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Media Mythologies
Revisiting Myths in Contemporary Media

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Editors

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Media Mythologies **Revisiting Myths in Contemporary Media**

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Creating the Myth of New Man: Propaganda, Politics and Turkish and Tatar Minorities in Communist Dobrudja

ABSTRACT

My paper examines how two publications *Dobrogea Nouă* and *Femeia* constructed the myth of New Man in relation with the Turkish and Tatar minorities in Dobrudja during the 1950s, a time frame that roughly corresponds with the period in which the Romanian communist state applied a maximalist policy about granting rights to national minorities. The press analysis indicated that party propaganda created three main models of New Man (and Women), namely the collectivist peasant, the agricultural engineer and political activist. Although to some extent exceptional, their biographies were, in fact, the outcome of performing certain yet ordinary actions such as working in the collective farms or raising the level of political and professional knowledge. This suggested that anyone "armed" with determination, an appropriate level of knowledge and a desire to surpass personal limits could become a New Man.

KEYWORDS

New Man; Myth; Communism; National Minorities; Press, Propaganda.

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Introduction

The question this paper seeks to answer is how the myth of the New Man was translated by the Romanian communist press during the 1950s in relation with the Turkish and Tatar minorities in Dobrudja. To this end, I will qualitatively analyze the different types of journalistic contributions published in *Dobrogea Nouă* newspaper and the *Femeia* magazine in order to identify the models of the New Man and his or her individualizing characteristics.

In so doing, I will use Raoul Girardet's definition of *myth* as being an imaginary construction that counts for more than "a distortion or interpretation that objectively rejects the reality." Thus, the myth performs two complementary functions. If the explanatory function provides "a number of keys for understanding the present, setting up a pattern that seems to ordinate the confusing chaos of deeds and events", the mobilizing one offers the necessary grounds for acting towards or against those conditions perceived to facilitate the presence of the mythological object. Moreover, as Girardet points out the myth uses images to create "an ambiguous and instable reality" that generates diverse interpretations. Behind this seemingly chaotic amalgamation of facts and interpretations, myth has its own internal logic in which "the elements that form the story are grouped in identical series, are



The myth of the New Man helped making sense of the radical changes determined by the establishment of the Romanian communist regime in the case of Tatar and Turkish ethnicities. Moreover, the mobilizing function of the myth of New Man considers the importance of model individuals in setting up an example to be followed by the other members of the Turk and Tatar communities. As my press analysis will show, the party propaganda created multifaceted models of the New Man capable of spawning diverse meanings from their targeted readers. The myth of New Man was also defined along certain thematic lines that identify his main characteristics and were related almost exclusively to the activities officially sanctioned.

Although there are numerous publications on the history of communism, few authors highlighted the importance of myth and mythology in the general structuring of communist project. Consequently, they focused on analyzing how different pre-existing myths were reinvented and used by the communist states and how they influenced and legitimatized the political, social and economical practices of these regimes.²

Among the myths that formed the “scientific mythology of communism”³, that of the New Man held a special place for two reasons. Firstly, the project of building socialism and communism aimed not only at generating new ideological, social and political changes but at specifically relating them to a higher purpose, that of fostering the creation of the New Man. In Yinghong Cheng’s words: “This laid the foundation for state-run social engineering to reshape human nature in line with the ruling ideology and government goals by systematically designing and manipulating the social and cultural development.”⁴ Secondly, while the

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New Man was to be shaped by his new living and working conditions, he was also responsible for carrying out the plan for building the communist society as envisioned by the official ideology⁵. Therefore, given his significant role in constructing the new world, the communist regimes took great interest in creating and promoting the New Man and his myth.

The party propaganda took the leading role in this official endeavor using the printed press as its main loudspeaker. Thus, the Party entrusted its propaganda and press with the task of educating people in order to transform them into New Socialist Men⁶. To fulfill this mission, the press produced “numerous models of New Man, ideological symbols in flesh” represented by model workers or peasants, exemplary cadres “who consciously worked for the new state.”⁷ This created a socialist pantheon populated by ordinary heroes, “warrior(s) for socialism”⁸ whose exemplary work elevated them to status of model of New Man. Moreover, not only work, but also living a “cultured” existence⁹ functioned as a means for defining and identifying the New Man. This propagandistic making of extraordinary people out of ordinary individuals reflected the ideologically motivated faith that each of them “was a potential hero, had a fullness of life, strength, and beauty which were realized by mobilizing the will and serving a larger, trans-individual whole: society, humanity, or the course of history.”¹⁰

I use the term *propaganda* to define the organized and deliberate process of communicating certain ideas and values. The main purpose of this process is to convince people to think and act in a certain way that would ensure the fulfillment of some specific objectives which would bring benefits to the organizers of this process¹¹. The Romanian communist regime used various propaganda instruments, such as the printed press, and radio, in order to broadcast its



ideological message to the population at large.

