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# **Post-Communist Discourse about Cultural Resistance. Romanian Intellectuals in relation with European Intellectuals**

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## SUMMARY

This research project follows the evolution of critical discourse regarding Communist regimes in Romania, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. This discourse is analyzed through a comparative perspective Communism vs. Post-Communism, starting with revisionist period from 1956 to 1968, followed by the post-Helsinki dissidence (after 1975), underlying the differences between the Romanian case and the other three countries.

Polish, Czechoslovakian and Hungarian dissidence, developed after the Final Act of Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held on August 1, 1975, in Helsinki, helped the emergence of different groups and organizations, which until the end of 1989 transformed into a homogeneous opposition, a political alternative and an incipient civil society.

The dissidence within the Romanian communist society didn't manage, for several reasons, to coordinate and unify, being rather personalized and individualized. The Romanian Revolution that started in mid-December 1989 hadn't been influenced by dissidence, which didn't have a decisive influence on the post-revolutionary transition either.

For a more efficient analysis, I didn't start my research only from the Revolutions of 1989. In order to underline the sometimes significant differences between the four states, it was necessary to see how they evolved politically in post-Stalinist period. Furthermore, because I decided to broach the post-communist perspective by studying the debate about cultural resistance, I had to embark on a comparative analysis of post-Helsinki dissidence in Romania and of the phenomenon which in post-communist period was called cultural resistance.

The post-communist period in the four states was defined by the need to try to solve the relation with recent past, the communist one in the first place, but also with the extremist and fascist regime prior to it. Disputed laws regarding de-communization and lustration were discussed by intellectuals, dividing the society and especially the former dissidents: there were those in favor of moderate evolution, in full accordance with a peaceful transition and with the discussions between ex-communist power and emerging opposition of that time, and those that were in favor of a more radical approach.

Romanian dissidents, gathered within the Group for Social Dialog and later in other political and civil society structures, represented the segment that pleaded for de-communization and lustration in a fair way.

Nevertheless, during the 25 years post-communist period, social evolution towards a sort of making peace with the past, including by de-communization and lustration, hadn't been possible.

My research favoured this comparative perspective on Romania and other three former communist states: Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but my intention was, from the beginning, to concentrate more on the Romanian case, both during the totalitarian regime and post-communist period.

Thereby, an important part of the documents that I used are those written by some of the most significant representatives of the dissidence and cultural resistance. More precisely, I used documents and different writings that were part of the dissident movement before the fall of the totalitarian regimes, and also post-communist memoirs, articles, diaries or introspective essays regarding the dissidence and cultural resistance as ways of opposing the totalitarian regime. I have also made interviews with some of the people directly involved in this phenomenon, in order to have a more complex and up-to-date analysis on the topic.

To conclude, cultural resistance was a phenomenon that opposed the norms and measures of the Communist Party which promoted aesthetic values dominated by the propaganda in favour of the unique leader.

The debate about cultural resistance was a feature of Romanian post-communism, determined by the extremely different contexts of the Romanian society and those from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In these societies the debate focused on dissidence, religious resistance, opposition groups. In Romania's case, the evolution from the anti-communist resistance in the mountains to the fall of communism implied individualized and solitary acts of dissidence and a cultural resistance which meant that the intellectuals tried to protect and maintain ethical and moral criteria.