

LEGITIMATING THE NARRATIVE DISCOURSE OF HISTORY

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What is today the real significance of the recovery of the past? How can we deal with the restoration of history, knowing that only a few years ago the project of mass awareness was the goal of the interpretation of history? The historiographer was charged with the historic function of executing the past. The rationalization of the whole structure of historiography succeeded in making historical relations artificial. These relations were subordinated to new concepts (from productive planning to personal fulfillment through work or to the revolutionary ideal of a new socialist society).

This article is an attempt to find some answers to the questions: “what do we remember?” and “why do we remember this or that fact?” My initial pre-supposition is that we remember what has been transmitted to the succeeding generations through a narration. The focus of my argument will be an historical moment from Romanian history, the 1907 Revolt. The choice of theme is determined by its familiarity and popularity for the Romanian reader and by its capacity to act as a national/istic icon irrespective of changes in ideology. My investigation will revisit cultural concepts propagated during the early days of communism in Romania, underlining the relations between perceptions and political intention, and foregrounding didacticism as a new form of historical correction.

The theme is part of a series of historical subjects invested by the new socialist order with a revolutionary and visionary function, marking the process of the deviation of history from *project to projection*.

The 1907 Revolt, a case of manipulated memory?

The difficulties of questioning the mode of existence of a historical narration are dependent on the information present in our collective memory. The collective memory, understood as the memory of history, is the space of testimony and forgetting at one and the same time. Yet how can we reconstruct the real course of events from a puzzle in which some things are mentioned while others are deliberately omitted?

The sense I am giving to the process of recalling is not necessarily a justification or a validation of a certain historical episode or of a certain interpretation. From my perspective, this process is akin to an archaeological investigation, to an act of decoding. Only by our attempt to distinguish, within the historical narration, between rhetorical manipulation, credible argumentation and factual accounts, can we obtain a varied image of the multiple facades of the historical narration and of the symbolical interpretations associated with it. This examination of the operations of historiography passes through three levels: *explication*, *legitimacy* and, finally, *argumentation*.

The case of the 1907 Revolt concerns the status of a historical event described in different ways by historiographies as a rebellion, a revolution or a revolt. I will focus on the first period of communism in Romania (1945-1960), this being the period when the use of the theme of 1907 received its highest ideological instrumentation¹.

1907 and the historical context

Once western ideology entered the political and cultural thinking of the interwar period in Romania it naturally encountered resistance from factors of the old

¹ The theme of 1907 seems to be a recurrent subject at the time. The proliferation of the theme stems from the fact that it represented an event with social implications, that could easily be modified as a message and which did not presuppose the presence of an individual figure, but of a collective hero. The ideology of the theme functioned because it spoke about the power of the people, about the presence of class struggle and about social revolution. The ascent of the theme was sustained by its consistent use within the framework of an antibourgeois strategy. 1907 was assimilated by historiographers and ideologues in terms of Engels' account of the peasant war. In 1958, the National Gallery had a permanent *allestimento* with two special rooms dedicated to 1907: the Room Before 1907 and the Room 1907.

regime. In this way the democratization of public life was opposed by forces of social inhibition. The year 1907 was precisely one such moment that marked a jump to another period, that of modernization. Urban society was fully engaged in this dynamic activity, but its impact was minimal in a country where 81,6% of the population lived in rural areas. In the agricultural sector progress was achieved with rudimentary tools and solutions, a state that Dobrogeanu-Gherea termed the *new serfdom*. The transition, after the 1864 reform, did not offer the peasantry adequate material, political and moral conditions to work. In 1872 a change in the law empowered the authorities to compel peasants to work by armed force, if necessary. The phenomenon of the revolts began in the years 1888, 1893, 1894, 1895-1898. Once the socialist clubs were set up in village, the revolts increased in frequency, culminating in the 1907 revolt. 1907 marked the end of the cycle of social revolts in modern Romania. In 1889 the conservative government of Lascar Catargiu passed a law enabling land to be sold to peasants in order to reduce the revolts. Later, under the liberal government of Dimitrie A. Sturdza, with IIC Bratianu as Minister of Foreign Affairs and general Alexandru Averescu as Minister of War, the 1907 revolt broke out at Flămânzi (Botoșani) under the slogan "We demand land!". Major conflicts took place between the army and peasantry, and the eventual repression of the revolt resulted in violence and official trials.

