

# The Romanian Communist Propaganda and the Public Opinion The Case of the Atheist —Scientific Propaganda in Alba County\*

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## Introduction

**M**Y PAPER<sup>1</sup> proposes an analysis of the manner in which the atheist-scientific propaganda was organized at the level of Alba County and it follows two main objectives. The first one refers to the institutional dimension, more precisely to the identification of those central institutions, respectively the local (county) ones involved in the transmission of the atheist propagandist message. The second perspective evaluates the way in which the public opinion from Alba County reacted to this type of propaganda.

The present research is based on the archive documents created by Alba's County Committee, respectively those of the CC of the RCP, during the study period (1968–1989), to which has been added a series of works that approach the topic of religion from a Marxist-ideological perspective.

Being considered an important part in the formation process of the new socialist man, the atheist-scientific education was organized as an activity coordinated by the party organs and sometimes in collaboration with mass and communal organizations. From this perspective, my paper focuses not only on the identification of those institutions involved in the support of the atheist-scientific propaganda, but it also tries to emphasize the influence that the modifications in the cultural politics of the RCP had on their specific structures and forms of activity.

The attitude of the population from Alba County towards the atheist-scientific propaganda will be approached as an example of creative resistance against the Romanian communist regime. Coined by Stephen Kotkin, the creative resistance refers to the little tactics of habit, namely those behaviors, actions, attitudes employed by

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people in order to avoid or subvert the meaning of the official written and unwritten rules governing appropriate behavior without breaking them.<sup>2</sup> In this case, these little tactics of habit were employed not only by a small part of the population, especially the one belonging to the protestant cults, but also by those committed to applying it (party members, propagandists, teachers). My approach of the creative resistance subject will strictly include only those aspects which concern the reactions of the population towards the content of the atheist propaganda proving its obvious failure. Its activities were generally oriented towards certain target groups (youth, laborers from the mining exploitation and forestry areas, the commuters and the rural population), and were focused on certain geographical areas of the county (especially mountains' areas and remote rural centers). A party report from 1986 referring to the level of religiosity of the county's population identified the presence of the following officially recognized cults: Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, Baptist, Adventist, Pentecostal, Mosaic, respectively unrecognized (Jehovah's witnesses, God's Army etc.) on the county's territory.<sup>3</sup>

The main objectives of the atheist-scientific propaganda were: firstly, to destroy the religion as a social phenomenon with the arguments of historical and dialectic materialism and secondly, to create a scientific materialistic ideology to replace it.<sup>4</sup> In other words, an atheist-scientific perspective over the world involved the disapproval of religion as a form of social and political subordination, but also the acquisition of some instruments or the theoretical knowledge which allowed the scientific understanding of the evolution of the world's material nature. It results from the analysis of the party's documents a sense identity between the syntagmas "atheist-scientific" and "materialist-scientific," starting from the purpose of the activities developed under this label. It refers to the explaining and understanding of the world based on scientific arguments meant to demonstrate that the evolution of the material world is the result of some interactions, processes and not of some supernatural intervention, therefore the focus on the practical, demonstrative issues which accompanied the atheist-scientific propaganda.

At central level, the CC's Propaganda and Agitation Section (hereafter abbreviated as PAS) of the RCP<sup>5</sup> was responsible for the formulation of the main thematic directions and organizational solutions which integrated the atheist-scientific propaganda within the political education of the masses according to their education, economic or social affiliation. All the proposals to organize this part of the party's propaganda were approved by the CC's Secretariat of the RCP. Next, they were sent in territory at the level of the counties' party committees, where they were acknowledged to the committee's Bureau or Secretariat of a certain county.<sup>6</sup>

