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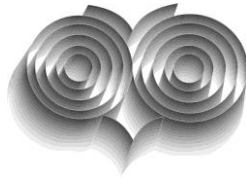


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MINERVA

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CONTENTS

History

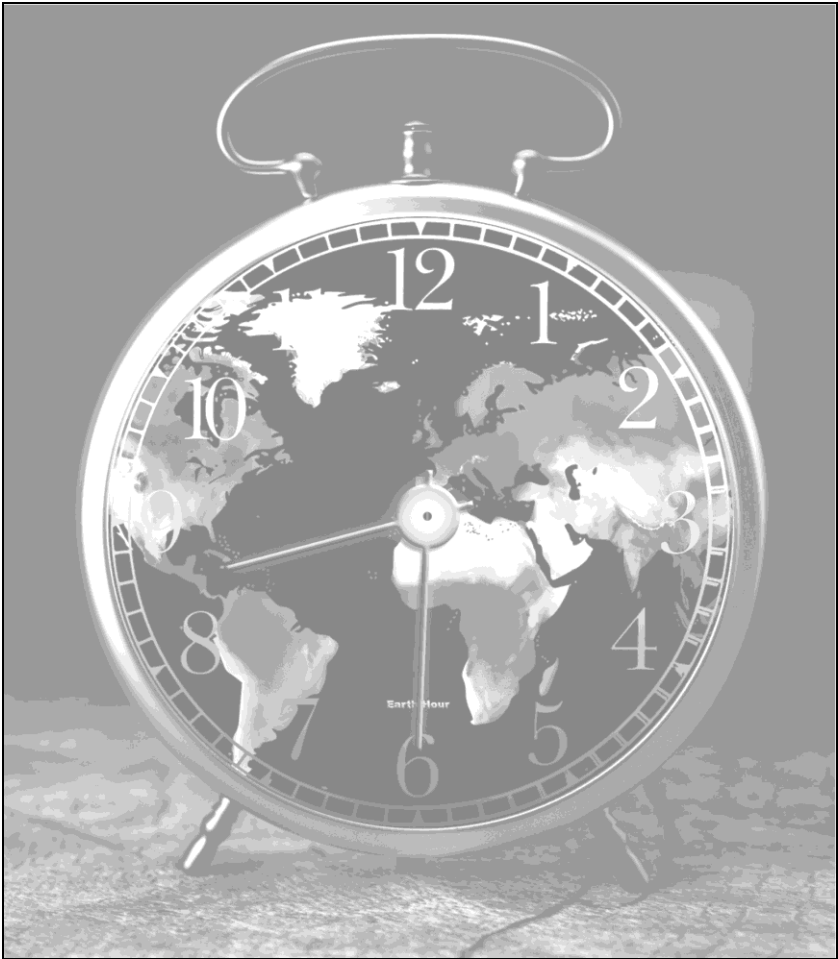
70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PASSING BEYOND OF A ROMANIAN RAISED IN THE LIGHT OF ALTARS OR/AND ABOUT LIMITLESS HUMAN GIVING	
Nicolae MAREȘ.....	7
CRISIS AND JOB SATISFACTION IN THE EUROPEAN AREA	
Vincenzo MEMOLI	13
"ARDEALUL" - "ROMÂNIA", CHISINAU, 1917-1918 THE INVOLVEMENT OF THIS PUBLICATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND UNION. THE ROLE OF ONISIFOR GHIBU (I)	
Viorica MOISUC.....	31
HISTORICAL LANDMARKS ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE REGULATIONS IN ROMANIA (II)	
Aura PREDA.....	71
PAMFIL ȘEICARU – 130 YEARS ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH 85 years ago – Analyzes of the international situation around and after the outbreak of the Second World War (August 4-September 27, 1939)	
Stoica LASCU.....	83

Philosophy

BLAGA AND NOICA ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE CATEGORY ONE MULTIPLE	
Ioan N. ROȘCA.....	137
NARRATIVE COMPETENCE: WRITING AS COMMUNICATION AND TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE	
Vanni De SIMONE	147
CHANGE AND ROUTINE IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. THE POPPER-KUHN DEBATE	
Constantin STOENESCU.....	151
FEAR-MENTAL PATTERNS/BELIEFS/PROGRAMS AND THEIR MODIFICATION THROUGH NEUROLINGUISTICS	
Alexandra RADU.....	169

A Book Review

ROMANIANS between CURSES and MIRACLES A historical-sociological approach	
Nicolae GROSU.....	183





History



70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PASSING BEYOND OF A ROMANIAN RAISED IN THE LIGHT OF ALTARS OR/AND ABOUT LIMITLESS HUMAN GIVING

Nicolae MAREȘ, PhD

*In this century, which is coming to an end, your country
has known the horrors of harsh totalitarian systems,
sharing the fate of many other countries in Europe through suffering*

John Paul II, Bucharest, May 1999.

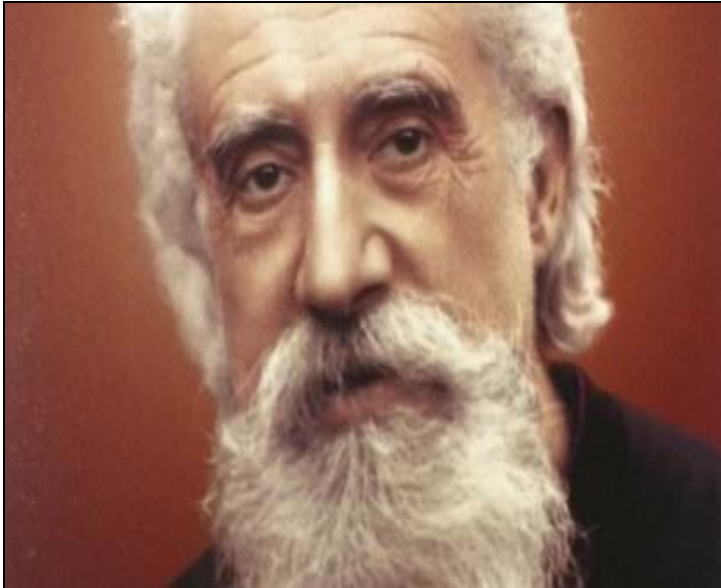
Shortly after the installation in the chapel of St. Peter in Rome, Pope Francis gave the signal for the start of the beatification of 63 Catholics, victims - in the vast majority - of the Spanish Civil War, Nazism and Communism. The decision taken by the Bishop of Rome actually authorized the decision taken by the Congregation for the Cause of Saints at the Vatican, which aimed to implement such an approach. To the joy of the Catholic Christians in our country, but also of the Romanian nation as a whole, the Holy Father thus recognized, on March 27, 2013, the decision of the Congregation that "the martyrdom of the servant of God Vladimir Ghika, Catholic priest and Romanian prince, should be registered in among the saints of the Catholic Church". It is worth emphasizing that, even during his lifetime, his contemporaries remembered with great admiration the luminous figure of this Hierarch, full of dedication and holiness, always helping the afflicted.¹

Queen Marie of Romania tells how, more than a century ago, in 1913, during the Balkan war, she had noticed with particular admiration Vladimir Ghika, who - "by the call from above" -, serving the dying who were in the arms of death, in the "hell" of Zimnicea, with an extraordinary devotion he put his life in danger. Also, also in reference pages, the Queen left posterity an unusual "medallion", in fact a testimony of great feeling, certainly useful

¹ Nicolae Mareș, *Vladimir Ghika – un Sfânt din fire (A Saint by Nature)*, în *Magazin istoric*, sept. 2013; Cf. prof. Costache Florea, www.vladimirghika.ro

in future Congregations, for raising Saint Vladimir Ghika to a higher level. I will return to the words of the Queen.

A Model of Human Giving



Vladimir Ghika

Source: wikipedia.ro

In the history books, Vladimir Ghika remained known as the son of the minister plenipotentiary in office in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Ioan Ghika, division general, later minister of foreign affairs and the Army (the one who signed the holographic birth certificate of the two sons of him and Alexandrina Moret de Blaremborg, descendant of Henry IV, King of France. Vladimir Ghika was the grandson of the last ruler of Moldavia, Grigore V. Ghika Vodă II (1849-1856). During his historic visit to Bucharest, in May 1999, The Pope John Paul II recognized the "martyrdom of Romanian priests" including Monsignor Ghika. Here, for reference, the saying of the great Pontiff: "every Church or religious community in your country had its martyrs in the 20th century. I want to pay tribute to them all today." He also remembered many of them during the religious services in Bucharest from May 7-9, 1999, kneeling devoutly at the Belu Catholic Cemetery at their graves, and then cordially embracing him, at the threshold of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Bucharest, to Archbishop

Alexandru Todea, whose beatification the Romanian people are waiting for. For the "Mother of the Wounded", as the soldiers in great suffering named her, after the battles fought by them in Mărăști, Mărășești in 1917, as well as on other battlefields, Queen Marie was amazed by the worthiness of Vladimir Ghika, "who constituted a model of human sacrifice".² "With all his soul, the Queen of Romania wrote at the time, he was part of those who feel the fierce urge to sacrifice his life in the service of his fellow men. Like Sister Pucci, Vladimir was a saint by nature. Together with the nuns with whom he was always in close contact, he had followed my call and offered his services as a simple nurse. He had chosen his field of work in the darkest of all the sick tents (in Zimnicea), the one we nicknamed "hell"; there the most hopeless cases were taken; there death reaped the richest harvest". "Here Vladimir Ghika offered himself to do the night service among the dying, fearless, not admitting that he could get tired, not being repulsed by any horror, a missionary in the highest sense of the word, although he was a pale man, flapping, who seemed bloodless and in frail health. Much later in life we were meant to understand each other in religious matters, but I could never forget that we had shared days of peril and trial together; a bond had been made between us that the difference in religious views could not weaken"³

He converted to Catholicism to be "even more orthodox".