The real problem was not the peasantry as a working-class, but the agrarian issue as the main problem of the Romanian modern state. The political struggle ran in parallel to the struggle for the protection of rural property. The struggle over the land had a dual character. On the one hand, it could offer the owner political power and on the other hand, for the peasants, it represented the bedrock of their existence. Following the economical and political conflicts of modern Romania, we must acknowledge that the discussions surrounding agrarian property became the base of the political regime at the time. So in the discussions² of the day concerning the agrarian issue, opinions were polarised being either pro or contra the peasants or raising the question of whether

² C. A. Ionescu, *Some words on the peasants revolt of the spring of 1907*, Botoșani 1908; C. Stere, *The continual famine and the agrarian issue*, "Viața românească", Iași, 1906, No. 1, martie pp. 152-158; N. Iorga, *Hide the peasants!*, "Neamul Românesc" 1906 No. 12, octombrie, pp. 685-686; *Peasantry revolts*, "Liberalul", Iași, 1907, februarie, p. 1.



Aurel Jiqvidi, *Escort of prisoners*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *To the lordly house, The beginning of 1907*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *11 thousands*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Muzeum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *The arrest of Potemkinists*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Muzeum of Art Romania)

“The Circle of Working Romania”³ was the real instigator of the troubles or, as rumour had it, Russia⁴, students or sailors lay behind it all. The debates were principally about the historical right to landed property. The agrarian struggle was dominated by conceptions about rural property: on the one hand the bourgeois conception based on the owner’s absolute right over a particular property entailed by taxes only because of the economic conditions; on the other hand support for the peasants based on their historical right over the land, that had been usurped by the bourgeoisie. The two major tendencies from the beginning of the century- *poporanism* and *semănătorism* would sustain the “freedom” of the peasant by propagating an reactionary ideology. In exchange, the synchronistic tendency opposed the mysticism of the two tendencies with a more pragmatic way of thinking. The legislation about the agrarian settlements were a violation of the constitution, bolstering the position of the bourgeois and tenants. The solution of the agrarian issue presumed a restructuring of the socio-economic system and the modification of the political framework. 1907 was a consequence of the process of changing society, being equally a stimulus for the democratization of the regime.

1907 and sketchy history

Beginning with the new context of pro-stalinist visions in Romania, the country’s history was rewritten. A series of “revolutions” were reconstructed, prefiguring the present “revolution”, and the 1907 Revolt constituted merely a link in this chain. The goal of the historiographers’ interpretation was to underline the concept of class struggle and the early implications of the local socialist groups, as well as the significance of certain elements of the Russian revolution. The re-writing of history is part of the general process of centralization, of understanding the past as a historical prophecy which determined the political programs of the future.

³ *The socialists and the revolts*, “Cronica” 1907, martie 22, p. 1; Gh. M. Bujor, *The army and the working-class*, “România muncitoare” 1906, No. 35, p. 1; *The Guilty Persons*, “Conservatorul” 1907 No. 56, p. 1; *The Instigators*, “Revista litarară și politică” 1907, martie 20, pp. 1-2; *From days of blood and misery. After the revolts*, “Voința țaranului”, Craiova, 1907, No. 2, p. 2.

⁴ *The arrest of some instigators*, “Dimineața” 1907, februarie 28, p. 3; *The arrest of some student supporters of the revolt*, “Liberalul”, Iași, 1907, martie 1, p. 3; Dușcian I, *The agrarian issue in Romania and in Russia*, “Opinia” 1907, martie 7, p. 1.

The dramatic character of the event serves as a flag raised by the Party in order to justify its own position and ideology. The revolutionary theory asserted by the Communist leaders found in the rebellion of 1907 a historical antecedent of their struggle against old social practices. The socialist epoch demonstrated, by accentuating the importance of this historical stage, that the struggle was not in vain and placed, for the first time in our history, the image of the peasant at the forefront. The ideologue wanted to prove to us, through this narration, that in the past we could find the conscience of our *present revolution*. For the first time the model invoked by the historiographies was the Soviet model. In this way, in the first stage of Romanian communism two important aspects were erased: local tradition and the European model. The official visions of the new stalinist historiography were rapidly constructed. All references from the old history were reconverted to the new goals of the new history. The Soviet reconstruction of Romanian history was characterized by an ideological schematism and a limitation of its themes. The discourse was polemic, directed against the old regime, and designed to legitimize the new structures. National solidarity was replaced by class struggle, the motor of historical evolution. The new creator of this historical improvisation was Mihail Roller. His History of R.P.R.⁵, published in several editions, reconstructed the past. The changes were announced by his small book *Problems of History* (1947), which hinted at methodological and philosophical issues. He spoke about the need to modify the old historiographical process which was lacking in the scientific spirit and in materialist conceptions of marxism and stalinist teaching. Entire chapters and historical figures were critically re-examined, usually with reference to an official speech. At the II PRM Congress of 1955 the General Secretary of the Party officially declared for the first time his interest in history. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej recommended that historians take up the challenge of developing a new Romanian history, from the positions of marxism-leninism in order "to solve the basic problems of our history."⁶ He argued that "historical science is now part of the Party's ideological battle"⁷. Historical revisionism does not reflect only issues of foreign affairs, it becomes a framework for appropriating certain traditional values and for legitimizing the political apparatus, using old figures or moments in history.

