

THE MOVEMENT OF ROMANIAN WOMEN FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE END OF THE WWII¹⁴⁹

Ovidiana Bulumac¹⁵⁰

ABSTRACT

The present paper addresses in a schematic manner the image of Romanian women, a subject not well developed in the sociological literature. The text indicates references to the condition of women starting from the Middle Ages, continuing with early modernity time frame, following the interwar period, and ending with the communist oppression installment. This is, in fact, the first fragment of a wider study, designed in three main parts. The second one is based on research centered upon the Scânteia newspaper, the official trumpet of the communist power, documenting all the published references related to women between September 1944 and February 1954 (almost 30,000 pages), a study that will be published in 2022 in London. The third part, still under development, represents a reality check: the real herstory, that took place in the communist induced state of terror, a timeframe which was considered to be the harshest repressive regime that the country endured until the Revolution of December 1989.

Keywords: Middle Ages, myths, emancipation, communism, women, herstory.

SCHEMATIC OVERVIEW

The feminine history in the Romanian space has a long and colourful history. One might say, in a superficial note, that it was a patriarchal type of society, in which the woman had no chance of expression. In truth, the situation was quite different, and this “detail” is often times minimized, due to the precariousness of the historical sources consulted and the ideological perspective through which they are filtered. Let us start with some Middle Ages references:

“Our Ladies can be spoken of from two points of view: first from that of their origin and then from that, no less important, of the purpose they had at the Court of Parties or at the

¹⁴⁹ The text is part of a larger study centered upon the female profile promoted in the official communist newspaper from Romania (*Scânteia*) during the first decade of the regime, book that will be published in the near future with the title “Seen and unseen”. Other significant parts can be found in the chapter Ovidiana Bulumac, “The Female Profile Promoted in Scânteia, the Official Communist Newspaper, during the First Decade of the Regime Instalment in Romania” from Martina Topić (ed), *Women and the Media in Capitalism and Socialism: An Ecofeminist Inquiry*, London: Intellect (forthcoming in 2022).

¹⁵⁰ PhD in Sociology, Researcher, European Center for Ethnic Studies, Email contact: ovidiana.bulumac@gmail.com.

Court of Business. Here and there the bright, vivid flowers of the characters, deeds and sufferings of these Ladies come naturally in this weft of ideas”¹⁵¹.

“Throughout history, Romanian women have enjoyed more rights than women elsewhere. In the Romanian Middle Ages, women had the right to own land – a supreme right in any agricultural society and which was not found in other countries that today pass as models. There were also women who actually ruled in the medieval Romanian countries – Mrs. Chiajna, Mrs. Ruxandra are some of the names of women who ruled, provided regencies for many years. And they're not the only ones. Few know that the wives of rulers in the principalities had their own budget – the lady's pantry – from which they endowed monasteries, churches and poor girls, that they had their own seal and knew how to write. ... By law they were the sole owners of the dowry received and, in the event of marriage dissolution, they had the right to keep it; they could do business and were often richer than their husbands”¹⁵².

¹⁵¹ „Despre Doamnele noastre se poate vorbi din două puncte de vedere: întâi din acel al originii lor și apoi din acela, nu mai puțin însemnat, al rostului pe care-l aveau la Curtea petrecerilor sau la Curtea afacerilor. Ici și colo se prind de la sine în această bătaură de idei florile strălucitoare, vii ale caracterelor, isprăvilor și suferințelor acestor Doamnein” in Nicolae Iorga, *Viața femeilor în trecutul românesc [Women in the life of our nation – faces, customs, deeds, testimonies]*, Bucharest, Cartex Publishing House, 2014 [1910], p. 13.

Nicolae Iorga, the greatest Romanian historian known and appreciated worldwide, had other books published and conferences sustained regarding the female history. Moreover, at the parliamentary level, he registered several interventions associated with the history and status of women in Romania, through which he demanded additional rights for women, as an act of general justice, to be enshrined in the 1923 Constitution.

Other relevant publications covering gender history in the Romanian space were signed by:

1. Andrei Rădulescu, *Dreptul de moștenire al soțului supraviețuitor [The right of inheritance of the surviving spouse]*, Bucharest, 1925.

2. George Fotino, *Contribuție la l'étude des origines de l'ancien droit coutumier roumain, Un chapitre de l'histoire de la propriété au moyen âge [Contribution to the study of the origins of the old Romanian customary law, a chapter in the history of property in the Middle Ages]*, Paris, 1926.

3. Ovid Sachelarie, “Privilegiul masculinității în Țara Românească până la jumătatea sec. al XVII-lea” [“The privilege of masculinity in Wallachia until the middle of the 17th century”] in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, XXIII, 1970, 3, pp. 439–499.

4. Anicuța Popescu, “Instituția căsătoriei și condiția juridică a femeii din Țara Românească și Moldova în sec.XVII” [“The institution of marriage and the legal condition of women in Wallachia and Moldova in the 17th century”] in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, 23, 1972, nr. 1, pp. 55–80.

¹⁵² „Românele s-au bucurat în decursul istoriei de mai multe drepturi decât femeile din alte părți. În evul mediu românesc femeile aveau dreptul să dețină pământ – un drept suprem în orice societate agricolă și care nu se regăsea în alte țări care astăzi trec drept modele. Au existat și femei care au condus efectiv în țările române medievale - doamna Chiajna, doamna Ruxandra sunt numele unor femei care au domnit, au asigurat regente vreme de mulți ani. Și nu sunt singurele. Puțini știu că nevestele domnitorilor din principate aveau un buget propriu – cămara doamnei –, din care înzestrau mănăstiri, biserici și fete sărace, că aveau o pecete proprie și știau să scrie.

Dincolo de orice ar spune genere studies, femeile din România medievală aveau drepturi consfințite prin lege: ele erau singurele proprietare ale zestrei primite și, în cazul de desfacere a căsătoriei, și-o păstrau; se puteau ocupa de negustorie și de multe ori erau mai bogate decât soții lor.” in George Damian, “Femeia în istoria românilor” [“Women in the history of Romanians”] in *Jurnal de Botoșani și Dorohoi*, March 8, 2011.

The history of women from Transylvania also recorded some interesting shortcuts from a legal perspective. For instance, the boyars who had only girls as heirs and could not pass them the fortune (which legally was transmitted only to male heirs), at their deaths the voivode could confiscate their entire fortune of the boyar. In order to change the outcome, the boyars in question would act in order to convince the voivode to agree to a legal trick that assured the family name perpetuance as well as the fortune intact: a “legal” sex-change.

