

## **POLITICS, IDEOLOGY AND LITERATURE AT THE BEGINNING OF COMMUNIST REGIME IN ROMANIA. A FEW THEORETICAL ASPECTS**

**Hadrian GORUN<sup>1</sup>**  
**Lucreția-Ileana BRĂNESCU<sup>2</sup>**

---

### **ABSTRACT**

*OUR ARTICLE REPRESENTS A SHORT ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE FROM IDEOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW DURING COMMUNIST REGIME IN ROMANIA. TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE COMPLEXITY OF THIS TOPIC, WE FOCUSED PARTICULARLY ON THE FIRST STAGE OF THE COMMUNISM. AFTER 1944-1945, THE PROCESS OF SOVIETISATION AND SATELLISATION HAS JUST BEGUN IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS INTERNAL ALLIES MANAGED TO SEIZE POWER. AFTER THAT, THE ROMANIAN SOCIETY UNDERWENT RADICAL TRANSFORMATIONS. IT IS ALSO THE CASE OF THE CULTURE AND LITERATURE. THEY BOTH SUFFERED TOTAL CHANGES, BEING INFLUENCED BY THE SOVIET PATTERN. WE CAN PERCEIVE A TOTAL METAMORPHOSE OF ROMANIAN LITERATURE. THE LITERATURE, LIKE THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE, TURNED INTO A DOCILE AND VERY USEFUL TOOL FOR PROPAGANDA AND COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY. SO, IN THIS PERIOD THE LITERATURE BECAME PROFOUNDLY IDEOLOGIZED. AS A CONSEQUENCE, WE NOTICE THE POOR QUALITY OF LITERARY TEXTS. WE RESORTED TO A THEORETICAL APPROACH, EXPLAINING THE MAIN CONCEPTS. WE IDENTIFIED AND ANALYSED THE MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOCIALIST REALISM AND PROLET CULTISM. WE UNDERScoreD THE PRINCIPLES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIALIST REALISM INSISTING ON ITS ANTI-COSMOPOLITANISM. ACTUALLY, IN ROMANIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, WE HAD A DIFFERENT TYPE OF ANTI-COSMOPOLITANISM, NOT SIMILAR TO THAT FROM U.S.S.R.*

---

**KEYWORDS:** LITERATURE, IDEOLOGY, POLITICS, SOCIALIST REALISM, PROLET CULTISM.

The sovietisation process profoundly and irredeemably affected Romania after 1944-1945 years. Political and economic life and the whole society as well have been entirely changed and transformed according to the Soviet patterns.<sup>3</sup> In Stelian Tănase's opinion, local elites' leaders

---

<sup>1</sup> Associate Professor, Ph.D. hab. , „Constantin Brâncuși” University of Târgu-Jiu.

<sup>2</sup> Ph.D.Candidate, University of Craiova; Student, Constantin Brâncuși” University of Târgu-Jiu.

<sup>3</sup> On this topic, we share Vlad Georgescu's opinion. The historian, who was also a well known anti-Communist dissident, referred to three facets of the stalinism (the political, economic and cultural one), in people's democracy

fully believed that they had belonged to Communist “world system”. They did not perceive themselves as representatives of the peoples kept under their rule.<sup>4</sup> The independence level of the Romanian Communists was the lowest in the Soviet bloc. They just executed orders from Moscow. The National Democratic Front and Petru Groza government have to hide the true nature of the power. The popular fronts’ strategy was promoted by Soviets in the occupation zone. They aimed to obtain the recognition for “puppet-government” by the Western powers.<sup>5</sup> In November 1946 the elections were falsified by the Communists. After that the “duality of power”, characteristic to the period 1944-1947 will be over. The dictatorship of the proletariat, namely the power monopoly installed after 30 December 1947. There were just a few months after Cominform’s foundation in Szklarska Poreba, in Poland.<sup>6</sup>