⁵ M. Roller, *Istoria României*, București 1947.

⁶ G. Gheorghiu-Dej, *Articole și cuvântări*, 1955-1959, București 1960, p. 145.

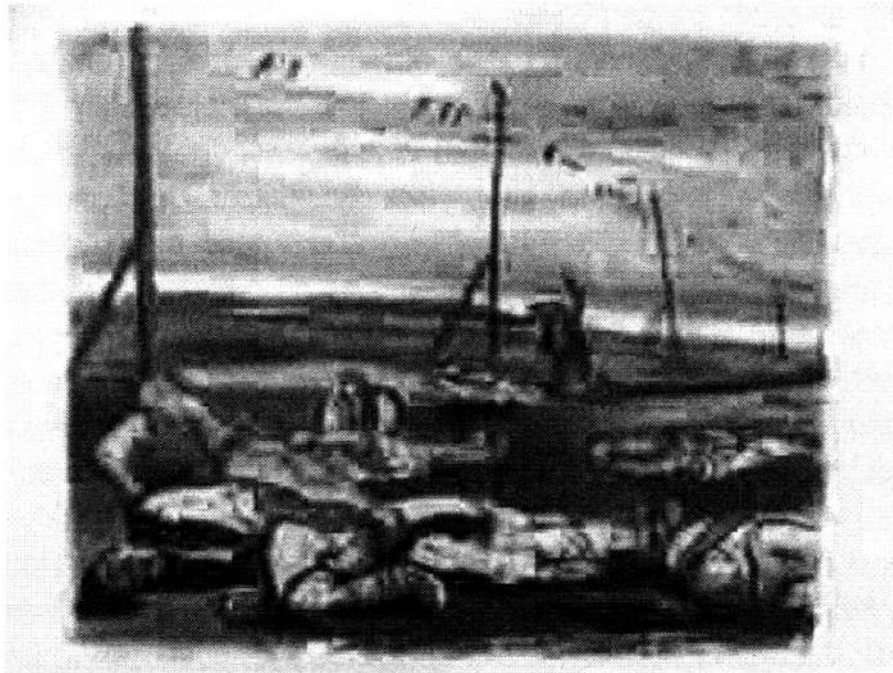
⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 6.



Aurel Jiqvidi, *What has left*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)

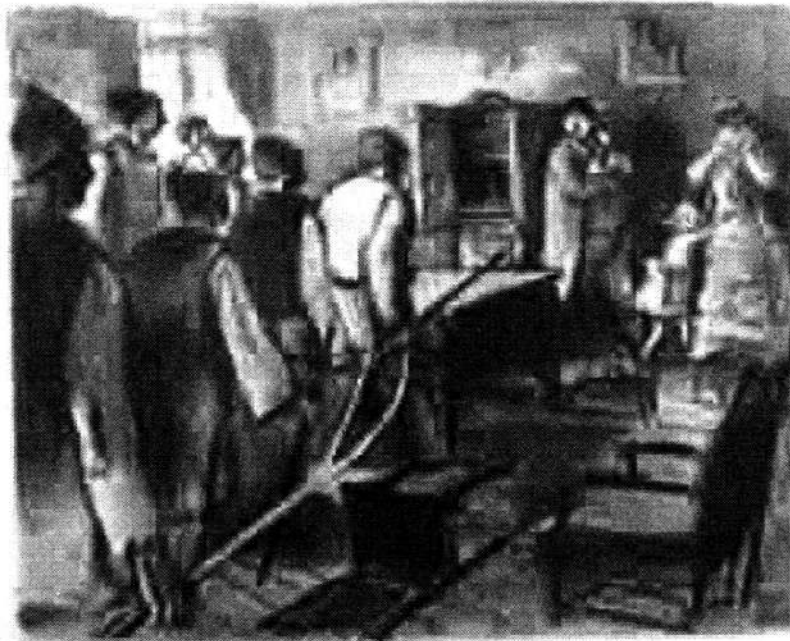


Aurel Jiqvidi, *Father and son*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiquidi, *After first volley*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Muzeum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiquidi, *The run of tenant*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Muzeum of Art Romania)

This revisionism concerned the manner in which the process of re-writing history occurred in the general context of politicized history. The historiographer appeals rather to a vulgar Marxism⁸, which systematically exposes the monstrosities of social life corrupted by capitalism, and reveals the motives of greed and the desire for material gain. From the perspective of such vulgarized Marxism, power cunningly generates poverty and famine in the midst of lavishness and all forms of social suffering, having as its principal goal the satisfaction of greed. The vulgarization of Marxism arose from certain propagandistic reasons, which led to the theory of social actors controlled by economic forces and historical forces being replaced by a conspiracy theory.