With a biography worthy of a movie devoted to great heroes at the service of humanity and faith, Blessed Vladimir Ghika was born on December 25, 1873⁴. He was baptized and practiced the Orthodox religion, converting to Catholicism in his youth. Through his writings, he established himself as an intellectual of great finesse and depth, becoming a wide-ranging polyglot (he knew 26 foreign languages!), being among the few hierarchs who officiated services in the Catholic and Orthodox rite. Today's diplomats, our senior foreign ministers did not know and do not know that Monsignor Vladimir Ghika worked in the diplomatic service of Pope Pius XI, that he established the first free hospital in Romania, that he has a

² Cf. Nicolae Mareș *Regina Maria și Monseniorul Ghika, cel prin firea lui sfânt (Queen Marie and Monsignor Ghika the Saint)*, „Actualitatea catolică”, octombrie 2011.

³ Cf. Maria, Regina României, *Povestea vieții mele*, pp. 363-365.

⁴ According his birth certificate I found and studied in the official Archives

theological and philosophical work not yet fully researched; it consists of over 40,000 typed pages. He wrote on history, philosophy, theology.

He studied in France, in Toulouse and Paris (Faculty of Political Science), also taking courses in botany, art, letters, philosophy, history, law and medicine. Then, privately, he will continue his studies in Bucharest and, later, in Rome (1898-1905), at the Faculty of Philosophy and Theology of the Dominicans (Angelicum), obtaining a degree in philosophy and a doctorate in theology. Pope Pius X was the one who determined him to dedicate himself to the lay apostolate, being among the pioneers of this field, in which he will carry out an impressive activity, on all meridians, from Bucharest to Paris and Rome, in the Congo, in Tokyo, Sidney, Buenos Aires, etc., being - we would say - a predecessor of Pope John Paul II, including in the ecumenical plan. In October 1923 he was ordained a priest in Paris, where he will carry out his priestly ministry until 1939; The Holy See granted him the right to celebrate in the Byzantine rite as well. He converted to Catholicism, as I said, to be "even more orthodox". On the eve of the Second World War, he returns to Romania, joining the sick and the poor, whom he will not leave even when the allied bombings fell mercilessly on Bucharest, just as, in January 1948, he will not use the train royal to leave the country.

On November 18, 1952, he was imprisoned by the communist regime, which sentenced him to hard years of imprisonment for "high treason", being subjected to brutal tortures, so that he died in Jilava, on May 16, 1954. On March 27, 2013, according to the records, Pope Francis signed the decree by which the Universal Church recognizes "the martyrdom of the servant of God Vladimir Ghika". The prince thus became the second Romanian brought to the light of the altars. The first was Ieremia Valah, who was beatified on October 30, 1983. For history let's remember the words spoken then by the Bishop of Rome in the period 1978-2005, who called our compatriot: "Son of Romania, this noble nation that bears the imprint of Rome in its language and name".

In conclusion, I emphasize that the mission of Prince Vladimir Ghika exceeded the spiritual boundaries of his time. The activity of the tireless missionary was carried out in all environments, including among crowned heads, talking with heads of state, politicians, philosophers, artists, writers, theologians, even with anarchists or political prisoners. He practiced the most diverse professions from nurse, to priest, confessor, spiritual director, lecturer, scientist, diplomat, etc. Today's diplomats are also reminded that

Blessed Vladimir Ghika was the first ambassador of modern Romania to the Vatican. He was the one who created the first ambulance service in Romania, bravely defended the victims of the peasant uprising of 1907. He established the first free dispensary in our country, laid the foundations of the Parhon Hospital in Bucharest. He wanted nothing for himself. All his thoughts and reflections about the history and deeds of the Romanians are still unknown to his descendants. Hopefully not for long. The consideration shown by foreigners to this unsurpassed pilgrim of piety and mercy has not yet been brought to light.⁵

I emphasize that in Japan, as a papal envoy, he visited not only the emperor but also a leprosy, getting to know the Japanese world in depth, establishing cordial relations with the Romanians who lived in those lands. There is even a legend spread by Elisabeth de Miribel⁶ according to which during the discussion, held in French, the Japanese Sovereign would have revealed to him the sorrow of not having a son. Such empathy had grown between the two that the emperor would have accepted his blessing. Nine months later, his son, the future Emperor Akihito, was born, a fact that transcends legend. The above aspects were revealed to the Romanian ambassador in Tokyo, Radu Șerban in conversations with members of the Japanese chancellery.⁷ Moreover, in his relationship with the protocol of the Imperial House, for the first time, he received copies of the official archive documents regarding the reception of Prince Vladimir Ghika to Emperor Hirohito on March 20, 1933.⁸

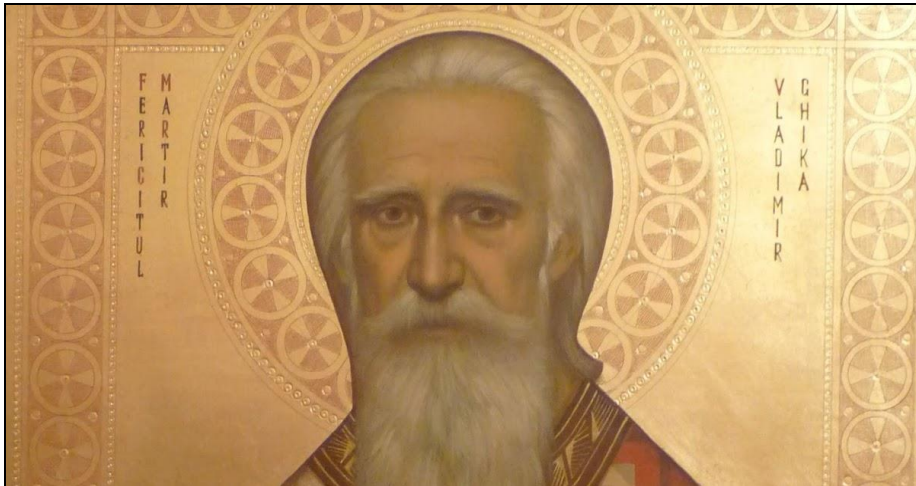
⁵ Cf. Nicolae Mareș – *Istorie, Diplomatie, Literatură. Spiritualitate, (History, Diplomacy, Literature, Spirituality) Opera Omnia*, TipoMoldova, Iași, 2023 pp.168-170.

⁶ Elisabeth de Miribel – „La mémoire des silences: Vladimir Ghika (1873-1954)”, Fayard, 1987, Paris

⁷ Idem p. 169.

⁸ According to Nicolae Mareș interview– Radu Șerban *România-Japonia pe toate fețele (Romania-Japan all faces)*, in *Portal-Măiastra*, text resumed on Japan Day in *Constelații Diamantine*.

Let's be proud that after Eremia Valahul, contemporaries and posterity still have a blessed one with a Romanian soul.



CRISIS AND JOB SATISFACTION IN THE EUROPEAN AREA

Vincenzo MEMOLI,
Associate Professor, University of Catania

INTRODUCTION

Since the second half of the last decade, the EU area has been hit by an economic and financial crisis which, with varying intensity, has had a strong impact on the socio-economic and political structure of the individual member states. The scholars who have analyzed the causes, trying to outline the extent of the impact and quantify the repercussions, have adopted diversified explanations. For some, the most frequent comparison is with 1929 and the Great Depression that followed; others point to the ineffectiveness of central banks. Without going into the economic and financial dynamics of the crisis, which would change the focus of this work, it is worth remembering that the origin of the European crisis can be traced back to the global financial crisis of 2007-2009 and the combined effects it produced with the sovereign debt crisis experienced in some euro area countries in the first months of 2010: As public finances have deteriorated, sovereign debt risk has increased and banks' balance sheets as a whole have deteriorated.

What hit Europe was a double crisis – of sovereign and bank debt – which gradually infected many countries (Adler, 2012; Véron, 2011). Moving from the US to Europe, it first hit Ireland, and then other eurozone countries, with greater intensity in Portugal, Greece, Italy and Spain.

European governments have been slow to react to the onset crisis, but institutional responses have not appeared effective in containing the crisis. The adoption of countercyclical policies increased the fiscal deficit, aggravated by the bailout of the banking system, and consequently private debt became public debt.

In some eurozone member states, this scenario has fueled many doubts about the future of the single currency, if not of Europe itself, generating problems and tensions that inevitably arise within a monetary union in which imbalances accumulate (Volz, 2012).

The crisis has also called into question the already fragile relationship that binds citizens with their national and European institutions, especially where public debt has increased and austerity measures have become more stringent (Roth, Nowak-Lehmann and Otter, 2011). At the same time, it has eroded the labor market and civil society, eroding the economic stability of families and affecting the future of young people (Rocha 2012; Dietrich 2012; Eurostat 2012).

In particular, by exacerbating gender differences in terms of employment, unemployment, wages and poverty. (Bettio et al., 2012).

As is well known, economic crises, in addition to affecting the labour market, worsen the 'quality' of work, fuelling a vicious circle in which employers, on the one hand, and workers, on the other, sometimes try to survive at the expense of each other: the former, in an attempt to reduce business costs, impose unfavourable economic conditions, while the latter, in order to keep their jobs, they are often inclined to give up basic benefits and guarantees, thus jeopardizing their psycho-physical well-being.

