2015 International Conference

**Linking Past, Present and Future:**
The 25th Anniversary of Regime Change in Romania and Moldova (1989/1991)

**PRELIMINARY PROGRAM**

17-19 iunie / 17-19 June 2015

Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest

**Co-organizers:**
Conference Schedule

All of the concurrent sessions and the book/movie sessions will take place at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Bucharest, Spiru Haret 8.

Tuesday, 16 June

TBA screening of “Poarta Alba,” a 2014 movie directed by Nicolae Margineanu, followed by Q & A with the director.

Wednesday, 17 June

8:30-16:00  Registration and Information Table Open [Lobby]
9:00-10:00  Conference Welcome [Aula]
10:15-12:00 Concurrent Session A
12:00-14:00 Break for Lunch
14:00-15:45 Concurrent Session B
16:00-17:45 Concurrent Session C
18:00-19:00 Plenary Session I (Prof. Mihaela Miroiu)

Thursday, 18 June

8:30-16:00  Registration and Information Table Open [Lobby]
8:30-10:15 Concurrent Session D
10:30-12:15 Concurrent Session E
12:15-14:00 Break for Lunch
14:00-15:45 Concurrent Session F
16:00-17:45 Concurrent Session G
18:00-19:00 Book + Movie Sessions

Friday, 19 June

8:30-16:00  Registration and Information Table Open [Lobby]
8:30-10:15 Concurrent Session H
10:30-12:15 Concurrent Session I
12:15-14:00 Break for Lunch
14:00-15:45 Concurrent Session J
16:00-17:00 Plenary II (Prof. Dennis Deletant) and Concluding Remarks
17:15-19:00 Reception

Saturday, 20 June

Trip to Ramnicu Sarat prison organized by IICCMER.
Tuesday, 16 June

TBA screening of “Poarta Alba,” movie directed by Nicolae Margineanu, followed by Q & A with the director.

Wednesday, 17 June

9:00-10:00 Conference Welcome, Wednesday 17 June [Aula]
details TBA

10:15-12:00 Concurrent Session A, Wednesday 17 June

A1 Panel: In Comparison, Contrast and Relation to: Romania and Europe from the Organic Regulations to the Present
Chair: Maria Bucur
Papers:
  Alex Tipei - Romanian unification and European civilization: Simeon Marcovici’s national and international aims
  Ben Thorne - Emancipating the nation: slavery and national destiny in nineteenth-century Romania
  Bogdan Popa - A critique of Hardt and Negri’s cosmopolitan love: better angry than a wasp-orchid?
  Ruxandra Canache - Recuperating the communist past: Romanian literature and authoritative discourse
Discussant: Maria Bucur

A2 Panel: Transitional Justice and Democratization
Chair: Caterina Preda
Papers:
  Lavinia Stan - Transitional justice and the politics of memory: a theoretical overview
  Gabriel Andreescu - The anti-ethics of memory
  Alexandru Gussi - State legitimacy, constitutionalism and the non-democratic past in Romania
Discussant: Monica Ciobanu
A3 Panel: Home-Grown Religious Movements in Interwar Romania and Moldova
Chair: Alexandra Djuric-Milanovic
Papers:
   James A. Kapalo - The Sisters of the Archangel Michael: ‘subterranean’ resistance to church and state in 20th century Moldova
   Roland Clark - The Lord’s Army and the transformation of rural religion
   R. Chris Davis - ‘Brothers in blood and arms’: the Catholic contingent in the Iron Guard
Discussant: Cristian Vasile

A4 Roundtable: Academic Dishonesty in Romania: A Research Collaboration
Moderator: Bob Ives
Participants: Madalina Alama, Andreea Alexe, Gabriel Badescu, Ana-Maria Cazan, Aurel Clinciu, Mihaela Diaconu, Amalia Dutu, Florin Salajan

A5 Panel: East European Conflicts in Comparative Perspective
Chair: Horia-Victor Lefter
Papers:
   Luiza-Maria Filimon - Romania from the Warsaw Pact to NATO: analyzing the security agenda and diplomatic endeavors of middle powers as members of political alliances
   Marius Stan - Patterns of evil in the 1990s: the cases of Serbia and Romania
   Paul D. Quinlan - Moldova and the crisis in Ukraine
Discussant: Radu Cinpoes

A6 Panel: Institutional and Nation-Building Processes in Moldova
Chair: Onoriu Colacel
Papers:
   Clara Volintiru - Institutional and public policy changes in Romania and Moldova
   Natalia Dusacova - Challenges of nation building in the Republic of Moldova: the views of Western experts
   Petru Negura - Was everything forever? People’s perceptions of change in the late 1980s and the early 1990s in Soviet Moldavia
Discussant: Igor Casu
A7 Panel: Revisionism and Plural Identities in the Post-Communist Romanian Cultural Field
Chair: Andrei Terian
Papers:
- Camelia Craciun - *Yiddish culture in Romania after 1989: between preserving cultural heritage and promoting world literatures*
- Alex Goldis - *Revisions of canon in Romanian historiography after 1990*
- Andrei Terian - *Are we all Romanian writers now? The case of literature written in Romanian in the Republic of Moldova after 1989/1991*
- Cosmin Borza - *The jams of Romanian post-communist revisionism. Monica Lovinescu’s “East-ethics”*

A8 Panel: Romanian-German Identities in the Long 20th Century
Chair: Florian Kuhner-Wielach
Papers:
- Eniko Dacz - *Transylvanian Saxon identity constructions and entanglements before World War I*
- James Koranyi - *Common ground: Romanian Germans in interwar Romania*
- Cristian Cercel - *Germans in Poland and Romania: different beginnings, similar consequences?*
- Friederike Moenninghoff - *Talking about Revolution: the Romanian Revolution 1989 and its transforming influence on the Transylvanian Saxon minority*
Discussant: Corneliu Pintilescu

