Between denigrating nonconformity and eulogising the proletariat:
Strategies of representation of intellectual figures in Romanian film (1960-1989)

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"We need art, we need to have the movie industry and theatres depict the essence and the model of the man we have to shape […], so that the young people will understand and know that this is how they should be!"

Nicolae Ceauşescu (in Tismăneanu, 2003, p.225)

Abstract

The present thesis aims to offer a valuable and authentic insight into the discursive construction of representations of intellectual figures in Romanian cinema from the early 1960s until the late 1980s. By taking into account the importance of the freedom of creation within a totalitarian geographical space, the main interest of this thesis is to reveal the hidden and latent meanings that stand behind cinematic representations of intellectuals during such a political regime. In this sense, as a result of uncovering the modes of representation employed in Romanian cinema under Communism, this research aims to trace the almost contractual relationship between compliant filmmakers and politics on the one hand, and the genuine struggles of power between dissident artists and the restrictive ideology, on the other hand. The novelty of this project is granted by the adaptation of the multimodal critical discourse analysis, when it comes to reading films through semiotics and narrative or thematic approaches, and its empirical merger with an extended range of archival records and historical documents as a means to produce a penetrating and genuine illustration of the Socialist micro-cosmos in the second half of the 20th century.

The usefulness of this conceptual, methodological, and analytical combination lies in its capacity to offer an evocative series of results with respect to the ideological relationship between cinema and the state apparatus. If the Romanian intellectuals are found to be classified in the collaborative, the dissident (or even apolitical), and the grey (as a consequence of their ability to circumvent the system), their cinematic portrayals are characterised either by their nonconformity, as a way to oppose the ideology, or their working class origin, as a means to eulogise the proletariat and denigrate the upper classes. What is interesting is that, with very few exceptions, the ideological conditions imposed by the system can be clearly seen in the type of cinema produced and, subsequently, in the modes of representation employed in the case of intellectual figures. As such, if the slender liberalising politics induce the production of dissident cinematic films and representations, at the same time, Nicolae Ceauşescu's dictatorial outbursts have a massive effect on the type of cinema that is being produced. By relying heavily on Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony and intellectual organicity, Jacques Ranciére's representational regimes of art, and Bruno S. Frey's affirmation of the hegemonic exchange between authoritarian leaders and various forms of art, the present thesis represents a historical but still topical journey into the relationship between politics and art and between ideology and culture, ultimately emphasising the importance of cinema as a means to express the injustices of a people.

Keywords: Romanian cinema, modes of representation, intellectual organicity, cultural hegemony, representational regimes of art

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1. Introduction

1.1. Cinema, intellectuals and regimes of representation in Communist Romania

Creativity has increasingly become a vital component of society: it offers economic growth, it maintains a competitive business environment, it creates employment opportunities, and it is highly evocative of a society's culture (Van der Pol, 2007, p.1). Despite seeming rather primitive, the idea that one's ability of creative self-expression is highly dependent on the socio-political environment under which this capacity is exercised is an incontestable fact. Therefore, regardless of the firm influence of creativity on the prosperity and evolution of a society, creative practices require not only a stimulating climate, but, at least, a slightly tolerant socio-political setting. In dictatorial regimes such as Communism, for instance, cultural oppression and the privation of liberties are aspects deeply embedded within and accepted as social norms, legally reinforced by the very notion that any criticism addressed to the state is a criminal act (Tismăneanu, 1992, p.55). Due to such conflictual conditions, artists and creative individuals often have to seek new methods to bypass the ideological restrictions and to expose the socio-political and cultural barbarities, or at least to express their creativity. Thus, creative industries subsisting such tyrannical political regimes generally have a two-fold *modus operandi*: in one sense, such industries are often taken advantage of as direct political tools of manipulation, while, in another, they are used to actively challenge the very same leadership entities and socio-political settings under which they are functioning (Welch, 2001).

Yet, who are the individuals that can confront such a regime's oppressive practices through their creativity? While one can speculate that scholars, journalists or philosophers can cooperatively maintain a highly critical position through their penetrating examination of the society, one can similarly hypothesise that artists too, from filmmakers to cartoonists or composers, have the power to fight the system through their creativity. Thus, by recognising the shared characteristics of these professionals or social classes – namely, possessing a lucid rationale or a distinctive skill as a means of personal expression, it is almost unanimously agreed that all these individuals are universally known as intellectuals (Johnson, 2009; Sowell, 2012**)**. Coming from an astute intellectual and a filmmaker who has been vigorously concerned with the representations of intellectuals in dictatorial societies, Miloš Forman's opinion (GWU Interview, 1997) that free media represents the cornerstone of a functional democracy provokes the analytical focus of this research: the ideological relationship between filmmakers and Nicolae Ceauşescu's Socialist regime in the Romanian geographical space, and the emergent modes of representation of intellectual figures. Under these considerations, the present thesis explores the hegemonic and cultural exchanges between the Romanian cinematographic industry and the Communist regime between the early 1960 and its capitulation in the late 1980s.

The developments of this almost contractual relationship require further examination as the cinema perpetuated during this time is a medium that produces some of the "greatest and most grotesque spectacles" (Berry, 2004, p.18) that project the collective fulfilment of the Socialist ideology and the creation of Ceauşescu's image of the new Socialist man. With the very gravity of the regime's tyranny imposed on the cultural sphere urging for further academic inquiry, Ceauşescu denies important Marxist principles (among others, dialectical reasoning and the public

critique of power) and emphasises others (such as the importance of community) by attributing a great significance to Romania's "cult of labour" (Andreescu, 2013, p.56), whilst substantially denigrating the social and cultural role of the intellectual. Ceauşescu's overt anti-intellectual, anti-occidental, and anti-pluralistic ideology, which targeted the bourgeoisie and the intellectual upper classes as a means to consolidate the power, is marked by his support of the ongoing struggles between classes and his promulgation of policies of social annihilation - manifested through assassination, deportation, imprisonment and forced labour (a presidential report issued in 2006 places the number of victims provoked by the Romanian Communist Party due to its social extermination policies somewhere between 500.000 and 2 million individuals) (CPADCR, 2006, p. 636).

Considering the regime's imposed cultural setting and ideological regulations that needed to be obeyed by filmmakers, this thesis aims to provide a thorough examination of the intrinsic relationship between cinema and politics, with the analysis being centred on issues of representation and political mechanisms of portraying intellectual figures in cinema. In addition to the previously delineated aspects with regard to the degrading role of intellectuals in Socialism, a justification as to why the Romanian intelligentsia urges for further analytical investigations is emphasised by considering the remarkably diverse reactions and relationships between such intellectual personalities and the ideological system: "outspoken resistance, quiet refusal, forced exile, passive collaboration, vocal support, etc." (Neamțu & Stan, 2010, p.299). Furthermore, another motivation that asserts the distinctiveness of studying intellectual figures is provided by the same critics who argue that the very relationship between the political regime and a nation's culture and creative industries can be more accurately understood by grasping the general role assigned by the ideological apparatus to a society's intellectuals (Neamțu & Stan, 2010).

Furthermore, it is evident that the vast and idiosyncratic connection between the Romanian cinematographic industry and the ongoing Communist regime would constitute a truly compelling exercise that requires formal introspection. In this sense, if the filmmakers' methods to comply with the ideological requirements or, alternatively, their attempts to bypass such political prerequisites are to be accounted for by directly analysing their creative, cinematic productions (through the employment of semiotic and thematic/narrative analyses), the regime's control over the cinematographic industry is of equal importance and is accounted through the application of archival records analyses. Accordingly, the historical transcripts of the so-called ideological committees discussing the prerequisites of the Romanian cinema perfectly complement the analyses of the films, as they provide a unique and authentic insight of the establishment's authoritarian command over the thematic approaches, chosen narratives and modes of representation chosen by the filmmakers.

The connection between cinema, culture and the ruling political regime draws on Bruno S. Frey's (2002) premise that the dominating political system of a geographical region has a direct impact on the type of art and creative material that is being produced, and on French philosopher Jacques Ranciére's (2012) assessments of representational regimes of art as intensely controlling of the employment of cinematic narratives and of the modes of representation. Taking Frey's (2002) discussion on the relationship between cinema and political ideology a step further, the

present thesis aims to understand the relationship between the Romanian film industry and the political apparatus with a view to observing any potentially dissident characteristics generated by the filmmakers and to determining the amount of political involvement at the level of cinema. Further on, Ranciére's (2012) perspective that the state apparatus determines the type of cinematic representation in use serves to assess the role of ideology in commanding the modes of representation of intellectuals in cinema; thus, in addition to observing the way the cinematic creative industry responds to the regime by employing specific modes of representation of intellectual figures (either complying or dissident), this study also intends to delineate the extent to which such modes of representation are commanded by the hegemonic structures. In order to apply these presumptive considerations on the present case, other theoretical aspects are crucial: Stuart Hall's (1997) understanding of representation within a political dimension, Antonio Gramsci's comprehension of organic intellectuality (1932) and cultural hegemony (1971), and, also, Michel Foucault's opinion that the intellectual par excellence is disappearing to the detriment of the working class (1980) and the political subjugation of the population through cultural means (2007).

1.2. Thesis aims

This thesis' objective is multi-fold: (a) to adequately contextualise cinema from the viewpoint of social and political developments in Communist Romania, and to delineate the nature of the relationship between the Communist regime and the cinematic industry itself; (b) to establish how intellectual figures are represented in Romanian Communist cinema, to examine whether the representations of intellectual figures have shifted because of the changing ideological regulations, and to check the connection between the commands dictated by the regime through their ideological committees and the modes of representation actually employed in cinema; (c) to address the necessity of studying the socio-political role of intellectual figures, and, subsequently, to fill the gap within the studies regarding intellectual representations in cinema, the topic having been under-researched (scholars have primarily focused on cinematic representations of intellectuals *outside* totalitarian regimes: O'Farrell, 2000; Holderman, 2003; Quinn, 2004; Köse, 2007; Ertem, 2014); (d) to present an examination of Eastern European culture, the development of the Romanian cinematographic industry under Communism, and the exchange of cultural and hegemonic reciprocations between filmmakers and authorities.

1.3. Research question and sub-questions

Following the contextualisation of the role of intellectuals in the Romanian Socialist society, this study mainly focuses on such figures' modes of cinematic representation. Additionally, the present thesis also aims to firmly grasp the ideological restrictions, the cinematic prerequisites dictated by the ruling party, and, subsequently, the relationship between Romanian cinema and the Socialist regime.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned aims, the thesis attempts to find an answer to the following main research question:

RQ: *How are intellectual figures portrayed in Romanian cinema from the early 1960s until the late 1980s?*

The delineation of the emergent modes of representation of intellectual figures in Romanian cinema is complemented by two sub-questions:

SQ1: *What is the relationship between Romanian cinema and the Socialist regime and how has it evolved during the early 1960s - late 1980s interval of time?*

SQ2: *What is the connection between the emergent modes of representation of intellectual figures and the changing ideological regulations during the above-mentioned interval of time?*

1.4. Importance of research
1.4.1. Academic relevance

From an academic perspective, the present study attempts to fill a gap that has been generally overlooked by scholars. When referring to the general notion of European filmmaking, film critics have almost exclusively based their research on Western cinema industries (Petrie, 1992; Bergfelder, 2005; Elsaesser, 2005; Dyer & Vincendeau, 2013). Under these circumstances, even though polarising the current debate on European cinemas in an Eastern versus Western proposition does not represent the goal of this research, incorporating Eastern European Cinema in the whole concept of European cinema is seen as necessary. In this sense, it can be argued that this research would scientifically contribute to Daniel Hallin's (2000) attempt to de-Westernise the contemporary media studies.

This paper also plans to concentrate on the gap left by the film (and broader) cultural studies scholars who have not taken into account the ongoing social and political developments that are surrounding cinema (for instance, Ilieşiu, 2013 discusses Romanian Communist films but completely ignores the political impact on cinema). In this context, it is highly relevant to bring to the fore the crucial role that this study attributes to ideology, issues of power and the relationship between hegemony and cinema, as a result of the socio-political events that occurred in the post-World War II era. Not only did few scholars address the issue of the Romanian cinema under Socialism (Vasile, 2011; Jitea, 2013; Ilieşiu, 2013), but only one employed a similar methodological approach, namely comparing the ideological content of the Party's committees and ideological sessions with the cinematic means of production (Popescu, 2011). What is more, none of the analysed studies attempted to delineate the role of intellectual figures in Romanian cinema, despite their crucial role in society and consistent representation in Romanian film. Most of the existent studies are focused on the propagandistic nature of cinema (Iordanova, 1999; Leustean, 2007; Popescu, 2011; Jowett & O'Donnell, 2014).

Ultimately and, probably most importantly, the academic novelty of this research is generated by its combination of conceptual, methodological, and analytical approaches as a way to reveal the oblique meanings of the modes of representation of intellectual figures in film, and of the commanding regime and its cinematic prerequisites. By indirectly reconstructing audiences, the convergence between studying the production circumstances and the videos themselves is typically and unfortunately treated as distinct in media studies. Thus, this thesis seeks to appropriate cultural, media and political elements as part of an ongoing discourse and to deconstruct them in order to surface additional, apparently latent meanings. In this sense, rather than considering the ideological structures by which cultural production is regarded as something

abstract (for instance, Communism, Socialism), the present thesis aims to reconstruct the (sometimes even material) practices and instances that are crucial to narrowing and disciplining how discourse is typically produced and understood.

1.4.2. Societal relevance

When dealing with arts and culture set against an oppressive political backdrop, an ambivalent social perspective naturally ensues: on the one hand, culture, arts, and films are revealed as political weapons, while on the other hand, political regimes and their potentially suppressive/stimulant effects on a culture and its cinema industries are surfaced. Moreover, the critical analyses of the portrayals of intellectual figures from the early 1960s until the late 1980s are to offer new opportunities for the younger generations to understand the implications of an oppressive political regime within the arts and the society. Additionally, the very novelty of this research (the incorporation of archival analysis as a way to contextualise the emergence of intellectual representation but to also comment on the films themselves) adds to its societal relevance, as, without a doubt, the contemporary perceptions of what an intellectual figure means represent the consequences of their depictions in the past. Bearing this idea in mind, this paper sets out to create an unexplored spectrum of analyses that focuses on how a particular social stratum can be portrayed throughout the same political regime, but under the fluctuations caused by changes of cultural policy. Despite the Communist regime's global suppression in the present epoch, the contemporaneous relevance and timeliness of this project is given by the emergent presence and popularity of other overarching ideologies in modern times such as neoliberalism: similarly to the Socialist doctrine in opposing governmental *laissez-faire*, such newly-emerged ideological regimes are celebrating creativity and knowledge, but, of course, only in very specific forms and occurrences (most often than not, addressed in laudatory terms to the hegemonic leadership).

1.5. Thesis outline

With the research questions requiring a multi-disciplinary approach, a mere focus on theories pertaining to media studies is not sufficient to illustrate the modes of representation employed in Romanian cinema under Communism. Therefore, the theoretical framework that succeeds the present chapter is an attempt to compile and explain concepts such as modern intellectuality and its development from a historical point of view, the relationship between intellectuals and class through a sociological approach, and, finally the relationship between cinema and issues of representation. The chapter also contains two separate sections which present the intellectual's position first within the Socialist doctrine, and then within Romanian Communism. The following section deals with various theoretical concepts of reading film, the main goal being to highlight the discursive strategies identified by researchers who have, similarly to this thesis, used critical discourse to analyse different types of discourse (apart from language) and to link the theoretical framework with the upcoming methodological section. Further on, an in-depth explanation concerning the chosen methodological procedure can be found in the research design chapter, along with supplementary information regarding the usage of archival records as a crucial part of

this research. The subsequent section represents the core analytical part of this thesis as it debates the outcomes of employing the (multimodal) critical discourse analysis and provides additional evidence for the existent regimes of representation, their relationship with cinema, and the ensuing portrayals of intellectual figures. The final part aims to bring all insights together with an overall presentation of the narratives and portrayals emerging from the filmic discourses and the archival records.

2. Theoretical framework

The modern intellectual, which exists as a distinct social group, emerged as a concomitant entity to modernisation (Bendix, 1967), but, despite the intellectual's ubiquitous nature, functional significance to the well-being of a society, and rather unusual status, Pandey (1990) marks the proneness of scholars to neglect the study of the intellectual. Subsequently, there is a discernible dearth of literature in the range of contemporary studies dealing with the societal role of intellectual figures, although an extended range of noteworthy studies moved into this direction in the first half of the 20th century (starting with Benda, 1928; Mannheim, 1936), and continued to grow with the rise in popularisation of terminology such as intelligentsia or class-based intellectualism (Gouldner, 1979; Bauman, 1992; Jennings & Kemp-Welch, 2003; Li, 2010). Accordingly, Berger's (1970) opinion that the contemporary intellectual is in a "perpetual state of doubt about the nature of himself and of the universe in which he lives" (p.64) can be seen as an answer to the ongoing awakening in current studies of the intellectual, as a great variety of cultural commentators, socio-political theorists, historians and sociologists have taken into account the role of intellectual figures in society (Gramsci, 1932; Shils, 1961; Coser, 1965; Foucault, 1977; Bourdieu, 1989).

The present study's primary objective is to reveal the representational modes of portraying intellectual figures in Romanian cinema from the early 1960s until the late 1980s. To achieve this aim, this theoretical framework is structured around two key themes: firstly, the position of intellectuals – tackled both generally and historically but also in the context of the Socialist doctrine and modern society; secondly, the potential of cinema, as a dynamic form of art, capable of formulating ideological propositions on behalf of the authoritative political system. Therefore, this section embodies a conceptual exploration of the relationship between intellectuals - as key leaders of socio-political mechanisms - and films - as the government's primary means of expression and as a crucial disseminator of the existent political ideology. The main conceptual element that bridges these two theoretical themes together is the discursive power of representational regimes of art as a means of manipulatively using cinema to the benefit of the state power.

Under these circumstances, this theoretical section's incipient part provides various terminological approaches with regard to the way the term intellectual has been historically used, defined and accounted by an extended range of scholars and is followed by a sociological classification of intellectuals (Julien Benda's class-in-themselves, Karl Mannheim's class-less, and Antonio Gramsci's class-bound approach). While the prioritisation of the class-based approach allows a more in-depth enquiry into the sociology of intellectuals (due to the ongoing class struggles in the post-war era), this widely accepted classification presents particularly fruitful conceptual frameworks to be used for addressing this thesis' research questions.

After delineating the theoretical approaches that classify intellectuals according to class, their position in society is broadly assessed in connection with society, culture and politics; then, a narrower perspective is added by focusing on the relationship between intellectuals and notions such as ideology, political regimes, power, discipline, knowledge, and culture, with emphasis on intellectual figures in both the Socialist ideology and the Romanian Communist doctrine. The aim is to present what anti-intellectualism means and to clarify the position of intellectuals within the

Socialist ideology as trapped between the Marxist theory and the reality of the Soviet Union. What follows is a portrayal of the socio-political and historical developments that took place in Communist Romania in the post-World War II era, because of which the Romanian intellectual is known to have performed three main roles: those of collaborative, dissident, and grey intellectuals.

The final part of this conceptual framework seeks to cast light on the connection between cinema and the issue of representation. To do so, the differences between political and apolitical art are briefly explained and then the focus is shifted to the concept of cinema as an ideological product. Drawing extensively on Antonio Gramsci's, Michel Foucault's, Stuart Hall's and Jacques Ranciére's viewpoints on the representational regimes of art, this thesis attempts to connect issues of ideology with cinematic portrayals and representations. Once the phenomenon of cinematic representations is fully grasped, the hidden mechanisms that lie behind the strategic representations of intellectuals in Romanian cinema are brought to the fore. In this context, Jacques Derrida's and Jean Baudrillard's ideas on interpreting films are used to introduce two major theoretical approaches when it comes to the viewer's (in)ability to read, understand and cast meaning on visual texts. Under these circumstances, this chapter ends with emphasising the beneficial aspects of adopting a multimodal critical discourse analysis to explore the representations of intellectual figures in Romanian cinema within the ongoing political regime.

2.1. The rise of the intellectual: between archaic societies and modernity
2.1.1. Historical framework

To begin with, it is of significant relevance to highlight the idea that the known history of mankind bears testimony to the fact that intellectual figures have existed in almost all societies and nearly every facet of the modern intellectual has its prototype in the ancient world (Pandey, 1990). If Lewis Coser (1965) postulates that the earliest antecedents of modern intellectuals are the Ancient Greek Sophists (σοφιστής - *sofistis*, which is a combination of σοφός - *sophos*, used to describe an individual with expertise in a specific craft or domain of knowledge, and σοφίζω - *sophizo*, meant to instruct or to pass a specific domain of knowledge), Bernhard Giesen (2011) traces early examples of modern intellectuals back to archaic societies emphasises the ascetic attitudes of societal members such as shamans, diviners and truth tellers, who were collective specialists of the sacred. The same critic, Giesen (2011), describes this kind of intellectuals as *axial-age*, a term derived from the German *Achsenzeit*, making reference to an epoch in the history of mankind regarded as decisive in human cognition (Jaspers in Boy & Torpey, 2013). The next wave of intellectuals is often referred to as *medieval literati* (for instance, the clergymen who possess the ability to read and write), as the main purpose of such intellectuals is to transmit their religious values to mass audiences and future generations, while also maintaining the law and making sure that tradition is followed (Mardin, 1993, pp.257-258).

However, during the following epochs that were to follow, the clergy started to lose its power in the intellectual field, so the main successors of incipient intellectuals emerged with the appearance of better organised academic structures. Thus, while the societal functions of the clerical intellectuals were primarily scholastic and religious, Jacques Le Goff (1993) emphasises the importance of education in the emergence of the modern intellectual. His study is

complemented by Bottomore's (1964) ideas which are also based on the significance of the academic developments of the epoch. For instance, Martin Luther's revolt against the Church found its initial support at faculties of students around Germany, Thomas Hobbes' writing on the English Revolution concluded that universities were the principal source of rebellion, while in Russia, the revolutionary movements were also intellectual and student-based (Lipset & Basu, 1976, pp.112-113).

Subsequently, the Enlightenment Age proved to be crucially important in drawing the contours of the modern intellectual, and, as Giesen (2011) claims, the key concepts of the epoch, such as "universality", "progress" or "reason", marked the works of the Encyclopédistes of the 18th century with writers such as Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, lawmen like Montesquieu and mathematicians like d'Alembert. But the word *intellectual* itself was utilised as a noun for the first time by French statesman Georges Clemenceau quite recently and came into regular use in 1890s France as a description of the group defending Alfred Dreyfus (Culic in Bozóki, 1999, p.44). According to Cristoph Charle (1990, p.8), the symbolic and sociological nature of the petitions formulated with regard to the Dreyfus Affair, which generated an enhanced mobilisation of various men of spirit (including journalists, lawyers, professors, and, men of letters, in general etc.), allows researchers to agree that this moment coincided with the birth of modern intellectuals (Coser, 1965; Le Goff, 1993; Bozóki, 1999).

A possible explanation as to why the terminology emerged so late is provided by Lewis Coser (1965), who claims that before the 17th and 18th centuries the existent societies were unable to provide a sufficiently adequate environment for the intellectuals to exist and be influential in the modern sense of the term. In contrast with this idea, François Laruelle (2015) argues that the image of the great classical intellectuals of the Enlightenment, who were obsessed with justice, contrasts quite violently with the modern intellectual, whose image and functions have become blurrier.

2.1.2. The sociology of intellectuals: between labour and capital

By considering the fact that the analytical subjects of this thesis - the films and the circumstances under which they were produced - are embedded in Marxist philosophy, a sociological approach is required, especially given the emphasis on class conflicts that mark the Socialist doctrine. From the very beginning, Marxist theorists of society identify two emergent social groups: the labour (the proletariat or the workers), which includes the citizens who earn their livelihood by selling their labour power, and the capital (the bourgeoisie or the capitalists), which includes the individuals who get their income from the surplus value appropriated from the workers who create wealth (Elster, 1986, p.124). But, how do intellectual figures fit within these two social paradigms?

Kurzman and Owens (2002, p.63) claim that there are three major analytical standpoints that observe the role of intellectuals in society: Julien Benda's (1928) *class-in itself intellectuality* (meaning that intellectuals are in possession of special interests that allow them to universally distinguish themselves from other groups of the society), Karl Mannheim's (1936) *class-less intellectuality* (encompassing the intellectual's reflective nature of staying socially unanchored and

unattached), and, Antonio Gramsci's (1932) *class-bound intellectuality* (meaning that every social group has its own particular, specialised category of intellectuals who can transcend their societal role). Yet, if the first two approaches do no present entirely relevant theoretical concepts to the present case, the ideological position of Gramsci's theorisation of intellectuality within the Marxist and Socialist doctrine requires further academic inquiry due to its relevance onto the present case.