Along with other fields of culture, historiography suffers subordination to ideological control, as a consequence of the process of centralization. In becoming a political and ideological tool, history itself sustains the foundations of power, while literature and art are only means for expressing the new social values with the aim of raising the level of mass consciousness.

But how was history re-written?

A socio-cultural analysis of the period offers the necessary frame for understanding the intrusion of politics into history. The new history is constructed on the basis of political directives, the immediate consequence for historiography being the distortion of the historical fact. The historical gesture has been re-converted. The historiographer tries to create the impression of total transparency. The historical process is simplified, oversimplified. The past bears only a trace of the happiness of the socialist present. We have the feeling that there is a tacit agreement between the past generations and the new generation. Every moment of the past claims a messianic force. The past in its totality belongs to the people, to the party, to the leader. The past becomes an invoked reference.

The historical moment is subjugated by materialist logic. It is now part of the ideological chain. The class struggle, as the historiographer tries to demonstrate, is part of the process of certifying the present, underlying the high

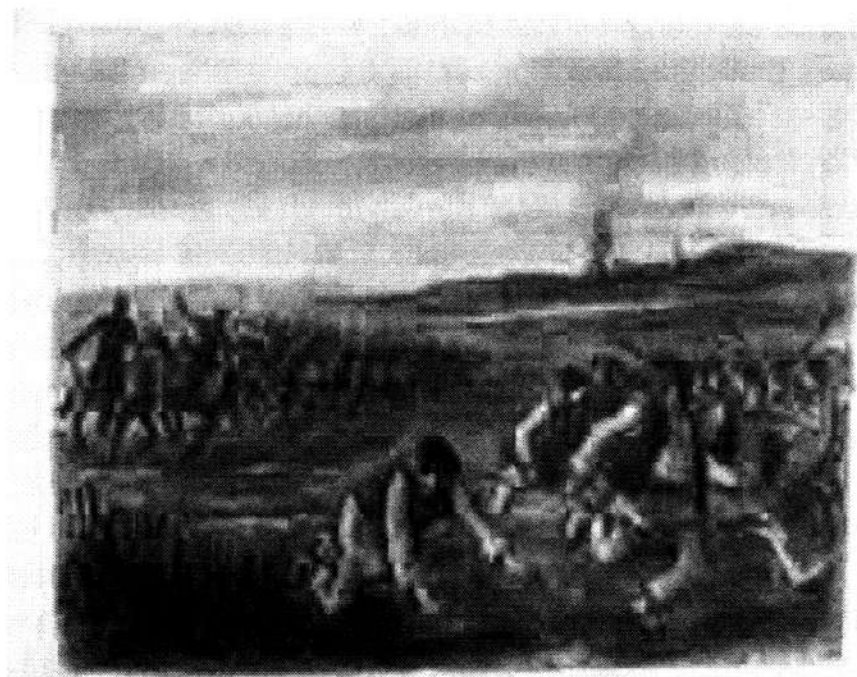
⁸ The syntagm is used in Engels' letters to J. Bloch, Hans Starkenburg, Conrad Schmidt from 1890. The letters were published in Romanian in Marx and Engels', *On art and literature*, Bucharest 1953, pp. 9-13.

est values of the new man produced by history. The past of the exploited peasants teaches us that the socialist present is the present we needed. For in legitimating the exceptional conditions of the present, our task is to create those premises when looking back into the pages of history.

Going back to sources is one of the key methods employed in historiography, in order to extract certain lessons. The historical narration becomes a behavioural model for every good communist. A dual process takes place: first, the historical reconstruction on the basis of the material traces left by the past. And second, a symbolic reconstruction, an interpretation of the intrinsic message that is not visible on first analysis and seen more as a didactic tool. From this point of view, the role of the historiographer is of major importance. Employing historical science, he deciphers in a new key the symbolic meanings of the historical scene and exploits it, loading it with a special charge. The new status conferred upon the moment becomes a way of legitimating the new social and political system and implicitly its mythological figures (Party, Proletariat and peasants). One of the important reasons for the longevity of the theme in the 'museum' of communism is the direct reference to Leninist ideology, the faith that the revolution is the only form through which we can act and change a regime. The violence of the revolt is the only thing that has the power to defend the rationale of socialist belief and its justice. The revolution becomes *prima ratio*.