14:00-15:45 Concurrent Session B, Wednesday June 15

B1 Panel: A Seat at the Table: Women Intellectuals in Post-Communist Romania
Chair: Irina Livezeanu
Papers:
- Maria Bucur - *From invisibility to negotiated marginality: women as subjects and objects of historical analysis in Romania since 1989*
- Oana Baluta - *Women and politics: then and now*
Discussant: Veronica Szabo
B2 Panel: Legal and Institutional Aspects of Transitional Justice: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives
Chair: Alexandru Gussi
Papers:
  Cosmin Cercel - *1989 and the Law: revolution and exception in Romanian constitutional history*
  Florin Abraham - *Transitional justice policies in Romania: expectations, results, perspectives*
  Cosmin Budeanca - *Institutional aspects of communist memory in Romania*
Discussant: Dragos Petrescu

B3 Panel: Entangled Legacies of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Romania
Chair: Dana Mihailescu
Papers:
  Sarah Rosen - *Appointed or selected? Jewish leadership in the Transnistrian ghettos of Mogilev, Shargorod, Djurin, Murafa and Bershad*
  Dana Mihailescu - *Intergenerational legacies of Romanian (post)Holocaust traumas in Jewish women’s memoirs from post-communist times*
  Ana Barbulescu - *The Holocaust as reflected in Romanian post-communist textbooks: competitive identities and dangerous memories*

B4 Roundtable: The Politics of Scientific Evaluations in Post-Communist Romania: Building Standards in Political and Social Sciences
Moderators: Luciana Ghica and Florin Fesnic
Participants: Gabriel Badescu, Florin Fesnic, Luciana Ghica, Bogdan Voicu

B5 Roundtable: Joining an Outlawed Party. The Risks and Temptations of Becoming a Communist in Romania before 1945
Moderator: Mihai Burcea
Participants: Adrian Cioroianu, Vladimir Tismaneanu, Corina Dobos, Dumitru Lacatusu, Mircea Burcea
B6 Panel: Mass-Media in Moldova: Communist Legacies and Post-Communist Manipulation  
Chair: Paul D. Quinlan  
Papers:  
  Onoriu Colacel – *The politics of entertainment in Moldova: the case of the TV show Ora de Ras*  
  Vladislav Saran - *Media manipulation in Moldova: foreign policy issues*  
Discussant: Andrada Fatu-Tutoveanu

B7 Panel: New Perspectives on the Interwar Economy  
Chair: Roland Clark  
Papers:  
  Mihai-Dan Cirjan - *Producing economic subjects through debt and credit: the Romanian credit cooperatives and the politics of development*  
  Justin Classen - *Imperial enterprise: Industria Sârmei SA and the corporate colonization of Ghiriș Arieș, 1920-1941*  
  Gabor Egry - *National economy vs. economic efficiency? Economic nationalism, nationalizing state(s) and transitory effects in interwar Transylvania*  
  Mate Rigo - *An illusory friendship? Francophonie, industry, protectionism: clashing views on Franco-Romanian economic relations after World War I*  
Discussant: Bogdan Murgescu

B8 Panel: Fictions of the Present: Representations of (Post-)1989 Romania in Literature, Media and Film  
Chair: Andrei Terian  
Papers:  
  Mihai Iovanel - *The invisible enemy: conspiracy theory in post-communist Romanian fiction*  
  Doru Pop - *Representing the December Revolution in post-communist media, cinema, and literature*  
  Mihaela Ursa - *Romanian literature facing the digital turn*  
  Claudiu Turcus - *Screening revolution as mythology, confusion and cliché: three Romanian films from 2006*
B9 Panel: Romanian German Literature in Transformation  
Chair: Eniko Dacz  
Papers:  
   Jenny Watson – ‘Ein Walach ist ein Walach, da gibt’s ja nicht mehr zu sagen’: the representation of Romanians and Romanian-German relations in Herta Müller’s prose  
   Brigid Haines – ‘Der Fremde verzog das Gesicht’: Herta Müller's WortBild Künstler collages  
   Michaela Nowotnick - Securitate is everywhere: the influence of the secret police on the German-Romanian literature (after 1970)  
   Florian Kuhrer-Wielach - Romanian-German culture between regionalism and the South-Eastern German paradigm – the role of migrants and their discursive network  
Discussant: Alex Drace-Francis

16:00-17:45 Concurrent Session C, Wednesday June 17

C1 Panel: Gendering Communism I  
Chair: Theodora Vacarescu  
Papers:  
   Maria Bucur - To have and to hold: gender regimes and property rights in twentieth century Romania  
   Alina Branda - Two memoirs “in the strict sense of the term”  
   Ruxandra Canache - Gender and sexuality under socialism: Nina Cassian, a case study  
   Alina Hurubean – The condition of women in communist Romania - public policy and everyday life  
Discussant: Mihaela Miroiu

C2 Panel: Remembering Communism – Genres of Representation  
Chair: Corneliu Pintilescu  
Papers:  
   Cristina Petrescu - Belated nostalgia? Remembering everyday life under Romanian communism  
   Caterina Preda - Romanian art of memorialization  
   Simina Badica - Transitional museology: exhibiting communism in post-war and post-communist Romania  
Discussant: Cristian Tileaga
C3 Panel: Reviving Romanian Religion: The Limits of Acceptability
Chair: Valentin Sandulescu
Papers:
  Ryan Voogt - *Foreigners in the fold: the “Bethanist” movement of the Reformed Church in Romania*
  Aleksandra Djuric-Milanovic - *Romanian Nazarenes and Orthodox renewal movement Oastea Domnului in the Serbian Banat*
  Silviu Rogobete - *Religion and politics: for an academic discipline with a post-totalitarian/post-atheistic touch*
Discussant: Roland Clark

C4 Panel: The Development of Romanian Studies Programs; Challenges and Perspectives
Chair: Marina Cap-Bun
Papers:
  Florentina Nicolae – *Romanian Studies as a privileged topic of research at Ovidius University at Constanta*
  Aida Todi – *The promotion of Romanian Studies at Ovidius University at Constanta*
  Cristina-Valentina Dafinoiu – *Romanian language as foreign language. Courses published by Ovidius University of Constanta teachers*
  Veronica Nedelcu and Laura Pascale – *The spatial and temporal structures in Romanian as foreign language*
Discussant: Petre Barlea and Mihaela Albu

