



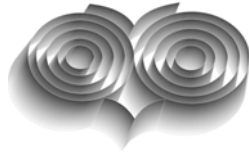
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History



THE PARIS PEACE TREATIES OF 1919-1920 HAVE RECOGNIZED THE DE FACTO EXISTENCE OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL UNITARY STATE

Viorica MOISUC

Abstract: *In the Note to the Central Powers on December 1st, 1916, the Entente stated that “peace will not be possible as long as the reparation of violated rights and freedoms, the recognition of the principle of nationalities and the free existence of small states are not guaranteed.” It was, therefore, the firm commitment of the Allies to reorganize the European continent on the basis of the principle of nationalities. Under pressure from public opinion, protests by representatives of Austro-Hungarian nations, but especially due to documents adopted at the Congress of Nations of Austria / Hungary in April 1918, in June, President Wilson finally clarified his position on the issue of the independent states constitution and implicitly the dismemberment of the double monarchy. At the same time, in a document from May 20, 1918, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that “the independence of nation-states” was created thought itself.*

Keywords: *Central Powers, WWI, Treaty of Paris, Nationalities, Self-determination, Negotiations*

World War I found a Europe troubled by the old unresolved issue of *nationalities* – a natural consequence of the fact that, for centuries, principles other than that of nationalities had dominated the theory and practice of the states’ formation. The three great empires of Europe, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Germany, held under oppression many nations or parts of nations to which they denied equal rights with the dominant nations, often minority (the case of Hungarians and Austrians compared to Slavs and Romanians – majority). The policy of denationalization systematically practiced in these empires has radicalized the national liberation movement.

In the **Note** to the Central Powers on December 1st, 1916, the Entente stated that “peace will not be possible as long as the reparation of violated rights and freedoms, the recognition of the principle of nationalities and the free existence of small states is not guaranteed.”¹

This unequivocal statement was repeated in the Joint **Note** of January 10th, 1917 regarding the aims pursued by the Entente in the war. It was emphasized, among other things the reorganization of Europe based on respect for nationalities; the restoration of Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro; the liberation of the Italians, Slavs, Romanians, Czechoslovaks from foreign domination, the rebirth of Poland.²

Therefore, it was about the firm commitment of the Allies to reorganize the European continent on the basis of the principle of nationalities.

In 1917-1918, in parallel with the radicalization of the national struggle for liberation in multinational empires, a series of programmatic documents have provided an ideological support to this phenomenon. In Russia, the *Declaration of the Rights of the People* of November 2/15, 1917 has animated the struggle of the peoples of Russia, a large number of free states establishing in a short time, including the *Democratic Republic of Moldova* on the territory of the former Bessarabia governorate.

For the oppressed nations of Austria-Hungary, the statement made by President W. Wilson to the US Senate on December 27/8, 1918 – *The 14 points* – has represented the most important ideological support for the post-war organization of the world based on *the principle of nationalities*. However, points 10, 11, 13, which referred strictly to Central Europe, provided only a *wide autonomy* for the nations of Austria-Hungary, the evacuation of Romania, Montenegro, and the reconstitution of Poland.

Under the pressure of the public opinion, of the protests of the representatives of Austro-Hungarian nations, but especially due to documents adopted at the Congress of Nations of Austria / Hungary in

¹ George Sofronie, *Le Principe des Nationalités et les Traite de Paix de 1919-1920*, Bucarest, F.d., Universul, 1937, p. 18.

² Manley O. Hudson, “The trial of the Kaiser”, in E.M. House, Ch. Seymour, *What really happened at Paris; the story of the Peace Conference*, New York, 1921, pp. 165-166.

April 1918, in June, President Wilson finally clarified his position on the issue of the establishment of independent states and, implicitly, the dismemberment of the double monarchy. At the same time, in a document from May 20th, 1918, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that *“the independence of nation-states” had been created by itself the best way to sanction these deeds is not creation, nor proclamation, but ascertainment.*³

This document recognizes the irreversible dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, recognizes as “acts of sovereignty” the decisions taken by bodies created outside the empire by subjugated nations (National Committees), considers these acts of sovereignty as been final, and all that remained for the future Peace Conference was the mission of “ascertaining them,” thus excluding the idea of the formation of new states by the Great Powers.

By the end of 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was already history. The struggle for national liberation and the decisions of peoples’ self-determination drew a new map in this area of Europe long before the opening of the Paris Peace Conference. In November and December 1918, the Czechoslovak Republic, the Kingdom of the Serbs, of the Croats and Slovenes and the Republic of Poland appeared on the map of Europe. On November 12, after all the attempts to save something from the old empire failed, the Republic of Austria was proclaimed, and on November 16, the Republic of Hungary was established.

The extensive process of national self-determination also included Romanians under the rule of Russia, Austria and Hungary. Between March 27th and December 1st, 1918, Bessarabia⁴, Bukovina⁵,

³ Archive of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Series: Paniers Pichon, vol. V, pp. 139-142.

⁴ In 1812 the Ottoman Empire ceded to the Russian Empire the eastern half of the Autonomous Principality of Moldova (between the Prut and the Dniester). The Russian-Turkish treaty was null and void because the Turks ceded a territory that did not belong to them and did not manage it.

⁵ The Northeastern part of the Autonomous Principality of Moldova traded by the Austrian, Ottoman and Russian Empires in 1774-1775 on gold, precious stones, money and other goods. The ruling prince of Moldova, Grigore Ghica, was assassinated by the Ottomans in collusion with Russia and Austria for his protests against this arbitrary act.

Transylvania, Crișana și Maramureș⁶, Banat⁷ were united with the Old Kingdom through the acts plebiscitary adopted by the Romanian nation. The Unification Documents from Chisinau, Czernowitz and Alba Iulia specified the territorial extent of the provinces that were to be united with the Country, as follows:

- Bessarabia its borders between the Prut, the Dniester, the Black Sea and the old Austrian borders;
- Bucovina – “its old borders to Ceremuș, Colacin and Dniester”;
- Transylvania, Banat between the rivers Mureș, Tisa and Danube and Wallachia.

It should be noted that the decisions taken by the representative bodies of the oppressed nations (national councils, parliaments, etc.) regarding the self-determination and the formation of independent states were acts of national sovereignty. These acts, representing the *national will*, took place in October - December 1918, before or simultaneously with the capitulation of the Central Powers; so the new states were formed on the ruins of Austria-Hungary at a time when the war was not even over.

The Peace Conference was faced with the new political and territorial realities in Central Europe resulting from the will of the peoples. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George was referring to this situation when he said that “Before the powers came to examine the Austrian peace, they were confronted with committed and irreversible deeds – the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – at an unexpectedly rapid pace and in a completely irreparable manner”⁸.

On January 18th, 1918, the proceedings of the Peace Conference opened in Paris in the presence of delegations from 32 states. From the very beginning, in an aristocratic oligarchy, the representatives of the Great Allied and Associated Powers have applied a discriminatory treatment to smaller allies: “limited interest” states (small states) were not even allowed to participate in the debate on the treaties in which they were directly interested.

⁶ Counties in Northwestern Transylvania annexed by the Kingdom of Hungary.

⁷ County in southwestern Muntenia annexed by the Austrian Empire.

⁸ David Lloyd George, *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, vol. I, Yale University Press, New York, 1929, pp. 50-51.

In this context, the Romanian delegation led by Ion I.C. Brătianu and composed of personalities such as Vaida-Voievod, Neagu Flondor, Ioan Pelivan, Constantin Coandă, Victor Antonescu and others, with whom were specialists in finance, economics, law, history, geography, arrived in Paris to support Romania's cause. On February 1st, 1919, the I.I.C. Brătianu presented Romania's position before the Conference. Making a wide incursion in the unfolding of the events of 1916-1917, Brătianu highlighted Romania's participation in the war against the Central Powers as one of the determining elements of the reconstruction of the historical borders. The second category of arguments in support of the national cause was related to the historical and ethnic rights of Romanians in the three provinces to unite with the Old Kingdom of Romania. It was shown, for example that in Transylvania, on the eve of the war, lived over 3 million Romanians, i.e. over 62.5%, the Hungarians being around 700 thousand, i.e. 15%, without Szeklers. Brătianu's demonstration also focused on the policy of denationalization and economic and political oppression, which explained the fact that Romanians lived 95% in villages, and Hungarians formed about 40% of the urban population. In the context of the worsening situation of the nations in Hungary and Austria during the war, the Romanians took power, preparing for the union: "Even since the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Romanian deputies from all counties of Transylvania and Banat, composed of over 100,000 people, demanded in the imposing National Assembly in Alba Iulia on December 1st, 1918 the definitive union of Transylvania and the Romanian regions in Hungary, as well as that of Banat with Romania". Undoubted arguments in support of the cause of union with the Fatherland of Bukovina and Bessarabia completed the picture painted by I.I.C. Brătianu in front of the peace forum.

He specified that representatives of the minorities who lived for centuries with the majority Romanians understood to support the latter's aspirations for National-Political unity – the case of the Saxons, Poles, Jews. As for the Hungarians, he said that "no one can expect the defeated Hungarians to want to unite with a country that they have strived for hundreds of years to rule."⁹ The situation was also true for

⁹ Arch. M.A.E., London Fund, vol .34, tel. 1138/28 May 1918, London, signed Boerescu.

the Russians and minority Ukrainians in Bukovina. The mentality of “masters” and privileged was not compatible either then or in the years to come with the acceptance of the rules of an *equal status* to that of other minorities within a Romanian National State.

If the acts of capitulation of the Central Powers seemed to end the war, for Romania, the period that followed meant another great political-diplomatic-military effort, another great attempt to preserve in its entirety the national territory achieved by the Union of 1918. Hungary and Bulgaria, although they had signed the capitulation and the armistice conventions, refused to accept the situation and resorted to any means to regain the territories over which they considered themselves definitively masters. “It was – says Gheorghe Brătianu – the warlike agitation of the Hungarians beyond the line on which the armistice stopped the armies from Transylvania, which threatened the existence of the entire Romanian population in the counties of Arad, Bihor, Sălaj and Sătmar”¹⁰. Iuliu Maniu, the president of the Transylvanian Board of Directors, communicates daily in Bucharest the atrocities of the Hungarians. Pherechide informed Brătianu in Paris that “the official Hungarian organs take part in them; gangs arrive in armored trains or leave by special train”¹¹.

On March 20th, 1919, Colonel Vix, the Allied military representative in Budapest, handed over to the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Károlyi, the order to withdraw his troops on a new demarcation line in order to protect the population of the Apuseni Mountains. Then the unexpected event of Károlyi’s resignation occurred and the rise to power of Béla Kun. “The new regime, says Brătianu, was only an annex of the Moscow Soviets, with which it had immediately established a close working relationship. Between the activity of the communists from the East and from the West, the situation of Romania became more and more critical”¹².

Indeed, 1919 was perhaps the most difficult year in the history of the assertion of the Romanian national unitary state. Simultaneously with the debate on the Peace Treaties in Paris, Romania defended its western border

¹⁰ Gheorghe Brătianu, *Acțiunea politică militară a României în 1919 în lumina corespondenței diplomatice a lui Ion I.C. Brătianu*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească Publishing House, 1939, p. 52.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 55.

against Bolshevik Hungary, the one on the Dniester in the face of Russian Bolshevik aggression and the south-eastern one against Bulgaria, which no longer wanted to leave Dobrogea. Ion I.C. Brătianu recorded then a worrying reality: “The ignorance of continental issues, as well as the fact that, for England, the great results of the war are achieved by annexing the colonies and destroying the German fleet makes our task very difficult”¹³.

The military conflict with Béla Kun’s Bolsheviks, who had amply proved General Smuts’s pacifist mission “that there was nothing left to do,” was a short one. On May 2nd, the Romanian troops were on the Tisza, i.e. on the alignment established by the 1916 Convention between Romania and the Entente as a border between Romania and Hungary. On May 20th, however, the reorganized Hungarian Red Army attacked the Czechoslovak front, breaking it; the Czech army retreated in disarray. At the same time, Soviet Russia, in collusion with Béla Kun, struck hard on the Dniester, attacking French troops and temporarily occupying Tighina. At the same time, at the Peace Conference, Bulgaria demanded Dobrogea in its entirety or possibly only southern Dobrogea. They used, according to a very coherent plan, the subversive movement in Dobrogea littered with agitators, gangs, pressure groups on allied military authorities, actual military actions and propaganda abroad. In Sofia, delegates from the “Dobrogea” chauvinist committees addressed memorials to the French government’s civil commissioner to support the Bulgarian demands for Dobrogea at the Peace Conference.

In Paris, Bulgarian diplomacy took advantage of the provisions of the treaty of September 25th, 1918 with Germany and Austria-Hungary by which all Dobrogea had been assigned to it. A few days later, Bulgaria capitulated, but the armistice agreement of September 29th, concluded without Romania’s participation, left Dobrogea – through a confusing wording – under Bulgarian, military and administrative occupation, thus stimulating Bulgarian irredentism.

The line of the state border between Romania and Hungary was decided by the Territorial Commission of the Peace Conference without consulting Romania and without its participation. Although it did not correspond to the provisions of the Convention between Romania and the Entente of August 1916 and differed from the territorial clarifications made in the Decision of Alba-Iulia from December 1st, 1918, it essentially corresponded to the ethnic

¹³ D. Preda, V. Alexandrescu, C. Prodan, *La Roumanie et la guerre pour l'unité nationale, Campagne de 1918-1919*, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 328-329.

principle, which led to its acceptance by the Romanian government. On December 1st, 1919, Clemenceau invited the Budapest government to send delegates to the Peace Conference. Led by Count Albert Apponyi, the Hungarian delegation arrived in Paris on January 7th, 1920¹⁴.

In his presentation to the Supreme Council on January 16th, Count Appony challenged the legitimacy of the Decisions on the Self-Determination of the Oppressed Nations of Austria-Hungary and argued for the need to hold “plebiscites” in all regions detached from Hungary, uniting themselves in unitary nation states.¹⁵ The proposal put forward by Count Apponyi, a prominent political figure in the former dualist empire, promoter and active supporter of the policy of denationalization and forced Hungarianization in Transylvania and other provinces ruled by Hungary, was neither new nor original.

It should be noted that all those who, in one way or another, regretted the disappearance of the great empires and tried to return to their old state of affairs challenged the plebiscitary nature of the self-determination decisions of 1918 that led to the establishment of unitary nation-states and proposed the organization of so-called “plebiscites” – which were nothing more than attempts to put pressure on the Peace Conference to amend the Peace Treaties or to delay their signing.

In support Count Apponyi’s thesis, the Hungarian delegation handed over to the Peace Conference a voluminous documentation, containing a large number of notes, memoirs and annexes, most of which referred to Transylvania. Obviously, the fundamental thesis was that of the need to restore the old Hungarian kingdom, considered as the only viable form of state in central Europe.

For example, in the memorandum entitled *The responsibility of the Hungarian nation in the war* it was claimed, despite all well-known facts, that in the Hungarian kingdom there was never any national problem, and that the “spontaneous revolution of nationalities” in Hungary was a evil influence of the

¹⁴ The Hungarian delegation consisted of 7 commissioners general, including Counts Bethlen and Teleki; 6 commissioners, including counts, Csaky Kalay and Walko; 38 experts; 6 political advisers belonging to different parties; a secretariat consisting of 15 officials. (A.I.C. Jond Minister of National Propaganda, vol. 77).

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

situation from Austria.¹⁶ Dropping all responsibility on Austria in terms of the outbreak of war, the disintegration of dualism and the abolition of the “Kingdom of Hungary”, it was shown that Austria was a “conglomerate of different territories”, while Hungary was, from the beginning, “a unitary state”, maintaining this character uninterruptedly.¹⁷

It should be noted that, attempting a so-called historical foundation, the authors of the memoirs stated that the territory of Hungary “as a whole fell under the rule of the Hungarians in the ninth century and in the first years of the tenth century” (it is not shown *how* it “fell” and *what it was* on that territory before the Hungarian invasion, stating that “the northern and eastern provinces, as well as Transylvania were, we can say, uninhabited”).¹⁸

The “specialists” who had compiled those memoirs mystified or even ignored their own written sources attesting to a feudal political organization and an intense economic life on the territory of Transylvania inhabited by Romanians, the fact that the Hungarian kingdom waged heavy wars to conquer “that country, that the land that is watered by the best rivers that gold is collected from their sand, that the gold of that country is the best gold, that salt and salt matter are extracted from it”, a country inhabited by “blahi”¹⁹ – as the Hungarian chronicles mentioned. The same “specialists” in the mystification of historical truth, resuming old Roesslerian theses, claimed that the Romanians arrived in Transylvania late, finding there a flourishing Hungarian civilization; however, they did not try to explain the fact that this whole theory was practically overturned – the *majority* character of the Romanians in all Transylvania, a character that the Hungarian memoirs recognized, although they substantially reduced the number of this majority. The falsification of some basic historical facts also appeared in the statement that the Hungarian Kingdom “was the oldest

¹⁶ Arch. MAE., France, Series A: Peace 1914-1920, Hungary, vol. 121-122. Notes de la Délégation hongroise, Mémoire intitulé “La responsabilité de la nation magyare dans la guerre”, annexa 34, f.11.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, Memoire entitled “The principles of the Austrian peace treaty cannot be applied to Hungary”, annex 40, f.I.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ The anonymous chronicler of King Bella about the installation of the Hungarians in Pannonia and the conquest of Transylvania, in G. Popa Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, vol. 1, Bucharest, 1934, pp. 73-117.

state in Europe”, in other words at that point the peoples of Europe would have known the so-called “state organization”²⁰.

In the *Memorandum on Transylvania* and the memorandum entitled *Instead of one three multinational states*, Count Apponyi's delegation accuses Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia of imperialism, because, “by virtue of the ‘principle of nationalities’, these states would have seized the millennial territory of Hungary”, in other words, the paradox was advanced that the achievement of the *national and political unity* of Romania actually means the exact opposite, that is the creation of a multinational state. The absurdity of this thesis verge

²⁰ In the post-Trianon period, the propaganda supported by Horthy Hungary especially abroad sought to demonstrate the injustice of the decisions of the Trianon Peace Treaty and the "necessity" of its annulment, having in the arsenal of arguments the "non-existence" of the national problem in the Empire. rights of all nations, religious "tolerance", "solidarity" around the emperor, etc. The falsification of the history of the Romanians and of the other subjugated nations supported this propaganda. In Romania, internationally renowned scientists such as Nicolae Iorga, A.D. Xenopol, Gh. Brătianu, Silviu Dragomir and many others fought this propaganda with scientific arguments; they were joined by numerous foreign specialists. I remember Ernst Gamillsheg, professor of Romance philology at Univ. from Innsbruck, a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, who leaned with interest on the origin and character of the Romanian language. Fighting Rössler's theories - which brought the Romanians to Transylvania through the 15th century. In the 13th century, from the south of the Danube, Gamillsheg said: “According to Rössler, the origin of the Romanians is to be found in Thrace. Macedonia, Illyria, Moesia, Scythia, and only not there, where you actually meet the Romanians: on the land of ancient Dacia!” (Ernst Gamillsheg, *Despre originea românilor*, in „Revista Fundațiilor Regale, an VII, nr. 8/1940, p. 251-272). Likewise, the German geographer Heinrich Kiepert, professor at Univ. from Berlin, published in 1878 a study stating that the Romanian language is spoken on a territory that stretches between the "borders of ancient Dacia" (*Lehrbuch der Alten Geographie*, Berlin, 1878). The American Milton G. Lehrer, in his well-known work *Transylvania - Romanian land*. The Transylvanian problem seen by an American, (Complete edition edited by Edith Lehrer and Ion Pătroiu, Ed. Vatra Românească, Cluj-Napoca, 1991), pages exactly what the title of his book announces, written after a comprehensive research even in the years when the annexation of Northwestern Transylvania by Horthy Hungary was committed, with all its consequences (see for details, Viorica Moisuc, *The Calvary of the Romanians in the struggle for liberation and national integration*; vol II - being drafted).

on the ridiculous when it was stated that in Hungary the “spread” (correct – forced imposition) of the Hungarian language nullified the “question of nationalities”²¹. The centuries-old struggle of oppressed nationalities for national liberation, the harsh policy of the Hungarian state to strangle this struggle were well-known beyond the borders of the monarchy, provoking the disgrace of international public opinion.

Obviously, the theses supported by Count Apponyi’s delegation did not withstand even the simplest confrontation with elementary logic and the best-known historical facts. This explains why the foreign supporters of these theses were people linked by very material interests to the old empire or ignorant of the history and geography of Central Europe. For example, in the House of Lords, discussing in December 1919 and then in March 1920 the text of the peace treaty with Hungary, at least bizarre formulas were advanced, such as that of “corridors” between Hungary and all the “islands” where Hungarians and even Szeklers in Transylvania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia lived (Lord Bryce).²²

However, these views remained isolated. In the name of Foreign Minister Balfour, Lord Crawford, reporting on how the Peace Conference had carefully studied all the documentation presented by Count Apponyi, states: “I can never admit that the peace treaty with Hungary was drafted in a spirit of injustice against a defeated enemy, only for the purpose of reconciling the states that fought and suffered with us during the war. I do not think it would be right to accuse these states of such a policy in spite of centuries of suffering.”²³ The point of view of the government was supported by many speakers who stressed in their locutions that “a great injustice was removed when it was decided that Transylvania should be united with Romania”.

One of the formulas for the restoration of the old multinational state in Central Europe, this time under the auspices of Hungary, was the well-known project of the “Danube Confederation”. Its launch and discussions around this

²¹ Arch. M.A.E., France, Series A: Peace 1914-1920, Hungary, vol. 123 memoirs, “On Transylvania” and “Instead of one, three States of nationalities”, annex 6, f.19.

²² Roland E.L. Vaughan Williams, *The Hungarian Question in the British Parliament. Speeches, Questions. and Answers in the House of Lords and the House of Commons from 1919 to 1920*. With an introduction by Roland E.L. Vaughan Williams, K.C. London, Grant Richard, 1933, pp. 231-238.

²³ *Ibidem*.

project have undoubtedly been a difficult time in the history of negotiating a peace treaty with Hungary. Under the guise of a common economic organization, however, hid the threatening germs of an action that undermined the national sovereignty of Romania and the other Central European states – Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

The consequences of applying such a plan were immediately noticed by Romanian politicians, and the diplomatic activity of Romania and its allied states – Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia – contributed, to a serious extent, to the abandonment of the plan to create a Danube Confederation. Efforts were thus focused, once again, on the central point of the negotiations, namely the conclusion of the peace treaty with Hungary.

Referring to this attempt to rebuild in a *sui generis* form the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, the American delegate, history professor at Yale University, Charles Seymour noted: “Such an idea could not have the slightest chance of success, the Danube peoples did not even want to hear about it. They had, in fact, freed themselves by their own efforts and instinctively feared any federation that might have led to the survival or restoration of this hated tyranny that had caused them so much suffering. The conference, Seymour said, had neither the right nor the power to impose a union on them, which they refused. By virtue of the proclaimed principle of the right of every people to dispose of itself, the Danube nations were the only ones able to decide their fate”.²⁴

On February 25th, 1920, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia presented a joint memorandum to the Peace Conference for the first time, which unquestionably accelerated the work. Thus, on March 3rd, the Supreme Council, which was operating in London, immediately discussed the treaty with Hungary.

On this occasion, Francesco Nitti, influenced by both Hungarian and German circles, called for a revision of the decision of 13th of June 1919 of the Peace Conference, implicitly on the borders of Hungary²⁵. The French delegation strongly opposed this bizarre request made by

²⁴ Charles Seymour, „La fin d’un empire: les débris de l’Autriche-Hongrie”, in *Ce qui se passa réellement a Paris en 1918-1919*, p. 81.

