

The Status of Philosophy During the Communist Regime in Romania*

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Abstract: The text approaches the status of Romanian philosophy during the communist period from two points of view: a) that of speech: while a new philosophical vocabulary becomes official, the old one fades away; b) that of the communist educational system. My analysis will consider the first period (1950-1960) in which “the new philosophy” (Dialectical Materialism, DIAMAT) was disseminated in society, and the second period (1970-1980) in which Marxism could not be reduced to DIAMAT. Are these periods subsumed to the universal ideology (DIAMAT) or not?

Keywords: philosophy, curriculum, dialectical materialism, education

Bearing in mind the new paradigm of thought imposed by the communist regime, I will approach the status of the Romanian philosophy from two points of view: a) that of speech: while a new philosophical vocabulary becomes official, the old one disappears; b) the status of philosophy in the communist educational system. Both outlooks are intertwined on the axis of time, and they are differentiated by the period in which the philosophical speech is used. Thus, we may take into account the first period (1950-1960) in which “the new philosophy” (Dialectical Materialism called DIAMAT) must be disseminated in society and the second period (1970-1980), in which it is concluded that Marxism cannot be reduced to DIAMAT. From this point of view, in the first period a tedious philosophical language is used that does not require the presence of the specialist, while in the second period there is an alternative speech, but within limits. My research questions are: to what extent can the philosophical writings

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be exempted from the compromises that are imposed by the communist censorship? Is there a diversification of philosophical disciplines?

The structure of my text follows the periodization I have already mentioned. I believe that philosophy is the discipline that suffered most of the changes and it had a special status within the Romanian academic regime. My argumentation starts with a brief presentation of legislation and its impact on philosophy and philosophers.

First period - Legislation

The Education Reform Law took effect in August 3rd, 1948. All the private educational institutions were nationalized. The novelty was that a distinction between theory and praxis was introduced, and the new objective of all disciplines was the practical capitalization of theoretical results as fast as possible. Despite the diversity of the content, methods and principles of these disciplines were standardized, as they all had to be grounded on a scientific basis, including philosophy, which was treated as a science matter as well, with a clearly defined research object, a methodology and Marxist-Leninist tools (See Table 1). The most important changes implemented by the Education Reform Law consisted in the standardization and supervision of tuition, and the obligation of ideological education. The Romanian Workers' Party aimed to train and form the new administrative, technical, health, professorial staff, in order to manage and develop the national production within the Marxist-Leninist ideological framework (Grămadă 1960, 291).

Table 1. Some problems in the Higher Education sector (Stoletov 1952, 65-70)

<p><i>The activists in higher education determine</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – knowledge of Marxist-Leninist Science; – whether the students successfully acquire a scientific and communist conception about the world;
<p><i>Main points of criticism aimed at professors:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a formal examination of the students; – a lack of interest in learning Marxism-Leninism; – a lack of perseverance and exigency in terms of students' ideological knowledge;
<p><i>Main developments regarding research:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – deprecation of those who refuse to participate in scientific research; – deprecation of those who were limited to didactic and educational activity;
<p><i>The aim of higher education:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – to form researchers with scientific thought, not specialists or widely read people.

What is the origin of the Romanian Education Reform Law and why is philosophy the most affected domain? The answers to these questions usually point to the influence of the Soviet Union and the prevalence of Marxism. As Monique and Pierre Favre argue, Marxism-Leninism is grounded on a faulty and fragmentary read of Marx's extensive work, on the one hand, and on the erroneous takeover of the Marxist notion of praxis as "dialectical unity between theory and practical activity," on the other. With Stalin as an official theoretician of Marxism, it became "an invariable catechism based on fragmented texts of Marx and Lenin and consequently lacking their dialectical essence" (Favre 1975, 35, 36, 82).

If the Communist Party was the only one able to lead towards the historical, scientific and artistic truth, the writer gradually became either a proletarian or a communist writer. The conflict between the old, Marxist generation and the fanatical defenders of communism would lead to the outline of what would be called Socialist Realism. Aucouturier remarks this kind of "Realism that finds the philosophical basis in the ideology of the proletariat" (2001, 30, 46).