Producing history

The attempt to read the moment of 1907 is confronted, whether we like it or not, by a certain profanity of interpretation. By the term profanity I understand the act of desecrating the historical event in a kind of political scene, which began to take place before the inauguration of the communist party and achieved its fullest ideological form under the totalitarian regime in Romania. A complex process of visual and theoretical indoctrination, resulting from the historiographical modifications, generated the narrative form. And because the subject is more complex than it appears to be, I will try to focus mainly on the few aspects crucial to any understanding of why the theme was so charismatic and to structure to some extent the scene in the way it was depicted by the historiography.



Aurel Jiqvidi, *The runners*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



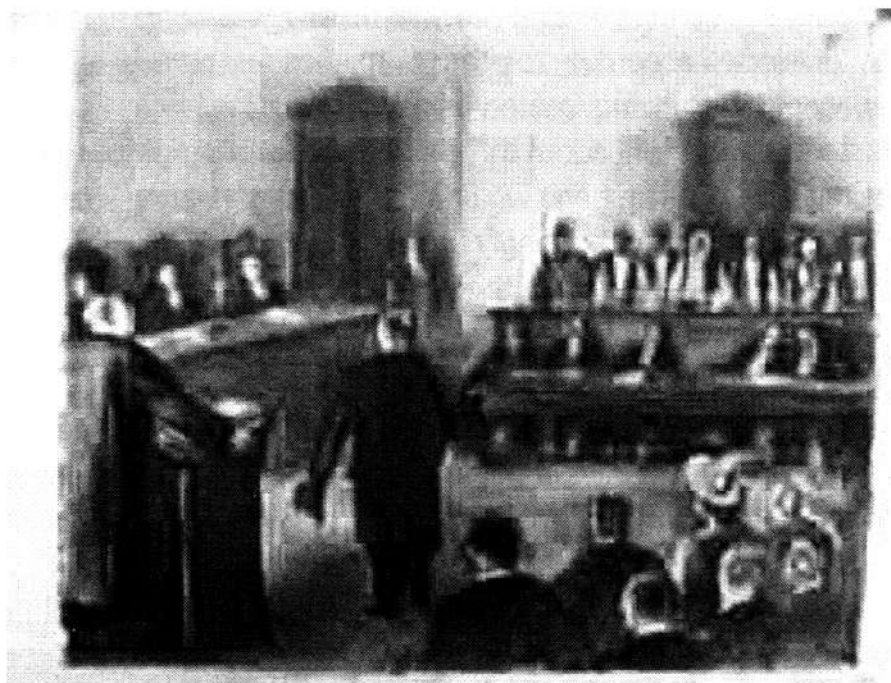
Aurel Jiqvidi, *Wheat for the landowner*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *I take your cow as a debt*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *To the trial*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)

In order to understand the strategy of the historiographical corpus of the Rebellion from 1907 we should especially analyze the criteria according to which the historical event was selected to be part of the valorized context of culture. The subject transgresses the boundaries of the historiographical scene and appears as a key moment accentuating the importance of the unification of the forces of the two masses (those of the urban and the rural proletariat) owing to the involvement of the Communist Party. 1907 represents a moment in time that anticipates the establishment of the communist party in Romania. The rebellion is claimed by Communism to be not a spontaneous moment (as bourgeois histories describe it), but a deliberately constructed revolt, an alliance between two classes, peasants and workers. It is surprising to find that the historiographical descriptions from the communist period do not greatly exaggerate the technical data of the problem: they merely schematize the historical process.

The reconstruction of history and the building of the new man, are important objectives, which communist ideology proposes to achieve in Romania. The model, first invoked and applied, was that of Russian communism and only then did a local form of communism appear, based on a re-evaluation of national emblems. The logical continuity of history was suspended and a new history was developed according to other principles. In the new context, history becomes susceptible to being treated as a mythology.

The historiographer will adopt three stages in his attempt to reveal to us the importance of 1907. The first one would be the level of hearing stories about the traumatic event, transformed wrongly into an act of justice against the Jewish tenants, the forum. Here books with peasant testimonies of their own experiences during the revolt will feature. It is informal writing, folk language and is falsified by some writers. The structure of these books puts the accent on the unjust acts committed by the bourgeoisie, on the peasants' being deprived of land, on the tortures borne by the peasantry, and the killings and populist messages promoted by some peasants at the time. The majority of the stories are orchestrated in such a way so as to lead us either to the important role played by the collectivity or masses, or to help given by the workers and intellectuals from the villages and cities during the revolt, or to the leading role of the Party.

The second stage is the documentary or archive level. Here the historiographer analyses the documents of the epoch – the statistics, the press, the parliamentary debates, and archival documents.