²⁵ Arh. M.A.E., fond 237, dos. 517, teleg., 1907/15 April 1920, from the Legation of Rome, signed by Em. Lahovary. It shows that Nitti is in favour of Hungary and even Germany, the report of the Romanian delegation to the Peace Conference on April 14th, 1920, signed D. Ghika.

the Prime Minister of Italy²⁶ and the English friends of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia immediately published, on March 4th, 1920, in the big newspaper *Times* the discussions in the Supreme Council, revealing the strange attitude of Nitti²⁷. Thus was created a strong current of opinion against the idea of revising a decision taken by the Peace Conference, which, of course, could only serve the cause of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

On March 8th, 1920, when the Conference of Foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, chaired by Lord Curzon, resumed discussions on the treaty with Hungary it was decided not to revise either the territorial or other treaty clauses.²⁸

On May 6th, 1920, the Peace Conference, after studying for more than two months through its specialized commissions the documentation of Count Apponyi's delegation, handed him a letter of reply, signed by the President of the Conference, A. Millerand, pointing out that "it was impossible for the Powers to adopt the views of this delegation". The letter made extensive reference to "the part of Hungary's responsibility in the outbreak of world war and in general in imperialist politics followed by the double monarchy", to the strong internal crisis determined by the policy towards the nationalists. Rejecting the idea of organizing a plebiscite in the former territories ruled by Hungary, it was stressed that "the will of the peoples was expressed in October and November 1918, when the double monarchy collapsed and when the long oppressed populations united with their brothers, Italians, Romanians, Yugoslavs and Czechoslovaks. The events that have taken place since this date are just as much new evidence of the feelings of nationalities once subject to the Crown of St. Stephen. The late measures taken by the Hungarian Government to satisfy the aspirations of autonomy of nationalities cannot create illusions; they do not change the essential historical truth in any way, namely that, for many years, all the efforts of Hungarian politics have tended to stifle the voices of nationalities."²⁹ It was stated that the established borders would not be changed and "the Hungarian Government was invited to sign the treaty as it is"³⁰.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ V.V. Tillea, *cited work*, p. 76.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 81-82.

²⁹ *A.I.C., Ministry of National Propaganda, vol. 77*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

On May 16th, Count Apponyi protested against the Conference's decisions regarding Hungary and returned to the idea of a plebiscite, challenging the plebiscitary nature of the Union Decisions of 1918. Refusing to sign the peace treaty, the Hungarian delegation resigned. On May 17th, 1920, Count Teleki, the foreign minister, handed President Millerand a note announcing that Hungary would sign the peace treaty.

On 4th of June 1920, in the Grand Trianon, France, England, Italy, the USA, Japan, Romania, the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom, Czechoslovakia and nine other states, on the one hand, and Hungary, on the other, represented by G. de Benard and A. de Torda, signed the peace treaty.

On behalf of Romania, the Treaty of Trianon was signed by Dr. I. Cantacuzino and N. Titulescu; from Czechoslovakia, by E. Benes and S. Osuski; from Yugoslavia, by N. Pasić and Ante Trumbić.

The Romanian Parliament ratified the Treaty of Trianon on August 17th (Senate) and August 26th, 1920 (Chamber of Deputies).

The Romanian nation had obtained international recognition for its cause – the Great Union – for which it had fought for centuries, for which it had made countless sacrifices.

*

In the period before the signing of the Trianon peace treaty, in Romania all the efforts of the Hungarian diplomacy, all the propaganda abroad, all the intrigues set up directly or through intermediaries by the Hungarian ruling circles to thwart the imposition of a just sentence at the Peace Conference were carefully followed. "Through intrigue, setting in motion all the English diplomacy, all the relatives of the magnates of high society in London sought to thwart the peace at Trianon," wrote the newspaper *Îndreptarea*, reproducing the statements of a foreign diplomat. In order to regain their European sympathies, they put at stake the entire national wealth: factories, mines, river and shipping companies, everything. For these services, they receive praise in Western newspapers that they trumpet around the world.³¹

³¹ *Îndreptarea* (*The right way* – Romanian newspaper), June 23rd and 24th, 1920.

Besides the confession of their satisfaction for the international recognition of the justice of the Romanian case, for the sentence “without right of appeal” pronounced in Paris, the signing of the treaty from Trianon offered scientists Nicolae Iorga and Sextil Pușcariu the opportunity to address nice words to the Hungarian people, to highlight its qualities, as well as the opportunity for friendly advice on the path of its future prosperity, of expressing sincere thoughts, full of hopes for the future of the relations between the two peoples. Speaking as a man “penetrated by ethical requirements, as well as the material needs of the time”, Nicolae Iorga showed that the Hungarian people had something else to do in the future “than to regain their borders abroad, namely: to rebuild his soul Inside – that is to change it – from the medieval it continues to be, in Modern, as it should be in its own interest.” This would allow it to see the impossibility of perpetuating, in the twentieth century, the “creations of the pontifical mandates of the year 1000”, to understand that the strength and greatness of a people does not consist in a “territory that it did not fill”, but in its “energy” – by which we mean the “boom of civilization” – which passes “beyond the very margins of a scattered national dwelling and beyond the borders of the state”. If “ the paralyzing concern [...] for revenge” made possible internally “Horthy’s criminal tyranny” – remarked, with full reason, the great historian –, the care for civilization proclaimed “a peace of mind based on the conscience of law for oneself but also for others. And then – concluded N. Iorga –, in the interest of the great human civilization, we can understand each other very good.”³²

In his turn, Sextil Pușcariu wrote, right after the signing of the treaty from Trianon, words full of confidence in the future of the Romanian people, in the “new life” to which it was called. At the same time, he had words of praise for the “healthy political instinct” of the Romanian people, which granted broad democratic rights to all nationalities and appealed to all Romanians, urging them to seek “points of contact” with their Hungarian compatriots, engaging “in common productive work”, all collaborating “in the field of science, arts, of the common economic interest and especially in the fight against the common enemy, against the non-Romanian or Romanian speculator.”³³

³² *Neamul românesc* (The Romanian People – Romanian newspaper), June 9th, 1920.

³³ *Dacia* (Romanian newspaper), June 5th, 1920.





THE EVEN LIGHT OF THE SPIRIT

Nicolae MAREȘ

COMMEMORATING 150 YEARS FROM NICOLAE IORGA'S, BIRTH A TRUE LITERARY HISTORIAN AND EXPERT IN THE FIELD OF COMPARATIVE HISTORY

Abstract: *In the new historical context after the Great Union and the regain of state independence by Poland, Nicolae Iorga will establish the most fruitful Romanian-Polish scientific collaboration relations, and the results of efforts in this direction have not stopped coming. For the prestige he enjoyed in the world, in 1923, the Romanian historian was to be chosen among honorary members of the Academy of Science in Krakow. The Romanian academician will be invited by the Polish state in June 1924 to be awarded the high distinction. The well-known speaker held three conferences under the dome of the old Jagiellonian University. One about Italian artists in the Romanian Lands and in Poland, the second about the life and creation of Eminescu, the third about Romania with the presentation on the slides of some autochrome colour images.*

Keywords: *Poland, independence, University of Krakow, Moldova, historical relations, Romania, Great Union, self-determination of nations*

The great Romanian historian and creator not only knew very well the Polish history and culture, but since childhood he showed special love and appreciation for our neighbours in the northwest. The historian, the academician, the writer was the one who cultivated and militated like no other for the establishment of the best possible relations of knowledge and cooperation between the two countries and peoples, between their cultures.³⁴

Not coincidentally, in the early 1920s, the academician sent the promising historian, P. P. Panaitescu, as a Romanian language lecturer at the University of Krakow. Iorga's close disciple, he simply "cleared" the Polish archives in the old capital of the Jagiellonians.³⁵

In Romania, the speaker mentioned it less often, but in Poland, he did it every time he had the opportunity, that his first history teacher, while attending high school in Botosani, was a Polish revolutionary teacher, one of the those who participated in the military uprising of 1863, called the January uprising or *powstanie styczniowe*. Tokarski was his name, and he had taken refuge in Moldova with many other Poles, to live and work alongside the Romanians. That high school teacher had travelled the same path beaten many decades ago by his predecessors, starting in the 18th century, when the call was still in vogue on Polish soil: *Kto kocha ojczyznę niech jedzie na Wołoszczyznine/ Who loves his homeland to flee to Wallachia!*

For your freedom and ours

I do not know if the great historian he become later knew this rhyming bunch, which had even entered Polish paremiology and in which Moldova and Muntenia were listed as saving targets in the face of Poland's oppressors, especially the Muscovites. Because the stackers were none other than the Russians, Prussians or Austrians, all twinned together so as not to lose the prey tendered in 1772, 1793 and 1795. The Poles left their homelands in great need to train in the West and return better tempered and prepared for the liberation of their country.

³⁴ Nicolae Mareş, *Raporturi româno-polone de-a lungul secolelor*, pp. 276-333, 2nd edition added and revised, TipoMoldova Publishing House, Iaşi, 2016.

³⁵ According to doctoral thesis *Influenţa polonă în opera şi personalitatea cronicarilor Grigore Ureche şi Miron Costin*, Cultura Naţională, Bucharest, 1925, dedicated to Prof. Stanisław Wędkiewicz.



In the torments and in the minds of the representatives of the Great Polish Emigration from everywhere: Mickiewicz, Lelewel, Czartoryski etc., the idea was born to fight for the liberation of their country and other nations that were rising for liberation from foreign oppression. The Romanian Pasoptists learned from the Poles what it means and how to apply the call: *For your freedom and ours* – fraternizing on the barricades of the Revolution of 1846 and 1848 to achieve this goal.

An important English historian, Norman Davies, found the homeland of these Polish revolutionaries the name of *God's Playground*.³⁶ The Romanians did not dare as much as they dreamed and wanted: the Pasoptists wanted to see in them an *ally* against

³⁶ Norman Davies, *History of Poland – God's Playground*, Polirom Publishing House, 2014.

common subjugation: Russians and Austrians. Bălcescu stubbornly tried to lure the Polish revolutionaries to his side, including against the cruel exploitation of Hungary, trying to bring Bem and Dembinski closer in 1849 to support the cause of Romanianness.³⁷

Looking more closely, we find that Iorga's first teacher of history was that fighter who instilled in him a special love for his country and the Polish past. When the dawn of Poland's liberation appeared towards the end of the First World War, even if they seemed quite nebulous, Iorga wrote and published in the *Neamul Românesc* the most beautiful hymn to the Polish flag / white-red /, raised by the Polish military called to weapons under tsarist command and which were among the Russian troops stationed in Galati. There is no similar text, so ardent in the journalism of other countries.³⁸ A real hymn to the Polish flag and Polish manhood in battle:

In Galați, the Polish flag of the white eagle was raised, which overcame the Teutonic cross so many times and guarded the entire East – both the Russian and the Romanian – from the German conquest. He fluttered proudly and freely, enthusiastically acclaimed by the noble soldiers in arms with eyes full of tears at the sight of their country coming out of the grave. And from the beginning he found a companion in the flag of Romania, who also struggled and still struggles on so many fields of martyrdom of the people he portrayed. Side by side in fraternal closeness, they announced to us a guarantee of the future for our tormented and sacrificed people: a neighbour to whom we are connected by so many older traditions, in addition to essential elements in the very soul of these two nations, a gentle feeling, of a devotion to the ideal, of a deep contempt for the overwhelming force of raw matter.

³⁷ Nicolae Mareș, Raporturile lui Bălcescu cu exilul și revoluționarii polonezi în anii 1848-1849, în *Istorie - Diplomatie, Essays*, Vol. II, TipoMoldova, pp. 37-59 and 61-81.

³⁸ Nicolae Mareș, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

We know this Polish flag. He was long hidden in our houses, when, at the end of a miserable revolution, he was pursued with the last bloody remains of his defenders, to whom we opened wide, with all our risk, which was not small, the gates of brotherly hospitality. He stood between four Romanian walls, sacredly guarded for the great day that was to come, and the Poles, who in the museum in Switzerland have as well, between the faces of their warriors and martyrs, the disinterested protective face of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, know it as well.

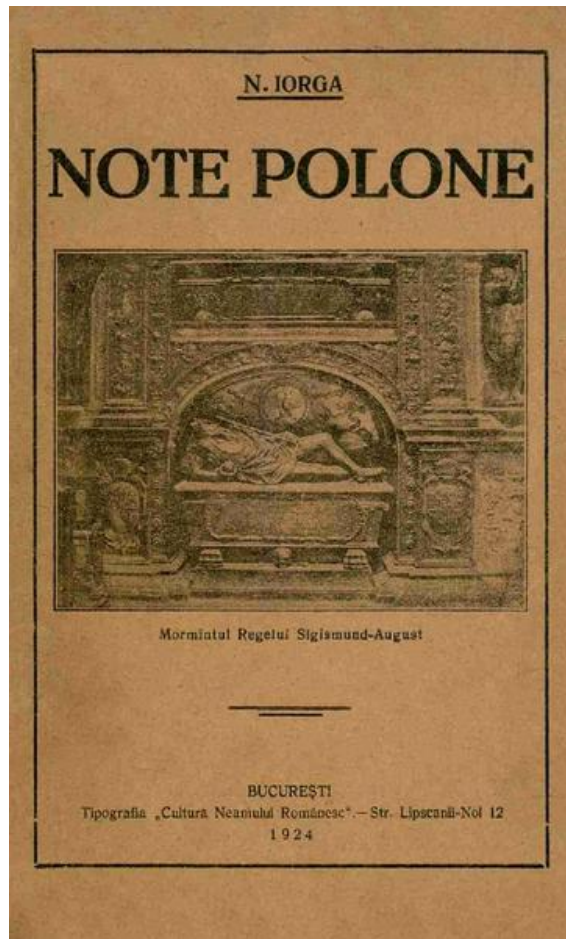
Iorga about Eminescu at the Jagiellonian University

In the new historical context after the Great Union and the regain of state independence by Poland, Nicolae Iorga will establish the most fruitful Romanian-Polish scientific collaboration relations, and the results of the efforts made in this direction have not stopped coming. For the prestige he enjoyed in the world, in 1923, the Romanian historian was to be chosen among honorary members of the Academy of Science in Krakow. The Romanian academician will be invited by the Polish state in June 1924 to be awarded the high distinction. The well-known speaker held three conferences under the dome of the old Jagiellonian University. One about Italian artists in the Romanian Lands and in Poland, the second about the life and creation of Eminescu, the third about Romania with the presentation on the slides of some autochrome colour images. In the volume *Memorii*, he will write succinctly: *A numerous audience, very understanding and warm*³⁹.

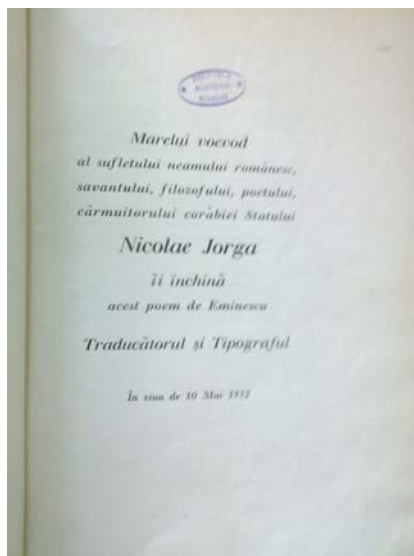
The exact content of neither one of the speeches is known. We would be curious to know if he had exposed any of his theses on Eminescu such as *the integral expression of the Romanian soul*, or the one regarding the achievement of *the most extensive synthesis made by any Romanian soul*.

One year later, the scholar from Vălenii de Munte will publish, in the Library for All collection, his notes from this trip, under the title *Note polone* – a cordial volume in the form of notes and reports on what reborn Poland meant. In the memoirs, we find the evocation of the meeting with the Marshal of Poland, Józef Piłsudski, in the Miluszin mansion in Sulejówek. All chapters of history... Of cordial history.

³⁹ Nicolae Iorga, *Memorii*, vol. 3, June 19, 1924, p. 162.



It was a happy coincidence that one of the leading poets of the interwar period, the patriotic Transylvanian, Aron Cotruș, became press attaché in Warsaw, exactly when Iorga held the position of prime minister. Together with his Polish confrere, Emil Zegadłowicz, the two agreed to translate Romanian lyric poetry into Polish, so after the publication of the first anthology of Romanian poetry: *Teme românești*, published / in 1931 / and the poem *Împărat și proletar*, bibliophile edition, printed 1932, dedicated to the “Grand Duke of the Romanian national soul, the scientist, the philosopher, the poet, the ruler of the State’s ship”, a leader whom Zegadłowicz had met a year before at the Summer University in Vălenii de Munte. Cotruș will personally accompany him, also taking him to the poet’s grave, in Bellu Cemetery from Bucharest.



The dedication in Romanian from the bibliophile edition of the poem
Împărat și proletar

LESS KNOWN

Eminescu's first poems translated into Mickiewicz's native language were prefaced by Jorga

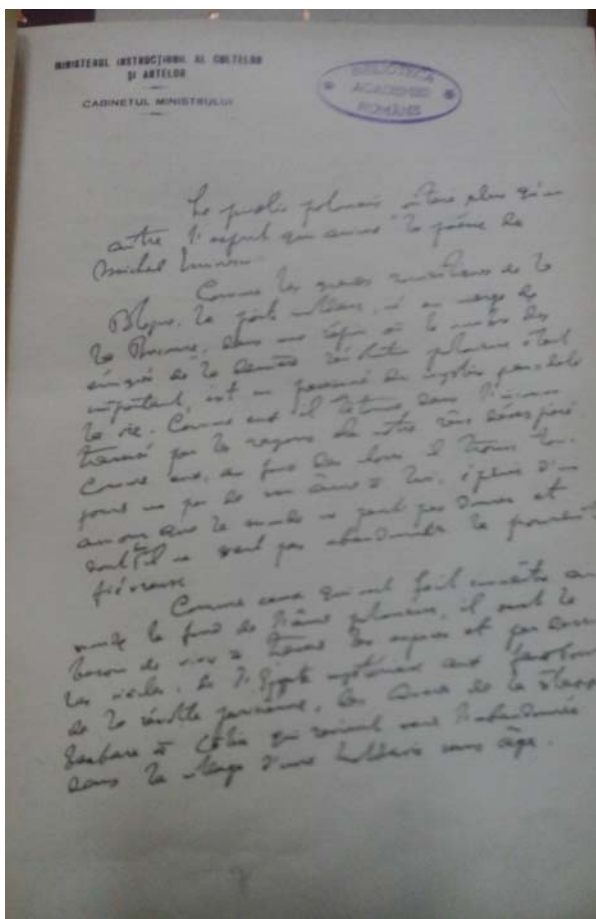
In June 1933, thanks to the efforts of the Polish writer and translator, Emil Zegadłowicz, the third anthology appeared. It contained 26 of the most important poems in Eminescu's creation, 23 of them seeing the light of print in Polish for the first time.

We do not exclude the possibility that in Vălenii de Munte, on the Teleajen Valley, the idea that the Romanian historian, scientist, poet and playwright should preface the volume was born. The contents of the anthology included the poems: *Że umrzeć mam (Ode)*, *Ponad szczytami (Peste vârfuri)*, *Las (Ce, te legeni...)*, *Diana, Do gwiazdy (La steaua)*, *Przez fale przez zawieje (Dintre sute de catarge)*, *Jutrem życia dzień się zwiększa (Cu mâine zilele-ți-adaugi)*, *Północ (Se bate miezul nopții)*, *Testament (Mai am un singur dor)*, *Kamadewa, Wszystkie ptaki w borze (La mijloc de codru des)*, *Jeziro (Lacul)*, *Jaskółki (De ce nu vii)*, *Gdy gałąź w okno me uderzy (Și dacă...)*, *Uliczka (Pe aceeași ulicioară)*, *Jak? Co? (De-or trece anii...)*, *Rozłączenie (Despărțire)*, *Daleko (Departate sunt de tine)*,

Sonnet Pierwszy (Sunt ani la mijloc), Sonet Drugi (Când însuși glasul), Gwiazda wieczorna (Luceafărul), Cesarz i proletariusz (Împărat și proletar), List I, II, III (Scrisoarea I, a II-a, a III-a), Modlitwa Daka (Rugăciunea unui dac), all in the great grace transposition of the Wadowic poet.⁴⁰

To emphasize how great the surprise of Polish critics and readers was, I reproduce only a few words from a review published in a Warsaw daily, signed by St. Szpotański and in which it is said: *a translation from Eminescu places Zegadłowicz on the highest level of poetic value.*

The preface sent by the Romanian Prime Minister for publication to Emil Zegadłowicz, through Aron Cotruș, appeared together with Caragiale's *Nirvana*. Predoslovia was written by Nicolae Iorga, in French, with the handwritten content below:



⁴⁰ Michal Eminescu, *Poezje / Poezii, Przekład Emil Zegadłowicz, Poznan, 1933.*

Here is the text not published in Romania so far:

Le public polonais goûtera plus qu'un autre l'esprit qui anime la poésie de Michel Eminescu.

Comme les grands romantiques de la Pologne, le poète moldave, né en marge de la Bucovine, dans une région où le nombre des émigrés de la dernière révolution polonaise était important, est un passionné du mystère par-delà la vie. Comme eux, il tâtonne dans l'inconnu traversé par les rayons de notre rêve désespéré. Comme eux, au fond des choses il trouve toujours un peu de son âme à lui, éprise d'un amour que le monde ne peut pas donner et dont lui, il ne veut pas abandonner la poursuite fiévreuse.

Comme ceux qui ont fait connaître au monde le fond de l'âme polonaise, il sent le besoin de vivre à travers les espaces et par-dessus les siècles: de l'Égypte mystérieuse aux faubourgs de la révolte parisienne, des Aralds de la steppe barbare à Calin qui revient vers l'abandonnée dans le village d'une Moldavie sans âge. Comme ceux qui chez vous se sont montrés fiers d'un passé de lutte et de triomphes, il se plaît à célébrer les cliquetis de lances des guerres du vieux Mircea contre les Turcs du XIVe siècle et un poème épique qu'il a négligé de terminer au cours d'une vie banale et malheureuse pose la figure légendaire du créateur de la patrie moldave.

*Ne se croît-on pas dans la mystique polonaise lorsque le héros de son roman **Le Pauvre Denis** passe par les métamorphoses d'un Faust sans compagne, dans l'essor de son rêve insensé ?*

Les nations se rapprochent par le travail des humbles et par les élans des esprits créateurs. Eminescu aura sans doute sa part dans cette communion d'âme entre Polonais et Roumains qu'auraient désirée nos ancêtres, souvent camarades de la bonne guerre chrétienne.

N. Iorga

The content, in today's transposition of the writer Elena Dan, sounds like this:

The Polish public will appreciate more, than any other, the spirit that animates Mihai Eminescu's poetry. Like the great romantics of Poland, the Moldavian poet, born on the borders of Bukovina, in a region where the number of refugees of the last Polish revolution was quite high, is passionate about the mysteries of the afterlife. Like them, he probes into the unknown crossed by the rays of our hopeless dream. Like them, the poet always finds in the depths of things something of his soul contained in a love that the world could not give him and whose ardent pursuit he did not want to abandon.

Like them, who made known to the world the depths of the Polish soul, he feels the need to live beyond spaces and centuries: from the mysterious Egypt to the suburbs of the Parisian revolt, from the Erolds of the barbarian steppe to Calin, who returns to the woman he had abandoned in a village long time ago in Moldova.

Like all those who, in Poland, were proud of a past of battles and victories, he also likes to celebrate the rattle of spears in the wars waged by Mircea the Elder against the Turks in the fourteenth century, and a poem that the legendary face of the founder of the Moldovan country remains unfinished.

Do we not feel in full Polish mysticism when the heroes of his novel Poor Dionysus go through the metamorphoses of a Faust without a consort, in the unfolding of his reckless dream?

Nations come closer to each other through the toil of the lowly and the zeal of the creative spirits. Eminescu undoubtedly has his share of contribution to this communion of soul between Poles and Romanians, a communion that our ancestors will have dreamed of, who met more than once as comrades in the beautiful struggle for Christianity.