In this context, part-time work has become a lifeline since - increased during the recession, at the beginning of 2012 it was slightly higher than at the beginning of the crisis - in Europe more than in the USA it has been used to reduce layoffs (Hijzen and Venn, 2011). But those who pay the heaviest bill are young people, often employed to cushion the fall in employment that has occurred among adults and those who had now reached the end of their working careers. Temporary and part-time work, although advantageous for those who tried to earn while continuing to search, with considerable difficulty, for a better job, have nevertheless impoverished a large part of workers, especially those who had chosen or who had to involuntarily undergo these types of work.

It is therefore important to ask how satisfied citizens are with their work in times of crisis.

This study analyzes job satisfaction in some European countries by comparing the information collected by the European Values Survey, and allows to investigate the effects that economic and political responses to the crisis have produced on job satisfaction (SL).

The theoretical aspects

SL, since the second half of the last century, has been a widely studied topic according to multiple approaches (Ghazzawi, 2008). Its diffusion is to be identified in its ability to condition a wide variety of behaviors and contribute to the well-being of those who carry out a work activity (Jones and George, 2008). It is no coincidence that it is considered a good indicator for accounting for individual well-being (Argyle 1989; Diaz-Serrano and Cabral Vieira, 2005), as well as the worker's intentions or decisions (Gazioglu and Tansel, 2006).

SL represents the judgment expressed on the basis of the set of components of the job, i.e. the skills, roles, responsibilities, relationships, benefits and rewards that characterize the individual worker within a specific organization, colleagues and the organizational context (cf. Locke, 1995; Taber and Alliger, 1995). It can therefore be defined as: a) pleasure, in terms of emotional state, resulting from the evaluation of the workplace, b) the affective reaction to one's work, c) an attitude towards one's work (Locke and Weiss, 2001).

By synthesizing the feelings, attitudes or preferences of individuals regarding work (Chen, 2008), SL expresses, therefore, the set of feelings and beliefs that people have about their work (George and Jones, 2008), where both the affective and cognitive dimensions take on an important role (Saari and Judge, 2004).

A different perspective is offered by Rose (2001), according to whom SL is a two-dimensional concept composed of intrinsic satisfactions and extrinsic satisfactions at work. The former represent the symbolic or qualitative aspects of work, and depend on the individual characteristics of the person, such as the possibility of using the initiative, relations with supervisory authorities or the work activity that the person actually performs. The latter - what Rose calls extrinsic sources of satisfaction - are situational and depend on the environment, such as pay, career chances or job security. According to the scholar, both extrinsic and intrinsic factors make up the many facets underlying job satisfaction and only a fair representation of them allows to obtain a satisfactory composite measure of the degree of job satisfaction.

What is the best strategy to aggregate these conceptual dimensions is difficult to define, but the intrinsic aspects seem to have greater

relevance in the empirical definition of SL. In fact, the characteristics related to the workplace, the performance of tasks that require a sense of responsibility and that often involve recognition by superiors, improve SL, compared to other activities where working conditions, and routine activities negatively affect not only SL, but sometimes also the entire organization of the production process.

Suffice it to say that where the SL is low, both turnover and absenteeism can increase (Koys, 2001; Mossholder, Settoon, and Henagan, 2005), as well as inappropriate social behaviors in the workplace (LePine, Erez, and Johnson, 2002).

Moreover, as pointed out by Skalli, Theodossiou and Vasileiou (2008) and Judge, Heller and Mount (2010), intrinsic factors make it possible to predict overall satisfaction better than pay.

An alternative approach to the one previously described is offered by Sousa Poza and Sousa-Poza (2000). According to the two scholars, job satisfaction depends on the balance between labor inputs - such as education, working hours, effort - and labor outputs - wages, fringe benefits, status, conditions, the intrinsic aspects of work: where outputs are greater than inputs, job satisfaction increases.

Times change as well as working methods, but satisfaction does not seem particularly affected by changes. According to Staw and Ross (1985), job satisfaction is characterized by an undoubted stability over time - for a period of five years - and does not seem to contract significantly even when the job changes, with a new job or a new employer.

However, according to the analysis of Steel and Rentsch (1997), satisfaction is higher among those who, despite having to change company or workplace, continue to do a job similar to the previous one, while it declines among those who are forced to carry out different work activities.

A third line of research sees cultural aspects as the determinants of SL. According to Hofstede (1980, 1985), one of the pioneers of this current of study, intercultural understanding and differences in employee attitudes can be understood through four main dimensions, namely: individualism-collectivism; uncertainty with respect to risk; power and orientation towards realization.

More recent studies have shown that the country or national culture has significant effects not only on workers' attitudes, but also on the type of work that is carried out (Saari and Erez, 2002; Saari and Schneider, 2001).

It is worth mentioning how the SL is also used as a proxy for the quality of work. Numerous studies (cf. D' Addio, Eriksson and Frijters, 2007; Eurofound, 2006; Green, 2006; Levy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2004), starting from the assumption that people are able to balance the various aspects and characteristics of work, underline that employees are able to arrive at an overall assessment of the quality of work (Kalleberg and Vaisey, 2005).

SL is relevant not only in the workplace, but also in the organizational one. Organizations, as is well known, produce significant effects on individuals and on the perception they have of their work (Spector, 1997). While employers benefit from satisfied employees, as they are more likely to profit from low turnover and achieve higher productivity if they experience a high SL level, the same can be said of employees with high SL, who would be happier in a job they can engage in throughout their working lives (Nguyen, Taylor and Bradley, 2003).

Job satisfaction among EU citizens

A lot has changed within Europe in the last decade.

The introduction of the euro and the growing number of EU memberships have strengthened an area that, not without difficulty, is trying to impose itself both with respect to the major international economic players and with respect to those still in embryo, who are trying to emerge strongly in the wake of the economic and financial crisis that grips the major industrial democracies.

How has the perception that European public opinion has of its work changed with the beginning of the crisis?

In this study, in order to give rise to a comparison not only synchronic but also diachronic of SL, the data collected by the European Value Survey (EVS) between 1999-2001 and 2008-2010 were examined. Of the current twenty-eight EU member countries, only twenty-one were considered, those for which information was available. In general, among the employed (Table 8-1) there is an appreciable level of satisfaction with their work, with a slightly downward trend that appears to characterize many social categories.

While men more than women reveal the greatest dissatisfaction over time, the gender gap in terms of SL tends to narrow significantly. A similar trend can also be found with regard to education. Those who do not have

any educational qualification or have a low level of education (elementary) record a much greater contraction than those who have a middle school diploma or a degree.

This is certainly not a new phenomenon that underlines how a low educational qualification, not always guaranteeing an economically advantageous employment condition, does not allow one to improve one's working conditions in this way as well as the know-how that this requires.

A similar trend also seems to affect in particular those who reside in small towns (up to 2,000 inhabitants), where with the crisis the already fragile labor market has suffered a sharp contraction and work offers few opportunities for growth and career, or in metropolitan cities, where subsistence costs are high and making ends meet has become increasingly difficult.

As income increases, the levels of SL certainly increase, but in the transition from the two-year period 1999-2001 to 2008-2010, the negative effects have also characterized those who have a high income, and live in a couple (married).

An exception is represented by singles and cohabitants who, probably, without the burden of stringent ties or family burdens that require a greater availability of economic resources and time, although they are no more satisfied than those who have a different family condition, record an undoubted growth in the level of SL over time.

Table showing satisfaction levels in Europe

	1999-2001	2008-2010	Delta
job satisfaction	7.450	7.320	-0.130
Gender			
male	7.490	7.340	-0.150
female	7.410	7.310	-0.100
Instruction			
no educational qualifications	7.380	7.020	-0.360
elementary	7.430	7.150	-0.280
lower average	7.460	7.340	-0.120
upper middle school	7.410	7.340	-0.070
degree	7.570	7.450	-0.120

Age			
18 to 29 years old	7.250	7.200	-0.050
30 to 49 years old	7.450	7.300	-0.150
50 to 65 years old	7.690	7.450	-0.240
Employment status			
full-time (more than 30 hours per week)	7.470	7.330	-0.140
part-time (less than 30 hours per week)	7.220	7.200	-0.020
Autonomous	7.810	7.460	-0.350
Income			
low	7.100	6.780	-0.320
medium	7.420	7.270	-0.150
high	7.650	7.550	-0.100
Matrimonial status			
Married	7.610	7.390	-0.220
cohabiting	7.200	7.390	0.190
Divorced	7.420	7.230	-0.190
Separated	7.490	7.310	-0.180
widower	7.630	7.150	-0.480
single	7.210	7.220	0.010
Territory size (inhabitants)			
up to 2000	7.680	7.280	-0.400
from 2001 to 5000	7.550	7.370	-0.180
5001 to 10,000	7.640	7.420	-0.220
from 10,001 to 20,000	7.620	7.420	-0.200
from 20,001 to 50,000	7.440	7.310	-0.130
from 50,001 to 100,000	7.340	7.290	-0.050
from 100,001 to 500,000	7.360	7.310	-0.050
from 500,001 and above	7.280	7.060	-0.220
Developing countries			
Belgium	7.550	7.730	0.180
Denmark	8.040	8.010	-0.030
Estonia	7.010		
Finland	7.640	7.500	-0.140
France	7.130	7.300	0.170
Germany	7.700	7.540	-0.160
Greece	6.890	7.070	0.180
Ireland	7.790	8.170	0.380
Italy	7.310	7.300	-0.010

Latvia	7.140	7.140	
Lithuania	7.190	7.190	
Holland	7.520	7.720	0.200
Poland	7.450		
Portugal	7.500	7.040	-0.460
United Kingdom	7.430	7.550	0.120
Czech Republic	7,430		
Romania	7,320		
Slovakia	7,580		
Spain	7.300	7.300	0.000
Sweden	7.290	7.660	0.370
Hungary	7.020		

A patchy distribution of the phenomenon under analysis can be found when comparing countries. In general, an increase in job satisfaction is recorded in more than half of the European countries considered in this job. In Denmark and Ireland, SL levels in 2008-2010 stood at 8,010, but it is in the latter and in Sweden where the growth in SL levels is substantial. As established democracies move from the North to the Centre and then to the South of Europe, the SL attenuates significantly, as in the case of Portugal where the level of the SL between 1999 and 2010 is 7,020. As far as Eastern European countries are concerned, more than half have SL levels below the European average. There are exceptions, as the case of Slovakia and the Republic of Italy shows.