The traditional interwar system of values and the cultural institutions have been destroyed. In people’s democracy regime, the Communist Party established as a major objective the creation of the *new man*<sup>7</sup>, in fact a Romanian copy of *homo sovieticus*, from USSR. For the achievement of this essential goal, the Communist propaganda disseminated Marxist-Leninist precepts and carried out an active russification campaign.<sup>8</sup> The Romanian history, all the past, the national idea and the concept of *patriotism* were completely distorted and modified. Vlad Georgescu wrote about a kind of socialist patriotism.<sup>9</sup> In fact, after the seize of power by the Communists with the substantial Red Army’s aid, to be patriot did not mean any longer to love your own country, but to love Soviet Union and mainly its supreme leader, the dictator Iosif Vissarionovici Stalin. Due to Romania’s sovietization and satellization, patriotism meant only loyalty for Moscow and Stalin. The national values became obsolete and were rejected. We are now in the era of internationalist communism. The communist regime from Bucharest was completely obedient to Kremlin. In fact, in his works, a writer could not express the feeling of love for his own country. This was practically forbidden. The national idea vanished. Any reference to nationalism and to the home country was eliminated. The writers and historians could not choose their topics from national history. In fact all Romanian history had to be subordinated to the Russian history or to the history of Slavic peoples. The offensive against cosmopolitanism started in 1949 when the communist ideologue Leonte Răutu published the study entitled *Against cosmopolitanism and objectivism in social sciences*. His study was strongly inspired by Andrei Jdanov’s theories. Jdanov was the main promoter of socialist realism in Soviet Union. Any reference to the national identity was condemned.<sup>10</sup>

Like all Romanian society, the culture, the art and the literature suffered total changes, according to the patterns brutally imposed by U.S.S.R. The intellectuals, in general and particularly the writers were compelled to cease immediately and forever the traditional and natural relations

---

regime from Bucharest. Of course, the cultural stalinism prevailed by force, the same way the political and economic stalinism did. For these aspects, see Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria românilor*, (București: Editura Humanitas, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej 1948-1965*, (București: Editura Humanitas, 1998), 42.

<sup>5</sup> Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societate...*

<sup>6</sup> Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societate...*, 41-43.

<sup>7</sup> V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor...*, 261.

<sup>8</sup> V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor...*, 262.

<sup>9</sup> V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor...*, 264.

<sup>10</sup> V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor...*, 264

with the West<sup>11</sup> and to establish close ties (in reality, servitude relations) with „Big Brother” from the East.<sup>12</sup> Romanian Academy was dissolved in 1949 and replaced with a new institution whose members were very obedient to the regime. Many of them have no genuine professional merits. They were appointed by Communist authorities. All the ancient research institutes were dissolved. The purge of intellectuals did not take place only from administrative point of view. A great number of scientists, scholars, men of culture, writers were thrown into jail where some of them died. Several scholars and writers like Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, Simion Mehedinți, Dimitrie Gusti, Lucian Blaga and others were marginalized. On the contrary, other famous writers like Mihail Sadoveanu (first of all), Tudor Arghezi, George Călinescu or Tudor Vianu were “rehabilitated” (the last three authors after a long period of purification).<sup>13</sup> A lot of titles were censored or even banned. The works of more writers and scientists were entirely or partially forbidden. We mention Mihai Eminescu, Titu Maiorescu, Vasile Alecsandri, Grigore Alexandrescu, Costache Negruzzi, Petre Ispirescu, Panait Istrati, Liviu Rebreanu, George Coșbuc, Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, Henri H. Stahl. Among the very few Mihai Eminescu’s accepted poems was *Împărat și proletar (Emperor and proletarian)*, due to its strong social character. In the marxist-leninist theory, the economic and social factors were of utmost importance. These factors determine the political one. The social conflict, the class struggle represent the engine of historical development.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Titu Maiorescu, one of the founders of the Romanian modern culture was blamed by the Communist propaganda being labeled as “the cosmopolitan one without country”, “the valet of the court”. His only one goal would have been to keep the masses in ignorance.<sup>15</sup>