C5 Panel: The Conceptual Complexity of Populism
Chair: Codrin Taut
Papers:
  Emilian Cioc - *Transient peoples: reimagining the political subject*
  Daniel Sandru - *Populism: the genealogy of democratic anti-proceduralism*
  Sergiu Miscoiu - *From populism to neo-populism? Theoretical and empirical arguments for neo-populism*
  Julianna Kopeczi / Adriana Furic - *The impact of populist political discourses on individual and collective identity construction*
Discussant: Emanuel Copilas
C6 Roundtable: Post-Communist Romania at 25
Moderator: Lavinia Stan
Participants: Diane Vancea, Dennis Deletant, Peter Gross, Monica Ciobanu, Paul Sum, Radu Cinpoes

C7 Panel: The Situation of National Minorities in Romania
Chair: Stefano Bottoni
Papers:
   Elisabeth Weber - *Minorities during World War I in Romania*
   Filip Sisler - *Ceauşescu regime’s policy towards the Hungarian minority and its impact on the fall of communism in Romania*
   Jiri Kocian - *Germans of Romania and 1989: from emigration to political mobilization*

C8 Panel: Roma in Romania 25 Years after the Revolution
Chair: Margaret Beissinger
Papers:
   Laszlo Foszto - *Roma and/in rituals: continuity and transformations in the public sphere*
   Stefania Toma - *Causes or consequences of international migration of Roma - the interplay of economic, religious factors and changes in social networks*
   Catalina Tesar - *Arranged early age marriages among Romanian Cortorari Gypsies*
   Margaret Beissinger - *The “Manea Revolution” 25 years after 1989: how Romani musicians have adapted*

C9 Panel: Traditions and Transitions at the Gates of the Orient: From Mateiu Caragiale to the Romanian New Wave Cinema of the 1990s
Chair: Anca Munteanu
Papers:
   Jeanine Teodorescu - *Corneliu Porumboiu’s ‘12:08 East of Bucharest—Did It Happen Or Not?’ from the heroic to the absurd*
   Adriana Varga - *Dutch masters, passageways, and labyrinths: the Camera I in the works of Mateiu Caragiale*
   Anca Munteanu - *Cultural collision in Nemescu’s California Dreamin*
Discussant: William Ford
In my view, feminism is the road towards women’s autonomy. This road restarted after 1989, simultaneously with the democratization process. In my talk, I reconstruct the history and analyze the relevance of feminism as an intellectual, civic and political tool for women’s participation and recognition. Communism was a state patriarchy, inimical to other „isms,” including feminism. It was a road to women’s economic independence. The state was involved in children’s raising, but created its own gender hierarchies, confiscated women’s reproductive capacities, and used an irrelevant quota system for women’s political interests. During the 1990s women increasingly became private actors with very low political representation levels characterized by left-wing conservatism. It was the time when modern patriarchy was created but also when it was possible to build new research fields with a feminist approach, create NGOs, and influence politicians. The next seven years were dedicated to complying with the EU acquis communautaire. Romanian women formally became the beneficiaries of political room-service feminism. Feminism gained more recognition in universities, media, and politics. By late 2007, Romania became a liberal democracy. After the country joined the EU, politicians no longer felt the need to show commitment to democratic standards. Democracy was reduced to an electoral democracy and women’s political representation declined. Women rights NGOs became more active in street protests. Feminism diversified, from the initial liberal variant to the diverse new orientations visible today in the social media: socialist feminism, radical feminism, lesbian feminism. Romanian feminists thus have compressed the second and the third Western feminist waves in a very short time in order to be contemporary with our own her/story.

Mihaela Miroiu is Professor of Political Sciences in the Political Science Faculty at the National School for Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA). Her research interests encompass political theory, feminist political theories, political ethics, post-communist transition, and gender and politics. Her work is focused on illiberal democracy in Eastern Europe (show-room democracy), “room-service feminism,” and “costless state feminism.” She authored 12 books, including Thoughts of the Shadow: Feminist Approaches in Contemporary Philosophy (1995); Convenio. On Nature, Women and Morals (1996); Backward-Looking Society (1999); Guidelines for Promoting Equity in Higher Education (2003), The Road to Autonomy: Feminist Political Theories (2004); Priceless Women (2006) and Beyond Angels and Devils: Ethics in the Romanian Politics (2007). She (co)edited 11 books, including a Feminist Lexicon (2002) and Contemporary Political Ideologies (2012). She plays an active public role as feminist and political analyst in the Romanian civil society and mass-media.
Thursday, 18 June

8:30-10:15  Concurrent Session D, Thursday 18 June

D1+E1 Panel: Gendering Communism II
Chair: Theodora Vacarescu
Papers:
   Alexandra Ghit - *Stretching the truth: linking transnationally postwar Romania’s discourses on the “woman question”*
   Monica Mitarca - *Gender and genre in Romanian feature films of the 1970s and 1980s*
   Irina Carabas - *Male bodies from women’s hands: women artists during socialist realism in Romania*
   Raluca Margarit - *Between propaganda and everyday life challenges: the role of women within the party organizations in communist Romanian enterprises*
Discussant: Jill Massino

D2 Panel: Remembering Repression
Chair: Simina Badica
Papers:
   Monica Ciobanu - *Repression and resistance in Stalinist Romania (1944-1963): post-communist remembering*
   Mircea Stanescu - *Pitești-type reeducation and its remembering*
   Simona Livescu - *Francophone exceptionality: women’s prison literature in French*
Discussant: Dragos Petrescu

D3 Panel: Doctors, Nurses, Patients and Companions: Decision-Making in the Romanian Healthcare System
Chair: Anamaria Iosif Ross
Papers:
   Ana Maria Borlescu - *The importance of trust in doctor-patient interaction: between credibility and capability in the Romanian medical system*
   Erica van der Sjipt - *The state, the private clinic, and the home: giving birth in post-socialist Romania*
Valentin Veron Toma - *From ergotherapy to resocialization: the rise and fall of the pre-vocational training system for psychiatric patients at the central hospital in Bucharest (1966-2004)*

Marius Wamsiedel - *The moral evaluation of patients as joint action: evidence from two emergency wards in Romania*

Discussant: Lorena Anton

D4 Panel: Human Capital and Stock of High Education Graduates in Romania (1948-2010)
Chair: Bogdan Murgescu
Papers:
Viorel Proteasa and Mihai Paunescu - *Higher education and the economy – between liberal expansion and central planning*
Robert D. Reisz - *Higher education planning and the GDP in Romania (1948-1990)*
Valentin Maier - *Higher education graduates in Romanian socialist agriculture: between political claims and practical problems*
Matei Gheboianu - *Qualitative analysis of selected cases of professional conversion in post-communist Romania*