Later, the county's committee Bureau elaborated a general measures plan which frequently was nothing more than a mere reproduction of the measures sent by the CC.<sup>7</sup> Based on this plan and according to the specificities of the performed activities, the PAS of the county's committee guided the propaganda sectors of the municipal, towns' and communes' committees, of the party's organizations from different state institutions, of mass and communal organizations to elaborate their own action

plans through the use of their own resources and organizational structures.<sup>8</sup> Based on the reports received from all these, the county's committee, along with PAS' contribution, sent to the CC a final report regarding the implementation of measures imposed by Bucharest. Although the County Committee's Secretariat was not officially involved in the current problems connected to the development of the party's propaganda, there was an indirect control on behalf of this organism regarding the supervision of this particular sector. This control was exercised through a secretary in charge of propaganda, through the approval of working plans of the committees' sections or through the common nominal component of the secretaries with that of the Bureau's members.

The main instrument of the atheist-scientific propaganda within the party's organizations was the party's education. This was held once or twice a month or to insure a greater frequency of the students within the general assemblies of the party organizations, in urban as well as in rural areas. Teaching within the party's education was organized on four levels: courses, conferences, seminars and lectures, followed by a dialogue between the lecturers and their audience, in the form of questions and answers based on the previously approached topics. The party's education also included the evening Marxist-Leninist universities which could organize branches where necessary, in industrial plants, state institutions or in different towns.<sup>9</sup>

The atheist-scientific educational themes were found in the curriculum of the party's education from Alba County during the entire analyzed period (1968–1989). Those themes were approached as main topics or as part of the problems connected to the explanation of the RCP's

materialist-scientific perspective on the evolution of the world. Moreover, the organizational structures and the contents of the atheist-scientific propaganda reflected the changes in the politics of the RCP which stemmed from the new ideological and cultural program. Therefore, after the plenary session from 3-5 November 1971 it is noticeable an obvious specialization of the party's education forms in the field of the atheist-scientific propaganda: in the school year 1971–1972, within the evening Marxist-Leninist university there was created a materialist-scientific education section, while during the next year, 1971–1973, the number of courses specialized on materialist-scientific education increased.<sup>10</sup>

The XI<sup>th</sup> Congress of the RCP and the one on Political Education and Socialist Culture from 1976 determined a new reorganization in the party structures responsible with the development of the propaganda. Therefore, the party cabinets were reorganized under the name of county cabinets of ideological and political-educational activity, having six specialized staff communities, one of which was focused on the problems of the materialist-scientific education.<sup>11</sup>

After Nicolae Ceausescu's discourse from August 1983 (the so-called Mangalia theses) there were new changes meant to improve the quality of the atheist-scientific propaganda contents through the raising of the education level of those called to pursue it. Thus, at the level of the county's party committee a specialized staff of experienced propagandists in the field of atheist education was formed. Within

the County's cabinet of ideological and political-educational activity a laboratory of materialist-scientific education was created. Its attributions included the proper preparation of the cadres as well as all mass activities.<sup>12</sup>

After the CC plenary of the RCP from 3–5 November 1971 which delineated the main guidelines for improving the political-ideological activity of the party new organisms were created and specialized in propaganda. At the end of 1971, after its reorganization, the State Committee for Culture and Arts was replaced by the Council of Socialist Culture and Education (hereafter abbreviated as CSCE). This central organism, subordinated to CC and then to the Council of Ministers fulfilled the role of a minister of culture. Therefore, its main attribution was to insure the existence of a politically and ideologically proper content of all the cultural creation activities. Also, the Council had in subordination the entire system of cultural establishments from the country, as well as the institutions (so-called centrals) from cinematography, cultural and historical heritage, industry of the book and typographies. CSCE was to have subordinated in all the counties the committees for culture and socialist education.<sup>13</sup> The analysis of the party's documents highlighted the fact that the attributions of these committees in the development of the atheist-scientific propaganda in the county of Alba were taken from 1976 onwards by the councils for socialist political education and culture, subject on which I'll dwell upon later.