Only Soviet Union could choose the topic for any work or act of creation in the new people’s democracy regime in Romania. In this sense, Mihail Sadoveanu’s volume *Lumina vine de la Răsărit (The Light Comes from the East)* is relevant. In his book the writer expressed his impressions after a travel in Soviet Union. The vice-president of Great National Assembly represents maybe the the most eloquent example of conformism, compromise and complicity with the communist regime from Bucharest subordinated to Kremlin.<sup>16</sup> The literature, the same way as the historiographical discourse, turned into a docile and very useful tool for propaganda and Communist ideology. So, in this period the literature became profoundly ideologized. As a consequence, we notice the poor quality of belletristic literary texts. Due to the sovietization process and to the growing role of ideology, the literature became the servant of politics and ideology.

The intense russification campaign involved the establishment of “Cartea Rusă (The Russian Book)” publishing house and bookshop (1946), Romanian-Soviet Studies Institute (1947),

---

<sup>11</sup>The West was perceived and labeled as “decayed”. For this issue, see Marin Nițescu, *Sub zodia proletcultismului*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1995, pp. 63-64. Surely, in the first stage of Romanian Communist regime, U.S.S.R. was the only one example to follow.

<sup>12</sup> Hadrian Gorun, „O ideologie a poeziei în timpul regimului comunist”, in *Analele Universității “Constantin Brâncuși” din Târgu-Jiu*, Seria Litere-Științe Sociale, Supplement 3/ 2015, 42.

<sup>13</sup> V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor...*, 262.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Jackson, Georg Sorensen, *Introduction to international relations. Theories and approaches*, 4th edition, (Oxford University Press, 2010), 189-190; Hadrian Gorun, *Relații internaționale în secolul al XX-lea: concepte fundamentale, școli de gândire, repere istorice*, (Târgu-Jiu: Editura “Academica Brâncuși”, 2011), 159-162.

<sup>15</sup> V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor...*, 262-263.

<sup>16</sup> H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeziei în timpul regimului comunist...*, 42.

The Romanian-Russian Museum (1948), Russian Language Institute “Maxim Gorki” (1948). The publishing house, the bookshop and institute had to disseminate in Romania the achievements of Soviet culture and science, which was supposed to be the most advanced in the world. The institute had as fundamental objective to prepare thousands of teachers. They were really necessary to teach Russian in Romanian schools and universities. In 1953, the apogee of russification process was represented by the introduction of the new orthography following the Soviet pattern. Some Latin elements were removed from language. The name of the country changed from România to Romînia. The linguistic reform was necessary because the old spelling had become intolerable, a „preoccupation of the working class and a state problem.”<sup>17</sup>

As the well-known political scientist Raymond Aron asserted, in a totalitarian regime we have the absolute authority of the ideology. Thus, the ideology becomes the official truth of the state. On the other hand, the police terror and ideological terror are the result of a complete politicization and ideologisation.<sup>18</sup> The ideology represents the main tool of legitimation for the Party-State. The ideology represents also the main weapon of the Party-State because it turns into the sole truth accepted by the state. The freedom and democracy are endangered and violated when the state (identified with the sole party) has the monopoly over the truth itself. The escamotation of reality and mystification of the truth according to the interests of the regime make the lie turn into the truth. Thus the lie is not only accepted, but legitimated as truth, the only one truth for the party and communist ideology.<sup>19</sup> One can say that in this circumstance, when the lie becomes truth and it is legitimated like this even the foundations of the world are shaken. Hannah Arendt also wrote about the omnipresence of the ideology in his book *The origins of totalitarianism*.<sup>20</sup>

In the first stage of Romanian communism the culture and literature evolved under the sign of socialist realism. In literature, the expression of sovietization was represented by the imposition of *proletcultism* and *socialist realism*.