On the grounds that the status of intellectuality is not given by the intrinsic activity of thinking, - which Gramsci (1932) claims to be common to all people - but by the social function an individual performs, the Marxist theoretician claims that intellectuals do not form a separate class (in opposition to Benda's intellectuality), as they are divided into subsets that form and serve other social groups. In contrast with other Western philosophers, such as Edward Saïd (1994), for whom a true intellectual is an outsider living in a self-imposed exile on the margins of society, Gramsci (1932) rejects what he calls this "vulgarised notion of the intellectual" (p.9) referring only to the man of letters, such as the philosopher and the artist. In this sense, Gramsci feels that all individuals are actual intellectuals, but not all men have the function that an intellectual possesses. In this manner, Antonio Gramsci (in Simon, 1982, p.97) introduces a new classification of intellectuals as he makes a vigorous distinction between traditional (the rural type such as priests, teachers, doctors) and organic intellectuals (who can be found in the sphere of production, the civil society and the state apparatus). Thus, it can be claimed that for Gramsci, traditional intellectuals are the people who put themselves forward as autonomous entities of their dominant social group, while the organic intellectuals are the vanguard of the upper classes to which they economically belong (in Simon, 1982, pp.95-96).

Similarly to Gramsci's (1932) understanding of the class-bound intellectual, Michel Foucault (1972) asserts that the role of the intellectual is no longer to place him or herself ahead of the others, but to show commitment to the struggles against the standardised forms of power in relation to which the intellectual is both object and instrument, namely "knowledge, truth, consciousness, and discourse" (1972, p.104). Furthermore, Foucault (1977) draws an elaborate distinction between the universal intellectual (who is a free subject that is supposed to neutralise and criticise the authoritative service of the state) and the specific intellectual (who does not necessarily hold the universal truth in the abstract sense of the word, but is mainly grounded within specific sectors of the society).

Despite the similarities that intellectuals apparently share, due to the highly restrictive political regimes under which they co-exist, those who participate, directly or indirectly, in Socialist regimes primarily (but not entirely) align themselves with the class-bound category. Taking the above-mentioned into account, class-bound intellectualism appears to be the most suitable category to apply to intellectual figures in Romanian cinema, although elements from other sociological approaches can also be invoked (for instance, the need for intrinsic reflection specific to intellectual class-lessness, or the universality and the idealisation of class-in-itself intellectualism). Thus, because both Gramsci (1932) and Foucault (1977) are theoreticians of class-bound intellectuality, but also theorists of the way the Socialist doctrine was imposed in certain geographical spaces, their perspectives on class-based intellectualism become foremost important for the purpose of this study. By accounting the characteristics of the class-bound

approach to allow regular individuals transcend to the status of intellectuals, the present thesis is allowed to grasp both labourer or proletariat intellectuals and bourgeois intellectuals concomitantly in the case of Romanian cinema. Nevertheless, by leaving aside the sociological and historical approaches, the next sub-section aims to deliver a terminological and conceptual understanding of the word intellectual and to address its usage in the present thesis.

2.1.3. Definition

Starting from the premise that cut-and-dried definitions of intellectuals have a limiting effect on the intellectual field of study by shifting the focus from its essence to the power struggle regarding who does and does not belong to it (Bourdieu, 1989), this section embodies a framework of the various approaches adopted in both scientific and literary works in order to understand what a modern intellectual is, what role (s)he assumes in society and, eventually, how (s)he is cinematically represented.

The barriers of providing a definite, exhaustive, and accurate definition of the intellectual have been revealed in the majority of texts dealing with this subject. For instance, in his *Men of Ideas*, Lewis Coser (1965) underlines the impreciseness of the process of categorising intellectuals and recognises its level of subjectivity. While Lipset and Dobson (1972) emphasise the diversity of meanings in addition to the ambiguity of the concept, Nettl (1969) considers that the notion of intellectual encompasses a rather large spectrum of elements: the intellectual can be an institution, a collectivity, a role, a type of person, etc. Charles Kadushin (in Li, 2010, p.9) probably holds one of the most interesting opinions on the matter when he claims that there are almost as many works about intellectuals as there are intellectuals.

Under such circumstances, it is of high relevance to mention that the combination of wide and diverse interests to the subject of intellectual figures leads to a disarrayed corpus about intellectuals, where each author prioritises subjective features, different motivations, approaches and methodologies. For instance, economist Thomas Sowell (2012) uses the term intellectual in its most narrow understanding and claims that the word intellectual exclusively refers to an occupational category. In this sense, Sowell (2012) claims that the core of the notion is represented by the idea that an intellectual is a dealer in ideas, but who is not specifically and personally applying the ideas him or herself. To be more precise, Sowell (2012) defines an intellectual as the individual whose occupation primarily deals with ideas, such as writers, academics, inventors and so on. Other scholars, such as Karl Mannheim (1936) and Edward Shils (1969) propose a much broader approach: if the former claims that intellectuals can be envisaged as the carriers of universal reason through their ability to transcend mundane ideals and interests, the latter calls intellectuals the persons who "externalise their quest through oral and written discourse, in poetic or plastic expression, in historical reminiscence or writing, in ritual performance and acts of worship" (1969, p.26). Similarly, while S.M. Lipset (1958) offers a more comprehensive definition of intellectuals as those who create, distribute and practice culture, Kurzman and Owens (2002, p.63) use the broadest definition of the term: individuals with advanced educations, producers or transmitters of ideas, or people who engage in public issues.

Further on, it is important to point out that, in the case of intellectual figures in Communist Romania, this study takes into account the broadest understanding of intellectual terminology as the most suitable approach, especially when one considers the extremely radical political conditions which restrained the Romanian intellectuals in the 1960-1989 interval of time, and, subsequently, the intellectuals' modes of representation in cinema. In this sense, the very limited and constrictive environment under which such intellectuals have existed and developed (and which is further explained in the 2.2.1. and 2.2.2. sections that deal with the case of intellectual figures in Socialism and in Romanian Communism, and is to also transpire as a result of the archival records analyses) represents yet another justification for this decision. In addition to including the archetypical characteristics of the erudite (wo)men of culture (such as critical thinking or the mere authority in the public sphere granted by their mental capacity) and their artistic function to the creative means of production of a society (such as artists, musicians, painters, filmmakers, writers, etc.), this study primarily discusses the conceptual positions of intellectuals attributed by Marxist theoreticians such as Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault. Also worth-mentioning is the fact that the methodological section offers a more thorough and explicit description of the entire process and of the way the intellectual terminology is to be used in this study.

Finally, as the assessment of the societal functions of modern intellectual figures is required in order to grasp the role of intellectuals in Communist Romania as accurately as possible, the next section introduces the relationship of intellectuals with culture and politics and closes with the case of intellectual figures in the Socialist doctrine - in general, and Romanian Communism - in particular. Accordingly, this approach is required as it discloses the position of intellectuals with regard to the regime and its controlled regimes of representation (either compliancy or dissidence), but also to understand what those in (political) power needed to reject, denounce and disqualify in order to fortify their cultural and political hegemony.

2.2. The modern intellectual: between culture and politics

From their earliest shapes and forms, such as priests, scribes and soothsayers and to their modern sophistication (Johnson, 2009, p.7), intellectuals cannot be entirely free spirits. Accordingly, although intellectual figures have laid claim to guide society from the very beginning, as guardians of hieratic cultures, their moral and ideological innovations are often limited by the canons imposed by external authorities, political apparatuses, and by the inheritance of tradition (Johnson, 2009, p.7). Therefore, when debating the position of intellectual figures in society, the socio-political and cultural entities that surround such individuals become crucial. In order to reach the aims of this thesis, it is important to note that modern intellectuals are, most often than not, theorised either through their political involvement or through their cultural dimension. In this sense, Eisenstadt (1972) has two main sets of characteristics that mark the struggles of intellectuals between their political or cultural functions: firstly, Eisenstadt (1972) sees intellectuals to be critics of existing regimes by highlighting their capacity to act as potential or actual opponents of political domination, and, secondly, he perceives them to be innovators, originators of new ideas,

revolutionaries and as creators of social and cultural orientations and activities that are typically opposed to tradition.

Starting with Antonio Gramsci's (1965, pp.481-482) opinion that the relationship of intellectuals with culture and ideas has to be addressed by sustaining with perseverance the process of intellectuals engaging in politics, it is important to mention that the politicisation of intellectual figures is accounted by a large spectrum of scholars (Foucault, 1980; Florian, 1987; Lencan Stoica, 2013). Lencan Stoica (2013, p.30) reinforces Eisenstadt's (1972) claims regarding the political dimension of intellectual figures when he argues that the modern intellectual, perceived as a central figure within a society, is a political employee to the extent that he or she holds moral and political responsibility in relation to the ongoing socio-political and cultural issues. Furthermore, Michel Foucault (1980) contests the understanding of intellectual figures as the spokesmen of an universal entity, by rejecting as obsolete the view of the intellectual as a conscious bearer of the universal truth and justice. Instead, he emphasises the appearance of a new, revived intellectual in the post-war era, who is increasingly affiliated with the working class. Therefore, for Michel Foucault (1980, pp.127-129), the intellectual *par excellence* is disappearing, while the intellectual derived from his ability to apply his/her knowledge in a political manner is rising. He also explains this phenomenon by accounting the extensive politicisation of the social and cultural life in the contemporary world. Thus, the modern intellectual is fundamentally different from the archaic or medieval one described by Le Goff (1993), for instance, the one who merely fulfils the craft of thinking and spreading of that thinking process and its results.

Nonetheless, in order to perform their cultural and social duties, intellectuals can only prevail under distinct circumstances. Lencan Stoica (2013, p.27) believes that, by and large, modern intellectuals can be found in favourable environments, where their full creative potential can be further encouraged and harnessed. Indeed, only within democratic contexts or political regimes that support democratic values can this creative potential fully manifest itself (Lencan Stoica, 2013, p.27). Mircea Florian (1987, p.109) comes to support this perspective and explains that intellectual figures, as a defined social category, have only emerged in modern times as a consequence of increased cultural and political bias accompanied by the enhanced interest of the masses in such matters, which usually arise only in democratic contexts. This very idea is also confirmed by Bruno S. Frey (2002) who associates the arts with the politics, thus arguing that, while authoritarian systems tend to yield more diversity in quality but less diversity in the type of artistic and intellectual content produced within that society, democratic political mechanisms increase the artists' freedom by supplying multiple sources of support. Therefore, Frey (2002) concludes that the type of political system that dominates a particular society has a direct influence on the type of art and creative material that is being produced, and, consequently, also onto creativity and its freedom to be exercised. In this regard, Florian (1987, p.109) emphasises the idea that in the geographical spaces where knowledge, science, and art became social forces, the specific function of intellectual increased and became more apparent. By further drawing on Florian's (1987) considerations, one can easily understand that the functions and characteristics of the intellectual are usually enriched by its juxtaposition with culture and socio-political elements. One can assume that there is an obvious difference in the conditions under which intellectual figures

can emerge, so, therefore, the next sections aim to stress the position of such figures within the Socialist ideology of the Romanian Communist system.

2.2.1. Intellectuals and Socialism: between theory and reality

The very relationship between academia, scholars, artists - in particular, and culture - in general and the ongoing ideological mechanisms and socio-political apparatuses is extremely important for anyone studying the position of intellectual figures in the totalitarian state or the Socialist doctrine. As Neamțu and Stan (2010) suggest, this connection has had the capacity to generate diverse reactions towards the ideological monopoly of the ruling party: "outspoken resistance, quiet refusal, forced exile, passive collaboration, vocal support, etc." (p.299). To start with, it is interesting to point out that intellectual figures have had a crucial function in the evolution of the Socialist state. For instance, in its incipient Russian, pre-Socialist environment, intelligentsia has played an important role in the process of popularisation of the term intellectual. The terminology of intelligentsia existed prior to the usage of the term intellectual and was used in Russia to refer to the self-conscious personalities of the well-educated elite that was characterised by critical tendencies towards the *status quo* in the second half of the 19th century and during the late stages of the Tsarist regime (Gouldner, 1979). Back then, the Russian intelligentsia had a deep concern for matters of public interest, while also sharing a sense of personal responsibility for the state of the nation (Li, 2010). Furthermore, the intelligentsia tended to observe the political and social issues of the time from a moral perspective and felt convinced that something needed to be socially fixed by seeking ultimate logical conclusions (Li, 2010).

Despite the key socio-political functions of the elite, from the very beginning, the Bolsheviks have suspected the Tsarist intelligentsia of being an entity that can potentially disobey the regime and betray the proletariat. Therefore, in their theoretical and methodological application of their Socialist doctrine, the Communist authorities have assigned a very marginal and degrading role to intellectual figures: even though the Marxist theory brings the intelligentsia down to a social group of civil servants (by proclaiming the installation of the *dictatorship of the* proletariat) (Marx & Engels, 1848), it is important to mention that the intellectuals are supposed to serve other social classes, as they mainly make a living by serving the bourgeoisie during Capitalism, and the working class during Socialism (Kusý, 1998). The same critic resurfaces Gouldner's (1979) interpretation of Socialist intellectuals and their capacity to criticise and formulate ideological assessments, and introduces an engaging idea regarding the role of intellectuals and their relationship with other social strata. As such, Kusý (1998) claims that their service is of paramount significance to the Communist authorities, if not in a theoretical sense at least in their practical application of the doctrine; after all, it was an intellectual, Marx, who provided a basis for the Communist ideology, and it was an intellectual, Lenin, who was the first to translate the theories into an ideology, and to put them into practice within a political apparatus (Kusý, 1998).

Under these conditions, it can be claimed that the communists were well aware of the powerful weapons held by the intelligentsia. He, who is able to speak convincingly, rules and controls the society, argues Kusý (1998), so, as the monopole of the media was not enough, the communists used the intelligentsia to express their ideological beliefs coherently and brightly.

Nonetheless, because the totalitarian authorities prohibited critical thinking, "[which is] the basic activity of every intellectual" (Konrád, 1995, p.204), the intelligentsia soon started to willingly drop out of the communist establishment. As György Konrád (1995) indicates, "the real artists were prohibited, but pseudo-intellectuals were [soon to be] raised to high positions" (p.212) in order for the authorities to gain control over the masses. One may argue that the Communists attempted to establish a distinct kind of intelligentsia, not an elitist one, but one distinguished by the intellectual working class of the Soviet Union, one that can be found in every social stratum, that can pragmatically help at the modernisation of the country, one very similar to what Gramsci (1932) referred to as class-bound intellectualism or Marx and Engels (1848) as dictatorship of the proletariat. Assuming that the intellectuals have been subjected to degrading attitudes which have shifted towards an increased disbelief when it came to their ability to lead and regulate, the phenomenon of Socialist anti-intellectualism was also a consequence of their "destructive hesitation in national life" (Greaves, 2009, p.186).

However, Kusý (1998) explains, the Communists were publicly undermining the intellectuals' authority and underplaying their societal roles and responsibilities, as a justification of their own origins as a socio-political movement: the Communist doctrine, after all, is an ideology created and ran exclusively by the proletariat and the working masses, so, at least, on an illusory and purely theoretical level, intellectuals lacked political power within a Socialist doctrine. Despite this and the common core of the Socialist ideology adopted in the Eastern Bloc, the application of the doctrines differed significantly from one nation to another, so each Communist dictatorship attributed often dissimilar roles and responsibilities to their own national intellectual figures.

2.2.2. Intellectuals in Communist Romania: between dissidence and collaboration

To begin with, it is of great importance and relevance to this study to formulate a contextual and historical framework of the Communist regime that dominated the Romanian political environment and society in the second half of the 20th century in order to better depict the role and position of intellectual figures. With respect to the relationship between the state and the men of culture, Mihaela Gligor (2010) identifies various stages when the freedom of creation was restricted by the regime: firstly, she recognises the attempt to construct a new national and cultural identity based on socialist realism (mostly under Dej's Stalinisation process and Ceauşescu's second half of his ruling which are to be further discussed in the next paragraphs); secondly, the relaxation of dogmatism and ideological control of the 1960s (Ceauşescu's climax concerning his popularity among both the masses and intellectual figures, which culminates toward the late 1960s); thirdly, the authoritarian pressures to create the *culture of labour* with exclusively nationalistic values during the last two decades of Ceauşescu's dictatorship. Thus, these three socio-political stages are paralleled by the emergence of three main categories of intellectuals: the collaborative, the dissident (or, as it will be shown, the apolitical), and the grey intellectual.

The communist dictatorship in power within the geographical space of Romania was instituted in December 1947, when King Michael of Romania was forced by the Communist Party to abdicate under the threat of civil war (Deletant, 1999, p.57), and lasted for 42 years, until the bloody revolution of 1989 (Popescu, 2011, p.58). Historian Vladimir Tismăneanu (2003, p.107)

points out that under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who took over the role of the supreme authority from 1948 until his death in 1965, there occurred an increased process of Stalinisation that manifested itself in various realms of the country; in the economic sphere, such political developments led to the transformation of a market-based economy into a centrally planned and state-owned one through the nationalisation of the means of production (industrial enterprises, banks, mines, etc.)(Deletant, 1999, p.60).

As far as Romania's cultural environment is concerned, the Stalinist ideology brought about major changes. Most importantly, all intellectual, creative and educational activities in addition to the production of intellectual or artistic material were closely and rigidly supervised in order to ensure ideological conformity (Rapotan, 2010, p.7). In a similar process, all content published by the media was entirely controlled by the state through the Agitprop (Agitation and Propaganda) branch of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Deletant, 1999, p.61). With the new laws of education, all faculties that could have encouraged intellectual autonomy (such as those of letters and philosophy) were dismantled; with respect to educational establishments, foreign or theological schools were closed down, professors of history and philosophy were replaced with Stalinist indoctrinators, the new Ministry of Education banned text-books and replaced them with others that exclusively contained Marxist-Leninist ideas, and the study of the Russian language, the history of the Soviet Communist Party and the geography of the Soviet Union became compulsory subjects (Deletant, 1999, p.61).

In spite of such drastic changes, in the years that were to follow, the Romanian Communist Party assumed an autonomous position from the Soviet bloc, detaching itself from Moscow when it came to external policymaking, a political move which reached its climax towards the late 1960s, in Nicolae Ceauşescu's national-communist regime. With his reign starting in 1965 and ending in 1989, when the days of violent civil unrest culminated with his death (Rapotan, 2010, pp.7-8), Ceauşescu's legitimisation of his own autonomy and autonomous policies was based on the idea of "merely promoting the national interest" (Deletant, 1999, p.111). Since Ceauşescu was equated with the party and being, according to the Socialist ideology, the direct representative of the people, the Romanian leader claimed legitimacy for the party and for himself as defenders of national interests. Further on, Deletant (1999) states that "the corollary of this was that any criticism of the Party or its leader from Romanians, whether coming from inside or outside the country, could be branded as treachery to the nation" (p.174).

Moreover, Ceauşescu's courageously overt condemnation of the Soviet ruling and refusal to join the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 caused some prominent intellectual figures, such as Paul Goma, Alexandru Ivasiuc, or Ştefan Bănulescu, to briefly join the Romanian Communist Party. One can infer that this influx of popularity made Ceauşescu aware of the utility of the establishment of the personality cult and of the appeals towards national symbols in order to gain social control (Deletant, 1999, p.114). In the context of this flow of optimism and national approval, inspired by a visit to China and North Korea, Ceauşescu re-instated the Stalinisation process with the so-called July theses from 1971; thus, the initial wave of sympathy coming from the intellectual stratum started to fade away (Deletant, 1999, p.184). This moment also coincided with Ceauşescu reintroducing the dogmas of socialist realism that the creative

intellectuals were required to comply with; in Ceauşescu's (in Tismăneanu, 2003) words, "we need art, we need to have the movie industry and theatres depict the essence and the model of the man we have to shape […], so that the young people will understand and know that this is how they should be!" (p.225). Therefore, reality was "what the party wanted it to be, and not what the artists perceived it to be" (Tismăneanu, 2003, p.225).

Photo no. 1 & 2: *Ceauşescu's climax of popularity (left with Fidel Castro, right with Queen Elizabeth II)*

The subject of intellectual figures, their dissent or compliance with the totalitarian regime, as well as the censorship they often had to face under Ceauşescu's ruling, represents a crucial element of the ideological approach adopted by the single-party state. When it comes to the intellectuals that overtly collaborated with the regime, it is important to mention that Ceauşescu assigned a significant role to intellectual writers in promoting the cause of the Socialist doctrine. He urged literary critics to be more demanding of a "literature that was committed revolutionary and founded on the principles of Socialist humanism" (Ceauşescu in Deletant, 1999, p.181). What Ceauşescu expected from the creators of intellectual material, such as writers, filmmakers and artists, is also highly evident in an excerpt published in *Gazeta literară* (The Literary Gazette): "Marxism cannot accept the so-called independence or autonomy of art vis-à-vis society. It is the duty of literature to exercise a considerable influence on the intellectual, social and moral life of the individual" (cited in Deletant, 1999, p.180). Another interesting instance of intellectuals, not only complying with the Socialist doctrine but also entirely supporting it, is represented by Adrian Păunescu's *Cenaclul Flacăra* (The Flame Literary Circle), a nation-wide phenomenon of cultural propaganda whose main function was to promote Ceauşescu's cult of personality and the Socialist ideology through a mixture of music, poetry and dialogue based on left-wing politics and Romanian nationalism (Pavelescu in Pălăşan & Vasile, 2011, p.51).

But, despite these widely-condemned developments that should have set off the emergence of various dissident movements, there is almost an unanimous agreement that the Romanian intellectuals of the time failed to form a coherent opposition against the regime, as happened in Poland and Hungary (Tismăneanu, 2003, p.150) (Mungiu-Pippidi in Bozóki, 1999, p.75). This is why the case of Romanian intellectuals is quite famous among the other former communist countries in Eastern Europe for their specific lack of a consistent dissident movement (Rapotan, 2010, pp.9-10). Dennis Deletant's (1999, p.166) justifications for this latent attitude encompass

ideas such as opportunism, since compliance with the socialist ideology provided intellectuals with material gains, or dissimulation, together with deep-seated practices such as bribery, nepotism or corruption. In Rapotan's (2010) words, many Romanian intellectuals found a way to survive the regime "without risking their lives, jobs and with minimal material security" (p.10).

Michael Shafir (1985) offers another explanation, arguing that the compliant attitude has to be mainly attributed to Ceauşescu's nationalistic discourse, which was largely agreed upon by the vast majority of intellectuals of the time. Palade (2000) has a similar understanding of the role of intellectual figures in Romania and he believes that their promotion of nationalism historically served to suppress socio-political movements that opposed the Communist Party, in a process that, paradoxically, prolonged the intellectuals' own subservience to the state. Katherine Verdery (1991) supports both Shafir's (1985) and Palade's (2000) claims when she indicates that the ideological discourse proposed by Ceauşescu was not just a useful mechanism imposed by the party to control the society and the intelligentsia, but it was also the discourse intellectuals were using in order to compete for resources from the state. In this regard, Verdery (1991) justifies this bargaining for resources of cultural producers as a "basic endeavour in command systems" (p. 303). While Verdery's (1991) equation of the intellectual individuals with the idea of cultural representativeness seems fascinating, her argument is not entirely convincing because it is based on the idea that all intellectuals were not only obedient to the authoritarian discourse, but also inherently inclined to advocate for the party due to their own desires to access resources, either financial or symbolic ones (such as cultural representativeness).

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi (in Bozóki, 1999) provides an alternative justification for the intellectuals' latent attitude and claims that the hatred of party politics in addition to the intelligentsia's lack of constructiveness are fundamental elements that need to be accounted when referring to this generation of intellectuals. In her own words, it is of absolute importance to mention philosopher Constantin Noica (whom she considers the spiritual leader of the present day Romanian intelligentsia) and whose primary focus was to construct a "new ideology of anti-politics, rather than one of dissent" (Mungiu-Pippidi in Bozóki, 1999, p.76). Rapotan (2010) supports Mungiu-Pippidi's (in Bozóki, 1999) claims when she argues that the *Păltiniş School* organised by Noica confirms the existence of intellectuals who refused the dialogue with the political system. In this sense, among the most important intellectual ideas put forth by the "Păltiniş School" is the necessity and urgency of resisting through culture. Despite a marginal role in mainstream public discourse of the time, Noica managed to promote an alternative vision, which, in Rapotan's (2010) opinion, is worthy of consideration and admiration "given the highly centralised ideological field" of the regime (p.11). Noica's outlook was transferred onto a group that actually produced culture in a geographical space where censorship and party ideology represented an attempt to pervade all intellectual life (Rapotan, 2010, p.11). Therefore, when making judgments about the apparent latent attitude of intellectuals during the Ceauşescu regime, one should also take into account its particularly oppressive characteristics. Highly illustrative in this regard is Vladimir Tismăneanu's portrayal of the state of the nation under his ruling:

> Ceauşescu's Romania was a closed society, characterised by repression in all areas of
> human existence: property restrictions, hard labour and low wages, lack of freedom of

movement, bureaucratic hurdles against emigration, violations of national minorities' rights, contempt for religious beliefs and persecution of religious practices, dramatic economic austerity, consistent cultural censorship, a crackdown on all dissenting views, and an all-embracing cult surrounding the president and his family that took its toll on the population's morale (2003, p.216).