According to Matthew Lenoë, who analyzed the Soviet newspapers and their contribution to “the production of culture” during the NEP years, propaganda performed exclusively an educational role: it taught “peasants and proletarians to read, drawing them into political life, transforming their worldview (...)” and thus being “with the long-term project of educating the downtrodden (...) masses to be worthy citizens of the socialist utopia.”¹² Similar to the Soviet case, as my paper will show, the Romanian communist regime used *propaganda* as the main means of educating population. Consequently, raising people’s “cultural level” aimed at eradicating illiteracy or acquiring professional knowledge or any other type of knowledge as “cultured” existence became the defining feature of the New Man.

Since the New Man could also be a woman, the gender approach is an integral part of my analysis. *Dobrogea Nouă* and *Femeia* informed their readers about the success stories of women who managed to turn themselves into models of New Women. This was not only due to the emancipation opportunities offered to women by the new regime. Their ambition and determination played an important and decisive role in the overcoming of the social marginality that characterized their lives before the change of the political regime after 23 August 1944. Consequently, the articles presented cases of Turk and Tatar women who ranked first in the agricultural sector or became volunteer correspondents of the newspapers and active party activists.

Femeia magazine was a monthly publication that was issued throughout the entire communist period by the mass organization of women in communist Romania, *The Democratic Women’s Union of the Romanian People’s Republic*. It was especially,

but not exclusively, addressing female readers in the urban space.

Dobrogea nouă was the official newspaper of the Regional Party Committee Constanța and of the People’s Council Constanța, being issued six times a week. Unlike *Femeia*, *Dobrogea Nouă* was addressing all categories of readers in the urban and rural space of Constanța area.

I chose the time interval between 1948 and 1960 to analyze the journalistic contributions of the previously identified publications because it roughly corresponds to the period in which the Romanian communist state applied a maximalist policy¹³.

New Work, New Life, New Man

The communist propaganda constructed the exceptional or exemplary character of New Man by focusing on two distinct elements: work and living a “cultured” existence. For those concerned, these two elements signified the rising above their previous social condition and thus, their transformation into a living proof of the righteousness of the new political and social order. Also, the models of New Man embodied and made comprehensible for a larger audience the radical changes produced by the Romanian communist regime. Although I mentioned them separately, the two defining elements of the New Man were to a larger extent connected and interdependent; together, they ensured that common people could become ordinary heroes, veritable symbols in flesh of the new world.

With the reference to the Turk and Tatar minorities, my press analysis identified three types of New Man according to their profession: model peasants working in the newly created collective farms, agricultural engineers, and exemplary (party) cadres. Their personal destiny followed the



same pattern, and most importantly reflected the changes Romania underwent after the year of 1948. These people came from very poor peasant families but due to their determination, hard work and especially support shown to the communist cause they managed not only to rise above their station, but also to actively engage in implementing the party's program for the socialist transformation of the country. They were "re-born" at the same time with the new world and they came to act as its agents and at the same time embodied symbols.

Dobrogea Nouă and *Femeia* provided its readers with multiple examples of the New Man selected from the ranks and files of Turk and Tatar minorities. As one could have already noticed, when speaking about the occupational profile of New Man of Turk and Tatar ethnicity, I identified mostly occupations (collectivist peasants and agricultural engineer) that usually had a connection with the rural world. This is a reflection of the social background of the members of these two minorities who at the beginning of the communist rule lived predominantly in the countryside. In addition, during the 1950s the collectivization of agriculture was of prime concern for the Romanian leadership and consequently for its propaganda, especially in an agricultural region such as Dobroudja. In addition, my press analysis identifies several cases of political cadres of Turkish and Tatar ethnicity who worked and lived in the urban areas of Dobroudja that had a high concentration of these two ethnicities.