It is necessary to explain these two concepts. Ion Simuț published an article entitled „Proletcultism sau realism socialist? (Proletcultism or socialist realism?)”, in *România literară*<sup>21</sup>. Romanian proletcultism of the years 1948-1950 was completely different from Soviet initial proletcultism of 1918-1920. The second one had the sense of avant-gardist art, rejecting any tradition, adjusting the vision and proletarian style to the anarchical manner, ignoring any discipline or party ideology. On the contrary the proletcultism from Romania signified a proletarian, partinic and patriotic culture. It represented the ideology of a class which carried out successfully anti-bourgeois revolution.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> V. Georgescu, *Istoria românilor...*, 263-264.

<sup>18</sup> Raymond Aron, *Democrație și totalitarism*, translated by Simona Ceașu, (București: Editura All, 2001), 212-213

<sup>19</sup> Hadrian Gorun, “Reminiscente totalitare, mituri politice și manipulare în primele luni postdecembriste”, in *Polis*, no. 2/2017, 200.

<sup>20</sup> For the Romanian version of the book, see Hannah Arendt, *Originile totalitarismului*, (București: Editura Humanitas, 2nd edition, 2006).

<sup>21</sup> Ion Simuț, „Proletcultism sau realism socialist? (I, II)”, in *România literară*, no. 30-31/2008, online [http://www.romlit.ro/proletcultism\\_sau\\_realism\\_socialist](http://www.romlit.ro/proletcultism_sau_realism_socialist), [http://www.romlit.ro/proletcultism\\_sau\\_realism\\_socialist\\_ii](http://www.romlit.ro/proletcultism_sau_realism_socialist_ii), 28. 05. 2015.

<sup>22</sup> Szabo Zsolt, „The Role of Steaua Magazine in Proletcult”, in *Journal of Romanian Literary Studies*, Issue no. 6/ 2015, 838.

The anti-cosmopolitanism represented one of the main features of the stalinism in Soviet Union and of the people's democracy regime from Bucharest. But the nature of anti-cosmopolitanism was totally different. If in the first case, the Russian national traditions were valorized<sup>23</sup>, in Romania any expression of nationalism was impossible.

Socialist realism in general and the struggle against cosmopolitanism particularly involved in Romanian people's democracy a perfect imitation of Soviet canons and patterns, of themes and subjects the Soviet ideology agreed with. Thus, the Romanian literature, both poetry and prose, became annexes of the Russian literature. In Romania, during internationalist communism of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's era, socialist realism and anti-cosmopolitanism involved an exacerbated servility for the country of world communism, simultaneously with the repudiation of many national symbols. Practically the adoption of socialist realism in Romanian People's Republic meant the sovietization of Romanian literature.<sup>24</sup>

Aleksandr Bogdanov founded in Soviet Russia the organization called Proletcult. Proletcult elaborated „the cultural tasks of the proletariat” independently from Bolshevik Party. So, proletkultura, as it was conceived by Bogdanov, remained autonomous from Party and state. Ion Simuț shares Michel Aucouturier's opinion<sup>25</sup> when he tells that proletkultura had as goal „the development of spontaneous creativity of working class in the field of culture”.<sup>26</sup> In other words, Aleksandr Bogdanov's main objective was to crystallize a proletarian culture, but not a partinic one. Therefore Bogdanov's proletcultism was different from Romanian proletcultism after 1948.<sup>27</sup> In fact, this last one was an expression of Soviet socialist realism. This Romanian proletcultism was unconceivable otherwise than inseparable from Party-State. The Professor and literary critic Nicolae Manolescu also prefers socialist realism concept.<sup>28</sup>

Since 1905, Vladimir Ilici Lenin condemned all intellectuals and writers who promoted a non-partinic culture: „[...] Down with the literates without Party! The literary issue should become a part of the work party [...] organized, planned and unitary”.<sup>29</sup> As Marin Nițescu concluded, for the Bolshevik leader, the culture had no axiological role, but a social and political one.<sup>30</sup> The message was clear. Any literary demarche was similar and assimilable to economic activities. They suffered centralized planning and were directly controlled by the Party-State.<sup>31</sup>