Where SL levels are far higher than those recorded in some industrial democracies in southern Europe.

Working hypotheses

The contents that characterize good work positively influence SL (Clark, 2005). In fact, according to some scholars, the network that individual workers structure with their supervisors, colleagues and customers (Borzaga and Depedri, 2005; 2009), as well as the salary or economic benefits provided by the company (Skalli, Theodossiou and Vasileiou, 2008; Siebern-Thomas's, 2005) contribute to feeding SL and push workers to feel more connected to their work than to the organizations themselves (cf. Stroh, Brett, and Reilly, 1994). Not all scholars, however, seem to agree on the usefulness of the attitudes expressed by employees

about their work (Hamermesh, 2001; Levy-Garboua and Montmarquette, 2004) as they are too 'subjective'.

Despite this, in this essay, starting from eleven explanatory indicators of some aspects that characterize the work, after analysis in main components, the following are two latent dimensions related to SL have been identified. The first dimension synthesizes the extrinsic factors of work, while the second the intrinsic factors. Starting from the two indices obtained and considering that intrinsic and extrinsic factors produce differentiated effects on overall satisfaction (cf. Skalli, Theodossiou and Vasileiou 2008; Judge, Heller and Mount 2010), the following hypotheses can be formulated:

- H1a: as the intrinsic factors of work (autonomy, aspirations, etc.) increase, SL increases;
- H1b: as the factors extrinsic to work (salary, benefits, etc.) increase, the SL increases;
- H1c: the impact produced by intrinsic factors on SL is greater than that produced by extrinsic factors.

The relationship linking SL and the propensity to join a trade union has attracted numerous scholars in recent decades. In particular, the existing literature has also focused on the link that connects trade union associations with SL, highlighting how the analysis is, in fact, complicated as the presence of unobservable factors influences both SL and the decision to join the union (cf. Heywood, Siebert and Wei, 2002).

Not only that. Studies that have analysed this relationship reveal conflicting results. Some researchers have highlighted an inverse link between trade union associations and SL (Garcia-Serrano, 2009; Miller, 2008; Bryson, Cappellari and Lucifora, 2004): unionized workers have a lower level of SL than that of non-members, feeding, in many respects, a paradoxical situation if only because unions should safeguard if not improve the working conditions of members, which in fact pushes individual workers to associate.

More recent studies question these empirical findings, revealing a positive relationship between the two indicators: looking at the relationship from a longitudinal perspective, it is found that in the first year of unionization there is a clear growth in SL among both men and women (Powdthavee, 2011).

It can therefore be assumed that:

- H2a: Being a member of the union increases the level of SL.

In the past, when communism still marked the regime of the Eastern countries, in these regions the union acted as a political transmission belt, thus failing in the role of independent representative institution, demotivating and demoralizing workers (Lange and Georgellis, 2007).

Considering that with the advent of democracy in many regions of Eastern Europe and their relative annexation to the EU, the vision that Eastern European citizens have towards trade unions has changed, becoming more positive than in the past, it is possible to hypothesize that:

- H3a: in Eastern European countries the level of SL is lower than in other European regions;
- H3b: in Eastern European countries, SL is higher among those who are union members.

Party membership is often seen as an 'investment in political capital' that can lead to favourable jobs, increased endowments as well as layoffs (Appleton et al. 2009).

In countries where citizens work for mainly state-owned companies, as is the case in China, being a member of a party increases the worker's SL (Heywood, Siebert and Wei, 2009), but in contexts where work is mainly in private companies, the ideological component obviously plays a different role.

In countries where parties are closer to citizens, in terms of needs and requirements, the latter will be more likely to reward them during the election (Powell 2004; Memoli 2011; 2013) and to support them during the legislature.

The same reasoning can be put forward for the government and its component parties, which also have responsibility for employment, social affairs and inclusion policies, as they coordinate and monitor national policies, promote the sharing of best practices in areas such as employment, poverty, social exclusion and pensions, and adopt legislation by monitoring its application in areas such as workers' rights and social security. coordination of social security systems.

From this perspective, if citizen A is ideologically aligned with party B and agrees with issue C of which B is the bearer, not only will A support party B by voting for it, but he will probably also support the government of which the same party will eventually be part as the bearer of its own demands (C). Starting from this assumption, it is possible to hypothesize that:

- H3a: The greater the ideological distance between the citizen and the government, the smaller the SL will be.

The explanatory model

In order to estimate the effects of independent variables on SL, it was considered appropriate to use a regression model, whose formalization is as follows:

where

Y = job satisfaction;

= the intrinsic factors of work;

= the factors extrinsic to work;

= be a member of the trade union;

= reside in an Eastern European country;

= interaction between being a member of the trade union and residing in an Eastern country of Europe;

= ideological distance between citizen and government;

= control variables.

The effects produced by the five explanatory variables on the dependent variable are controlled through an additional four indicators () – education, age, employment and trust in government.

The main results relating to the two two-year periods analysed, shown in Table 2, outline substantially different scenarios where the socio-economic transformations that have characterised the individual member states are reflected in the perception that workers have of SL.

In model 1, which includes the consolidated democracies of the EU, it is noted that the dimension that synthesizes the intrinsic factors of work has a significant and positive influence on the dependent variable (beta = 0.108). On the other hand, the size that aggregates the factors extrinsic to work has an opposite effect (beta = -0.072).

These results only partially confirm our hypotheses (H1a and H1c, but not H1b) and reveal an undoubtedly interesting scenario. In the two-year period 2008-2010, when the effects of the crisis were evident among EU countries, intrinsic factors lose ground in determining SL, while the effect of extrinsic factors increases. From this perspective, the insecurities generated by the crisis and the choices of individual governments appear to have conditioned the motivational factors of European workers who look to the future with greater pessimism.

As far as trade unions are concerned, if in the two-year period 1999-2001 this indicator did not produce significant effects on the SL among the

fourteen EU countries, in 2008 in line with the most recent studies the relationship between the two variables is positive even if the intensity of the effect recorded is not particularly consistent (H2a; $\beta = 0.016$). Therefore, those who work and are union members have a higher level of SL than those who are not unionized.

As far as the H3a and H3b hypotheses are concerned, although the sign of the relationships is correct, the effects are statistically insignificant due, probably, to the sample size, especially among the countries of Eastern Europe. This is a result that should be deepened with ad hoc studies, if only because some research, differentiating the geographical areas that make up Europe, confirms that even in the countries of Eastern Europe those who are unionized reveal a greater SL (cf. Georgellis and Lange, 2009).

As far as the ideological distance from the government is concerned, it is worth remembering that according to the literature on the spatial theory of voting (cf. Downs, 1957; Adams, Merrill and Grofman, 2006) voters tend to vote for the party whose program is most in line with their policy preferences (cf. Kedar, 2005).

Compared to the past, the ideological component that orients workers and connects them to the institutional political system (government) has become decisive among EU countries in the definition of SL (H3a; $\beta = -0.020$). The fears generated by the crisis in public opinion have certainly not pushed citizens to share the governments' choices – as the case of Greece has shown – but it has certainly strengthened the bond of those who already felt close to these institutions, fueling an optimism among the latter that is probably also reflected in the SL.

Checking the relationships indicated above (Table 8-2) through the use of some socio-demographic and political variables, very important aspects emerge.

Some studies have found that SL declines among the less educated, while it increases among those with a high level of education (Clark, 2005). Other studies have shown that it is correlated, in some cases, negatively to SL (Skalli Theodossiou and Vasileiou, 2008; Gazioglu and Tansel, 2006), or even has no effect on it (Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000; Clark, 1997).

In the two-year period 1999-2001, education played an important role in determining SL among established democracies: with the exception of those in possession of a high school qualification, all levels of education

reveal a positive relationship with the dependent variable. In 2008-2010, the relationship between the level of education and the dependent variable was not statistically significant and, with the exception of the degree, the effects of the various qualifications took on a negative sign. In other words, cultural capital does not contribute to accounting for SL.

If citizens appear increasingly satisfied with increasing age, where professional status makes the difference, the relationship is reversed. In the two-year period 1999-2001, part-time employees were less satisfied ($\beta = -0.077$) than those in full-time employment ($\beta = -0.057$). This trend was confirmed in the two-year period 2008-2010 and was more evident among those who work full-time. In other words, with the economic and financial crisis, dissatisfaction with work increased, affecting the guarantees and security of full-time work and complicating the reconciliation of the needs (of care, study, etc.) of those who work part-time.

As far as trust in the government is concerned, whose effects in terms of intensity (β) on the dependent variable are greater than those found by analyzing the other variables, in both waves, citizens who place their trust in the government appear to be characterized by a higher level of SL.