However, the most important moment for philosophy was the famous *Report on the Situation of Soviet Culture* delivered by Andrei Zhdanov in 1946, as well as his critique on Alexandrov's book, *History of the Western Philosophy*. The first reproach invoked was the development of a "progressive and ascendant history of philosophy." Alexandrov described the evolution of idealist moments, showing that Marxism was a result of the development of previous theories and not a result of a revolution in which philosophy became science. Within his perspective, philosophy is considered a "museum," because it is not able to have a "practical influence on the world" and "Materialism is not a philosophical school but a scientific weapon of the proletarians against capitalism." Therefore, Zhdanov's main objection was that Alexandrov did not apply the "dialectical and historical method" and "he was not able to understand the relation between philosophy as theoretical activity and as actual history." Zhdanov's solution was a new handbook that ought to meet the new requirements. The individual writer was eliminated on behalf of the collective thought that stood for objectivity (Zhdanov 1947).

Why was this moment so important? Because philosophy was to become the ideological weapon of the Communist Party from that moment on. Furthermore, all the writings that were ideologically inconsistent would either be adjusted or disappear. In the first period of Romanian Communism, the only ones who survived were those who, like Zhdanov or Leonte Răutu in Romania, implemented this policy of cultural ghettoization.

The Impact of Reform

What was the Romanian Education Reform Law's impact on philosophy? Firstly, it was general and formal: in 1949 the exam for the Bachelor Degree was

not organized, and starting from 1950 it was transformed into a state examination; in 1950, the doctorate was disbanded (the only possibility remained to study in the Soviet Union, set aside for the chosen ones); in 1951, distant learning studies were introduced; in 1959, evening classes were introduced in the universities and the duration of full-time learning was extended to 5 years. Furthermore, the number of universities was growing (i.e. new universities were established in Braşov, Craiova, Timişoara, Galaţi, Constanţa, Târgu-Mureş etc.), (Grămadă 1960, I, 300-303). Secondly, there was an overall impact on the content: „the scientific conception of Marxism-Leninism is the basis of all disciplines” according to Decree no. 175 on the Reform of Education, published in *Official Bulletin*, part I, no. 177, August 3rd, 1948. Nastasă argues that these structural changes were so profound that the educational program in Philosophy was reorganized in an unprecedented manner, as it was introduced as a subject of social sciences (Nastasă 2007, 53). All subjects that did not correspond to the materialist point of view, everything that was considered “idealist” would disappear, such as metaphysics, ontology, medieval philosophy, etc.

But what did Marxism-Leninism understand by social sciences – namely political economy, scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism? Firstly, as Gheorghiu argues, there were two directions: “a theoretical one that hierarchizes the fundamental disciplines of Marxism-Leninism, and a historical one that unifies the past and the political present.” Secondly, regarding the content of these disciplines,

the changes made were dependent on the political fluctuations of the Party, and secondary related to the scientific changes produced within the discipline in itself (...) the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, also known as ‘DIAMAT,’ ontology and philosophy of materialist history, was the core discipline and most nonfluctuating field in education (Gheorghiu 2007, 136,137).

The aim of DIAMAT was “to reject the harmful influences of the idealistic conceptions that rendered impossible the scientific knowledge of the world,” while “it fulfilled the role of covering the history of internal politics, a history of political ideas and Party documents.” At the same time “scientific socialism” was more than an ideological discipline, “it was the science that grounded the theoretical basis of political decisions of the Party leaders which were to find correspondence in the dogma system” (Gheorghiu, 2007, 139).