“Women of noble origin knew the laws very well and exploited them in their own interest, trying to eliminate various forms of discrimination. One of the strangest medieval legal operations was ‘the settlement of a daughter instead of a son’: a boyar without male heirs could turn his daughter into a man from a legal point of view”¹⁵³.

For example, **in Wallachia and Moldavia, regarding the transmission of wealth to heirs, it was equally shared regardless of sex, while women of noble origin in Transylvania** (found under the imperial power structure) **were partially excluded from the calculation** (they were given an unequal lower share compared to the male heirs). This discrepancy was often invoked by the women in question, who demanded (and sometimes succeeded) that the succession be made *jure Volachie*. The same trick was recorded by history in the case of Maria Florescu, a female boyar from Oltenia (Wallachia) that lived more than a hundred years (born at the end of the 16th century), which in order to keep all her estates and wealth (after burying three husbands in her lifetime), legally transformed herself in a man¹⁵⁴.

Further, **in the society’s modernization process, history recorded multiple highly involved women, both by peaceful means (such as the struggle for the emancipation of women)¹⁵⁵ or by a direct participation in the great**

¹⁵³ „Femeile de origine nobilă cunoșteau foarte bine legile și le exploatau în interesul propriu, încercând să elimine diversele forme de discriminare. Una dintre cele mai ciudate operațiuni juridice medievale era „așezarea de fiică să-i fie în loc de fiu”: un boier fără băieți moștenitori își transforma fata în bărbat din punct de vedere juridic.” in George Damian, „Cum era viața româncelor în Evul Mediu, între bătăi, urzeli și violuri” [“What was the life of Romanian women in the Middle Ages, between beatings, warps and rapes”], in *Vice*, February 12, 2016.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Adela XENOPOL (Iași, Iași County, 1861-1939), one of the most famous activists for women’s rights in Romania. She establishes the Society of Romanian Writers, whose president became, starting with 1925, the first initiative of this kind in our country.

Constanța DUNCA-SCHIAU (Botoșani, Botoșani County, 1843–1924) was a leader of the women’s emancipation movement in Romania; the first woman in Romania who managed to study abroad; the first Romanian woman to hold a certificate of ability at the Sorbonne and a certificate of Higher Pedagogical Studies at the College de France; the first woman in Romania to study, in the private library, under the auspices of Her Majesty Empress Eugenia, court etiquette; the first woman in Romania to receive membership, at the age of 18, in the “Société de gens de Lettres” in France; the first intellectual in Romania, who dealt with the education of children in the country, by organizing education for girls; the first woman whose ideas were taken into account by Prince Al. I. Cuza when drafting the Law on Public Instruction adopted in 1864; the first woman in Romania to publish a journal – “Family Friend. Letters-science-arts-pedagogy-industry”, being its editor-in-chief.

historical events that led to the birth of modern Romania (the Romanian Revolution of 1848¹⁵⁶, the Union of the Romanian Principalities of 1859¹⁵⁷, the

Elena GHICA (Bucharest, 1828–1888) was the first woman-alpinist in the world to climb the Moench peak in the Swiss Alps, placing the Wallachian flag there; one of the first feminists in Europe, but also the first woman in the history of Greece to ever receive, by a special law adopted unanimously by the Chamber of Deputies, the title of honorary citizen of Athens; the first woman in Romania to publish a book; a child prodigy, at the age of 14 she translated Homer's Greek "Iliad" into German hexameters, a work that was published in the *Gazette Universelle* in Leipzig.

Elena POP-HOSSU LONGIN (Băsești, Sălaj County, 1862–1940) was a militant for the emancipation of women in Transylvania; had the initiative to found the "Reunion of Romanian Women from Sălaj" and the association "Reunion of Romanian Women from Hunedoara", which organized courses in sewing, tailoring, lacework, weaving, carving and pottery, being its president for 24 years.

Ella NEGRUZZI (Hermeziu, Iași County, 1876–1949) was the first woman with the right to plead in the history of Romania, a member of the Bar of Galați and Ilfov; she laid the foundations of the association entitled "Women's Emancipation" in the interwar period.

Sarmiza BILCESCU-ALIMĂNIȘTEANU (Bucharest, 1867–1935) was the first woman lawyer in Europe. The first woman to graduate in Law from the University of Paris; establishes the "Society of Romanian Ladies" (with the role of strengthening the cultural unity of Romanians and education among women) and the Superior Council of the Household Industry.

Sofia NĂDEJDE (Botoșani, 1856–1946) was the first woman to write the first novel in Romanian literature – "Patimi" and the first to lead a literary journal; activist for the emancipation of women in Romania; the first woman in Romania who was approved to take her baccalaureate in a boys' high school; the first woman of letters, who successfully challenged the opinion of the literary critic Titu Maiorescu, according to which women are less intelligent than men; she was considered the most erudite Romanian woman of the 19th century.

Info source: ***, *100 women*, in *Women on banknotes*, Available at www.femeipebancnote.ro/?page_id=726, Accessed on May 12, 2020.

¹⁵⁶ The revolutionaries, through point 16 of the *Proclamation from Islaz* (June 9, 1848 which was, in fact the program of the Wallachian revolution), demanded: "equal instruction for all Romanians of both sexes". Here, history recorded as devoted fighters for the cause of the revolution women like Ana Ipătescu, Maria Rosetti, Catinca Caracaș, Maria Eliade Rădulescu, Sevastia Bălcescu, Elena Cuza, Efimia Pleșoianu, Zoie Goleșcu, Pelaghia Roșu and many others. For example, Ana Ipătescu (Bucharest, 1805–1875) was one of the greatest symbols of the Romanian Revolution of 1848 which was praised by the entire domestic and international press, being compared to the French Joan of Arc. Or Maria Rosetti (Guernsey, Scotland, 1819–1893), which was the first female publicist in Romania, founder of the weekly literary magazine "Mother and Child", the woman-symbol of the Romanian Revolution of 1848, that later on fought for the emancipation of Romanian women, setting up the "Women's Committee" etc. Sources:

1. Paraschiva Căncea, *Mișcarea pentru emanciparea femeii în România [The Movement for the Emancipation of Women in Romania]*, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1976.

2. Elena Georgescu and Titu Georgescu, *Mișcarea democratică și revoluționară a femeilor din România [The democratic and revolutionary movement of women in Romania]*, Romanian Writing Publishing House, Craiova, 1975.