The third stage is that of re-written historical narration. This level is based on the first two levels. The unfolding of the event is constructed by assembling its different parts components and then stressing only those ideas that will help to legitimate the new political regime as the main force in history.

The event is discussed by the historiographer in 7 main chapters. In this way, he analyses the different aspects of the revolt and its paradigmatic role.

1. The discussion of the peasantry issue as a reference point. The chain of the peasantry problems begins with the Bobalna revolt then continues with the Peasant War of 1514, the revolt of Horea, Closca si Crisan, and the Tudor Vladimirescu moment, the revolts of 1888, 1889, 1900, 1904 culminating in the 1907 Revolt. All these revolutionary events were steps towards a free society. The socialist present speaks about the new status of the peasant within society, about the revolutionary moments as points of historical necessity. The present is crowned by the progressive actions of the working class, of the Communist Party⁹, and Russia¹⁰.
2. The reason for the peasant revolt. Among the causes that may be mentioned are: exploitation, the hard economic situation in which the country found itself, the absence of land, social justice and freedom, work on tithes, the terms of agrarian conventions, gifts in kind, the abuses, usury, speculation, bad food, cultural backwardness, and absence of political rights.

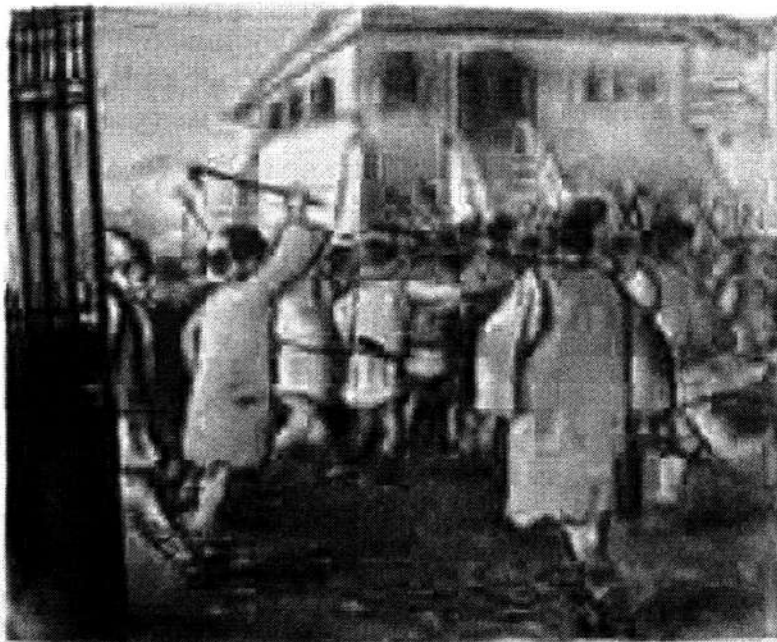
⁹ The history presents in a natural causality the evolution of the socialist movement at the beginning of XX century and the revolt from 1907. In this way, the revolt is linked with the movements of syndicates and of socialist circles.

¹⁰ In some histories, the historiographer inserts certain quotations from Lenin, referring to the event, and thereby accentuating the providential role of the Russian revolution (for the first period of historiography in 1948-1968). The historiographer demonstrates, drawing on the evidence of existing documents, that the 1907 revolt came under the direct influence of the Russian revolution of 1905. Petru Vintila, in his book *50 years from then...* says that the revolt was the effort of few hundred Russian revolutionaries and sailors, who took refuge at Constanta. These sailors spread among workers circles the seed of the revolutionary ideas of fighting for freedom against the landowners and factory owners. In this way, the Russian revolution has a spiritual descendent in Romania.



Aurel Jiqvidi, *The revolt*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *The attack*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *We want land*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *We don't shoot*

Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)

3. The revolt. The chronological evolution of moments during the revolt is presented, with its main focus, Flamanzi, underpinning the predestined name of the village (hungry, famished).
4. The repression of the revolt. Through the lens of the surviving documents (The Prime-minister's telegrams, letters received from the authorities, the diagrams with the number of persons arrested and killed, the peasant petitions) the event is presented as one of the bloodiest in national history. The repression carried out by Averescu's army was especially brutal. Although the historiographer recognizes that peasants also committed violent acts, the cardinal fault lies with the bourgeoisie who drove a wedge between the peasant and society. In this way, we can explain the brutality of the peasant response.
5. In support of the peasants. A special chapter is dedicated to the development of the socialist movement: the creation of PSDMR. The spreading of Marxist ideas and the creation of the socialist circles had an important role to play at the start of the revolt. The historiographer underlines the fact that the proletariat was the only social class that supported the rebellion. The official statement of the revolt was provided by the manifesto of "The Working Romania" circle entitled *To the Workers, Peasants and Students*.
6. Echoes of the revolt. In this chapter the impact of the moment in the international press is evoked: "Neues Wiener", "Die Zeit", "Le Courrier Europeen de Paris", "Nepsyava" (Hungary), "Venkov" (Czechoslovakia). The histories do not forget to add that some reviews distorted the truth. Another demonstration of international solidarity with the Romanian revolt occurred at the Congress of the Second International in Stuttgart, 1907.
7. It was not pointless. The 1907 revolt was the embodiment of the Romanian peasants' struggle for power and energy, showing its capacity to fight for an idea, to create alliances with other disadvantaged social classes and thus proving that it could play a role in history. It was one of those unforgettable historical moments that speak of the huge revolutionary energy inherent in the peasants.