A New Objective and Status of Philosophy

How was the Romanian higher education reorganized in this new context? Firstly, the roles of the universities and of the Romanian Academy were reconsidered. They were regarded as “the institutions in the service of the new type of

society and communist ideology” (Nastasă 2007, 510). Secondly, control upon them was reinforced by expanding the Party activists’ power in each institution. The main impact of nationalization and centralization of education was the restructuring of all schedules, departments and faculties, and the exclusion of some disciplines considered less important than the ideologically approved ones. This involved imposing a unitary curriculum for all Romanian faculties of philosophy (See Table 2), that was created and approved at central level (Roth 2014, 143, 150). These curriculums were applied in the newly established departments of social sciences, and also introduced Marxism-Leninism (later Scientific Socialism), political economy and dialectical and historical materialism (DIAMAT, later Marxist Philosophy). All these courses were mandatory for all students, regardless of their specialization, because it was only these subject matters that could ensure the *revolution of thinking* and “the struggles against the idealistic conceptions and metaphysical interpretations” (Roth 2014, 151). Disciplines such as history or literature also underwent changes. All humanistic and social sciences were read in a Marxist key, according to the methodology of a scientific history of philosophy. Thus, the Party imposed rigorous rules in the universities: philosophy courses had to be written and debated in the department to eliminate all ideological errors. For example, Ion Irimie, professor at the University in Cluj during the communist period, wrote the following courses based on the Materialist-Dialectic thought: matter and movement, matter and conscience, issues of knowledge (2009, 75, 76, 82).

Table 2. *Philosophy Curriculum in 1949* (xxx 1949, 138-140)

Lecture Year of study I	No of hours	Course	Seminar
Bases of Marxism-Leninism	200	3	3
Logics	140	3	1
Ancient and Medieval History	100	3	-
Notions of Higher Mathematics	140	3	1
Notions of General Biology	100	2	1
Greek or Latin Language	70	2	-
Russian Language	200	6	-
Introduction in Romanian Philology and Language	140	4	-
Year of study II			
Bases of Marxism-Leninism	200	3	3
Political Economy	200	3	3
History of Philosophy (Ancient and Medieval, Renaissance)	140	3	1

Modern and Contemporary History	140	4	-
History of Logics	70	2	-
Bases of Modern Physics	140	3	1
Greek or Latin Language	70	2	-
Russian Language	200	6	-
History of Universal Literature	100	2	1
Year of study III			
Dialectical Materialism	200	4	2
History of Modern Philosophy (until the emergence of Marxism including the Russian revolutionary democrats)	200	4	2
Psychology	100	2	1
Russian Language	140	-	-
History of Natural Science	140	4	-
History of Romanian Literature	100	3	-
History of Romania	140	4	-
General Pedagogy	100	3	-
Greek or Latin Language	100	3	-
Year of study IV			
Historical Materialism	200	4	2
History of Contemporary Philosophy (from the emergence of Marxism)	200	4	2
Theory and History of Ethics	70	2	-
Theory and History of Aesthetics	70	2	-
History of Pedagogy	70	2	-
Russian Language	140	4	-
History of Romanian Literature	100	3	-

Thus, philosophy professors' new priority was to enforce the predominance of studying Marxist philosophy, according to the new principle of the day: "the courses of Scientific Socialism and Marxist philosophy contribute to the formation of a new type of intellectual. (...) For this primary task, all the professors from Social Sciences departments are called to give their full support" (Davidsohn 1960, 229). Even if between 1946 and 1948 the old structure remained unchanged and the professors taught their courses without political intrusion, after 1948 all the philosophy professor were considered apologists of "idealist obscurantism and mysticism" (1960, 222). The Faculties of

Philosophy from Cluj and Jassy were closed between 1951 and 1957, but for three departments: Scientific Socialism, Political Economy and Dialectical and Historical Materialism, which were organised in all universities.

Human Resources

We cannot speak about new philosophy without including the issue of philosophy professors. In the most ideologized field, philosophy specialists were the most affected. Philosophy was the field with the lowest number of professors that were kept in the system, after verifications and purges (*See Table 3 and Table 4*). Almost all professors who had taught during the Interwar period disappeared from universities and the only ones remaining were the professors who met the new criteria and who were ready to make compromises. In the second phase of the purges (1954-1964), the professors who did not correspond to the new nationalist direction of the Party were removed and marginalized. 1958 is considered the year of re-Stalinization, the acme of ostracization and “exposure” of the intellectuals in public. We must take into consideration all the rewards given by the Party to camouflage the obedience of the supportive intellectuals as well.