Discussant: Andrei F. Sora

D5 Panel: Political Change and Political Behavior in Romania
Chair: Ron King
Papers:
Florin Fesnic and Oana Armeanu - *Euroskepticism in Eastern and Western Europe: Romania and France*
Raluca Vivman-Miller - *The impact of temporary migration on levels of tolerance*
Cosmin Gabriel Marian and Ron King - *Political incentives and the bias of government expenditures in Romania*
Laurentiu Stefan - *Coalition governments in Romania: from paper to practice*

D6 Panel: Moldovan Democracy between East and West
Chair: Petru Negura
Papers:
Igor Casu - *The challenges of democratization. Communist Party of Moldavia’s hegemonic strategies and failure to become a national party, 1988-1991*
Ellie Knott - *Europeanisation from below: Romania’s Europeanisation of Moldova’s citizenry*
Irina Dusacova - *Moldova between West and East: the analysis of media information*
Wim van Meurs - *The reputation of Romania's and Moldova's pre-communist democracy*
Discussant: Paul D. Quinlan

D7 Panel: Repositioning Romania’s Competitive Advantage in Transition from Communism to EU Membership
Chair: Roxana Voicu-Dorobantu
Papers:
  - Alexandra Horobet, Oana Popovici and Lucian Belascu - *Institutions' quality for attracting FDI as competitive advantage for Romania*
  - Catalin Ploae - *Capitalizing competitive advantage in an intercultural world*
  - Valentin Cojanu and Cristiana Serbanel - *Trends in vertical specialization of Romanian industries*
  - Thomas Straub and Stefano Borzillo - *Building an entrepreneurial ecosystem in post-communist Romania*
  - Roxana Voicu-Dorobantu - *The new Romania at 25: still capable of leapfrogging?*
Discussant: Dumitru Miron and Thomas Straub

D8 Roundtable: Ethnological Sciences: Essentialist Identity, Nationalist Patriotism, Speculative Pluralism or What Other (de)Serving Purposes?
Moderator: Marin Marian-Balasa
Participants: Bogdan Neagota, Mircea Paduraru, Otilia Hedesan

**10:30-12:15  Concurrent Session E, Thursday 18 June**

E1+D1 Panel: Gendering Communism II

E2 Roundtable: Feminism for Post-Communism
Moderator: Irina Livezeanu
Participants: Laura Grunberg, Olivia Nitis, Veda Popovici, Liliana Popescu

E3 Panel: Decommunization and Historical Redress
Chair: Cosmin Cercel
Papers:
  - Cristian Tileaga - *Conceptions of memory, historical redress and memory activities*
Corneliu Pintilescu - 15 years after: reassessing the CNSAS’s role in Romania’s decommunization
Dragos Petrescu - Public exposure without lustration. Dealing with the Securitate files in post-1989 Romania
Discussant: Monica Ciobanu

E4 Panel: Governing Bodies and Healing in Romanian Healthcare
Chair: Gerard Weber
Papers:
   Agota Abran - An anthropological investigation of plant-based remedies in Romania
   Lorena Anton - Controlling reproduction in post-communist Romania: the abortion issue
   Anteya Marincan - Caregiver perceptions on social suffering and institutionalization of children in post-socialist Romania
   Corina Rusu - Contemporary bio-politics: Roma health mediation program
Discussant: Anamaria Iosif Ross

E5 Roundtable: Romanian Universities across 1989. From State-Planned Contraction to Market-Driven Expansion
Moderator: Bogdan Murgescu
Participant: Adrian Miroiu, Bogdan Murgescu, Gh. Stefan, Lazar Vlasceanu, Jan Sadlak

Chair: Silvia Marton
Papers:
   Judit Pal and Vlad Popovici - The parliamentary elite of Transylvania (1867-1918). State of knowledge and envisioned developments
   Marius Lazar - Types of political capital and Romanian elites during the pre-communist parliamentary regime
   Alexandra Iancu - Reshaping parliamentary representation in modern Romania: internationalization of knowledge as a political resource
   Sorin Radu - The rightful senators in the Romanian Parliament (1866-1938) – a comparative analysis
Discussant: Laurentiu Stefan and Silvia Marton
E7 Panel: Post-Communist Assemblages in Contemporary Literature from/about Romania
Chair: Ana Bento-Ribeiro
Papers:
  Dragos Manea - *Grotesque graphics: trauma and mediality in Baudoin’s Travesti de Mircea Cărtărescu*
  Dan Taranu – *Reflecting life in communist and post-communist novels. Amalgamation and hybridization of cultural codes in Ioan Grosan’s and Petre Cimpoesu’s prose*
  Alina Ciobotaru - *Magical realism as a post-communist destabilizing agent: Mircea Cărtărescu’s trilogy Orbitor [Blinding] and the depiction of the communist city*
  Domnica Radulescu - *Writing the immigrant experience and post-communist dystopias*
Discussant: Michel Mallet
Sponsored by RSAA

E8 Panel: La Roumanie et la France – rencontre culturelles au temps des confrontations Ouest-Est
Chair: Mirela Murgescu
Papers:
  Ileana Mihaila - *L’étude du français à l’Université de Bucarest à l’époque communiste*
  Aurelia Vasile - *Les coproductions cinématographiques : une nouvelle forme de collaboration politique et culturelle entre la France et la Roumanie pendant la guerre froide*
  Georgiana Medrea Estienne - *La Bibliothèque Française à Bucarest dans les années 1970, astucieuse reprise d’une politique culturelle renouvelée*

E9 Panel: Bucharest in Arts/Arts in Bucharest
Chair: Ileana Marin
Papers:
  Adina Ciugureanu - *Hybrid spaces of modernity in early twentieth century: Bucharest and Dublin*
  Mircea Tuglea - *With the Gypsy girls: a reversed epiphany in Bucharest*
  Alina Nicoleta Vlad - *The hostility of a common space*
Discussants: Jim Augerot, Letitia Guran, Simona Livescu
14:00-15:45 Concurrent Session F, Thursday 18 June