One may, thus, deduce that while, on the one hand, this very kind of constrictive climate should have prompted a powerful socio-political and intellectual opposition, on the other hand, the political regime itself made it impossible for any social stratum, in general, and intellectuals, in particular, to coagulate into a coherent dissident movement. Therefore, a new type of intellectual emerges, which has often been neglected in the literature that studied the role of intellectual figures in Eastern Europe's Communist ideologies: according to Adriana Bărbat's research (in Soare, 2013), the *grey intellectual* is represented by the individual who manages to slip between party directives and its strict regime, who adapts himself to two worlds concomitantly - firstly, the external world imposed by the party, and, secondly, the inner world marked by one's profound and personal beliefs. Bărbat explains this duality through the intellectual's ability to create pieces of work that can transcend their apparent meaning, survive the implemented political restrictions which can normally affect the authenticity, and, thus, maintain a purely honest depiction of the regime. The same critic claims that this type of intellectual can be found primarily in literature and cinema, and most often than not, through psychological realist and historical pieces that make very subtle references to the dictatorship, undetectable to the empowered committees (Bărbat in Soare, 2013, pp.95-102).

2.3. Cinema and representation
2.3.1. Cinema: between political and apolitical art

The political aspect of cinema has been acknowledged by most critical thinkers who have studied the connection between socio-political apparatuses and the arts. For instance, in what concerns the relationship between the arts and the political background of a society, Marina Alina Asavei (2011) focuses on offering a conceptual clarification of *political art*, as a terminology that has often been used to describe a wide diversity of art activities, situations and products. Used as an umbrella term, the notion of political art accommodates both arts which support the *status quo* and arts which are highly critical of it. From the very beginning, Asavei (2011) argues that there are two primary points that emerge when debating the meaning of political art, that art is always either political or completely free of any political influence.

Analysing the idea of art as an apolitical endeavour or of art as pure and mere entertainment, Asavei (2011) also acknowledges the existence of artistic pieces which are neutral to a society's political and societal issues; consequently, as Noël Carroll (2011) suggestively puts it, "it is potentially politically pernicious to regard everything as political, because it takes the force out of the things that clearly are political" (p.647). Furthermore, in the context of cinema as apolitical art, Grieveson (2004) invokes the emergence of *cinema as mere entertainment* in the case of fictional, apolitical spaces that are often entirely delineating cinematic productions as "self-consciously

trivial, purposeless and self-referential" (p.34). In a process that became a consistent part of the establishment of the cinematic industry, Glyn Davis (2015) claims that cinematic entertainment - as opposed to cinematic art - rarely has any kinds of political agenda that aspire to unsettle its viewer, to push any artistic boundaries or to be, to any extent, elitist. Such autotelic pieces that follow the *l'art pour l'art* dictum cannot be invoked in the case of Communist culture, as the restricting circumstances repudiated the emergence of pure art with no utilitarian function.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to point out that the notion of cinema as mere entertainment is almost always juxtaposed with the socio-political and ideological mechanisms of the time, so, the idea of entertainment in cinema cannot be entirely isolated from its surrounding politics. In other words, cinema as mere entertainment is often theorised and explained through its apolitical function or, most often than not, through its lack of political affiliation, so a complete separation of the arts from the political is almost impossible. In addition to regarding films as ideological products of their own socio-political systems, and, thus, as tools of propaganda to control the masses, the idea of political cinema has also emerged due to the problems films can pose, and have been posing - as instruments of political dissidence against the existent structures of power and governance. As such, the following sections will focus on the first reading of the term political art offered by Asavei (2011), and will regard all creative pieces of works - most notably, the cinematic ones - as ideological products.

2.3.2. Cinema: between product and defier of ideology

When discussing the relationship between cinema and ideology, Comolli and Narboni (1971) claim that every film holds a political stance, inasmuch as it is determined by the very ideological mechanism under which it is produced. In his pivotal *Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematic Apparatus*, Jean-Louis Baudry (1970) applies the notion of ideology to his film theory and continues by explaining that due to the fact that the reflected image is that of a replicated world, which is provided by the filmmaker, the ideological mechanism becomes concentrated in the relationship between the camera and the subject. Thus, as cinema is a socio-political apparatus destined to obtain a clear and precise ideological effect, which is necessary to the dominant ideology, Baudry (1970, p.46) assumes that the ideology of representation forms a singularly coherent system in cinema. Baudry (1970) further develops this theoretical approach and argues that cinema becomes a psychic apparatus that is modelled and defined by its own dominant ideology; subsequently, in addition to its language, scenario, imagery, *mise-en-scène*, etc., cinema heavily relies on socio-political and ideological mechanisms that directly affect its onscreen representations. By drawing on Bruno S. Frey's (2002) previous arguments that the whole process of producing art is entirely dependent on the political circumstances under which that process takes place, one can conclude that the content of the artistic material created under authoritarian regimes can be explained as the ruler's own capacity to impose his own influence on the population, and, then, on the artists, in order to stay in power and/or to promote his political agenda.

However, among the first to ever recognise the effective and useful influence of cinema within the politics was Communist revolutionary and political theorist, Vladimir Lenin. With the

traditional methods of the Bolshevik propaganda (such as the printed press and word of mouth) failing to encompass the vast Russian territories and the illiterate population, Lenin saw the political value of cinema, which he considered to be "of all the arts, […], the most important" (in Popescu, 2011, p.31). Although the subject of this thesis does not coincide with the very interesting aesthetics of the great Soviet directors of the 1920s, which flourished under Lenin's regime, it is important to understand the usage of film as an *instrumentum regni,* propagandistic device and its historic developments that were to follow and to have a direct influence on the Romanian cinema.

From an aesthetic point of view, the *form* of the film represented an essential component of the early Soviet cinema, one which the political agenda of the Communist Party was looking to promote (for instance, Eisenstein's 1925 "*Battleship Potemkin*" or Vertov's 1929 "*Man with a Movie Camera*") (Popescu, 2011). Nevertheless, the emphasis placed on the creative editing (or montage) and on experimental forms of creation soon proved to be unsatisfactory when it came to the cinema's capacity to penetrate the masses, and, especially, the rural population. This is the reason why the focus on scenario soon became the essential facet of the new Soviet films; the scriptwriter was given more authority than the director himself, so, films based on ideological scenarios and filmed through the most traditional means became the new standard in Russian cinema (for instance, Dovzhenko's 1930 "Earth" or Eisenstein's 1945 "*Ivan the Terrible*") (Popescu, 2011). By acknowledging the importance of light entertainment and of an uncomplicated scenario, the Communist Party attributed four primary requirements to the Russian cinema: *ideinost,* or the employment of an idea or ideological scenario with social and political values; *narodnost*, or the popularity and accessibility which should ensure a better reception from the population; *klassovost,* a class character that needs to be reflected against the ideals, lifestyle and aesthetics promoted by the bourgeoisie; and, *partiinost,* films should follow the creative processes indicated by the party (Popescu, 2011, p.39).

Of interest here is Theodor Adorno's view on the relationship between the authenticity of art and an interfering political system (in Sim, 2015); he reckons that the involvement of the existent political mechanisms within the arts directly affects the authentic value of the pieces that were being created. Adorno believes that a certain degree of auteurism (coming from François Truffaut's *auteur theory* as a way to free the filmmaker from external constraints) is undoubtedly required, being a director's way to oppose, or, to, at least, bypass the ideology employed by the ruling structures of power. In other words, in the case of totalitarian regimes, this lack of auteurism underscores the lack of ideological independence of the director. As a consequence, if a film lacks auteurism, no matter to what extent, that piece of work is subjected to what has been often referred to as regimes of representation (Adorno in Sim, 2015). Thus, this part of the thesis concentrates on the relationship between media, cinema and the existent ideological and political regimes that imposed certain kinds of onscreen representations.

2.3.3. Cinema and representational regimes: between the visible and the invisible

The concepts of mirroring, reflection and representation are recurrent metaphorical elements in the meta-languages of the media, with philosophers, critics and linguists having been in search of new analogies in order to bring to the surface the reflective nature of contemporary media

(Brummel, 2002). On the issue of the metaphorical interpretation of media as a mirror of the society in which it operates, Dennis McQuail (2005) claims that the ongoing process of mediation between the media and society - in the sense of media mediating between reality and its recipients - should not be regarded as more than a metaphor; in this sense, he mentions that the relationship between the two entities primarily points to several of the roles played by the media - through its various forms of expression - in connecting audiences to existent developments, experiences, trends, and so on. McQuail (2005, p.83) continues to explain that, without rejecting the faithfulness and accuracy of this reflection, the angles and the directions of the entire representation phenomenon are decided by other external entities in a process that, subsequently, makes its receivers become less free to see the truth behind the representations.

Stuart Hall (1997) adds to this discussion by incorporating the relationship between politics and representation, and he defines the latter to be a medium or channel through which the production of meaning takes place. In this process, Hall (1997, p.19) assumes that the represented objects, people or events do not have stable meanings, as they are subjected to the meanings produced by other creative, though socially and culturally bound, human beings who possess the power to shape such representations into meaning or signifying something. When studying the mirror metaphor in relation to the notion of representation in cinema, Fourie (2007) signals the importance of the ideological sphere; accordingly, the process of analysing texts heavily relies on the work of theorists, such as Karl Marx, who associate the possibilities of media ownership with the notion of abusive power. In this context, Ekron (2011) claims that, within a Marxist philosophy, the media have the capacity to manipulate the masses to, either consciously or unconsciously, alter the manner in which they perceive the world. As this proposition heavily relies on the importance of ideology, Fourie (2007) suggests that there is a close relationship between politics, the economy and the media.

To complement the ideas presented above, French philosopher Jacques Ranciére's (2012) assessments are essential. He introduces the idea of representational regimes of art, which, from a political perspective, establish an organised set of relationships "between the visible and the invisible, the perceptible and the imperceptible" (p.82). In the whole debate surrounding the regimes of representation through cinematic means of production, David Lloyd (1993) argues that within totalitarian mechanisms of the state, such as those that have been previously discussed (like Lenin's regime in Russia or Dej's and Ceauşescu's in Romania, for instance), the control of the cinematic narratives serve a crucial function of the state apparatus; furthermore, as Llyod (1993) puts it, "the state does not simply legislate and police against particular infringements, it determines the forms within which representation can take place" (p.6). His understanding of the state apparatus is similar to what Gramsci (2000) would call the "historical bloc" (p.193), a concept which describes the reciprocal set of relationships between structure and superstructure within the system of hegemony. Ranciére (2012) adds to these opinions, suggesting that, rather than producing reality, works of art within the representative regimes obey certain series of axioms that are imposed ideologically by external mechanisms: for instance, Ranciére (2012) invokes the hierarchy of genres and subject matters. Therefore, for Ranciére (2012), politics is determined by aesthetics - as a challenging factor to dominant social perceptions, and, similarly, aesthetics is

political - as a way to introduce the principle of equality in representations and perceptions that count as art.

Nevertheless, the space of representation, or as Silverstone (2006) calls it - the space of appearance, is a field of political struggles. Named after Michel Foucault's *regimes of truths* (1994), the notion of regimes of representation consists in the convergence of certain ideas and socio-political discourses with certain power structures and mechanisms that aim to sustain these representations as the truth (Siapera, 2010). Therefore, while these struggles for power can exclude, marginalise, and control other ideas and discourses, representations can constitute crucial weapons both for the dominant and the dominated social groups (Hall, 1997; Siapera, 2010). In reference still to the political dimension of representations, Michel Foucault (1994) detaches himself from structuralism and views the issue of representation from a post-structuralist dimension, and, subsequently, establishes a major theme in the post-structuralist reasoning - the importance of taking into account political discourses and governing structures when reading texts. To be more precise, Foucault (1994) argues that representations, in general, are directly implicated in power structures and as such, the connection between political discourse and issues of power becomes foremost important.

Therefore, Gramsci's (1971) conception of *cultural hegemony* (which is further developed by Stuart Hall, 1997) becomes of crucial importance to the methodological and analytical approach of this thesis; the Marxist theorist considers the dominant groups of a society to have had successfully persuasive intentions onto subordinate groups in order to accept the former's own moral, political and cultural values and institutions. In this sense, Gramsci's (1971) considerations on hegemony become foremost relevant in the context of the relationship between cinema and ideology: with the politics being transmitted and/or countered through the worldview of the dominating class (its language, beliefs, culture, etc.), through this process of appropriation, culture becomes politics, and, thus, receives hegemonic traits. But as the power of cultural hegemony lies in its invisibility, the dominant ideology becomes a mechanism of social control with the capacity to frame how the majority of the population sees the world, and, subsequently, serve the interests of the ruling class. Through a similar approach, Michel Foucault (2007) shares Gramsci's understanding of hegemony through what he refers to as *biopouvoir*, or the governmental means of regulating all aspects of human life through cultural and political subjugation. In other words, culture or art - in general, and cinema - in particular can be translated as the *instrumentum regni*, or as the governmental means of controlling and exploiting the population for particular ends.

From the same post-structuralist perspective, Mitchell (1994) sees representation not so differently from Hall, namely as a master-term that does not only mediate the audience's knowledge, but also obstructs, fragments and negates that knowledge. Notwithstanding its apparent paradoxical and conflicting essence, Mitchell's (1994) understanding of representation can be explained by accounting the constructivist nature of the media and its instruments. Thus, representation does acts as a mediator of the knowledge consumed by audiences, while at the same time influencing this knowledge through fragmenting and obstructing information. In this line of reasoning, it can be claimed that representation constructs knowledge. Mitchell's (1994) view becomes extremely relevant as he asks audiences to stop considering representations as mere

objects but to pay more attention to the relationship and processes through which representations are produced, valued and exchanged by the media.

2.3.4. Film spectatorship: between interpreting and constructing meaning

A question that one has to reflect on relates to the faithfulness and trustworthiness of media and cinematic representations. For Jacques Derrida (1997), who bases his deconstructive strategy of representations on oppositional dualisms, media texts do not represent a natural reflection of the world, but only of the reader's understanding of it. For him, no meaning can be determined out of context, so, through his process of deconstructing texts, Derrida considers that all instances subjected to analytical methods exhibit a *différance,* as he calls it (in Wood & Bernasconi, 1988); in other words, texts allow multiple, often endless, sets of interpretations. For Derrida, certainty in textual analyses is an impossible feature which cannot be achieved by the interpreter and in so believing, he rejects both the notions of truthful depiction of realities in media texts, and the reader's ability to reach a truthful end point of interpretation (1997). Similarly, Jean Baudrillard's (1981) post-modern theorisation of simulacra and simulation is directly targeted at the experience of consumers of the media culture (from television and cinema to the Internet and advertising); Baudrillard (1981) thinks that representations provided through cinema are not trustworthy as film audiences have lost the ability to make sense of the distinction between what is natural and what is artificially constructed.

Therefore, the processes of interpreting and constructing meaning gain outstanding significance. If David Bordwell (1991, p.2) uses the notion of interpretation in order to denote only certain kinds of inferences about meaning, Paul Ricoeur (in Bordwell, 1991, p.2) sees interpretation as a process of thought which consists in deciphering the hidden meaning in the overt meaning. Therefore, as Bordwell (1991, p.2) points out, there is a conceptual distinction between comprehending visual texts and interpreting them; while comprehension is concerned with apparent, manifest or direct meanings, interpretation is concerned with revealing hidden, covert meanings (Bordwell, 1991, p.2). Nevertheless, both comprehension and interpretation remain activities in which the perceiver plays a central role, as the piece of analysis is inert until the reader does something to and with it due to the fact that "meanings are not found but made" (Bordwell, 1991, p.3). Both techniques involve the construction of meaning out of textual cues, and, in this respect, meaning-making is a process of applying knowledge structures to cues which are identified within the pieces of analysis.

Though films require readers or spectators so as to produce meaning (Bordwell 1991), it is interesting to notice that film scholars and theoreticians have a divergent opinion when it comes to the audience's ability to interpret visual texts, and, thus, generate meaning out of their textual cues. Accordingly, if some acknowledge the spectator's capacity, others plainly dismiss it. For instance, Richard Allen (1993) reveals that film theorists have too often assumed that the average film spectator is fundamentally deceived into believing that what is seen is actually real. Christian Metz (in Rosen, 1986) adds to this explanation and argues that, in spite of cinema's more perceptual nature (when compared with other forms of arts), film can also be less perceptual in the sense that the status of these perceptions generated to its audiences can be considered, to a considerable

extent, to be false. Metz (in Rosen, 1986) goes on and claims that, while the activity of perceiving visual elements and casting meaning is real, the perceived objects are not really real, but the shade, double or replica of the author's intentions.

For the Frankfurt School of Thought, popular culture and media texts reside in an analogous argument about modern culture, society and ideology (Sim, 2015). An interesting point is aptly developed by Theodor Adorno (in Sim, 2015), whose notorious absolutism about popular culture represents a defining characteristic of his criticism. Adorno (in Sim, 2015, p.91) puts forward the idea that, while the consumers of mass entertainment are demeaned and cheated by the very creators of media texts, the masses' eagerness to trust and believe in the existence of a culture industry that caters to their individual tastes represents the ultimate triumph of commodified culture, as well as the capitalist ideology's successful attempts to eliminate alienation and socio-political resistance. While developing on this idea, Frederic Jameson (in Sim, 2015) proclaims the death of the autonomous subject who is able to either create (as the creative leader capable of creating art or media texts) or to interpret (as the viewer or reader of media texts) and records the subject's time of death at the emergence of capitalism. In this sense, Jameson (in Sim, 2015) argues that the autonomous work of art, in addition to the autonomous subject and his ego, seems "to have vanished, to have been volatilised" (p.90).

If, from a Neo-Marxist perspective, the loss of the individual subject equates with the passing of "historical agents and with the possibility of revolutionary politics" (Sim, 2015, p.90), for Adorno (in Sim, 2015), the individuality of the subject is being negated with his own autonomy itself and the necessity for that individual to resist reflection and introspection. Therefore, from Adorno's perspective, the audiences of all kind of contemporary media texts have become passive spectators and deluded subjects of ideological manipulation. Despite both Theodor Adorno's and Frederic Jameson's (in Sim, 2015) rather highly critical stances on popular culture (infamously seen as pure commodity that is imposed from above by the economic elite that controls the culture industry), both theorists find it paramount to protect the creative impulses of artists - as creators of media texts, and the critical and active subjectivity of critics and consuming audiences.

Sim (2015, p.101) concludes that music, films or other forms of art must alienate but not deceive; they should not provide and ensure critical distance, but they should be spontaneous rather than "automated, programmed or telegraphed" (Sim, 2015, p.101). In this context, Jean-Louis Baudry (1970, p.45) addresses the paradoxical nature of the cinematic screen in relation to its mirroring effect and ascertains that cinema reflects images but not the reality. The impression of reality is primarily created by a certain degree of the viewer's idealism: "reality mimed by the cinema is, thus, first of all, that of a self" (1970, p.45). Regardless of these aspects, as far as Baudry is concerned, as long as the viewer stays aware of the fictitious nature of cinema, he can create meaningful propositions about it. Furthermore, starting from Henri Bergson's (1998) reflections that the human mental apparatus works as an illusion that obscures its possessor from the perfection of the true reality, Gilles Deleuze (1989) rejects cinema as neither language nor signs, his main argument being that film is not an idle representation of subjects but actual content. Roland Barthes (in Rosen, 1986) emphasises the differences between representation and imitation in the case of films, when he claims that, despite getting rid of the real, a representation will still

exist, as long as a subject (either author, reader, spectator, voyeur) casts meaning behind it. Thus, Barthes (in Rosen, 1986) recognises the agency of media interpreters, considering that the interpreter is in possession of the tools and knowledge to generate meaning.

2.3.5. Approaches to film reading: multimodal critical discourse analysis

David Bordwell (1991, p.4) accentuates the idea that the meaning-making process based on comprehension and interpretation requires a set of applicable conceptual schemes that is to be placed on the selected visual text. In several respects, film theories consisting of a system of propositions that claims to explain the nature and functions of cinema play a key role in conceptual schemes. For Bordwell, within film criticism, there is no pure separation between theory and method. The reason for this is that film criticism works in opposition to a scientific experiment: no interpretation can fail to conform the theory (1996, p.4). Considering Bordwell's (1991) thoughts on the relationship between theory and methods and Roland Barthes' (in Rosen, 1986) reflections on the importance of possessing certain tools and methodological approaches when reading visual texts, the present section seeks to discuss the various approaches that can be adopted in the case of critically interpreting cinematic texts and of situating them as bound by representational / discursive regimes. Thus, Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) critical discourse analysis in addition to Machin and Mayr (2012) multimodal critical discourse analysis represent the main approaches to be discussed.

Van Dijk (2001) describes the practice of critical discourse analysis as the study of implicit or indirect meaning in texts. As Machin and Mayr (2012, p.30) further point out, these are the kinds of meanings that are often alluded to (or preferred) without being explicitly expressed by the author. Nonetheless, van Dijk (2001, p.104) considers that this implicit amount of information is part of a mental model of a text that can be separately seen from the text itself; therefore, such implicit meanings are related to underlying, already-existent beliefs, which are not openly, directly, completely or precisely asserted (van Dijk, 2001, p.104). It is essential to mention here that *critical discourse analysis* (henceforth, CDA) is also openly committed to political intervention and social change (Fariclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258). Thus, the method of CDA assumes that power relations are discursive, or, in other words, that power is transmitted and practised through discourse (Fariclough & Wodak, 1997, p.272). CDA is, thus, an emancipatory tool in revealing how discourse practices contribute to political exploitation or the abuse of social power. The aim of CDA is, as shown by van Dijk (1993, p.249), to reveal what kinds of social relations of power are present in the selected texts both explicitly and implicitly. Within this context, it is of great relevance to mention that this study seeks to more loosely follow the principles of CDA and its contribution to understanding ideological and political discourses in the context of cinema and its modes of representation.

Moreover, Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p.258) believe that the discursive facet of a unit of analysis is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures and in keeping with this opinion, Machin and Mayr (2012, p.24) state that there is a strong connection between CDA and Antonio Gramsci's (1971) concept of   cultural hegemony. In this framework, discourse constructs hegemonic attitudes, opinions and beliefs and makes them appear 'natural' and 'common sense',

even though they may hide traces of ideology (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.24). Thus, the aim of CDA is to draw out ideologies by revealing where they might be buried inside the texts and how they inform the production and consumption of discourse. As a matter of fact, ideology characterises the way certain discourses become accepted and, therefore, obscure the way they help to sustain the entire mechanism of power relations (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.25). While Fairclough (in Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.25) argues that Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony can be determined in the way the language is being used as a means of communication, Machin and Mayr (2012, p.25) claim that ideas of ideology and power are also communicated through different kinds of semiotic modes, other than language.

In this sense, Machin and Mayr (2012, p.1) point towards an increased range of linguists such as Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2001), O'Halloran (2004) or Baldry and Thibault (2006) who have developed different models of analysis that are often characterised by how language, image and other modes of communication (such as, moving images, sounds, objects, etc.) combine in order to create meaning. While Kress and van Leuwen (1996) coined the multimodal analysis term, Machin and Mayr (2012, p.9) developed the method by further linking it to the CDA. Therefore, *multimodal critical discourse analysis* (henceforth, MCDA) can be used to identify and reveal the communicative choices of authors manifested through both text and image by analysing them through a careful process of description guided by the tools provided (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.9). The sense of being critical - as described by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) - is a central element of MCDA, as texts generally use both linguistics and visual strategies that appear normal or neutral on the surface, but which may in fact hold an ideological role that seeks to shape the representation of events and persons for particular ends (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.9).

By applying the principle of the MCDA, this study seeks to denaturalise representations - as its core analytical activity - of other modes of communication in order to reveal the modes of representation existent in Romanian cinema, starting with the early 1960s and until the late 1980s. In addition to its semiotic value, this type of methodological approach primarily deals with visual communication and language, as well as their role in the communication of power relations (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.10). Under such circumstances, the MCDA represents the most adequate solution when analysing the relations of power and ideology in cinema, on the one hand, and when dealing with issues of representation in film, on the other hand. Thus, the object of the following methodological section is to describe how these approaches are utilised and to further explain their necessity within this thesis.

3. Research design

3.1. Method

This section delineates the methodological approaches that are put in practice in order to provide an answer to the research question and sub-question(s) of this study: how are intellectual figures portrayed in Romanian cinema and what is the nature of the relationship between ideology and such modes of representation? Colby (2010, p.2) asserts that, in general, qualitative research provides an enhanced level of descriptive detail and depth that is usually impossible to achieve with other types of research. Moreover, he also emphasises that qualitative methodologies are the best form to study how and why certain developments occur within socio-political contexts. Therefore, by applying this idea onto the present case, it can be claimed that the most adequate manner to depict the developments (socio-political, ideological but also cinematographic) in Romania is by adopting a qualitative research approach. Since the main scope of the research is to uncover implicit ideological meanings by digging deeper in the discourse of media texts, such a goal is not easily achievable by merely applying any qualitative method. As outlined in the last section of the theoretical framework that deals with theoretical approaches to film reading, the focus on such issues of representation calls for a specialised type of qualitative content analysis - specifically, a multimodal critical discourse analysis which is able to generate an examination of the discursive practices perpetuated in cinema and to reveal the hidden relations between the content of the films and ideology. With the questions delineated above being answerable through the employment of a MCDA, it is clear that this approach emerges as a natural choice for studying the discursive relations of power and ideology between the political regime and the artists.