A different modification brought by the CC's plenary of the RCP from November 3–5, 1971 was the foundation in 1972 of a Central Commission, or county, municipal, town and communes councils for the dissemination of scientific knowledge. These commissions, organized on communal basis, were subordinated to the local councils that belonged to the biggest mass organization, the Socialist Unity Front. Using the entire system of mass cultural establishments, the local commissions organized under the supervision of the local party committees, courses, debates, demonstrations, film projections, slideshows, exhibitions and scientific brigades meant to contribute to the dissemination amongst the population of that knowledge that deepened the scientific perspective over the world and which stimulated the interest of the participants for the contemporary science and technology.<sup>14</sup>

The contribution of the newly created institutions (after 1971) to the progress of atheist-scientific propaganda in Alba County is linked to the national festival "Cântarea României" (Song to Romania). Launched at the end of 1976, this manifestation included artistic and technical mass competitions, incorporating on all levels professionals but mainly amateurs.<sup>15</sup>

Following the measures initiated by the Romanian communist regime to improve the youth's technical and productive knowledge, the National Festival "Cântarea României" included an instructive part that was to complete the organization of competitions in the field of technical creation. Thus, the commissions for the dissemination of scientific knowledge organized at the houses of culture, clubs or community centers from Alba County lectures, evenings of Q&A, scientific experience exchanges, slideshows and movies on topics concerning the formation of the

universe, natural phenomena and celestial bodies and the evolution of men meant to demolish the creationist version of the world promoted by religious cults.<sup>16</sup>

As I mentioned before, the committees for socialist culture and education had the task to promote a socialist-educational content in all the cultural fields. Therefore, the artistic manifestations of the “Cântarea României” festival were supposed to create an adequate atheist repertoire for the popular theatres, for the agitation artistic brigades and their purpose was to get as many people involved as possible, both as spectators and creators of it.<sup>17</sup>

As opposed to the committees for culture and socialist education, the councils of political education and socialist culture created in 1976 after the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, had to organize and guide the “entire activity of ideological, political, cultural-artistic education, the dissemination of knowledge at the level of counties, municipia, towns and communes, industrial units and institutions within which they functioned.”<sup>18</sup> More precisely, these party and state organisms functioned as some institutional extensions of the local committees of the PCR through which the latest could officially control and coordinate the progress of the propaganda activity. As I mentioned before, the entire atheist-scientific propaganda reverted to the councils for political education and socialist culture, probably as a mean to relieve the committees of political education and socialist culture of some attributions that didn't belong strictly to the activity of cultural creation, the more so as they took over the supervision of the artistic activities of the national festival “Cântarea României.”

The main forms of atheist-scientific propaganda developed by these councils were the cycles of the thematic lectures, the practical demonstrations, the debates, symposia, in whose organization, in collaboration with mass and communal organizations or educational institutions, they could use the entire existing network of cultural establishments as well as the so-called scientific brigades. Formed by party and state activists and a series of intellectuals (doctors, engineers, professors, lawyers) who ideally should have been recruited from the members of local communities to enhance not only the quality but also the social prestige of the organized activities, these brigades, some of which specialized in materialist-scientific education, organized meetings, Q&A sessions, practical demonstrations, projections of scientific films in remote areas, construction sites, forestry and mining units from Alba County where it was noticed a proliferation of the religious phenomena as well as a lack of organization of party activities in this field.<sup>19</sup>

The youth from Alba County represented a target group for the atheist-scientific propaganda and the educational means were adapted to the age and vocational characteristics of these. In this case also, the atheist-scientific propaganda aimed to the acquisition and application by the youth in their daily life of that scientific knowledge which permitted them to understand the phenomena and the processes in nature and society through the perspective of scientific materialism. In the case of the school youth, an important contribution had the school subjects taught in

educational units, especially physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, geography as well as practical activities associated to them (experiments, demonstrations, case studies in laboratories and workshops), which had to form and consolidate based on scientific arguments the materialistic and atheist conceptions of the world. Also, in schools, some of the classes were to be dedicated to the atheist-scientific education, during which the teachers had to approach atheist topics, paying more attention to those children on whom families exercised “religious influences.” The teachers’ attributions in the promotion of atheist-scientific education also included the planning in collaboration with mass organizations of extra-curricular activities, more often in competition with those organized by the religious authorities, such as the seminars “The friends of scientific truth” for pioneers, the “atheism seminars” for high-school students, school trips, sports competitions, museum visits, collective movie watching.<sup>20</sup>