The articles published by *Dobrogea Nouă* were constructed around an antithesis between how the life of Turks and Tatars was before and after the establishment of the communist rule. In order to convincingly describe the sad experience of the past and especially the particular consequences of the changes brought in the everyday life

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of Turks and Tatars in Dobroudja by the new political regime and its plans for the collectivization agriculture, personal testimonies were used. All such testimonials shared one common element, the "bitter memories." Most narrators recollected a time of violence and absurd forms of exploitation whose victims they were, in different moments of their lives, For example, the president of the collective agricultural farm in Amzacea, Rasim Bari remembered that he and the entire village were servants to five landowners:

Our entire fortune, our hands and the earth house. Our rights, hard work from dawn until midnight, in the summer and winter, and with the permission of the landlords (...) an hour a week to rest ourselves (...) As for other wrong, what to tell you more. The whip and the fists (...), the oath of the masters, they were the same everywhere.¹⁴

For Abduraman Abduraim, life during the old regime also meant exploitation, misery and dire poverty: "Years have passed slower, faster, but none better than the other one. (...) Life continued to be harsh with him. He changed a master with another, he began to practice a trade but the shock of misery could not be mended. The 'patches' were small and he was 'clumsy'."¹⁵

For those oppressed by the old regime, the beginning of the new life came with "the liberation of the country (...) by the glorious Soviet Army."¹⁶ But what had changed in the life of Turks and Tatars in Dobroudja and helped them become models of New Man was their participation in the collectivization of agriculture. For representatives of these two minorities, their successful work in the collective farm redefined their social status and most importantly provided them with new professional opportunities. In addition, a very important part in becoming



a New Man was given to acquiring literacy or specialized knowledge needed for performing a job in the collective farm.

Abduraman Abduraim and his family entered among the first in the collective farm and his previous working experience helped him not only to be a first rank collectivist, but also to gain the respect of his co-workers. Participating in an informal gathering in Cobadin, the author of the article describes the collectivists' attitude towards Abduraman Abduraim. Therefore, he insists on the way in which Abduraim's behavior betrayed his awareness of the social prestige he enjoyed among them. Asked about a problem that appeared in the activity of the collective farm, Abduraman Abduraim:

(...) got up from the couch and lamping with his boots through the slush is approaching proudly. Collectivists respect him. As he comes towards them, some make room for him in the group. How could they not respect him? He is after all the mason constructor of the household. And then he is not just 'the Turk', but a leading collectivist. Through his work and several other's three stables and two large concrete warehouses, winter shelters, poultry farms, maternity sows, two barns and other outbuilding were built.¹⁷

For people living in the villages of Valu Traian and Valea Seacă, Abib Bechir was not only the president of their collective farm but also "a friend, adviser, a good brother to all collectivists." Because he was permanently preoccupied with the smooth running of things in the collective farms and of raising the living standard of the collectivists, he was elected to lead them "in the course of many years". Abib Bechir was a symbol a New Man as he managed not only to become a leading collectivist but to

do this through overcoming his own limitations:

Before the liberation of the mother-land, Abib Bechir only knew to sign and count the days he worked at one and other in the village. Joining the ranks of communists, he started to read, to write entire pages. The Party provided him with a chance of acquiring higher education after he was already 50 year old and Abib took it courageously. Abib Bechir got his diploma as agricultural technician a year ago. If someone would give diplomas for work with people, for care towards the public poverty, and preoccupation for the economic-organizational strengthening of the collective farm and raising the living standard of the collectivists, Abib Bechir would fully deserve those, too.¹⁸

Dobrogea Nouă also informed their readers about the success stories of women who managed to turn themselves into models of New Women. As in the above mentioned cases, their biographical narratives included a comparison that favored the socialist present to the detriment of the pre-revolutionary past, too. Such a perspective, however, insisted on the emancipation opportunities offered to women by the new regime, and on how, due to ambition and determination, some of them managed to overcome the social marginality that characterized their lives during the old rule.