By contrast, neither an exclusively quantitative method could achieve this objective. The main aims that can be found embedded in the above-delineated research questions lie within how discursive practices are being produced in the case of Romanian cinema, a goal which cannot be achieved by testing hypotheses. Moreover, the present research does not aim at quantifying large amounts of data in order to draw inferences about the overall image of intellectual figures perpetrated in Romanian cinema, since such a quantitative type of analysis, although undoubtedly useful to every extent, favours the possibility of generalisation to the detriment of the deeper understanding of the studied material. Additionally, such a quantitative approach would not help at grasping the covert ideological relationship between the regime and its cinematic modes of representation. After all, the interest of this study does not lie in counting the number of films where intellectual figures are cinematically represented, but in closely examining the structure of the discourse by shedding light on the implicit meanings that might be hidden under the explicit surface.

The novelty and innovative nature of this thesis is especially increased through the inclusion of a series of archival records analyses, which aim to provide a unique, historical insight of the ideological prerequisites delineated by the Socialist regime's empowered committees, and, their subsequent impact on cinema and its modes of representation of intellectual figures. Furthermore, the core analytical section is achieved by qualitatively analysing a range of films that pertain to intellectual figures in Romania (the MCDA will have as its main analytical tools semiotics and narrative/thematic analyses). Therefore, the following sections seek to explain the employment of

the archival analysis and of the MCDA (through semiotics and narrative/thematic analyses), the process of collecting data and determining the units of analysis, and, finally, the sampling procedures.

3.1.1. Archival records analysis

With the analysis of archival records primarily being used to provide a contextual framework on which the discourse analyses of the video texts are based but also to trace the ideological source of the modes of representation, this type of analysis primarily aims to firmly grasp the vital detailed information about the socio-political and historical developments of the Romanian society from the early 1960s and until the late 1980s. To be more precise, it is important to note that the data gathered through the archival records analysis has a three-fold function: (a) to describe the socio-political developments occurring as early as 1948 (when the first governmental decision is made with regard to cinema) and until the late 1980s (in 1989 the Communist regime collapses) and the imposed ideological agenda; (b) to examine the relationship between filmmakers and the empowered committees; (c) to check whether the authoritarian commissions delineate specific considerations with regard to the modes of representation employed, the cinematic narratives and styles adopted by filmmakers. At this point, it is important to mention that the reason why this archival analysis stops on that particular interval of time is that this timeframe ensures a much more in-depth contextual framework and, consequently, acts as a foundation onto which the analyses of the films are based.

The main justification for selecting the archival records analysis can be revealed by the strengths of the method itself: according to Yin (2009, p. 102) such a method guarantees a more stable research due to the fact that the records can be reviewed repeatedly. Similarly, data generated by this source of evidence is often exact (contains names, references, and details of events) and covers broad spatial and temporal information (long span of time, many events and many settings) (Yin, 2009, p.102). Probably most importantly to the purpose of this research, the archival records have the capacity to bring an exceptional insight in history, so they can certainly help at tracing the ideological relationship between a political regime and the modes of representation employed in the case of any social group or stratum, including intellectual figures.

However, while access should not represent an issue (except for the files promulgated in the post-1985 era, all Romanian Communist archives are public), the idea of reporting bias (or the that the evidence itself reflects the bias of an author) can still be problematic. Moreover, as MacDonald (in Gilbert, 2012, p.287) argues, the usage of public documents must be cross-examined, and the motives of their claims thoroughly assessed. The research of documents tends to be more of a general inquiry, and, as Glaser and Strauss (1965) suggest, an archival analysis can be frequently used in order to provide an answer to the "What is going on here?" question. In other words, if used as a singular method of research, archival or document analyses can be considered insufficient. Due to their socially-produced origin (MacDonald in Gilber, p.287), studies based on document analyses require supplementary methodological techniques in order to enhance the rigour and trustworthiness of their outcomes. Therefore, such a method should be, if possible,

complemented by another, as, by doing so, the phenomenon of triangulation can be achieved (Gilbert, 2012, p.299; Yin, 2009, p.137).

3.1.2. Multimodal critical discourse analysis

Not only to complement the archival sources, but to also delineate the primary goal of this research (to determine how intellectual figures are portrayed in the context of the Socialist ideology), a MCDA is employed (for more theoretical explanations of this methodological proposition, see the 2.3.5. approaches to film reading section). In order to identify and reveal the cinematic choices of Romanian filmmakers that are manifested through both text and visual cues, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) emphasise the sense of being critical as a key element of MCDA. Under the conditions that such video texts use both linguistics, visual strategies and subversive elements which appear normal or neutral on the surface, but which may in fact hold an ideological role that seeks to reshape the representation of events and characters for particular ends, this study primarily adopts the MCDA's ability to denaturalise representations as a means to discover the ideological connections between film portrayals of intellectuals and the existent political agenda.

Nonetheless, according to Berger (2012, p.138), such discourse analyses are most useful when used to discuss historic or comparative dimensions. By adopting this methodological approach, the present study is given the opportunity to discern between various trends from the past of the country and to determine whether there have been significant changes in attitudes about members of particular social classes, groups, strata, etc. (Berger, 2012, p.138). In this sense, Berger's considerations perfectly answer to the main aims of this thesis. Firstly, the comparative nature of this thesis is generated by its longitudinal approach when delineating the evolutions of the political regime and its ideological agenda - each decade representing a broader but distinct unit of analysis which is to be compared with another. Secondly, in order to account the socio-political, cultural and historical developments of the Romanian cinematographic industry and its relationship with politics from the early 1960s until the late 1980s, the selection of Machin and Mayr's (2012) MCDA in the present case represents a logical and natural decision. However, it is also of great importance to mention how is the MCDA going to be employed, and, subsequently, which analytical tools are to be utilised to translate the films and the representation of intellectuals: in this sense, semiotics and thematic/narrative analyses represent the main instruments of resurfacing the ideological elements and the emergent modes of representation.

3.1.3. Semiotics and thematic/narrative analyses

Roland Barthes (in van Leeuwen, 2005) claims that images (either photographic or moving ones) have two layers of meaning: the layer of denotation which answers the "what/who is represented here" question - and the layer of connotation, which helps at answering questions such as "what ideas and values are expressed through what is represented?" (Barthes in van Leeuwen, 2005, p.37). In addition, due to the fact that the present thesis deals with the issue of representation in cinema, Chandler's (2002, p.214) idea that semiotic analyses can have an essential role in assessing meaning-making and representation across modalities legitimises using

this particular critical perspective. Therefore, by decoding such aspects existent in the analysed films, the use of semiotics should be granting the researchers a wider understanding of the motives that stand behind particular cinematic aspects: camera position and angle, position of objects or people within the frame, use of lighting, colour or sound, etc. (Bignell, 1997, p.187). In other words, nothing is without purpose in cinema and, by using codes and conventions of representations, which are generally shared both by the creator of the film and the film viewer, the audience actively constructs meaning in the social world in which film-going exists (Bignell, 1997, p.187).

Furthermore, Buckland (2004, p.88) correlates media studies, in general, and film studies, in particular, with the semiotic perspective by arguing that a semiotic analysis can define a film's specificity and its uniqueness in terms of its underlying reality, rather than its immediately perceptible qualities. It can be inferred that through the usage of semiotics, a film can acquire latent layers of reality. As semiotics can cancel this latency, the ideological motives of the filmmaker can be revealed. Thus, by employing semiotics, researchers are allowed to look into the (initially) unobservable, latent level of the film meaning. By taking into account the two layers when analysing the video texts, this thesis comes closer to providing an answer to what it seeks to find out. As it is, the denotation layer reveals the actual strategic representation of intellectual figures in Romanian film, while the connotative layer discloses the potential political motives that stand behind the strategic representation; therefore, semiotics represent a perfect tool to be employed in the case of examining the relationship between politics, ideology, film and the emergent modes of representation.

Nevertheless, in addition to the uncovering the latent meaning in the case of portrayals of intellectual figures through semiotics, the ongoing themes and narratives are also accounted in order to understand the deeper relations of power between cinema and political mechanisms. In this sense, Gilbert (2012, p.422) claims that a narrative analysis carried out at the level of a social constructionist paradigm acts as a challenger of the realist position, but, at the same time, it also offers an alternative approach to the understanding of both the production and analysis of qualitative data. Since an exhaustive analysis, of each and every film features, appears to be an unattainable and certainly not beneficial endeavour to the goal of this thesis, both the themes and the narratives of the selected units of analysis are placed under scrutiny in order to decipher the meanings of the films, their representation of intellectual figures and the connection between film and socio-political environments in the case of Romania.

3.2. Data collection and units of analysis

With the dataset of this study being comprised of two different types of analytical units - the archival records and the readings of the films themselves -, this section aims to provide justification as to how the data was collected and how the final number of units of analysis was reached in this study. Additionally, it is important to mention that all 6 pictures used throughout the thesis were obtained from the Online Photo Library of Romanian Communism (http://fototeca.iiccr.ro/), whereas the 26 film screenshots were taken personally whilst watching the selected video pieces.

The main archival sources that are used for this qualitative approach are as follow: Romania's National Archives Institute based in Bucharest (the files of this institution are accessed

via personal attendance and membership), The Online Photo Library of Romanian Communism (online access at: http://fototeca.iiccr.ro/). Most of these archival sources are already public, while others have been made public by personal request. The archival data was gathered as a result of two trips to Bucharest (one in February and another one in May, 2015). Based on the available indexes and their themes, during the first trip, 8 documents were accessed (from 1948 until 1968), while the second trip resulted in accessing 9 documents (from 1969 until 1984) (more information about these files can be found in Appendix 1) For the purpose of adequately referencing these documents, it is important to mention that their quotations in the present thesis include the original number of the accessed file, their original year of publication, and, in most of the cases, the original page where the data can be found (only the documents from the post-1969 era contain page citations). Moreover, impediments were also faced with records not older than 30 years (therefore, 1984 is the last year when this type of analysis was accessible).

The unit of discourse to be critically analysed by this study corresponds to video texts (exclusively feature films produced between the early 1960s and the late 1980s). The analysis did not take into account all types of video texts available (shorts, documentaries, newsreels, television broadcasts, etc.), as such analytical units would have necessitated a completely different theoretical foundation and methodological approach. By contrast, the unit of analysis established by a single feature film enables the analysis of the cinematic elements on a micro-level (among others, lexical content, psychical appearance, narrational trajectory, etc.) as well as on a macro-level (the symbolic connotations of the characters' actions, the larger relationship with the ongoing socio-political developments, or the filmmaker's way of criticising or eulogising the regime, etc.). The number of video texts (feature films) analysed throughout this research equals 5 principal units of analysis, and another number of approximately 10 films which are mentioned and further accounted in order to establish potential patterns between the ideological agenda and the discovered modes of representation. The procedures of selecting and analysing the archival records but also of narrowing down the broad amount of Romanian films (Jitea, 2013 presents a number as high as 550 films to have been produced under Ceaușescu's regime) are presented in the following section.

3.3. Sampling

This section seeks to explain the process of finding, selecting the previously mentioned units of analysis (sometimes, even removing), the criteria taken into account for this process and how the examination of the analytical units progressed as a result of such methodological decisions. From the very beginning it is relevant to mention that the selection of the films is based on a strategic and purposeful sampling, because neither the video texts used in the analysis, nor the archival records are selected randomly.

If the final range of 17 archival files is chosen as a result of their origin (either the Agitation and Propaganda branch or the content Ideological Committee), their selection is exclusively based on their titles and labels established by the Romanian National Archives Institute (only files that contain obvious references to cinema and filmmaking were requested for access). Furthermore, in terms of how the selected records were utilised, it is of significant relevance to mention that the

extensive and broad range of information accessed (more than 1000 pages were scrutinised) allowed the present thesis to reconstruct the historical chronologies that surround the ideological prerequisites in the case of Romanian cinema under Communism. To be more precise, after carefully examining all 17 documents, relatively brief summaries were performed so to expose the relationship between cinema and ideology.

In a similar manner, two different kinds of sampling were used when it came to the films themselves. Firstly, a criterion sampling (which involves selecting units that meet some predetermined criterion of importance, according to Patton, 2001, p.238) in the sense that, out of the huge amount of films produced in the early 1960s - late 1980s interval of time, the films with higher grades and with a thematic approach that fit the aim of this thesis (the representation of intellectual figures) on a variety of movie platforms and reviewing websites were considered to begin the analysis with (such as, iMDB.com, cinemagia.ro, mubi.com). In this sense, commercially successful and/or socially relevant but also highly regarded films were chosen, so that aesthetically, thematically and politically evocative films were exclusively included in the analysis. This first sampling step raised to an amount of around 40 films.

Seeing the concerning number of this first sampling process with regard to the methodological guidelines and the time constrains of this master thesis, new measures were taken in order to further narrow down the selection. After a preliminary scanning of these films, a new sampling procedure was employed: the snowball or chain sampling (according to Patton, 2001, such a technique involves the utilisation of well-informed people to identify a small number of key cases who have a great deal of information about a phenomenon). To be more precise, this sampling procedure is based on the information provided by various researchers who have previously dealt with the issue of Romanian cinema under Communism (among others, the following proved to be the most helpful: Cristian Tudor Popescu's 2011 study of propagandistic cinema, Aurelia Vasile's 2011 dissertation on the mythical history in Romanian film, Bogdan-Alexandru Jitea's 2013 research of dissidence and conformity in Romanian cinema, or Marilena Ilieşiu's 2013 emphasis on the narrative structures of Romanian film). As a result of a scrupulous examination of their works, the snowball sampling culminated with a more narrow selection of films that served as the principal units of analysis of this thesis. Only the productions that were in possession of potential intellectual elements (from profession and social function to mental characteristics) were considered. In order to justify this decision, it can be argued that, by eliminating the films that did not contain the above-mentioned elements and characteristics, a much more adequate interpretation of the portrayal of intellectual figures could be performed. Moreover, by carrying out this selection, more thorough explanations could be achieved due to the fact that both dissident and propagandistic productions were taken into account; in this manner, the contrasting depiction between such pieces has the potential to generate a better understanding of the status of creative industries in Socialist Romania, their rapport with the regime, and the modes of representation employed in the case of intellectual figures.

With regard to how the gathered data was further utilised and included in the analysis, it is of significant importance to delineate the way the intellectual terminology was used, both in the previously mentioned sampling procedure and in the actual analytical section. In this sense, the

thematic relevancy constituted the primordial criterion, where an important thematic criterion for the selection was the existence of a cinematic protagonist or major character who was an intellectual according to the broadest definition of the term, as provided by Kurzman and Owens (2002): "people with advanced educations, producers or transmitters of ideas, or people who engage in public issues" (p.63). By accounting the specificity of the Socialist regime, Michel Foucault's and Antonio Gramsci's opinion of intellectuality represented another crucial criterion: in this sense, the latter's theory of organic intellectuality (where the working class representative can transcend his originally limited social function and become the true leader of a community by receiving intellectual characteristics) represented another way of tracing portrayals of intellectual figures. To sum up, in addition to the typical perception of intellectuality (the one provided by Kurzman and Owens), the struggles between social classes of the Socialist regime also transmitted the novelty of the present study when seeing the working class representative as potentially intellectual.

By making use of the online infrastructure of the website mubi.com, three main datasets were created, each corresponding to a different historical decade, as a result of the two sampling procedures and the previously-mentioned set of criteria: video texts from the 1960s (*Thirst, Close to the Sun, At the Age of Love, The Forest of the Hanged, Meanders, Gioconda without Smile, The Mornings of a Sensible Youth, The Reenactment*), the 1970s (*Stone Wedding, 100 lei, The Long Drive, Filip the Kind, Red Apples*), the 1980s (*Orientation Course, Sand Cliffs, The Cruise, Glissando*). Whilst the analytical section considered all of these films due to their thematic and political relevance to the aim of this research, only 5 of them constituted the broader, principal analytical units: *Meanders, The Reenactment, Stone Wedding, Red Apples, The Cruise*. Within this context, it is important to mention that the emphasis was placed on these 5 cinematic pieces due to their more explicit level of articulation when it came to the employment of intellectual modes of representation. By contrast, the other amount of 10 films still contained obvious depictions of intellectuals but they were merely used as an analytical procedure to more adequately enunciate and establish the modes of representation existent in Romanian cinema (more information about these films can be found in Appendix 2 and Appendix 3). Furthermore, the decennial structure approach is motivated by the outcomes of the archival analysis which are to be accounted in the first part of the results section: the key ideological shifts of the Socialist regime coincide with either the beginning of the decade or the beginning of it. Thus, this structural approach allowed for a more clear delineation of the relationship between internal policy-making and party directives and the produced cinema.

4. Results

      This section is divided in two main parts: firstly, the analysis of the archival records with its decennial structure (1948-1970, 1971-1980, 1980-1985), and, secondly, the presentation of the two modes of representation found in Romanian cinema: the *nonconformist intellectual* followed by the *proletarian intellectual*. Again, due to internal policymaking and ideological directives delineated in the archival records analysis, the examination of the films has a similar decennial structure (split in the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s). If the analysis of the archival transcripts is conducted through summarising the extensive amount of documents in order to reconstruct the history of the Socialist ideology within the arts, the examination of the selected films is performed through a multimodal critical discourse analysis with semiotic and narrative/thematic analyses as the main instruments of examination. In terms of the objectives of these two main analytical sections, the archival analysis aims to reveal the cinematographic developments from the perspective of the ideological committees and political entities, whereas the film analysis' purpose is to describe the way filmmakers responded to such cinematic prerequisites, and, further, employed distinct modes of representation in the case of intellectual figures.

4.1. Archival records analysis
4.1.1. 1948-1970: between Social Realism and liberating timeframes

      Following the nationalisation of all means of production (among others, film production companies, theatres, or film processing laboratories), one of the first political steps of Gheorghe-Gheorghiu Dej was to propose a treaty to the Soviet Government, which, on the one hand, enhanced Romania's national development of cinematographic production, and, on the other, promoted Soviet films through an improved network of film distribution (File 648/1948). In order to reach these two objectives, the files extracted from the Archive of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party show that Dej proposed the emergence of a single Soviet-Romanian joint venture, as the state-owned enterprise Romfilm became Sovromfilm. Furthermore, alongside the import of technical contributions (such as professional cameras, roll film, film stock, technicians, etc.), the exchange programmes established by the two governments, where Soviet filmmakers come and instruct the Romanian directors, also delineated a propagandistic aggregate based on the socialist realism doctrine extensively used in Soviet cinema during the 1930s and the 1940s (File 648/1948).

      During the years that were to come, the sessions of the Romanian Workers' Party primarily aimed to establish the Soviet aesthetics as a standard in Romanian cinema. First of all, the Central Committee recognised the cinema's "huge, invaluable force" and its "exceptional possibilities of influencing the masses from a spiritual point of view" as mechanism that could help the party "educate the working people in the spirit of Socialism" (File 414/1949). Therefore, by accounting that the "success or failure of the upcoming cinema primarily depends on the scenario", the Romanian filmmakers of the time were recommended to base their thematic influences on Soviet motifs, such as chief workers at the steel mill, the productive young farmer, the modest rural teacher or the Socialist patriot scientist (File 414/1949). This represents a potential explanation as to why until 1953 (when Stalin died), Romanian films (such as Călinescu's 1950 *Reverberating*

Valley or Negreanu's 1951 *Life Triumphs*), seemed to be didactic instances of the typical Soviet schemes of propaganda. By 1954, the members of the Central Committee of the Party still considered that the scenarios of fiction films failed to portray the "richness and versatility of the new life" of the Socialist people (File 1005/1954). The Communist authorities believed that the extremely varied aspects of the Socialist transformation were reduced to "lifeless" scenarios, that are based on "artificial portrayals", "pale and unattractive conflicts", and "sterile dialogues" (File 1005/1954).

Under these circumstances, a reorganisation of the Artistic Council of Cinematography was required, as a measure to remove the so-called "ideologically confused" films, terminology introduced during the Official Report on the situation of the Romanian Cinema in 1958, and which was to dominate the following three decades of meetings discussing the impact of ideology on Romanian film. A new collective of comrades, who were in charge of determining the content of scenarios before going into production, was proposed, so that these kind of ideologically impaired films were either rejected or adapted. Starting with the 1960s, Dej assumed new measures of detachment from Moscow in a de-Russification process that was marked by the eradication of the jointly-held Soviet Romanian cultural institutions (for instance, the Sovromfilm enterprise is abolished and the Russified street and theatre names go back to their initial titles), and which culminated with the official independency from the USSR, self-proclaimed in 1964. But, the political evolutions of the 1960s were quite evocative to the way the cinematographic industry and its onscreen representations were developing during the same period of time. The fierce dogmatism adopted during Dej's ruling, especially in the 1950s and towards the early 1960s, left a scarring stamp both on filmmakers and the empowered committees: if, on the one hand, filmmakers failed to innovate and produce good film - either ideologically or artistic - out of fear that their films could be rejected, on the other hand, most ideological panels continued to operate within the same strict ideological restrictions and to exercise some scrupulous filtering processes.

Under these circumstances, the early 1960s coincided with the last films to be made in favour of the USSR regime. In this sense, several themes emerged in Romanian cinema, such as the anti-fascist struggle (*Soldiers without Uniform,* 1961), the usefulness of the collectivisation process (*Thirst,* 1961; *When the Spring is Hot* - 1961), the theme of a society with an enhanced urban framework in order to counter Kremlin's desire to change the primary focus of Romania's production means exclusively towards agriculture (*Close to the Sun,* 1961), the utility of engineers, their necessity to the wellbeing of the nation, but also the eagerness the youth have to show towards labour (*Pride,* 1961; *General Delivery,* 1961; *The Man Next to You,* 1962), and, eventually, the anti-intellectual concept to prefer hard labour to any sort of rational endeavour (*Sentimental story,* 1961; *At the Age of Love,* 1963). But when discussing the cinematographic developments of the 1960s, another trend that opposed the involutions of the 1950s' overly-politicised cinema could be noticed: started by Liviu Ciulei with *The Waves of the Danube* (1960) and continued by Lucian Pintilie with *Sunday at 6* (1966), the Romanian cinema of the decade 7 witnessed an enhanced artistic sense that was mirrored in imaginative and aesthetically powerful films.

After Dej's death, Nicolae Ceaușescu embraced the same schismatic attitude towards Kremlin, and, subsequently, adapted his excessively nationalistic ideology to the production of films

starting with 1965. Nonetheless, 1968 represented a turning point in the history of Romanian cinema. Due to the large amount of entertaining films (such as, light comedies and musicals, e.g. *The Stolen Bomb,* 1961; *Love at Zero Degrees,* 1964) that were featured during the first half of the 1960s, the alarming escalation of films defined through their apolitical nature became more intensely debated during the sessions of the ideological committee. Therefore, in addition to enhancing the political purpose of films through ideology, the Communist Party showed significant interests in using cinema as a vehicle to form the new Socialist man. During the same sessions (the most relevant in this sense is File 106/1968 depicting the Session of the Ideological Committee of the CC of RCP from May, 23), some most interesting conclusions were made particularly with regard to the importance of cinema, as a key element in the dissemination of Ceaușescu's national-Communist ideology; among others, the committees (a) based their discussion on the ideological essence that was required from the Romanian cinema, (b) invoked the importance of public funding in cinema, (c) scrutinised the prevailing weaknesses of Romanian cinema particularly with regard to the low number of spectators and a lack of national/international success, (d) drew comparisons with other Socialist and Western cinemas, (e) emphasised the importance of intellectual figures in the life of the state and of the arts, and (f) debated the themes that should be addressed by filmmakers. All these discussions represent elements that are of significant importance in order to determine the context under which the portrayal of intellectual figures occurred in Romanian cinema during the 1960s.

Winner of the Palm d'Or Award at Cannes Festival for best short in 1957 and also member of the ideological committee, Ion Popescu-Gopo raised from the very beginning of the meeting a question that dominated its thematic content when he disputed the legitimacy of Romanian filmmakers to make concessions with regard to the Socialist ideology. Deliberating on the social importance of owning a functional ideological mechanism, Minister of Foreign Affairs George Macovescu shared Popescu-Gopo's doubts regarding either the abilities or the willingness of Romanian filmmakers to cooperate and to adequately reflect the issues of the Romanian people (File 106/1968). By accounting that the film "remains an excellent means of educating the individual through its ability to penetrate the human consciousness" (File 106/1968), Macovescu argued that creative artists shared the responsibility to construct a new Communist society. Despite that Minister of Education Paul Niculescu-Mizil also perceived films as "a weapon that fights for ideology", he emphasised the appearance of a series of pieces, such as *Meanders* (1967) and *A Charming Girl* (1967), which did not necessarily contravene the regulations imposed by the Party, but which were "ideologically confused" (File 106/1968). In his own words, such films were "extremely poorly anchored in our ideology and, thus, they fail to transmit it", as they suggested a "complete lack of ideas, an absolute mediocracy" through being determined by their "ideological and moral inconsistency" (File 106/1968). A most striking and evocative criticism on the state of Romanian cinema of the time is produced by Eugen Mandric, who condemned the lack of bravery of Romanian filmmakers; in his own words, "more courageous elements can be found in today's Scânteia issue (the political paper of the Communist party) than in three years of Romanian cinema" (File 106/1968).