3. Ștefania Mihăilescu (ed.), *Emanciparea femeii române. Antologie de texte. 1815–1918 [The emancipation of the Romanian woman. Anthology of texts. 1815–1918]*, vol. 1, Bucharest, Ecumenica Publishing House, 2001.

4. Mădălina Nicolaescu (ed.), *Cine suntem noi? Despre identitatea femeilor din România modernă [Who are we? About the identity of women in modern Romania]*, Bucharest, Anima Publishing House, 1996.

War of Independence of Romania (1877–1878)¹⁵⁸, the establishment of the unitary national state (1918)¹⁵⁹.

“The Women’s Diary”, edited by Emilia Trailler, was one of the several publications that acknowledged the women’s contribution in the First World War. After the end of the conflagration, in 1922, E. Delasurpa wrote:

“The active participation made the woman give up the puppets with which she attracted the favor of men. By gradually entering all careers, by trying to penetrate all intellectual professions and by their success, they have seen that they can find their happiness in personal and independent work as well”¹⁶⁰.

After the 1918 Union and the formation of Greater Romania, all the experience gained by women's organizations from all Romanian provinces of

5. I.M. Ștefan and V. Firoiu, *Sub semnul Minervei. Femei de seamă din trecutul românesc [Under the sign of Minerva. Notable women from the Romanian past]*, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1975.

¹⁵⁷ Women from all provinces inhabited by Romanians supported the movement for the unification of Moldova and Wallachia. The publicist and teacher Sofia Cocea wrote countless articles signed in the unionist newspapers through which she drew the attention on the connection between the democratic reform of the Romanian society and the emancipation of women. Elena Ghica (Dora d’Istria), author of feminist studies and supporter of the union of all Romanians in a modern national state, had a similar activity. Sources:

1. Paraschiva Căncea, *op. cit.*
2. Elena Georgescu and Titu Georgescu, *op. cit.*
3. Ștefania Mihăilescu, *op. cit.*
4. Mădălina Nicolaescu, *op. cit.*
5. I.M. Ștefan and V. Firoiu, *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁸ During the war, numerous women's committees were created to help the front and care for wounded soldiers and war orphans in all Romanian provinces, coordinated by the Central Women’s Committee, based in Iasi, led by Maria Rosetti Roznovanu. Sources: *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Women's organizations came to the aid of the Romanian front during the First World War; they cared for the wounded and orphaned children with the Red Cross; the women from the country, from the factories, from the public administration have completely replaced the mobilized men, and some of them, like Ecaterina Teodoroiu or Măriuca Zaharia, have given their lives in the military confrontations. Then in March 1917 three thousand women from Bucharest demonstrated against the military occupation state. Later, in June 1917, a petition of the Romanian intellectual women demanding the granting of women’s suffrage, given their sacrifices in the war years was addressed to the Romanian Senate. On December 1, 1918, the meetings of women from all over Transylvania took place, who sent their delegates to the Great National Assembly from Alba Iulia, giving them a mandate to vote for “the union of this ancient Romanian province with the country”; in the resolution of the national assembly, among other democratic reforms, universal suffrage for both sexes was announced. Sources: *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ „Participarea activă (*n.r.* – a femeilor în „marele războiu”) a făcut ca femeia să se lese de păpușeriile cu care atrăgea favoarea bărbaților. Prin intrarea gradată în toate carierele, prin încercarea de a pătrunde în toate profesiunile intelectuale și prin reușita lor, ele au văzut că-și pot găsi fericirea și în munca personală și independentă” in Delasurpa E, 1922, in Laurențiu Ungureanu, „Portretul femeii în presa interbelică. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Ciorapii acopăr picioarele lipsite de baie’” [“The Portrait of the Woman in the Interwar Press. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Socks cover the feet without a bath’”] in *Historia*, February 1, 2014, Available at www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/portretul-femeii-impresainterbelica-nicolae-iorga-ciorapii-acopar-picioarele-lipsite-de-baie, Accessed on May 21, 2020.

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries flourished like never before. The women's movement became part of the social life, a current of civil society based on the establishment and consolidation of Romanian institutions. More and more, **women were seen both socio-culturally and in the media as a force and a solution to the society's issues.** Moreover, the organization and social success of the women's movement¹⁶¹ crossed national borders and became a source of pride for prestigious international organizations¹⁶².

All this continuous activity led to interesting results in the socio-economic and cultural development of the country between the two world wars, when an accelerate development was registered in all domains. For instance, **according to data provided by the 1930 population census, Great Romania ranked first in Europe in terms of the women presence in the active population**¹⁶³. From both an agricultural and industrial perspective, their number grew constantly throughout the next three decades. Several social studies and surveys of the time, mostly done by the members of the Sociological School of Bucharest led by Dimitrie Gusti, showed that in some branches of the manufacturing industry (food, textile, clothing, glassware, ceramics, etc.), women, along with minors, represented, until the outbreak of World War II, over 40% of the total staff employed. Similarly, there was a significant increase in women employed in commercial enterprises (33%) and public institutions (20,4%), confirmed by the same census¹⁶⁴.

In the Romanian traditional society, at the popular level, the woman was the master of the household, her husband's closest advisor, and the one in charge of the children's education. In other words, she was part of the decision-making process. The only difference was that, publicly, the means of a woman's expression were somehow reduced in comparison with the man's, because the division of labour was gender based (women mastered the social and familial universe, while men were the family's representatives within the public life). However, after all these changes on the economical level and by bringing women to the forefront of social life, consequences started to appear in the familial structure. Thus, **women tried to reconcile the new changes with the old social life.** Here, it is interesting to remark that **the emancipation movement, as far as the most influential female**

¹⁶¹ Including the Union of Romanian Women, the National Council of Romanian Women, the Association for Civil and Political Emancipation of Romanian Women.

¹⁶² Ștefania Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului românesc: studiu și antologie de texte (1929–1948)* [From the history of Romanian feminism: study and anthology of texts (1929–1948)], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2006.

¹⁶³ ***, *Enciclopedia României* [The Encyclopaedia of Romania], vol. III, Bucharest, National Printing House, 1939, pp. 45–47.