N. Iorga

We notice how, in a few dense sentences, Iorga did something more than an evocation of Eminescu's lyricism; he made a historical foray full of obvious allusions to the Poles, he also gave a real lesson in literary comparativism that few critics of the time could have done so accurately and competently. Something impossible nowadays. The poet Iorga compares the Eminescu spirit with that of the great Polish Romantics, emphasizing that *it probes into the unknown crossed by the rays of our hopeless dream*. And he finds: *in the depths of things something of his soul contained in a love that the world could not give him and whose ardent pursuit he did not want to abandon*.

The scientist also points out that Eminescu, the Romanian poet, like the Polish poets, who so masterfully depicted for the wide worlds the depths of the Polish soul, and the author of *Lucefărul*, *Ode* or *Glossa* felt the need to: *live beyond spaces and centuries: to the mysterious Egypt to the suburbs of the Parisian revolt, from the Eralds of the barbarian steppe to Călin, who returns to the woman he had abandoned in a village of a Moldovan from beyond*. This is how Iorga did not forget the appearance in the previous year of the poem *Împărat și proletar*; recalling that Polish poets illustrated the glorious past of the forerunners, noting that Eminescu also liked: *to celebrate the rattle of spears in the wars waged by Mircea the Elder against the Turks in the fourteenth century*. Obvious allusion to the poem *Scrisoarea a III-a* – probably noticed by the preface in the content of the anthology composed by Zegadłowicz.

The author of 1003 works and also over ten thousand contributions to universal history and culture, the encyclopaedist writer recalls, like the great chronicler Jan Długosz six centuries ago, that our ancestors *met more than once: as comrades in the beautiful struggle for Christianity*.

From what position did Iorga speak this time, that of a historian of religions or as a contemporary of ours now, in the third millennium?

Nicolae Mareș, PhD, Doctor Honoris Causa of the "1 Decembrie" University of Alba-Iulia; former career diplomat for 40 years, writer – over 80 volumes of poetry, aphorisms, history of culture and literature, literary comparativism, history of diplomacy and international diplomatic relations. Author of over 600 contributions in the field of history of literature, literary comparisons, Romanian-Polish relations over the

centuries, diplomacy, hospitality, etc. He published almost 20 books on the life and work of Pope John Paul II. For his tireless work in writing about St. John Paul II, the Holy Father, Pope Francis awarded him, in August 2015, one of the most important distinctions conferred by the Vatican: Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice – order established by Leo XIII in 1888.

ONE WAY ROAD AT THE 80TH COMMEMORATION OF THE FÂNTÂNA ALBĂ MASSACRE

Ph.D. Alexandrina CERNOV
Honorary member of the Romanian Academy

Abstract: *This article is a documentary opinion and a gesture of historical restitution on some sad events that the inhabitants of Northern Bukovina, a territory under Soviet occupation at the time, now part of the Ukrainian state, went through. On April 1st, 1941, a large number of Romanians from the region under Soviet occupation tried to cross the border into their homeland, The Kingdom of Romania, considering that the border was imposed illegally and abusively. They were reaped by the Soviet border guards' machine-guns, and this article is dedicated to the memory of these martyrs.*

Keywords: *Massacre, Fântâna Albă Soviet Occupation, Putna Monastery, Ukraine, Northern Bukovina, Hertza*

The Holy Putna Monastery is located just near the border with Ukraine, in Northern Bukovina, only a few kilometres from the site of the Fântâna Albă massacre. At the entrance, facing the monastery, was consecrated on July 2nd, 2018 the *Nation's Golgotha Fântâna Albă Portal*, which includes a monumental gate, a stone triptych, spaces for laying flowers and lighting candles, inscriptions with the names of the villages from where those killed on April 1st, 1941 started their journey, killed just because they wanted to cross the border and enter their country, and a well with fresh and cold water. On April 1st, established by law no. 68/2011, is the National Day honouring the memory of the Romanian victims of the Fântâna Albă massacres and from other areas, victims of the deportations, of the hunger and other forms of repression organized by the totalitarian Soviet regime in Northern Bukovina and Hertza Region.

In 1991, on the 50th commemoration of the Romanians' massacre on the Ukrainian border with Romania, in Varnița glade (Fântâna Albă), the Romanian community in Ukraine organized, for the first time, a memorial service in memory of the Romanians killed here by the Soviet border guards' machine-guns. The monks of Putna Monastery joined the brothers from Northern Bukovina in commemorating the Romanians who were killed in 1941 for their faith and independence. For three decades, the Romanians from Ukraine (Northern Bukovina) and Romania have been meeting every year at Fântâna Albă to commemorate ordinary peasants from Northern Bukovina machine-gunned by the Soviet border guards as they tried to cross the border peacefully into their country, Romania. All these years, Putna Monastery was on their side.

Unfortunately, this year, due to the sanitary restrictions imposed by the pandemic, it was not possible to travel to the place of the massacre, as the monks of the monastery used to do every year, together with some of the Romanian state officials. With the blessing of His Eminence Calinic, Archbishop of Suceava and Rădăuți, at Putna Monastery's Memorial Portal, a memorial service and a commemorative event took place on the 80th commemoration of the massacre. The memorial service for the souls of the Romanians massacred at Fântâna Albă because they wanted to cross the border newly imposed by the Soviet Union was officiated by His Holiness Father Damaschin Dorneanul, vicar-bishop of the Archdiocese of Suceava and Rădăuți. All the Romanians from Northern Bukovina, Hertza and Bessarabia who died in deportations were mentioned. Priests and deacons of the monastery served at the memorial service. In the evening, church bells were rung on both sides of the border.

The abbot of the Monastery, Archimandrite Melchizedek Velnic, mentioned that participating in the commemoration of the Fântâna Albă victims is a moral duty, to remember and learn from them what true love of the homeland means. The abbot used to go to Fântâna Albă every year, on April 1st. This year, he organized the victims' commemoration in Putna, saying that "suffering is given to the chosen ones" and that "God is the One Who held our hand and guided us, as we still feel God's guiding hand (...). We felt that this country is a garden of the Mother of God and that these Carpathians are our cathedral in which we have

taken refuge so many times. And in this cathedral we called the Virgin Mary to help us and we feel Her these days with Her Holy Mercy covering our nation and country". Viorel Badea, senator, Dorin Popescu, former Romanian general consul in Czernowitz attended the commemoration.

On the other side of the border, at the site of the massacre, a council of priests held a memorial service. The Consul General of Romania in Czernowitz, Mrs. Irina Loredana Stănculescu attended the ceremony; Aurica Bojescu, member of the National Council of the *Romanian Community in Ukraine* Interregional Union, and Nicolae Șapcă, vice president of the *Society Romanian Culture and Literature in Bukovina* laid wreaths. At 12.00, in the Northern Bucovina districts of Hlyboka and Storozhynets, memorial services were held for the Bukovina martyrs and the bells rang for 15 minutes in the memory of the approximately 3000 victims of this bloody episode in the Romanian history.

1940-1941, the first years of the Soviet occupation or, as it is written in the falsified history books from Ukraine, of the "liberation" from the Romanian "occupation" meant for the Romanians from Northern Bukovina and Hertza the beginning of a long suffering: massacres, deportations, artificial hunger during the period of collectivization and the displacement of the population in places as far away from the homeland as possible.

Since 1942, journalists began searching for survivors and recording the shocking stories of people who, unable to bear the iniquities of their new masters, demanded permission to retreat to Romania, as the Germans and Poles were allowed to return to their countries. We will not find anything about these events in the history textbooks, but they are part of the history of the Romanians from Bukovina and Bessarabia. No documents related to this event can be found in the archives of Czernowitz. However, the testimonies of the participants in this march of death recorded and published in the press of the time by the Romanian journalists from Czernowitz have remained, documents of inestimable value. A special merit for the restoration of the road to Fântâna Albă belongs to the writers and journalists who, since 1991, attended the commemorations, the conferences dedicated to these events, recording important data from those who survived. Amongst the journalists, we mention Maria Toacă Andrieș and Felicia

Toma, who have published in the newspaper *Zorile Bucovinei*, Dumitru Covalciuc, the tireless editor of the *Țara Fagilor* almanac. In the last decade, several monographs of the villages have appeared in Czernowitz, in which the tragic events were inserted and the names of their martyrs were mentioned. Monuments have been erected in their memory in the villages of Northern Bukovina.

More than 50 years after the Fântâna Albă massacre, the *Golgotha* Society was founded. It received from the Regional Party Committee a certificate from the border guards' archive stating that, on April 1st, 1941, "24 people were killed while trying to cross the border illegally." No one knows the number of those massacred. Each official source indicates a different figure. Thus, in the report of the commander of the border picket from April 1st, 1941, it is written concisely that "force measures were applied," and in Nichita Khrushchev's report to Stalin about the incident on the border with Romania, we read:

"Some of the inhabitants of the nearest villages of Hlyboka district went to the Hlyboka district's centre, asking to be allowed to cross into Romania. The crowd was about a thousand people, mostly men. Around noon on April 1st, the crowd entered Hlyboka, approached the building of the district section of the NKVD, some wore crosses, there was a white flag (this, according to participants in the march, symbolized its peaceful character). There was an inscription on one of the crosses: 'Unite you brethren, these are the crosses that the Red Army soldiers ridiculed.' No weapons were found in the crowd. After the clarifications given to the crowd, near the NKVD district section building, about the illegitimacy of such a gathering in the border area and the crowd was asked to disperse, the crowd disappeared. The head of the State Security Directorate ordered the arrest of the agitators, which was done today. Two days ago, several groups of villagers came with analogous demands to the district executive committee of the Storozhynets border district. We clarified the fact that they were guided by scoundrels and guards (members of the fascist organization 'Iron Guard'). The discovered agitators from Storozhynets district were arrested.

Around 7 pm on April 1st, a crowd of 500-600 people tried to cross the border into Romania in Hlyboka district. The border guards opened fire at them. As a result, about 50 people were killed and injured, the others fled. No one crossed the border.”

The misinformation regarding the bloody events at Fântâna Albă is picked up today by the Ukrainian authorities (Czernowitz State Administration' Department for Culture) who released, just on the eve of the 80th commemoration of the massacre, a video relaunching the information from Nichita Khrushchev's report, stating that the massacre “against the Bukovinians” (it is not mentioned that they were Romanians) was an instigation of the security organs in Romania. The Soviets are not to blame, the culprits are being sought elsewhere. Of course, the publications were not consulted, the testimonies that are reliable documents of the events of the first Soviet years and not even archival materials are not taken into account. The hypocrisy and misinformation launched by the directors of this video, intentionally or unintentionally, justify Moscow's actions and raise many questions, including on the policy of the Ukrainian authorities towards the Romanian community in Ukraine, against Romanian-language schools.

This time as well, Putna Monastery is on the side of the historical truth, which, if even now we do not find it in our history textbooks, we find it in the *Bukovinian Destiny* project. The first volume, *Fântâna Albă, drum fără întoarcere*⁴¹ (Nicodim Caligraful Publishing House, Putna Monastery), was launched at the consecration of the *Nation's Golgotha – Fântâna Albă Portal* on July 2nd, 2018; the second volume, *Drama românilor din regiunea Cernăuți: massacre, deportări, foamete în anii 1940-1941, 1945-1947*⁴², appeared in 2019. The third volume in the series *Destin Bucovinean*, initiated in the Centenary Year by Nicodim Caligraful Publishing House, Monastery Putna, is dedicated to the resistance of the Romanian Church from the north of Bukovina in the Christian faith's worst period – under the Soviet rule, in an atheist state. The coordinator of the volumes is Alexandrina Cernov, honorary member of the Romanian Academy.

⁴¹ *Fântâna Albă, one way road.*

⁴² *The drama of the Romanians from the Czernowitz region: massacres, deportations, famines in the years 1940-1941, 1945-1947.*

These volumes include archive materials, testimonies, excerpts from the periodicals of that time – newspapers and magazines. What was impossible to investigate in the secret archives about the victims of retaliation in the early years of the Soviet power was discovered from the survivors' testimonies. The researches conducted by Putna Monastery try to restore the historical truth.

Alexandrina Cernov (b. November 24, 1943, Hotin, Romania, today in the Czernowitz region, Ukraine) is a literary critic and historian, professor at the University of Czernowitz, and honorary member of the Romanian Academy (since 1992). She is a founding member of the "Mihai Eminescu" Society for Romanian Culture from Czernowitz, founding member and executive director of the "Alexandru cel Bun" Publishing House and Editor-in-chief of the quarterly history and culture magazine Glasul Bucovinei (The Voice of Bukovina). In Romania was awarded the Romanian Cultural Foundation Award, the "150 years since the birth of Mihai Eminescu" Commemorative Medal and the National Order of "Faithful Service" in the rank of Officer.

ANDREI OȚETEA – TEACHER AND RESEARCHER DURING THE COMMUNIST ERA

Viorica MOISUC

Abstract: *The philosophy closely linked to these upheavals of 1789 gave ideological support embraced in various forms by the intellectuals of the time. It is no less important that the so-called Napoleonic Empire, which dragged the French nation into endless wars, reaching the heart of absolutist Russia, brought with it the whole mentality, ideology and way of life inaugurated by the Revolution of 1789 in all corners of Europe. Therefore, a new era, anti-absolutist, anti-feudal, democratic, based on new principles, hitherto unknown, shook the old rules, even in areas where the foot of the French soldier had not reached. That is why the periodization of Professor Andrei Oțetea seems to me perfectly valid for the Romanian Principalities, which were part of Europe and which did not remain untouched by the upheavals of the transformations in the years following the fall of the Bastille.*

Keywords: *Romanian Principalities, patriotic spirit, human rights, nation, Europe, Transylvania, national unity, communism, history textbooks*

He was a person who, at first glance, commanded a special respect. Through the wide-rimmed glasses made of black tortoise shell he examined you carefully with his penetrating gaze, and you knew from the beginning that you could not speak as you wanted, what you wanted, but measured, serious and to the point.

Born on July 24 / August 5, 1894, Andrei Oțetea descended from an ancient community of shepherds – “mocani”, as they were called at the time – from the village of Sibiel, Săliște commune, one of the

villages from “Mărginimea” Sibiului, known throughout Romania and beyond it, settling as far as the Tatra Mountains and as far as the Kuban. “They were,” said Andrei Oțetea on the occasion of the celebration by the Romanian Academy of his 70 years of life – “the unifying carriage between the three Romanian Principalities until the Great Union, which included us all in the same borders.”⁴³ Andrei Oțetea came from the depths of time, from where, perhaps, his strength of character, his resistance to the vicissitude of time, his verticality were derived; Sibiul, fairytale land, guarded by secular forests of firs, opens the way to the “roof of the world” – the wonderful settlement of sheepfolds on Mount Crinți covered with endless flocks of sheep.

“From these «mocans»” – said Andrei Oțetea – “something more precious came to me than all material inheritances, something stronger than everything that later experience could add, I mean the way of conceiving work as a vital necessity and the idea that not being able to work, regardless of the safety or insecurity of living, is the greatest misfortune a human being can hit... In the parental home, I saw what it means to have a sense of duty pushed to total sacrifice and complete self-forgetfulness... the constant struggle with the hardships of life and, what is more remarkable, without the exigency of a job well done ever sacrificed.”⁴⁴

About the teacher Ioan Dobrotă, from the confessional primary school, to whom Andrei Oțetea kept a warm memory, he said “one of the modest intellectuals, prelates, teachers who have formed the framework of our national resistance and the lever of progress of the Transylvanian peasantry..., fulfilled with a rare skill and authority, for almost six decades he was an enlightened guide to the people in all branches of the village economy, especially in fruit growing”.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Analele Academiei Române*, vol. XCV, p. 556, 1964.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ Andrei Oțetea, „Anii mei de ucenicie au durat toată viața”, in *Amintiri despre anii de școală*, Bucharest, 1966, pp. 131-132.

Advised by his teacher, the young Andrei Oțetea was sent to the high school in Sibiu. “To him, to the teacher,” acknowledged acad. Andrei Oțetea, “I owe the fact that, at the age of 13-14, I was not sent to the sheep in the Danube pond like the other boys of my age. And, to a large extent, I owe to his example the feeling of solidarity that binds me to my home village”.⁴⁶

In Sibiu, at the Hungarian State High School, Andrei Oțetea showed a disapproving attitude towards the denigration of Romanian history, culture and language in the lessons given by the history teacher Thurzo Ferenc, an attitude that will cost him hard. The reaction was the establishment by the students of a literary society and the publishing of the lithographed magazine *Izvorul*, which had set itself the mission of telling the truth about Romanians’ culture. Considered a dangerous “conspirator” against the “unity of the Hungarian homeland,” the student Andrei Oțetea was eliminated from school. He finished high school at the Romanian school “Andrei Șaguna” in Brasov, with Lucian Blaga, Nicolae Colan (the future metropolitan of Transylvania) and other young Transylvanians with nationalist views.

“Andrei Șaguna High School – Andrei Oțetea appreciated – brought me the confirmation of the most beloved dreams regarding the quality of the Romanian language and its ability to express the most subtle ideas and the deepest feelings.”⁴⁷

The young Andrei Oțetea, so attached to the soul of his people, could not stay out of the struggle that the Romanians were waging on all fronts for the realization of the national ideal: UNION. Along with Onisifor Ghibu, also from Săliște, Axente Baci, Sebastian Bornemisa, Iosif Schiopul, Nicolae Oancea, Nicolae Colan (his school colleague), Andrei Oțetea signed the **First Declaration of Union of Romanians in one state**, written in revolutionary Chisinau on **January 24, 1918**. Throughout this period, he was actively involved in propaganda for the Union. He collaborated with the press that voiced the will of the

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 132 (See also Romanian Academy, *Discursuri de recepție*, vol. X / 2006-2009, p. 351).

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 134.

Transylvanians to shake the Hungarian yoke and unite with the Fatherland. In 1919, in Sibiu, he wrote articles full of patriotic-fighting spirit for the newspaper *Patria* led by A. Agârbiceanu.

After Transylvania was completely liberated and entered a long process of reorganization within Greater Romania, Andrei Oțetea was sent for university studies, along with other young people (Mihail Ralea, Traian Ionescu, Ionică Botez and others) to France. After brilliant studies at the Sorbonne and the Institute of Political Science in Paris, the son of the shepherds of Sibiel received his doctorate in letters with the qualification “très honorable”, focusing his research concerns on a simple and controversial topic regarding the Renaissance Italian. In December 1926, he defended his doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne on *François Guichardin. Sa vie publique et sa pensée politique (1483-1540)*, a thesis whose documentation was made in the archives of Florence under the guidance of Nicolae Iorga, a thesis that has remained a reference work to this day.

In the following year, he was appointed associate professor at the University of Iași and then full professor with modern and contemporary history as his basic discipline. From 1947, he carried out his activity at the University of Bucharest where he was head of the Department of Universal History and, at the same time, he headed the “Nicolae Iorga” Institute of History of the Romanian Academy.⁴⁸

In the last years of his life, he represented Romania at UNESCO, in France, where he died in March 1977. He found his eternal rest in the cemetery of his native village.

For the sake of historical truth

All those who have collaborated or were trained under the guidance of acad. Andrei Oțetea found from the very beginning that respecting and reproducing the historical truth as it was was a **dogma** for the teacher. He did not admit dilettantism, superficiality, lack of scientific probity, non-academic attire. Open to the new, fearless but well-argued approaches, Andrei Oțetea remained in the consciousness of those who worked with him or were around him, through the

⁴⁸ See *Analele Academiei Române*, vol. XCV / 1964, p. 561; *Analele Academiei Române*, „Dezbateri”, volumes LXVII / 1947-1948, Bucharest, 2000, pp. 337-338.

verticality of opinions; one cannot speak here of “courage”, but of much more than that: it was a natural state of mind that no one and nothing could have changed. His exigency was proverbial, but he always showed understanding for the one who was required to do so. He knew how to listen – which is becoming increasingly rare today –, he knew how to advise, he knew how to train people for such a difficult, interesting but also demanding job of scientific research. But, he was ruthless with stupidity, with the arrogance that went hand in hand with stupidity.

He had the misfortune, both at the University and at the Institute, to carry out his activity in the cursed '50s when Mihail Roller and his Soviet or pro-Soviet acolytes were alpha and omega in Romanian historical science. The all-powerful Soviet advisers in all state institutions, including the Faculty of History, gave indications that, when applied, meant the Sovietization of Romanian education.

“Due to the resistance of the head of the department of universal history with whom scientists such as Ion Nestor, Dionisie Pippidi, Emil Condurachi, made a united front, students, including myself, were sheltered from these serious distortions of national and universal history, courses and seminars taking place within normal limits, even if fear was a feeling that dominated everyone. Our age and inexperience did not allow us to understand the behind the scenes of the game and the efforts of our mentors to defend us against Stalinism and its aberrations.”

Things got worse when “Comrade” Florența Rusu, a party activist determined to “organize” the so-called disorder that was there, was appointed dean of the Faculty of History, helped by several collaborators, either from the USSR or “planted” by the party with precise missions. By far the most dangerous was Sașa Mușat, appointed to the chair led by Andrei Oțetea; an uneducated individual, but who taught contemporary universal history courses, had as his main occupation the denunciation, the recruitment of students, the observation of the conduct of teachers and students. Oțetea did not accept this situation and decided to act.

He summoned to his home all the collaborators I mentioned above, as well as Prof. Constantin Daicoviciu from Cluj. Together, they decided

to form a delegation to appear at the Ministry of Education to reveal what was happening in the Faculty and to insist on changing things. Which they did. The result was the replacement of Florența Rusu from the position of dean with prof. Dumitru Tudor, a well-known and highly regarded archaeologist, and the removal from the Faculty of Sașa Mușat, who was found to have brought false documents. So, it was possible to take this daring step under the existing conditions of the presence of the Soviet army, of the Russian occupation. The quality of education was defended, as much as it was possible then, through perseverance, tenacity, courage, verticality.⁴⁹

The situation at the “Nicolae Iorga” Institute of the Romanian Academy was similar: the same Roller and his men brought to the Institute people they liked, former illegals whom had nothing to do with historical research; however, they strongly defended Marxism-Leninism, the Stalinist theses on the history of the Romanian people. Maia Kertesz, Vasile Liveanu, Venera Teodorescu, Ladislau Baniay and many others, having as common feature the “fight in illegality” for the good of the Romanian people, to which was added the series of comrades whom have arrived at the Institute based on the “personnel file” and not based on any affinities with history, especially with that of Romania, were a shock group meant to undermine everything that was true science. During that period, I also entered the “Nicolae Iorga” Institute as a trainee researcher following a very pretentious competition held in front of a commission chaired by acad. Andrei Oțetea and which included prof. Mihai Berza, conf. Eliza Campus and others. The free discussions that took place in French on issues related to the Peace of Versailles, Stresemann’s foreign policy, Romania’s relations with France and England after the Peace Conference, put my little knowledge of contemporary history to the test, especially since I came from another area of specialization – archaeology and ancient history.

The hardship only began after that. It was my years of apprenticeship in contemporary history research. The professor was present at the Institute before 8 o’clock in the morning and began his “visits” through sectors and especially to the Library, checking what and how the researchers work – especially the young ones. He controlled

⁴⁹ See *Memoriile Secției de științe istorice și arheologie*, Series IV, volume XIX / 1994, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1946, pp. 18-23.

the way we used to prepare the files, guiding us, and then calling us for long discussions in his office, on the topic we were studying and “researched” us carefully and rigorously. From him and in this Institute I really learned the method of research, the rigor, the consistency, the discipline of this work that is not given to any graduate of the Faculty of History to do. You need passion, curiosity, giving up many of the attractions of youth; you need to organize your own intelligence in such a way as to remove everything that is not essential, focusing on your research topic. Professor Oțetea did not admit half measures. I’ve never heard him say, “Leave it be, it works anyway!” The bar of his demand rose higher as he found that the researcher was ready to move on. At the same time, he did not hesitate to act as surety for the publication in the *Studii* magazine – which he had founded – or in any publishing house of studies or books disavowed by the critics supporting Roller’s ideology.