Present at these meetings, Nicolae Ceaușescu justified the cinema's ideological purposes behind monetary issues. For him, the artist was free to create, but only under the conditions that he was doing so with his own financial resources; when the funds were provided through the united efforts of the Romanian people, Ceaușescu argued that the Party had the obligation to determine how the funds were being spent. In addition to the commercial potential that could be generated through the dissemination of Socialist cinema, both domestically and internationally, the Party directly took into account the propagation of Ceaușescu's national-Communist ideology. After all, the ideological and propagandistic aspects remained crucial elements that marked Ceaușescu's regime, and, Popescu-Gopo spoke for everyone when he claimed that "if a film of ours wins, the victory honours our ideology" (File 106/1968). In any case, the economic factor of any potential financial profits was not necessarily overlooked but became subordinated to the ideological purpose of cinema as a form of art.

Another heavily debated topic was with regard to the fact that the majority of Romanian films did not attract enough spectators in the national distribution networks, under the conditions that an increasingly competitive market was created internally through the import of Western commercial films or from other Socialist countries that experienced milder regimes. Nonetheless, if the success of several films (among the very few, *The Dacians* reaches 7 million domestic viewers) convinced the Party to acknowledge the importance of cinema when it came to its possibilities to disseminate ideological propaganda, the empowered committees also recognised the prevailing weaknesses of Romanian films, which, without a significant number of spectators, became powerless in terms of their ideological and propagandistic value. Despite that the commercial solution - or the adoption of sexual, violent, or comical elements - apparently seemed within reach, it could not be embraced by the ruling Party due to obvious incongruent ideological aspects. To be more precise, Nicolae Ceaușescu introduced a rather narrow but honest point of view on the condition of Romanian cinema and blamed the Romanian filmmakers' willingness to imitate the "disgusting occidental art", which was based on "obscene dances", "decadent music", and screenings of "naked actresses" (File 106/1968).

Photo no.3: *Ceaușescu during an ideological meeting*

Popescu-Gopo reinforced Ceaușescu's reluctancy towards the emergence of foreign, commercial films, but, nonetheless, accommodated the idea that, concomitantly, the Romanian audiences were attracted by the "novelty of the genre" (File 106/1968). Furthermore, writer George Ivașcu invoked the lack of personality of Romanian films, as he was primarily preoccupied by the national character of the Romanian cinema (or its lack thereof), which he considered to be behind the Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian, or Yugoslavian ones. Nevertheless, Ivașcu also urged for a rethinking of the themes and topics represented onscreen, and subscribed to the materialisation of a cinema that was politically engaged to contemporary topics. Under these conditions, every cinematic elements needed to be infused with political meaning, every action had to signify and convey something, each centimetre of film roll must be loaded with some sort of political message, as nothing happened onscreen only because it happened. As a potential solution to this kind of political involvement, Ivașcu used as an example the role of Western intellectuals who were more actively involved in politics, and who, despite their proneness to errors, "can generate an interesting climate" (File 106/1968). At the plenary session held in the same spring, Ceaușescu had a similar proposition and, thus, demanded more responsibility from intellectuals, who were officially requested to get more involved in the political life of the nation, "without fear or reservation in public debates" (in Scânteia 7687/1968).

After a couple of months, in June 1968, the ideological committee concluded that cinema's main task was to form the new man, who, as a builder of Socialism, was called to forge the perfect society, in which "Communism can manifest itself as freely as possible and through the most absolute means" (File 106/1968). Furthermore, in addition to adopting the recurrent theme of the politic film that debated the real problems of the new Socialist man through social realism, a reorientation was also made towards the popularisation of films that followed the great historical events of the Romanian people. Moreover, in order to make sure that the content of such films entirely followed the ideological considerations of the party, original scenarios were avoided as filmmakers were recommended to appeal to literary works that had already been published, verified and filtered by the empowered committees. Therefore, as a response to the ongoing political developments of detachment from Moscow, the number of high-budget, super-productions whose subject matters dealt with the history of Romanians or were based on literary works dramatically increased (such as, *Forest of the Hanged* - 1965; *The Șoimărești Family* - 1965; *The Dacians* - 1967; *The Column* - 1968).

Judging from the content and deliberations of these sessions, one can obviously notice the detrimental and damaging effects on the freedom of Romanian filmmakers. While the faint liberalisation that started in the post-Stalin era was slowed down by the ideological committees which formulated new cultural policies with regard to the cinema industry, one can also argue that the slight freedom enjoyed by the creative individuals in Romania during the 1960s can be simply equated with the idea of political opportunism on behalf of the Romanian leaders. Starting with Dej's detachment from Moscow and the self-proclaimed autonomy, and continuing with Ceaușescu's condemnation of the Warsaw Pact, the minor liberties that occurred within the cinematographic industry merely happened to coincide with the post-1953 efforts of the Communist leadership from Bucharest to emancipate their party from Moscow. Therefore, whenever freedom

occurred, as negligible as it might had been, a direct connection could be found between the liberal foreign policymaking of the time, that being one of de-Russification, and the impression of creative freedom itself. Nonetheless, the 1965-1968 interval represents a rare opportunity in the history of Romanian Communism when distinctively creative films were produced. 1968 coincided with the maximum level of liberalisation that was to be reached during Ceaușescu's early regime; before 1965, any anti-Socialist cinematic elements were directly denied as part of Dej's strict regime, and in 1968 and 1971, Ceaușescu imposed new unbearable policies of cultural censorship and social control, which would single out Romania among other Socialist countries through its re-stalinisation process.

Another important element that needs to be accounted with regard to the sessions debating the importance of ideology from the spring of 1968 is that the restraining measures were applied earlier in the case of the cinema industry than in other sectors of the Communist agenda. To be more precise, while the rest of the social interdictions became stricter starting with the July, 1971 theses, the cinematic industry suffered severe restrictions three years earlier, starting with 1968. In this sense, although that many films suffered modifications in terms of the plot and style imposed by the decisions of the ideological committees, out of the 164 films produced in the 1960s, only three were considered entirely problematic, and, thus, the following pieces were not granted public commercialisation: *A Charming Girl* (1967), *Meanders* (1967), *The Reenactment* (1968). Despite that the public distribution of these films was vehemently refused, it was not a coincidence that all of them were produced before the 1968 ideological sessions that hampered the filmmakers' freedom of expression. Thus, while the production occurred during a socio-political time of apparent amelioration of Ceaușescu's regime, their denial was entirely based on ideological and political considerations.

Under the circumstances of this series of poorly anchored films which also caused serious financial damages to the studios, starting with 1969, the cinematographic industry became much more constrained by the ideological regulations of Ceaușescu's regime. For instance, the content of the session held on the 15th of April, 1969 (File 56/1969, Protocol no.8) largely anticipated the distinctively severe decisions that were to be imposed nationally with the theses from July, 1971. Among the most intensely debated subjects was with regard to the improvement of the cinematographic industry's existent structure so that the state had much more effective control on the creative works of the filmmakers. From the beginning of the session, Niculescu-Mizil called for an improved network between the production studios, distribution companies, and the press as disseminators of the films (File 56/1969, p.3). Manea Mănescu, subsequently, continued this idea and argued that a better structural arrangement of the industry, which could oversee the production of films for the foreseeable future, could generate more "economically advantageous and ideologically compliant pieces" (File 56/1969, p.6). In this manner, both the distribution and the production of films became almost entirely dependent on their thematic content and ongoing narratives; thus, all films became more efficiently controlled by the state apparatus, and, subsequently, became subjected to certain regimes of representation.

It is also interesting to note that other members of the session (among others, Virgil Trofin and Vasile Patilineț) agreed on the matter that, when it came to the themes that needed to be

addressed, a more balanced corpus of films should had been arranged by the state. In this sense, the ideological mechanism was primarily supportive of historical films that depicted the patriotic and nationalistic attitude of Romanians throughout the history, films that addressed the contemporary socio-political issues of the new Socialist man, comedies and musicals, adventure and action films, but also the pieces that described the struggles of the Communists during their interwar illegality (File 56/1969, pp.4-8). But the most strikingly severe point was brought forward by Ceaușescu himself, who threatened to dismember all cinematographic organisms and send all filmmakers, whose films were not ideologically aligned, to work in factories (File 56/1969, p.16). Again, he justified himself by arguing that Socialist cinema should not represent the personal ambition of its creators but should merely address the issues that were representative for the new Socialist society, as its people were directly responsible with the funding of such creative works.

Moreover, during the same period, additional measures were taken by the ideological mechanisms in order to diminish the growing popularity of imported, capitalist films, but to also conserve the Socialist ideology. For instance, a directive was sent on the 18th of April, 1969 to instruct the Film Laboratory Mogoșoaia with regard to several alterations that needed to be made in Claude Leloch's *Live for Life*. In addition to 19 lines that were specifically selected for removal due to various political reasons, the scenes containing the visible civil revolt and Mao Zedong's portrait were also deleted. It is important to note the fact that all the lines and scenes altered or removed were unevenly distributed throughout the film so the the very essence and narrative trajectory of the film itself were definitely affected. If other renowned cinematic pieces such as Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* but also J.P. Carstairs' *Man of the Moment* suffered more straightforward modifications, an interesting case was Dino Risi's *Torture Me But Kill Me with Kisses*, where the censoring directive was more explicit than usually: the removal of the scene where obvious connotations were made towards Moscow - as part of the regime's separation from the Russian empire, the hugging women - as any sort of homosexual stance was illegal in Communism, or the conversation about the contraceptive medication - as part of Ceaușescu's project started in 1968 to forcefully repopulate the country.

4.1.2. 1971-1980: between creative austerity and a lack of interest in cinema

Following the visit in Communist Asia, 1971 marked the beginning of the re-Stalinisation process in every aspect of Romania's means of production; consequently, the cultural sphere was also severely marked by these socio-political changes. In this sense, the discussions held on the 15th of July, 1971 (File 87/1971) primarily focused on the financial aspects of cinema and the lack of profit Romanian films were generating to the budget. Furthermore, another interesting aspect emerged with respect to the re-organisation of the film industry as new leaders were chosen for the existent arts and culture organisms, individuals who were members of the party but lacked any professional or practical background in their new fields of operation. Therefore, this moment marked an absolute politicisation of every aspect of culture and cinema.

Additionally, it is important to specify that, starting with 1971, any discussion with regard to the cinematographic industry ceased to take place in the context of an ideological committee, but was performed either by the same commission delineated by the Party to deal with all aspects of

the Socialist society, such as transportation, collectivisation or metallurgy, etc. (as shown in File 87/1971), or as part of the Agitprop (Agitation and Propaganda) branch of the Party (File 2/1971). While the severity of these measures could be put on Ceaușescu's visit in the Socialist Asian nations, the changes also brought an additional separation of the Romanian Communist Party from Moscow, as the Russian government was suspicious of anti-Soviet developments (File 92/1971, p. 66).

Photo no. 4 & 5: *Ceaușescu visiting Socialist Asia*

During one Agitprop meeting (File 2/1971), Nicolae Ceaușescu claimed to have seen all the Romanian films produced in the 1960-1971 interval of time and, thus, considered the films with a historical subject matter to had been the most successful ones in "enhancing the emotional side of the audiences" (File 2/1971, p.110). Furthermore, the Romanian leader tackled the issues of cinema from an ambivalent position when he argued that the industry had two primary deficiencies: a quantitative one, so he proposed a new target of at least 25 films to be produced per year starting with 1972, and a qualitative one, when he condemned the limited amount of films that profoundly and courageously dealt with contemporary issues of the new Socialist society. In this sense, Ceaușescu introduced a more rigorous selection process that was almost exclusively based on scenarios, as he was unable to understand the lack of imagination of the filmmakers when it came to the subject matters of their films: more films should deal with the emancipation of the Romanian illiterate population (which dramatically increased from 35% in the interwar period) and the ruralisation and nationalisation of the educative means, the journey of engineers, technicians, foremen and economists (from 26.000 in 1938 to 400.000 in 1971), the way the peasantry used to perceive the world in the past and how the Socialist doctrine changed their perspective (all quantitative data provided by Ceaușescu himself during the meeting); "these should be the models of inspiration for future films and other forms of art" (File 2/1971, pp.117-118). In his own words, the solution for the best ideological cinema could be achieved if the following set of criteria was followed:

> "We want films with deep ideological content, which express our views about the Marxist-Leninist life and world, which convey a highly artistic form of our Socialist message, which transmit the most personal and intimate concerns of the new Socialist man and of his new life, we need films which can touch and move the spectators, by making him cry or laugh, grieve or rejoice, which can stir his consciousness and his sensitivity. We need films of all genres: historical, socio-political, comedy, serious films, educative, good satires. All these

genres need to be rationally administered in the most harmonious way possible" (File 2/1971, p.119).

Another interesting facet, which was to dominate the 1970s entertainment industry, was Ceaușescu's acknowledgment of the television as, surely, a more powerful and penetrative form of propaganda. In his own words, "the relationship between television and cinema should not be one of rivalry but a collaborative one" (File 2/1971, p.119). Inspired by the capitalist societies (he mentions the rising American weekly TV series and soap operas), Ceaușescu saw the potential of television and proposed that a series of TV shows based on canonical literary works and successful feature films to be further issued in the 1970s. Despite that the role of television in Romanian society did not represent an aspect that this study is dealing with, its emergence can represent a possible justification as to why, starting with 1972, the number of meetings dealing with cinematic issues dropped and the sessions discussing TV issues dramatically grew (in the 1971 - 1980 interval of time, Ceaușescu organised only two meetings with the representatives of cinema, in March, 1971 and April, 1974 - both sessions marking the transformation of Romanian filmmakers into what he referred to as "cooperative, party activists")(File 2/1971). Consequently, if the industry itself did not suffer any major changes until 1980 in terms of its structural organisation or thematic preferences, the Romanian filmmakers faced stricter filters and hierarchical processes that slowed down their attempts to bypass the ideology; therefore, if the 1960s had *A charming girl* (1967), *Meanders* (1967), *The reenactment* (1968), the 1970s lack from schismatic pieces (Mircea Săucan's *100 lei* is a major exception).

4.1.3. 1980-1985: between Daneliuc's revolt and Ceaușescu's intervention
Still, it is interesting to notice that the increasingly rigid conditions of the 1970s served as a launching platform and were generative of an extended range of acclaimed directors which were to briefly improve the face of Romanian cinema in the early 1980s, such as Dan Piţa, Mircea Daneliuc, Stere Gulea, Alexandru Tatos, Mircea Veroiu. To be more precise, the year 1980 was marked by a historical moment that was to drastically animate the cultural climate of the gloomy 1970s ideologically-anchored cinema. With a new series of films that transcended the previous decade's rigid schemes of propaganda, the new, and, as it will be shown, relatively brief, non-Socialist realism aesthetics were coagulated into a cinematic movement composed of filmmakers which was spearheaded by Mircea Daneliuc. By adopting a more aggressive and enthusiastic approach based on strategic and repeated pleadings submitted towards the Communist Party, the state leadership and the empowered committees but also never-ending meetings with the cinema policy-makers, Daneliuc's movement created a breach in the system which allowed the cultural miracle of the early 1980s to take place.

In October, 1980, as the File 32/1980 (no.4462/1980) demonstrates, the filmmakers addressed an extended number of issues so to enhance their freedom to create: (a) they requested an increased share of films debating contemporary issues and a broadening of the accepted themes; (b) the elaboration of a thematic guide with a longer term perspective (3-5 years) in order to increase the flow of creation; (c) the simplification of the existent system of decision

when it came to film production and the accepted range of scenarios; (d) the necessity to develop new funding opportunities and the material and technical base in order to achieve a rate of 60 films per year starting with 1985; (e) the widening of the international spectrum of distribution and the conformity of the Romanian authorities for the filmmakers to accompany the distribution of their films internationally; and (f) the arrangement of new official conferences on issues such as film production as the last one took place in 1974. After approximately 8 months of waiting (the same file dates the commission's reply at the 8th of June, 1981), the Agitprop branch of the Central Committee responded by rejecting most of them; nevertheless, Daneliuc's efforts were partially rewarded as the average duration of both pre and post-production approvals was reduced and, most importantly, the entire process of selection scenarios was simplified.

Under these circumstances, the release of several films, such as Mircea Daneliuc's *Microphone Test* (1980) and *The Cruise* (1981), Alexandru Tatos' *The House Between the Fields* (1980) and *Sequences* (1980), Iosif Demian's *A Girl's Tear* (1980), Ada Pistiner's *Snapshot Around the Family Table* (1982), or Dan Piţa's *Orientation Course* (1982) and *Sand Cliffs* (1983) could be understood as a subsequent translation of the political and ideological weakening that the Romanian cinema of the early 1980s was benefiting from. Upon further comparison, one can equate the 1980-1983 period of time with the 1965-1968 interval due to their common, slightly liberalising conditions that allowed distinct, anti-socialist films to emerge. If with Piţa's *Sand Cliffs* (1983) the favourable circumstances were terminated by Ceaușescu himself through the formulation of the so-called Mangalia theses in 1983 (the Romanian leader personally criticised the film as an untruthful depiction of the Socialist youth), the amount of films to enter post-production and still present problems to the ideological apparatus was substantially limited (only Piţa's 1985 *Paso Doble* represents a case of ideological disobedience). Therefore, with Ceaușescu's brutal intervention in August, 1983 that abruptly ended this emerging, reformist cultural and dissident trend, the renewal of the strict conditions reminded of Ceaușescu's 1968 destructive influence on Romanian culture and of the 1971 installation of the re-Stalinisation process; under these conditions, the Romanian cinema will be eventually liberated only with the violent collapse of the regime, after six years of hardship, in 1989.

Nonetheless, under the conditions proliferated by this reinstatement of strict regulations, Mircea Daneliuc continued to challenge the authorities on a personal level. Determined by, what he called, the "solidification and standardisation of censorship practices in Romania" (Letter 389/1984), Daneliuc requested further explanations for the slow but zealous developments to restrict his creative freedom, threatened to go on hunger strike, resigned from the Communist Party and asked for the permission to emigrate. When it came to Daneliuc's new film *Tender Letters* - which was never materialised due to vehement opposition -, the commentary of the Agitprop commission plainly surfaced the authorities' expectation of how an intellectual should be represented in cinema: "Daneliuc fails to demonstrate the real and authentic qualities of the Socialist intellectual: the passion for research, his sincerity and moral purity are non-existent" (File 61/1984). In what seems to be a fascinating and acerbic exchange of reactions between the committees and Daneliuc (File 61/1984 and Letter 389/1984), the authorities questioned the filmmaker's portrayal of the authentic Socialist intellectual figure, on the one hand, while the

filmmaker felt unfairly persecuted, on the other. Moreover, the commissions argued, certain actions of the intellectual, a doctor and researcher at a hospital in Bucharest, did not express the Socialist reality: "the character carries debris with the wheelbarrow, feeds rats," etc; in terms of the intellectual's psyche, he appeared defeated and helpless and "unable to recover from professional obstacles and his own romantic feelings for a woman of loose morals" (File 61/1984). As the committee put it, "it is hard to believe that an authentic Socialist intellectual lacks the discernment to choose his beloved woman and to reach such a corroded state of mind" (File 61/1984).

The content of this archival document substantiated the rigidity and the harshness of the committee, which assembled a formal medical commission in order to prove that the film portrays unrealistic events that were based on insufficient medical knowledge (File 61/1984). The precarious dialogues were also invoked: "despite that all main characters are intellectuals, the conflict, the ideas that animate the ongoing discussions remain at the mediocre level of rudimentary people, spiritually immature and socially undeveloped"; in this manner, the film was a "prejudice to the profession of doctors in Socialism" (File 61/1984). Eventually, it was suggested that Daneliuc should elaborate a completely different scenario where the "heroes are true Socialist researchers, men of culture that follow the model of the advanced Socialist man", as the "present hybrid lacked a real educative message and cannot arouse anything else but confusion". (File 61/1984).

Photo no.6: *TV tribute show for Ceaușescu in the late 1980s*

In conclusion, upon the analysis of the archives, the following main elements were revealed: the existence of several timeframes of liberalisation (such as the 1965-1968 and the 1980-1983 intervals of time) which were always followed by a series of policies of dramatic cultural austerity (such as, 1968 when Ceaușescu enhanced the propagandistic role of cinema, the theses from July, 1971 when the authoritarian regime authorised a barbaric re-Stalinisation of both cultural and societal spheres, and Ceaușescu's 1984 Mangalia theses when the Romanian leader took action against the brief reformist overtones of the cinema industry); under the vociferously declaimed idea

that the Communist Party did not employ censoring practices, the ideologically-unanchored films were not officially banned (in the case of *The Reenactment* or *Sand Cliffs*, they were shortly withdrawn after their premiere, others were distributed exclusively at obscure cinemas or in remote rural areas - such as *Sequences* or *Fox Hunting*, while others were radically deformed from their original artistic concept - the case of *100 lei*); moreover, renowned foreign films were not omitted from this ideological scrutiny; the cinematographic industry underwent several re-organising procedures, in 1968, 1971 and 1984, so that the creative and production processes were closely scrutinised; the ideological compliant range of cinematic themes was narrowed down to the ones that can emotionally touch the spectator or effectively depict the beneficial transformations of the new Socialist man; the ideological committees traced clear and adamant characteristics of the Socialist intellectual prototype that needed to be followed when employing this mode of representation (the character needed to be deeply anchored in the reality, to be in possession of elevated moral values, to represent a sublime model to the Socialist youth - both spiritually and professionally - who was able to honour the Socialist doctrine; in the same time, the intellectual could be an idealist daydreamer, who had personal and/or professional struggles, who did not trust himself, who pursued mediocre endeavours, and, most importantly, the authentic Socialist intellectual could not suffer from tragic events).

4.2. Representations of intellectuals in film

As one has noticed, the creativity of filmmakers is obstructed by ideological and hegemonic factors which means that the representations of an extended range of professions, social strata, types of individuals are also subjected to alterations so that they match the role assigned by the Socialist ideology. If one returns to Antonio Gramsci's rather universal understanding of intellectuals in society - where all individuals are intellectuals to the extent that they own intellectual and rational faculties but not all individuals have the societal function that an intellectual possesses, one can claim that intellectuals represent an ever-present entity in the Socialist society, and, consequently, in the Romanian cinema. Thus, from Gramsci's perspective, one cannot invoke the notion of under-representation of intellectual figures in Romanian films. Still, a major issue thoroughly analysed in the presents paper is based on Gramsci's interpretation of class-bound intellectualism, that is pre-existent, traditional intellectuals who usually put themselves forward as autonomous representatives of their dominant social group, and organic intellectuals who speak for the interests of a specific class but may also act and think differently. As shown in the theoretical framework section that deals with class-bound intellectualism or the rise of modern intellectuality, the very basis of Gramsci's interpretation of organic intellectuals is established on the idea that each specific social class has a representative who has the ability to transcend his role and assume the archetypical role of that profession, class, stratum etc.

Nonetheless, in order to determine the characters' affiliation to what this analysis considers to be intellectual, it is vitally important to mention that, in addition to their profession and relationship with the means of production within a society, other psychological or mental traits of the portrayed individuals are also considered in the following analysis. Thus, while Gramsci's o Foucault's Marxist categorisation of the role of intellectual figures in society remains the core angle

of the examination, the analysis of intellectual representations in Romanian cinema may also often refer to other sociological approaches: for example, the need for intrinsic reflection which is specific to intellectual classlessness, or the universality and idealisation that is peculiar to class-in-itself intellectualism. Due to a relatively broad understanding of the intellectual terminology, a wide range of representational modes is surfaced following the analytical process: the rebellious (nonconformist and educated intellectuals) and the working class (the proletarian, technocrat, or political activist). By merging these surfaced subcategories of cinematic intellectuals, in the case of the Romanian cinema produced starting with the early 1960s and until the late 1980s, intellectuals can be distinguished between *the nonconformist* and *the proletarian.*

4.2.1. Nonconformist intellectuals

Despite the representational mode of the nonconformist intellectual not being an entirely evocative technique of representation concerning the role attributed to intellectuals in the Romanian cinema and society, it is still a most remarkable mode of portrayal that can be recurrently found especially in the timeframes which coincided with a less-strict and more-liberal political regime (by contrast, the cinematic evidence of intellectual nonconformity decreases with the increasingly rigid ideological restrictions during the next two decades). Therefore, the very fact that it does not exemplify a completely suggestive representation of how the Socialists normally place intellectuals in a society adds to the discernibility of this kind of intellectual and its mode of representation.