Maxim Gorki was the first who slightly defined socialist realism. However, in 1934, at the first Congress of the Soviet writers, the ideologue Andrei Jdanov imposed the socialist realism as official doctrine. The life had to be “veridically reflected in the work of art”. On the other hand, Iosif Stalin himself considered the writers as „engineers of the souls”, whose role was to mould and recreate the man. The writers also committed to create the new man.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>23</sup> M. Nițescu, *Sub zodia proletcultismului...*, 85.

<sup>24</sup> H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeticii...*, 43.

<sup>25</sup> See Michel Aucouturier, *Realismul socialist*, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 2001).

<sup>26</sup> I. Simuț, *Proletcultism sau realism socialist?*..., I, no. 30/ 2008

<sup>27</sup> Marin Nițescu's book, *Sub zodia proletcultismului*, represents an important contribution on this topic.

<sup>28</sup> For that, see Nicolae Manolescu, *Inutile silogisme de morală practică*, Editura Albatros, București, 2003.

<sup>29</sup> M. Nițescu, *Sub zodia proletcultismului...*, 89-90.

<sup>30</sup> M. Nițescu, *Sub zodia proletcultismului...*, 90.

<sup>31</sup> H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeticii...*, 44.

<sup>32</sup> In Eugen Negrici's opinion, Alexandr Fadeev used for the first time the concept *socialist realism*, in the year 1932. See Eugen Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism. Poezia*, (București: Editura Fundației Pro, 2006), 15-16; M. Nițescu, *Sub zodia proletcultismului...*, 91.

According to Lucian Boia, through socialist realism, the literature also became scientific and metamorphosing. The literature itself became a science. Thus, the poet turned into scientist had the mission to discover “the budding new man” among numerous “human specimens”.<sup>33</sup> The literature turned into science due to the political interference. The literature answered the necessities of the ideology. The literature will be one of the mechanisms used for the creation of the new man. As we know, creating the new man represented one of the fundamental objectives for the communist ideology. The literature had to reflect the world in its essence and dynamic, not only according to appearances. The literature had to teach common people to live like the heroes from novels. Working as scientist, the writer was exploring the present reality in order to find in it the germs of the future reality.<sup>34</sup> The recommended language was direct, transparent, narrative and didactic. The message should have easily understood. The art aimed at making true the allegory and fiction, even more authentic than reality.<sup>35</sup> It was not necessary to demonstrate the superiority of socialist realism over bourgeois literature, if we take into consideration the so-called superiority of the communism over capitalism. This superiority resulted from the objective laws of the history.<sup>36</sup> Despite their poor quality, the socialist- realist works had an important role as ethical lessons and pedagogical tools.<sup>37</sup>

The literature had a difficult condition. Like the historiographical discourse, the literature turned into a docile and very useful tool for propaganda and Communist ideology. Its main mission was to legitimate the communist regime offering the indispensable credibility on the so-called scientific foundations.<sup>38</sup>

In the literature of Romanian People’s Republic, there are some principles and characteristics of the socialist realism. Thus, according to the accessibility principle, the socialist realism used a very simplistic language. Its target was a public with a minimal degree of education and literacy.<sup>39</sup>

The socialist realism is founded on the marxist-leninist doctrine, on the deterministic, dialectical and scientific materialism. On this topic, socialist realism opposed to idealism and mysticism.<sup>40</sup> Being a reflex of the marxist-leninist dogma, socialist realism promoted the class struggle, the social conflict. Even Vladimir Ilici Lenin affirmed that a national culture had incorporated two cultures: one of the exploiting class and the other one belonging to the exploited classes. The poet was compelled to feel hatred for the class enemy and love for the heroes of the working class.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului*, (București: Editura Humanitas, 2011), ediția a III-a, 151-152.