F1 Panel: From Where We Stand: Intersections of Gender, Ethnicity/ Race, Social Class, and Sexuality in the Aftermath of State-Socialism
Chair: Cristian Norocel
Papers:
  Victoria Apostol - *The Romanian nationalist projections: an export and import of sexism, racism, and homophobia in Moldova*
  Elena Brodeala - *Mapping twenty-five years of legal developments in the field of gender equality in post-socialist Romania*
  Gabriel Mayer (& Ionela Ana Descultu) - *Where are the Jews in post Holocaust, post-communist Romania?*
Discussant: Oana Baluta

F2 Panel: Churches with and against Dictatorship
Chair: Silviu Rogobete
Papers:
  Lucian Turcescu - *Definitions of collaboration and resistance: a survey*
  Cristian Vasile - *The Presidential Commission for the Analysis of Communist Dictatorship and church history writing*
  Cristina Plamadeala - *Antonie Plamadeala and the Securitate*
Discussant: Silviu Rogobete

F3 Panel: Neoliberal Reforms and Access to Services in the Romanian Healthcare System
Chair: Valentin Veron Toma
Papers:
  Elena Barbulescu - *Farewell to communism but leave the hospitals here: how transition transformed the rural health care in Romania after 1989*
  Ana Bazac - *Why do we need empirical research about the consequences of the Romanian neo-liberal “healthcare” law?*
  Sabina Stan - *Corrupting the Romanian healthcare system: wrongdoing and healthcare reforms in times of austerity*
  Gerard Weber - *An anthropological perspective on gratuities: the origins of informal payments for healthcare services in post-socialist Romania and their implications for working-class retirees in Galați*
Discussant: Erica van der Sjipt
F4 Roundtable: The Society for Romanian Studies: Past, Present and Future
Moderator: Paul Michelson
Participants: Jim Augerot, Paul Michelson, Paul Quinlan, Irina Livezeanu, Lavinia Stan

F5 Panel: The Specificity of Central and Eastern European (Neo)Populism(s)
Chair: Sergiu Miscoiu
Papers:
- Clara Volintiru and Sergiu Gherghina - Populism and its challenges for the young electorate in Romania
- Emanuel Copilas - Reinventing the ‘new man’: a neoliberal populist approach
- Codrin Taut - Through distorted glasses. Misconceptions of populism in Eastern Europe
- Alexandra Sandu - Populism through mass-media – an analysis of the press in Iasi, Romania
Discussant: Daniel Sandru

F6 Panel: Moldova’s Difficult Road to the EU
Chair: Ellie Knott
Papers:
- Nikki Junker - The Republic of Moldova’s track to the European Union
- Helga Zichner - Carrying out EU-funded projects in Moldova: what does it take if not everybody favors Europeanization?
- Marketa Smrckova - Moldova’s place in Europe: the role of the ethnicity in Moldovan politics in the perspective of the associating with the EU within the EU-Russia framework
Discussant: Natalia Dusacova

F7 Roundtable: Representations of Jewish Life in Romanian Culture
Moderator: Camelia Craciun
Participants: Magda Raduta, Camelia Craciun, Andrei Terian, Mihai Iovanel

16:00-17:45 Concurrent Session G, Thursday 18 June

G1 Panel: Minorities, Gender and Everyday Life in Communist Romania
Chair: Virgiliiu Tarau
Papers:
Adriana Cupcea - Identity construction and everyday life of the Turkish and Tatar communities in Dobrudja during communist times
Manuela Marin - Ascribing a new political identity: Turkish and Tatar women during the 1950s. A case study on Sâteanca, Femeia and Dobrogea nouă
Luciana-Marioara Jinga - Family, factory, fight: the changing gender paradigm in Romania after the Second World War
Disc: Virgiliu Tarau

G2 Panel: The Politics of Memory: Strategies, Constraints and Results
Chair: Ruxandra Canache
Papers:
   Mihai Stelian Rusu - Transitional memory: political strategies for the public management of the past in transitional times
   Iulian Alexandru Muraru - Denial, mystification and political instrumentalization in the post-Soviet space. Competing memories in post-communist Romania: Marshal Ion Antonescu vs. King Michael
   Carmen Lascu - Justice for communist-era political convicts: an elusive ideal?
Discussant: Cristina Petrescu

G3 Roundtable: Seekers and Gatekeepers: The Present and Future State of Archival Research in Romania
Moderator: R. Chris Davis
Participants: Dennis Deletant, Dragos Petrescu, Cristian Vasile, Alina Pavelescu

G4 Panel: Change and Resistance in Romanian Universities
Chair: Liu Yong
Papers:
   Bob Ives and Gabriel Badescu - Romanian scholarly productivity: recent history and recommendations
   Rodica Zaharia and Razvan Zaharia - Promotion criteria in the Romanian higher education: an endless beginning?
   Razvan Zaharia, Rodica Zaharia and Diane Vancea - Influence of corruption on the university’s image among students - a comparative approach
   Radu Parvulescu - Romanian Studies: a quantitative survey
Discussant: TBA
G5 Panel: Political Representations and Trust  
Chair: Bill Crowther  
Papers:  
  Andreea Carstocea - Post-communist political representation of national minorities in Romania: ethno-business and (non)accountability  
  Gabriel Badescu and Paul Sum - Economic inequality and generalized trust in Romania  
  Hadrian Gorun - The official political discourse after the Revolution of 1989  
Discussant: Ron King

G6 Panel: Romania’s Road to the European Union  
Chair: Alexandra Horobet  
Papers:  
  Olimpia Oancea - Romania's accession into European Union - opportunities and potential risks for the bread industry  
  Romana Salageanu - The European trajectory of the Romanian state – goodness of fit or misfit?  
Discussant: Helga Zichner

G7 Panel: Romanian Cinema before and after 1989  
Chair: Gaelle Fisher  
Papers:  
  Ana Bento-Ribeiro - Beyond the "New Wave": spectatorship, media and cinephilia in contemporary Romania  
  Alina Popescu - A lot of mediocrity and a few good films: 45 years of communist censorship in Romanian cinema  
  Andrei Nae - Post-colonial discourse in Sergiu Nicolaescu’s Mihai Viteazul  
Discussant: Maria Sabina Draga Alexandru