Based on the typical artist, whose profession can range from architects, filmmakers, writers or musicians, the nonconformist kind is the key representation of intellectuals who connote anti-state, dissident implications. The nonconformist intellectual rejects most of the aspects which can be more or less directly related to war, violence, hate, and, usually, adheres to social isolation, introversion and/or individual depersonalisation by choosing to channel this particular inward state of mind into his own creative work. The nonconformist may also be a (revolutionary) nostalgic kind of intellectual who has a particular admiration for the great events of the historical past, especially for the interwar period, and who often finds himself reminiscing on the bygone society and politics; nonetheless, the idea of cultural revolution makes the nostalgic intellectual's spirit vibrate, while bringing him closer to his ideal *Weltanschauung*. In this sense, the nonconformist intellectual can additionally be endowed with idealistic traits. Thus, this kind of intellectual may alternate between two types of civilisations, an interior or spiritual one that opposes the exterior or material one, where the latter is always doomed to remain inferior to the civilisation which opted for the moral and profound form of development. From a political dimension, the nonconformist and idealist intellectual supposes that he has the responsibility to imagine and construct new political projects, where everything is designed according to his own idealistic outlooks. Thus, his own utopianism and desire to improve the existent society generate particular dissident, anti-state traits.

4.2.1.1. 1960s: between sterile lunacy and anti-hegemonic rebelliousness

One of the most powerful representations of the nonconformist intellectual is, unsurprisingly, delivered by a film which is rejected due to its "confused ideology", to use the description of the

commissions (File 106/1968). The kind of cinema that Mircea Săucan's 1967 film, *Meandre/ Meanders,* perpetuates is based on frequent syncopations and atypical temporal transitions, and, if the narrative plot, which can be briefly explained as an unpredictable romantic triangle, does not necessarily oppose the Socialist ideology, it is its offbeat and unorthodox construction that generates political suspicions. Constructed in flashbacks rendered through minimalist, black and white aesthetics, and perfect symmetries, the large number of inaudible scenes that leave the subject matter open to interpretation - as if something else is always going on regardless of the fact that the viewer is able to decipher it or not - marks the existence of an ever-present second meaning in Săucan's view of the world. In this sense, the filmmaker turns all of his cinematic elements into dynamic connotative signs: one can refer to the unconventional dialogues or the unusual decors, such as the desolate high-school ball scene that is reminiscent of the characters' collective past or the church *mise-en-scène* with its striking balance between the solemn and the profane. Moreover, by obsessively repeating several patterns and scenes (the farewell from the station or the couple watching the documentary on television, for example), Săucan generates new meanings, as each of the replicated scene has the purpose of progressively enriching the previous range of connotations.

But exactly happens in *Meanders*? While one can argue that nothing too incomprehensible or too subversive, the characters' exacerbated states of internal turmoil call for supplementary scrutiny. The film depicts - with a rather pretentious flashback-based syntax which definitely surpasses the historical moment of its release - two opposing world-views of two intellectuals, Petru and Constantin, who understand their creative vocation in a dissimilar manner. In other words, the film can be considered to be an abstract, philosophical confrontation between the two architects; even though the conflict seems to be incipiently occurring on a professional level, where due to his advantageous social position and political orientation, Constantin obstructs Petru's talent from being positively exploited (as his boss, he sends him to draw posters of rabbits), the rivalry has more intrinsic and much deeper connections with the past. Therefore, the conflict rooted in the conjugal and familial sphere also provokes collateral victims: firstly, Constantin's wife, Anda, who abandons the man she actually loves so that she benefits from an older, richer, more confident husband, and probably more importantly, with a safer political alignment, and, secondly, their son, Gelu, who has lost the confidence in himself and in his parents. Nevertheless, even if both Anda and Gelu trust Petru more than Constantin, both end up choosing the latter.

The conflicting perspectives on the world of the two intellectuals are also reflected through Săucan's cinematic modes of representation of the intellectual as a socio-political individual. If Petru is the outsider, an enigmatic and mysterious creative genius who does not seem to care about hegemonic structures and social regulations, Constantin is the inflexible husband, whose professional ascension is entirely based on opportunism and careerism. Therefore, Mircea Săucan applies these traits to create a paralleling dimension between the two individuals when it comes to their role as intellectuals: if Petru certainly fits the nonconformist intellectual paradigm, Constantin's qualities recommend him as a combination of the proletarian activist (due to his involvement with governmental entities) and the educated intellectual (his profession allows such a characterisation to be used). Moving on, the antagonistic representation of the two architects, or between Gelu's

father and his mother's ex-lover, culminates with Gelu empathising with Petru primarily as a result of their metaphysical sameness; in this sense, Săucan levels the nonconformity and creates a collective of similar characters who become the resistance against the dominant power.

Petru is imaginative and rebel, lives in a dirty but bohemian "shed" that has not been washed in a while (as Anda sees it), and presents, as a defining characteristic of his persona, the ability - or, in this case the burden even - to deeply and introspectively contemplate on his own metaphysical identity. By displaying a contagiously pathological perspective on life - marked by some profound pessimistic and nihilistic attitudes towards the rest of the world in general, and love or work in particular, Petru's manner of representation is based on the nonconformist intellectual heavily saturated with internal turmoil. His revolutionary nostalgic self is also revealed in several instances, primarily through flashbacks from his relationship with Anda, but also by a scene of him reading Alexandru Odobescu's *Pseudokynegeticos*, a collection of essays from the late 19th century that mark the character's re-orientation to a long-gone society, and a beloved cultural and political environment.

Screenshot no. 1 & 2: *Gelu ambushing Petru / Petru reading Odobescu's Pseudokynegeticos*

The rebelliousness of the nonconformist intellectual is most significantly emphasised towards the end of the film, when in spite of the fact that Petru receives acknowledgement from the authorities and is offered an executive position within the academia, he rejects the proposal and, to comply with the archetypal revolutionary antihero, he escapes the superficial urban sphere and goes to the seaside. The sea, sketched as the dimension capable of unifying the free spirits, is the narrative space where Petru reconnects with Constantin and Anda's alienated son, Gelu, another character who apparently presents strong nonconformist, intellectual traits. If, at a first glance, his physical appearance reveals rebelliousness and nonconformity - dishevelled presence, unbuttoned shirt, walks barefoot, wears thick eyeglasses, etc. - a closer look reveals the filmmaker's desire to portray a distinctive, unorthodox portrayal of the intellectual. As a primitive representation of the problematic child opposing the restrictive social and genetic structures, he runs away from his parents in order "to get some fresh air", to be free. This sequence is smartly presented by Săucan who makes use of the liberated white horse metaphor as a visual element that introduces Gelu into the narrative in order to delineate the freedom and inner relentlessness of the character. While, as a kid, Gelu is increasingly preoccupied with culture (the flashbacks depict him reading, playing with sculptures, imitating a symphonic conductor, etc.), his apparent lunatic behaviour culminates with

Gelu ambushing Petru with a pen, which, in this context, symbolises the weaponry of intellectuals against ideological structures. Nonetheless, Săucan efficiently makes use of Gelu's mental imbalance as he equates it with the idea of freedom: in order to be free, one requires a touch of madness. From a socio-political perspective, this idea can be translated as Săucan's own ideological position on creativity and artistic constraints or as a critique addressed to the regime itself: the men of culture of the time were required considerable amounts of both madness and courage to fight for their own freedom.

While the limited presence of the nonconformist mode of representation of intellectual figures in the Romanian cinema of the 1960s can be justified by its distinctively dissident peculiarities, another quite powerful instance of intellectual nonconformity can be noticed in Liviu Ciulei's 1965 *Pădurea spânzuraților/Forest of the Hanged*. The scenario, an adaptation of Liviu Rebreanu's eponymous novel, delineates the inner conflicts of Apostol Bologa, a Romanian lieutenant serving in the Austro-Hungarian Army during World War I. As a member of the Martial Court, Bologa is in charge of punishing deserters but, progressively, the horrors of the military routines build up inside of him in a remarkable cinematic study of the dehumanising repercussions of war. Undoubtedly an intellectual, Bologa is a former student of philosophy who presents clear traits of nonconformity, or at least characteristics of disapprobation towards the hegemonic structures, that can be understood both from his military decisions and his own intrinsic conflicts. By analysing the long and constant inner hesitations of the main character which also mark the chronological progression of the plot - he voluntarily enlists in the army, assists his first hanging which he ethically disputes, is injured, breaks off his engagement, falls in love with a Hungarian girl, heads the commission determining the fate of some Romanian deserters, becomes a deserter himself, is caught, tried and sentenced to death by hanging - one can notice the cyclical nature of Bologa's cinematic path. In this sense, Liviu Ciulei's film opens with the main character organising a hanging and ends with him being hanged.

Though the construction of the main character does follow several traits of the nonconformist intellectualism mode of representation, Bologa criticises the practices of war and enlists not from a nationalistic conviction but in order to impress his fiancé, Marta; thus, most often than not, he is inclined to follow his spiritual side rather than the material one; he lets his personal reflections and inner conflicts guide his pathway, etc. Ciulei's interpretation of intellectual figures is not as courageous as Săucan's in *Meanders* or as suggestive as Pintilie's in *The Reenactment*. In *Forest of the Hanged*, Apostol Bologa primarily displays his nonconformity through his dissident practices and anti-hegemonic actions, while he reveals his intellectualism in his ever-present metaphysical reflections on life, responsibility, love, or the ethics of war.

Therefore, a critical reading of Ciulei's rendition of the intellectual figure can reveal interesting aspects, Bologa's death acting as an impending stage after his own relentless inner conflicts: had he not distrusted himself or others, he would not have suffered this tragic end. After all, Bologa's fate is presented entirely as an act of voluntary choice - either between his inherent Romanian origins and his Austro-Hungarian duties, or between his love of Marta, his Romanian fiancé, or Ilona, the Hungarian girl. It is interesting to notice that whenever these narrative lines collude with each other, the intellectual becomes, at first, confused with regard to his own position in society,

and, towards the end, entirely acceptant of his fate. Despite the fact that, at a first sight, Ciulei's film may seem exclusively historical, his representation of the intellectual is primarily relevant to the socio-political and cultural conditions of 1965, the beginning of Ceaușescu's nationalistic regime. On the one hand, the fate of the intellectual who deserts can be understood as a cautionary tale to any potential deserters in the 1960s, while, on the other, the internal struggles of the intellectual can be interpreted as patriotic and nationalistic. After all, in 1965, when the film is released, Bologa's decision to desert from the Austro-Hungarian army can be seen as a courageous and anti-foreign sovereignty act of patriotism.

Screenshot no.3 & 4: *Portrait of Apostol Bologa / The opening scene of Forest of the Hanged*

Despite presenting less obvious traits of intellectual nonconformity, Lucian Pintilie's *Reconstituirea*/*The Reenactment* is a key piece in the history of Romanian cinema and entirely relevant to the modes of representation of intellectual figures of the 1960s. Furthermore, the very fact that the film is considered problematic emphasises the connotations and meanings that such a piece may hide from the authoritarian regime and its censoring committees. Even so, the narrative structure seems rather simplistic - a prosecutor receives the task to coordinate the recording of an educational film with two troubled youngsters, Vuică and Ripu, as the leading actors in exchange of their freedom.

From the very beginning, it is important to note that the characters' intellectualism is not too overtly depicted by the filmmaker: even if Vuică and Ripu's personalities present more nonconformists traits (blunt rebelliousness and defiance towards authorities) than the typical characteristics of men of culture (they are not the typical erudite, cultured characters, in possession of neither a coherent logic nor rationality), their existence is still based on ethical and highly virtuous decisions; in this manner, their inner conflicts guide them to transcend their social position, and from mere delinquents, Pintilie attributes both characters highly spiritual and moral overtones. Vuică is the Romanian equivalent of James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), with whom he shares a similar tragic ending, and Ripu is the quintessence of the character who, despite an apparent foolishness, yearns for probity and morality; refusing to punch his friend and serve the interests of the authorities, Ripu is the personification of the average Romanian striving for a morally superior world. Therefore, in spite of their lack of typical intellectual activities, both characters withstand the existent society through conscience and powerful moral principles. Another interesting character presenting similar nonconformist traits is professor Paveliu, who shifts from his incipient responsibility as the relentless defender of the two immature protégés and

a pivotal voice of the anti-state academic structure to a blind witness to the ongoing atrocities. In this way, Paveliu is a caustic observer of society, who examines, analyses, but does not actively engage with the authorities in order to change something. Under the alcoholic effect of the so-called "Oriental cream of tangerines" beverage, professor Paveliu turns into the philosopher who observes, bewildered and powerless, the serious infringements of the re-enactment procedure. The way Pintilie makes use of this character is entirely suggestive of his depiction of the average Romanian intellectual: highly observant, vigilant and always willing to acknowledge the socio-political injustice of the regime, but never able to condemn or to commit to a common cause and to vigorously consolidate their anti-state viewpoint. Along these lines, one can see the filmmaker's translation of the intellectual as generative of potentially dangerous assumptions which were also detected by the ideological committees of the time; though *The Reenactment* does not contain any overt mentions of the party or the regime, Pintilie's strength lies in his ability to imply and to hint at various socio-political developments rather than actually criticising them. Thus, his piece becomes entirely relevant to the nonconformist mode of representation of intellectual figures in the 1960s.

Screenshot no. 5 & 6: *Vuică and Ripu waiting for their sentence / Professor Paveliu observing*

4.2.1.2. 1970s: between personal struggles and political conformity

Set in two distinct narrative sections, the 1972 art-house film *Nunta de Piatră/Stone Wedding* (thematically split in Mircea Veroiu's *Fefeleaga*, and Dan Pița's *La o Nuntă/At a Wedding*) represents an interesting example where the nonconformist intellectual mode of representation is employed. If the first narrative structure primarily engages in depicting the bleak efforts of the proletariat through an agglomeration of symbolic codifications (the white horse as the common people's unattainable freedom, the puppets as an artificial reminder of how their bucolic lives could have developed under different circumstances, etc.), the narrative of the second segment is constructed by engaging a collaborative, almost contractual relationship between a fugitive and a gypsy musician. In addition to perfectly paralleling the gloomy scenery emphasised in the first cinematic segment, the second passage becomes increasingly more dynamic when it comes to the construction of its characters. By investing them with powerful dissident tendencies - the deserter represents the free character by definition and the musician is the one who disregards the bourgeoisie and runs with the bride, Pița attempts to return to previously employed modes of representation of the intellectual from the antecedent decade. In this manner, the nameless deserter reminds of Săucan's Gelu as the alienated and soon-to-be-liberated teenager, or of

Ciulei's Bologa when it comes to the characters' rupture from soldiery, while the musician represents the typical bohemian artist, confident of his genius, who becomes unwilling to conform with the power structures in a romantic triangle that reminds of *Meanders*' Petru - Anda - Constantin.

Nonetheless, the lucidity and overtness of Dan Pița's nonconformist intellectual is categorically more confined within the new ideological conditions under which his film emerges, aspect which is confirmed by the very tragic destine of his characters. Entirely detached from the existent world, the deserter (played by the renowned Mircea Diaconu) embraces his new role as an entertainer in a process that helps him transcend his initial social position, but he is eventually hindered in his pursuit of his recently discovered vocation. For Pița, the unanchored individual is a mere tool whose exclusive purpose is to distract the social authorities from finding the culprit and to provide assistance to the benefit of the more confident and capable individual so to achieve his goals (purposely or not, the deserter is used by the musician: when the deserter assumes the musician's function to entertain the wedding guests, the latter runs with the bride in a series of actions that get the former murdered).

In accordance with the creative strictness propagated in the Romanian cinema of the 1970s, cinematic productions that depict an anti-Socialist intellectualism continue to be greeted with harsher breaches of the visionary auteurism of their creators. For instance, Mircea Săucan's neo-realist *100 Lei*, which was to be his last production on Romanian soil, is among the very few films to address the theme of intellectual rebelliousness, and probably the most explicit representation of the juvenile anarchist in Romanian cinema - at least, in its original version, unaltered by the authorities. With the narrative trajectory being marked by the recurrent romantic triangle of Săucan's cinema (between the two brothers, Petre - the restless and rebellious adolescent, and Andrei - the influential but conceited artist, emerges Dora, the seemingly pure girl), the message of *100 lei* revolves around the adventures of a dreamer whose enthusiasm is crushed by the surrounding conformity. Nonetheless, if the discord between the two siblings is only apparently generated by their common romantic interest, the conflict is more deep-seated where the divergent, intimate principles and opposing world-views generate the rupture (innocence against selfishness, spiritualism against pragmatism, integrity against hypocrisy, or, the anarchy of the eternally tumultuous adolescent versus the docile social order).

The reasons that stood behind the government's decision to interfere with Săucan's piece are, therefore, quite obvious: despite being based on a series of very ordinary events and circumstances, these are, nonetheless, considered to be taboo issues by Ceaușescu, such as acts of bravado and violence among the youth (Petre jumps out of the car, goes swimming fully dressed, steals food not because he needs it, but just for the sake of it), or the lack of educational opportunities and the youth's inability to readjust to the socialist regime (Petre is a failed architecture student, an unsuccessful and neglected poet who also fails to get his driving license or to maintain a romantic relationship). In the eyes of the regime, the representation of the intellectual as the complete failure is not reflective of the Socialist society and its perpetually triumphant elite.

Thus, in the cinema confined within the ideological regulations imposed by external, non-artistic entities of the 1970s, the Socialist intellectual cannot question oneself, he cannot suffer

tragic ends but he must be a responsible role model for the youth, a virtuous example to be followed by the others. With the government suspecting the anti-Socialist realism of the film (despite Săucan's piece not disputing Ceaușescu's regime through its stark narrative, but merely through its progressive outlook, experimental format and daring message), the original version of *100 lei* suffers drastic changes in its post-production stage. After an exhausting fight against censorship, the distributed variant is truncated and shortened arbitrarily by the authorities, some sequences are replaced and other amputated, the entire narrative trajectory is deteriorated: the hero is rescued from his initial tragic end, the Buick convertible is banned from the film, the poetic dialogues are replaced with tedious and sterile slogans, Anatol Vieru's dynamic and experimental soundtrack is replaced with Richard Oschanitzky's more accessible but rather obsolete orchestral romanticism, etc. In this sense, the Socialist intellectual that the censored *100 lei* presents is deeply and exclusively anchored within the reality he is living, as he is unable to have higher ambitions - a representation that is in sharp contrast with the portrayal Săucan originally had in mind.

Screenshot no. 7 & 8: *Dora and Petre kissing / Petre and Andrei, the brothers in conflict*

Unlike Mircea Săucan's mode of representation in *100 lei* - whose too courageous and anti-Socialist characteristics of the intellectual put in jeopardy the very distribution of his film - other filmmakers choose to comply with the regime's outlook on what the Socialist intellectual should look like. With the oppressive repercussions of the July theses still perceivable, Alexandru Tatos delivers his own rendition of the Socialist intellectual by adding an unusual twist in his 1976 *Red Apples*: in addition to presenting obvious traits of nonconformity to certain power structures, the main character, Mitică Irod, also possesses the typical moral values and principles of the proletariat - which are to be discussed when analysing the intellectual as working class.

In order to more realistically depict this complexity of social functions and moral tasks, the doctor's ambivalent nature is revealed through a rather unusual juxtaposition: on the one hand, Mitică is a talented surgeon and a jubilant individual who is committed to performing his social duty so as to save the lives of his patients; on the other hand, Mitică holds strong and radical overtones of disobedience when his willingness to help is intersected with a superior's arrogant desire to pursue his self-interests. Undoubtedly an astute intellectual (Mitică is considered a local celebrity, a real medical genius), Tatos' main character reveals nonconformist values to the extent that his noncompliance re-establishes the pure Socialist hierarchical order and the absolute good; under

these conditions, it is not an exaggeration to claim that, for the Socialist authorities, defiance and nonconformity are aspects that can be firmly used as cinematic motifs only if they are not targeted at the very power structures of their own doctrine. By complying with this ideological view, the mode of representation employed by Tatos is based on the intellectual's determination to manifest his inner nonconformity – a characteristic that the Socialist ideology is not necessarily very open to – only if it is directed against the regime's enemies: after all, Mitică channels his rebellious proclamation against Mitroi, the doctor who epitomises the corrupt and unethical individual, who has to be eradicated from the Socialist society.

Still, the real conflict in Alexandru Tatos' *Red Apples* is neither the capacity of the average man to challenge the system, nor the main character's inner struggle (since the latter is non-existent: Mitică never questions himself if he is doing the right thing by confronting Mitroi) but the singularity and fragility of such a daring individual. The Socialist society depicted in *Red Apples* represents a mere advantageous platform that offers exclusive positive circumstances for the characters to further evolve, both spiritually (Mitică is given the opportunity to overcome unshared love) and professionally (Mitică knows that he can always get a better job in the capital). This is why the only opponents of these conditions, and, therefore, of the system itself, are those who pursue their own personal interests at the expense of the collective good of the local community. Under such considerations, Mitică Irod becomes a moral vigilante whose role as an intellectual is to become the honest and ethical leader of his community, and who needs to be looked upon with respect by the youth.

Screenshot no. 9: *Mitică Irod facing unshared love*

4.2.1.3. 1980s: between allegory as critique and lethargy as social disappointment

As a result of the cinematic and political conditions of the early 1980s when the committees are making more concessions with regard to the filmmakers' freedom of creation, a series of more courageously dissident films emerges. Through an increased amount of covertly employed anti-Socialist modes of representation (usually allegorical portrayals or the creation of utopian worlds, as in the case of *The Cruise* and *Glissando*), the films of the early 1980s serve as a simulacrum of the morally degraded Romanian society of the time. Therefore, the intellectuals represented onscreen are used as an instrument to criticise the political regime (and, sometimes, even the society itself), and not as a method to emphasise the importance of intellectual figures to the well-being of the society; it can be, thus, inferred that filmmakers themselves have lost their faith in the

capacity of the nonconformist intellectuals to improve the Romanian society of the 1980s, a tendency that completely opposes the 1960s or even the 1970s, when intellectuals are portrayed as the forever triumphant elite (for instance, *Red Apples*), painfully troubled by both intrinsic and extrinsic rationales, yet, still in possession of the capacity to observe social issues (for example, *The Reenactment*).

One such film that employs a highly unusual mode of representation - where both nonconformist and intellectual traits are granted for the first time to a collective character, the youth - is Mircea Daneliuc's 1981 *Croaziera/The Cruise*, a film that depicts the journey of several young people from across the country who are rewarded for their achievements (winners of various local competitions, from chess tournaments to poetry reading) with a free nautical expedition on the Danube. The very beginning of the film illustrates the two main collectives depicted by Daneliuc in their pure, original state: on the one hand, the astute students with intellectual preoccupations and exceptional educational accomplishments constitute the inexperienced but highly promising future elite, on the other hand, the apparently ethical coordinators are committed to assuring everyone that the main objectives of the expedition are attained (in addition to elevating the human condition of the Socialist youth and their formation for the forthcoming existential obstacles, the organisers also proclaim their commitment to set up an entertaining experience in the most civilised, adequate and Socialist-appropriate manner).

Yet, despite the auspicious start of the expedition, both the students and the organisers reveal their true inherent aspects because of the generation gaps and their emergent conflicts. In this sense, Daneliuc makes use of the recurrent antagonistic approach, his translation of the organisers, as political activists, heavily contrasting with the youth as the representatives of nonconformist intellectuality; nonetheless, the filmmaker is highly critical of both social strata. Most of the young intellectuals are rude and depraved (they make tasteless jokes; the males are on the verge of committing sexual assaults), and are largely comprised of liars and thieves (they are undisciplined and do not obey the strict schedule, evade from the youth hostel and return in the morning; around 30 students defy the orders and engage in petty theft: they trespass a private vineyard). With the intellectual youth conveying a highly nonconformist attitude - as a group, they condemn the conditions (they are forced to work, move furniture, carry bricks to the benefit of the local community), and issue a protest against the social structures by drifting ashore from the ship in a symbolic anti-hegemonic act of emancipation, the coordinators intensely manifest their condemnation of the intellectual. Proca, the leader of the expedition and the political activist, who appears to be the intransigent but ethical leader, is soon exposed as devoid of moral principles, fearful and intolerant, by Velicu, the elderly intellectual who is portrayed as betraying his social responsibility for the sake of a better living, only to spare his own conveniences, illusions and lethargy.

But, as it can be noticed from Velicu's and Proca's representations, Daneliuc does not channel his denunciation exclusively towards the intellectual youth. *The Cruise* is a balanced critique whose climatic rhythm proves futile: the numerous generation and internal conflicts are quickly forgotten and regarded as meaningless, as no character is able to commit to the incipient class struggle motive and surpass his or her original condition (the intellectual youth are equally

frivolous at the end of the film as they are at its beginning; Proca delivers two banal, mirroring speeches at the ship's departure and arrival). Viewing Daneliuc's film from a symbolic perspective, one can notice that, despite its initial purpose (the expedition is destined to be an award, an acknowledgement of the young people's intellectual merits), the journey is transformed into a persecution for the intellectual youth (they feel maltreated and unable to freely do as they please), and into a tragedy for the organisers (Proca destroys his relationships: he falls out with Velicu and is abandoned by his wife).