“What do all these things demonstrate? They demonstrate that Leninism is right when it looks at the working masses of the peasantry as a reservoir for the proletariat”¹¹.

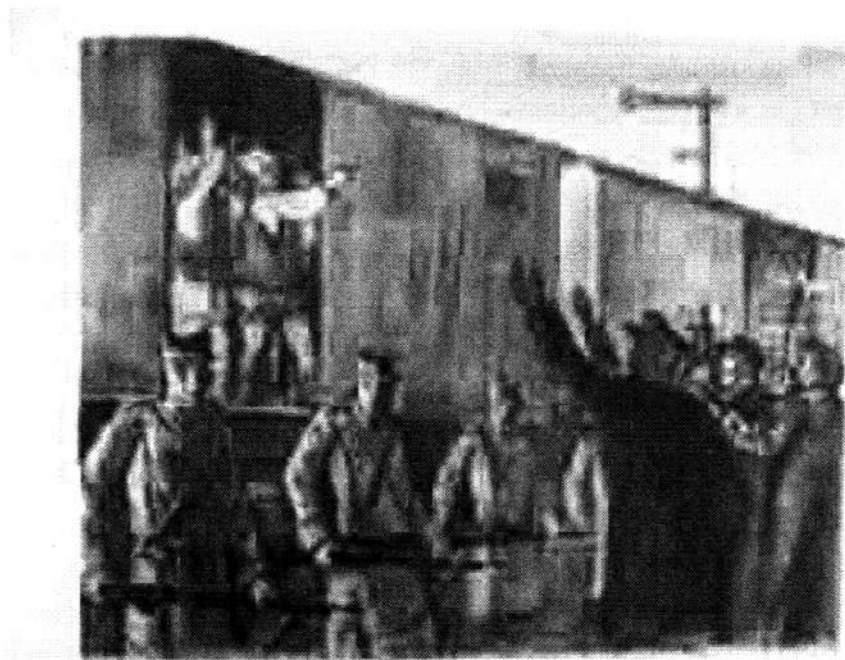
The peasant issue

One of the criteria guaranteeing the success of the theme in historiography and also in art is the key-figure of the event, the peasant. The peasant issue was the subject of several political and cultural debates before and after 1944, seen as a source of political capital both for the liberals, conservatives and communists. Because any reading of the 1907 events gravitates around this collective personage, he appears as a profound expression of Romanian consciousness, the true representation of Romanian identity. The new image of the rural structures that followed the wave of peasant revolts in Romania after 1888, was determined by the agrarian reform of 1918-1924. This image was interpreted by national movements before 1944 as testimony to the final “triumph of the village”.

The phenomenon marked a modification of the way in which we understood the peasant. Any judgment that considered the rural world as a closed universe isolated totally from the socio-economical organism was faulty. In any case, the assessments that came from traditionalist directions in the inter-war period, which exalted the patriarchal tradition¹², oscillated between two points of view: the isolation of the rural world from the rest of society or the exaggeration of the possibilities of the village, showing it as superior at all the levels to the modern urban civilization. The vision of the years after 1944 continued the unilateral philo-agrarian interpretation, but on the grounds of historical materialism. The ambiguity of this vision was determined by the acceptance of the extreme opinions of the two traditional trends mentioned above. These groups pretended that the traditional social and moral structures had imposed upon the culture the preservation of the same character. The complex process of elaborating the interpretation in communist times is similar to a puzzle in

¹¹ I. Stalin, *The Problems of Leninism*, Bucharest: E.L.P. Press 1952, p. 41.

¹² Despite the realities of the society, the partisans of the traditional points of view try to raise spiritual boundaries against this evolution. They contest the legitimacy of the process of modernization of the social structures and plead insistently for a different way of keeping alive the archaic elements of the rural world.