G8 Panel: Bringing back the Avant-Garde since 1990  
Chair: Andreea Deciu Ritivoi  
Papers:  
  Igor Mocanu - The post-communist discourse on the Romanian Avant-Garde  
  Adriana Copaciu - Romanian surrealism never happened: on-going debates on the artistic legitimacy of the Infra-Noir Group (1939-1947)  
  Irina Livezeanu - Post-communist projects: recuperating the Avant-Garde and the New Generation
Irina Carabas - *Brilliant careers before and after: M.H. Maxy, Jules Perahim and Hans Mattis Teutsch*
Discussant: Andreea Deciu Ritivoi

18:00-19:00 Book + Movie Sessions, Thursday 18 June

BM1 *Holy Legionary Youth: Fascist Activism in Interwar Romania* (Cornell University Press, 2015)
Moderator: Roland Clark
Participants: Ionut Biliuta, Dennis Deletant and Valentin Sandulescu

Founded in 1927, Romania’s Legion of the Archangel Michael was one of Europe’s largest and longest-lived fascist social movements. In *Holy Legionary Youth*, Roland Clark draws on oral histories, memoirs, and substantial research in the archives of the Romanian secret police to provide the most comprehensive account of the Legion in English to date. Clark approaches Romanian fascism by asking what membership in the Legion meant to young Romanian men and women. Viewing fascism “from below,” as a social category that had practical consequences for those who embraced it, he shows how the personal significance of fascism emerged out of Legionaries’ interactions with each other, the state, other political parties, families and friends, and fascist groups abroad. Official repression, fascist spectacle, and the frequency and nature of legionary activities changed a person’s everyday activities and relationships in profound ways.

BM2 Literature, Politics and Society in Communist Romania and Soviet Moldova: New Perspectives [*Nici eroi, nici trădători. Scriitorii moldoveni și puterea sovietică în epoca stalinistă*. Cartier, 2014]
Moderator: Petru Negura
Participants: Paul Cernat, Igor Casu, Lucia Dragomir, Vasile Ernu, Petru Negura

Moldovan writers were tasked with adapting a foreign literary model, Socialist Realism, to the local cultural context. Moreover, from the creation of the first literary organization of the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (MASSR) in 1924 until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, one of the main jobs of Soviet Moldovan writers, and “creative intellectuals” more generally, was to forge a system of cultural values (around an allegedly distinct literary language and the invention of a local cultural heritage) which would legitimate the Moldovan “socialist nation.” These tasks imposed by the Soviet regime generated certain tensions and compromises among the writers themselves (and the various groups in the Moldovan Writers’ Union); between the writers and the representatives of Soviet power (both central and local); and with regard to the target audience for their literary production.
BM3 Comunisti per caso  
Moderator: Francesco Zavatti  
Participants: Francesco Zavatti and Stefano Bottoni

BM4 Searching for Maxy  
Moderator: Irina Livezeanu  
Participants: Lee Dragu, Irina Livezeanu, Irina Carabas

BM5 TBA  
Moderator: Marina Cap-Bun

Friday 19 June

8:30-10:15 Concurrent Session H, Friday 19 June

H1 Panel: Sport in Communist and Post-Communist Romania  
Chair: Mirela Murgescu  
Papers:
   - Anita-Diana Sterea - The Olympic and Paralympic Movement in Romania after 1989  
   - Pompiliu-Nicolae Constantin - Sport stars from ethnic minorities and the Securitate between 1947 and 1965  
   - Catalin Parfene - Before and after 1989: football, writing, and politics in the memory of an ethnic Hungarian in Romania  
   - Bogdan Rentea - Daciada: between sport and propaganda  
Discussant: Bogdan Popa

H2 Panel: Patterns of Resistance and Collaboration among Writers, Academics and Architects  
Chair: Irina Livezeanu  
Papers:
   - Miruna Stroe - Was there a need for lustrating the architects in Romania?  
   - Cristian Barsu, Bogdan Chiorean and Alexandru Ilie – Everyday forms of resistance in the academic life of the Cluj Institute of Medicine and Farmacy in the ’50s and the ’60s  
   - Gabriela Glavan - Infernal archives: the Securitate files on writers  
Discussant: Gabriel Andreescu
H3 Panel: The Peasantry, Nation-Building and the Social Sciences, 1890-1940
Chair: R Chris Davis
Papers:
  Andrei Sorescu - *Now-or-never: eroded agency, peasant degeneration and statistical anxiety in fin-de-siecle Romania*
  Lucian Dumitrescu and Miriam Cihodariu - *Civilizing the peasantry: the Sociological School of Bucharest and techno-politics*
  Ionut Butoi - *Center and periphery in interwar Romania*
  Ion Matei Costinescu - *The greening of the iron cage: the biopolitics of Mihail Manolescu, Virgil Madgearu, and Dimitrie Gusti*
Discussant: Victor Rizescu

H4 Panel: Mass-Media Challenges in Romania
Chair: Ernest Latham
Papers:
  Adina Bradeanu - *The legacy of the ‘Alexandru Sahia’ Studio on documentary practice in Romania: taking stock, looking ahead*
  Emilia Sercan - *Party-state influence on the role of communist media in Romania*
Discussant: Peter Gross

H5 Panel: Personalization of Candidate Campaign and Legislative Behavior in Romania: Voting Dissent, Local Questions & Party Switching
Chair: Gabor Toka
Papers:
  Marina Popescu and Mihail Chiru - *Why go local? The role of electoral system incentives and party factors in individual candidate campaign strategies*
  Mihail Chiru - *Campaign personalization and constituency service in Romania*
  Aurelian Muntean and Andrei Gheorghita - *The effect of individualized campaigning and electoral constraints on parliamentary voting dissent*
  Marina Popescu, Mihail Chiru and Alin Croitoru - *How early can you tell a party switcher? Campaign personalization and party switching in Romania*

H6 Panel: Ethnic, Regional and European Identities in Communism and Post-Communism
Chair: Oana Suciu
Papers:
Ronit Fischer - *Changes in the Romanian historical research of the ethnic heterogeneity of "Greater Romania" from the communist to the post-communist periods*

Julien Danero Iglesias - *Identity on the ‘wrong’ side of the European Union border*