The empirical results obtained show that with the new millennium there has been a clear change in the attitudes and behaviours of workers, which are indirectly accompanied by structural changes within the EU, dictated by the accession of new member countries, and by the crisis that continues to suffocate the weaker countries. Governments, adopting economic cuts and austerity policies, have depressed national economies even more, while citizens, while satisfied with their jobs, tend to be increasingly less optimistic about the future.

Table The explanatory model

Beta Error	Model 1: 1999-2001		Model 2: 2008-2010		Beta Error Standard	
	Robust	and robust	Robust	and robust		
intrinsic factors:	0.108	****	0.022	0.095	****	0.017
autonomy and Aspirations						
Extrinsic factors:						
Salary and benefits	-0.072	****	0.020	-0.096	****	0.017
Associations	-0.005		0.048	0.016	*	0.046
(0=not associated; 1=associate)	-0.015		0.039			
Eastern European countries of Europe (0=no; 1=yes)						
Associations trade unions*countries of Eastern Europe	0.015		0.101	0.010		0.100
distance ideological instruction elementary lower average	-0.010	*	0.018	-0.020	**	0.012
High school degree	0.064	*	0.145	-0.059		0.291
Age (18-65 years)	0.067	*	0.145	-0.013		0.290
Part-time employment (self-employed) full-time	0.045		0.144	-0.010		0.290
trust in the government (0=no; 1=yes)	0.045	*	0.148	0.008		0.292
Constant (b)	0.077	****	0.002	0.029	****	0.002
Square R	-0.077	****	0.085	-0.070	****	0.075
Anova (Mr.)	-0.057	****	0.068	-0.073	****	0.057
Squared error medium	0.132	****	0.011	0.130	****	0.008
N	6.267	****	0.191	7.108	****	0.306
	0.048		0.053			
	0.000		0.000			
	1.829		1.861			
	8.029		13.363			

Note: Model 1 shows estimates for 14 EU countries in 1999: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Holland, Portugal, United Kingdom, Spain, Sweden; in model 2 the estimates refer to 23 EU countries: Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom. p<0.001, ****p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10.

CONCLUSIONS

This work analysed SL across EU countries using different explanatory components. The differentiation between intrinsic and extrinsic factors of the work has made it possible to diversify the components that orient and determine the SL. The socio-economic and structural changes that have characterised Europe are also reflected in the attitudes and behaviour of workers. If in the past the motivational component seemed to drive SL, today it seems to have lost ground, giving way to a materialistic attitude (extrinsic factors at work) that does not go well with SL and its relative growth.

The data in our possession do not allow us to estimate the effects of these two components in more recent periods, i.e. with the consolidation of the crisis, but they certainly suggest deepening these links if only because workers seem demotivated compared to the past and the motivational aspects appear to significantly affect SL. If trade union associations positively feed the evaluation that citizens express about their work, an aspect that certainly requires further study since the literature on the subject is still controversial, national governments find themselves having to deal with an international economic scenario in which the relaunch of labor and development policies are held back by growth that is struggling to take off. Despite this, those who find themselves ideologically in line with the governments' choices appear more satisfied. Perhaps it is the optimism instilled by the same governments that are trying hard to revive the already fragile national economies. Obviously not without economic cuts also to education which, at one time, represented the litmus test of the SL, but which nowadays loses value in an asphyxiated labor market, where the differences between part-time and full-time work are reduced to a minimum and none of the working conditions allow the citizen to be fully satisfied with his or her work.

It is difficult to estimate what future developments will be, but without a revival of the economy and new reforms for the labor market, even the most optimistic employed will look at the labor market with less confidence and will be, in the absence of job security, stability and security, increasingly dissatisfied, even with their political institutions.

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**"ARDEALUL" - "ROMÂNIA", CHISINAU, 1917-1918
THE INVOLVEMENT OF THIS PUBLICATION IN THE
STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND UNION.
THE ROLE OF ONISIFOR Ghibu (I)**

Viorica MOISUC, PhD

A few words before

I didn't have the chance to meet Onisifor Ghibu personally. However, I met them and collaborated for many years with Mr. Octavian O. Ghibu, then with Mr. Mihai O. Ghibu, his sons, whose chief concern in those years was the capitalization of their father's huge written legacy.

I collaborated in the editing of several volumes of Onisifor Ghibu's writings, I participated in almost all the events within the "Ghibu Days" organized annually in Chisinau. But, certainly, my biggest gain from these collaborations were the long discussions with Mr. Octavian Ghibu, about everything and everything; there were then, in the lives of each of us, difficult moments, obstacles appeared that, not only apparently, could block your path. Octavian Ghibu, who, like all of his family, went through situations hard to imagine, when life and death faced day by day their courage, their courage, the rejection of compromise, the unreserved and tenacious affirmation of their truths, always had the patience to listen, to weigh the facts, to discern the most suitable solution, always said with care not to deepen your bitterness but to encourage you in reaching the goal you are aiming for. "Just as a drop of water can break the hardest rock, any obstacle will fall through your perseverance!" - said Octavian Ghibu with all conviction and he was right.

His house was the meeting point and refuge of Bessarabian Romanians who managed to reach Romania, in search of moral and material support for the fight they were waging against the oppressive Soviet occupation regime. The door of the Ghibu family was always open. I met then and there top leaders of the movement for national liberation and union with the Country of Bessarabia, at that time the Moldavian Soviet

Socialist Republic. They left encouraged, enlightened, with new perspectives in their daring actions. I had never been to Bessarabia before, and all these direct contacts with the Bessarabians opened up new avenues of knowledge and, above all, understanding of extremely complicated and difficult situations that had to be solved.

The end of Octavian Ghibu's life was unexpected; the disease that appeared after the last scientific event organized by him in Chisinau, was a common pain in the throat with that cough. But no treatment helped him. In the end it turned out to be cancer, which was not told to the person concerned until all was lost. One late afternoon he called me and asked me to stop by his place. I went He was in bed, speaking with difficulty, with an altered voice. He was very upset that the truth about his suffering was not revealed to him. "I had many things to put in order, many issues to solve" - he told me. The most important problem that bothered him was the demonstration in Chisinau, scheduled for the next period. He asked me if I wanted to take over this mission "because I won't be there anymore"! These words fell like a thunderbolt. I didn't immediately find the words to answer him. He continued to speak, almost in a whisper. He had a lot to say. When I sobered up I assured him that I would do the right thing. He briefed me on some organizational matters, gave me a draft program that he had prepared on his bedside table. When he finished, he barely had a voice. I left overwhelmed by the completely unexpected situation and the responsibility I had assumed.

That night Octavian Ghibu went to his parents.

In Chisinau I managed within honorable limits..

I didn't continue. The "Chisinau" problem took a different turn. I had nothing to do with what happened afterwards.

Apart from the soulful memories I have kept forever from my long relationships with Mr. Octavian Ghibu, the dedications written to me by the brothers Octavian and Mihai Ghibu and their brother-in-law, Dr. Crisan Mircioiu, on the front page of numerous books by Onisifor Ghibu edited or re-edited under their care, are a precious memory of some years when our ideas and hopes dared to take shape in a more or less near future.

I would like to add to the above the fact that I managed to understand and know Onisifor Ghibu from the way his son, Octavian, thought, acted, discerned with a rare accuracy the most complicated situations of the present ours since then, he predicted the directions in which they could have evolved in the immediate or more distant context: as was his father.

Pro-memoria

After a hundred and more years since the historic day of March 27, 1918, evoking the situation of Bessarabian Romanians under the rule of the Russian Empire for 106 years, is the starting point in approaching the subject announced by the title above. The words that were written in "New Romania" on January 24, 1918 - the day of the proclamation by the Council of the Country in Chisinau of the independence of the Republic of Moldova, of its separation forever from imperial Russia -, about the ordeal endured by the Bessarabians under the tsarist occupation, have a particular resonance today; Romanian students from Bessarabia wrote about all this at the time. That's why I'm including them here, not only to recall some long-ago histories, but because those words capture the soul of a people whose oppression, injuries, deportations, terror suffered for more than a century, did not bring them to their knees. Mihai the Brave's dream was beginning to take shape:

"The word of youth from Bessarabia", signed: "The Central Committee of Romanian students from Bessarabia, January 24, 1918, *New Romania*, no. 8 / 21 .I. 1918"

"Our Bessarabia is a Romanian country, just like the other countries across the Prut, inhabited by our brothers. For 106 years she was torn from the bosom of our mother Moldova and handed over to foreigners who oppressed and mocked us as they wanted, taking away our every right to national and human life. We, under Russian rule, didn't have a school, we didn't have a church, we didn't have a language, we didn't have anything that a people needs to be able to advance. The lands were taken from us by the colonized masters here, the rights we had in the old Moldova were taken away from us one by one by the Venetians settled among us. From the native people that I was, I ended up as a "bull's head", laughed at by everyone, even in our home and country. The foreigners knew so well how to disgust us with ourselves and our brothers, that many Moldovans renounced their nationality and ended up considering our Romanian brothers as enemies... we ended up not knowing our brothers anymore and we put our hope in foreigners! (emphasis added V.M.)

We, the Romanian students from Bessarabia, realizing the painful state of affairs in our country and wanting to work for its removal, have decided to start a fight against everything that is bad in our national life. We consider that the salvation of our nation is in the Union of our

sons in one country (emphasis in the text). We no longer expect anything from foreigners; we put all our hope in life together with all our Romanian brothers. We do not need federative Russia (emphasis in the text), because Russia has given us, during 106 years, nothing but darkness and poverty, and in the current times of freedom, it has only given us anarchy; we want a Romania of all Romanians! (emphasis in text) Let all the enemies of our nation, be they foreigners or from among us, know that we, the Romanian youth of Bessarabia, will not back down from any obstacle that will stand in the way of fulfilling the holy cause of the Union of all Romanians...!" (emphasis added V.M.).