This happened to me with a review (proverbial for many years) – my first publishing attempt that the head of the Contemporary History section of the Institute, Vasile Liveanu, supported by his friend and collaborator, Stefan Voicu – editor-in-chief at *Lupta de clasă* magazine – flatly refused and banned its publication. It was a very harsh discussion about a book entitled *Înrobitorul tratat economic româno-german din 23 martie 1939*⁵⁰, written by Angara Fedotova (later Niri), a Soviet woman who had entered the MFA archive as if it were her own home, taking everything she wanted, while me and others like me – non-Soviet Romanians – waited in vain for approvals for access to this archive. The book was (is) from one end to the other, a gross false history. It was in line with the writings of her colleague in ideas, Jeanette Benditer, professor at the Faculty of History of the University of Iași. I studied it carefully and dismantled it one by one with indisputable counter-arguments. My conflict with Liveanu taking an ugly and dangerous turn, the steps led me to the director of the Institute, acad. Oțetea, to which I gave the text written by me, informing him of the situation I was in. The next day, Andrei Oțetea called me, congratulated me and said “Your review will be published. I take responsibility. But as for Liveanu, I want to ask you something: did you read his book *1918*? What do you think of

⁵⁰ In English, The enslaving Romanian-German economic treaty of March 23, 1939.

her?” I replied that it does not respect the historical truth and that Romania is not a “creation” of the Peace Treaties! The teacher’s answer, which I will never forget, was this: “This book... it can be seen that it is not written by a Romanian!” And with that he said it all. I knew, from that moment on, that I had a solid support in Professor Oțetea, and in my relations with Liveanu, tense, dominated by fear until then, I have adopted a completely different attitude. Fear had left me.

Those were terrible times then; the deeper compromise, the abdication, the taking over of the Soviet theses were – I must admit – the easiest means not only for survival, but also for “promotion”. The question was: what did you choose?

Universal history and the history of Romania – the real ones, even with some omissions in the so-called “delicate” issues, have gained more and more ground, especially through the two publications of the Institute, *Studii*, history magazine, and *Revue Roumaine d’History*. The historical truth about the Great Union, about the character of Romania’s participation in the First World War and others could be told, although certain limits related to Bessarabia could not be exceeded then. But, great strides have been made. Unfortunately not easy, with far too many confrontations, with far too many turmoil.

But Oțetea did not pay much attention to the “annoyances” of Soviet historians. The Romanian-Czechoslovak Colloquium in Prague, in May 1969, with the theme *Romanian-Czechoslovak Relations between 1890-1920*, so shortly after the suppression of the “Prague Spring”, gave acad. Andrei Oțetea the chance, as President of the History Section of the Academy, to emphasize the permanence of the friendship between the two peoples, especially in difficult times “after the invasion of the country, in August 1968, by Soviet troops and those of the Warsaw Pact!”⁵¹

The Soviet annoyance was largely seen at the 13th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Moscow, where a very cold greeting was reserved for academician Andrei Oțetea.⁵²

However, nothing made him deviate from the path he had walked on all his life: dignity, verticality, scientific rigor, promotion and support of the national interest.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 22.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

Author of Textbooks

It is an axiomatic truth the fact that history, *magistra vitae*, gives a young person a solid foundation of general culture, gives him a more complete vision of the present and the future, creates feelings of patriotism, love of country, respect for ancestors – notions that are out of date today, unfortunately. Professor Oțetea, who became a lecturer at the Faculty of History in Iași, enrolled, along with other great scholars of the time, as P.P. Panaitescu, C.C. Giurescu, D.D. Pătrășcanu and others, in the gallery of those who, compiling textbooks, strived to provide students with the tools necessary for a good knowledge of their homeland's past but also of universal history.

In 1934, the Ministry of Public Instruction drafted the School Curriculum for Secondary and High School Education, which had undergone structural changes. It starts from the premise that “national education must remain the warp of the general culture that can help an internal strengthening of the country. To win the centuries of delay in our evolution, or even to our participation in the universal development of culture,” a remarkable truth underlined after 16 years from the Great Union, when Romania had in front of it the extremely difficult mission to bring to a common denominator the education from all provinces united, different in organization, structure, background and form. The process reached, at the beginning of the fourth decade, a level that allowed the transition to a higher stage – the elaboration of a General-valid syllabus for the entire secondary and high school education.

For history, the main goal was to “equip students with the necessary information on the development of political and cultural life of mankind in general and the Romanian people in particular, to teach them to look at the value of things through history, while developing them a sense of human solidarity and confidence in the vitality of our people.” The primacy of patriotic education was emphasized, with history teachers being given the mission “not to miss any opportunity to develop, in the students, the consciousness of citizens, to awaken and strengthen the love and the spirit of sacrifice towards the homeland.” Moreover, it was emphasized that in the upper course, i.e. in 5-8 grades, special importance must be given to contemporary history, because it “serves in the highest degree to clarify the present.” In order to broaden the horizon of students, to develop the analytical thinking,

the syllabus provided for the introduction in history textbooks of a new chapter “on political currents and contemporary social issues”. I think, in retrospect, that this 1934 syllabus of the Ministry of Public Instruction could be a very useful and interesting study material for those who elaborate the history discipline syllabus nowadays.

Contemporary history for the seventh secondary class (365 p.), written by professor Andrei Oțetea from the University of Iași (approved by the Ministry of National Education in 1938), was published by „Cugetarea” Publishing from Bucharest in 1938 and was withdrawn in 1940 in the circumstances I will mention below.

To give you an idea of the contents of the textbook, here is how the subject was divided, from the French Revolution of 1789 to the world crisis and the fate of Europe: Part I contains, in 8 chapters, the issue of the French Revolution with all its stages, the establishment of the Empire and its fall. Part II, with 14 chapters, refers to the Restoration and the policy of the Holy Alliance, the oriental question in the 19th century, the revolutions of 1848 in the West and in Central and South-Eastern Europe, the industrial revolution and its consequences, the union of the Romanian Principalities, the unity of Italy and Germany, the Russian-Romanian-Turkish war, the formation of the two alliances – the Entente and the Triple –, the formation of the USA, Latin America. Part III, entitled *The Age of Imperialism* (12 chapters), talks about the colonial expansion of European states and the situation in the colonies, about China and Japan, the pre-war crises, the First World War and the Paris Peace Treaties, the historical evolution of Europe and the world, until the immediate pre-war period.

What I want to emphasize is the fact that in the entire statement of the international issues, the history of Romanians is organically integrated in the universal. For the matter, this approach was specific to Andrei Oțetea. Another feature of this manual is the presentation of the movement of ideas in different fields: cultural, social, political, artistic.

Thus, Chapter V of Part III is devoted to Marxism. Starting from the social consequences of the industrial revolution, the author explains the emergence of the first professional associations “for the betterment of the workers”, the reform programs being the work of intellectuals such as Saint-Simon or Robert Owen and Karl Marx. In connection with “scientific socialism”, Andrei Oțetea explains: “In the first half of the 19th

century, socialism was only a humanitarian dream. His followers drew up abstract plans for the organization of the society, following an ideal of justice and humanity that was inspired by natural law and primitive Christianity. After the experience of the revolution of 1848, socialism gave up these utopias and no longer sought to build ideal social regimes, but limited itself to studying social facts and detaching the laws that govern the society's evolution. The founder of this socialism, called *scientific*, because it is based on what is and not on what it should be, if people were not as they are, was Karl Marx (1818-1883)".⁵³

After these brief considerations, the author presents, in simple sentences and in an accessible way, notions such as "plus-currency," "concentration law," "the materialist conception of history," concluding in a substantial paragraph with the critique of Marxism. It should be noted that Andrei Oțetea returned several times, in his works and lectures, to the dialectical and historical materialism, a problem that preoccupied him in direct connection with the economic-social and political transformations that society was going through at that time.

"Contemporary political and social currents" – a requirement introduced by the Ministerial Syllabus of 1934, determined the author to design massive paragraphs, in chap. XII, about *fascism* and *National Socialism*, including realistic characterizations of these far-right movements that have strangled democratic freedoms and established dictatorial regimes. This content attracted harsh reactions from the German Legation in Bucharest; on May 30, 1940, the German minister addressed a Note to the Romanian authorities requesting the total revision of the textbooks of contemporary history written by D.D. Pătrășcanu and Andrei Oțetea, motivating that in the chapter about "Hitlerism" there are pages that, "besides being full of mistakes, are obviously inspired by anti-German tendencies". After a month and a half, the German Legation in Bucharest made another request (Romania was at that historical moment – June 1940 – caught in the German-Soviet tongs and had already lost part of Moldova and the northern of Bukovina as a result of the Soviet aggression of June 26-28). In these circumstances, the Ministry of Public Instruction asked the authors to suppress or revise the texts on "Hitlerism" and "fascism". In

⁵³ Andrei Oțetea, *Istoria contemporană a clasei a VII-a secundară*, "Cugetarea" Publishing House, Bucharest, 1938, pp. 275-276.

another month, the Publishing House replied that “it will take into account the recommendations made for a future approval”. In reality, that approval was no longer given, the respective textbooks were considered “expired” on September 2, 1940.⁵⁴

The chaos during the war also had a negative impact on the approach to the main problems in universal and national history. After the unfortunate “liberation” of August 23rd, 1944, Mihail Roller and his Muscovite clique were enthroned in history, the history “textbook” of this character of sad memory remaining a black page of the ‘50s.

A special place in Andrei Oțetea’s textbook has the issue of nationalities (chapter VI, Part III) with the emphasis on the nationalities’ principle – a factor of decisive importance in the evolution of society at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

The textbook is accompanied by a Bibliography for each chapter, a bibliography that does not lack the great Romanian and foreign synthesis monographs, which seems inconceivable today for a history textbook for the seventh (11th) high school class. This bibliography happily completes the synthetic exposition in the textbook of a long historical period.

I would like to emphasize the *periodization* of contemporary history. As I already believe that it has been established from what has been said so far, *the universal contemporary history*, which also included *the history of the Romanians*, had as conventional date of separation the year 1789, i.e. the French Revolution that opened a new era in the history of Europe. I fully share this view for several reasons, including:

- France went, through a revolution made by the people, from the absolutist feudal regime, to a regime with new features - economic, social, political that heralded an era of superior economic development;
- the slogan “equality, freedom, fraternity” meant the enthronement of democracy, individual freedom and social freedom;
- the notion of citizen is outlined in relation to the homeland in which he lives, and the “nation” defends its national territory;
- the French revolution excludes discrimination on political and ethnic grounds between citizens by establishing the permanence of equality acquired by birth by each individual.

⁵⁴ Apud Victor Tănăsescu, „Pagini antifasciste din manualele școlare românești”, in *Magazin Istoric*, year XIII.

The philosophy closely linked to these upheavals of 1789 gave ideological support embraced in various forms by the intellectuals of the time. It is no less important that the so-called Napoleonic Empire, which dragged the French nation into endless wars, reaching the heart of absolutist Russia, brought with it the whole mentality, ideology and way of life inaugurated by the Revolution of 1789 in all corners of Europe. Therefore, a new era, anti-absolutist, anti-feudal, democratic, based on new principles, hitherto unknown, shook the old rules, even in areas where the foot of the French soldier had not reached. That is why the periodization of Professor Andrei Oțetea seems to me perfectly valid for the Romanian Principalities, which were part of Europe and which did not remain untouched by the upheavals of the transformations in the years following the fall of the Bastille.

Indeed, after 1789, the social, national, and political revolutions in Europe continued, despite the policies of the Holy Alliance.

Exegete of the history of Tudor Vladimirescu and of Eteria, Andrei Oțetea considers that “the insurrection of 1821 took place within the general struggle for the emancipation of the peoples”.⁵⁵

In 1955, Oțetea discovered, in the state archives in Budapest, *Tudor's Oath with the Eteria* and, a year later, he studied Russian diplomatic and consular documents, which, Professor Oțetea states, “allowed us to reconstruct the authentic history of Eteria and its most secret relations with the Russian diplomacy.” These documents “gave a decisive confirmation to the thesis that placed the revolution of 1821 within the general movement of the independence of the peoples.” It results from these documents – we read further – that “in the spirit of the Russian imperial cabinet, the task of the Eteria was to provoke in European Turkey a state of anarchy, which the Ottoman government could not dominate by its own forces and which would allow the autocrat tsar to intervene not to support the revolution but to restore order, with the assent of the Holy Alliance or even at the request of the Gate.”

In the same perspective, Oțetea analyzes as well the promotion by Napoleon III of the principle of nationalities that will give impetus to the Romanians' 1859 struggle for Union.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Andrei Oțetea, *Tudor Vladimirescu și revoluția din 1821*, Editura Științifică, Bucharest, 1971.

⁵⁶ Andrei Oțetea, *L'Union des Principautés – problème de l'équilibre européen au milieu du XIX-eme siècle* (summer course in Sinaia, July 25-August 25 – no year).

Contemporary history textbooks today. Some general considerations

History, a textbook for the 11th grade, with 5 authors of which the coordinator is Alexandru Barnea, edited by Corint Publishing (no year) is a “mixtum compositum” from which everyone understands what he wants or nothing. It starts with “Premises of integration,” continues with “European integration,” followed by “Colonization and Decolonization,” next comes “Globalization,” then it reaches the “Romanians in the movement of ideas from the first part of the 20th century,” focusing on personalities such as Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Eugen Ionescu, Mircea Vulcănescu, Constantin Noica (the Young Generation), but also mentioning Brâncuși. We find out only one thing about the Legionary Movement (The Iron Guard) – that it was “a political phenomenon still insufficiently studied and known” (p. 18).

In the 1970s, Romania remained “stuck in a paradigm of communist origins” (p. 18). The appearance of Gabriel Liiceanu’s *Jurnalul de la Păltiniș* – one of the “few dissident artists” was more of an exception than a rule. After this brilliant introduction, the chapter “Romania in European competition” appears where we find in a page cut vertically in half that there was the First World War, the Little Entente, the Balkan Understanding, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, Take Ionescu and Titulescu.

We do not find out anything about what happened in Romania in 1940, i.e. in a half sentence “the loss of a significant part of the national territory in favour of the USSR, of Horthy Hungary, of Bulgaria” is mentioned. However, the “courage” of King Michael I on August 23, 1944 was not enough, say the authors (p. 21), because Romania “was placed in the camp of the defeated states”. This and nothing more. Next, there is a page about the “image of Romania in the ‘90s” where we see the figures of Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu during the last “balcony scene”, children with AIDS, the miner’s riots etc.

The chapter that begins on p. 34 talks about “Occupations and professional statuses in the twentieth century,” followed by “The new technological and informational evolution,” “Migrations in the contemporary world (20th and 21st centuries),” and we return to “Human migrations in the interwar period” because we had forgotten to talk about the human misfortunes in Bolshevik Russia and Hitler’s Germany. Then we find out interesting things about “Contemporary human migration”. Finally, of

course, we cannot help but learn about “The house, bastion of privacy,” a chapter in which we are told that, in the past, parents and children lived together, the daily cleaning of oneself taking place before everyone’s eyes, and in terms of objects for personal use, the list was very short: a watch (in best cases scenarios), a knife, a pipe, a string of rosaries, goods of symbolic value, the only ones that were passed down from generation to generation”. I mention that is the twentieth century they are taking about (p. 50). “In the last 50 years, the situation has seen a radical change. Multi-room housing and comfort have become much more affordable.” On p. 52, a question is asked: “Family, a decaying institution?” We do not find the answer. A reference to a text from the *Dilema Veche* and a picture of a series of mothers’ breastfeeding babies “on demand” do not make things very clear (p. 53).

Of course, the issue of “the transition between private and public” is related to contemporary history, because we find out an absolute truth: “you no longer need to get married to escape parental guardianship or to have regular relationships with a partner of the opposite sex”. Conclusion: “In this situation, the family is no longer the framework of private life, but only a space in which several persons each live their own existence” (p. 53). We enter, on p. 56, another branch of history: “Directed economies,” “Liberal economies,” “Rural economy – urban economy in Romania”. Finally, a very dear problem that leads us into absolute darkness follows on p. 66: “The Romanian Diaspora and Exile” – from which we find neither what the diaspora is, nor what is exile or self-exile, nor what is a refugee etc. Representatives of this type of people are not missing from here, such as Ioana Măgură Bernard, Noel Bernard, Monica Lovinescu, Virgil Ierunca, Nestor Rateș, Emil Hurezeanu, Nicolae Stănișoară, Vlad Georgescu and others, as well as the radio stations “Vocea Americii,” “Europa Liberă,” „Deutsche Welle.” With the chapter “Technology and everyday life,” students find out what happened to Chernobyl, about dialysis and tomography, about naval propulsion and many other wonders.

Another question follows “Environmental degradation, an inevitable consequence of economic development?” In fact, what we do with pollution, climate change and finally the call for students to join GreenPeace. Going back, according to modern customs, to the past centuries, the authors deal with the Romanian contributions to the development of science and culture.

Only now, on two and a half pages, the names of some Romanian scientists from various fields appear. Thus, we come to p. 82 to a different issue "Types of state organization. Ideas for political regimes. The great doctrines." These are conservatism, liberalism and socialism, all the others being derivatives of one or another of these doctrines, or a combination of those (p. 82). However, we find out that "conservatism lacks a program." "The World after 1989" (why this time?) raises many questions for the authors. The UN, the USA, the Arab World, Asia, Cuba, African chaos are, the authors say, "very complex issues." Another chapter, "Romania, from totalitarianism to the rule of law" (p. 88), gives free rein to the blame of the dejist and Ceausescu totalitarianism, the Security and the Political Police and in the following chapter, "The long transition to the rule of law" (p. 90), lines up the FSN, the Democratic Convention, CNSAS, the heads of governments, the press subordinated to power, the DA Alliance, the declaration of war on corruption by Traian Băsescu beads.

But how were things at the beginning of the twentieth century? On only one page, p. 92, the authors deal with the Constitution of 1866, the War of Independence, the proclamation of the Kingdom of Romania, the parliamentary system, etc. and finally (p. 96) "the electoral system and the dynamics of political parties in Romania in the years 1918-1938" appears as a case study followed by "the dynamics of the parties in power" (p. 98), where we find out who Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and Gheorghe Cristescu were. The last chapters of this "textbook" try to enlighten us about "conflicts' solving in the contemporary world" (including the Versailles system, p. 103), "Cooperation and conflict in the second half of the twentieth century," "Romania and regional conflicts in the 20th century" (p. 108), bringing us back in 1913, to the Peace of Bucharest, the First World War, the Balkan Understanding, the Prague Spring of 1968 – all listed in three quarters of a page. The Warsaw Pact (p. 112), "Religious Fundamentalism" (p. 116) and "Religious Architecture" followed by "Pilgrimage" (p. 120) and "Religious Diversity" come next. The textbook ends with what it began – "European integration" (p. 126).

The 11th grade textbook, called *History*, has nothing to do with history, school syllabus, passing exams from one school year to another.

History is no longer "magistra vitae." It is no more.

Biography & list of works

OȚETEȂ, ANDREI (July 24, 1894, Sibiel, Sibiu County – March 21, 1977, Paris), historian. **Corresponding member (May 27, 1948; November 2, 1948) and full member (July 2, 1955) of the Romanian Academy; president of the Department of Historical Sciences of the Romanian Academy (1963-1974).**

Secondary education in Sibiu and Brasov and higher education in Paris: at the Sorbonne, he studied Italian and French; in parallel, he attended the courses of the School of Political Science; in 1926, he defended his doctoral dissertation on the Italian historian and diplomat Francesco Guicciardini, becoming a doctor of letters. He was a professor at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Iași, which, between 1945 and 1947, he led as rector, and at the Department of Medium, Modern and Contemporary General History of the University of Bucharest; director of the National Theatre in Iași (1939–1940, 1946); director of “N. Iorga” Institute of History from Bucharest (1947–1948, 1956–1970). He was concerned with the study of universal history: *François Guichardin – his public life and political thought* (1927); *Considerations on the Genesis and Spirit of the Renaissance* (1927); *The ideal man of the Renaissance in the work of Fr. Guicciardini* (1928); *Renaissance and Reformation (Affinities and Contrasts)* (1929); *The Establishment of the Neapolitan Legation in Constantinople (1740)* (1929); *The agony of the old French regime and the formation of the revolutionary spirit* (1930); *Guicciardini’s Supplication to Francis I* (1934); *The Religious Wars of France and the Genesis of the Idea of Tolerance* (1937); *Czechoslovak drama after the White English Paper* (1938); *The Economic Causes of the Renaissance* (1939); *Geographical discoveries and the beginning of European expansion* (1939); *The struggle for supremacy over Italy and the formation of the European political system (1494–1559)* (1939); *Italian Humanism* (1939); *Renaissance and Reformation* (1941; 2nd ed., 1968; ed. in Hungarian, 1974); *Russian Politics in the East in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (1947); *The Renaissance* (1964). Following research in the archives of Naples, he published the work *Contribution à la Question d’Orient. Esquisse historique, suivie de la correspondance inédite des envoyés du roi des Deux-Siciles à Constantinople (1741-1821)* (1930). He was closely concerned with the Revolution of 1821 and its leader: *The Great Powers and the Revolutionary Movement of 1821 in the Romanian Principalities* (1944); *The Etherist Movement in Moldova (1821)* (1944); *Tudor Vladimirescu and the Eteria Movement in the Romanian Principalities (1821–1822)* (1945); *Tudor Vladimirescu’s oath with Eteria* (1956); *The Romanian peasants from Transylvania and the movement of Tudor Vladimirescu* (1956); *A New History of the Movement of 1821* (1957); *The legend of the expatriation of Tudor*

Vladimirescu after the Bucharest peace (1812) (1959); The Holy Alliance and the Etherist Insurrection of 1821 (1967); The character of Tudor Vladimirescu's movement (uprising or revolution?) (1967); Tudor Vladimirescu '821 (1971); Tudor Vladimirescu and the Revolution of 1821 (1971); Tudor Vladimirescu from the perspective of Romanian historiography (1971).

He was the editor-in-chief of the five volumes of documents on the Revolution of 1821, and his research in the archives of Budapest led him to discover unique materials on the echo of Tudor Vladimirescu's movement in Transylvania, published in the new series of the "Hurmuzaki" collection. (*Documents regarding the history of Romania*, vol. I-III, *Solidarity of the Romanians from Transylvania with the Tudor Vladimirescu movement; The Romanian peasants from Transylvania and the Tudor Vladimirescu movement*, 1962–1967).

He left papers and studies on important moments in the history of Romania: *the establishment of French consulates in Romanian Principalities (1932); A new image of Mihai the Brave (1938); The Great Power and Union of Principalities (1943); The Revolution of 1848 and the Romanian Peasants (1948); The extraeconomic constraint of the clacas at the beginning of the 19th century (1954); Hagi Constantin Pop House of Commerce and its role in the development of trade in Wallachia (1955); The Second Slavery of the Romanian Peasants (1746-1821) (1955); Genesis of Organic Regulation (1957); The uprising of 1907. Its historical importance and its place in Romanian historiography (1957); The 1907 uprising and Romanian historiography (1957); The Michael Gross Plot (1957); A Phanariot cartel for the exploitation of the Romanian countries (1959); Considerations on the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Moldova and Wallachia (1960); The Second Slavery in the Daubian Principalities (1831-1864) (1960); The influence of Moldova and Wallachia on the policy of the Gate (1960); Union of the Romanian Principalities (1966); The Romanians and the Disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy (1967); The penetration of the Romanian trade in the international circuit (in the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism) (1977) etc. Under his editorship, the following papers have appeared Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Historical Writings (1946); Documents regarding the Union of the Principalities (3 vols., 1959–1963); Studies on the Union of the Principalities (1960); History of Romania (vol. II – III, 1962, 1964); K. Marx, Notes on Romanians (Unpublished Manuscripts) (1964, et al.); The Great Peasant Uprising of 1907 (1967, et al.); Osterreich-Ungarns in den Weltpolitik 1900–1918 (1968, et al.); History of the Romanian people (1970; ed. in Italian and in English, 1974); History of the World in Dates (1972).* He left studies on the life and activity of some personalities such as *Kogălniceanu, historian (1941); N. Bălcescu (1946); N. Bălcescu, historian (1946); Ioan Filitti, historian**

(1946); Mihail Kogălniceanu, *historian and statesman* (1956); N. Iorga, *historian of the Romanians* (1965; also in French); Nicolae Iorga, *eminent personality of the Romanian culture* (1965); *A maker of modern Romanian history: Mihail Kogălniceanu* (1967; in French in 1968); *Tribute to the scientist C. Daicoviciu* (1968). He also wrote textbooks: *Ancient History. Peoples of the Orient – Greeks – Romans* (textbook for the fifth grade, secondary school) (1935); *Medium and Modern History from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Peace of Westphalia* (textbook for the second grade, secondary school) (1936); *Medieval and modern history* (textbook for the sixth grade, secondary school, girls and boys) (1936); *Contemporary history* (textbook for the seventh grade, secondary school) (1938); *Modern and contemporary history* (textbook for the third grade, secondary school) (1943), *Universal History Course, Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (1948), *L'union des Principautés, problème d'équilibre européen au milieu du XIXe siècle (cours d'été et colloque scientifiques)* (1965). President of the National Commission for UNESCO, vice-president of the Latin World Academy in Paris and member of the Society of Modern History of France, and was awarded the title of "Emeritus Scientist".