As for the UTC organizations, the atheist-scientific activity was mainly directed to educational activities organized in collaboration with party committees and the local councils for political education and socialist culture. These took place within the general assemblies of the organizations, under the form of competitions on various specific topics, such as the one regarding the evolution of the universe, held at all administrative levels of the county for several years or the one organized at the end of the 1980s called “The grandeur of man.” Other educational activities were the meetings of the scientific brigades with the youth from industrial plants and working sites, actions with an atheist character such as “Cultural-Scientific Almanac,” “Youth asks, the specialists respond” at the youth clubs and in the singles dorms, from the vicinity of large county’s industrial units. At the same time, the substitution of the religious meaning with a laic one concerning certain events in the youth’s life drew the attention of party and youth organizations.<sup>21</sup>

The unions were also involved in the development of the atheist-scientific mass education. These, though their own cultural institutions (houses of culture, clubs, libraries, workers’ universities) organized a series of theoretical activities in the form of lectures, symposia, debates regarding the PCR’s perspective on religion, the opposition between religion and science, the scientific explanation of evolution in the material culture, etc., which were supported by practical ones, such as movies, slide-shows, exhibitions. The method of lectures, of debates on previously identified topics represented subjects included in the curriculum of the union’s political education or classes organized for those members who were not yet included in any institutionalized form of political education.<sup>22</sup>

The analysis of the public opinion’s reaction from the county of Alba regarding the atheist-scientific education is based on party documents, more precisely on the records of the Bureau and Secretariat sessions. The party’s reports and discussions during the meetings about the atheist propaganda highlight two main aspects: firstly, the obvious failure of the atheist-scientific propaganda organized by the party’s organs and by those subordinated to them, and secondly the creative resistance of

the individual and also of the religious communities pertaining to the protestant denominations. As I will further emphasize, the atheist-scientific propaganda pursued by the party's organs from Alba County was mainly focused on the officially recognized and unrecognized protestant confessions by the Romanian state. This was due to the raising number of the adherents of protestant cults, while the number of the members of the Orthodox and Catholic communities was constant or even decreasing. At the same time, the functioning manner of the protestant communities was a decentralized one which allowed a flexible response and a rapid adaptation to the official constraints. The external financing of these cults as well as certain constraints imposed on its members who conflicted with the politics of the state and of the party (the interdiction to use arms or to work on Saturdays) also represented arguments for a closer supervision.

During the entire analyzed period (1968–1989), in spite of the optimism portrayed in the documents sent by the CC of RCP, the Alba County's party committee was confronted with a series of hardships concerning the organization and the unfolding of the atheist-scientific propaganda. The main problem was the inadequacy of the content, methodology and strategy used in this activity. Overlooking the fact that a conversion to atheism involved a lengthy period of persuasion, the party, communal and mass organizations, the different committees and councils of socialist education and the cultural units were not permanently, systematically and militantly involved in organizing actions "of dissemination of scientific knowledge, for the release of people from the influence of mysticism." The attitude of those responsible to disseminate the scientific knowledge lacked continuity and a real interest to adjust the content of their message to the concrete people's preoccupations or to the realities in the territory. Therefore, more than once, the atheist-scientific manifestations were characterized by an extreme formalism, resuming itself to the transmission of general, stereotyped information, thus unconvincing for the audience.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the weak organization of the educational activities, including the atheist-scientific ones, was enhanced by an inadequate infrastructure or its misuse, especially in the rural areas. Consequently, some cultural houses weren't connected to the electricity network of the village, they were unheated during the winters or the participants had to bring their own chairs from home. If there was a minimal endowment, it wasn't used due to a lack of staff (for example, they couldn't organize artistic groups because of the lack of music teachers), or due to the disinterest of the decisional factors who preferred to rent the spaces for weddings or other private events instead of worrying about a useful planning of the youth's spare time or of the other inhabitants.<sup>24</sup>

