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Society of Shortage
Romanian Communism and its Shortages.
Workers in Cluj during the 60s and 70s

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Key words: *shortage, society, socialist system, communism, socialist work competition*

Summary

Our research, presented through the writing of the thesis entitled *Societatea penuriei. Comunismul românesc și lipsurile sale. Muncitorii din Cluj în anii '60 și '70*, represents an analysis of the condition of the communist working class in the seventh and eight decade of the Twentieth Century. Our methodological approach borrowed from both social and economic history. Through the combination of a vast array of primary sources, archival documents (the County National Archives Service in Cluj, the archives of the National Council for the Study of the Archives of the Securitate, and the Open Society Archives in Budapest), oral history interviews, written press (the *Făclia* newspaper), films from that epoch, we have tried to reconstruct the manner in which the communist system functioned. Thus we managed to underline the points where system deficiencies appeared and how they generated and perpetuated various forms of shortage through the entire communist period.

The thesis is more than simple historical research, it is also an incursion in the recent past through the eyes of a generation which either does not have first-hand experience with the regime or only marginally experienced its ups and downs. The combination of archival sources and interviews marks an attempt to reconstruct historical reality found between the official perspective of authorities and their experience with systemic deficiencies and the perception of the population which had to deal with shortage on a daily basis. This research aims to demonstrate that the regime's ultimate failure was inevitable, and how this meant that all attempts at ameliorating the situation were inherently doomed. This was due to the inflexible nature of central planning which did not allow for adjustments based on the population's needs. In fact, shortage in communism is not restricted to consumer goods or services as it had an effect over other aspects of life as well, such as time (the etatization of time), working conditions, and even personal development. We have tried to explain how all of these phenomena came into existence and how they influenced each other, further expanding the existing shortage.

Starting from Constantin Iordachi's paper on the decline of social history and the development of a hybrid between social and economic history we thought it wise to combine

methodological aspects borrowed from both paradigms¹. Even though this is a research with a micro-history aspect, focusing on the case study of Cluj and its workers, understanding the larger phenomena which influenced everyday life of citizens must be explained at a macro-level. Starting from Janos Kornai's thesis on economics of shortage integrated in the socialist system we have attempted to explain how the higher-up level and its evolutions influenced the everyday life of the population². Society, as a concept, gathers new meaning by extending it to the systems' theory borrowed from sociology, so as to better illustrate how the components of the regime are interconnected and overlapping, and how deficiencies in just one part can generate shortage in the rest.

This thesis has two major objectives. On the one hand it means to create a conceptual framework, which can be very well observed in the segment dedicated to historiographical analysis. Also, across the other four chapters theoretical aspects are analyzed and re-analyzed in multiple instances so as to expand on them through exemplification. On the other hand, this research has also focused on the factual of the everyday life of workers in the period under study, through the presentation of concrete cases identified in the archives.

The introduction of the thesis is far more than a simple enumeration of what is to be presented, sources used, the read literature or a list of concepts which will be used. We have attempted not only to argue the main idea of the research, the socialist system and the chronic shortage which characterized it, but this part is also a comparative analysis of the existing historiography in Romania and abroad. Thus, we have defined the main characteristics of the three currents of the historical study of communism, starting with the Totalitarian School, going to the Revisionism of the eight and ninth decades, and up until the present to Post-Revisionism. Without disregarding any of their contributions we opted for a combination between the revisionist approach, focusing on social aspects and the post-revisionist one, which brings back into discussion the role of ideology in the shaping of individuals. Through the subject of his research and the proposed methodology, a great source of inspiration has been Stephen Kotkin's *Magnetic Mountain*³. Explaining the evolution of the historiography of communism was essential so as to contribute to the actualization of Romanian literature, both

¹ Constantin Iordachi, "Reconceptualizing the Social: Toward a New Socio-Cultural History in East-Central Europe", in *Archiva Moldaviae*, Supliment I (2014), pp.23-25.

² Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage*, Volumele A și B, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1980; Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992.

³ Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*, University of California Press, Berkley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1995.

from the perspective of the paradigm and that of epistemology, of the manner in which we approach available historical sources. Thus, this thesis is also an attempt to introduce new subjects for research, as well as another way of reading certain documents, which have received little attention until now.

The first chapter marked an opportunity to present the metamorphosis suffered by the idea of modernization in Romania (seen here as part of the East-Central European space) and Russia, where the Soviet model was born. Our aim was to better illustrate the break which occurred with the imposition of Stalinism in the autochthonous space and the fundamental differences between the two cases. The comparative approach served for the underlining of historical differences between the social and economic space of both countries, as well as their views of the Western example, and their strategies of copying it. Thus, with reference to the period before the instauration of the communist regime, the situation of the Romanian peasantry was much better than that of its Russian counterpart, as it was emancipated earlier on, urban space was more wide-spread and developed, especially in Transylvania and Banat. Even though both states faced crippling backwardness, Romania's developmental state was better, and its admiration of the West had always placed it in opposition with the Soviet model born in Russia after the fall of the Tsars.

