National Ideology Under Socialism

Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceauşescu's Romania

Katherine Verdery

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

Berkeley / Los Angeles / Oxford

Contents

PREFACE	xi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xv
Introduction: Ideology, Cultural Politics, Intellectuals	1
Concepts and Terms	7
Ideology, Legitimacy, Hegemony	8
The Politics of Culture	12
Intellectuals	15
Methods	19
Organization of the Book	20
PART ONE: FRAMEWORKS	
1	
Antecedents: National Ideology and Cultural Politics in	
Presocialist Romania	27
Seventeenth through Nineteenth Centuries	30
How Romanian Identity Was Represented:	30
The Question of Origins	31
State Formation and Westernism	34
Romanticism, Dacianism, and the "National	01
Essence"	36
Recapitulation	40
1900 to World War II	41
Defining the Nation Between East and West	46
5	

vii

Intellectual	ficacy of Debates on the Nation s Defend the Nation and t Themselves	54 55
	s and the Disciplines	63
2		
Modeling Socialism and Soc	ialist Cultural Politics	72
	of "Real Socialism" Principles and Bureaucratic	74 74
	nd the Mode of Control cultural Production	83 87
3		
The Suppression and Reasse Socialist Romania	rtion of National Values in	98
General Develop after 1947	oments in Romanian Politics	102
	to Maverick: The Romanian s Away from Soviet	
Domination	•	103
Eliminating R	keformism	106
Regime Relat	ions with Intellectuals on of National Ideology in	108
Romanian (Why National I	Culture and Politics deology?	116 121
PART TWO: C	ASES	
4		
The Means of Conflict: "Elit Indigenizations of Marxism	ism," "Dogmatism," and	137
	((TT : 1: N) I	137
	s, "Universality," and	140
Representative		140 142
"Elitism" and C	matists," and "Proletcultists"	142
	propriations: Eminescu as	143
Proto-Marxist		156
5		
Romanian Protochronism		167
Clarifications		169
The Birth of Pro	otochronism	174

	CONTENTS	ıx
Writers and Party in Socialist Romania		184
Protochronism and Politics		188
The Determination of Value		188
Press Runs, Literary Canons, and Influe	ence	100
Within the Writers' Union	.iicc	190
		170
Cultural Authority, "Elitism," and		107
Genealogical Appropriations		197
Competing Values and the Concentration	on of	
Culture in the Apparatus		202
Protochronism and Shortage		209
6		
Historiography in a Party Mode: Horea's Revolt an	d	
the Production of History		215
•		
Parameters of the Production of History is	n	
Socialist Romania		218
The Debate over Horea's Revolt		224
The Events		224
		229
Meanings of the Debate		229
The Actors		
The "Revolution" and National Ident		232
The "Uprising," Science, and Europe		234
The Production of the Debate: Individu	ıal	
and Institutional Competition		235
The Centralization of Historiography und	er	
Political Control		240
Historiography in a Party Mode		248
7		
The "School" of Philosopher Constantin Noica		256
The School of Thiosopher Constantin Notes		230
Who Was Constantin Noica?		260
The Battle over Noica as a Contest for		
Representativeness		266
The Definition of Philosophy and the		
Claims of Intellectuals		267
Salvation through Culture and the		_0,
Production of Urgency		278
		2/0
Representativeness and the Process of		204
Cultural Reproduction		284
From Cultural Creation to Political Action	1	287
Unifying the Field of Opposition:		
Philosophy, Literary Criticism, and E	thics	287
Noicism, Power, and the Question of		
Audience		293

x CONTENTS

Conclusion		302
	National Ideology under Socialism Intellectuals, Opposition, and the Power of	305
	Discourse	309
	NOTES	319
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	367
	INDEX	393
	T7'	
	Figures	

1–2	93
3	208
4	231