The discussion of these problems by the party leaders from the county level was mostly accompanied by the highlighting of the ways in which the members of the religious communities, especially of the protestant ones, used to neutralize the atheist offensive of the party. Moreover, their operational manner was even considered to be an inspiration for the specific activities of the local party committees. For ex-

ample, during a discussion, a member of the Secretariat recommended that those in charge of the atheist-scientific education should be as fanatic in their activity as the representatives of the religious denominations and that the party's or UTC's secretaries should be as close to the members of their organizations as a priest or a pastor was to his congregation, by being aware of their problems.<sup>25</sup> In other words, what the leaders of the party identified as the main field in which the religious cults gained points in front of the atheist party education was the direct personal relationship that the pastor and religious community established with its prospective members and which roughly opposed the formalism, the discursive and thematic clichés of the party propaganda. Also, the proselytism was entrusted to some persons whose jobs' nature (public relations, hospitals, postal offices, and schools) allowed them a direct contact with lots of people, while providing them the legal cover up necessary for such an action. At the same time, this tactics of proximity as the main instrument of conversion functioned especially when the target groups/individuals were in distress (sick people in hospitals, financial difficulties or youth at the beginning of their life together).<sup>26</sup> The inadequacy of the content and the organization according to the targeted social categories represented another downside of the atheist-scientific propaganda, which the religious cults took advantage of. The Catholic priests and Protestant pastors especially of rural areas focused on the apologetic activities designed for the youth, for whom they organized attractive activities besides the catechetical courses which were meant to bring them closer to the church. They organized teams and sports competitions, church choirs, pilgrimages, participation to the services, but also collective watching of movies, "mystical" music bands and took advantage of the technical utilities of their churches which surpassed the ones existing in the cultural houses. Moreover, in spite of the existing pressures, the population of the county continued to respect the religious character of some major events in life (baptisms, weddings, funerals).<sup>27</sup>

The professional performance of those involved in the organization and unfolding of the atheist propaganda did not enhance the general course of action either. Therefore, the lecturers sent in the territory were badly prepared, they organized rushed meetings when they didn't refuse to travel to the remote rural areas of the county where there was a proliferation of the religious activity.<sup>28</sup> Not only were the teachers unimaginative in order to extract and present to children those materialistic conclusions during their classes, but they tacitly approved their participation to the local religious events by refusing to get involved in the organization of cultural or sports events which competed against the religious ones, or even by participating along with the children to religious events. A similar problem was raised by party members who not only did they regularly participate to local religious manifestations, including those of religious sects, but they also belonged to church choirs or parochial councils, without the party's organizations ever taking measures against them.<sup>29</sup>

The same passiveness or better off complicity is to be found in other levels of the society. For example, when the problem of firing those members of religious sects



who refused to work on Saturdays appeared, the chiefs would intervene motivating that the employees took the day off in the respective day of the week.<sup>30</sup>

Sometimes, this apparent conformation was replaced by a direct contestation of the atheist-scientific politics of the party. For example, some individuals would publicly display the signs of their faith (crosses, icons), the local intellectuals would avoid participating in atheist actions or the peasants would refuse working for the harvest for the CAPs on Sundays and would go to church instead. As a consequence, the party organizations would bring workers from local industrial units to replace them.<sup>31</sup>