Anca Filipovici - *Old identity constructions in new clothes: on regional identities in the cultural post-communist press of Bukovina and Transylvania*

Discussant: Oana Suciu

H7+I7 Panel: Composing Alternative Texts
Chair: Alina Ciobotaru
Papers:
Meda Gabriela Gautschi - *Past and present of the wooden language*
Judit Balko - *The rise of a new artistic genre in post-communist Romania*
Simona Livescu - *Deviation from the norm? A prison aesthetics of happiness*
Mihaela Precup - “*This region of the East long forgotten by the almighty comic gods*”: representations of everyday life in post-communist Romanian comics
Adriana Groza - *Reclaiming the Romanian vampire*

Discussant: Dragoş Manea

H8 Panel: Revisiting Romanian Totalitarianism: Ethical, Historical and Literary Perspectives after 25 Years
Chair: Monica Bottez
Papers:
Monica Bottez - *On reeducation at the Gherla Penitenciary*
Maria Sabina Draga Alexandru - *Outsider views on Romanian totalitarianism: the last hundred days by Patrick McGuinness*
Cristina Sandru - *The ethical ambiguity of European totalitarianism(s): what kinds of questions can we ask about the legacies of communism?*

Discussant: Bogdan Stefanescu

**10:30-12:15 Concurrent Session I, Friday 19 June**

I1 Panel: Religion and Political Action before and after 1989
Chair: Lucian Turcescu
Papers:
Janosi Csongor - *The cooperation between the Romanian and Hungarian Ministries of Interior and secret services regarding Reformed ecclesiastical issues in the late 1950s and in the early ’60s*
Iuliana Conovici - *Religion and decision-making in the Romanian Parliament 2000-2014: actors, evolution, agenda*

Ana Raluca Bigu (Raluca Alecu) - *National heroes, martyrs of the faith, and martyrs of the nation nationalistic discourse in Orthodox religious education textbooks in Romania*

Discussant: Laurentiu Tanase

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I2 Roundtable: Memories of 1989: Historians Look Back at the Fall of Communism in Romania
Moderator: Paul Michelson
Participants: Apostol Stan, Gheorghe I. Florescu, Paul Michelson

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I3 Panel: The Malleable Peasant, the Audible Peasant: Case-Studies in Top-Down Perceptions of the Rural World, 1890-1940
Chair: Z. Rostas
Papers:

- Theodor Constantiniu - *Two models in the construction of a young discipline. The Romanian interwar ethnomusicology: ideological constraints and developmental perspectives*
- Otilia Constantiniu - *Inventing national music. The role of folk music in configuring the componistic conception of the Romanian composers from Transylvania (1880-1940)*
- Ligia Livada-Cadeschi - *La problématique sociale et économique de la paysannerie dans les publications médicales périodiques roumaines. « Le Guide Sanitaire et Hygiénique » (Călăuza sanității și igienică) 1899-1907*
- Cornel Micu - *The myth of the interwar free Romanian peasant*

Discussants: Andrei Sorescu and Ion Matei Costinescu

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I4 Panel: Mass Communication Research in the ‘New’ World
Chair: Matei Coman
Papers:

- Paolo Mancini - *Media systems theories: considerations for Eastern European models*
- Thomas Hanitzsch - *Applicability of Western research methodologies in a Non-Western environment*
- Wayne Wanta - *Changing agenda setting to fit the exigencies of a new media world*
- Peter Gross - *A cultural approach to media systems models*
- Nicholas W. Gross - *Media law research methodologies in an Eastern European context*

Discussant: David Weaver
I5 Panel: Participation in Local and National Politics
Chair: Gabriel Badescu
Papers:
   Mihaela Diaconu and Amalia Dutu - Conceptual model of community participation in local public administration: orientation towards the community plus
   Radu Cinpoeș - Political culture and participation: between enthusiasm and indifference
   Emanuela Simona Garboni - Romanian women’s political representation in national and European parliaments 25 years after the fall of communism
Discussant: G. Badescu

I6 Panel: Late Communism in Romania: Compliance, Alternative Spaces, and Resistance
Chair: Jill Massino
Papers:
   Adelina Stefan - Fighting the Cold War on the Black Sea “Riviera”: foreign tourists to socialist Romania of the 1960s-1980s
   Mioara Anton - Consent and dissent: society and political power under Ceaușescu
   Ruxandra Canache - Make love not war: cultural dissent and alternative spaces in communist Romania
   Claudiu Oancea - Popular culture and people’s culture: forging mass culture through political festivals in socialist Romania of the 1970s and 1980s
Discussant: Jill Massino

I7+H7 Panel: Composing Alternative Texts – see session H7

I8 Panel: Change and Stagnation since 1989
Chair: Radu Stancu
Papers:
   Liu Yong - 25 years: great changes in Romania
   Alina Buzai-anu - The Romanian economic landscape after 1989: lessons still to be learned
   Dragos Adascalitei - Reforming against all odds: the adoption of multi-pillar pension systems in the Czech Republic and Romania
Discussant: Paul Sum
14:00-15:45 Concurrent Session J, Friday 19 June

J1 Panel: The Migrant Experience
Chair: Luciana Ghica
Papers:
- Oana Romocea - *Transformation, adaptation and identity shifts: how the Romanian migrants in the UK negotiate change*
- Romana Careja - *Determinants of attitudes towards immigrants in Romania*
- Rodica Rusu - *The participation of Moldovan diaspora in political processes in Republic of Moldova. The case of the 2014 parliamentary elections*
Discussant: Luciana Ghica

J2 Panel: Memory between Politics and History
Chair: Alina Pavelescu
Papers:
- Francesco Zavatti - *The afterlife of the Party History Institute and its historians*
- Raul Carstocea - *Grassroots fascists: the political mobilization strategies of the ‘Legion of the Archangel Michael’, 1927-1938*
- Petruta Teampau - “Back then we had a good life”: post-communist nostalgia in a marginal town
Discussant: Cristina Petrescu