Screenshot no. 10 & 11: *Proca guiding the youth / Proca delivering the final speech*

But the same allegorical construction was to obstruct Mircea Daneliuc's *Glissando* (1984) and its distribution; although initially finished in 1982, *Glissando* is briefly shown at minor theatres in Bucharest after two years of battling the censorship committees in what was a *victoire à la Pyrrhus* for Daneliuc. Although intended to be a critique toward 1930s Fascism (the narrative evolves around the financial obsession of the interwar bourgeoisie), the audiences of the epoch sensed Daneliuc's allusions to the Communist regime (the black swastikas can be easily replaced with the red hammer and sickle, while the mental unstableness of the characters can be equated with Ceaușescu's cult of personality and downward trajectory of the Socialist society of the 1980s). When it comes to the modes of representation employed, *Glissando* becomes highly critical of the nonconformity shown by the bourgeois intellectuality. Built in the perpetual oscillation between the real and imaginary, the narrative trajectory follows the main protagonist Theodorescu, an intellectual tormented by gambling, who pursues a cathartic mission of finding the female subject from a painting. In addition to his enhanced weakness (the gambling is shown as a sinful and demoralising endeavour), the nonconformist intellectual is also depicted as depraved and unscrupulous, when, without hesitation, he steals his closest friend's mistress. The briefness and incompatibility of the romantic affair is reinforced by the unconventional, antagonistic social origin of the two individuals: Daneliuc cancels the ongoing struggles of class and power and brings together the bourgeois intellectual (Theodorescu) and the defenceless proletarian (Nina, the seamstress). The film is a relevant embodiment of the way the nonconformist intellectuality shifted toward the end of the regime: filmmakers such as Daneliuc criticised the bourgeoisie for its thirst for wealth, depravation and socio-political lethargy but also continued to challenge the hegemonic structures through highly allegorical, undetectable cinematic techniques (in this case, the hotel - solitary cell - hospice establishment is an abstract commentary on Ceaușescu's regime).

4.2.2. Proletarian intellectuals

When discussing the proletarian intellectual, it is important to account the Socialist ideology's key role in glorifying the worker and the status of the labourer to the moral and financial prosperity of the society. The authority of the working class culture is also directly addressed in the Marxist thought through the idea of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, a leitmotif which is often depicted in Romanian cinema, as common proletarians are given the potential to become both spiritual and pragmatic leaders of their communities. But, in order to reveal the authenticity and importance of this social category, the cinematic representations of the proletariat are usually performed through glorifying mechanisms as their portrayals are directly contrasted with highbrow, elitist culture or with the typical men of letters. Thus, another frequently employed cinematic leitmotif is the purely anti-intellectual juxtaposition of social classes: whilst the proletariat is adulated, the typical men of culture, otherwise depicted through their nonconformist intellectuality, are entirely denigrated due to their affiliation with the bourgeoisie and the capitalist class. With the working-class individual being able to transcend his apparently limited social role through what Gramsci refers to as intellectual organicity, and to, subsequently, become the leader of a community, the organic proletariat replaces the social function of intellectuals as the typical leaders.

As this newly created social class derives from peasantry and because of the forced heavy industrialisation of the nation (a measure against Moscow's plans to transform Romania into an exclusive rural, agriculture-based colony), the characteristics of the proletariat are evocative of the model citizen the Communist leaders are seeking to promote; it is obvious, therefore, that the representation of such figures in cinema can be found, more often than not, in films that are compliant with their ideology, entirely collaborative with the existent regime, and in cinematic pieces which perpetuate propagandistic functions to the benefit of the Socialist state.

With the cult of the working class equating a particularly strong importance within the Socialist ideology, Romanian filmmakers, willingly or not, employ such modes of representation that can be found in direct relationship with the proletariat, as a distinct social class. By employing cinematic narratives and themes that are based on this particular social class, filmmakers grant their working-class characters exceptional aptitudes: such individuals become from mere civil workers (the equivalent of Ancient Rome's *plebs* and *vulgus* or Aristotle's *hoi polloi*), the representatives of the entire society and the true intelligentsia capable of visible and fruitful operations to their community of allegiance. Thus, the following section encompasses a multimodal portrayal of the proletariat by combining: the *working-class intellectual* (blue-collar workers who perform manual labour, such as welders, refinery operators, commercial drivers, mechanics who transcend their social status through professional skills and elevated moral principles), the *technocrat intellectual* (Socialist individuals governed by scientism and technocratism, such as engineers and chemists or lab technicians, who are in possession of an unrestrained belief in the power of science as the only means to reform the Socialist society) and the *political activist* (usually governmental entities which are looking to stimulate justice and to discipline the society through their ethical outlook; since their intellectuality derives from their legislative role, the political activist is usually the former proletarian who surpasses his societal role: the magistrate, secret intelligentsia, prosecutor, etc.).

4.2.2.1. 1960s: between emancipating proletarians and denigrating the bourgeoisie

In terms of the cinematic portrayals of the proletariat, the 1960s are marked by an increased range of productions looking to promote the new Socialist man, where the proletarian is glorified and the typical bourgeois intellectual is denigrated. In this sense, several main themes emerge: the emancipation of the working class and its disapproval of the elite (Drăgan's 1961 *Thirst*), the beneficial effect of industrialisation on the rural population (Stiopul's 1961 *Close to the Sun*), the social and collective utility of the proletariat as one's existential purpose (Munteanu's 1963 *At the Age of Love* and Blaier's 1967 *The Mornings of a Sensible Youth*), the technocratic, anti-intellectual wave of engineers portrayed as supreme beings (Urşianu's 1967 *Gioconda without Smile*).

Mircea Drăgan's 1961 *Setea/Thirst* represents a testimony of the post-war atmosphere propagated by the promulgation of the agrarian reforms which are intended to damage the bourgeoisie and emancipate the proletariat (the new reforms aim to forcefully expropriate the land of the bourgeois proprietors and allocate it equally to the peasantry). The narrative trajectory establishes Mitru Moţoc, a young farmer returning from combat, as the main agent of his class of origin - the workfolk -, who finds working for Ursu - the evil kulak, highly representative of the more affluent farmers in the Socialist state, the immediate class enemy of the poor peasants - to be a subjugating and tragic experience. In true anti-intellectual fashion, Drăgan's highly aesthetic film is based on thematic antagonisms as he contrasts the bourgeoisie - as futile and evil intellectuality - with the proletariat - envisaged as a highly dynamic and optimist community. With the Communist Party stimulating the emancipation of the working class, Moţoc is impatient to break away from enslavement as he assumes his highly gifted persona to be perfect for political leadership; in this manner, Moţoc becomes exposed to power so he proclaims himself mayor of the Transylvanian village by symbolically capturing the keys and the stamp - as the tokens of power. In what seems to be a highly transcendental journey, Moţoc becomes the organic leader of his community neither through his intellectual capacity nor through any sort of persuasive charisma, but merely as a result of his thirst of power and his ambition to surpass his initial condition.

Another emerging trend of the early 1960s is the urbanisation of the farmers. An interesting case that follows this thematic approach is represented by Savel Stiopul's *Aproape de soare/ Close to the Sun* (1961), a film that presents the transformation of the peasantry into a legitimate urban proletariat. Based on the recurrent narrative theme of young rural labourers leaving their native land to work in factories (a eulogised and sacred urban space that separates the honourable and devoted citizens from the ineffective youth preoccupied with spiritual concerns), the film chronicles the journey of a peasant who, dissatisfied with his monotone rural life, challenges himself in the newly-emerged industrial sector. Stiopul's raw, uncomplicated portrayal of the proletarian intellectual is more straightforward than ever: following the paradigm of a typical bildungsroman, the film's main character, Petre, surpasses all obstacles encountered in order to become the best steel worker in the mill. If, at the beginning, he is disrespectfully greeted by the rest of the smelters, the embodiment of the supreme Socialist citizen, Petre, starts off as a shovel worker, and, in record time, becomes the main subject of local newspapers due to his professional achievements. The message disseminated by *Close to the Sun* is unequivocal: the proletariat

represents the authentic ruler in the Socialist vision, and, by working for the benefit of the community, this social class becomes the symbolic intellectual and leader of the Socialist society.
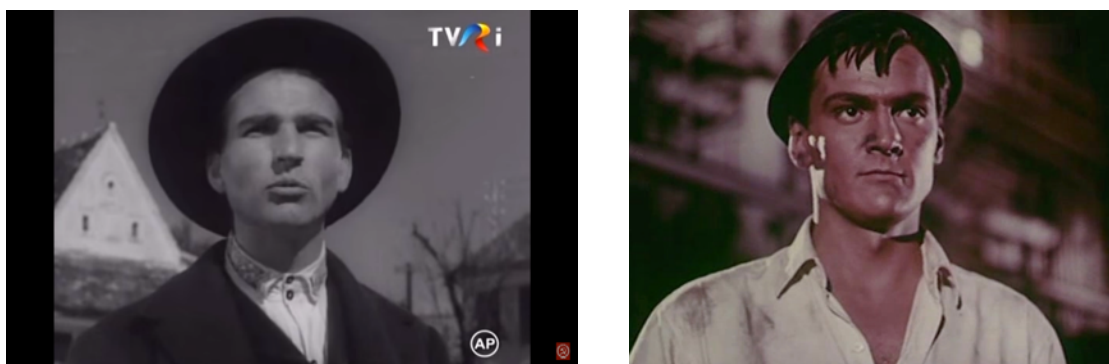
Screenshot no. 12 & 13: *Moțoc fighting for power / Petre embracing the industrialisation process*

But among the first cinematic productions to fully fit the new requirements of the working class mode of representation as leading, eminent figures is Andrei Blaier's 1967 *Diminețile unui Băiat Cuminte*/*The Mornings of a Sensible Youth*, a film that prophetically introduces the social and collective utility of the new Socialist man as one's existential purpose. Unable to pass the college entrance exam, Vive represents the archetypal young man in search of his calling, who is looking to make his own way in life. In his pursuit for independence, Vive renounces his monotonous existence rarely animated by pointless parties and discovers his true purpose in life, somewhere on the outskirts of Bucharest, where he is hired as a welder at a construction site. In spite of Blaier portraying him as highly ambitious when it comes to his potential to succeed (Vive is restless during his job hunt and always longs for personal improvements), the young man is, paradoxically, not troubled by his educational failure; as a matter of fact, he honestly embraces his newly-discovered destiny, and in a compelling conversation with his father, Vive admits to his not being "smart enough for college". Blaier's intention here can be easily inferred: turning Vive into a paradigmatic anti-hero, with whom the Romanian youth audiences can easily identify because working for the well-being of the community represents neither a disrespectful occupation, nor an inferior one.

The narrative line is not completely original, it is a variation of Francisc Munteanu's 1963 *La Vârsta Dragostei/At the Age of Love* which is based on the same cathartic function of the construction site as the space capable to socially reintegrate citizens that are expelled from their educational framework, and, in this case, incarcerated. Even so, *The Mornings of a Sensible Youth* presents one of the most compelling and profound accounts of the proletariat as a glorious societal group. The elevated acumen of Vive and his aptness to make honest judgments (after all, Vive is the only character of the film who chooses to do what he actually enjoys and succeeds in doing so), are additionally emphasised through his direct juxtaposition with several characters during the film: while the bourgeois father who dishonours his son through his incapacity to pursue an educational pathway is portrayed in a gruesome manner (he is depicted as a cold, violent monster whose demands are farfetched and arguments are baseless), Vive's best friend, Romache, is the stereotypical representation of the man of letters within the Socialist ideology - an urban presence,

physically fragile who stands out through his passivity and lethargy, wears glasses, is unable to commit to his prior responsibilities, and whose helplessness and pragmatic deficiency are characterised through his strong belief that the real life does not need to be lived as it can be merely understood through the medium of books. While, in addition to Romache, other intellectual characters are portrayed as failures (the case of Cioba - a dying alcoholic, old and repressed loser who finds pleasure in reading books), the portrayal of Vive's father is complemented with the emergence of Ștefan, the typical villain with bourgeois preoccupations (he is boring - his relationship with Mariana is deteriorating; coward, jealous and vindictive - savagely attacks Vive for stealing his fiancée).

Blaier ridicules these characters' intellect as both useless and hopeless, while his representation of Vive provides fertile ground for the emergence of a triumphant, capable individual. In the case of *The Mornings of a Sensible Youth*, which can be understood as a pre-eminently anti-intellectual cinematic piece, the construction site is the filter that separates the real leaders of a community - the likes of Vive representing the triumph of the Socialist ideology - from the useless incompetents, as individuals such as Romache, Cioba or Ștefan do not manifest any existential justification throughout the film. Even the main character's name, Vive - coming for the latin *vivere* (meaning to live) - is highly evocative of the subliminal message that Blaier's film is seeking to address: the authentic intellectual of the Socialist ideology is required to actually live his life, and not waste it with any sort of unproductive endeavours.

Screenshot no. 14 & 15: *Vive bullied by his father / Vive as a happy, fulfilled welder*

Nonetheless, in addition to this anti-intellectual wave where the proletariat is depicted as infinitely superior to the upper-classes, the 1960s are also marked by an emphasis on technocratism, used as an instrument to attract the youth into science-based professional occupations. Under such conditions, an extended range of films depicting the key function of engineers and scientists to the well-being of the society, such as *Pride* - 1961, *Post-restant* - 1961, *The Man near You* - 1962, *At the Age of Love* - 1963, can be noticed. But the climax of this series of similarly orientated films is achieved with the release of Malvina Urşianu's 1967 *Gioconda fără Surâs/Gioconda without Smile*, a piece that creates a conflicting relationship between the technocrats and the typical intellectuals as men-of-letters. With Urşianu illustrating intellectual figures as a sterile, almost extinct societal class, unable to possess functional responsibilities to the prosperity of the Socialist society, the narrative route of the film is conducted by the romantic

triangle between Caius - the redundant intellectual, Irina - the genius and innovative engineer, and Cosma - the devoted Socialist proletarian. Urşianu puts considerate efforts in depicting the relationship between Caius - who subscribes to the typical representation of the intellectual as addressed by the Socialist ideology (Caius is an unattached but expansive individual, smokes all the time, drinks whisky, a failed poet who is eventually given a chance by the regime to work as a journalist), and Irina, his former high-school lover.

Still, the incompatibilities between the two characters are highly reflective of the social class they originally belong to: if Caius is the son of a bourgeois lord, Irina believes that, as the daughter of a proletarian worker, she does not have the "right to trust a bourgeois". With their break-up equating the class discordances between intellectualism and technocracy, Urşianu's oblique message surfaces towards the end of her film. The pure hero, the undoubtedly positive character is Cosma who understands his true function in the Socialist society (he forgets Irina, who still seems to be in love with Caius, marries a proletarian girl, and becomes a happy Socialist worker). Though the film offers some insight into the psychology and the dilemmas of intellectuals, it mainly conveys the idea that intellectuals are some endangered parasites whose role is to engage in purposeless and excessive palavers. The direct comparison and division between intellectuals as villains and technocrats as the authentic Socialist individual also sheds light on the propagandistic purport of 1960s films.

Screenshot no. 16: *Irina, the genius engineer, watched by Caius, the bourgeois poet.*

Yet, another exemplification of this style is very title of Urşianu's piece, whose name is highly allusive of the fact that Gioconda - a pre-eminently intellectual/cultural reference - is unable to express joyous attitudes. This film represents a highly relevant summary of the employed modes of representation of the proletariat as either the antagonist or the replacement of intellectual figures that mark the thematic approaches of the 1960s. To be more precise, all proletarian depictions of this decade are established through similar (often, almost identical) sets of criteria delineated by the ideological committees. If the narrative trajectories often differ (either the industrialisation of the rural in the case of *Close to the Sun*, the chance of not being admitted to college or the social and collective utility of the Socialist man as one's existential purpose - *At the Age of Love* and *The Mornings of a Sensible Youth*), the social, professional and personal ambitions of the portrayed characters are usually variants of the same idea: the well-being of the community primes over any other aspect. The defining characteristics of the portrayed characters are also very similar, namely

only through commitment to work, the individual is able to transcend his apparently limited original condition.

4.2.2.2. 1970s: between adulating the proletariat and articulating its psyche

As has previously emerged both from the chapter dealing with the role of intellectuals in Socialist Romania and from the archival analysis, the content of the Romanian cinema becomes dramatically stricter starting with 1971, when the authoritarian July theses are promulgated. Nonetheless, a rather paradoxical phenomenon can be noticed regarding the relationship between cinema and the forced industrialisation process that soon starts to decline and eventually implode; accordingly, with this galvanising process reaching its completion, the thematic approaches of the Romanian 1970s cinema and the modes of representation employed suffer minor changes. In this sense, if the portrayals of the nonconformist intellectuality of the 1970s, for instance, are more heavily stamped by the promulgation of the July theses, the representations of the working class of the same decade - which constitute a compliant part of the Socialist regime of representation - become, paradoxically, more innovative. To be more precise, due to the very fact that a film depicting the working class can be considered inherently Socialist and more deeply ingrained in the Socialist ideology by the committees, the filmmakers are allowed to become more inventive, not necessarily in terms of their thematic approaches, but in terms of their films' style and form. Under these convoluted and rather contradictory circumstances, in addition to the films that maintain the theme of the proletariat as the rightful replacement of the bourgeoisie (in the case of *Red Apples*, where the intellectual originating from the working class overshadows the upper classes), some modes of representation of the proletarian become more honest in their bleakness (as it is to be shown in the case of Fefeleaga in *Stone Wedding*), while others continue to be based on the glorification of the proletariat but are pre-eminently preoccupied with delineating the psyche of their working class characters rather than their social purpose (in both *The Long Drive* and *Fillip the Kind*, the inner characteristics of the working class prevail their social functions).

A highly relevant example of the manifestation of this baffling course of events is represented by the 1972 collaboration between Mircea Veroiu and Dan Pița and their jointly-created *Stone Wedding*; if the latter's narrative segment has already been discussed with regard to the portrayal of nonconformist intellectualism, Veroiu's fragment, *Fefeleaga*, makes use of an unconventional mode of representation that engages in outlining the proletarian efforts as bleak and fruitless. In his attempts to illustrate the endeavours of the common people, Veroiu's most evocative mechanism is established through his agglomeration of symbolic codifications that galvanise the cinematic developments - the recurrent white horse alluding to the hopeless and unattainable freedom of the villagers, the presence of the puppets as an artificial reminder of their emptiness and evanescent, depressing condition. Much more sober than Pița's fragment (but equally tragic), the first segment's narrative evolves around Maria - the casualty of the surrounding desolate wasteland that torments her survival, a widow who is working hard in a desperate attempt to save her dying daughter. In an emblematic manner, the hopelessness and state of despair of the characters are emphasised by Veroiu's decision to never film the sky, as a symbol of optimism and attainable freedom.

The plot (Maria's cyclical journeys to the gold mine to extract ore and back home, and her infrequent and stark contacts with the rest of the village) turns her into an outsider, a lone wolf, in a mode of representation that is not consistently employed when depicting the working class. While the proletariat is not generally characterised by inner turmoil and personal tragedies (but by hyper-positivity and optimism as it is the case in the 1960s cinema), Veroiu's film virtually omits such ideological considerations and grants Maria her liberation only through the personification of death which is to be achieved with her daughter's tragic end. In a symptomatic mythical setting, the protagonist maintains her erudition by revering the traditions and by remaining engaged in a continuous ritual of exorcism whilst her daughter's passivity causes her death. Nevertheless, upon further examination, these very representations can be translated as highly compliant with the Socialist view of the proletariat: the widow never ceases to work despite her obviously ineffectual efforts, while the dying youth is doomed due to her social lethargy. Similarly, the intellectuality of the characters is enhanced especially through their mythological knowledge and dogmatic veneration of the sacred: Maria knows that death is not necessarily a sorrowing experience, but primarily a cathartic one (she sells her white horse as an acknowledgement that it is time to move on). In addition to these ideological elements, the film can also be read as a critique to the wealthy bourgeoisie employed through the gold leitmotif; in Veroiu's vision, the gold presents a key symbolic function to the narrative and its undertones: if, in the custody of the upper classes, it is typically of inestimable worth, for the underprivileged likes of Maria, it is fundamentally destructive (under the auspices of the mineral ore, she is alone, tormented by death and pain).

Screenshot no. 17 & 18: *Maria selling her white horse / Maria grieving her losses*

Another fundamentally important piece depicting the emergence of the working class as the new intellectual stratum is Alexandru Tatos' (1976) *Mere roşii/Red Apples*, a film whose main character presents both nonconformist and proletarian traits. Notwithstanding several personality traits characteristic of the nonconformist intellectual (primarily, his dissident stance against the corrupt structures of power proliferated by the bourgeoisie), Mitică Irod is, undoubtedly, a representative of the proletariat. An upcoming medical genius, appreciated by most of the medical collective and loved by his patients, the doctor does not have a financially advantageous background (he lives with his landlords in a rented chamber, he rides his bicycle to work, etc.) and

does not aim to pursue higher professional rankings (though knowing that he can advance in his career and work in a bigger hospital in the capital, he rejects this notion as careerism). Mitică is the typical proletarian whose only desire is to work so that he can accomplish his social utility: despite the provincial hospital's infrastructural inadequacies, the young surgeon remains immune to the surrounding injustices and is determined to continue saving lives.

In addition to his love for science and strong belief that through scientific research the man can be elevated, aspects which subscribe the character to the technocrat ideological wave (he holds conferences, publishes articles in an academic journal of urology, sets up a personal lab where he conducts experiments), Mitică's distinct personality is developed by his ethical, incorruptible mindset that directly complements his rejection of any sort of professional hierarchy. In *Red Apples*, the genius proletariat is infinitely more valuable to the prosperity of the community than any other individual: thus, the astute surgeon transcends his working class function of origin, challenges the social structures imposed by the hegemonic discourse - the equivalent of the bourgeoisie - and eventually comes to surpass the obstructions inflicted by Mitroi - his superior - who is aware and envious of his capacities. After all, Tatos' mode of representation employed in the case of Mitică depicts the archetypal intellectual the Socialist doctrine is seeking to promote: through strong moral values and noble principles, Mitică, originating from the proletariat, is honest and kind, the indispensable noble protector of the common good, always at the service of the collective society, whose role as an intellectual is to empower himself as the honest and ethical leader of the community.

Nevertheless, in spite of films such as *Stone Wedding* and *Red Apples* which mark a rather paradoxical change in the representation of the working class intellectuality in the post-1971 era, there are still cinematic pieces that continue to be established on the overt glorification of the proletariat. *The Long Drive* (1975) and *Filip the Kind* (1975), for instance, are committed to depicting the engaging adventures of the new Socialist man with their filmmakers becoming increasingly preoccupied with outlining the psyche of their working class characters in addition to their social utility.

Mircea Daneliuc's *Cursa/The long drive* is a road-movie based on the efforts of Anghel and Panait, two experienced drivers working for a heavy machinery company, to transport a giant piece to a mining enterprise. But, unlike most of the films of the 1960s which are stuck in a series of artificial and propagandistic clichés in their attempt to portray the proletariat, Daneliuc's realist piece holds its strength in the capacity to depict unusual events whilst also unveiling the deepest and most intrinsic features of its characters. If, at the beginning of the film, both Anghel and Panait seem to be two conventional proletarians (they enjoy working for the company, and their deep professional commitment prevents them from pursuing romantic interests), their fortuitous encounter of Maria divulges their real selves: Anghel and Panait represent two contrasting versions of masculinity (violent and rigid versus soft and gentle). The ride itself is interwoven with a series of physical obstacles (starting from the very premise of the film - the transportation of the heavy piece - until the possibility of the truck falling down the hill) and emotional tensions (the appearance of Maria, Anghel's return back home after 20 years).

Daneliuc's main asset is his ability to equip his characters with awareness and wisdom while also following the ideological restrictions (in this film, by paying tribute to the working class). After all, regardless of the main characters' underlying disparities and exhaustive psychological portrayals, the filmmaker makes sure that their professional proficiency primes over their individually assigned mental attributes. Under these conditions, one can infer that the mode of representation employed in the case of *The Long Drive* is ambivalent: on the one hand, Daneliuc's characters are fully receptive and obedient to the law enforcement as representatives of the hegemonic authorities (they are driving their trucks under the police's guidance and never go against their orders); on the other hand, though characters like Anghel do not possess an intellectual function to the society, they are granted a highly transcendental status due to their inner conflicts and attempts to discern past experiences. By questioning his past and his existence, Anghel, the talented truck driver, is portrayed as performing highly intellectual activities: furthermore, by helping Maria solve her marriage issues, he helps himself get over his own past. The intellectuality and rationality of the character is revealed by his full acknowledgment and purposeful understanding of the cathartic process he is undergoing.