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A. Oțetea, *Scrieri istorice alese* (ed. Florin Constantiniu, Șerban Papacostea), Bucharest, 1980.

Ștefan Ștefănescu, "Andrei Oțetea – creatorul școlii de istorie," in *Memoriile Departamentului de științe istorice și arheologie*, 1994;

Ștefan Ștefănescu, "Andrei Oțetea – historian of the Renaissance and the Reformation," in *Academica*, year IV, no. 8 (44) / 1994.

Ștefan Ștefănescu, "Andrei Oțetea. O operă istorică exemplară," in *Istorie și diplomatie în relațiile internaționale*, Constanța, 2003.

VIORICA MOISUC: University professor, doctor in historical sciences, member of the European Parliament (2007-2011), Romanian senator (2004-2008). Her scientific work, published in the last five decades, has made and is part of the compulsory bibliography for any student and researcher interested in knowing International Relations. As a professor and doctoral supervisor in the field of Contemporary History of Romania, she has created a real school of historical research, of studying the historical phenomenon in all its complexity. Among her numerous authorial works, we mention the "Romanian Diplomacy and the issue of defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Romania between

March 1938 and May 1940” (edited by the Romanian Academy, 1971, work awarded the Nicolae Bălcescu Prize of the Romanian Academy); “The premises of the political isolation of Romania 1919-1940” (Humanitas, 1991); “History of International Relations until the middle of the twentieth century” (Romania of Tomorrow Foundation Publishing House, 2000, 2003, 2007); “Romania and Russian Foreign Policy. A century in the history of the Romanian Treasure ‘preserved’ in Moscow” (Demiurg Publishing, Iași, 2013); “Romania and the Czechoslovak crisis. Documents, September 1938” (History, 2010); “Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transylvania. The union – 1918. Documents” (D.I.P. 1996, Romanian and English edition); “Romania’s treasure evacuated to Moscow in 1916 and confiscated by the Soviets, a Present International Problem” (Augusta Publishing House, Timișoara, 2001) and others. In collaboration and as a coordinator: “Problems of foreign policy of Romania 1919-1939” (vol. I, II, III, Militară Publishing House, 1971, 1977, 1988); “Affirmation of the national, independent, unitary states from Central and South-Eastern Europe 1821-1923” (Academiei Publishing House, 1979, Romanian, English, German editions); “Romania and the Paris Peace Conference. The triumph of the principle of nationalities” (Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 1983); “Romania’s Treasure in Moscow” (Globus Publishing House, 1993); “The Generation of the Great Union of Romanians – 1918 – Historical landmarks” (Romania of Tomorrow Foundation Publishing House, 2018) etc. In addition to the above, the internships in Romanian and foreign archives, numerous participations in international scientific events, conferences presented at various universities and research institutes abroad have ensured her an international notoriety.

NICOLAE IORGA AND THE MAGIC OF GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD

Ioan VOICU

A BOOK REVIEW: *NICOLAE IORGA AND POLAND*, *ROMÂNIA DE MÂINE* FOUNDATION PUBLISHING HOUSE, BUCHAREST, 2021

Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940), member of the Romanian Academy and president of the History Section (1924-1927), is an emblematic personality of the Romanian life. Unparalleled historian and theorist of this discipline, highly prestigious professor, translator, writer with representative works in all literary genres, journalist, publisher, editor, diplomat and politician, Iorga has contributed decisively to consolidating the cultural unity of Romanians everywhere.

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of the greatest Romanian historian –Nicolae Iorga –, it is worth remembering the words of the President of the Romanian Academy, Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, who, in his funeral speech from 1940, at the passing of Nicolae Iorga, he defined him as “a legendary figure” who would gain in grandeur as time went on.

The current grandeur of Nicolae Iorga is convincingly illustrated by the recently published volume signed by Nicolae Mareş under the title *Nicolae Iorga and Poland*, Bucharest, Romania of Tomorrow Foundation Publishing House.

The result of a long research, this book covers in 226 pages an essential chapter of the activity of the great Romanian scientist in the service of cooperation and friendship between the Romanian and Polish peoples.

The very mention of the titles of some chapters and sections of this book, divided into four substantial parts, is a convincing testimony of the richness of ideas and analyses generated by an exceptional documentation

on the tireless work of Nicolae Iorga dedicated to Romanian-Polish relations, until the outbreak of World War II.

Here are some suggestive and illuminating examples of titles: The Polish flag – the one sacredly guarded in Romania – glorified by Iorga, when Poland was erased from the map; Iorga in the face of the terrible Polish fatality of 1939; A sincere Moldavian friendship towards the sympathetic, plagued by fate, Poles who arrived in the Romanian lands; Polish Foreign Minister Beck – in the role of conciliator or mediator – between Hungary and Romania; Horthy's visit to Poland – the first attempt to “dislocate the Little Understanding”; Romania was advised by Poles “to buy Hungary at the expense of Czechoslovakia” – agreeing to offer Ukraine Subcarpathia to Hungarians; Romania's perplexity about the joint Polish-Hungarian actions; Romania's firm response to the bastard solutions put into circulation by Warsaw; Bucharest asks Belgrade to show solidarity with Romanian efforts; Warsaw was aware that the whole Europe was against it; Beck's duplicity in relations with Romania will be maintained; The revisionist campaign of two million Hungarians in America, Italy, Great Britain; The Romanian-language lectureship in Krakow; Honorary member of the Krakow Academy of Sciences; Iorga wrote thousands of pages about Poland and Romanian-Polish relations; Unparalleled analysis in his journalism about Poland; Poland defends its being and its ancestral land; The brother's sufferings deserve relief; Iorga about Eminescu at the Jagiellonian University; The first Eminescu poems in Mickiewicz's language prefaced by Iorga; Moral obligations for Poland.

The volume ends with an impressive section on the political will of Nicolae Iorga, an extensive bibliography and a useful index of names.

The breadth and diversity of the material treated in this book do not allow a detailed presentation of its content, of some events brought for the first time to the attention of the Romanian reading public. Romanian and Polish historians are invited to continue to speak on about this topic. We will limit ourselves to highlighting Nicolae Iorga's conception of the place of good neighbourliness and solidarity in relations between Romania and Poland and the value of this humanist conception in the vast sphere of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.

We will first treat the neighbourliness, benefiting from the fact that Nicolae Mareş makes it known to us through the very words of Nicolae

Iorga, to which are added the pertinent comments of the author of this book.

Historically, we are reminded that in 1917 the publicist Iorga would write in *Neamul Românesc* one of the most beautiful hymns to the Polish flag and Polish manhood in the fights that took place around the world: “In Galati, the Polish flag, Iorga wrote, of the white eagle that overcame the Teutonic prey cross so many times and guarded the entire East – both Russian and Romanian – from German conquest was raised. He fluttered proudly and freely, enthusiastically acclaimed by the noble soldiers in arms with eyes full of tears at the sight of their country coming out of the grave. And from the beginning it found a comrade in the flag of Romania, who also struggled and still struggles on so many fields of martyrdom of the people represented by it. Side by side, in brotherly closeness, they announced to us a guarantee of the future for our tormented and sacrificed people.” The Polish people are defined by Nicolae Iorga in this article as “a neighbour to whom we are connected by so many older traditions, in addition to essential elements in the very soul of these two nations, a gentle feeling, a devotion to the ideal, a deep contempt for the overwhelming force of raw matter” (p. 23). An authentic hymn to good neighbourliness.

Critically continuing his idea in another context, Nicolae Iorga does not shy away from reminding that for the Romanians, “The idea of national unity – without a mixture of feudalism, for which the historical ties and the dispositions of spirit, the corresponding moods were missing –, could not be borrowed entirely from the neighbours, the Balkans being ruled by the Roman imperial dream of the Slavic countries, and those over the mountains having for their kings, former Slavic fashion voivodes, the Carolingian model of the West, with the blessing, indispensable, from the pope” (p. 207). Nicolae Mareş does not fail to inform the readers that these aspects are treated extensively by Nicolae Iorga in the work *România, vecinii săi și cheștiunea Orientului* (p. 154).

From all the volumes, studies and articles of Nicolae Iorga, the distinguished author of the book analyzed in these lines draws an essential conclusion: “The great Romanian historian and creator not only knew very well the Polish history and culture, but, since childhood, he showed special love and appreciation to our north-western neighbours. The historian, the great scholar, the statesman, the writer was the one who cultivated and militated like no other to establish the best possible relations of knowledge

and cooperation between the two countries and peoples, between their cultures” (p. 112).

Developing and arguing this conclusion, Nicolae Mareş invites the readers to navigate the entire activity of Nicolae Iorga put at the service of the good neighbourliness between Romania and Poland. He points out that “In the more than 1,000 books and tens of thousands of studies, articles and reviews, N. Iorga is the historian, writer, publicist, who wrote and published thousands of pages about Poland and the Romanian-Polish relations. He even researched and elaborated on Poland’s relations with other states, presenting them with rare meticulousness, in a universal context. The attempts of contemporaries and descendants, all together, failed to highlight the in-depth approach taken to Poland from within by the great propagator of Polish history, culture and spirituality, and especially the sensitive joints of his efforts. Iorga’s writings and appreciations of the Poles and their homeland wear a neo-romantic mantle, easily overcoming some of the known sins of Moldova’s northern neighbour. These feelings have been perpetuated for decades in his soul.

Nicolae Mareş brings this subject to the present day and informs: “It is with great regret that contemporary Polish historians do not know Iorga and have done nothing to propagate and understand him. They have not vouchsafed for 80 years since his passing into eternity to publish even a brief collection of the most important studies, of his analyses of bilateral issues of interest, collected by the tireless researcher through Polish archives, admittedly, today under Ukrainian rule” (p. 105).

The Romanian-Polish relations are not analyzed by Nicolae Mareş only in the light of the academic contributions we inherited from Nicolae Iorga. He brings us into a space of useful debate and Romania’s official position, expressed diplomatically by the Romanian minister of Foreign Affairs. Thus, it is recalled that, on December 29, 1938, Grigore Gafencu presented an exposition on Bucharest radio in which he stroked a balance of the Romanian international policy of that period, addressing the issue of Romania’s relations with its neighbours. He stated: “Romania fulfils its peaceful duties towards its neighbours and with all the States that surround it on the basis of a complete independence and its full territorial integrity. They are goods earned with

blood and rightly so. They are a holy part of the world. No Romanian will allow them to be harassed. Keeping away from the ideological currents that trouble and sometimes bleed Europe, Romania will resolutely reject any outside interference in its state affairs, as well as any conspiracy that would tend to disturb its thinking and life, to weaken the settlements, the power of defence, the unity of the soul and its faith in the free fulfilment of its high mission” (p. 85).

In the matter of good neighbourliness, the Romanian diplomats followed with justified attention all the steps, initiatives and plans of the Polish state. Thus, the diplomat Richard Franasovici, former interior minister, writes a report that he sends directly to the king, but also to minister Petrescu-Comnen. In this report, Franasovici confirms that he was better informed than the new Romanian ambassador in Poland. Richard Franasovici states in his report, among other things, that “Compared to Czechoslovakia, Poland intends to inaugurate a good neighbourly policy, seeking to channel neighbouring republic through the port of Gdynia” (p. 64).

For a more nuanced characterization of Poland’s position towards its neighbours, Nicolae Mareş also appeals to foreign historians contemporary with the events evoked in the book. In this context, it is recalled that the English historian Normand Davies revealed – among Poland’s most dishonourable actions –, ultimatum given to Lithuania in March 1938 and the occupation of Zaolzia in October. Normand Davies points out that: “...the Polish authorities took advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbours to resolve old disputes and to congratulate themselves, but the government’s main concern was not to be surrounded by Germany on the southern and northern flanks.” These actions are far from understanding the concept of goodwill at that time and in contradiction with the interpretation of this concept today.

Good neighbourliness postulates the fulfilment of the solidarity duty between neighbours. It is an undeniable truth in the interwar period and fully valid in the 21st century. The historian Nicolae Iorga was fully aware of the validity of this truth, and Nicolae Mareş widely evoked the circumstances in which Nicolae Iorga gave expression to his feelings of solidarity with the Polish people. The section entitled Solidarity with Poland manifested by Nicolae Iorga in 1939 bears witness to the way in which the magic of good neighbourhood harmonizes with the imperative

of solidarity in Nicolae Iorga's thinking. "We do not find ourselves in the presence of a declarative solidarity, but of a call for a firm and large-scale solidarity action,' the author of the book explains this attitude. With the outbreak of the Second World War, in September 1939, until the last moments of his life, N. Iorga wrote, in *Neamul Românesc* and in other publications of the time, dozens of articles in which he proclaimed the outbreak of the world conflagration, depicting the drama of the people so close to us, forced to leave their ancestral hearth, in the face of the Nazi attack and bombing in the west and the Bolsheviks in the east... In the given situation, Iorga addressed, to all Romanians: 'from the bishop to the opinca', hot calls to support, with all the best, the afflicted Polish brothers. (p. 87). As a matter of fact, Nicolae Măreș considered this subject of crucial importance in the relations between Romania and Poland and he dedicated an entire monograph to it: Nicolae Măreș, *Alianța româno-polonă între destrămarea și solidaritate*, Biblioteca Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010.

Nicolae Iorga analyses, in an international context, solidarity as a universal value, as it will be defined many years later by the United Nations, on September 8th, 2000, in the Millennium Declaration which states *expressis verbis*: "Solidarity. Global challenges must be managed in a way that correctly distributes costs and burdens in accordance with the basic principles of equity and social justice. Those who suffer or benefit the least deserve help from those who benefit the most".

Referring to moral solidarity, Nicolae Iorga points out: "Moral solidarity (;) means first recognizing the need for goals that everyone must worship with their faith and work, ready to face any dangers and receive all suffering. [...] However, this solidarity needs to be managed, and the leaders should not be blindly sought at the moment of threats, such as, again, the changeable connection with them is not of a material calculation. They must always be at the place where the signal word is given, and this word must not be sought in the buds through all the corners of darkness. The hierarchy of functions should correspond as much as possible with the natural hierarchy of values and merits, so that the guide does not become more insecure than those who are required to be guided" (p. 216).

The reading of Nicolae Măreș' book highlights not only the passion and meticulousness demonstrated by the author in the in-depth

research of a topic of major interest for the history of relations between Romania and Poland, but also highlights the unilateral nature of the attention paid to Nicolae Iorga's contribution to promoting friendship between peoples. Polish historians have not found it appropriate to respond on the basis of reciprocity to the Romanian invitation to create academically useful bridges for better knowledge of the history of the two countries, especially in the periods of hardship that the Romanians and the Poles went through. Not even the alliance of the two countries in the organization of the Warsaw Pact, in the European Union and in NATO has stimulated joint research plans or individual projects of mutual interest in this specific field.

We hope that the English and Polish translation of Nicolae Măreș' book will make it easier for historians in Poland and Romania to take on the intellectual responsibility of clearing gaps in the history of their countries' bilateral relations.

This desideratum should, moreover, be examined from a broader perspective. Nicolae Iorga wrote the first history of Albania, which was used as documentary material at the Paris Peace Conference, where the independence of this country was recognized. Historically, the first fundamental works in Romanian historiography on the relations between Romania and many countries belong to him, among which a significant place is occupied by those dedicated to the relations with neighbouring states. These truths should be known by international public opinion. Nicolae Iorga should be converted, without delay, into electronic editions, easily disseminated worldwide.

The example offered by Nicolae Măreș through the volume of authentic pioneering presented in these brief lines should be followed by professional historians, who should fully capitalize on the huge documentary and interpretative legacy left by Nicolae Iorga. According to the latest data published or updated at June 5th, 2021 in an encyclopaedic article published by Wikipedia, Nicolae Iorga is defined as a "wonder child, polymath and polyglot, with a prolific scientific activity." It is estimated that Iorga wrote 1,003 volumes, 12,755 articles and studies and 4,963 reviews, this unequalled activity culminating with *Istoria României*, in ten volumes. The widest possible knowledge of this immense work, through both individual and collective efforts, would

represent the most brilliant and well-deserved homage to Nicolae Iorga and his patrimony to the universal culture.

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NARRATIVES ABOUT ROMANIA AND ROMANIANS IN UKRAINE: BETWEEN SOVIET REMINISCENCES AND THE DONBASS “WOUNDS”

Marin GHERMAN

Abstract: *Ukraine seems to have firmly assumed its European course – and discourse – after the 2013-2014 “Euromaidan” and the signing of the Association Agreement with the EU, in 2016. However, the rhetoric of the press and the political class is still imbued with narratives of Soviet origin. A typical example is related to the dominant discursive line regarding Romania as a state, the Romanian people, the history of Romanians and the Romanian community in Ukraine.*

Keywords: *Ukraine, Romanian community, Soviet Union, mystification, Moldovans, European world, NATO, propaganda, civic identity*

The Soviet Point of View

The subject recently returned to the present, when a video about the Fântâna Albă massacre was published on the Facebook page of the Czernowitz Regional State Administration, in which history is grossly mystified. Thousands of Romanians trying to flee to the Kingdom of Romania, after USSR annexed Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, were killed by the NKVD, but the film posted by the Czernowitz Regional Administration says there were only 50 victims, it skips the fact that we were talking about Romanian ethnics and categorizes the act as a challenge “consciously planned and organized by the Romanian special services against the inhabitants of Bukovina”. The Romanian community reacted promptly on social networks and in the press, and the Romanian Embassy in Kiev mentioned that it is mandatory to “observe the historical truth in any attempt to portray the massacre that took place at Fântâna Albă.”

The Soviet mystification of the tragedy pursued two main objectives: firstly, to hide the details of this massacre and, secondly, to present it as an action of the Romanian and German agents, the aim being to exonerate the Soviet regime.

For example, in *Timp nou* newspaper from April 2nd, 1991, quoted by *Monitorul Bucovinean*, the Communist Party reported that “during March 1941, under the influence of the rumours spread by special service agents from fascist Germany and royal Romania about forced collectivization and the seizure of property, the deportation to Siberia of those who do not want to enter the kolkhoz, the attempts of the Romanian nationality citizens from most districts of the Czernowitz region to cross into Romania have intensified.” At one point, on April 1st, 1941, according to communist ideologues, the crowd began firing at the soldiers, and Red Army subunits were shot. “As a result of the response shots, 24 people died, 43 were injured. A weapon with 10 battle cartridges, 2 revolvers, 4 daggers were taken from them. All wounded received medical help,” writes the newspaper in the year in which the USSR collapsed.

Therefore, the new narrative of the regional authorities in Czernowitz is a continuation of the Soviet ideological line, a *softer* one indeed, while at the constitutional and declarative level, Ukraine embraces the projects of European and Euro-Atlantic integration and abandons the neo-Soviet ones! In the case of covering the events regarding the Fântâna Albă massacre, it is not yet clear whether the video represents the point of view of the management of the Czernowitz Regional State Administration, of Ukraine as a state or was a mistake of the directors of this video! The governor of the region was asked by the National Council of Romanians in Ukraine to officially deny the allegations.

It should be noted, however, that the politics of history has always been a reason for misunderstandings between Bucharest and Kiev. We can remember here the statement of President Zelenski about the fact that Bukovina was occupied in 1918 by Romania, a finding also present in history textbooks, from which millions of students in Ukraine learn.

Kiev backs Soviet thesis on “Moldovans” and “Moldovan language”

Another Soviet or even tsarist legacy is the concept of “Moldovanism”, which artificially divides the Romanian community in Ukraine into Romanians and “Moldovans”. In Ukraine, there are schools with teaching in the “Moldovan language”, there was a newspaper of the “Moldovans” and even a TV and radio station for the “Moldovan community”, presented as a distinct from the Romanian one and concentrated, according to Kiev, near the mouth of the Danube, where they were, in interwar period, the three counties in southern Bessarabia. “Moldovanism”, as a topic of geopolitical, sociological and psychological reflection, is current in an absolutely specific form in Ukraine. According to the 2001 census, 150,989 Romanians (0.31% of the population) and 258,619 Moldovans (0.54%) live in Ukraine. The census preserves the old division into Romanians and Moldovans, and these figures are still used in the reports of the central, regional and district authorities.

Public television in Ukraine recently broadcast a show in which an expert teaches the “Moldovan language” live, stating that “Moldovan belongs to the family of the Romance language group, which includes Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Romanian. That is why it resembles these languages”. It is relevant the fact that the Romanian language is mentioned in the end. Some Ukrainian historians, copying the Soviet narratives and even those of the Russian Federation, write that Moldova existed as a state before Romania, that the Romanian language is newer than the “Moldovan language” and so on. The attitude of Ukrainian and Kiev experts on this situation demonstrates a domestic political duplication, a dangerous cleavage: a desire to move away from the “Russian world”, which threatens the independence of the state and to get closer to the European world, but at the same time, an enormous fear of giving up some Soviet narratives.

Kiev has failed to construct other political myths to replace the Soviet ones, which still cement its civic identity. For example, we read in the weekly *The Ukrainian Week* that “Ukraine is not objectively interested in the unification of Moldova with Romania, as this will strengthen the chauvinist circles of Romanian geopolitical revenges and, especially, Romanian-imperial organizations, such as România Mare și Vatra Românească, which dream of Romanian lands up to the Ukrainian city of Nicolaev... It should be mentioned that in the Czernowitz region alone at least 40,000 Romanian

passports were issued to our citizens. So, long live independent Moldova!” Such narratives are not very common in the Ukrainian press, but in the absence of other information and analysis on this topic, this information is still part of the Ukrainian public opinion. In addition, for Kiev, maintaining two minorities, whose specific issues are discussed separately with Romania and the Republic of Moldova, makes sense from a geopolitical point of view.

It should also be noted that after centuries of occupation (tsarist and Soviet) and decades of propaganda, some ethnic Romanians identify as Moldovans, just like in the Republic of Moldova.

The enemy of Ukraine, the Romanian passports and *soft power policy*

Ukraine had relatively little time to change its perspective on Romania, given that until 2014 the public agenda in Kiev was linked to that of the “older brother” in Moscow. Defence and security policy was deeply influenced by politicians with Russian citizenship, who in the meantime took refuge in Crimea or Moscow. For a long time, the Ukrainian military exercises had Romania as a possible enemy as a NATO member, while Russia was the basic ally of the Ukrainian army.

Romania has been the target of Soviet propaganda since the early years of the USSR, when the first fundamental myth was promoted, which would be perpetuated in the collective mind over the decades: that of the bourgeois-landlord state. Romania’s association with fascist regimes followed, due to its alliance with Nazi Germany and its participation in the WWII as their ally. NATO membership added a new dimension, given that the North Atlantic Alliance was also the target of Soviet and, later, Russian propaganda.

Moreover, as in the case of the conception of Moldovanism, Romania’s image as an enemy state is still built by the Ukrainian nationalist forces, which by sowing frustration and fears towards their neighbours hope to reap immediate electoral results.