¹⁶⁴ See:

1. ***, *Enciclopedia României* [The Encyclopaedia of Romania], vol. III, p. 60.
2. Also, relevant info can be found in Catherine Cerkez, *Munca femeii și consecințele ei pentru familie și societate* [Women's work and its consequences for family and society], in R. Catargi, I. C., Chiriacescu, *Femeia în noua epocă a omenirii* [Woman in the new age of mankind], Bucharest, Graphic workshops Sunrise, 1929.

leaders were concerned, was not seen in contradiction to the idea of motherhood¹⁶⁵, but on the contrary. The recognition of women's rights became, in turn, the gains of the entire family, and implicitly of the children by increasing their level of education. For example, in a lecture given by university professor Alice Voinescu at the national broadcasting station on Nov. 23, 1939, she stated:

“The intellectual woman transforms her family into a center of culture. Around the table, where she distributes the bodily food, according to the needs but also to the appetite of each family member, the rumors that come from the rest of the wide world receive through her involvement a concrete, intimate human meaning, on an individual measure. Peace is gathered around her, and a world of values grows, clearly, in all the souls of the blessed house”¹⁶⁶.

The interwar period represented the steepest jump from the status of housewife to that of lady of society, thus obtaining all the privileges of their time: wearing pants, cutting their hair, the possibility to practice sports with men etc. And the newspapers and magazines of the epoch kept a detailed chronicle of these changes. However, the core of the changes was the moral dimension. Aura Sachelarie, the niece of Nicolae Rădescu, the last free prime minister of pre-comunized Romania, wrote, on January 4, 1930, in the “Universul” newspaper:

“Women, in turn, should not forget that their main and overwhelming role remains that of housemistress, in charge of guiding the children, who will form the new generation of those who must carry forward the torch of progress in the scientific field, but also in the moral one, especially in the moral one”¹⁶⁷.

The actions of Romanian activists were *not a feminist* movement per se, but rather a *feminine* movement which did not turn against the very nature of women (as it is understood, unfortunately, today). Yes, demands were made regarding the political involvement, the legal status, the access to higher education or professional fields that were dominated by men. But it was also about visibility, creating a new kind of tradition (*shestory*), all this while preserving the balance between sexes, the family social unit and motherhood (maintaining the authority over the familial micro-cosmos, managing the household and taking care of the upbringing and education of children¹⁶⁸). The idea of the movement was to make a change for the better, and not

¹⁶⁵ As often happens today, when feminism is invoked.

¹⁶⁶ Alice Voinescu, *Femeia intelectuală în familie și gospodărie [The intellectual woman in the family and the household]* in Archive of the Romanian Broadcasting Company, November 23, 1939, dossier nr. 11/1939.

¹⁶⁷ „Femeile, la rândul-ne, să nu uite că rolul lor principal și covârșitor rămâne tot acela de stăpână a căminului, de îndrumătoare a copiilor, care vor forma generația nouă a aceluia ce trebuie să poarte înaintea făclia progresului în domeniul științific, dar și în cel moral, mai ales în cel moral.” in Laurențiu Ungureanu, “Portretul femeii în presa interbelică. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Ciorapii acopăr picioarele lipsite de baie’” [“The Portrait of the Woman in the Interwar Press. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Socks cover the feet without a bath’”] in *Historia*, February 1, 2014, Available at www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/portretul-femeii-in-presa-interbelica-nicolae-iorga-ciorapii-acopar-picioarele-lipsite-de-baie, Accessed on May 21, 2020.

¹⁶⁸ Corina Bistriceanu, *Sociologia familiei [Family sociology]*, Bucharest, Romania of Tomorrow Foundation Publishing House, 2006.

to completely shift the social, political, cultural or public spheres. And we say this because women's abilities were asserted in the social, cultural universe without eliminating those that were biologically and socially attributed to them. We refer here to the wife or mother roles. In the press of the time a great deal of information appeared regarding the meetings of the women's circles led by Alexandrina Cantacuzino, the wife of former Conservative Prime Minister Grigore Cantacuzino and, perhaps, the most ardent feminist of her time. In her fiery speeches there was a harsh critique of the objectified woman painted as the worst nightmare:

“the doll woman, the woman of pleasure and luxury, the parasitic, childish woman”¹⁶⁹.

But her arguments did also defend the special status of the woman in the family, which had to be preserved:

“Do you think the homogeneity of the family will be better assured when the wife enters one political party and the husband in another? Women should be first of all mothers!”¹⁷⁰.

Beyond social and civil emancipation, **the great “battle” in the interwar period was the one regarding political rights**, which was finally achieved through the 1938 Constitution¹⁷¹, but preceded by the principle of mandatory co-opting women in communal and county councils from 1925¹⁷² and granting women's political rights under the 1929 Administrative Organization Act¹⁷³.

¹⁶⁹ Quotes from the *Universul* newspaper, in Laurențiu Ungureanu, “Portretul femeii în presa interbelică. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Ciorapii acopăr picioarele lipsite de baie’” [“The Portrait of the Woman in the Interwar Press. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Socks cover the feet without a bath’”] in *Historia*, February 1, 2014, Available at www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/portretul-femeii-in-presa-interbelica-nicolae-iorga-ciorapii-acopar-picioarele-lipsite-de-baie, Accessed on May 21, 2020.

¹⁷⁰ Quotes from the *Universul* newspaper, Laurențiu Ungureanu, “Portretul femeii în presa interbelică. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Ciorapii acopăr picioarele lipsite de baie’” [“The Portrait of the Woman in the Interwar Press. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Socks cover the feet without a bath’”] in *Historia*, February 1, 2014, Available at www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/portretul-femeii-in-presa-interbelica-nicolae-iorga-ciorapii-acopar-picioarele-lipsite-de-baie, Accessed on May 21, 2020.

¹⁷¹ Here, Eugenia REUSS-IANCULESCU (Igești, Bucovina, 1866-1938) was instrumental. Due to her militancy, Romanian women's right to participate in the general elections was recognized, right in the year of her death. Previously, she was the first suffragette in the country, an activist of the women emancipation movement in Romania, proposing essential changes to the legal status of women in the Civil Code (their right to equal pay, unrestricted access to various professions considered strictly masculine, equal rights as men over children, legal prostitution suspension, economic independence for the married woman, etc.). In 1894, she founded the first women's organization in the country, called the “Women's League”. The 1938 Constitution of Great Romania is available at www.constitutia.ro/const1938.htm, Accessed on May 12, 2020.