An article published in *Dobrogea Nouă* told the story of Afizea Osman, in Rariștea village, Adamclisi district, Constanța administrative region. "The memory of the years when she was a servant" made her work devotedly, and she became known in the collective farm as "Afizea the first ranker." In recognition of her merits, the management made her a team leader, and, in



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turn, this team ranked first in the competitions organized within the collective farm. Afizea

Osman's team also stood out through its participation in various public activities such as cleaning and repairing the school premises, planting trees or clearing new land. As a culmination of her work for "the prosperity of the collective (...) farm", the members of the party organization decided to receive Afizea Osman among the party candidates¹⁹.

The case of Nida Omer, a young Turkish girl in Medgidia, offered a less conventional model of New Woman, especially for Muslim women. Nida's story was that of a woman who managed to reconcile two seemingly irreconcilable dimensions of her life: Islamic faith and professional career. Her uncle, who undertook the paternal role after the death of her father, refused to give his consent for her to attend the aviation school. His arguments made reference to the condition of women for whom Islam not only limited social interaction, but also her clothing options:

In my time... look, look at your mother! She was the girl of an imam, and she would not go out without a veil! Her face, neck or tip of her fingernails should not be seen. And you... You! Skydiving! Aviation!

Although such aspirations contradicted the main tenements of her own education, Nida's mother gave her consent for her daughter to enroll in the school of aviation. The episode concluding the article about Nida Omer is meaningful because it expresses the young woman's commitment to her family traditions, without this being the only social identification element and a drawback for her professional fulfillment. Thus, at a meeting of her extended family, to the astonishment of those present, Nida

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Omer appeared "clothed in veils" and "started to sing an old, dallied and sad song, in which a young Muslim woman lamented her fate." After having finished singing "The cape falls. The dark veils fall on the ground and from under the veils a handsome aviator in a blue suit rises, with a golden falcon on her shoulders. It's Nida Omer, daughter of Memet Sadie and of Omer Halit, the one who disappeared in the war."²⁰

The media identified two other categories of models of New Man selected from the rank of collectivists, namely the press correspondents and the machine operators.

As in the case of other communist states, the Romanian regime encouraged people to write to newspapers about the most important things in their life. In this way it was hoped that they "would master 'culture'", namely "improve their writing and reasoning abilities and learn how to participate responsibly in government."²¹ Abdula Aidar was an inhabitant of Hagieni village "who acquired literacy during the years of the regime of popular democracy". Therefore, he became "one of the most active press correspondents" of *Dobrogea Nouă*. Abdula Aidar is a "double representative: of the newspaper in the village and of the village in the newspaper. In his letter, Abdula speaks about all that happened in the village": about the number of sheep, pigs of the local collective farm, about the shepherds and other collectivists who over fulfilled the plan quotas. Although "sometimes the lines he sent are difficult to decipher, because of the non-uniform letters, they are full of meaning about the reality of our days."²²

Memet O. Seit was also a voluntary correspondent of *Dobrogea Nouă*. Just like Abdula Aidar, he attended the classes for liquidation of illiteracy and therefore managed to fulfil one of his greatest wish: to write for the wall gazette and for the local



newspaper. According to his testimony published by *Dobrogea Nouă*, his writing approached subjects of present interest about the class war in his village “exposing forcibly the dirty works of kulaks [*chiaburs*²³] in the village”, “different problems regarding the party and government’s assignments, the progress of agricultural campaigns, the work of party organizations and popular councils for the socialist transformation of agriculture, the sale of agricultural products through the cooperatives (...).” In the same context, Memet O. Seit emphasized “the positive parts of work, the good methods of work, unmercifully criticizing the shortcomings.” Seit made efforts to raise his political knowledge and improve his “correct” writing abilities; he never missed “any of the meetings with press correspondents” because these meetings left “equipped with a series of new knowledge” which he applied in practice. The last paragraph synthesized Memet O. Seit’s opinions about the importance of his work as a press correspondent. These undoubtedly placed him in the category of New Man capable of mastering the “culture” as defined by the communist regime and its ideology:

I am proud of the fact that I am a voluntary correspondent of our party press, that I participate with the weapon of writing to the battle for building socialism in our motherland. This gives me renewed forces for working and constitutes for me an impulse to fight with even more determination for fulfilling these greatest tasks.²⁴

Dobrogea Nouă periodically published a wall of honor with the women who ranked first in the agricultural sector. In addition to performing a record number of work days these women became volunteer correspondents of the newspaper. This was the case of Agi Mambet Pachize, who worked at the

collective agricultural farm *Izvoru Mare*, Constanța administrative region who was praised for her “rich balance of success in fulfilling her mission of honor and trust as servant of the truth.”²⁵

As Paul Fritziche and Jochen Hellbeck mentioned the New Men (and Women) “were all individuals in dialogue with technology. Their miraculous records were explained by the fact that they infused and directed technology with the power of unfettered socialist consciousness.”²⁶ Moreover, technology and by extension science were born out of practical experience (work) and had no value unless they served a concrete purpose²⁷.