Romania reappears from time to time in the pages of the Ukrainian press as a scarecrow when it comes to the fate of Bukovina and the recovery of Romanian citizenship. For example, in the context of the MFA talks in Kiev, on the need to recognize dual citizenship at the legislative level, some journalists and politicians have begun to warn the public that an autonomous republic will emerge in Northern Bukovina, where everyone will

have Romanian citizenship, “being known that the whole of Bukovina is considered by Romania as its territory”. According to the press, Romania would have hidden territorial claims against Ukraine, therefore, dual citizenship would allow the organization of separation referendums, following the model of Crimea.

We notice more and more often that, in the Ukrainian society, there is another great fear – that of betrayal by the neighbour, meaning Russia. Often, some good initiatives of the Romanian authorities are seen with suspicion, through “the historical lenses of Donbass and Crimea”, as if everyone around, including EU states, want to seize Ukrainian territories. Romania’s diplomatic actions to support Ukraine in the war with Russia, to provide systematic assurances that Bucharest respects the territorial integrity of the Ukrainian state, to provide humanitarian and financial assistance to Kiev have had the effect of substantially changing the attitude of experts towards Romania, *which we do not notice in the case of the press and society in general.*

The cleavage between European aspirations and the Soviet past

The Soviet reminiscences of the Ukrainian collective and political mentality about Romania, identified primarily in various public narratives, are a demonstration of the existence of a cleavage within Ukraine. On the one hand, the state wants to break away from the Russian world and the Soviet past (a law on decommunization has also been adopted), on the other hand, often the political class cannot get rid of a series of myths from the communist period, which still form a certain substratum of civic identity. Soviet myths, adapted to the realities of the 21st century, spelled in other words, but essentially the same, offer, for the time being, simple answers to a series of existential questions for Ukraine, while the Europeanization of society should mean an acceptance of reality, a renunciation to historical falsehoods, to the artificial division of national or linguistic communities, a gradual abandonment of all historical frustrations and resentments regarding neighbours.

According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the strategic course towards the EU and NATO is irreversible, which means that, in the future, Romania and the other states in western Ukraine will be allies,

and the borders that separate them will become more formal. And this requires getting out of the vicious circle of Soviet myths, which even today are dressed as some parade clothes by politicians to stay in power.

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Philosophy



A RESIGNIFICATION OF C. RĂDULESCU-MOTRU'S CONCEPT OF DESTINY

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Abstract: *In the present study, the author aims to capture the connection conceived by C. Rădulescu-Motru between the concept of “destiny” and the concepts of “soul substance,” “ethnic” and “vocation”, arguing the idea of the great thinker according to which destiny of a man or of a nation resides, like the vocation, in their soul substance, as it is influenced by the external environment. At the same time, the author of this study reveals how the philosopher considered that destiny and vocation can be glimpsed and pursued. In achieving the mentioned objectives, there is a dialogue with some current resignifications of the thinker’s conception of destiny.*

Keywords: *Destiny, Soul Substance, Ethnic, Vocation, Energetic Personalism, Historical Time, Biological Time, Creative Spontaneity of Culture, Social Environment*

C. Rădulescu-Motru expressly referred to “destiny” in his 1940 work, entitled *Time and Destiny*, but the concept set out in the paper is integrated in the context of his reflections on the education of energetic personality, initiated in the final chapter of his fundamental work *Energetic personalism* (1927), amplified in the work *Vocation – A Decisive Factor in the Culture of Peoples* (1932) and completed in two other writings on the “Romanian vocation,” namely *Romanianism: the Catechism of a New Spirituality* (1936) and *The Romanian Ethnic* (1942). His conception of the destiny of individual people and the communities to which they belong to, therefore, also implies his considerations about the vocation of individual personalities and the vocation of collective personalities (peoples), about the relationship between the two types of vocational people, as well as about ethnicity,

as collective soul factor, but which also engages individual consciences. Summarizing, his philosophy of destiny also subsumes his conception of the role of the individual and society in the unfolding of history, a conception that occupies a significant place in the posthumous volumes of *Revisions and Additions*.

1. The distinction between physical time and destiny as organic time and the hypostases of destiny

In the “Preface” to his work *Time and Destiny*, distinguishing between physical and organic time, Rădulescu-Motru mentions: “I kept the name of *time* for the clock industrialized time, that is, for the time invented by human reason, and for the time lived, I used the old name of *destiny*.”⁵⁷

In the same “Preface,” however, considering that physical time is established conventionally, he specified: “for us, there is only one real time, that which is lived, and which we call destiny”⁵⁸. Consequently, although he announced the use of the terms time and destiny for well-distinct domains, during the paper he will frequently use instead of the term destiny that of time. In what follows, after I present the hypostases of destiny, I will use the term destiny only for the hypostasis called as well historical time of nations (but also of individuals), which the philosopher treats in the broadest and most detailed way.

Rădulescu-Motru considered that physical time was established conventionally, because it was correlated with the periodic movements of celestial bodies, such as the movements of the planets around the Sun, whose duration of movement was measured and divided into equal⁵⁹ moments, disregarding the substance of physical bodies and external conditions, the influence of which is, indeed, negligible. It was concluded that *physical time* is an *abstract* or empty frame (independent of the events that take place in it), *homogeneous* (any interval thereof being equal to another interval of the same size) and *universal* (the same for all phenomena) and, therefore, measurable by means of instruments (clock, stopwatch) that record the equal moments that

⁵⁷ Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, *Timp și destin*, in Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, *Opere alese*, vol. II, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2006, p. 106.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

follow one another. Physicists have reported the mechanical causal relationships as well to this abstract time, ignoring the conditions under which the connections between causes and effects take place.

In accordance with the knowledge of his time, Rădulescu-Motru claimed that abstract physical time cannot be applied to microcosmic phenomena, which are no longer subject to a mechanistic determinism. Moreover, he argued, physical time does not suit the individual soul's life, in which "several acts of the soul take place at once, each having its own different time"⁶⁰. Thus, "there is no act of will that in addition to the conscious elements does not have unconscious elements," and, among the conscious elements, "some happen faster, others more slowly, but all for the same functional purpose, and all together, each preserving its temporal development, form a whole". The philosopher added that the same thing happens in social life, where "we speak of a consciousness of people, race, class and individual at the same time"⁶¹.

Generalizing his idea of a different time, different from the physical one, in the same "Preface" of the 1940 work, the philosopher argued that, in the living world, each organic unit is characterized by a lived time, because it goes through the stages of youth, maturity and aging, each stage having its temporal characteristics. He argued that *lived time* or *destiny*, as time of a vital unit, by the very fact that it is lived, is *concrete* (dependent on the living unit that lives it), *inhomogeneous* (because any organism goes through unequal phases in terms of duration and rhythm of its evolution) and presents *uniqueness* (specificity according to each organism).

By analogizing destiny with the phases an organism goes through, Rădulescu-Motru seems to be influenced by Oswald Spengler's conception of his famous book *The Decline of the West*, but through his considerations about the hypostases of destiny and, especially, about the "soul substance" from which it emerges, the Romanian philosopher clearly differentiates himself from the German thinker.

The content of destiny, in the general sense mentioned, acquires several well-distinct hypostases, just as the vital units in which it materializes are different. Rădulescu-Motru refers to three hypostases, called: 1) physiological time (of the individual), 2) biological time (of the

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 110-111.

species) and 3) historical time (of the nation). Specifically, “it is physiologically the time that relates to the constituent tissues of an organic unit,” such as the time that a wound needs to heal and which is “proportional to the age of the body and the surface of the wound.”⁶² Biological time refers to the evolution of a species, and historical time to the evolution of a nation. Comparing the last two types of vital time, the philosopher specified: “In biological time we have the vital growth, which through ascending mutations connects the generations included in the units of animal species, thanks to which their persistence on earth is ensured; In historical time we have the spontaneity that springs from the souls of multiple human groups (groups that can reach the size of a giant empire), through which these groups succeed in creating new institutions and forms of culture and ensure their continuity. In biological time, a vital ascent; in historical time, an ascension of the soul.”⁶³

Regarding the relationship of historical time with other types of time (organic) and, in this case, with biological time, the author of the paper stated: “The historical time, which we have in mind, stands next to the psychological time, the physiological time and the biological time as a facet of the organic becoming with which we have identified destiny. In the genetic order, historical time is an extension, or rather a sublimation of biological time.”⁶⁴

Rădulescu-Motru often refers to destiny as “historical time,” because, according to him, since destiny is not exclusively given, but it can also be made, “in destiny enters as well, as we know, the meaning of life, which a nation attributes to itself, unlike all the others,”⁶⁵ but also the effective realization of this sense, which involves a certain pace and a duration, and, therefore, a measurable time.

2. The soul substance – source of individual and community destiny

Given the fact that peoples have different destinies and histories, the question naturally arises about the origin of these differences or, in other words, destiny, as historical time, where do these differences come from, in other words where does the destiny of a nation or man, as member of a nation, come from.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 160.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 161.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 163 (clarification made by the philosopher in a footnote).

Rădulescu-Motru claimed that the “soul tone” of an epoch, more precisely of a certain “human group” and, of course, of a certain nation in that epoch, is formed by the way the members of the group feel and it relates predominantly to the tone of the past, either emotionally (through feelings of “hatred, impatience, fear”), or voluntarily, or rationally. According to him, “there is an evolution of the soul motifs that entails the colour evolution of each epoch”, so that “between the historical evolution and the evolution of the individual soul life there is a close connection”⁶⁶.

The author of *Time and Destiny* also argued that destiny, as historical time, also differs depending on the culture of a particular human group, the “specific characteristics” of this culture, so that, without culture, a human group would not even have a history, but its life would take place only as a biological life, according to biological time. A unit of culture, he added, is constituted starting with the unity of language and religion. Culturally, some human groups are inventive, others are not; some are offensive and heroic in the face of difficulties, others are submissive; some live the spiritual content of the norms of culture, others have institutions and laws according to these norms, but they live below the level of this spiritual content (here the philosopher resumes the critique of substanceless forms!); members of some groups have a responsible spirit and respect each other, while members of others are egocentric individuals and believe they have the right to command other individuals. The philosopher will conclude that human groups that have in their souls the “culture-creating spontaneity” are those that impose their historical destiny and the “stationary,” “amorphous” groups are only “safety valves” for the influences received. He will conclude that “in the cultural environment of the historical life there is the force that brings with it the acceleration of time, which does not exist in the physical environment” and which “is the force of invention and originality”⁶⁷.

From Rădulescu-Motru’s considerations about the dependence of destiny as historical time of a human group both on the group members and on the group’s cultural unity, it results that, mainly, the destiny of a group depends on its members, on their availabilities, for

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 162.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 163.

the group cultural unity is also achieved by the individuals who compose it and not independently of them. The philosopher rejected the idealistic and materialist conceptions, according to which the possibilities of human groups to hasten their future would depend on means extrinsic to humans, be they spiritual or material means, respectively. Explicitly, the Romanian philosopher referred to the Hegelian type idealism, with emphasis on “symbols, ideas, or institutions of universal character,” which would have “in their own structure an invincible dynamic,” and to historians who, on the contrary, emphasizes the “economic technique of labour and, in general, the material factors”. Against the two orientations, in his work *Time and Destiny*, the philosopher reached the following conclusions, which are mutually supportive: “the future of a human group depends primarily on *the soul substance of its members*” (emphasis added, I.N.R.); “historical facts presuppose the historical perpetrators,” “we call this perpetrator the man of vocation;” “but even the man of vocation would not have this power of realization, if he were not in a close soul correlation with the whole group of which he is part of, his achievements resonated and change the rhythm of historical life, because they are the anticipations the soul’s finality of the group”⁶⁸.

Thus, understanding Rădulescu-Motru’s conception of destiny implies clarifying not only the “soul substance” of individual people, but also the “soul substance” of the human community (people, nation), equivalent to the notion of “ethnic” (national soul background), as well as the idea of “man of vocation”, as the philosopher attributes to the man of vocation a decisive role in the formation of ethnicity and community culture.

3. Ethnic / national community and man of vocation – a mutual involvement

Rădulescu-Motru referred extensively to the unity of culture and soul of an ethnic group in general, applied to the Romanian people, as well as to the role of the man of vocation in establishing the ethnic in his work *Etnicul românesc* (1942). Here, he stated that “the ethnic, according to its etymology (from the Greek *ethnos*), has the meaning of the word *national*, which we find in most European languages formed

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 164.

from the Latin *natio* and which denominates the community of birth”⁶⁹. More precisely, “ethnicity is the soul of a nation,” namely the soul in the narrow sense, which includes “feeling together with a consciousness of the self”⁷⁰.

In his book on ethnicity, the philosopher further advocated the idea that destiny – *unpredictable*, but *influential* because it happens in “the reality of human experience” – depends on the individual and collective soul background: “destiny is the development in time of the soul background with which the man or the nation come into the world”⁷¹.

At the same time, the philosopher reiterated the idea of the preeminence of the individual soul background over the community soul. The idea of individual consciousness’ priority results from the explanation given to the formation of ethnic consciousness. Namely, the consciousness at the base of ethnicity was understood to be, in successive order, the consciousness of the community of *origin*, *language* and *destiny*. The community of origin consciousness was formed in the members of the village communities through customs, habits, dressing traditions and work, common beliefs. The language community consciousness was established both in the village and in the city and manifested itself in a common culture, correlating all the members of a nation and making the transition to the national. Thus, the language “facilitates the collaboration of vocational people from within a country in the cultural institutions of the cities” and “the cultural institutions prepare, in their turn, the community of destiny’s consciousness, thus perfecting the national consciousness”⁷².

In the explanation given to the formation of the ethnic group, the emphasis is placed, again, on the people of vocation, who exist even in the ethnic community of origin, from the village, but, especially, in the one of language and culture. Thus, “through the cultural institutions of the city, the people of vocation find the opportunity to broaden the horizon of the consciousness of the village community”⁷³. Given the role of vocational

⁶⁹ C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Etnicul românesc*, Editura Fundației România de Măine, Bucharest, 1999, p. 96.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 99.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 54.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 51.

people, “the originality of a nation, the originality on which its future depends, is not conditioned by the number, but by the soul quality of its children, or more precisely: by the vocational types among its population”⁷⁴. People of vocation “are connected to each other by historical achievements” and are doers of destiny, they have the conscience of “the citizen determined to show solidarity with the destiny of his community, out of intimate and free conviction”⁷⁵ and are “especially endowed by nature”⁷⁶.

The philosopher also resumes the distinction stated in previous works between people of vocation and professionals, who are also competent specialists, but whom, egocentric in nature, pursue only their personal interests, without reconciling them with community’s interests and without devoting themselves to the latter. In the historical context in which the work was published, the author of *The Romanian Ethnic* considered that, if a nation’s future threatened, then it needs its people with “exceptional qualities” to unite themselves “into a single thought and a single will” and also it needs a leader, who will secure “a strict discipline among the members of his ethnic group,”... “who will make one’s mark through prudent judgment and energy of will and who, above all, will take responsibility”⁷⁷.

As noted, “by the agency of his book on ethnicity, the Romanian thinker strived to rehabilitate a certain individualism, which is not that of the capricious subjective preferences, but that of the exemplary deed, which is fulfilled by the collective good of the nation and asserted by the universal dimension of the created values”⁷⁸.

Therefore, referring to the connection between ethnicity and vocational people, Rădulescu-Motru raised the issue of “the relationship between *destiny* and *the character of the individual man*, or between *destiny* and *the soul substance of a nation* (emphasis added, I.N.R.)”⁷⁹. Through this, he approached implicitly, but also explicitly, *the relationship between the individual soul substance and the community*

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 67-68.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 110.

⁷⁸ Daniel Cojanu, *Vocația individuală și destinul comunitar. Elemente de etnopsihologie în opera lui Constantin Rădulescu-Motru*, in *Simpozionul național Constantin Rădulescu-Motru*, First edition Târgu-Mureș, 2016, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2017, p. 146.

⁷⁹ C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Etnicul românesc*, quoted ed., p. 82.

soul substance, usually supporting the priority of the individual consciousness, not without asserting the reverse influence of the social, national consciousness, to which sometimes he has assigned a decisive role. In *The Romanian Ethnic*, the author emphasized more on the individual conscience and on the individual, but here too he kept the idea, which I quoted earlier, according to which “cultural institutions prepare, in turn, the community of destiny consciousness”, in other words, the idea of the importance of community consciousness and of the institutionally organized nation in shaping destiny.

In his previous work, *Time and Destiny*, he had also argued that the man of vocation has the power to create destiny because he is, and I quote again, “in close spiritual correlation with the whole group to which he belongs.” The mentioned correlation can induce a certain ambiguity. Or, if he supports the primacy of the individual consciousness, the philosopher has in mind the fact that this is the only independent existence, while social consciousness does not exist independently, but manifests itself in and through individual consciousness, as their common background. On the contrary, the idea of the priority of social consciousness, which, I emphasize, does not exist independently of the individual consciences, means that their common ground is more valuable and is imposed in relation to their strictly individual level. Therefore, social consciousness is required if the individual consciousness relates to it, which is equivalent to the fact that it relates to itself and is exercised according to its community background, and not its strictly individual level. The people of vocation are the ones who give course, par excellence, to the community consciousness, which is theirs, but they express the demands of the nation to which they are part of.

Despite their mutual connection, the consciousness of a man and that of a nation cannot be fully understood without the role of the social environment in the exercise of their intended content.

4. The soul background and the role of the social environment in achieving destiny and vocation

In his works *Time and Destiny* and *The Romanian Ethnic*, the philosopher analyzed in depth the role of the subjective factor and of the social environment in capturing and achieving destiny and vocation.

In the work *Time and Destiny*, as, moreover, in the previous works or in the only subsequent work, Rădulescu-Motru conceived the soul substance not as an immutable given, with certain potential qualities to be realized inevitably, but as a source with certain innate potencies, which are to be updated according to environmental conditions. According to him, “the soul life brings with it possibilities into the world; the realization of these possibilities comes from the environment of life”⁸⁰. In other words, “soul substance,” although referred to as such, is no longer understood in the strict sense of the term *substantia*, as a given entity, with certain attributes that exist by itself and assert itself, regardless of conditions, but is conceived as a potential entity, whose properties are updated in relation to the elements of the external environment. Therefore, destiny depends on the “soul substance,” it is inscribed in it, but it is not something already given, which is to be fulfilled exactly, but it is a unit of several potencies whose fulfilment depends on external conditions.

In his book on *Time and Destiny*, the philosopher identified a series of means by which the socio-cultural environment can contribute to achieving favourable conditions for asserting different types of vocations. Since destiny depends on the possibilities available to man, including the aspirations suggested by his ideal of life, the creation of destiny requires, on the one hand, the exact knowledge of these possibilities. On the other hand, given the fact that “not all people are born endowed with equal talents, but all can be brought to their maximum potential, if placed in optimal working conditions,” it turns out that “the art of creating the destiny consists precisely in preparing these optimal conditions for each”⁸¹.

Through its double dependence, both on the inside of the soul and on the outside environment, destiny can be created both by its subjective notification and by state’s creation of some optimal living conditions.

Subjectively, “premonitions, revelations, predispositions to conversion, sudden enthusiasm and enlightenment and so on” are important. All these “sometimes reveal not only what is in one’s soul, but also what may unfold in one’s soul in the future”⁸². Such revelations are generated by events, but the events become significant, that is, destiny revealing, only for those with “rich soul possibilities”, who do not treat the events with indifference.

⁸⁰ Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, *Timp și destin*, in the quoted work, p. 212.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 210.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 211.

Therefore, the favourable environmental conditions are also very important: economic, educational, health, etc., which the state creates in order to “create its destiny, the individual in its margins, and the nation in its own”⁸³. In the same train of thoughts, also the conclusion according to which the individual destiny “merges, like a link, in the destiny of the whole people... and is not a destiny imposed by fatality, but a conscious conquest of the future”, because “every man creates his destiny as it is part of a nation, which consciously organizes its living conditions for the future”⁸⁴.

In his volume *The Romanian Ethnic*, Rădulescu-Motru included the idea of the correlation between the individual consciousness, as a hearth of destiny and vocation, on the one hand, and the environment, on the other hand, in an even more comprehensive idea, specific to his energetic personalism: “Isolated individual life cannot exist, whether biological or psychological; because life, on any level, implies a reciprocal action between the organism and the environment.”⁸⁵ He will mention that the idea according to which the individual soul has a real existence “only rounded in the environment’s living conditions” was a truth recognized at that time by the prominent representatives of metaphysics and which Heidegger and the existentialists had placed at the base of their philosophies.

Rădulescu-Motru’s conception differs from that of Heidegger and, in general, is not limited to any existentialist variant, in that it does not derive man’s “soul substance” from the manifestations of the human subjectivity, spent under the influence of the environment, but devoid of any substantial support. In other words, he did not claim that the human essence would be preceded by the subjective human existence and that it, conditioned by the environment, but without any support of the human substance or essence, would result from nothing.

For example, in *The Romanian Ethnic*, the philosopher revealed the following relationship existing in the Romanians between the community of destiny consciousness and the social environment, in which the soul background of the people remains a “permanent condition”: “The community of destiny is weak in peacetime; it

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 213.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 214.

⁸⁵ C. Rădulescu-Motru, *Etnicul românesc, quoted ed.*, p. 45.

strengthens in moments of great balance, when there is a choice between peace and war, when the country is in danger. But the soul background is the same.”⁸⁶

In the given example, the state of war, the imminence of life destruction, hence the intuition of nothing is not a source of perceiving destiny and forming the community of destiny consciousness, but only a factor in invigorating this consciousness. It is not the soul background that changes under the action of the environment, but the updating of this background, which implies a strengthening of the form of community consciousness, which already exists in the soul of the individual, as well as in the soul of the people.

Like destiny, vocation, as a means of destiny creation, resides in the same soul substance of the individual and the community. In his 1932 paper, *Vocation – A Decisive Factor in the Culture of Nations*, Rădulescu-Motru stated that vocation is an inner “calling”⁸⁷ of the man of vocation, an “intense impulse, but lacking a clear justification,” an unconscious “feeling”⁸⁸ of his to engage into the creation of destiny, of the community of destiny, which is a community of culture. A calling inscribed, in its turn, into the “substance of the soul,” the vocation is not a voice that calls man independently of the external environment. Rădulescu-Motru stated that the vocation, understood not only as an impulse or a calling, but also as an accomplishment, is an innovation “used by totality (social group, nation, race) to adapt to evolution” and that “innovation is achieved through the skills of individuals, but under the rule of the requirements of totality”⁸⁹.

A good interpreter of Rădulescu-Motru’s conception, starting from his ideas about the relationship between the soul background and the environment and discovering that he did not think that inner dispositions are imposed on the somewhat inevitable environment, concluded that the philosopher did not conceive a substantialist human personality, but understood it functionally, the function being “a relationship between the

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

⁸⁷ Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, *Vocația – factor hotărâtor în evoluția popoarelor*, in Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, *Opere alese*, vol. II, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2006, p. 18.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

elements of two different classes”⁹⁰. Noticing, then, rightly, the fact that, in Rădulescu-Motru’s work, the vocation “responds, which is true, inside the individual, to an impulse, but this impulse is manifested only because there is a social expectation that arouses it,”⁹¹ he concluded as well that the vocation is also understood by the functionalist philosopher.

Rădulescu-Motru’s conception of destiny and vocation is not, however, entirely substantialist, but it is not of a radical functionalism either. As for me, I appreciate that the philosophy of energetic personalism, destiny and vocation is rather on the side of a moderate substantialism or essentialism, as the philosopher states that the “substance” of the soul remains the “background” from which both destiny and vocation emerge, while the environment is a factor with a conditional or causal role, but not in the sense of production, but as a factor of updating something pre-given, pre-existing. I also appreciate that, in the situations in which Rădulescu-Motru put in the foreground the personality of the people, not that of the individual, be it a man of vocation, he took into account the social consciousness incorporated in the main forms of the social environment and, above all, in the political institution of the state and in the other social institutions run by the state: educational, instructional, etc. He identified this state consciousness with the nation’s consciousness, which would be valid for a democratic political leadership, but not for a dictatorial state, which expresses only the consciousness of the ruling political class, its elites, distinct and essentially opposite to nation’s consciousness, as an expression of the true community interests.