The same ideas and feelings were expressed a hundred years before, by Nicolae Bălcescu in the speech given to Romanian students in Paris on New Year's Eve 1845-1846 at the Romanian Library in Paris in Place de la Sorbonne. At all times, the student body has always been in the vanguard of movements for progress. During the years when the absolutist monarchical regimes had proved their bankruptcy on all levels, the liberation of the long-subjugated nations and the annulment of the borders artificially drawn by the agreements between the great powers, separating the sons of the same people, had become the major objective of all these movements¹. The territory always inhabited by Romanians was, for the most part, under foreign occupation, divided, by such borders, between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires; The Kingdom of Romania included only part of the historical Principality of Moldavia (without the eastern part between Prut and Dniester and without the northern part) and part of the Principality of Wallachia (Muntenia with Dobrogea but without Banat). Therefore, the Eastern and Northern parts of Moldavia, Transylvania, Banat, the historical Maramureş which included the largest part of the

¹ At the Assembly of Romanian students in Paris, on December 31, 1945, Nicolae Bălcescu gave a memorable speech, in which he said: "Gentlemen, I believe that our target can be none other than the National Unity of Romanians." Unity first in ideas and feelings, which will then lead to political unity over time, which will make the mountains, the Moldavians, the Transylvanians, the Banatians, a political body, a Romanian nation of seven million Romanians. At the creation of this nationality, at a social reformation of the Romanians based on the holy principles of justice and equality, all our efforts must be aimed. Romanianism, but, it is our flag, under it we must call all Romanians!" (Cornelia Bodea, *The Struggle of the Romanians for National Unity 1834-1849*, Ed. Academy, Bucharest, 1967, p. 95-105. Cf. Viorica Moisuc, *The Ordeal of the Romanians in the Struggle for Liberation and National Integration*, vol. I, Ed. Fundației România de Măine, Bucharest, 2020, p.15.

Romanian nation - were subject to foreign domination. But the Kingdom of Romania, independent and sovereign, represented for all Romanians subjugated by foreign Powers "Mother Country", the nucleus around which the future unitary Romanian national state coagulated.

Onisifor Ghibu and Bessarabia

According to Ghibu's daily notes:

Sibiu, August 21, 1967. And again and again – Bessarabia. There is no power in the world that can divert me from this problem that has been lingering in my soul almost moment by moment for over half a century. It doesn't scare me even now, as it didn't scare me in the past, the total lack of understanding of the country's leaders towards it. But perhaps this incites me more and makes me more stubborn in pursuing it... There is, in reality, **only artificially and tendentially and damaging to the very peace of the world a «problem of Bessarabia»**. It is all a self-interested invention of the tsarist and communist empires alike. There is only a national-Romanian and international problem, at the same time, of Romanianism overwhelmed, **by force and terror, by today's communists - more damned than the tsars - in Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transnistria and Northern Moldova (County of Herța). Russia has no right over the territories inhabited by Romanians** today under the Russian imperialist heel.² (subl. ns. V.M.)

As refugee in Iași during the war, together with many Transylvanian intellectuals, he understood like no one else that his purpose then was to join with all his forces the fight for the radical change of the situation in Bessarabia, as well as its political status - which was still under the Russian government. About all this note a little later:

I realized that this province, which at that time was still under the tsarist regime, must constitute from now on for Romanianism, an organic national problem /.../. Two million compatriots can no longer remain a negligible amount./.../ This abandoned and backward branch of Romanianism must be raised to self-awareness and to the awareness of a higher mission in the

² Onisifor Ghibu, *Diary pages*, (1965-1967), vol. II. Edited by Mihai O. Ghibu, Romeo Dascălescu. Introductory study by Romeo Dascălescu. Foreword, notes and comments by Mihai O. Ghibu, Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000, p. 223.

world. This postulate must be realized through the organic inclusion of Bessarabia in Romanian spirituality³.

The repeated and persistent efforts made by Onisifor Ghibu in the 1950s and 1960s in Bucharest and Moscow are known, in which he demonstrated, with undeniable facts and data, the Romanian character of Bessarabia and Bucovina, entered into the possession of the USSR through the annexations of June 1940, annexations confirmed by the Peace Treaty with Romania from 1947; the author of these actions demanded the restitution of the confiscated territories to the Romanian people. Ghibu knowingly ignored the reprisals that awaited him as a consequence of his reckless acts.

In the midst of the 1914-1918 war, it occurred in the Romanian world divided into four states - Russia, Austria, Hungary and the Kingdom of Romania -, states that were part of two opposing military camps, the Entente and the Central Powers, a phenomenon that must be seen in all its complexity: enlisted in armies that fought against each other, the Romanians understood that that war did not serve their national cause. In this complicated political-military context, a large number of Transylvanian and Bucovina Romanians, intellectuals engaged in the national movement, evaded mobilization and took refuge over the mountains in Romania; imperial courts-martial sentenced them to death or years of hard prison in absentia; another significant part of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian army either deserted or fell prisoners on the Russian or Italian front; they were in various camps all over Russia.

Regarding the Bessarabian Romanians enlisted in the Russian imperial army, Gheorghe Brătianu wrote in 1940, when the drama of the capture was being consumed - how many times? - of the Romanian territories in the East and North:

The Moldavian soldier had already done his duty in enough campaigns for the tsar: in the Crimea, in the Balkans, in Manchuria. This time, the danger of military operations put him face to face with other Romanians, either from the Austro-Hungarian army, which was his rival, or from the Romanian army he was fighting alongside. He learned that Romanians from the Kingdom were participating in the war to free their brothers from Austrian and

³ Onisifor Ghibu, *În Basarabia revoluționară 1917-1918. Amintiri*. Editura Universitas, 1992 p. 92.

Hungarian domination; he saw the volunteer battalions being formed behind the Russian front, with prisoners of Romanian origin captured in Galicia or Bucovina. Suddenly he had the consciousness of the same language that exceeded the borders of the Russian Empire and the Allied Kingdom (Romania), the consciousness of a wider, richer nationality, of which he was also a part...⁴

Onisifor Ghibu, refusing to enlist in the imperial army, crossed the border clandestinely into Romania. Here he immediately got involved in the national movement that demanded entry into the war alongside the Entente for the liberation of Transylvania and Union with the Country. In Bessarabia, he engaged in the activity that he had started for the national awakening. The situation of Romania, whose territory - after the defection of the Romanian army and the annexation of Dobrogea, Transylvania, Oltenia, Muntenia, the Capital - was only represented by a part of Moldavia between the Prut and the Carpathians, - was of unprecedented gravity: full of refugees from areas occupied by the enemy, with over a million Russian soldiers quartered and well fed, with the Parliament, the Government, the central institutions, the diplomatic offices, the Royal House sheltered in Iasi, had to face a new test: the separate exit from the war and "peace" imposed by the Central Powers in connivance with Russia. All this required a new refuge. In mid-July 1917, the third and last shipment of the Romanian state's wealth was leaving for Moscow for "keeping". At the same time, preparations were being made for the refuge in Russia of the Parliament, the central institutions, the National Bank, and the Royal House. Moreover, the Russian authorities insisted on the Romanian Government and King Ferdinand to bring the entire Romanian army to Russia for quartering and "restoration", an offer refused, as is known, by the king, the military commanders, the Government but also by the French military mission led by General Henri – Mathias Berthelot. In these critical circumstances, the issue of the evacuation of Onisifor Ghibu and his family from Bessarabia to Moscow was raised.

In his Memories, there are impressive accounts of these happenings and events, pages full of bitterness and hope, of great soul turmoil. Onisifor Ghibu's decision not to leave then, together with his family, from Bessarabia was determined by the primary importance he attached to the

⁴ Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Basarabia. Drepturi naționale și istorice (Bessarabia. Its National and Historical Rights)*, Preface by Ioan -Aurel Pop, Meteor Press, Bucharest, 2024, p. 141.

continuation of the activity he was carrying out in many fields - school, political, cultural, religious, publishing, all this for the purpose the national awakening of Bessarabian Romanians and the fulfillment of the supreme ideal - the Union of historical Bessarabia with the Country.

An emotional episode recorded in these Memories is related to the history of the departure from Chisinau of the train carrying the Treasure and traveling to Moscow and a large group of Transylvanian and Bessarabian refugees.

Here is the full text:

I was left alone on duty in my Bessarabia. An immense faith made me regard this soul separation as a fact of no great importance. This state of mind also had its explanation in the fact that while the train stopped at the Chisinau station, I met a friend from Bucharest, who was carrying with him, in the neighboring compartment, from Iași to Kherson, the mysterious suitcase, which I had brought - me, in the fall of 1916, from Bucharest to Iași, together with father C. Dolinescu and in which was the head of **Michael the Brave**, also buried in the third refuge, in the city on **the left bank of the Dnieper**. So, my family travels again in this symbolic companionship — which cannot be without a higher meaning...⁵ (emph. in text)

Thus, Onisifor Ghibu remained in Bessarabia "on duty".

And he gives a definition of this "debt" in the first issue of the newspaper "Ardealul" / October 1, 1917, in the article *Our Duty*, which he signs:

Each of us owes, in addition to our debts to ourselves, great debts to our nation. The greatest of all is to fight for the victory of the nation and to place it on a firmer foundation than before.

It was his creed from which he never abdicated.