Screenshot no. 19 & 20: *Maria, Anghel & Panait riding together*

In the post-1971 era, even the cinematic pieces that seem to be fully compliant with the regime's intention to eulogise the proletariat are without a doubt more innovative than the films of the 1960s. Indeed, Dan Piţa's 1975 *Filip cel Bun*/*Filip the Kind* borrows elements from the 1960s representations of the intellectual proletariat (from Stiopul's *Close to the Sun*, the theme of the youth attracted by the rough labour performed in factories, and from Blaier's *The Mornings of a Sensible Youth*, the theme of the unsuccessful student who finds his purpose in life in the heavy industry), but still manages to meld these two approaches and to surpass the propagandistic patterns of the proletarian culture in a neorealist meditation on the societal role of the youth and their quest for purpose. Based on the inner conflicts of a young man, Filip, and his confusion regarding his own professional destiny, the film represents a sensitive analysis of the archetypal innocent Socialist, caught in the web of a degenerate humanity, crowded with the greedy and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Torn between the easy career pathways and further guided by his mother (who is among the few characters with a transparent and Socialist-appropriate outlook on the world), and his friend, Istrate (as a bricklayer, he feels important, dignified, full of purpose), Filip

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is advised to choose a career in the industrial factory. Similarly to Blaier's characterisation of the father as the monstrous bourgeois, Filip's father becomes the emblematic negative element of the film because, as a young man, he abandoned his job at an iron foundry for a more accessible, but less satisfactory, position at a local laundry. Nevertheless, in portraying the initiatory path of the young man, Piţa grants the journey a palpable quasi-mystical significance: if the image of the factory is assimilated with a cathedral capable of salvation and a true proletarian temple, Filip's fate is given genuine meaning as the true representative of Socialism. Piţa is also sure to provide his main character with an augmented set of intellectual characteristics: enhanced rationality (Filip's understanding that his father decision to renounce his exhausting career as labourer was a mistake), critical judgment (his ability to choose the right pathway in life), eagerness to acquire information (Filip turns from a failed and disinterested student into a truly ambitious apprentice).
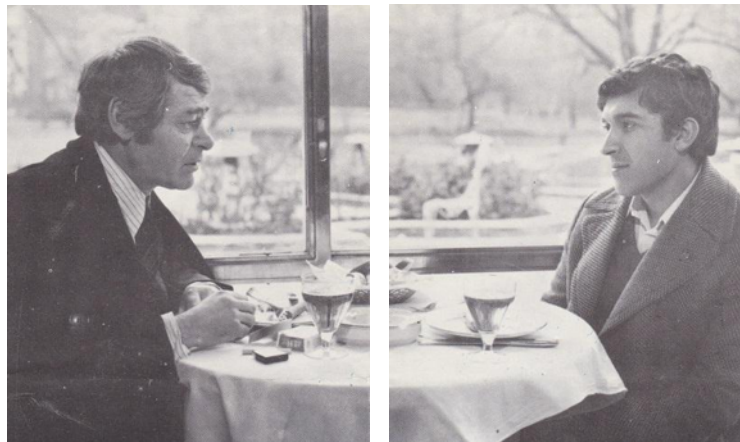
Screenshot no. 21 & 22: *Filip, the disciple (in the right panel), and his new master*

4.2.2.3. 1980s: between Messianic destiny and social vulnerability

If the 1960s are marked by the platitudinous propagandistic message of the proletariat as the new intellectual stratum and the 1970s by a more innovative array of narrative and stylistic approaches, in the 1980s, the Communist Party ceases to sustain the emancipation of the peasantry or the proletariat as they used to in the previous two decades. Under the weakening of the authoritative conditions at the beginning of the decade (marked in the archival analysis as the 1980-1983 interval of time), the filmmakers are granted more freedom in their delineations of the working class intellectuality. After *Stone Wedding* and *Filip the Kind*, Dan Piţa continues to employ a similarly unconventional mode of representation with the release of *Concurs/Orientation Course* in 1982, whose narrative outline is rather simplistic: the film presents the developments of an orienteering course, where citizens from all walks of life become engaged in a rough competition. With the emphasis of the narrative being placed on a team comprised of civil servants working for the same institution, the key role of the plot is assumed by a young stranger who seems to be entirely familiar with the wild, maze-like surroundings and, subsequently, helps the rest of the group survive. The very fact that Piţa does not share almost any personal information in his representation of the stranger (remaining nameless throughout the film, the rest of the team calls him The Kid; audiences only know that he is a 20 years old worker at a nearby factory) makes The

Kid the pure representative of the working class: his intimate life is not necessarily important to the others, but his social utility is crucial in keeping the lazy, sometimes even lunatic, teammates alive (he saves Mitică's life after he falls in the cave, and helps the others surpass any obstacles they are facing, either through psychical assistance or moral guidance).

With Piţa making use of the ever-present juxtaposition, highly evocative of the ongoing class struggles, where the civil servants represent the intellectuality (the counsellor quotes Cicero and references old Romanian folklore proverbs) and The Kid performs the role of the working class, *Orientation Course* highlights two contrasting types of characters: the docile group with a sterile collective consciousness, unable of spiritual progress, and the young man with an uncorrupted soul and a Messianic destiny to become their mentor. Nevertheless, though managing to lead the rest of the team to the final destination, The Kid is unable to alter their spiritual numbness. This incapacity to evolve is wittingly suggested by the filmmaker by placing various obstructions throughout the track (a woman's desperate cry for help, a nuptial procession), and despite their urgency, none of the competitors is willing to deviate from the previously agreed pathway: all members are highly watchful of the rules established by organisers on the account that "any deviation from the track, regardless of its extent, means death". In pure Socialist manner, the only individual preoccupied with the well-being of the others is the proletarian, The Kid; symbolically, he compensates by returning in the forest where he finds a dead body in a self-purging moment of integrity.

Screenshot no. 23 & 24: *Team members disputing the hierarchy / The Kid guiding the rest*

In terms of its relationship with the ideology, the film is constructed as a socio-political satire, a genuine metaphorical parable: the team's leader's excessive authoritarianism can be equated with Ceaușescu's tyrannical regime, the rest of the competitors' refusal to take responsibility of their actions can convey the general ineffective opposition of the intellectuals of the time, and their hypocritical opportunism can be equated with the state of the Romanian society at the beginning of the 1980s when the Ceaușescu regime reaches its brutal climax. But, if, in *Orientation Course,* Dan Piţa enacts an allegorical description of the society, one where the employed meta-reality is highly suggestive of the regime itself, his 1983 realist *Sand Cliffs* is the cinematic piece that causes a new cataclysmic and dictatorial eruption of the Socialist leadership (emphasised in the archival analysis with the promulgation of the Mangalia theses).

Faleze de Nisip/Sand Cliffs begins with a moral and legislative disequilibrium provoked by a petty theft: while on holiday at the seaside, a doctor's personal belongings are stolen. What follows makes the film a powerful commentary on the issues of power and class struggles of the 1980s. The confrontation takes place between the infinitely more powerful individual, the influential surgeon Theodor Hristea who is the embodiment of the upper class, the selfish and indifferent intellectuality incapable to concede the fact that he might be wrong and the young carpenter Vasile, the ever culpable youth, unable to defend himself against the system and highly vulnerable to the ongoing atrocities (even though Vasile never admits to the theft and the evidence is insufficient, he still goes to jail). This unconventional juxtaposition, with the malicious intellectual playing an essential part to the regime (Theodor joins the political mechanism out of opportunism in order to pursue a promotion) and the working class representative remaining outside the system (Vasile cannot afford a lawyer, he refuses any social assistance or any opportunities to integrate in the society), is highly evocative of Piţa's dissident message that the system is oppressive to all of those who think differently and do not conform with the Socialist ideology.

Screenshot no. 25 & 26: *Theodor 'persuading' Vasile that he was wrong / Vasile running away*

In direct contrast with the typical portrayals of the working class (the previous decades depicted such figures as highly optimistic and almost always in a triumphant manner as it happened in *Close to the Sun* and *The Mornings of the Sensible Youth* in the 1960s and in *Red Apples* and *Filip the Kind* in the 1970s), *Sand Cliffs* is a psychological remark on the hegemony of socio-political structures (here represented by Theodor, the self-confident and well-connected intellectual) that oppose the apparently weak outsider. Despite the strong opposition manifested by Ceaușescu himself who condemns the piece as inherently anti-Socialist, the modes of representation employed by Piţa are pre-eminently critical of the bourgeois intellectuality (of the likes of Theodor and his entourage) and unusually protective of the proletariat. In this sense, if the young carpenter proves to be psychologically stronger (he returns to his normal life, gets married, finds a new job, embraces his destiny), the surgeon remains unsettled and intensely preoccupied by his desire to blame the young kid and persuade him to admit to the crime he has never committed. Therefore, the film perpetuates the image of the proletariat as able to surpass their societal function through principles and morals, whilst also remaining politically unattached; Piţa's piece is a modern rendition of the biblical tale of David and Goliath, where Vasile, the miserable outsider who presents the typical defiant characteristics of the Romanian youth of the 1980s

(autonomous spirit with long hair and wearing blue jeans) manages to overcome his apparent powerlessness through integrity and moral principles.

Censored a couple of days after its debut, it is difficult to accurately determine the aspects that provoked the outrage of the political leadership: among others, one can speculate the existence of social misconduct in the Communist society and the inability of the police to find the real culprit (which are both considered to be scandalous in Socialism), the injustice perpetrated by an intellectual who blames the working class in a societal mechanism that is allegedly led by the proletariat itself (the intellectual becomes the enemy of the common people), the immorality and selfishness of an individual who operates from within the Socialist system and who possesses highly opportunistic characteristics, or the young dissident worker who has a different outlook on life and eventually proves stronger than the repressive apparatus of the state.

5. Conclusion

The lack of internal legitimacy of the Communist regime exercised in post-war Romania is counterbalanced and, subsequently, nullified through the development of an impressive machinery of propaganda that infused all cultural means of production, forms of art, and that penetrated all aspects of the everyday human life. With Nicolae Ceaușescu inheriting the role of the film industry as a key ideological weapon from the Bolsheviks, the Romanian cinema produced under Communism is remodelled so to serve the exclusive interests of Socialist politics. By leaving aside the propagandistic function of cinema, what this thesis aims to uncover is the direct relationship between the Socialist ideology and the emergent modes of representation with regard to intellectual figures. Under these circumstances, the following section seeks to, firstly, offer a summary of the main outcomes surfaced in the previous chapters, and, secondly, to provide the readers with a comprehensive bridging discussion between the methodological considerations, theoretical concepts and the main analytical results.

Through the employment of the multimodal critical discourse analysis (with semiotic and narrative/thematic approaches as its analytical tools) and the examination of historical transcripts, this thesis reveals the existence of two primary modes of representation of intellectual figures: accordingly, intellectuals are cinematically translated either as nonconformist rebels or as transcendental proletarians. By adopting a longitudinal perspective that covers nearly three decades of dictatorship, this research exhibits that the utilisation of these modes of representation is not conducted consistently, as their application is largely dependent on the existing policy-making, party directives, and on the firmly-established set of cinematic prerequisites delineated by the empowered committees during each decade. Furthermore, one can justify the inconsistent portrayals by accounting the ideological incompatibilities in the case of the nonconformist intellectual, and the ever-changing cultural and political circumstances in the case of the proletariat intellectual. In other words, if the former type of portrayal is incompatible to the interests of the Socialist ideology due to its rebelliousness, the latter is always shifting in order to match the concomitant socio-political transitions which Romania was undergoing (industrialisation, social emancipation, class wars, etc.).

Under the circumstances created by this inconsistent portrayal, the following paragraphs aim to explain, in a chronological manner, the way the two portrayal modes are employed in cinema, whilst also tracing an ideological relationship between the cinematic content produced from the early 1960s until the late 1980s and the cultural policies, political instructions or any sort of cinematic elements imposed externally by hegemonic entities. On the one hand, the cinematic rendition of nonconformist intellectuality is established on dissident, anti-state characteristics that are highly divergent to the Socialist ideology: the 1960s are marked by a combination of lunacy, lethargy and rebelliousness (the mix is present in all three discussed films, *Meanders, The Forest of the Hanged* and *The Reenactment*), the 1970s by a grave dose of personal struggles (*100 lei*) but also political conformity (*Stone Wedding* and *Red Apples*), while the 1980s are imprinted with personal critiques and disappointments towards the lethargic intellectual (*The Cruise, Glissando*). On the other hand, the Socialist doctrine universally understands intellectualism through the emancipation of the working class representatives who are granted governing functions: the 1960s

primarily consist in translating the emancipation of the peasantry and the working class as a way to criticise the bourgeois intellectualism (all films discussed fit this paradigm: *Thirst, Close to the Sun, The Mornings of a Sensible Youth, At the Age of Love, Gioconda without Smile*), the 1970s continue to portray the glorification of the genuine proletariat whilst also employing innovative styles and ingenious cinematic techniques (all films fit this paradigm: *Stone Wedding, Red Apples, The Long Drive, Filip the Kind*), the 1980s pursue a similar trend by mixing the glorification of the working class with the adoption of innovative approaches and the antagonistic positioning between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (*Orientation Course* and *Sand Cliffs*).

Historically, several patterns can also be noticed. For instance, the permissive intervals (such as the 1965-1968 and 1980-1983) are always followed by a series of policies of dramatic cultural austerity: the first progressive timeframe is regulated in 1968 when Ceaușescu reiterates the ideological and propagandistic role of Romanian cinema and in 1971, when the regime authorises a barbaric re-Stalinisation process, while the second reformist interval is counteracted by Ceaușescu himself who rejects the brief progressive overtones of his cinema. Furthermore, the two liberating intervals that are followed by austere policies also have distinct origins: if the reformist 1965-1968 period of time is willingly granted due to Ceaușescu's political opportunism to separate from Moscow, the 1980-1983 timeframe can be attributed to the dictator's lack of interest in cinema (also explained as a culmination of his increasing interest in the power of television shown at the beginning of the 1970s but also as a result of the major economic issues that Romania was undergoing at the beginning of the 1980s). In other words, regardless of that fact that, for instance, one interval is willingly admitted by the regime and another one is a minor political slip accordingly regulated, the hegemonic control of the regime on the cinematographic industry is demonstrated by the promptness and zealousness of the austere policies that follow each reformist timeframes. As history has shown, the real liberating moment of Romanian cinema commences in 1989 with the violent collapse of the regime.

As a consequence of these outcomes, it can asserted that Jacques Ranciére's notion of representational regimes of art is actively present during Ceaușescu's reign. In this sense, the surfaced modes of representation largely match the clashes of power between social classes, which are specifically embedded within Marxist philosophy, and which are also present during Ceaușescu's regime (for instance, the emancipation of the peasantry into an industrial, urban population in the 1960s or the downward trajectory of the elite which is shifting into working-class in the 1970s represent strategic methods of equalising the Romanian population into a large, unitary and unauthentic mass of people). Subsequently, the struggles for cultural hegemony between the representatives of *capital* and *labour* as emphasised by Karl Marx (in Elster, 1986) are cinematically translated in Romanian films: *nonconformist intellectuality* in opposition to the *eulogised proletariat*. It is needless to specify that the employment of the nonconformist mode of representation is inherently conducted by dissident filmmakers, while the eulogisation of the proletariat can be ideologically traced back to the prerequisites delineated by the Communist Party, so, its employment is associated with a compliant stance. However, another major outcome is that the portrayal of the proletariat is not conducted exclusively through glorifying means but also by attributing the working class with typically intellectual roles within their communities of allegiance,

fact that reinforces the importance of accounting the working class as an emerging intellectual stratum both in the Socialist society and in Romanian films. With these conditions being depicted through class-based antagonistic juxtapositions, the proletarian becomes infinitely superior to classic intellectuality in the way Jacques Le Goff or Kurzman and Owens saw it (based on cultural, rationale endeavours), and, subsequently, evolves into the paramount representative of the new human paradigm promoted by the Socialist ideology.

Consequently, supplementary overtones can be noticed in both categories: if the nonconformist intellectual, as the direct opposer of the hegemonic structure, is largely fitting Julien Benda's idealisation of such figures and Karl Mannheim's remarks on the connection between intellectuality and intrinsic reflection, the proletariat intellectual is embodied through a convoluted rendition of Michel Foucault's understanding of the overly-politicised average individual in the post-war era, of Antonio Gramsci's theorisation of *organic intellectuality*, and, ultimately, of Karl Marx's *dictatorship of the proletariat.* Therefore, in the case of Romanian cinema produced under Communism, filmmakers usually appeal to nostalgic, introvert, utopian and idealistic characteristics that create a resembling connection between nonconformist intellectuality and the bourgeoisie elite; by contrast, when depicting the proletarian intellectuals, filmmakers account their natural embedding in the Socialist ideology, so, the representatives of the working class are often animated by a series of exceptional inclinations and aptitudes in order to transcend their apparently limited societal role.

By placing the argumentation within a socio-political dimension, it is difficult to discern with complete certainty whether the cinematographic industry was a successful means of indoctrinating the Romanian population with the Socialist ideology, or, similarly, if the cinema represented a powerful way of opposing the hegemonic structures; however, it can be certainly asserted that the Romanian cinema produced during Communism was definitely infused with political content, to the same extent as the political agenda of the Communist Party was infused with discussions regarding cinematic content. With the same certitude, it can be claimed that the modes of representation of intellectuals are bisected within an ever-recurrent oppositional paradigm in totalitarian regimes: on the one hand, a limited range of films attempted to reject the oppressive conditions, so anti-Socialist renditions of intellectual figures emerged; on the other hand, an extended array of portrayals matched the ideological prerequisites with regard to how the new Socialist man should look like.

Ultimately, it is clear that the Socialist ideology remains the socio-political and cultural nucleus upon which Romanian filmmakers create and, subsequently, Romanian intellectuals are depicted. In addition to Jacques Ranciére's representational regimes of art that embody the virtual emanation of politics within the arts in the case of Socialist Romania, the ideological sphere is also the point of origin for the emergence of the ongoing struggles between classes so to gain what Antonio Gramsci would refer to as the *cultural hegemony* within a geo-political space. By heavily and efficiently making use of its *instrumentum regni*, Ceaușescu's manipulative regime represents the archetypal embodiment of ideology and politics exploiting cultural and artistic means, a cultural rendition of Michel Foucault's theorisation of *biopouvoir*, where the power state manipulates, controls and subjugates the population. The dissident filmmakers find it impossible to create and

distribute their work under the enslaving conditions set by the ideological committees; their anti-hegemonic modes of representation are either banned, censored or heavily altered so to match the cinematic prerequisites. By contrast, the compliant filmmakers are rewarded by the regime and their paradigmatic, Socialist translation of intellectuals is avidly promoted as a testimonial part of the Communist tale and its distinct culture. After all, the Socialist state does not simply legislate and obstruct certain infringements, but it determines the forms within which representations can take place.

Future studies could take the present thesis a step further and, subsequently, create a paralleling image between Romanian Communism and Romanian Capitalism by observing the cinematic but also socio-political transition in the post-1989 era. Similarly, another equally compelling study could be conducted in comparison with other Socialist film industries from the Eastern bloc, so to check if the Socialist ideology was applied homogeneously. If the employment of the multimodal critical discourse analysis' primary goal was to surface the ideological discourse as a central element in the cinema-politics paradigm, future research could consider this a limitation and primarily account other cinematic elements in their studies (such as aesthetics, usage of soundtrack, etc.) that can be reached by adopting different methodologies. In a similar fashion, other academic projects could narrow down the theoretical understanding of the intellectual terminology and focus solely from a Marxist perspective in order to understand the role of the working class in Socialism in a more in-depth manner. Furthermore, especially since the archival records represent such a valuable insight that this thesis is basing on, future studies could delve into other forms of culture and art which were affected by the ideological setting by examining other branches of the Communist Party and the connection between the politics and arts.

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Appendix 1: Archival documents used in this research

File (year)	Source	Pages	Theme	Other comments
File 648/1948	Ideological Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers' Party	-	Soviet-Romanian Affiliation	-
File 414/1949	Ideological Committee of the CC the RWP	-	The importance of Socialist aesthetics	-
File 1005/1954	Ideological Committee of the CC of the RWP	-	The issue of lifeless scenarios	-
Report/1958	Ideological Committee of the CC of the RWP	-	The issue of ideologically confused cinema	Official report on the situation of Romanian Cinema
File 106/1968	Session of the Ideological Committee of the Romanian Communist Party	-	The formation of the new Socialist man	Date: 23 May, 1968
Scânteia 7687/1968	Official Magazine of the RCP - Ideological Committee of the RCP	-	The responsibility of Romanian intellectuals	
File 56/1969	Session of the Central Committee of RCP - Branch: Office (Vol.4)	162 p.	The thematic plan of Romanian film	Document 56,(538), 1504/1969
Note / 1969	Session of the Central Committee of RCP - Branch: Office (Vol.4)	-	Alterations on foreign films	Sent to the Film Laboratory Mogoșoaia / Date: 18 April, 1969
File 82/1971	Session of the Central Committee of RCP - Branch: Office (Vol.4)	6 p.	Ideology and Romanian Cinema	Date: 9 July, 1971 / Protocol no.11 (579)
File 87/1971	Session of the Central Committee of RCP - Branch: Office (Vol.4)	96 p.	Discussions with regard to the July theses	Date: 15 July, 1971 / Protocol no. 20
File 92/1971	Session of the Central Committee of RCP - Branch: Office (Vol.4)	172 p.	Details of the Romanian visit in Socialist Asia	Transcript of 19 August, 1971
File 2/1971	Central Committee of the RCP - Agitprop	172 p.	Meeting with filmmakers and artists	Transcript of 5 March, 1971
File 32/1980	Central Committee of the RCP - Agitprop	38 p.	Daneliuc's requirements and replies	Exchange of letters between 21 October, 1980 - June, 1981
File 27/1983	Central Committee of the RCP - Agitprop	213 p.	Appendix of Romanian films	Transcript produced during May - September, 1983

File (year)	Source	Pages	Theme	Other comments
File 47/1983	Central Committee of the RCP - Agitprop	17 p.	Index of Romanian films	Under document 45, 2826
File 61/1984	Central Committee of the RCP - Agitprop	12 p.	The content of Tender Letters	Exchange of letters between Daneliuc and commissions: 6 July - September, 1984
Letter 389/1984	Central Committee of the RCP - Agitprop	12 p.	Daneliuc protests against the commissions	Part of File 61

Appendix 2: Films with a minor level of articulation used in this research

Title (year)	Director / scriptwriter	Genre / theme	Mode of representation
Setea / Thirst (1961)	Mircea Drăgan / Titus Popovici	Social Realism - emancipation of the peasantry	Proletarian intellectualism
Aproape de Soare / Close to the Sun (1961)	Savel Stiopul / Paul Anghel, Savel Stiopul	Social Realism - industrialisation of the peasantry	Proletarian intellectualism
La Vârsta Dragostei / At the Age of Love (1963)	Francisc Munteanu / Francisc Munteanu	Social Realism - the benefits of educational failure	Proletarian intellectualism
Pădurea Spânzuraţilor / Forest of the Hanged (1965)	Liviu Ciulei / Titus Popovici, Liviu Rebreanu	Historical film - the inner turmoil of soldiery	Nonconformist intellectualism
Dimineţile unui băiat Cuminte / The Mornings of a Sensible Youth (1965)	Andrei Blaier / Constantin Soiciu	Social Realism - the benefits of educational failure	Proletarian intellectualism
Gioconda fără Surâs / Gioconda without Smile (1967)	Malvina Urşianu / Malvina Urşianu	Social Realism - the sterile worldview of intellectuals	Proletarian intellectualism
100 Lei (1973)	Mircea Săucan / Horia Lovinescu	Neo-Realism - the tragic ending of adolescent turmoil	Nonconformist intellectualism
Filip cel Bun / Filip the Kind (1975)	Dan Piţa / Constantin Stoiciu	Social Realism - the mystical value of metallurgy	Proletarian intellectualism
Cursa / The Long Drive (1976)	Mircea Daneliuc / Timotei Ursu	Social Realism - the inner turmoil of the working class	Proletarian intellectualism
Concurs / Orientation Course (1982)	Dan Piţa / Dan Piţa	Metaphorical parable - the Messianic destiny of the working class	Proletarian intellectualism
Faleze de Nisip / Sand Cliffs (1983)	Dan Piţa / Bujor Nedelcovici	Psychological drama - the selfish bourgeoisie and the vulnerable proletariat	Proletarian intellectualism
Glissando (1985)	Mircea Daneliuc / Mircea Daneliuc	Metaphorical parable - the obsession of the bourgeoisie	Nonconformist intellectualism

Appendix 3: Films with an enhanced level of articulation used in this research

Title (year)	Director / scriptwriter	Genre / theme	Mode of representation
Meandre / Meanders (1967)	Mircea Săucan / Horia Lovinescu, Ionel Hristea	Neo-Realism: the inner turmoil of intellectual nonconformity	Intellectual nonconformity
Reconstituirea / The Reenactment (1968)	Lucian Pintilie / Horia Patrascu, Lucian Pintilie	Neo-Realism: the internal tragedy of political indifference	Intellectual nonconformity
Nunta de Piatră / Stone Wedding (1973)	Mircea Veroiu, Dan Piţa / Mircea Veroiu, Dan Piţa, Ion Agârbiceanu	Neo-Realism: bleak efforts and the struggles of nonconformity	Intellectual nonconformity / Proletarian intellectualism
Mere Roşii / Red Apples (1976)	Alexandru Tatos / Ion Băieşu	Social Realism: nonconformity against anti-Socialism and the eulogisation of the working class	Intellectual nonconformity / Proletarian intellectualism
Croaziera / The Cruise (1982)	Mircea Daneliuc / Mircea Daneliuc	Social Realism: the degradation of Romanian society	Intellectual nonconformity