The second part of the chapter is a short history of the instauration of the communist regime in Romania, with special attention given to the changes in the economy. This endeavor was necessary in order to introduce the reader in the world of that epoch, to understand the legislative changes and the metamorphosis of the economy policies, and how these influenced people's lives. By presenting the main characteristics of economic planning in Romania, we identified the origins of systemic deficiencies, especially the inflexible nature of the regime and its inability to adapt to the realities of the world it created.

The second chapter marks a direct approach to the construction of the distribution system for consumer goods and services. Shortly, it is about the regime's attempts to honor its responsibilities towards the population after the nationalization of all means of production and distribution. This segment was built upon documents found in the national archives section in Cluj and those found in the archives of the National Council for the Study of the Archives of the Securitate. Thus, the perspective put under analysis here is that of the authorities, both in terms of the problems which occurred as well as the type of information collected by them, and on which they based their decisions. In the first part we presented the difficulties faced by

the Regional Popular Council in its attempts at constructing a distribution system aimed at satisfying the population's needs. The majority of issues came as a result of the inflexibility of the central planning system which severely limited necessary adjustments by local authorities. On more than one occasion supplying was made difficult, either because of insufficient transport vehicles or a lack of consumer goods. This example illustrates the failure of light industry and the regime's incapacity or unwillingness to realize the importance of this sector in the long run. Continuing this discussion, it must be said that there were frequent issues with quality, this only leading to more tensions between the various components of the system, further increasing shortages.

By looking at the archival material we followed the strategies employed by authorities so as to overcome problems, but which most of the time seemed to contradict the very nature of the planned system. Simultaneously, this serves to show that quite often the regime realized the existence of certain issues, but was incapable of solving them. We can thus look at the way in which the Regional Popular Council functioned. It acted as a representative of the regime in the rest of the country, at the level of executive and legislative action of state authority. Frequently it had to manage the interactions between the varying enterprises and trusts which played a part in the economic and industrial growth of the city of Cluj. One of the most interesting examples was that of the interaction between the Local Construction Trust and the Investment Bank. This was usually antagonistic and the Regional Popular Council had to mediate it so as to reduce the level of sanctions imposed.

As far as constructions go, the most frequent difficulties were linked to the poor quality of materials being used, as well as the ample bureaucratization and agglomeration of the projecting and execution processes. This had a negative influence on documentation and a lack of predictability or the imagined urban ensembles. The last one seems to illustrate the disparities and lack of coordination of the regime's bureaucracy, making the approval process for submitted files to be very long. This led to a postponement of works, and winter only made things worse, as all working was ceased. This generated another phenomenon which preoccupied authorities, over the norm stocks, meaning a blocking of certain resources. Even though there were attempts at forcing their use, the success rates were low, the only thing achieved was a decrease in the quality of constructions.

From the documents we identified another type of behavior, that of attributing guilt, thus throughout the entire system we can observe functionaries or employees in various

positions who try to limit their responsibility, so as to finish the plan and keep their advantages. One illustrative example is that of the shops which had to sell all of their products and this led to hesitation in receiving new merchandise, especially if it proved difficult to commercialize. The pressure moved on the warehouses, which also had little wish to generate hard to sell stocks, and then the problem became that of the industrial sector, which had its own restrictions, based on the plan and on the resources it received.

The second part is focused on presenting the failure of the distribution system, and is built around documents produced by the Securitate regarding the morale of the population. Here we underlined, through concrete examples, those instances in which the regime failed to satisfy the needs of the population, as well as the first attempts by them to improve their situation. The regime made considerable efforts to survey the population's morale, trying to solve shortages in sectors where the situation was getting out of hand. Yet not a single measure taken represented a long-term solution, as these were rather attempts at controlling a future economic or social disaster.

The next chapter can be described as a trip in the world of the unofficial or underground economy. Starting from "blat", identified by historiography in the Soviet case⁴, we tried to offer a conceptual framework and a terminology which can explain local realities. In the Russian language the word "blat" encompasses a series of activities, most often banned by the regime. Simultaneously, it holds a meaning which defines a variety of human interactions and thus adds an element of trust and closeness between individuals, it turns these activities into an inter-human social mechanism. The Romanian language holds no such equivalent, we can only identify one expression meant to parody the abuse of power by the ruling party, "Pile, relații și cunoștințe". It encompasses a set of actions and activities which not only helped people traverse shortage, but also served to undermine the regime⁵. In the absence of any better terminology we have used both the Russian and Romanian versions and unofficial means as an alternative vaguer concept so as to encompass the vast majority of activities.