A worrying high number of party members faced with the situation of choosing between the party and the religious cult would choose in favor of the last. The appeal to the Secretariat of the County's Committee against the decision of exclusion from the party motivated by religious options was usually initiated by the active members of protestant cults, mainly because there was a certain degree of tolerance for the dominant Orthodox religious community. Also, the dialogue between the Secretariat's members and those threatened by the exclusion from the party offers interesting details regarding the interpretation which the latter gave to the atheist-scientific propaganda. Asked by the secretaries of the county's committee's secretaries what influenced their decision to adhere to the religious cults, the majority would invoke the argument of a "calling," of a revelation, more or less mediated which would indicate them the Bible and not the party's documents (The Status of RCP, The Code of Socialist Ethics and Equity) as moral guides. By adopting the biblical teachings, they said they stopped drinking, provoking scandals, cursing or cheating their wives, they became not only honest people but also exemplary party members. From the perspective of the atheist propaganda, the fact that the source of such a desirable behavior was not inspired by the party's documents was a problem because those in question not only did they not seem to understand the doctrinal incompatibility between the materialistic worldview and the religious one, but they would also devaluate it thinking that the effect, an adequate moral behavior, was the same whether it was based on party documents or the Bible. Even under the threat of losing one's job or of having "stains" on the personal file or on the files of their family members, in none of the cases presented to the Secretariat had those in question abdicated from their faith in order to maintain their party membership, even if sometimes they had considerable seniority in PCR or a series of personal accomplishments within the party.<sup>32</sup>

Another contested element of the atheist-scientific propaganda by the former party members referred to the credibility of the biblical writings, especially regarding the creationist episode. Thus, all those questioned about this topic, even if they couldn't always argument in favor of their position, would declare their trust in the Bible and in the existence of a supernatural force which not only created the world but it continued to make its presence felt. Sometimes, if the cultural level permitted, as it was the case of a teacher excluded from the educational system because she was a member of the Pentecostal sect, the evolutionist theory about the existence

of humans was repudiated based on the fact that the material evidence and direct experience invoked by the party propaganda weren't able to confirm this.<sup>33</sup>

## Conclusions

**I**N MY paper, I identified the main institutions involved in the organization of the atheist-scientific propaganda, and I emphasized the influence which the changes from the cultural politics of PCR had on their specific structure and forms of activity. Also, the analysis of the public perception of this type of propaganda portrayed those individual little tactics of habit which illustrated its failure. □

## Notes

1. For the purposes of this article I have resorted to the following abbreviations: The Romanian Communist Party (Partidul Comunist Român) will be henceforth rendered as RCP; SPA for Propaganda and Agitation Section; CC will be used for Central Committee, SJAN Alba for The County National Archives Alba, SANIC for Direcția Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale (The Central Historical National Archives, Bucharest).
2. Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain. Stalinism as a Civilization* (London, Berkeley: University of California, 1995), 154. Related to the subject of resistance in Romanian society see for example, **Sanda Cordoș**, “**Clandestine Reading in Communist Romania: A Few Considerations**,” *Transylvanian Review*, 2 (2010): 65–77.
3. SJAN Alba – Fond Secretariatul Comitetului Județean al PCR Alba (hereafter abbreviated as DJAN Alba-FSCJ), 4/1986, unnumbered folios.
4. James Thrower, Marxist-Leninist ‘Scientific Atheism’ and the Study of Religion and Atheism in the USSR (Berlin, 1983), 164-165; J.M. Bochenski, “Marxism –Leninism and Religion,” in Bohran R. Bociurkiw, John W. Strong, eds., *Religion and Atheism in the USSR and Eastern Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 5–10. Another article that deals with communist propaganda is Ioan Tomoioagă, “Consideration sur le rôle de l’affiche dans la strategie communicationnelle du communisme en Roumanie (1945–1965),” *Transylvanian Review: Thinking the Future through the Past*, XX, Supplement 2:1 (2011): 743–755.
5. SANIC, Fond CC al PCR-SPA, File 5/1969, folios 58–66.
6. SJAN Alba, Fond Comitetul Județean al PCR Alba, (hereafter abbreviated as DJAN Alba-FCJ), File 3/1980, 109; 3/1983, 310.
7. *Ibid.*, 23/1986, unnumbered folios; FSCJ, File 1/1986, unnumbered folios.
8. DJAN Alba-FCJ, File 5/1970, 60; File 24/1971, 208; File 14/1972, 40.
9. *Ibid.*, File 24/1971, 219–211.
10. *Ibid.*, 209; File 14/1973, 41.
11. SANIC, Fond CC al PCR-SPA, File 5/1976, 8 f-v.
12. SJAN Alba-FSCJ, File 3/1983, 276; FCJ; File 13/1983, 15v-16.

