorga's

stance favouring both Italy and Mussolini's regime, Rome and Bucharest did not succeed to improve their diplomatic relations accordingly.

Raul DENIZE, *The economic dimension of the West German-Soviet relations and the signing of the Moscow Treaty (1970)*

The Cold War influenced not only political relations, but also economic ones. WestGermany used its economic power in order to influence Moscow and obtain political concessions. Under chancellor Willy Brandt, the interests of both government and business coincided, and the Federal Republic tried to improve its economic and political relations with the Soviet Union. The economic cooperation was very fruitful and involved deals between the automotive industries and the energy sector. German companies were among the few capable of manufacturing large diameter steel pipes capable of transporting natural gas over very long distances. The soviets were interested in acquiring western technology at a time when their economy was stagnating and were willing to exchange their natural resources and political goodwill in order to obtain it.