Beyond the theoretical aspects developed in the first part, we have also explored the regime's attitude towards such phenomena. Specialists argue that the communist regime

⁴ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism. Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times. Soviet Russia in the 1930s*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000.

⁵ Katherine Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1996, *passim*.

accepted or tolerated such behaviors as they covered part of the shortages⁶. A close inspection of the Securitate's documents reveals a different story, one in which the authorities tried through controls and preventive actions to limit or even stop economic interactions outside its sphere of control. As the same historiography further argues, the underground economy rather undermined the official system, as it delegitimized it. The effects of this phenomenon extended to the economy as well, as most of the time individuals were forced to operate with goods and instruments of the regime (stealing from the workplace, dilapidation, etc.). This only served to further undermine production. Most of the chapter is focused on the eighth decade, this being the result of the archival material discovered, offering more information on the '70s than on the '60s. We presented a series of unofficial or illegal activities by describing concrete examples, thus, underlining not only the attitude of the authorities, but also the population's capacity for generating alternative strategies.

The last chapter of the thesis is focused on workers, to defining the profile of the proletariat the regime attempted to create. Analyzing the workers under the communist system represents a work of interpretation which must take under consideration the evolutions of the social system and the interactions between individuals, and between them and the authorities. Creating the "new workers" fit in perfectly with the broader project of creating a "new man" and a socialist society. As other issues analyzed in the thesis the experiment of constructing the proletariat was also characterized by shortages, at several levels. By creating a restrictive legal regime through the transformation of the balance between the old and the new workers, as a result of forced industrialization, through the implementation of new forms of education, the latent conflict between those in the factories was boosted.

We also looked at migration from villages to the city in its two major forms, permanent and commuting. Each of these had a different impact on the economic development of the city, and on the urban landscape. The first one led to a phenomenon known in historiography as the ruralization of cities. This was the result of the difference in values and lifestyles between rural and urban environments. To a certain degree we attempted to illustrate the efforts of the regime to educate the new city dwellers, and adapt them to a new way of life. Commuting also brought a series of changes for the fresh industrial workers as it implied extra effort for them, especially during the early stages, as the infrastructure was not yet properly developed (building train stops in the villages near Cluj). Starting from here, we

⁶ Alena V. Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchange*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1998, p.3.

tried to present the relationship between the old and the new workers. Thus, we put under the spotlight the changes suffered in terms of traditional work ethic and how this led to tensions between the two categories of the proletariat. The policy of massification of education led to the relatively sudden appearance of a new category of qualified workers, but which were not necessarily the most efficient, and some of the examples used in the thesis illustrate their interaction with more experienced colleagues. Simultaneously, their relationship must be understood in the background of economic planning and strict norms imposed. This only served to further antagonize the workforce. Thus, we can identify strategies for discrimination and marginalization of new employees, which evidently were dissatisfied by their treatment, increasing tensions in factories and slowing down production.

In the same chapter we followed the propagandistic efforts of the regime to mobilize its new workforce by organizing the “socialist work competition”. In the theoretical aspects of this issue we used a comparative approach, looking on the one hand towards the Soviet example of Stakhanovism, and on the other hand at other models developed in the communist states in East-Central Europe. For the local case we look at the written press, a study on the *Făclia* newspaper, which acted as the official propaganda bulletin of the Regional Popular Council of Cluj. We focused on the descriptions of the ideal worker who would always be a distinguished and act as an example for his colleagues. Thus, we wanted to understand what image the regime tried to transmit to its citizens, as well as the moral requirements in the field of work which would be encouraged and rewarded.

Working in a factory brought new challenges and threats in the lives of those employed in industry. Conditions insured by the regime were mostly precarious. Professional disease and accidents came to characterize the existence of these people and on many occasions even led to tragedies. The deficiencies of the production system, poor supply with raw material for enterprises led to a phenomenon known as storming, generating an uncertain rhythm of work and heightening the risk of accidents occurring.

Shortage, manifested through its various forms, profoundly marked the existence of the communist regime. Even in periods of relative prosperity for the population, shortage existed at the level of the system through the deficiencies it caused to its multiple interconnected components. The society created by the communist regime must be viewed as a system as it involved all levels, from the economy to administration, politics and even the everyday life of citizens. Given its planned and centralized character communist society

became inflexible and incapable of adapting to the very changes it generated in the country (industrialization, urbanization, and modernization), and also to the changes occurring on an international scale. These systemic deficiencies gave birth to behavior of attributing guilt and responsibility for failure and mistakes down the hierarchy, as it all started from the conditioning of social privilege to performance based on achievement of the plan.

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