¹⁷² According to the legal specifications from August 1929, a maximum of seven councils could be co-opted in urban communes with 250,000 inhabitants, five in those with a population of 100,000, three in those with 50,000 inhabitants and two in the other localities see A.N.I.C, dossier XI-32, f. 8–12. The activity carried out by women counselors will prove to be extremely beneficial, targeting mainly four major areas: social assistance, public health, culture and education – see Camelia Popescu, “Lupta pentru dreptul de vot feminin în România interbelică” [“The fight for women's suffrage in interwar Romania”] in *Historia*, Available at: www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/lupta-pentru-dreptul-de-vot-feminin-in-romania-interbelica, Accessed on June 3, 2020.

¹⁷³ Article 375. The law applied to women over the age of 21 who 1) were graduates of the lower secondary cycle, normal or professional; 2) worked as a state, county or commune functionary;

In the municipal, communal and county elections of 1930, women representatives of the emancipation movement divided between the already existing political parties¹⁷⁴: some ran on the electoral lists of the National-Peasant Party¹⁷⁵, some became candidates on the lists of the National Liberal Party¹⁷⁶. **Over a hundred women became councilors throughout the country, while three women became mayor for the first time in the recorded political history** (Marilena Bocu in Lipova city, Arad County; Luiza Zavloschi¹⁷⁷ in Buda village, Vaslui County; and Elena Eisenberg in Cobia commune, Dâmbovița County).

Interestingly, other women decided to create a new political party. Disappointed by the political manner shown by the men-led parties, Alexandrina Cantacuzino proposed **the establishment of a women's political party that would emphasize balance and morality in public life**¹⁷⁸. Thus, the National Group of Romanian Women was founded in April 1929, whose stated purpose was to train women:

“... so as to gain equal political justification in the state and, through the political force that they will achieve, to collaborate in leading the country in all respects, in the same conditions as the men”¹⁷⁹.

The success was so significant, that the new organization became one of the most influential women's associations in the interwar period, with branches in all provinces of the country¹⁸⁰.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

“Initially, Romania shared with all communist regimes in Eastern Europe a total reliance upon terror as an instrument of political power. This terror was wielded in two stages: first to eliminate opponents in the drive to consolidate power, and second to ensure compliance once revolutionary change had been effected. In Romania’s case the first

3) were war widows; 4) were decorated for wartime activity; 5) were part of the management of an organization with legal personality, which aimed at social demands, cultural propaganda or social assistance – See ***, *Monitorul Oficial*, nr. 170, August, 3, 1929, Available at: www.monitoruljuridic.ro/act/lege-nr-167-din-3-august-1929-pentru-organizarea-administra-iunii-locale-emitent-parlamentul-publicat-n-168809.html, Accessed on May 12, 2020.

¹⁷⁴ Ștefania Mihăilescu, *op. cit.*, 2006, pp. 31–31.

¹⁷⁵ Such as Ella Negruzzi, Calypso Botez, Margareta Paximade-Ghelmeceanu, Ortansa Satmary.

¹⁷⁶ Such as Sarmiza Bilcescu-Alimăneștianu or Maria Pillat.

¹⁷⁷ She was the first woman to run independently for mayor, without the support of a party, and also the first woman in Romania to obtain two consecutive terms as mayor (she modernized an isolated rural locality, organized civil status records and installed a telephone station).

¹⁷⁸ Alexandrina Cantacuzino, *Femeile în fața dreptului de vot. Programul de luptă al Grupării Femeilor Române [Women and the right to vote. The fighting program of the Romanian Women's Group]*, Bucharest, Capital City Printing House, 1929.

¹⁷⁹ ***, *Gruparea Națională a Femeilor Române. Statut [National Group of Romanian Women. Statute]*, Bucharest, “Lupta” Printing House, 1929.

¹⁸⁰ Ștefania Mihăilescu, *op. cit.*, 2006, pp. 25–26.

stage, roughly, encompassed the period 1945–1964, the year in which an amnesty of political prisoners was completed”¹⁸¹.

After the King’s *coup d’etat*, the country found itself under a lot of pressure and disorganization. Still, the political forces tried to reactivate and the women’s organizations tried to rebuild. In those moments of confusion, the Communist Party from Romania came into play, having its back secured by the recent occupation of the country by the Red Army, and proposed to all the political parties and professional organizations (trade unions, women or youth structures), etc. to unite in a National Democratic Front. The declared objective was to form a “truly democratic” government by applying the only genuine program of reforms the country needed¹⁸². Here, the article 4 of the platform stated a “complete equality of all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, religion, sex, etc.” and was promoted on September, 26, 1944 in the *Scânteia* newspaper. Later, on October, 4, the issue regarding the female population was presented in a “project of special claims for women”¹⁸³ attributed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In fact, this was the first call made by communists to the women who had suffered from the “anti-Soviet” war and who were asked to help remove the fascist remnants from the state apparatus and solidify the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition¹⁸⁴. In other words, for the first time, the communists addressed the women they labeled as *victims interested in revenge*, and offered female positions in all the communist structures trying to capitalize on the suffering as an instrument to remove any opposition might have arisen. In reality, the aim was to completely remove the opposition by dividing the political climate and installing a totalitarian regime.

In an article published on October 8, 1944 in the *Scânteia* newspaper, the party’s official trumpet, **the communists repudiated the emancipation movement done so far, describing it as a totally ineffective struggle that based upon “little churches” and “circles” which generated women’s isolation from the “great democratic current”**. It was suggested that those who did not support the platform mentioned earlier will be considered as siding with the enemies of democracy, as fascist elements (that will face legal consequences). On the other side, those which accepted the platform rules, were promoted with positions in the women’s organizations, part of the political coalition initiated and led by the communist party. As a result, the women’s sections of the main political powers refused to adhere to the newly created platform. The only joyful member was The Union of Working Women in Romania, an organization which in the interwar period was virtually inexistent, but

¹⁸¹ Krzysztof Persak and Lukasz Kaminski, *A handbook of the communist security apparatus in East Central Europe 1944–1989*, Warsaw, Institute of national remembrance, 2005, p. 285.

¹⁸² ***, *Scânteia* newspaper, September 26, 1944, issue available at the National Library of Romania.

¹⁸³ *Scânteia* newspaper, October 4, 1944, issue available at the National Library of Romania.

¹⁸⁴ Eugenia Rădăceanu, *După doi ani [After two years]* in *Femeia muncitoare*, octombrie-noiembrie, 1946.

which in just a couple of months, with the full support of the Communist Party, became one of the most powerful organizations. Their aim was to infiltrate within the ranks of the women's structures that resisted to join the platform and, simultaneously, to participate in the establishment of women's commissions in enterprises and institutions. Thus, in a single year (until November 1945) the number of union members increased rapidly: out of over 1.300.000 members, 400.000 were women¹⁸⁵.