Table 3. *Purges in universities: philosophers and reasons* (Davidsohn 1960, 225-226; Roth 2014, 210-211; 203, 157-158)

Members of the Romanian Communist Party	Reasons and career
Pavel Apostol	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Director of the Marxist Philosophy Department, University in Cluj – the charges brought against him during the public meeting of 1951: class enemy, enemy of the people, imperialist spy and agent, subversion of the Romanian Workers’ Party – he was arrested on the spot and imprisoned – after his liberation, he became professor of Philosophy at the Polytechnic University in Bucharest – he returned to communist ideology
<i>Interwar Professors</i>	<i>Reasons and career</i>
Lucian Blaga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – he was considered a source of cosmopolitanism – he was excluded from the university – prohibition to publish for several years
Vasile Conta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – although he focused on Marxism, he was not able to understand the Materialist-Dialectic conception of the world – he was excluded from the university

Mircea Florian	– he was accused of being open towards Western thinking – he was excluded from the university
Ion Petrovici	– he was considered an idealist and reactionary philosopher – he was accused of spreading mystical and obscurantist ideas – he was excluded from the university
D. D. Roșca	– he was removed from the university for a short period as a victim of purges and reintegrated afterwards – he became a member of the Romanian Communist Party in 1965

Table 4. *Managers of the Philosophy Department, University of Cluj* (Roth 2014, 213-214, 226)

Period	Department Manager	Characteristics
1948-1951	Pavel Apostol (he was arrested and imprisoned in 1951)	Heterogeneous: the department of philosophy was composed of 5-6 members with a university degree in philosophy and a group of Party members having no studies in the field and allotted by the Party;
1951-1957	Tudor Bugnariu (in 1957 he moved to Bucharest as Deputy Minister of Education) – he was Director of the Department of Philosophy and Dean, University of Bucharest	
1957-1959	Andrei Roth – interim	Professors are hired only after 1966, particularly young graduates of Cluj University (e.g. Andrei Marga, Vasile Muscă)
1959-1989	Nicoale Kallos (in 1959 he unified the Romanian Babes University with the Hungarian Bolyai University, following a Party and Government decision)	

With whom were the arrested or removed academics replaced? The main criteria were social and ideological affiliation, and thus they were replaced with Party members, activists, fresh graduates of the Party schools, or philosophers belonging to the Interwar elite that were reintegrated in the new schema. I must emphasize that most of the Party activists from universities did not have a higher education degree, and sometimes not even a high school degree.

Another relevant aspect is that the Romanian Academy was renamed the Academy of the Popular Republic of Romania (Decree no. 76 published in *Official Bulletin* no. 132 in June 9, 1948). According to Article 3 – “those who served fascism and damaged the nation and people’s interests cannot be members of the Academy.” This stipulation was abusively applied, since it served as a pretext to get rid of all the people dreaded by the regime and all those who

did not comply with the Party rules. Out of 145 members, almost 100 academicians were excluded, such as philosophers Petre Paul Negulescu, Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, Ion Petrovici, Lucian Blaga and Florian Ștefănescu-Gonga. How was it possible to make such sudden changes? Decree no. 312 from November 6, 1948 regulated some transitional rules regarding the functioning of the universities, mainly concerning human resources and their possibility to accede in management positions (Nastasă 2007, 510, 267). The priority was given to Party schools graduates (See Table 5).

Schools of the Communist Party

The Romanian Party schools that emulated the Soviet model had a novelty – they invented their own tradition. These schools were necessary due to several reasons: to replace human resources, to train new specialists in order to cover the demands caused by the universalization of education, and last but not least, as Gheorghiu calls it, “the necessity of academization of the new elite,” namely “the strategy of academic ennoblement of the Party tuition” (2007, 29). All these schools were

changing their status depending on moments of political crisis (...): first attempts of destalinization (1956), forced abandonment of economic reforms (1968), internationalization of economic politics starting mid 1970s” marking “the position of social sciences in terms of Party education,” while the periodization “corresponds to changes in the status of Party schools – academic recognition in the mid-1950s, setting up the Academy of Social Sciences around 1970 (...) (2007, 58).