Machine operators (combine or tractor drivers) represented one category of New Man “in dialogue with technology.”²⁸ Articles published by *Dobrogea Nouă* told the story of first ranking machine operators for whom mastering the technology was a winning ticket to the new life and their transformation into a model of New Man.

“A typical face of a Tatar (...) black hair like ebony, hard to enchain under his working cap that was pulled over the back of the head not to limit the sight”, Kenan Burmanbet, a young combine driver of only 20 years old, “remembers of Ostrovski’s heroes from *How the Steal Was Tempered*”. He had a very unhappy childhood: “a hungry child with torn shirt, playing frightened in the shadow of the two meter walls with which the landlady Rădulescu, who owned more than 1,500 ha, surrounded her lordly house, thus rebuilding another Chinese Wall.” After 23 August 1944, these “Chinese walls” were torn down and

Kenan Burmanbet stepped freely, unhampered on them, knowing himself to be their legitimately owner. For all these and many others, the party candidate Kenan Burmanbet, holder of first



runker machine operator title gave soul from his soul to the combine.

This could explain why “in his hands the combine competed with itself” and he broke records after records in harvesting the grain crops. But these successes were mainly due to his hard work and tireless enthusiasm in performing the assigned tasks:

Those who see him every day and hour know that he is the machine operator that works without fault all day long; that in the morning he is the first in the field and in the evening he leaves last when the field crickets began to sharpen their lute, and the golden steppe thrills with rumors and sounds, in tremor of song and mystery.²⁹

Dobrogea Nouă published several articles about Turks and Tatars who after 23 August 1944 became agricultural engineers. The agricultural engineer represented the other category of New Man “in dialogue with technology.”³⁰ Lucian Boia emphasized that the myth of the engineer concentrated in itself “the real image of the new intellectual, of the New Man” capable not only of making complicated calculations but also of setting a machine in motion³¹.

The chief agricultural engineer at the Station of Machines and Tractors in Castelu was the young Osman Besim. Born in a poor peasant family, he thought that graduating from the technical school of agriculture in his native village, Basarabi, was the apex of his educational preparation. However, with the help and support of the party organization from the collective farm where he was working, he enrolled in and graduated the distance learning courses at the Faculty of Agronomy in Bucharest. After that, Besim was assigned the position of chief agricultural engineer at the Station of

Machines and Tractors in Castelu and dedicated himself entirely to his work. Although he was pampered as “our boy” by “almost all presidents of collective farms”, Osman Besim was “yapping them when they did not pay proper attention to some agricultural works.” Moreover, he even spent a great part of his spare time with the machine operators “explaining different problems of production or agro-technology.”³²

The last model of New Man (and Women) popularized by the *Dobrogea Nouă* and *Femeia* was the political activist. My press analysis underlines the existence of a pattern in the propagandistic drawing of his or her portrait. He or she had a “healthy” social origin, worked wholeheartedly in the mass organization of the Romanian Working Party (Union of Working Youth or The Democratic Women’s Union of the Romanian People’s Republic), permanently strove to raise their level of political knowledge and share it with the others. Moreover, their efforts were rewarded with social appreciation on the part of those who worked with them. Sometimes the organization they belonged to nominate them as candidates in elections for local state bodies.