“On January 31, 1945, the first ‘Great Conference of Working Women’ was held in the Capital ... The resolution of the Conference, consisting of 12 points, actually resumed the directives of the Communist Party presented as the only one program that can represent the real interests of women¹⁸⁶. All women's commissions were asked to ‘clarify to their comrades and show them that the leaders of the ‘so-called historical parties’ - parties of banks and landlords led by Maniu and Brătianu - are the eternal enemies of the workers» and that they are as dangerous to the country as ‘Antonescu and the legionaries’¹⁸⁷. The speeches at the Conference emphasized the idea that, unlike ‘bourgeois feminist organizations that fight only for women’s demands without dealing with the social problem’¹⁸⁸, the women’s committees integrated into the new democratic platform aimed to remove the unjust order and replace it with another which no longer contained ‘misery and exploitation’. Women in the U.S.S.R. ... were considered a kind of ideal model of emancipation, worthy of following”¹⁸⁹.

Then the installation of the first “wide democratic concentration” (aka communist) government of Petru Groza took place on March 6, 1945, and the arrival of Soviet emissaries in the country the very next day. They outlined to the communist leaders of that time (Ana Pauker, C. Pârvulescu și C. Doncea) a three-year plan for the establishment of the future Soviet-like political regime: isolation of the country from the West, removal of the monarchy, liquidation of historical parties, establishment of a repressive state and military apparatus against any opposition, agrarian reform and preparation for collectivization¹⁹⁰. In other words, the first stage in the communist political evolution (1944–1958) was a time 1) of forceful destruction of the national structure, elite, ideology, that was labeled “bourgeois”¹⁹¹ or “fascist”, and 2) and of undermining the national sovereignty under the regime of Soviet military occupation. In short, it was a period of “primitive accumulation of legitimacy”¹⁹² by the Communist Party:

¹⁸⁵ Ștefania Mihăilescu, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 73.

¹⁸⁶ ***, *Prima Conferință a Femeilor [The First Conference of Women]*, Bucharest, January 31, 1945, C.G.M. Publishing House of Romania.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29–31.

¹⁸⁸ Eugenia Rădăceanu, *Cuvinte pentru femei [Words for women]*, 3rd edition, Bucharest, U.F.M.R. Publishing House, 1945, pp. 31–32.

¹⁸⁹ Ștefania Mihăilescu, *op. cit.*, 2006, pp. 73–74.

¹⁹⁰ Florin Constantiniu, *O istorie sinceră a poporului român [An Honest History of the Romanian People]*, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Univers Publishing House, 1997, 457.

¹⁹¹ See:

1. Stephen Fischer-Galați, *The New Rumania. From People's Democracy to Socialist Republic*, Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1969.

2. Stephen Fischer-Galați (coord.), *The Communist Parties of Eastern Europe*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1979

3. Stephen Fischer-Galați, *Eastern Europe in the 1980s*, Boulder, Westview, 1981.

¹⁹² Michael Shafir, *Romania. Politics, Economics, and Society. Political Stagnation and Simulated Change*, London, Boulder, Frances Pinter, 1985, p. 56.

“Breaking through means the decisive alteration or destruction of values, structures, and behaviours which are perceived by a revolutionary elite as comprising or contributing to the actual or potential existence of alternative centers of political power”¹⁹³.

“Practically, the access of communists to the main ministries (army, justice, internal affairs) was imposed under the threat of the Soviet army, through the maneuvering of Russian services and through the attitude of the Anglo-Americans that had a paralyzing effect on the reaction of the governing Romanian elite”¹⁹⁴.

All this meant it was the beginning of the end for the entire Romanian society, including the women’s organizations that obtained such beautiful results in several decades of continuous work and enthusiastic effort. This was followed by the liquidation of all women’s and social assistance organizations that managed to survive after 1945, and the establishment of a single “mass organization” officially representing all women: the Union of Anti-Fascist Women in Romania¹⁹⁵.

However, unofficially, it was “enslaved” to the political line of the Communist Party and used to discredit large organizations or personalities representing the old regime, to liquidate political pluralism, and to abolish the old social order. In short, **the apparent democratization brought by the communist regime regarding gender equality came, in reality, to dynamite the efforts and successes of Romanian women obtained until 1944.**

In order to maintain the population’s discontent inside the borders, the newly instated repressive regime targeted the press and started major censorship campaigns with the help of the **Article 16 of the armistice signed with the USSR in 1944 stipulated the introduction of censorship** on the press, books, printings, radio and postal services¹⁹⁶. Until 1946, more than **2000 titles were banned, and their number rose to almost 9000 titles in 1948**¹⁹⁷.

“In 1948, 80% of the total number of professors from the Faculty of Philosophy of Bucharest were removed, and 13,000 out of the total of 37,000 students registered at universities around the country were expelled ... In a single night (15th to 16th of May 1948) 4,000 students from all high schools and academic centers in the country are arrested ..., a part of them being incarcerated at the Pitești Penitentiary where they entered the programs of re-education through physical and mental violence and abuse ... Between 1946–1953 and then between 1956–1959, numerous arrests take place among Romanian writers and scholars, as at the beginning of the ‘60s, there were hundreds of writers, simultaneously, in communist prisons”¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹³ Kenneth Jowitt, *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development. The Case of Romania, 1944–1965*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1971, p. 7.

¹⁹⁴ Radu Baltasiu, Ovidiana Bulumac (eds), *Fractured modernities: elites, Romania and “Europe”*, Bucharest, University of Bucharest Publishing House, 2014, p. 101.

¹⁹⁵ *Scânteia* newspaper, April 12, 1945, issue available at the National Library of Romania.

¹⁹⁶ Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *Literatura și politică în România după 1945 [Literature and politics in Romania after 1945]*, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Foundation, 2001, p. 14.

¹⁹⁷ Ilie Bădescu and Mihai Ungheanu, *Enciclopedia valorilor reprimare. Războiul împotriva culturii române [The Encyclopedia of repressed values. The war against the Romanian culture]*, vol. I–II, Bucharest, Pro-Humanity Publishing House, 2000, p. 12.

¹⁹⁸ Radu Baltasiu and Ovidiana Bulumac, 2014, p. 114.