Another interpreter of Rădulescu-Motru’s conception of destiny, starting, in his turn, from the correct premise that he does not conceive the soul as an immutable “substance,” proposes “a reconstruction” and a reorganization “from another perspective”⁹², a phenomenological one, of this conception, reaching the debatable, and, I believe, unsustainable

⁹⁰ Claudiu Baci, *Ideea de vocație la C. Rădulescu-Motru*, in *Simpozionul național „Constantin Rădulescu-Motru”*, Second edition “Măiorescu și măiorescienii” Târgu-Mureș, 2017, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2018, p. 149.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 151.

⁹² Cornel-Florin Moraru, *Timp, destin și vocație: reconstrucția concepției lui Rădulescu-Motru despre destin*, în revista *Studii de istorie a filosofiei românești*, vol. VII, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2011, p. 222.

conclusion according to which the philosopher himself would consider that both destiny and vocation would spring not from the human background soul, but, rather, from man's reference to nothingness, as the destination of his life. In its "reconstruction", as the author confesses, "the discussions about the *living environment, the people, the horizon of possibilities opened by the affiliation to a nation* will be excluded from the present research" and replaced with the concepts of "*time, destiny, line of destiny and vocation*" (author's emphasis, C.-F.M.)⁹³. In fact, the fundamental concept with which the interpreter operates is that of *nothingness*, because it subsumes all the other concepts. According to him, man glimpses both his destiny and his vocation by reference to the nothingness established by the end point of life, by death. In its formulation, "*destiny and vocation both have their common origin in nothingness, as two meaningful occurrences of human existence*" (author's emphasis, C.-F.M.).⁹⁴

It should be noted that the author replaces the fundamental concepts of Rădulescu-Motru's conception, those of *nation* (nation's soul and, in general, of "soul substance") and that of *environment* with those of *destiny* and *vocation*, which, in fact, are secondary in the philosopher's conception and which the interpreter subordinates to the concept of *nothingness*. In doing so, he replaces the conception of the philosopher analyzed with his own conception. Or, a historical-philosophical commentary of a thinker, by means of which to update and, possibly, to better understand him than he understood himself, allows you, indeed, to say anything about that philosopher, but with only one condition: not to replace his fundamental concepts and their logical structuring with other secondary concepts or as well with your own concepts, which you reorganize into a line of thinking that does not belong at all to the one "reconstructed" and "reorganized".

In Rădulescu-Motru's conception of destiny and vocation, the fundamental concepts remain those of *soul substance* and *environment*, the human soul, as well as that of the people, being understood as a source of destiny possibilities, which are updated only in correlation with the ethnic/national environment, this, in its turn, being, in its highest form, a community of historical destiny (of historical accomplishments), without

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 223.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 228.

excluding, however, neither the community of origin nor the community of language (and culture), which, on the contrary, integrates them. His conception offers, even today, many suggestions for finding and following a meaning of life or a “line of destiny” for both the individual and the community, starting with the bringing to the fore of the competent activity and the social interest.

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MODELS THEORY OF PERSONALITY IN WORKING ENVIRONMENTS

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Abstract: *According to Gordon Allport⁹⁵, the functional autonomy of needs is strictly connected to the functions of one's own, it is these that allow you to support and perpetuate a certain activity, until it becomes a purpose in itself, which is independent from the original situations and conditioning. According to Customs, the functional autonomy of needs indicates the typically human ability to detach from the past, from biological and infantile conditioning, to develop freely chosen goals.*

Keywords: *theoretical model, personality, work environment, autonomy of needs*

Marvin Zuckerman and the sensation of seeking

The discussion of the first topic relating to theoretical models in work environments starts from the psychology of personality, with clear reference to the main theories.

The first theory examined is Allport's theory, which in the first half of the twentieth century constituted the most authoritative and capable attempt to provide a global and non-reductive vision of personality.

⁹⁵ Allport, G.W. (1979). *The Nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., Gordon Willard Allport spent nearly his entire academic career at Harvard, completing both his bachelor's degree and his PhD at the university, and serving as a faculty member from 1930 – 1967. Allport pioneered research on human personality. At a time when behaviorism held sway in psychology departments in the U.S., and psychoanalytic approaches dominated elsewhere, Allport championed an empirical methodology that considered the influences of current context and conscious motivations, without dismissing the possible contribution of unconscious memories and/or mechanisms to human thought and behavior.

This theory, differentiating itself from any conceptual reductionism, deriving from biological or psychosocial bases, determines the concept of personality as a dynamic Unit, within which biological, psychological and social components come to join and merge in a harmonious way. The essential and characteristic element of this vision of personality is to be identified in the integration of these factors, which results in an individuality with unique and unrepeatable characteristics.

According to Allport, in full contrast with the theoretical assumptions of behaviorism, that of psychoanalysis, the personality in the dimension of the present, would come to structure being influenced by both the past and the future experiential dimension. The personality, in fact, exists as a dynamic organization, which is structured by the way in which the subject leans towards the future, and by the way in which he reaches out, corresponds to an ever greater realization of his own potential. We find a profound humanistic-religious tension, where together with the scientific construct, we find components proper to the sphere of values, ideals, and questions of the existential sphere. The personality must be identified, sought and determined, starting precisely from the subject seen in its concrete manifestations, in its desires, in its aspirations.

According to this vision, the study of personality thus becomes the study of the forces that regulate and modulate development in the direction of growth and differentiation.

In Allport's theory, the notion of trait is essential for the description of personality and for the understanding of the various behaviors connected to it. According to Allport, the traits are: "generalized and focused neuropsychic systems, with the ability to render many stimuli functionally equivalent, and to initiate and guide coherent forms of adaptive and expressive behavior".

Another essential distinction in Allport's theory is that of the differentiation between the concept of trait, and that of habits or attitudes, which are clearly distinct from the first concept.

The trait, in addition to presenting itself as a more general personological characteristic with respect to habits, is the result of their integration and therefore is characterized with respect to habits, a greater power of generality, that is, it is connected to the characteristics that have to do with the dynamism of personality.

The attitude, on the other hand, is to be considered a concept that in many ways presents more similarity with that of the trait, as it has radically common characteristics, as both the attitude and the trait are predispositions to the response, that is, they can begin or guide behavior, are the joint result of genetic and acquired factors. The trait, however, is characterized by its greater general ability, compared to the attitude. Another relevant distinction is the relative one between traits and types. By type, we refer to an abstraction that somehow fades, those that are the actual characteristics of the individual, the trait is also an arrangement or set of provisions, which make the individual unique.

The traits are divided into cardinal, central and secondary, depending on whether they are dominant or general.

Another concept, always elaborated by Allport, in his theory of personality, is that of "one's own", the final point of becoming, and which includes all the aspects of the personality that contribute to its inner unity and reflects the integration of the variety of functions in charge. to adaptation. According to Allport, the Proper is not innate, but develops over time. It represents the area of the personality, where attitudes, thoughts, evaluations reach the highest level of coherence. Your own, according to Allport, would be identified with personal identity, with functions of the ego and the self. By its function, one's own absorbs the traits that remain subordinate to it. This is observable, in the functional autonomy of needs, a notion that has to do with the different reasons that guide conduct and characterize the personality of each individual. During the first weeks of life, the motivation to do and act is regulated by the principle of tension reduction. The child is moved by the need to reduce pain and achieve a state of pleasure. With the development of the functions of one's own, and in connection with the processes that mark the formation and differentiation of the personality, the motives also differ and are organized consistently with the evolution of the ego and with the organization of traits. The element that makes possible the emancipation and differentiation of a variety of psychological and social reasons is precisely the functional autonomy of needs, on the basis of which activities that were once instrumental and subordinate to the satisfaction of certain needs become sources of further needs that are completely independent from the former.

Allport's studies on personality psychology have affected not only the area related to personality psychology, but also social psychology

and the psychology of religious sentiment, producing a considerable amount of scientific material and influencing entire generations of people to be trained.⁹⁶

Allport's studies will be the subject of other articles by the author on the same topic, to be published in the following issues of the same academic journal

⁹⁶ Nicholson, I. (2003). *Inventing personality: Gordon Allport and the science of selfhood*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association

SCREENS EVERYWHERE, OR THE RENEWED ANTHROPOLOGIES OF VISION

Alessandro DENTI

Abstract: *The screen, today, is a luminous dart thrown into the multiform spaces of the city streaked by flows. Launched by invisible hands and demiurges, already ready on the spot of distractions and consumption, it lights up in the infinite passages of urban spaces loaded with colors, sounds, involving intensity without pause. Screens are everywhere today –and then, everywhere they bring with them a great question of the image, since this all-pervading diffusion of cut out areas that they project, of framed territories they represent, of illuminations that communicate, forces us to rethink the whole experience. of the vision, the different perspectives.*

Keywords: *Screen, image, rethink, vision, perspectives*

The screen, a modern word, today is no longer either one or simple: by multiplying by so many different and proliferating forms, it reveals to us in the epoch of its dominion affinities and genealogies much broader and richer than those of its first attributions, of pure space of projection. By crossing the theme of screens, this study ended up incorporating and relaunching a broader theoretical reflection on a series of parallel themes, often of profound philosophical or speculative elaboration already developed by a past and present tradition, such as those of image, vision, view, as well as inevitably of imagination and representation. The "global screen"⁹⁷ calls into question a sort of

⁹⁷ "Global screen" sounds like a literal translation of the rather recent text *L'Écran globale*, Points, Paris, 2007, by the authors G. LIPOVETSKY and J. SERROY, reference to our subject is obligatory, in this first phase of presentation, a book with good ambitions of systematicity on the subject, and marked by the fundamental logical relation of the screen to "globality", an almost obvious concept

"infinite visual reproduction", whose affirmation, in spite of often apparently trivial occurrences and results offered by mass entertainment, instead touches much deeper problems in the order of contemporary perception, of its transformations so pervasive of the way of seeing, of his changed ability to look and represent.

Our research deals with today's way of seeing and feeling, dazzled by screened lighting at every step inside the talking metropolis. A consequence immediately follows from what we have just said, and that is that this same research is inevitably called to act according to a basic anthropological perspective, that is, moving through a broader paradigm and at the same time more elastic than those offered by disciplines such as, for example, semiotics, aesthetics, the sociology of communication itself. This, for the obvious reason already indicated in the above lines, namely the existence of a deeper and more essential involvement implied, in the contemporary scenario, by the widespread use of screen representations, by the current and transversal practice of video everywhere. In fact, the era of full-blown screens stands as the time of an experience enduring and multifaceted, relating to seeing, appearing, making appear; an experience on the level of symbolic values, as much as an experience on the level of practices; and as such, an adventure not only of language, signs, objects, but also of behaviors and beliefs. And therefore, well ascribable to a more coherently anthropological reading plan, which is also capable of overcoming narrow disciplinary boundaries, in order to place side by side and overlap, within itself, multiple and different areas of observation. It will not be a strictly "ethnological" "fieldwork" in the manner of a certain classical, official anthropology, but rather a critical path developed around the idea and theory of a certain way of "seeing framed": first rethought through a recognition of theoretical research, as a complex background of conceptual reference, and then practiced through paths of direct observation of the phenomena, those emerging in the new hyper-technological mass territory. A type of direct observation that, to this anthropological background, will try to combine an approach we would call phenomenological, by which we mean a method of reading and understanding reality much more intimately based on the work of a

in era of global communication and digital convergence. However, we will return later to refer to this text again, in more specific questions.

direct description, subjectively involved in its object of observation and carried on "things themselves", on tangible and closer experiences, than on statistical parameters relating to quantitative survey methodologies. By saying to see framed we have in some way, with a single condensed expression, perhaps summarized the nuclear object of our research. In fact, the screen can be properly conceived as the elastic and changeable design of a "seeing inside a picture-frame", in whose peculiar experience different moments and phenomena are already distinguishable: both the strength of the vision and the work of the picture- boundary, both the static thrust of the off-screen, which acts as a negative that makes a difference, thus giving a space and a sense to the inside-screen. Let us immediately report, even if only for a moment, these first theoretical indications to the contemporary tecnome-tropolitano habitat: a landscape of luminous and communicative montages, in which the dialectic between frame, vision and the surrounding-external space nests indefinitely, folding and unfolding in countless times and turns, in front of the gaze. In the first instance, it is a question of being accompanied, as a paradigmatic starting point for our entire adventure, by a coherent framework of more general critical references placed at its foundation, taken from contemporary theoretical literature and capable of precisely accounting for this peculiar fluid scenario, highly communicative and dynamic in the game of apparitions-stimulus in a visual formula, with a strong cognitive grip and interactive pretension.



PHILOSOPHICAL AND ETHICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF INFORMATION

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Abstract: *Human subjects, like computers, not only transmit, but also process information, evaluate it, distinguishing the usual, normal, from significant news. In addition to the computer, man is able to perform steps that allow him to collect information, which was not at the starting point, neither available nor likely to be taken spontaneously. The evaluation of information by humans also involves distinguishing authentic information from parasitic information (noise), redundant or, especially, fake and, implicitly, the development of ways and means of diagnosis to determine the validity of information.*

Keywords: *information, cybernetic models, cognitive psychology, ontology, causality, human, embryo, genes, divinity, disinformation*

A unifying trend aimed especially at the organic field, on the one hand and that of the psyche, of the socio-human centered on consciousness, on the other hand, is realized starting from the concept of information, from cybernetic and computational methods and models, correlated with the same concept. Even if the ontic status of information – as, by the way, of energy – arouses discussions and controversies, the consideration of the former as a fundamental component of real world systems (in addition to substance and energy) is generally accepted, even unavoidable.

According to P. Oleron (*L'intelligence de l'homme*, published by A. Collin, Paris, 1989, p. 176), information is not a (autonomous) whole, which would coat the nothingness, a kind of “full” which would fill a void, but a necessary complement, in relation to *functions, activities* and –

from a certain level – *knowledge*, already present. To mark the renewing significance of the *Information Theory*, geneticist Waddington noted: “It (information) establishes the crucial idea that in the world there are not only physical factors (spatial position, mass, acceleration, etc.), or chemical ones (atomic and molecular composition), but also another field of fundamentally important factors, which we can call *character specificity*” (see C. H. Waddington, *Tools for Thought*, J. Cape Ltd., London, 1977, p. 144).

Starting from telecommunication’s engineering preoccupations, Shannon and Weaver elaborated the relatively new theoretical-practical field of *Information Theory* (1949). The concepts specific to this field, such as: *information, uncertainty, redundancy, noise, information channel and channel capacity, coding and decoding, etc.* seemed susceptible to expansion in order to deepen natural language, knowledge, and the psychological subject as a whole. They were, quite quickly, adopted in the discipline of Cognitive Psychology. In Shannon and Weaver, information theory is based on the notion of *probability*, and information appears as a function (in the mathematical sense) with the opposite sign, aiming at the probability of the events in question; which means that the information carried by the event is higher, when it is rarer, less likely.

This definitive approach is also linked to the fact that the informative value in question also implies a qualitative value, an aspect of surprise. Probabilities can have distinct defining features (and therefore types): sequential probability, where the probable occurrence of an event in a sequence depends on the occurrence of the event preceding it; then, the statistical probability, depending on the size of the set from which we deduce the target element, in the sense that, the larger the set, the lower the probability of one of its elements occurring. In terms of language communication or learning, the perception and understanding of words will be more likely to be done correctly, as their occurrence is more likely, more frequent. The problem is analogous, when it comes not only to physical events or words, but also to meeting people, their way of acting and reacting.

The Shannonian concept of information explains three other essential notions of cognitive psychology and praxiology: uncertainty, choice, decision. In an action situation of choice (at least between action

and abstention) there is usually uncertainty. And the rational decision means making the choice – informally based – between several possible actions or, at least, between action and abstention, with the approximation and diminution of the inherent uncertainty.

Human subjects, like computers, not only transmit, but also process information, evaluate it, distinguishing the usual, normal, from significant news. In addition to the computer, man is able to perform steps that allow him to collect information, which was not at the starting point, neither available nor likely to be taken spontaneously. The evaluation of information by humans also involves distinguishing authentic information from parasitic information (noise), redundant or, especially, fake and, implicitly, the development of ways and means of diagnosis to determine the validity of information.

About the mentioned aspects of intelligence aiming at information, not only with cognitive psychology speaks, but also (in specific ways), the history, sociology, pedagogy, medicine, trade, military doctrines, politics, journalism works, etc. Pedagogy, for example, recommends, for a more thorough assimilation of new information, some fragmentation, staging, approaches, initially, predominantly metaphorical, so that the learner is not overwhelmed by the mass of new information, somewhat brutally spilled, into the avalanche. However, the aspect of surprise, related to the shock of radically new, unexpected elements, but with the avoidance of tendencies towards large disorganizations, often generated by the appearance of shockingly new pieces of information, is also preserved as a fertile pedagogical process.

In the ontology of information, W. Krajewski emphasized the existence of three fundamental components, inextricably linked, in the processes of nature and society (W. Krajewski, "Matter, energy, information," in vol. *Current metamorphoses in the philosophy of science*, Bucharest, 1988, p. 267). It is about the transfer and transformation of matter (substance), at the same time as the transfer and transformation of energy and information. Science and technology detect, assemble and transform – including for applications in extended or even new fields – a wide variety of information. For example, the sciences of education and the education system process and transform information to be assimilated (more or less well) by those who are trained.

Viewed in the light of universal causality, the three components enumerated by Krajewski are also constituted as three types of causality, which complement each other: the material cause, the energetic cause and the *informational* one. They also recall three of the four Aristotelian concepts of causality: the material cause, the effective one, and the formal one; but less about the final cause, also postulated by Stagirit, by means of which reference to the presence of convergences with religion, respectively with the purpose of Divinity were made. In one area or another of the processes of the Universe, although the first three types of causes coexist, one of them may come to the fore. For example, in the living world, as Krajewski himself notes (*Ibidem*, p. 273), “the development of the embryo is due to energetic and material (substantial) causes, which appear as external and to an informational cause, which is internal.” As genetic information decides the structure and functional characteristics of living organisms, this internal informational cause, encoded in genes, is predominant, without breaking away from energy or substantial causality.

The numerous categories of devices and technical aggregates fulfill, under informational report, two more important functions: one, of detection and recording of different signal-stimuli, otherwise, most frequently, inaccessible (telescopes, radiation detectors, etc.), and the second – even more important in scientific knowledge – of evaluating and measuring the characteristics of those signals (intensity, harmfulness and / or utility, precise location coordinates, etc.). The connection between these functions, with the respective recordings – made not only by the devices, but especially by the human subject – was interpreted simplistically in the empiricist methodologies. According to P. Oleron, there would be no simple transformation of the collections of sensitive recordings into coherent explanatory ideas.

In addition, quantified and correlated information need to be extracted from sensitive recorded data for evaluations. The latter are established, only, as rational knowledge, through ideas. Starting from this higher level, other machines are produced such as computers, which generate new (artificial) elements of intelligence. However, computer systems, with their *soft* load, can generate neither artificial freedom, nor artificial morality, in the socio-human life.

The ethical dimension of information processing, although extrinsic to intelligent machines, is, however, extremely important for man and the social system as a whole. The presence of fake information (fake news, etc.), of intentional misinformation in interpersonal relationships, for example, through some networks of foreign secret services, are increasingly widespread and worrying realities. Conquests of psychology and other information-centered sciences can be used by misinformers, who specialize in manipulating the motivation and actions of individuals, and even entire groups and communities. It should be noted that intellectuals are – despite appearances – more vulnerable to misinformation (see H.P. Cathala, *The Age of Disinformation*, Military Publishing House, Bucharest 1991, p. 55), compared to other social groups. Among the causes would be the excessive pride present here, with the generation of the illusion of believing oneself sheltered from errors and lies, illusion correlated with the so-called Faust complex, respectively of the increased attraction to occult powers and secrecy.

The avoidance of such consequences of misinformation, within the relatively free movement of ideas, can be achieved, even partially, by accompanying the information with a critical dialogue with the target audience. The path of dialogue will allow the latter to become more active, more demanding, less vulnerable and more unmanageable. Experiments in group psychology (Lewin, Sherif, etc.) show that when two groups, each with a strong and lasting cohesion, are maintained in a state of segregation and avoid dialogue, despite the neighborhood situation, they will tend to increasing hostile relations. It follows that certain limits must not be exceeded in the policy of autonomy of professional, political or ethnic minorities, unless the aim is to compromise cooperation, positive and peaceful relations – as, unfortunately, often misinformers do.

For an advanced civic education and as an antidote to organized disinformation, with destructive intentions, the same Cathala suggested that non-duplicative opinion formers (starting with teachers) make disciples understand and feel clearly the difference between a person's opinion, never infallible, on the one hand, and the honest description of facts and events, on the other. Thus, they will induce the need to always think with their own mind and to find inherent limits in the argumentation of aggressive opponents and sometimes, even in some of their own,

previous, too one-sided arguments. Taking advantage of a number of elements of Popperian critical rationalism, they will thus understand that if the assertion of a universal truth, so-called absolute, is impossible, instead rational critique and the gradual elimination of errors are always possible.

Argumentative knowledge, science, on the one hand, and guiding power, on the other, are the main protagonists of the great debates, constructions and socio-human renewals, which must be carried out without excessively, sophisticatedly exploiting intelligence, science, but also without idolizing political power.

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THE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND EUROPEANIZATION

Melina ALLEGRO

Abstract: *Often the philosophical aspect of the educational sciences comes into conflict with their scientific aspect because in the pedagogical field it is not possible to reproduce that exactness typical of the study of physical or natural phenomena. If pedagogy in fact cannot help but deal with the general aspect of each phenomenon and analyze it in its entirety, science, on the other hand, cannot help but deal with the particular aspect by isolating it in its particularities. However, this dichotomy can be overcome by pedagogy that has the ambition to overcome both the limits of a purely philosophical approach and those of a purely scientific approach.*

Keywords: *globalization, Europeanization, problem solving, hyper-complex, awareness*

Pedagogical knowledge is a synthesis that brings together philosophy and science, revealing itself as human science. It should also be emphasized that the educational process is based on social relations as education is primarily a transfer of knowledge from the educator to the learner which is expressed in an intertwining of both training and self-training processes in which the educator cannot be the custodian of absolute knowledge. Yet according to the technocratic approach, education must be subject to the principles of scientific reason through which the educational process is transformed into a learning of the rules that scientific rationality ensures are true. On the other hand, however, the neo-nihilist approach believes that devaluation and fragmentation prevail in the modern world, according to which it is no longer possible to elaborate universal values. All this requires overcoming the epistemological and methodological separation between

the exact sciences and the human sciences. As early as 1806 Johann Friedrich Herbart⁹⁸ theorized the organic link between psychology and pedagogy in order to develop a scientific pedagogy in his treatise *General Pedagogy* where he stated:

[...] The first science of the educator, although it is far from being his complete knowledge, would be a psychology in which all the possibilities of the movements of the soul were indicated a priori. I believe I know the possibility and the difficulty of such a science; we will wait a long time before possessing it and even longer before being able to demand it from educators, but it could never replace the observation of the pupil; the individual can only be discovered, not deduced".