Remis Z. Ali came from a poor peasant family and before 23 August 1944 he earned his living as unqualified worker at different carpentry workshops. After the liberation of the country he “actively participated to the fight of the working class” led by the Romanian Communist Party. He was “entrusted with many tasks which he fulfilled honorably.” Remis was elected prime secretary of Union of Working Youth (hereafter abbreviated as UWY) and later of the party organization in Mihail Kogălniceanu. As recognition of his personal merits, the local party organization proposed him as candidate for the Popular Council of Constanța administrative region³³. Calil Beget was a self-educated young man who encouraged by the local party organization became not only a



first ranker collectivist but also an untiring cultural activist. His professional success and the social prestige he enjoyed were mainly due to his acquired knowledge in agricultural science. Moreover, in Valea Neagră Calil Beget was also renowned because of his boundless thirst for knowledge that made him transform his home into a house library and participate in all cultural activities organized locally. As a part of his “cultured” existence, the activist Calil enthusiastically “played in the theater team, in the artistic brigade of agitation, took part in the choir and the dance ensemble.”³⁴

Dobrogea Nouă and especially *Femeia* popularized several cases of women who distinguished themselves as exemplary activists. Among them, there was Senia Idris who held the position of activist in the regional UWY organization of Adamclisi. Coming from a family of collectivist peasants in Tătaru village, Senia attended the UWY staff school for 3 months. From there, she came back to “work as an activist, because of her wide knowledge on Marxist-Leninism”. Senia put that knowledge into practice everyday through leading the department of education and the pioneers’ organization at the district level. As she proved to be “a young woman full of liveliness and energy”, “very kind” and hard-working, her colleagues from the UWY organization proposed her as candidate for the district People’s Council³⁵.

The *agitator* was another model of the New Woman, popularized through press articles. This condition was conferred both by the type of activity performed, and especially by the specific way in which her work changed women’s attitude towards the new regime. Pachizé Ibadulah, a Tatar woman, was an activist of the Democratic Women’s Union of the Romanian People’s Republic and mother of two children. As she became actively involved in the life of the local community in Coiciu neighborhood in the

City of Constanța, Pachizé Ibadulah became “one of the most skilful advisors of the agitation centre no. 9.” During the electoral campaign, she “highly” supported “the work of deputy Coca Arghira.” Thus, at the meetings of the agitation centre, Pachizé spoke “to the 90 Muslim women in their native language about the Constitution of the Republic (...), about the rights of women and national minorities.” Her effort did not remain unnoticed, and the example of her work inspired the other women who asked to help her in her activity as an agitator³⁶.

Conclusion

My paper examined how two publications *Dobrogea Nouă* and *Femeia* constructed the myth of the New Man in relation with the Turkish and Tatar minorities in Dobrudja during the 1950s. I chose this time frame because it roughly corresponds with the period in which the Romanian communist state applied a maximalist policy about granting rights to national minorities.

For the purpose of my analysis, I used Raoul Girardet’s definition of *myth* and I showed how the myth of the New Man helped to make sense of the radical changes determined by the establishment of the Romanian communist regime in the life of these two national minorities. The press analysis indicated that party propaganda created three main models of New Man (and Women), namely the collectivist peasant, the agricultural engineer and the political activist. Although to some extent exceptional, their biographies were, in fact, the outcome of performing certain yet ordinary actions, such as working in the collective farms or raising the level of political and professional knowledge. This suggested that anyone “armed” with determination, an appropriate level of knowledge and a desire to



surpass personal limits could become a New Man. Hence, the mobilizing function of the myth of New Man which party propaganda used in order to create model individuals whose example would be emulated by the other members of the Turk and Tatar communities.

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Notes

¹ Raoul Girardet, *Mituri și mitologii politice*, Iași, Institutul European, 1997, pp. 4-8.

² See Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului*, București, Humanitas, 1999, Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, *New Myth, New World. From Nietzsche to Stalinism*, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002; Andrada Fătu-Tutoveanu, *Building Socialism, Constructing People: Identity Patterns and Stereotypes in Late 1940s and 1950s Romanian Cultural Press*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

³ Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului*.

⁴ Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the New Man: From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities*, Hawaii, University of Hawaii Press, 2009, p. 13.

⁵ Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului*, p. 122.

⁶ Matthew Lenoe, *Closer to the Masses. Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers*, London, Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 28-32.



⁷ Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the New Man*, pp. 33-34.

⁸ Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, *New Myth, New World*, p. 198.

⁹ Vadim Volkov, “The Concept of Kul’turst”, in Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalinism. New Directions*, London, Routledge, 1999, pp. 216-226. From Volkov’s point of view, the “cultured” existence is the result of “a complex of practices aimed at transforming a number of external and internal features” of the individuals’ life, such as personal hygiene, material environment, “acquisition of culturedness”, and political self-education. In my paper, I mainly use this term to stress its educational or self-educational meanings that involved the acquisition of literacy and a set of political and technical knowledge.