After eliminating the freedom of the press, and especially after the massive fraud of the November 1946 elections, there was a continuous legislative amendment which legalized campaigns meant to purge “the hostile elements against the regime” from the media, army, police and gendarmerie, the judiciary system, public administration, diplomatic staff, the category of peasants and clergy. Thus, in the pages of the *Scânteia* newspaper, every other day were printed thousands of such names, lined up, in full pages, as signs of the regime’s political success. Thus, the initiation of a new program of education according to a new set of norms and rules started, which was meant to “produce the new (wo)man”, favorable to Moscow and the regime¹⁹⁹.

Until 1964, numerous resistance acts were registered: peasant revolts, student movements, armed partisans in the mountains, resistance within the communist prisons and labor camps, the church etc. However, they were all silenced with the support of the *Securitate* (The General Direction of People’s Security), the repressive instrument of the communist leadership, which became active from the moment the Armistice with the USSR was signed on September, 12, 1944 (and instated by the August, 30, 1948 Decree nr. 221). Until 1960–1965, the top leadership of *Securitate* was composed exclusively out of Soviet secret service agents²⁰⁰.



Fig. 1. Places of communist detention, deportation, political executions (Sighet Memorial).

The imprisonment phenomenon reached incredible proportions in the 1949–1953 timeframe. The number of people labeled as “hostile”. The number of those labeled “hostile to the regime” was so high that the entire network of prisons and places of detention were not enough to close them all (even if they were working at triple capacity)²⁰¹. Therefore, the communist regime had to find a

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁰⁰ Dennis Deletant, *România sub regimul communist [Romania under the communist regime]*, Bucharest, Civic Academy, 2006.

²⁰¹ Radu Coroamă, Mariana Neaguțu, Oana Ilie, *Comunismul în România 1945–1989 [Communism in Romania 1945–1989]*, Bucharest, National Museum of Romanian History, 2007, p. 41.

solution, which it did: to transform the political prisoners into workers subjected to forms of (physical and mental) extermination in construction sites, such as the famous Danube-Black Sea Canal (the place where Romania's elite was literally liquidated).

“...in Romania there were 250 detention units, different from the ones dedicated to common criminals (44 penitentiaries, 61 places of investigation, detainment and torture, 72 labor camps, 63 centers of deportation and house arrests, 10 mental asylums with a political agenda). To these we must add 93 places for executions, assassinations, common burial grounds, fights with Securitate personnel that resulted in human victims and over 100 regional and county headquarters where the investigations of Securitate took place. Thus, we arrive to the map of (see above) from the Memorial, which reveals the existence of almost 450 places of detention or repression (not including the tens of places found by means of investigating the oral history”²⁰².

Even more than 30 years after the fall of communism, the true proportions of the disaster caused by the dictatorial regime and the number of victims who actually suffered from it could not be revealed. However, the repressive manifestation can be approximated by the following calculus:

“According to statistical data calculated after 1989, during the first twenty years of communism, **over 2 million people, namely one in nine Romanians**, were arrested for political reasons, detained in prisons and camps, deported or dislocated, and **15% of those arrested died by gunshot, torture or extermination** in prisons or labor camps, *namely every sixth detainee*”²⁰³.

“A figure closer to the truth can be deduced by reporting the average number of people in a criminal political file (five) to the number of such files numerically identified at the time: 118,000 (communicated by the president of the Romanian Association of Former Political Detainees, Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu). The number of approx. 600,000 seems, thus, the most plausible in the present state of research. And the number of administrative incarcerations (estimated as we have seen at about a third of the total number of juridical condemnations) amount to 200,000. If we add the peasants condemned for felonies masked as ‘common crimes’ (failure to pay quotas, refusal to harvest on the land of the cooperative farming unit, refusal to join said unit), the prisoners from the period of August 23rd –September 13th 1944, as the hundred thousand of deportees, displaced and evacuated one, the detainees from «house arrests», the Bessarabians and Bukovinians forcefully repatriated to the USSR, as well as the 520,000 youngsters forced to work in the so-called ‘labor fronts’ where labor was in a quasi-enforced activity, the women who died because of the demographic policy, **the numbers of the direct victims of communist repression reach 2 million. If we add the indirect victims (family members who suffered social discrimination), then the global sum of the repressed one reaches a few millions, close to half of the**

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁰³ Radu Baltasiu and Ovidiana Bulumac, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 105–106.

population of the country, which during the '50s, the peak years of terror, numbered around 16 million inhabitants"²⁰⁴.

There is a lost sense of proportions and women were one of the most affected segments of the population, both by being the direct victim, or by being a relative of another.

REFERENCES

- ***, *Monitorul Oficial*, nr. 170, August, 3, 1929, Available at: www.monitoruljuridic.ro/act/lege-nr-167-din-3-august-1929-pentru-organizarea-administratiunii-locale-emitent-parlamentul-publicat-n-168809.html, Accessed on May 12, 2020.
- ***, *Gruparea Națională a Femeilor Române. Statut [National Group of Romanian Women. Statute]*, Bucharest, „Lupta” Printing House, 1929.
- ***, The 1938 Constitution of Great Romania, Available at www.constitutia.ro/const1938.htm, Accessed on May 12, 2020.
- ***, *Enciclopedia României [The Encyclopaedia of Romania]*, vol. I-III, Bucharest, National Printing House, 1939.
- ***, *Scântea* newspaper from September 1944 - February 1954, issues available at the National Library of Romania.
- ***, *Prima Conferință a Femeilor [The First Conference of Women]*, Bucharest, January 31, 1945, C.G.M. Publishing House of Romania.
- ***, *100 women*, in *Women on banknotes*, Available at www.femeipebancnote.ro/?page_id=726, Accessed on May 12, 2020.
- A.N.I.C., *Fond Elena Meissner* in Constantin Meissner, dossier XI-32, f. 8–12.
- Baltasiu Radu and Bulumac Ovidiana (eds), *Fractured modernities: elites, Romania and “Europe”*, Bucharest, University of Bucharest Publishing House, 2014.
- Bădescu Ilie and Ungheanu Mihai, *Enciclopedia valorilor reprimite. Războiul împotriva culturii române [The Encyclopedia of repressed values. The war against the Romanian culture]*, vol. I–II, Bucharest, Pro-Humanity Publishing House, 2000.
- Bistriceanu Corina, *Sociologia familiei [Family sociology]*, Bucharest, Romania of Tomorrow Foundation Publishing House, 2006.
- Bulumac Ovidiana, “The Female Profile Promoted in *Scântea*, the Official Communist Newspaper, during the First Decade of the Regime Instalment in Romania” from Martina Topić (ed), *Women and the Media in Capitalism and Socialism: An Ecofeminist Inquiry*, London: Intellect (forthcoming in 2022).
- Cantacuzino Alexandrina, *Femeile în fața dreptului de vot. Programul de luptă al Grupării Femeilor Române [Women and the right to vote. The fighting program of the Romanian Women’s Group]*, Bucharest, Capital City Printing House, 1929.
- Câncea Paraschiva, *Mișcarea pentru emanciparea femeii în România [The Movement for the Emancipation of Women in Romania]*, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1976.
- Cerkez Catherine, *Munca femeii și consecințele ei pentru familie și societate [Women’s work and its consequences for family and society]*, in R. Catargi, I. C., Chiriacescu, *Femeia în noua epocă a omenirii [Woman in the new age of mankind]*, Bucharest, Graphic workshops Sunrise, 1929.
- Constantiniu Florin, *O istorie sinceră a poporului român [An Honest History of the Romanian People]*, Bucharest, Enciclopedic Univers Publishing House, 1997.
- Coroamă Radu, Neaguțu Mariana, Ilie Oana, *Comunismul în România 1945–1989 [Communism in Romania 1945–1989]*, Bucharest, National Museum of Romanian History, 2007.

