

méridionale, la Serbie, la Grèce et bien d'autres lieux, pensant et agissant toujours pour l'avenir et le progrès de son peuple.

Enfin, Svetla Janeva nous offre des « *Nouvelles données sur l'activité économique de la famille Čalakov* » (pp. 596–605) tirées des documents ottomans et bulgares conservés aux archives historiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale « Saint Cyrille et Méthode » de Sofia, informations qui se réfèrent à la région de Plovdiv de la fin des années quarante et du début des années cinquante du XIX^e siècle.

Nous trouvons dans ce volume des contributions scientifiques précieuses dues tant aux savants bien connus qu'aux jeunes historiens, études qui représentent un hommage mérité par Virginia Paskaleva, une présence éminente dans l'historiographie bulgare contemporaine.

Constantin Iordan

ȘERBAN VOINEA, *Dictatura și Democrația. Intervenții la Radio Paris destinate României, 1954–1957*, Ed. by Paul H. Stahl, vol. I, Paris, 2007, 306 p.

The brutal fall down of the Iron Curtain in Europe insulated the countries that the Soviet army controlled. It has remained feeble threads between the people of the two blocks. The radio broadcasting compensated this lack of bridges. They informed the citizens and formed the civic and political convictions. In this sense, in Romania, the Radio France International, Radio Free Europe or The Voice of America, as well as the names of Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca or the younger Vladimir Tismăneanu and Emil Hurezeanu, were popular. It has to highlight that these radio interventions were conceived in the frame of a long term strategy of media communication. In addition, many of the speakers were qualified in the theoretical fields of social sciences. Their statements based on theoretical analysis and arguments.

A forerunner of this broadcasting was Șerban Voinea. I have traced few lines of his biography in other place (see above the review of his book "Neither war, nor bolshevism"). The interventions in this volume have as subjects the core events in the communist politics (like the 1956 Hungarian revolution), as well as longer economical and social policies (rural collectivization, destalinization, forced industrialization). A convinced Social Democrat, Voinea unveils in his interventions a firm anticommunist commitment. He predicts thus the total failure of the communist regimes. A strong thread of his argumentation is anchored in the infringement of the constitutional rights and liberties in the communist countries (Voinea refers to the Hungarian "insurrection" in 1956 and to the smothering of the workers movements in East Germany few years before). Thus Voinea clearly states: a democratic regime and a free society could not survive if the individual rights are absent.

Other set of arguments comes from a precise and concise analysis of the economical performances of the communist policies. The statistics shows that the communist economies are inefficient and deemed to the failure. Voinea warns in this respect that the attempts to reform these economies are tricky. The principles of organizing them are wrong and should be abandoned.

An important number of Voinea's interventions are dedicated to Romania. He states that the presence of the Soviet army is in fact a military occupation, which serves to the economical spoliation (by the SOVROM-s, Soviet-Romanian mixed enterprises). The failure of rural collectivization is denounced too. Voinea focuses on the local events that showed the dictatorial lead of the regime: the assassination of the communist Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu, the false destalinization in the 1950s, the attempts to rewrite the national history of Romania. These aspects became obvious and characteristic to the Romanian communism much later (the falsification of the national history, for instance). Still, the Voinea's merit is that he anticipated and unveiled them in those days even.

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