J3 Panel: Colonizing Discourse: Rhetoric and Totalitarian Practices in Communist Romania
Chair: Noemi Marin
Papers:
- Bogdan Stefanescu – *Continuing the conversation on Romanian political discourse 25 years later: post-communist and postcolonial studies as a rapprochement*
- Letitia Guran - *De-colonizing discourse: the rhetoric of the "New Wave" and the communist legacy*
- Noemi Marin - *There is communist rhetoric and then there is ROMANIAN communist rhetoric: a theoretical perspective on totalitarian discourse*
Discussants: Maria Sabina Draga Alexandru
Sponsored by RSAA
J4 Panel: Social Sciences and Everyday Life in Communist Romania
Chair: Jill Massino
Papers:
   - Mara Marginean - *Policing a better life: ambiguous practices of social well-being during the 1950s in Romania*
   - Stefan Bosomitu - *Social sciences vs. ideology in communist Romania: the (re)emerging sociology and its role in state-led social engineering projects*
   - Corina Dobos - *Communism, capitalism and the Third World: how do we change the reproductive behavior of the individual? Romanian demographical perspectives and experiences at the beginning of the 1970s*
Discussant: Jill Massino

J5 Panel: Local and Informal Politics during Transition
Chair: Emanuela Garboni
Papers:
   - Samuel Tracol - *Le PSD dans la Roumanie postccommuniste, construction d’un potentat. Les cas du județ de Gorj*
   - Emanuel Coman - *The role of local elites in the distribution of pork-barrel politics: evidence from Romania*
   - Zoltan Zakota - *The rise of money laundering in post-communist Romania*
   - Katja Michalak - *Representative bureaucracy in transitional democracies: Romania*
Discussant: Emanuela Garboni

J6 Panel: Economic and Legal Policies in Ceausescu’s Romania
Chair: Bill Crowther
Papers:
   - Horia-Victor Lefter - *Trapping Ceausescu in his own strategy: the myth of an independent Romanian policy towards Moscow*
   - Serban Liviu Pavelescu - *National interests and energy security in communist Romania: considerations on Ceausescu regime’s policies in the field of oil and natural gas resources*
   - Radu Stancu - *Capital punishment in Romania between 1980 and 1990*
Discussant: Paul Michelson

J7 Panel: Representation and Identity in Literature after Communism
Chair: Mihaela Precup
Papers:
Michel Mallet - Heimat as Schein: tracing the debunking of Heimat in Herta Müller’s narratives
Gaelle Fisher - Recovering the lost Heimat: Bukovina Germans and the events of 1989/90
Inessa Medzhibovskaya - Pushkin’s sculptural grief: monumental legacies and literary space in Moldova
Discussant: Domnica Rădulescu

J8 Panel: The Inbetweeners: Intellectual Elites and Their Conversions during Regime Changes in Modern Romania
Chair: Razvan Paraianu
Papers:
Calin Cotoi - Social expertise and public hygiene in fin-de-siecle Romania: the biologization of the national body
Anca Sincan - Reds and specialists: the construction of the new state and church relationship in the first decade of the communist regime
Narcis Tulbure - Conversions in dynamics: from the guiding of missiles to inflation targeting
Oana Mateescu - Social and textual re-conversion: local amateur historians in postsocialism
Discussant: Valentin Sandulescu

16:00-17:00 Plenary II - Romania’s Commitment to Reform? (Prof. Dennis Deletant, introduced by Prof. Paul Michelson), Friday 19 June

Twenty-five years ago, I shared the prediction of Silviu Brucan, made in an interview with the editor of Le Figaro on 22 January 1990, that “it would take Romanians twenty years to learn democracy”. Whereas Ceauşescu succeeded in uniting Romanians in opposition to him, his overthrow threw them into confusion. The legacy of totalitarian rule in Romania was therefore markedly different from that elsewhere. A major legacy of communist rule in Romania was legal confusion. After 1990, the five-year economic plan was abandoned and a ‘jungle’ economy emerged in which the principal elements were the accumulation of capital and the formation of new economic and political elites. Major obstacles in the path of Romania’s progress towards economic development and bureaucratic efficiency have been and continue to be a lack of professionalism and widespread incompetence in the public domain. Romania took up little more than 12 percent of the 19.6 billion euros in EU Structural and Cohesion funds it was eligible to receive in the 2007-2013 budget cycle. Despite significant increases in Romania’s ability to absorb European cohesion funds (up to a 30 percent rate by the end of 2013), the country still has the lowest absorption rate in the EU. This failure to take advantage of EU money obviously slows down the implementation of measures required under the acquis communautaire. Corruption remains a significant problem. Anti-corruption campaigners who were previously fierce critics of the part played by the security services in generating and harbouring corruption
now applaud their diligence in rooting it out. Yet the confession in September 2014 of a leading television political pundit that he was an under-cover military intelligence officer reveals an alarming anomaly in a state that purports to uphold democratic norms. The anomaly rests in the fact that an officer of a Romanian intelligence agency takes a strongly partisan political stance in the chat-show that he hosts and thereby seeks to influence the views of the electorate. Good government still eludes Romania. I have always been mindful of the dictum “we should never make the perfect the enemy of the good” but this does not justify the cognitive dissonance exhibited by many in government in Romania over the last quarter-century that is reflected in denials that a problem exists. Some politicians now respect the power of the DNA (the anti-corruption agency), the application of the law, and the vigilance of the press. Many do not. Corruption and autocratic impulses have characterized the attitudes and actions of successive governments and the bureaucracy since the revolution. Major progress has been made over the last two years in the drive against corruption in the ranks of the political and business elite. Addressing the other flaws in the public domain will require a concerted effort not only from government, but also a commitment from Romanian society itself.

Dennis Deletant is Visiting Ion Ratiu Professor of Romanian Studies at Georgetown University and Emeritus Professor of Romanian Studies at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London. An officer of the Order of the British Empire (since 1995) and a recipient of Order of Merit with the rank of commander for services to Romanian democracy (since 2000), Deletant is the author of several volumes on the recent history of Romania, including Ceauşescu and the Securitate: Coercion and Dissent in Romania, 1965-89 (1996), Romania under Communist Rule (1998), Communist Terror in Romania: Gheorghiu-Dej and the Police State, 1948-1965 (1999) and Ion Antonescu. Hitler’s Forgotten Ally (2006). Earlier in 2015 he submitted for publication a monograph on British Clandestine Operations in Romania, 1940-44.