⁵ Onisifor Ghibu, *Pe baricadele vieții. În Basarabia revoluționară (1917-1918) – Amintiri (On Life's Barricads. În Revolutionary Bessarabia)*. Foreword, Iurie Colesnic. Edited, preface, chronological table, notes and index Octavian O. Ghibu. Ed. Universitas, Chișinău, 1992, p. 256

A valuable manuscript

The collection of the newspaper "Ardealul (Transilvania)" (October 1, 1917-January 23, 1918), newspaper named, starting from January 24, 1918, "România Nouă" (last issue - November 20, 1918), in the possession of the Library of the Romanian Academy, opens with the inscription: "Donation to the Romanian Academy by Onisifor Ghibu, professor at the University of Cluj, 12 -XII - 1922." A notebook page attached to the first page of the first issue of the newspaper "Ardealul" contains the following text written by Onisifor Ghibu's hand, perfectly preserved for more than a hundred years:

I gave the Romanian Academy a complete copy from the newspaper collection Transylvania and New Romania in the last days of December 1918, when I returned from Chisinau to Sibiu, after a wandering of 4 years and three months. That copy was lent in the summer of 1919 by the late Ion I.C. Brătianu, then prime minister and delegate of Romania to the Paris Peace Conference. When Brătianu asked the Academy for the collection of this newspaper, the late I. Bianu⁶ he refused to give it to her, fearing that it would be lost. Brătianu sent a special courier from Paris, who managed to get it. But Bianu's fear turned out to be well-founded, because in truth, the collection was lost without a trace. In 1922, telling me about what happened, he asked me to give another collection to the Academy if I still had one. Thus I gave the present collection to the Academy.

Written on March 1, 1940

⁶ Ion Bianu, member of the Romanian Academy, director of the Library.

From the history of the appearance of „Ardealul (Transilvania)”

In March 1917 Onisifor Ghibu was in Odessa from where he wrote to his friend Pompiliu Teodor, who was in the Darnița prison camp near Kiev⁷:

I've been in Odessa for a few days, from where I'm leaving tomorrow for Chisinau, where I've been living with my family for about two weeks. Here begins a great Moldavian action in whose success I have a lot of hope. I linked myself to this action with all my powers and I thought that you should also do everything possible to break away from there and come to Chisinau to work together on <<The

⁷ At Darnița, near Kiev, there was one of the camps in Russia where there were Romanian prisoners from the Austro-Hungarian army; they wanted to form volunteer units in the Romanian army. Until the spring of 1917, however, there was no agreement between the Romanian and Russian governments on this issue. In January 1917, following the report drawn up by colonel G. G. Pietraru - sent to Darnița to discuss with the Romanian prisoners - the Minister of War of Romania decided, on February 23, 1917, to establish the Romanian Volunteer Corps. The Russian General Staff approved the formation of a Corps of 5000 volunteers, but conditioned their recruitment only from the camps in the Moscow area (where the number of Romanian prisoners was small). The headquarters of the Volunteer Corps was fixed at Darnița. In a short time, more than 5000 volunteers were enrolled. On 22 August, the Russian government gave its consent to the recruitment of 30,000 volunteers from camps across Russia.

When the formation was formed, the Romanian volunteers made the following commitment, dated March 6, 1917 (old style): "The undersigned officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of Romanian nationality declare on honor and conscience that we want to fight alongside the Romanian Army for the liberation of our countries from Austro-Hungarian domination and their annexation to Romania /...../ From the moment of signing this commitment, we consider ourselves to be part of the Romanian Army and therefore, those of us who will not respond to the Call, will be considered deserters and punished according to Romanian laws/...../ May God help us so that through our blood we can break our countries and make Great Romania united in one body and forever". (Bessarabia Bucovina Transilvania Unirea 1918. Annotated documents and introductory study by university professor Dr. Viorica Moisuc, Department of Public Information, Publications Office for Foreign Affairs, Bucharest, 1996, p. 55). The document entitled the Declaration of Darnița and launched by the Transylvanian Volunteers Corps established in this camp, dated April 16/29, 1917, strongly affirms some fundamental truths of the historical development of the Romanians: "Today, when we Romanians...have definitively convinced ourselves that we, as Romanians, it is no longer possible for us to exist within the framework of the Austro-Hungarian state; we, who in language, in culture, in social structure and in our entire ethnic being form a single and inseparable body with all the other constitutive parts of the Romanian Nation, demand with unwavering will our incorporation into Free Romania to form together with it a single State Romanian National that we will build on the foundations of the most advanced democracy/...../"(Ibidem, doc. no. 5, p. 54-55)

Moldavian Word>> and outside he. These are great times for all the branches of our nation, and each one of us has a duty to serve Him where there is greatest need and where his work can give the greatest results. Through a lucky fate of things, today we can serve this branch here, a Romanian branch completely neglected until now⁸.

In the revolutionary effervescence that had engulfed the whole of Russia, the Moldavian National Party was born in Chisinau on April 3, 1917; he mobilized in his ranks leaders of the Bessarabian national movement led by Vasile Stroescu, Ion Pelivan, Archimandrite Gurie, Pantelimon Halippa and others. A day earlier, "Cuvînt Moldovenesc" published the editorial The goals pursued by the National-Moldovan Party (document elaborated by O. Ghibu) in which, based on the idea that in Russia "the fate of all peoples living in her", it was shown:

If until now we have led a life of innocent slaves of the Russian empire, from now on we are free and we are allowed to be what God left us - Moldavians or rather Romanians, sons of Trajan and descendants of Stephen the Great. Our only duty is to make ourselves worthy of our ancestors and the freedom we have acquired. **Until we get to be masters of our country, until others guide us in public life, until then we are not worthy of our great past. We must become masters of these parts, inhabited by us, and of our fate** (emphasis in text)⁹

It is worth mentioning a permanent concern in Bessarabian publishing from 1917-1918, namely the recourse to history to sensitize national consciousness and self-respect.

The hundred years of forced Russification, national oppression, cancellation of the old rights and freedoms of the Romanians in the annexed province, had left deep traces in the behavior and even in the way of thinking of the Bessarabians. The struggle for survival had required renunciations, concessions, submission, unwilling acceptance of the will of imperial rule. The fear of reprisals, deportations, arrests and crimes had put its stamp on the entire life of Bessarabian Romanians. In addition, the permanent anti-Romanian propaganda of the tsarist authorities and the

⁸ The original of this letter can be found at the Scheii Braşovului Museum, Pompiliu Nistor Fund, quota 1878. Apud Octavian Ghibu. Preface to the work of Onisifor Ghibu, *On the life's barricades*.

⁹ *Cuvînt Moldovenesc*, n0. 27 /2 aprilie 1917.

total isolation of the Bessarabian Romanians from the Motherland and the other Romanian provinces had extremely serious consequences: the feeling of inferiority of the Moldavians in relation to the Russians or other ethnic groups in Russia had been cultivated, and the relations among the Romanians from the Kingdom of Romania, Transylvania, Bucovina and Bessarabian Romanians were almost non-existent. Considering these considerations, it is understandable that the change in mentalities and especially in decisions that the revolutionary transformations of those years imposed on Romanians in Bessarabia was extremely difficult.

A very interesting analysis made by Ghibu many years later (*On the barricades of life*) of this complicated problem of the transition of Bessarabian Romanians from a life deprived of basic liberties and rights to a free life, sheds light on the great difficulties of this process. When he arrived in Bessarabia, in March 1917, Ghibu said:

I had the clear idea of the need for the autonomy of Bessarabia, an idea that I gave voice to...in the first meeting of Moldovan intellectuals that I took part in; (in Ghibu's view, autonomy was only a first step) This logically and necessarily led to the idea of Bessarabia joining the Romanian trunk. I immediately realized what a difficult thing this is, but also what a great and necessary thing it is. I had enough elements to understand what a difficult burden is the spiritual baggage with which Russia has burdened, during 106 years, Romanianism there, making it immobile, mystical, distrustful, fatalistic and impractical..., a slave not only of a foreign mentality but and of a formidable economic pressure.

Ghibu's insistence on achieving a "complete national organization of the «Moldovans»" led, in the immediate period following, to the establishment of the Moldavian National Party, and then to the creation of the National Association of Bessarabian Teachers, with which the magazine *Țoala Moldoveneasca* contributed to the establishment practice of the new school program in Romanian; The society for the culture of the Romanians from Bessarabia, also established then, would carry out an intense cultural activity in the following period, which they will find reflected in the newspapers "Ardealul" - "România Nouă"¹⁰

On April 9, the Program of the Moldavian National Party is published; the central point of the Program was "the acquisition of the widest administrative, judicial, church, school and economic autonomy of

¹⁰ O. Ghibu, *On the life's barricades...*, p. 40-41.

Bessarabia" (art. 2); "the national language of the people" replaced the Russian language in absolutely all areas; "the Russian language should be only for the connections with the authority from above" (art. 4); in schools, the Russian language would only be an "object of education" (art.5); article 8 referred to a matter of major interest for the majority peasant population of Bessarabia: **"Colonization, i.e. the bringing and settlement of foreigners on the land of Bessarabia, should be stopped and land should be given to the farming villagers, who do not have land, or did not have enough"**; interesting is the wording of article 10, **which refers to the inhabitants on the right side of the Dniester**: "Let the Moldavians from beyond the Dniester **the same national rights in the cultural, ecclesiastical, political and economic realms that the residents of other nations will have in Bessarabia**" (emphasis in the text).

The autonomy proclaimed in this document elaborated by the Moldavian National Party was accompanied by the specification of Bessarabia's maintenance in the composition of Russia: "Remaining tied here and there to Russia through laws of public interest, Bessarabia will have to manage its own life from within taking into account the national rights of all its inhabitants"¹¹ (art. 2)

It was, in April 1917, the first step towards freedom - declared by the Moldavian National Party, the first official document that talked about the autonomy of Bessarabia and what was meant by it at that time. It should be noted that in Bessarabian society, especially in intellectual circles, autonomy became a widely debated but also controversial issue in the following months.