Table 5. *History of the Party Schools* (Cornea 2004, 849-851)

“Ștefan Gheorghiu” School	“A.A. Zhdanov” School
1945: Universitatea Muncitorească a PCR (Workers’ University of RCP) - first Romanian Party School – duration of studies: 6 months – curriculum: Party Organization and Policy, History of Romania, History of CP, Marxism-Leninism, Political Economy, Romanian Literature, Political Geography – a Central School of Staff functioned within its frameworks, that offered a short-term program intended for the members of Regional Committees	

1946: renamed Universitatea de Partid “Ștefan Gheorghiu” (Ștefan Gheorghiu University of the Party)	1946: 8 professors for both schools
1948: duration of studies: 1 year – the following courses were added: Life of Party, World Policy, Russian language – 46 professors for both schools and 23 for the Hungarian section	1948: Școala Centrală de Lectori “A. A. Jdanov” (A. A. Zhdanov Central School of Lecturers) – duration of studies: 6 months – curriculum largely coincides with that of the Party School 1949: renamed Școala Superioară de Științe Sociale “A. A. Jdanov” (A.A. Zhdanov Higher School of Social Sciences) – duration of studies: 2 years – 2 sections: propaganda and media
1951: renamed Școala Superioară de Partid “Ștefan Gheorghiu” (Ștefan Gheorghiu Higher School of the Party) – duration of studies: 2 years – curriculum was diversified: History of Romanian Workers’ Party, Construction of the Party, Universal History	
1948-1952: higher number of courses: History of Romanian Literature and Arts, Grammar, Natural Sciences, Mathematics, Industry and Agriculture, Military Training (theory and practice), Bases of our Nation Economy, Practice of National Economy Governance 1952: 130 professors	1952: 177 professors
1953: duration of studies: 3 years – equvalated to university studies (the graduates were awarded a higher education diploma according to the Party decision)	1953: duration of studies: 3 years – it had the status of a State University – within its framework a short-term program functioned, intended for journalists, propagandists and those from higher education
1953-1956: curriculum was diversified: USSR Policy and other democrat-popular countries, International Relations after the Great Socialist Revolution from October – other new courses: History of Philosophy, Romanian Language and Literature, Economic and Political Geography	1954: renamed Institutul de Științe Sociale (Institute of Social Sciences), it was subordinated to the Central Committee of RLP and it was responsible with training PhD students

1956-1959: curriculum was diversified: Organization and Planification of the Economic Activity of Socialist Enterprises, Issues of Agricultural Technique, Zootechnics, Mechanization of Agriculture, Modern and Contemporary History	
1959-1968: curriculum was diversified: French Language, English Language, Statistics, Economy, Organization and Management in the Sector of Construction, Transport, Finance, Local Economy, Socialist Agriculture – the establishment of the Journalism Department (course on Media Theory and Practice)	
1958: the unification of the two schools –the name <i>Școala Superioară de Partid “Ștefan Gheorghiu”</i> (“Ștefan Gheorghiu” Higher School of Party) is kept	1958: the unification of the two schools
1962: introduction of postgraduate studies	1962: introduction of postgraduate studies

Conclusions over the First Period - Philosophy Replaced by Propaganda

What can we say about this first period? Uncensored philosophy no longer existed. The new purified philosophy, voided of idealist and bourgeois-capitalist elements, had its acme between 1949 and 1958, preserving some of its aspects until the end of the ‘60s. Philosophy was replaced by DIAMAT that, as we have already seen, was mandatorily spread in society. This new philosophy did not need philosophers, but propagandists. It was meant for the masses, and it was supposed to be simple and schematic. The only people able to share this set of knowledge were the propagandists.

There were two categories of propagandists: 1) those who believed in and were convinced by the communist truth (i.e. underground communist activists who were imprisoned during the Interwar period) or younger citizens without a cultural horizon; generally, all those who believed in the following apodictic judgments: the material essence of the world, conscience as the reflection of the material world, history based on progress that is obtained only by revolutions, and the dialectic link between consciousness and the world that influence each other; 2) the cynics, a category that would gradually

increase, namely those who either did not believe in anything, or simulated allegiance to the Party to obtain some benefits. Their impact, added to that of propaganda, was to gradually coarsen the communist ideology (i.e. consciousness passed through the stomach), while simulation and compromise were implicit life strategies. This vulgarization happened in a world in which alternatives were officially prohibited.