Aurel Jiqvidi, *Solidarity*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)



Aurel Jiqvidi, *To the trial (barbarians)*
Courtesy: Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei
(National Museum of Art Romania)

which we can find links to these traditional trends before 1944. The peasant issue becomes not just a classical theme in the pages of Romanian history, but the heart of the future transformations of the state¹³. The image of the peasant has been appropriated as a tool for legitimating a political construct, the result of political manipulation and of the discourse associated with it.

The dialectic of historiography, regarding 1907, is organized around a progressive/reactionary opposition. This opposition is generated by a series of antithetic pairs, such as peasant/landowner. The dialectic overturns the historical reality, offering a new meaning to the moment. The representation of the peasant becomes an illustration of the characteristics of the Romanian soul and of the social and historical conditions, around which revolve some of the dilemmas of Romanian nationalism. Moreover, this presupposition existed from the period of the 1907 revolt, evolving in the inter-war period into certain cultural and sociological theories. Thanks to his detection of the true meaning of this event, the ideologue bases his theory on imaginary concepts, using, at the same time, old clichés from our collective memory. 1907 is associated with the image of the peasant and with all he represents for the Romanian conscience. It is a somewhat delicate problem. We have the feeling that we are floating in a space of pre-existing data, out of which the image of the peasant emerges victorious. He is seen as a vital centre of the Romanian nation, as the origin of our mioritism¹⁴, an illustration of the difficult trials the Romanian people has undergone and the last repository of our traditions. The peasant appears as a 100% Romanian product and perhaps because of this fact, the only real success of this people.

Being considered a taboo subject, the peasant has become a cultural cliché permanently invested with new functions. The existence of a certain "positivism" around the subject hinders any possible critical approach, and where it does exist, it is carried out at the risk of hurting one of the supreme national values. The ideologue announces that the final phase of socialist society will arrive when the peasantry acts as a conscious factor in political life.

¹³ "However much we try to challenge the fact, we find ourselves at the approximate moment in history when a patriarchal society passes over to the state phase", M. Ralea, *Foreign Advice*, "Cuvântul liber" 1925 No. 17, p. 6.

¹⁴ A word derived from the title of the most popular Romanian ballad, *Miorita*.

The role of history in this context will be that of a witness. A witness that reconstructs the collective memory, its narration, and points out certain elements. There is a dual reading of the narration of historiographies, which corresponds with two different subjects. The first will be the general subject, an injunction to *remember 1907*, with all its factual details. This interpretation would not differ overmuch from interpretations before 1944 and is registered as social humanitarianism which deprived of its ideological background will have only a purely documentary value. The second is the particular subject: the reading of historical documents, their interpretation, explanations, and data, all lead us to a political message. The ultimate destiny of history belongs to the Party as does the destiny of the masses. The casual relations established between the different moments of history ascertain the affinities between present and past moments, legitimating their importance. These moments are partial moments within a messianic time frame and anticipate the glorious image of the future. The purpose of the theme is to produce a necessary tension between the loftiest communist values and those of the past. The discourse of historiography and the ideological discourse are brought together on the same ground in a reciprocal relation of support and motivation. The tension satisfies the political and theoretical need for legitimation, and foreground the image of the Party, and the role and the significance of its birth.

The theme of 1907 could be a case of manipulated memory, deeply embedded within our minds. The reconstruction of history is produced by a process of transforming the historiographer into a ideological helper. The essence of the structural changes appearing in historical discourse could be explained by the dialectic of content and form, which ended with the transformation of quantity into quality. If the old value order was determined by a natural process, the new value order of the cultural archive was imposed artificially. The consequence of this act of artificial deconstruction is that the cultural values were equalized within the new cultural archive. In this way the importance of the political message minimized other important aspects of the historical narration, and brought to the fore the question of ethical discourse.

Legitymizacja dyskursu historycznego jako narracji

Artykuł analizuje proces rewizji rumuńskiej historiografii we wczesnym okresie komunizmu, podkreślając związek między historyczną narracją oraz polityczną intencją. Omawia zmiany zachodzące na poziomie historycznego dyskursu, koncentrując się na wybranych wątkach rumuńskiej historii, przełożonych tak, by przystawały do nowych politycznych odniesień do radzieckiej ideologii. Jednym z tych wątków, dotyczącym kwestii chłopskiej, była rewolucja 1907 roku. Tekst stawia tezę o przebudowie narracyjnej struktury tego dyskursu, dostosowywanego do konceptów funkcjonujących w nowym społeczeństwie, jak walka klasowa oraz rewolucja jako „prima ratio”. Nowa historiografia nie rzuciła nowego światła na wewnętrzne mechanizmy historii, stając się jedynie dodatkiem do ideologii, legitymizującym wyjątkową kondycję teraźniejszości.