²⁰⁴ Radu Coroamă et al., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

- Deletant Dennis, *România sub regimul communist [Romania under the communist regime]*, Bucharest, Civic Academy, 2006.
- Fischer-Galați Stephen, *The New Rumania. From People's Democracy to Socialist Republic*, Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1969.
- Fischer-Galați Stephen (coord.), *The Communist Parties of Eastern Europe*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1979
- Fischer-Galați Stephen, *Eastern Europe in the 1980s*, Boulder, Westview, 1981.
- Fotino George, *Contribution à l'étude des origines de l'ancien droit coutumier roumain, Un chapitre de l'histoire de la propriété au moyen âge [Contribution to the study of the origins of the old Romanian customary law, a chapter in the history of property in the Middle Ages]*, Paris, 1926.
- Gabanyi Anneli Ute, *Literatura și politică în România după 1945 [Literature and politics in Romania after 1945]*, Bucharest, Romanian Cultural Foundation, 2001.
- George Damian, "Femeia în istoria românilor" ["Women in the history of Romanians"] in *Jurnalul din Botoșani și Dorohoi*, March 8, 2011.
- George Damian, *Cum era viața românelor în Evul Mediu, între bătăi, urzeli și violuri [What was the life of Romanian women in the Middle Ages, between beatings, warps and rapes]*, in *Vice*, February 12, 2016.
- Georgescu Elena and Georgescu Titu, *Mișcarea democratică și revoluționară a femeilor din România [The democratic and revolutionary movement of women in Romania]*, Romanian Writing Publishing House, Craiova, 1975.
- Iorga Nicolae, *Viața femeilor în trecutul românesc [Women in the life of our nation – faces, customs, deeds, testimonies]*, Bucharest, Cartex Publishing House, 2014 [1910].
- Jowitt Kenneth, *Revolutionary Breakthroughs and National Development. The Case of Romania, 1944-1965*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1971.
- Mihăilescu Ștefania (ed.), *Emanciparea femeii române. Antologie de texte. 1815–1918 [The emancipation of the Romanian woman. Anthology of texts. 1815–1918]*, vol. 1, Bucharest, Ecumenica Publishing House, 2001.
- Mihăilescu Ștefania, *Din istoria feminismului românesc: studiu și antologie de texte (1929–1948) [From the history of Romanian feminism: study and anthology of texts (1929–1948)]*, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2006.
- Nicolaescu Mădălina (ed.), *Cine suntem noi? Despre identitatea femeilor din România modernă [Who are we? About the identity of women in modern Romania]*, Bucharest, Anima Publishing House, 1996.
- Popescu Camelia, "Lupta pentru dreptul de vot feminin în România interbelică" ["The fight for women's suffrage in interwar Romania"] in *Historia*, Available at: www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/lupta-pentru-dreptul-de-vot-feminin-in-romania-interbelica, Accessed on June 3, 2020.
- Popescu Anicuța, „Instituția căsătoriei și condiția juridică a femeii din Țara Românească și Moldova în sec.XVII” ["The institution of marriage and the legal condition of women in Wallachia and Moldova in the 17th century"] in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, 23, 1972, nr. 1, pp. 55–80.
- Persak Krzysztof and Kaminski Lukasz, *A handbook of the communist security apparatus in East Central Europe 1944–1989*, Warsaw, Institute of national remembrance, 2005.
- Rădăceanu Eugenia, *Cuvinte pentru femei [Words for women]*, 3rd edition, Bucharest, U.F.M.R. Publishing House, 1945.
- Rădăceanu Eugenia, *După doi ani [After two years]* in *Femeia muncitoare*, octombrie–noiembrie, 1946.
- Rădulescu Andrei, *Dreptul de moștenire al soțului supraviețuitor [The right of inheritance of the surviving spouse]*, Bucharest, 1925.
- Ștefan I.M. and Firoiu V., *Sub semnul Minervei. Femei de seamă din trecutul românesc [Under the sign of Minerva. Notable women from the Romanian past]*, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1975.

-
- Sachelarie Ovid, "Privilegiul masculinității în Țara Românească până la jumătatea secolului al XVII-lea" ["The privilege of masculinity in Wallachia until the middle of the 17th century"] in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, XXIII, 1970, 3, pp. 439–499.
- Shafir Michael, *Romania. Politics, Economics, and Society. Political Stagnation and Simulated Change*, London, Boulder, Frances Pinter, 1985.
- Topić Martina (ed), *Women and the Media in Capitalism and Socialism: An Ecofeminist Inquiry*, London: Intellect, forthcoming in 2022.
- Ungureanu Laurențiu, „Portretul femeii în presa interbelică. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Ciorapii acopăr picioarele lipsite de baie’” ["The Portrait of the Woman in the Interwar Press. Nicolae Iorga: ‘Socks cover the feet without a bath’"] in *Historia*, February 1, 2014, Available at www.historia.ro/sectiune/general/articol/portretul-femeii-in-presa-interbelica-nicolae-iorga-ciorapii-acopar-picioarele-lipsite-de-baie, Accessed on May 21, 2020.
- Voinescu Alice, *Femeia intelectuală în familie și gospodărie* [*The intellectual woman in the family and the household*] in Archive of the Romanian Broadcasting Company, November 23, 1939, dossier nr. 11/1939.