Second Period - Changes

What are the changes in the '70s? Firstly, a sequence of events took place, such as the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1958, the release of the political prisoners (starting 1962 there are successive releases through state decrees, i.e. no. 767/1963); Ceausescu's "Declaration of Independence" in 1968 (following the soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia which he publicly criticized); Ceausescu's Theses of July 1971 (a discourse delivered to the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in July 6, 1971, that marked the beginning of a smaller scale "cultural revolution") and a slowdown of industrialization.

The novelty of this period was that there was space for manoeuvres available for the creative sector, as the censorship was more relaxed. Nuances were allowed and the direct, schematic and monochrome vision was gradually replaced by a more indirect, ambiguous, innovative, modern, personal and allusive style. Practically, what happened was a transition from the univocal, ideological wooden language to wordplays and hidden meanings, which created the illusion of freedom of speech. Even if DIAMAT remained important within the new direction that focused on nationalism, history became the privileged subject among social sciences. Still, for scholars of social sciences everything remained unchanged: they had to attend the same Party meetings, they had to express the same political knowledge and discourse, attend the same local and national conferences, and deal with the same obligations. There were still Party activists among the members of the social sciences departments in Romanian universities. And yet, something changed: the way Party activists treated their work.

The Status of Philosophy

What happened with philosophy in this new context? The Education Law of the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR) from 1968 provided that „the aim of education is the formation of the materialist dialectic conception about nature and society.” The Law from 1978 set the aim of acquiring multiple qualifications added to the ideological training of the citizens (Iacob 2011, 18). Thus a “polytechnical” education was deemed important for building socialism and future progress: it would ensure citizens prepared in several

fields, such as tinsmiths who could enrol in college or university evening classes, in addition to the mandatory political education that was present in all institutions. The purpose of these provisions was to “multilaterally develop the human personality.”

The duties and obligations of each university philosopher remained unchanged, even if the philosophical curriculum diversified (see Table 6). All courses had the same elaboration and publication rules. The first step was debating and obtaining approval in the department, then the texts passed through censorship. Attending the meetings and political trainings remained mandatory. But, all those who worked in the departments of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism were bound to attend the trainings in Bucharest each September of every year. The trainings were delivered by people with high positions within the Party and state apparatus, and sometimes by Ceausescu himself, in order to avoid the risk of deviation from the Party line (Irimie 2009, 118). Replacing the quotes from Stalin and Dej with Ceausescu quotes was the only visible change.

Table 6. *Examples of Philosophical Journals¹*

Year	Review	Information
1948-1989	<i>Studii. Revistă de istorie și filosofie</i> [Studies. Review of History and Philosophy]	There are no philosophical articles;
1950-1960	<i>Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales</i>	Most of the articles are written in Russian; All articles used quotes and bibliography from Marx, Engels and Lenin;
From 1970	<i>Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales</i>	Articles written in English were available; Articles used quotes from Ceausescu (often the reference was not to be found in text);
From 1974	<i>Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales</i>	Articles focused on logics or aesthetics were available; Ceausescu’s photo was mandatory to be placed on the first page of all publications;
From 1985	<i>Revue Roumaine des Sciences Sociales</i>	Articles focused on philosophy of culture and axiology were available.

The Status of the Party Schools

What happened to the Party schools (see Table 7, 8, 9)? After the “A.A. Zhdanov” and “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Party schools’ junction, the main objectives focused on three directions, according to Cornea: a) studying the documents, decisions and directives of the Communist Party, according to the political and ideological Marxist-Leninist principles. This framework was considered indispensable for accomplishing the first objective: the formation of leading cadres „able to firmly apply the Party directives and policies, to contribute to the development and creative enrichment of theory and practice of the revolution and to socialism construction” (Cornea 2004, 856). Namely, “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy had to create leadership staff, subjected to the Party and able to disseminate the communist ideology”; b) the purposes of socialist construction were elaborated by the education management section: development of knowledge on planning, organization and economic management and methods and techniques of analysis and forecast; c) the materialist-dialectic conception of life and world made clear the place of the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy in the social and scientific arena, meaning that the academy had to increase its role and presence in the ideological life of the country and to follow the principles of socialist construction, according the Central Committee of RCP’s Decision on the organization of the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy (*Idem*).