13. Ibid., File 15/1971, 276-278, Călin Hentea, "Ghiveciul propagandistic comunist, iluzia libertății și „șopârlele” studențești," *Historia*, on-line edition available at [http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv\\_web/general/articol/ghiveciul-propagandistic-comunist-iluzia-libertatii-soparlele-studentes](http://www.historia.ro/exclusiv_web/general/articol/ghiveciul-propagandistic-comunist-iluzia-libertatii-soparlele-studentes), accessed October 25, 2011.
14. SANIC, Fond CC al PCR-Cancelarie, File 49/1972, 5, 70–72, 120–122; File 7/1972, 36–38; SJAN Alba-FCJ, File 11/1972, 228.
15. "Festivalul național al educației și culturii socialiste," *Scântea*, November 28, 1976, 1.
16. SJAN Alba-FCJ, File 6/1979, 19; File 13/1983, 17v.
17. Ibid., File 23/1986, unnumbered folio.
18. Ibid., File 6/1976, 99.
19. Ibid., File 6/1976, 319v; File 3/1980, 133v; File 13/1983, 10v.
20. Ibid., File 13/1983, 17v; File 9/1984, 43v; Fond CC al PCR-SPA; File 5/1976, 63.
21. SJAN Alba-FCJ, File 13/1975, 84; File 7/1976, 28v; File 4/1980, 74; File 13/1983, 10; File 5/1985, 126v; File 23/1986, 3v.
22. Ibid., 13/1975, 84v, FSCJ 8/1988, unnumbered folios, Fond CC al PCR-SPA, 22/1970, 29–33.
23. Ibid., File 6/1979, 20; File 5/1985, 127v; File 23/1986, 4f; Fond CC al PCR-SPA; File 5/1969, 3–4.
24. SJAN Alba-FCJ, File 3/1969, 217; File 8/1971, 80; File 8/1972, 168, 172; File 9/1974, 292v, 295v, 297v.
25. Ibid., File 8/1970, 311; File 4/1971, 68.
26. Ibid., File 7/1976, 30v; File 3/1983, 311v-312; File 2/1981, 199.
27. Ibid., File 9/1974, 294; File 7/1976, 30; File 6/1979, 20v; File 5/1985, 127v, 173–174v; File 3/1980, 115v; File 23/1986, 4.
28. Ibid., File 9/1974, 294v, 312; File 23/1986, 4.
29. Ibid., File 5/1970, 41–42, 44; File 24/1971, 214; File 14/1973, 43; File 3/1980, 115v.
30. Ibid., File 3/1980, 115.
31. Ibid., File 9/1979, 294, 297; File 3/1980, 116v; File 7/1976, 22.
32. Ibid., File 13/1971, 107–111; File 11/1975, 114–126; File 7/1976, 101–103, 286–287; File 12/1978, 6; File 17/1978, 116–117; File 6/1980, 307v, 310.
33. Ibid., File 13/1971, 108; File 11/1975, 118v.

### **Abstract**

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My paper proposes an analysis of the manner in which the atheist-scientific propaganda was organized at the level of Alba County and it follows two main objectives. The first one refers to the institutional dimension, more precisely to the identification of those central institutions, respectively the local (county) ones involved in the transmission of the atheist propagandist message. The second perspective evaluates the way in which the public opinion from Alba County reacted to this type of propaganda.

### **Keywords**

propaganda, public opinion, communism, atheism, creative resistance