<sup>34</sup> Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului...*, 152.

<sup>35</sup> Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului...*, 152.

<sup>36</sup> Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului...*, 155.

<sup>37</sup> Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului...*, 157.

<sup>38</sup> H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeziei...*, 44.

<sup>39</sup> H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeziei...*,

<sup>40</sup> E. Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism...*, 19; I. Simuț, *Proletcultism sau realism socialist?*... , II, no. 31.

<sup>41</sup> E. Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism...*, 21, 43.

The social commandment was compulsory. The socialist realism responded to a social commandment.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, we have a militant literature, an „agitational” poetry, in Eugen Negrici’s opinion. The image of a poet involved and very active in the social life is predominant.<sup>43</sup>

Another feature of the socialist realism is the anti-individualism.<sup>44</sup> In the communist totalitarianism, the person, the individual is insignificant in comparison to collectivity. Only collectivity matters, but in reality the amorphous mob made up of docile and aboulitic individuals.

By excellence, the socialist realism was optimistic and wanted to be moralizer. On the other hand, all that matters is the present. The writers did not refer to the past. However, if they make any allusion, the past appears in antithesis with the present. The present and future are „painted” in bright and alive colours. The ideologized prose and poetry of the socialist realism presented the new man, his wealthy and happy life, in contrast with one-time life, full of privations and characterized by obscurantism.<sup>45</sup>

The apoliticism is rejected as a form of deviationism. So the socialist realism is essentially political and partisan.<sup>46</sup> All the writings should respond to Party commandment.

Socialist realism opposed to formalism and to esthetic factor. In other words, it rejected art for art’s sake. The poetry should have exclusively educational goals. The esthetic nature of the literature was sacrificed in the name of almighty and omnipresent ideology. At last, but not the least we add the anti-cosmopolitanism to all these features.<sup>47</sup> Yet the Marxist philosopher György Lukács criticized the optimism promoted by the socialist realism, categorizing it as “bureaucratic” optimism or “facade” optimism. He also suggested the replacement of “class struggle idea” with „the notion of people”.<sup>48</sup>

In socialist realism, the writers are not really interested in the quality of their works. They are a kind of workers carrying out a production work. In fact there was just a race to surpass the standards. These workers of the pen<sup>49</sup> or ideological scribes carried out activities according to the stahanovist pattern. The quality was sacrificed to exclusive advantage of the quantity and utility for the communist regime. The poet who had left forever his „ivory tower” should „produce” works in series. These works had to respect the utility principle. The literature turned into an accessory of the politics and were fully subordinated to politics. Literature became profoundly ideologized. The prose writers and poets were servants of the ideology and of communist regime.

For which reasons they accepted to serve the power? Why did they apply the canons of socialist realism? Ioana Dunea<sup>50</sup> shared political scientist Stelian Tănase’s point of view.<sup>51</sup>, considering that an attitude of subordination, collaboration and compromise with the communist regime assured to intellectuals and particularly to writers numerous advantages, a better visibility, a fast promotion, material benefits and especially the possibility to travel abroad for study and

<sup>42</sup> E. Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism...*, 19.

<sup>43</sup> E. Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism...*, 18.

<sup>44</sup> E. Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism...*, 20.

<sup>45</sup> H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeziei...*, 45.

<sup>46</sup> I. Simuț, *Proletcultism sau realism socialist?...*, II, nr. 31.

<sup>47</sup> See *supra*.

<sup>48</sup> I. Simuț, *Proletcultism sau realism socialist?...*, I, nr. 30.

<sup>49</sup> E. Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism...*, 34-35.

<sup>50</sup> See Ioana Dunea, *Literatura reideologizării 1957-1964. Poezia*, (București: Editura Tracus Arte, 2012).