Table 7. “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy (Cornea 2004, 851-855; Gheorghiu 2007, 96-97)

1965: renamed Academia de Studii Sociale și Politice și de Pregătire a Cadrelor de Conducere în Economie și Administrație (Academy of Social and Politics Sciences and Staff Training in Economic and Administration Management)
1966: renamed Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice „Ștefan Gheorghiu” (“Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy of Social and Politics Sciences) and it was subordinated to the Central Committee of RCP – duration of studies: 4 years – 3 university cycles: Bachelor’s degree, postgraduate (from 1962) and doctoral studies (from 1954) – 3 Faculties: Faculty of Economy (3 Departments: General Economy, Organization and Management of Economy, World Economy), Faculty of Philosophy (2 Sections: Philosophy-Sociology and Political Science), Faculty of History of Labour Movement; – doctoral studies: Economy, History and Philosophy (meaning Scientific Socialism, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, History of Philosophy);

<p>– other forms of education with variable duration were organized: training programs for academics, propagandists, Party secretaries etc.;</p>	
<p>– middle of the ‘70s: Institutul de Științe Sociale și Politice (Institute of Social and Political Sciences) was integrated within the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy;</p>	
<p>– starting with 1965, the diplomas are awarded by a Commission of Diplomas of the Ministry of Education, thus the status of the Higher Education institution was officially recognized;</p>	
<p>1971: the diplomas are equivalent to those of State universities;</p>	
<p>– during the ‘70s and ‘80s: beneficiaries of postgraduate courses: management staff for economy and administration (duration of studies: 1 year), journalists, and Social Sciences professors;</p>	
<p>– late ‘70s: introduction of other postgraduate courses in Philosophy and Sociology;</p> <p>– beneficiaries: the graduates of State Universities who aim at management or propaganda positions – limited number: 15-20 students);</p>	
<p>1977: Faculty of Foreign Trade was included in the “Ștefan Gheorghiu” Academy;</p> <p>– monopoly for 3 fields: Journalism, Foreign Trade and Sociology;</p>	
<p>1970-1980. Structure -the institution was divided in two – Institute A and Institute B, which differentiated between those to become Party secretaries and those to become managers.</p>	
<p>Institute A</p>	<p>Institute B</p>
<p>– training Party members, YCU (Young Communist Union) and other mass organizations;</p> <p>– 2 sections:</p> <p>a) ideological and economic (management of political and organizational activities, and political and economic activities) ;</p> <p>b) journalism (training the leadership of the Sections of Village and Local Party Committees, members of YCU, syndicates and members form international relations field).</p>	<p>-training the management staff in economic and Public administration;</p> <p>-several sections: Industry Management, Construction, Transportation and Telecommunications, Agriculture, Trade and Services, Public Administration.</p>
<p>– coordinating a number of Training Centres, Centre for the Staff for Education and Training, Centre for Political and Ideological Training of the Social Sciences Professors.</p>	
<p>– ‘80s: the last reorganization.</p>	

Table 8. *Faculties of the Academy “Ștefan Gheorghiu” and the students: 1970-1980* (Gheorghiu 2007, 94)

	Faculty	Number of students	0%
1	Economics and Political Sciences – Full-time learning	215	10,7%
2	Economics and Political Sciences – Distance learning	286	14,3%
3	Journalism – Full-time learning	262	13,1%
4	Journalism – Distance learning	237	11,8%
5	Postgraduate courses (Philosophy, Sociology) – Distance learning	50	2,5%
6	Postgraduate courses (Management in Economy and Administration) – Distance learning	470	23,5%
7	Doctoral Studies	451	22,5%
8	Postgraduate courses (Management in Economy and Administration) – Full-time learning	30	1,5%
	Total	2001	100%