In this context, pedagogical reflection poses the problem of setting up a model capable of responding to the multiple training needs of a complex society with the contribution offered by various types of knowledge. Thus knowledge is not predefined, but articulated in the various disciplines with the consequence of a reorganization of the pedagogical discourse. Pedagogical science has therefore intertwined a strong link with biology since the latter is the science that most deeply explores the phenomenon of knowledge understood as the relationship between the environment and the organism. The intertwining of brain mechanisms and genetic heritage has allowed us to understand the role of the human brain in learning. In fact, the human cerebral cortex, although less than five millimeters thick, contains about ten billion neurons and hundreds of billions of synapses. From the study of the neuronal circuit it is possible to trace the most significant human characteristics such as linguistic ability, personality, artistic talent and logical-mathematical abilities. Scientists also mapped some of the main brain circuits involved in memory, highlighting how, for example, skill memory generally involves motor activities that are learned through repeated attempts without consciously remembering specific information: once one has learned to cycling, for example, is almost impossible to forget how to do it. It is also known how the nervous system connects the reception of the stimulus with the response, since through contractions that occur with fractions of a second, impulses are transmitted that command appropriate actions. In this context, learning

⁹⁸ 1806, Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet, SW II: 1–139.

is understood as a behavioral modification, which is induced by an interaction with the environment and leads to a "new configuration" of response to external stimuli. However, there are some changes in behavior that are not attributable to learning processes while, according to cognitive theories, there are mental representations that mediate the relationship between stimulus and response. Then there is the problem raised by modern science which has led to a much deeper concept of physics or mathematics. The affirmation in physics of a representation that is no longer mechanistic, or that of non-Euclidean geometries in mathematics, led to the loss of that meaning of absolute value that was attributed to these disciplines considered exact. Einstein's theory of relativity or Heisenberg's uncertainty principle demolished the Newtonian and Euclidean concepts and broadened the horizon, coming to reconsider the pedagogical value of these disciplines in a different way. In fact, the study of mathematics or physics, and its application through problem solving, also trains the mind in rigorous reasoning, in precise enunciation, in the habit of controlling a procedure; the mental habit that it forms is necessary for any form of scientific activity. In fact, working with mathematical symbolism by recognizing the syntactic rules for the transformation of formulas or applying the rules of logic or statistics in a purely mathematical field must have as its purpose the development of the critical spirit with the human and intellectual promotion of student. In developing equations, systems of equations or inequalities, it is preferable to avoid repetitive and boring exercises, favoring instead the aptitude to critically review the knowledge gradually acquired and researching the historical-philosophical moments of mathematical thought. With the same methodological slant, the study of Physics must be tackled for which not only laboratory activities are indispensable, but also the research activities carried out by students who organize themselves to collect data, publications or documents in order to improve their ability to analyze or interpret information. However, since some experiments to be carried out in the laboratory may require long times or complex and sophisticated instruments, it is possible, with appropriate choices, to reduce the number of experiences, emphasizing instead the operational character of the physical concepts and highlighting the idealization process inherent in a model. physical. But it is precisely the Italian philosopher Roberto Ardigò

who, by adhering to the positivistic conceptions of the early twentieth century, promotes a transition from philosophical pedagogy to a scientific pedagogy in which man through a science of education can acquire knowledge and the habits that allow him to become a good citizen. Ardigò states that the training process is based on an objective method which is founded on the scientific knowledge of the learning process. The overcoming of today's pedagogical panorama of the traditional term of "education" with the term "training" implies a conceptual change. We have gone from the intentional action of one subject on another to the development of a dynamic event in which the potential of each subject participating in the process plays an important role. Thus unexplored horizons open up for pedagogical science with the possibility of refining learning techniques in a context characterized, however, by growing complexity. A new challenge is therefore highlighted in human training in order to be able to manage the variability and complexity of knowledge.

This challenge is becoming more and more a global and contemporary urgency. Today's society is complex, or as Zygmunt Bauman writes "liquid"; the educational situation is influenced by this instability and by the increasingly frenetic flow without an ultimate goal, but linked to the here and now. The environment can be important (Bandura's social learning theory⁹⁹), but alone he is unable to educate. In order for the educational event to bear fruit and be completed, it is necessary that the environment be lived with a certain order, that the educational action is not occasional or casual, but oriented towards specific objectives and responsive to the reality that is being living.

Education must be seen as a safeguard of diversity and as a protection of the potential that each man holds and has within himself. The educational relationship finds its deep meaning in the eliminable and eternal need to know each other and work on oneself, but at the same time, it demonstrates that knowledge of the other is equally necessary and full of surprises.

Pedagogy is the accompaniment of the child towards adulthood, towards emancipation, but what role does pedagogy play at school? We can say that pedagogy at school revolves around the transmission of knowledge, and not of beliefs, as Phillippe Meirieu argues; knowledge that must be shared by everyone and not just a small part.

⁹⁹ Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. New York: General Learning Press.

The transmission of knowledge, as expressed above, is essential to achieve the goal of pedagogy, that is, the emancipation from a situation of ignorance to full knowledge that leads man to make decisions with full knowledge of the facts.

Today's pedagogy offers us the conceptual tools to interpret the evolutionary process as highly human, to live it as such and above all to be a protagonist by giving our personal contribution, by conscious people, who do not intend to be carried away by events, but want to be there at three hundred and sixty degrees. .

It can be said that the fundamental characteristic of pedagogical knowledge lies in the complexity of its definition which remains an open or hyper-complex question, as Bertin wanted.

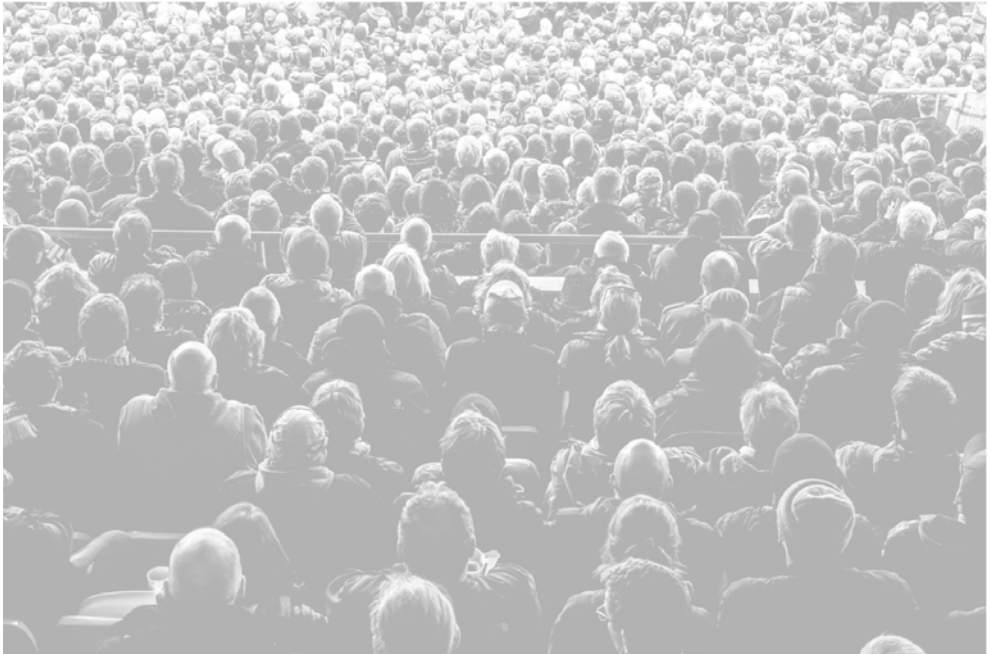
There is no doubt that the epistemological reflection of pedagogical knowledge is strictly connected to three aspects: individual-formation-society. Without a reflection on the subjectivity of the individual that puts the common good at the center, going beyond the concept of *homo homini lupus* by Hobbes, pedagogy loses its unicum which lies in being at the service of the person in the problematic aspect, but also in the potential. of the emancipation of a freedom that considers both the rule and the limit as a moment of internalization and not as mere acceptance.

Contemporary pedagogy looks at the real needs of educational subjects: that of a cultural and humanistic training and that of a more specifically technical and specialized training. In today's society "growing in knowledge" contributes to building a better quality of life, to reconsidering interpersonal relationships, relational and emotional aspects, collegial and participatory ones that facilitate understanding of the self and the other. The school interprets the social mission of passing on this knowledge, starting from an ethics of responsibility.

The social environment in which we live, the family (s), school, work, the relationship with others are profoundly and rapidly changed today. The complexity of our time, closely related to the constant change of social, economic, political and cultural reality, increasingly raises the need to build a world made to measure for men and women, for young and old, for natives and immigrants, for integrated and of excluded. We are all increasingly aware that knowledge and development constitute an inseparable link for the future of humanity

both from an existential and relational point of view as well as from a material and economic point of view. Pedagogy has developed and develops over time numerous educational models and in-depth critical reflections, aimed at the social transformations taking place above all with regard to children and young people and subjects in training (in behavior, relational styles, lifestyle habits) and how education should interpret them, providing ethical, social, cultural, political and economic indications aimed at outlining the profile, for future generations, of a new humanity, of a new way of being "citizens" of a country, who actively participate in the realization of the common good of their territory. Pedagogical reflection, which does not abstain, but "takes part and position", always aiming to build new training paths, is a committed and critical reflection: it does not express flat models of self-referential well-being, but builds "participatory models", indicating and providing to training operators on the one hand and to local communities as a whole, but above all to their socio-educational policies on the other, what may be the priority issues to be addressed and what research to conduct to ensure a better quality of daily life, both private and professional. Our tomorrow must be built not on the selfishness of everyone, but on a strong "ethics of responsibility", favoring the development of a critical mind that looks at the general problems of one's community, activating itself through greater participation, becoming aware of the consequences of actions human beings, for greater solidarity between humanity and nature. It becomes increasingly necessary and appropriate to make choices, even in our daily actions, which are characterized by a sense of responsibility, awareness of the human and natural environment that surrounds us, with the aim of measuring to what extent one's actions they are compatible with the needs of others, of those who are different from themselves, as well as of the earth, of all the flora and fauna that inhabit it. Many still today are not able to recognize the systemic complexity of the relationships present in a human or natural event. To form this new awareness it is necessary to increase the efficiency of the education and training systems and the general levels of skills and competences, with the use of innovative pedagogical approaches and centered on the student as a future citizen, review and strengthen also the profile of the professions of the teaching (teachers, school principals and teacher trainers), in consultation with

stakeholders, for example by ensuring effective initial teacher education and by providing coherent and well-resourced systems for recruitment, selection, initial training , early career support and lifelong professional development of teaching staff based on skills; finally, prioritize and, if possible, strengthen investment in education and training, while working to increase the efficiency of this expenditure.



CORRECT DELIMITATION OF A NEW NEUROLOGICAL TERRITORY IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Alexandra RADU

Abstract: *Acquiring the ability to understand and converse in a foreign language is not just an experience that results from assuming a lexical baggage and grammatical rules but is a much more complex process, which succeeds in correctly tracing and delimiting a new neurological territory in the case of that individual.*

That is why neurolinguistic programming is not, in the author's opinion, just a pedagogical strategy that consists of a set of techniques for teaching a language based on theories and assumptions at the level of a particular teaching model but is rather a humanist philosophy. and a set of beliefs and suggestions based on popular psychology, designed to convince people that they have the power to control their own minds and to program their experiences and abilities in the desired direction.

However, the success of this approach consists in the correct delimitation of the new neurological territory.

Keywords: *neurolinguistic programming, language teaching, tracing, territory*

Programming a language course based on the principles of neurolinguistics in order to correctly delimit the new neurological territory

According to the Neurolinguistic Programming Manual (Joseph O'Connor and Ian McDermott, Thorsons Pub, April 1996)¹⁰⁰ the design of a course based on the principles of neurolinguistics requires the following criteria:

¹⁰⁰ Joseph O'Connor and Ian McDermott, Thorsons Pub, April 1996.

1. Defining results as objectives or goals: According to NLP, the exact knowledge of one's own goals helps to achieve them. This principle can be expressed as follows: "Know what you want".

In language learning, goal setting can be achieved by identifying the level of language to be achieved (eg Common European Framework of Reference for Languages).¹⁰¹ Thus, the mental map of the individual will already have a clear outline, with precise "boundaries". "Know what you want", it becomes like this: "I know that I want to speak German at A2 level, that is, I want to be able to converse, to be able to understand isolated phrases and expressions frequently used in relation to immediate priority areas (personal or family information, shopping, close environment, work). I want to be able to communicate in simple and ordinary situations, which only require an exchange of information, simple and direct, on familiar and common topics. When I reach the goal, I will be able to describe with simple means my family, the environment and evoke familiar and common topics that correspond to my immediate needs.

There will thus be a clear definition of the baggage of words to be assimilated (perhaps even with the total number of words, which can be divided by a number of words to be assimilated each day), the grammatical rules and the constructions that the subject must and appropriate them.

2. Correct reporting to oneself and others: maximizing similarities and minimizing differences between people at the unconscious level is an essential factor for effective communication. This principle can be expressed as "Relate to yourself and then to others. "

The process of learning a foreign language becomes much more efficient when similarities are permanently established between the new rules to be assimilated and the principles of the mother tongue or other languages known to the learner.

The tracing of the new territory thus becomes, in fact, only an extension of the existing territories, an overview of one's own knowledge, meant to give the subject the capacity to contemplate them in a broader, overall perspective.

3. Sensory acuity: careful observation of messages transmitted by another person, consciously and nonverbally. This principle can be expressed as "Use your senses. Watch, listen and feel what is actually happening ".

¹⁰¹ <https://europa.eu/europass/it/common-european-framework-reference>

From this perspective, the tracing of the new territory, in fact, becomes a guided discovery and, like any explorer, the trainee will be called to use his sight (eg to associate images with words) but also hearing and, according to some studies, even the smell¹⁰². In fact, the trainer must test from the meetings with the group, the learning styles that the trainees develop naturally. In this sense, in teaching based on NLP principles, it is very useful to stimulate trainees who have a kinesthetic learning style, or to determine the whole group for the application of techniques aimed at this learning style.

Learning techniques for kinesthetic style

- The preponderant use of the palpable sense, the action, the movement in the learning actions. In order to be able to visualize, the trainee will focus more on the sensation that the respective image gives him.

- Use physical objects as much as possible. By touching them, you will learn much more about them or their functionalities.

- Use of diagrams or diagrams (these can also be considered physical activities). In order to transpose the ideas as well as possible, large sheets and strong colors will be used, which transmit states that will make the formable easier to remember.

- Using role-playing games, both alone and in a team. This exercise helps to empathize with other people's states or behaviors and learn about them.

- Looking for ways to simulate or even implement what he has learned.

- Maximum focus on the state of the moment and trying to gain control over the state of his body

4. Flexibility: do things differently if what you do doesn't work. If you get negative results, change your strategy! This can be expressed as "Continuously change what you do until you get what you want." In other words, if the path you have chosen does not lead you to the desired territory, choose another path! There is no failure in learning a foreign language, there is only an extension of study time.

¹⁰² Dr. Ken Heilman, professor of neurology at the University of Florida: "The smell evokes memories. It goes into the emotional and memory parts of the brain, just as words get into the thinking parts".

In fact, the development of a language course seems to be the most appropriate field for the application of these principles, as it is easy to see that each of them relates, to a greater or lesser extent, to communication. Or, better said, in the given situation, the way in which the author of the course builds his communication strategy with the target group from the sensing phase.

In the elaboration of his own pedagogical approach based on neurolinguistic principles, the trainer must take into account the following realities, referring to the new territory that he will delimit in the minds of the trainees:

1. The mind and the body are interconnected: they are parts of the same system and each affects the other. The involvement of conscious memory in the same way as affective and even olfactory memory is essential.

2. The map is not the territory: we all have different maps of the world. Each subject has its own representation of reality, sometimes more vague or more accurate, which the language teacher must always take into account. With the specific variations from one age category to another, the situations that have as subject an individual who learns a new foreign language and "forgets" or begins to "confuse" certain notions in his own language, demonstrate a defective delimitation of the new linguistic territory. or an insufficient definition of the existing one.

3. There is no failure, only feedback and a new opportunity for success. As we said before, learning a foreign language is done depending on the motivation of the subject and the time he has available. As such, the teacher must know how to arouse the subject or target group, the curiosity for discovering the new territory and motivate the exploration approach to obtain optimal results in the shortest possible time.

4. The map becomes the territory: what you believe to be true is either true or becomes true. In this case, the existence of "false friends" in the new language studied is an eloquent example, the subject associating the already known words with some that "sound" the same.

5. The resources we need are in us. Each of the subjects who want to learn a foreign language already speaks their own language, at least. Thus, in the new experience, he only needs to define a new representation of the notions he already has. For this purpose:

6. Communication is both nonverbal and verbal, and subjects are influenced by any of the teacher's behaviors, which they set as reference points.

7. Communication is also both unconscious and conscious, ie the subject will be influenced by any direct or indirect message sent by his mentor. Images and associations of any kind are essential in this regard. Also regarding unconscious communication, it is recommended, in learning foreign languages, to open all the ways of perception of the subject in order to learn the new language and trace the new territory (listening to radio and TV shows, watching social networks, talking with natives, when possible) .

8. The meaning of my communication is the answer I take, which means that the new territory must be "furnished" with everything that means the realities of the newly assimilated language and culture, the subject must be fascinated by the new reality and be willing to "absorb" any information on the subject of the study.

9. Modeling excellent behavior leads to excellence. Last but not least, in the delimitation of the new territory one always starts from the principle that the approach will be a successful one, and the created or rediscovered framework will be a new world. No matter how elementary the level of language that the subject or target group must reach, this first level represents the foundations of a new world, which can develop at any time, depending on individual needs and desires.

10. Flexibility of approach is essential, because flexibility leads to change, and the delimitation of a new linguistic territory is always a fundamental change of the individual not only by access to a new culture and civilization but also by changing the general image at the cognitive level.

Last but not least, the activity of evaluating the degree of success in the case of the approach of tracing the new neurological territory, is, of course, essential.

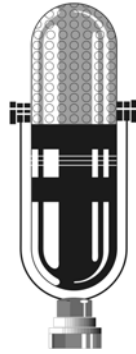
In this case, from the perspective of using NLP teaching techniques in the field of languages, it is recommended to use the peer to peer feedback technique, which involves encouraging learners to communicate with each other, involving all senses and emotions, dissociating themselves from the "burden" of tests and "Summarizing" the communication. There are case studies, for example those carried

out within the Erasmus PEER-TO-PEER TUTORING Project: Transferring successful methodology and learning, strategy to reduce drops-out in IVET, Project 2013-1-IT1-LEO05-040 - TRANSFER OF INNOVATION, which demonstrates precisely the success of peer-to-peer assessment in communication: "In partner schools in Italy, through peer-to-peer activities, tutor students have developed their communication skills. They have the ability to empathize with their peers, motivating them to learn and overcome various addictions."¹⁰³

What did our world look like before the discovery of American territories and what does it look like now? This is the question whose answer could lead us to a true picture of the steps to be taken if we intend to learn or teach a foreign language, ie to draw in our own mind or in the minds of others a new territory on that that language will no longer be a foreign one, but proper to new experiences and knowledge.

The application of NLP techniques in language learning, however, offers many more perspectives that will be the subject of other studies and articles that the author of this study intends to publish later.

¹⁰³https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/project-result-content/c88f7eb4-441c-4d24-90a3-9fb377b19ef6/P2P%20Third_newsletter_01%20english-it%20_Romanian.pdf



**Free to say
what i think.
Interview**



INTERVIEW WITH MR. LIVIU JICMAN, DIRECTOR OF THE COTROCENI NATIONAL MUSEUM

1. Dragoş Ciocăzan: George Bernard Shaw often quoted Hegel, saying he was right when he said that we learn from history that we can never learn anything from history. What is your opinion?

Liviu Jicman: I think it is essential to be given this opportunity to us – to have the freedom of discovering the real and unmystified history, a freedom forbidden by the totalitarian regimes, as was the case of Romania until 1989. But what each of us chooses to do with this freedom depends on each individual. Some choose to ignore it, others – as George Bernard Shaw – prefer to use it selectively, to argue their own theories or doctrines. Unfortunately, nowadays, this type of behaviour is present in different forms, one can see it in the fake news phenomenon or in the dissemination of conspiracy theories. I believe there are things to learn from history, but the freedom to learn the real history, and not be subjected to indoctrination, must be doubled by real access means to it, at everyone's reach. It is important for each of us to learn their roots.

2.D.C.: Great personalities of Romania have lived and accomplished important historical acts within the halls of the Cotroceni Museum. What do you feel when walking into those rooms? Can the tumult of those times still be felt?

L.J.: I step in with some kind of shyness and a great feeling of responsibility. But I would say that, contrariwise to those times and events, one can sense the peace, there is a feeling of reconciliation with the decisions made by the involved parties. Although important directions of the Romanian nation started from here, these are not controversial, and the blending between the images of the personalities that marked the destiny of this space and the rooms that keep the authentic style is giving a feeling of balance.

3.D.C.: Cotroceni National Museum is perceived as a more difficult objective to access, due to its position in the vicinity of the Presidential Administration. Regarding the promotion of the museum, what are the levers and channels through which you achieve this?

L.J.: The traditional ones, at the reach of all public categories. We promote the events and collections on our website page, on the specific pages in social media channels, and also with the help of our media partners we have at the most important events. The constant partnerships we have with organizations and institutes also represent an important mean of advertise the museum's activity, as well as the itinerant exhibitions we have around the country. We highly appreciate and take count of the opinions of our visitors, which are also an important mean of promotion.

4.D.C.: Such a museum also has the obligation to develop and maintain international relations. How do you see this side of the museum's activity?

L.J.: There are many ways we see and take action in this regard. Starting with the visiting of the museum, it's main activity – a great part of the Cotroceni National Museum public consists in foreign visitors, tourists or official delegations –, continuing with the itinerant exhibitions – many of them being taken abroad –, or our cultural diplomacy projects – in collaboration with foreign partners, concerts to honour ambassadors in our country etc. An example: I pleasurably remember our partnership with the Polish Institute for "Polish and Romanian women who changed the world" exhibition we had at the museum in 2019, followed this year by the "The Hearts Alliance", an exhibition made with the help of the Diplomatic Archives within The Foreign Affairs Ministry, to celebrate 100 years since the signing of the Defensive Alliance Convention at Bucharest between the Romanian Kingdom and the Republic of Poland (March 3, 1921), in the context of the state visit of the President of the Republic of Poland to Romania. I gave this example being convinced that, in this area, we need continuity and consistency, and not singular initiatives. It is important to build brick by brick.

5. D.C.: What projects do you intend to complete? Do you have plans to organize thematic exhibitions or some events in the near future?

L.J.: We have recently inaugurated a new section of our permanent exhibition, hosted in the Main Cellar, representing the evolution of the Cotroceni ensemble throughout the years. In fact, this is a part of a great project organized this year, "Once upon a time at Cotroceni", marking the three decades of activity the Cotroceni National Museum is celebrating in 2021. I've only mentioned the most important project of the Cultural Programme of the Museum for the current year because, although there are certain restraints due to the pandemic, we have succeeded this year also to organize many temporary exhibitions, to publish important paper works from the Editorial Plan of the Museum and also to display online exhibitions and virtual tours etc. Regarding your question on the thematic exhibitions, I can tell you that we are preparing to present in September "The Earth Predictions" exhibition, dedicated to the climatic changes, as an alarm signal through artistic means. We intend to itinerate this project after being displayed at the Cotroceni National Museum, so that it can reach many places from our country and abroad for the next two years.

6. D.C.: What do you say to those who preach the disappearance of the contemplative side of the human personality, of creativity and revelation as engines of knowledge, which will be replaced by exclusively technical skills? Is there a threat that, in the near future, museums will only be visited virtually?

L.J.: I avoid seeing change as a danger, I prefer to see it as an opportunity. I believe the connection with the community is an important aspect for an institution such as a museum, and, from this perspective, I think museums will remain meeting places for people. Otherwise, I believe it is important to adapt to the changes and to understand that, virtually, we can reach a much larger audience. Here, at the Cotroceni National Museum, we are trying to adapt to this change, so we are offering in digital form some of our publications, we prepare an online version for each temporary exhibition, if not a virtual tour. For the future, we are hoping that some of the publications and objects at our Souvenirs Shop will be available to be purchased online.

7.D.C.: Have you considered accessing European funds?

L.J.: Yes. We are preparing this kind of projects. But we will announce them when we complete the necessary documentation and documents.

8.D.C.: Can history be defined as an exact science?

L.J.: In my opinion, defining history as an exact science very much depends on the sources of the presented information. We always discover something new, we research and complete the past and this helps us better understand the times we live in. Paul Halsall defined history as "a conversation about the past", and in a conversation the opinions and points of view are different and diverse.

9.D.C.: Is the history of mankind the history of ideas or rather an endless series of events whose consequences are experienced by the future generations?

L.J.: A history of ideas that the future generations can find, at a certain point, in the present, which they can use and improve through the experiences we have learned from the past.