¹⁰ Peter Fritzche, Jochen Hellbeck, “The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany,” in Michael Geyer, Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Beyond Totalitarianism. Stalinism and Nazism Compared*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 308.

¹¹ Philip M. Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind. A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, p. 6.

¹² Matthew Lenoe, *Closer to the Masses*, p. 28.

¹³ Robert King, *Minorities under Communism. Nationalities as a Source of Tension among Balkan Communist States*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 146-157. Robert King mentions that the communist regime granted to its national minorities similar privileges to those enjoyed by the Romanian population in addition to other political, cultural and linguistic rights. This situation lasted until shortly after the Hungarian revolution when the Romanian Party gradually began to pursue a policy of integrating the national minorities. In my text, when I speak about a

maximalist policy I refer to the period before the 1956 when the press underlined the regime’s preoccupation for granting and observing full rights to its minority populations.

¹⁴ “Și la Amzacea și-a făcut sălaș belșugul”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, February 22, 1959, p. 2. Also, see “Viață nouă”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, February 4, 1958, p. 3; M. Dabila, “De ce Calil Beget e om vrednic și priceput”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, April 14, 1961, p. 2.

¹⁵ Petre Zărnescu, “Abduraman Abduraim a înțeles...”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, December 6, 1955, p. 2.

¹⁶ Traian Satcău, “Ilias Gazi e din zi în zi mai fericit”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, November 3, 1951, p. 2.

¹⁷ Petre Zărnescu, “Abduraman Abduraim a înțeles...”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, December 6, 1955, p. 2.

¹⁸ “Abib Bechir-președintele”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, August 10, 1959, p. 2. Also, see “De ce Calil Beget e om vrednic și priceput”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, April 14, 1961, p. 2.

¹⁹ Petcu Petre, “Şefa de echipă Afizea Osman este femei”, *Dobrogea nouă*, December 19, 1959, p. 2.

²⁰ Luiza Vlădescu, “Nida Omer”, *Femeia*, nr. 9, 1955, pp. 8-9.

²¹ Matthew Lenoe, *Closer to the Masses*, p. 32.

²² N.C., “Însemnări. Abdula Aidar și alții din Hagieni”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, March 28, 1959, p. 4.

²³ *Chiabur* is a pejorative term used by the Romanian propaganda to designate the former landlord or wealthy peasant that allegedly opposed or tried to sabotage the collective agricultural farm.

²⁴ Memet O. Seit, “Din viață și activitatea mea e corespondent”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, May 5, 1955, p. 2.

²⁵ “Corespondenți fruntași”, *Dobrogea nouă*, May 5, 1959, p. 1.



²⁶ Paul Fritziche, Jochen Hellbeck, “The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany”, p. 321.

²⁷ Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului*, pp. 124-125.

²⁸ Paul Fritziche, Jochen Hellbeck, “The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany”, p. 321.

²⁹ Ștefan Cișmaru, “Kenan Burmanbet”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, July 24, 1959, p. 2. Also see, “Fruntași în agricultură,” *Dobrogea Nouă*, November 6, 1958, p. 3.

³⁰ Paul Fritziche, Jochen Hellbeck, “The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany”, p. 321.

³¹ Lucian Boia, *Mitologia științifică a comunismului*, pp. 133-134.

³² “Fiul colectivștilor”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, February 22, 1959, p. 2. See M. Nicolae, “Marea bucurie a lui Bechir”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, July 12, 1960, p. 1.

³³ “Remis Z. Ali”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, November 19, 1950, p. 3. Also see, “Chiazzim Tulus”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, December 22, 1950, p. 3; “Figuri de deputați. Colectivistul Servet Isleam”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, September 7, 1958, p. 2

³⁴ M. Dabila, “De ce Calil Beget e om vrednic și priceput”, *Dobrogea Nouă*, April 14, 1961, p. 2.

³⁵ “Senia Idris”, *Dobrogea nouă*, November 27, 1950, p. 3.

³⁶ M. Alexandrescu, “Pachizé Ibadulah agitatoarea”, *Femeia*, nr. 9, 1952, p. 13. Also see, “Agitatoarea Sahachian vorbește minorității naționale turce despre proiectul de Constituție în limba maternă”, *Dobrogea nouă*, August 22, 1952, p. 2.