<sup>51</sup> See Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej 1948-1965*, (București: Editura Humanitas, 2006).

publishing facilities. It is very clear that the manuscript could be published only after the censorship's "purgatory".<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, unscrupulously using blackmail (concerning the respective person, a family member or even a friend or colleague) the communist authorities speculated with ability the feelings of fear and/or culpability of the writers. In world literature, in his prose Edgar Allan Poe valorized this motive of acting on the culpable conscience of an individual.<sup>53</sup> Looking to the past, we can't judge too harshly the behaviour of the writers who accepted the compromise with the communist regime, but we also share Albert Camus' opinion: "Two concessions compose a cowardice. Two acts of cowardice give birth to dishonour."<sup>54</sup>

The condemnation of class enemies (kulaks, capitalists, bourgeois elements), of the "fascists" (in fact, the communist regime labeled as *fascists* all its enemies, real or fictitious), of Western „imperialists" (for example, the demonisation of American troops which fought in Korean war), Lenin's cult and mainly Stalin's cult (after the year 1958 replaced Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's and later Nicolae Ceaușescu's personality cult)<sup>55</sup>, the Soviet-Romanian friendship, the love for Soviet Union, the liberating Soviet army (in the first stage), communist party, the new man, building of socialism and communism; the anniversary of Great October Revolution, the exaltation of work and working class, the peace and peace campaign are just some of the favourite topics in the literature (particularly in poetry) of socialist realism.

Later, in the period of the neostalinism with strong nationalist features of "Ceaușescu's age", the national values were perverted because of the personality cult and wooden language, as the historian Florin Müller wrote.<sup>56</sup> Under the influence of the Protochronist current<sup>57</sup>, alongside the ridiculous and absurd Leader's Cult (a privileged subject) various themes as the country, the Romanian people that possessed the noblest virtues, the pre-eminence and the old age of Romanians (so-called millenary) or the battle for peace. Under the strong influence of the ideology, the Leader, the dictator identified himself (including literary creations) with the Party and the Country. The reverential volumes are relevant. They fully contributed to the crystallisation of the personality cult.<sup>58</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Unlike the proletcultism from Soviet Russia (developed by Alexandr Bogdanov), that desired not to be partinic and proposed to stimulate the creativity of the working class, Jdanov's socialist realism practically meant the official doctrine, in fact the only one doctrine accepted by the Party-State from cultural and artistic point of view. Like in other fields, any "heresy", any deviation from the dogma was condemned on ideological foundations. The socialist realism

---

<sup>52</sup> H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeziei...*, 45.

<sup>53</sup> See Edgar Allan Poe, *Povestea lui Arthur Gordon Pym*, translated by Liviu Cotrău, (Iași: Editura Polirom, 2013).

<sup>54</sup> *Apud* Nicolae Merișanu, Dan Talos (editors), *Antologia rușinii după Virgil Ierunca*, (București: Editura Humanitas, 2009), 9, nota 1.

<sup>55</sup> E. Negrici, *Literatura română sub comunism...*, 74.

<sup>56</sup> Florin Müller, *Societate, ideologie, dictaturi*, (București: Editura Universității București, 2014), 48.

<sup>57</sup> See Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology Under Socialism. Identity and Cultural Identities in Ceaușescu's Romania*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991).

<sup>58</sup> For Nicolae Ceaușescu's era and its characteristics, see also Adrian Gorun, *Dezvoltarea socială și globalizarea*, (Târgu-Jiu: Editura „Academica Brâncuși”, 2012), 87-111.

influenced Romanian literature (both prose and poetry). In the first stage of the Communism (at least until the Soviet army's withdrawal, in 1958) the socialist realism represented the expression of sovietization in culture, art and literature. Thus, Romanian literature took mimetically only topics approved by the regime from Moscow. In Nicolae Ceaușescu's neostalinist and national communist regime, the national symbols were distorted and perverted. After the birth and development of protochronism, alongside with the glorification of the communist party (a theme we can find in the first phase of Romanian communist regime too) the predominant topics will be Romanian people, the country and especially the personality cult of the Leader.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup>H. Gorun, *O ideologie a poeticii...*, 48.