Table 9. *Students of the Party Schools* (Cornea 2004, 852-853; Gheorghiu 2007, 94, 96)

1945-1970: 18300 activists in Party schools – only 3858 frequented full-time learning, with duration of studies of 3 years;
1970-1989: out of 12014 student files, 8067 were in Economic studies, 3007 in Economy and State Administration Management, 832 in Journalism, 588 in doctoral studies, 50 in Sociology;
1970: political composition of students: 533 activists of Party and YCU, 62 syndicate members, 48 media workers, 55 others (mainly officers from all military structures, including the Securitate);
1970-1980: between 170 and 200 students in the Full-time program, 300 students in Distance learning at Political Sciences and Administration, and Journalism.

Conclusions Regarding the Second Period - the Changes Remain Unchanged

All the forms of liberalization, such as the diversification of Western travel destinations abroad, the contacts with Western publications, books and reviews etc., led to professors realizing that Marxism is not limited to DIAMAT. On the nationalist background that was promoted in those years, several

Interwar thinkers who had been banned in the first communist period were “recuperated.” They had a different type of discourse and language. The direct effect on philosophy was the gradual recovery of the original meaning, thus the specific issues of Marxism that were previously hidden, disguised or simply unknown. Even if the DIAMAT discourse was not abandoned, discussions, questions and polemics took place. The dialogue considered the texts, and the existence of nuances in Marxism. Among these Marxist specialists were Paul Cornea, Silvian Iosifescu and Henri Wald, who used Western sources, especially French bibliography, and who were engaged in dialogue with the new methodologies such as phenomenology, structuralism or psychoanalysis. Still, DIAMAT apologists persisted in their empty propaganda, interwoven with quotes from Ceausescu.

General Conclusions - Different Forms, Same Content

The official philosophy ended up as propaganda, even though there were many people who practiced it, considering that all universities hosted dialectical materialism courses. But the official philosophy gradually evolved towards a theory of science, a gnoseology, when it was elaborated by specialists in philosophy. Scientific socialism tried to recuperate something from the philosophy of history, even if the curriculum remained unchanged from the Stalinist period. Thus, there were two worlds: one of sterile discourses, full of slogans, and one of alternative discourses. For example, there were texts like those written by philosophers such as Alexandru Tănase, who used a Marxist perspective when criticizing non-Marxist ideas. Or texts written by philosophers such as Ilie Pârnu and Vasile Tonoiu, who wrote on the philosophy of science or epistemology and eliminated any ideological reference. There were also philosophers like Gabriel Liiceanu who in 1983 published his famous text *The Păltiniș Diary*, written on a metaphysical note. The new trend was that the philosophical text could be liberated of any ideological reference, as long as the mandatory Marxist ideas were mentioned in the preface or the introduction of the book.

Therefore, on the one hand we have publications and speeches full of ideological slogans, and on the other hand we have those speeches and publications, inside which we can distinguish both genuine thinking and compromises made for the texts to be published.

Unfortunately, with the exception of a small group (i.e. Constantin Noica), no serious philosophical concerns were possible, nor a philosophy that was connected to Western thought (like Czech philosopher Jan Patočka), despite the possibility to make some changes, considering that references to the

Interwar books, theological books or Western bibliography were again permitted.

The result was a propaganda which was supposed to guide the nation towards the new reality, but which fell into desuetude. People no longer believed in it and a diversity of individual or group conceptions began to emerge on the ruins of the great faith: schools of philosophical thought such as the philosophy of science, epistemology and analytical philosophy in Bucharest, and logics in Jassy – all developed within an ideologically neutral framework.

When we talk about ideology, on the one hand we talk about the virulent propaganda of the '50s that demanded a lot of energy, and on the other hand we talk about the discrediting discourse of the '70s and '80s, a caricatured propaganda in which no one believed anymore, but everyone was forced to reproduce. Eventually, both were subsumed to the universal ideology – DIAMAT – the doctrine and the ideational foundation of communism, in fact a monotonous set of ideas with small variations. Finally, all philosophy, with few exceptions, was subordinated to this ideology.

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