O. Ghibu, carefully following the evolution of the PNM in the context of the events that were taking place throughout the vast territory of the former Russian empire, but also on the Romanian front, considered that "little by little" the activity of this party leads to the victory of an "integral national program", which will achieve "one by one", autonomy, independence and, "as a natural consequence, the Union with Romania"¹².

The integral National Program that Ghibu talks about in all his written and spoken interventions during the years when he was on the barricades of the struggle for the national and political emancipation of Bessarabia, included two major aspects: the regaining of the self-awareness of the Bessarabian Romanians and the understanding of "slobozenia" - freedom -

¹¹ *Cuvînt Moldovenesc*, nr. 28 / 9 aprilie 1917 (Cf. *Basarabia....Documente*, doc. nr. 4, p. 52-54.)

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 41.

in the sense of deciding their fate together with their blood brothers from the other Romanian provinces.

It is known that at the time – one of rapid revolutionary transformations, one of the great dangers aimed at the implementation of the Principle of Nationalities, namely the establishment of unitary, independent and sovereign states, was the idea that the "autonomy" of nations and their territories should take place, but within the same state conglomerates, preserved in the form of "federations"; autonomy would have been, therefore, the final, supreme point of the struggle for national liberation and the assurance of civil rights and liberties. The much circulated, discussed, controversial formula of the "United States of Greater Austria" which did not even involve renouncing the status of monarchy but actually strengthened the prerogatives of the emperor by practically limiting the autonomy that would have been granted to the nations; or the federative formula of Russia brought about by the revolution of February 1917, in which the Russian autocratic empire would have been transformed, actually hid the eternal tsarist imperialism.¹³

Even President Wilson's famous "14 points" did not - in their first formulation - go beyond the stage of "autonomy" of nations within a large federal state formation. But, at that stage of the evolution of the socio-political crisis in the former multinational empires, the stage of "autonomy" had been overcome. In the case of Bessarabia, Ghibu saw "autonomy" only as a necessary but short-lived stage of the struggle for national liberation, the final goal being the Union of all Romanians and the territories inhabited by them in a single national state.

On the European political and diplomatic stage, these issues were fiercely debated topics, because the interests related to maintaining the old state of affairs, even in a disguised form of progress, brought to the fore the motivation of the security of the West. The illusion of the "shield" of a great central European power which had been the Habsburg Empire and which had to be perpetuated even under a new hat, still had many followers, especially in the context of the revolutionary movement in Russia. In the opposite camp stood the powerful movement of the nations oppressed by the dualist empire, a movement that had reached its peak during the war years. As early as 1895, the Congress of Non-Hungarian Nations in Budapest affirmed the strong solidarity between Romanians, Slovaks,

¹³ See Viorica Moisuc, *Calvarul ...*, vol II, cap. XXX, XXXI, XXXII, p. 261-348.

Czechs and other nationalities in the struggle for rights and freedoms. The *Tribune* from Sibiu wrote on April 18/May 1, 1896:

We resolutely declare that we Serbs, Slovaks and Romanians exist as living, individual nations, in deed and reality special, endowed with all the attributes that, not only during a thousand years but in a much longer time, preserved our being our national and we have the clear and determined will to exist in the future as well.¹⁴

Ed. Beneš, the leader of the Czech liberation movement, in his well-known work titled *Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie*, published in Paris in 1916, wrote, among other things:

We would like it to be understood that the only means of destroying the force of this band of aggressors in Central Europe is the complete destruction of the Austro-Hungarian core - the basis of their policy. Europe needs to finally understand the history of this empire and this dynasty. A state that played such a role in history must disappear from the map of Europe.... Let it be understood that Austria, in order to save herself, can do nothing but submit to Prussia. Pan-Germanism is the fatal consequence of the evolution of the situation in Central Europe. Therefore, there is no other means than the destruction of Austria-Hungary to stop the Drang Nach Osten of the Prussians and to shatter German hegemony in Europe forever.¹⁵

And in this writing of Beneš appears the fear of the position of many politicians of the time who supported the preservation of the renovated Habsburg monarchy in Central Europe as an obstacle to both Germany's Drang nach Osten policy and Russian imperialism.

Ardelian Onisifor Ghibu understood better than anyone all this complex international conjuncture, within which the situation in Bessarabia was also evolving. Autonomy within the same conglomerate of peoples

¹⁴ Iulius Mésáros, The internal causes of the decline of the dualist monarchy and the situation of the Slovaks in Hungary (Romanian translation). in "Historicky Casopis", "nr.1 /1969, p. 525. (Apud Milică Moldoveanu, Constantin Botoran, Czechoslovakia, in the volume. Affirmation of the independent national states in Central and South-Eastern Europe 1821-1923. Coordinators Viorica Moisuc, Ion Calafeteanu, Academiei Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, p. 155.

¹⁵ Edvard Beneš, *Détruisez l'Autriche-Hongrie. Le martyre des tchécoslovaques à travers l'histoire*, Librairie Delagrave, Paris, 1916 . Apud Viorica Moisuc, *Calvarul*, vol. I, p . 151.

under the leadership of Russia (revolutionary or tsarist) does not solve the Romanian problem. In such circumstances, deeply involved in the confrontations that were taking place around the major issues of the future of Bessarabia, Ghibu started a sustained action for the realization of the newspaper that he had been planning for a long time. On the 2nd of June, "in the evening at 9 ½", he noted in his Diary the intention to take out "a sheet" for the Transylvanian prisoners in the Russian camps:

Today I read several hundred letters from them, at the Editorial Office¹⁶ and I repented that I had done nothing for them since I have been here. A weekly sheet would do good service here.

But, financial difficulties postponed the realization of this project. However, the idea of publishing the newspaper was at the forefront of his concerns:

In the given situation, I decided to initiate an action on my own account., with all the risks inherent in such an adventure....I decided to edit myself, namely in Latin letters, a weekly newspaper which, by its ideology to set new objectives for the Moldovans and, in the first line, for their spiritual leading elements: the teaching, the priesthood, the students and the military. I will baptize this newspaper with the name of my native country, "Transylvania", making this name a slogan intended to energize the souls of the readers, whether they are Transylvanian refugees or interned as prisoners in Russia, Moldovans, or anything else. I will do everything to channel the national life of Bessarabia into the mother of "Transylvania", seen as a symbol of all Romanianism with a much stronger resonance than any other name could have¹⁷.

Again, the plan to publish the much-desired newspaper ran into almost insurmountable financial difficulties. Counting the expenses for the publication of the newspaper, he optimistically assessed: "I wouldn't need a lot of money if I had the paper. With a thousand "carboave"¹⁸ I could begin; they would last me three months, I think, apart from living."¹⁹

¹⁶ Is about the editorial office of „ *Cuvînt Moldovenesc*” where he would carry out his activity.

¹⁷ Onisifor Ghibu, *In Revolutionary Bessarabia...*p. 230.

¹⁸ Carboave: Old Russian silver coin or paper note, equal in value to one ruble (which also circulated in the Romanian Principalities)

¹⁹ Onisifor Ghibu, *In the maelstrom of the Russian revolution. Daily notes of a transylvanian - and more than that - of the Russian revolution in the years 1917-1918*, starting on March 12 and ending on August 6, 1917. Neat edition, 46

Given such a precarious financial situation, he was thinking of asking his nephew Dumitru from Ekaterinodar for a loan of "one thousand «carboave»" and at the same time proposing to him "to make a collection there".

Confident in his project, on June 3 he drafted an "announcement" that he planned to publish on June 7 in "Cuvînt Moldovenesc", regarding the weekly appearance of the new newspaper called "Ardealul".

In truth, in "Cuvînt Moldovenesc" no. 45/ June 6, the announcement was published: "From July 1, «Ardealul» a weekly newspaper for Transylvanian Romanians studying in Russia, will begin to be printed in Latin letters. Editor, Dr. Onisifor Ghibu, former inspector of Romanian schools in Transylvania. Editorial Office and Administration, Chisinau, Jukowskaia ul.15. Subscription 2 rubles for a quarter of a year and it is sent in advance" . The announcement about the appearance of the new newspaper on July 1 was repeated several times in the newspaper *Cuvânt Moldovenesc*. The news about the publication of "Transylvania" was well received by the Transylvanian refugees from Russia, but it also caused the displeasure of some of O. Ghibu's close collaborators. Octavian Goga, for example, considered the name of the newspaper inappropriate - says Ghibu - because it was also expected then to publish in Kiev the newspaper "România Mare" intended for Romanian prisoners in Russia "who are now gathering under the Romanian flag as volunteers"; Goga specified that he took upon himself the writing and publication of that newspaper on behalf of the Great Romanian Headquarters.²⁰

The announcement of the appearance of "Ardeal" in Romanian, spread in all areas of Russia where there were Romanians (civilian refugees, prisoners of the Austro-Hungarian army, etc.), resulted in a large number of letters and requests for subscriptions arriving at editorial office of the "Moldovene Word." Encouraged by the good prospects announced for the newspaper he was preparing, Ghibu went to Iași to buy the printing press with Latin letters "which the Great Quarter had promised me". In his Memories, he writes "The story of the printing press": located in a train car in Huși," the printing press, bought in the name of the newspaper "România" from Iași (with the support of Mihail Sadoveanu and Octavian Goga), lingered in the station "from the cause of the difficulties of transport

Introduction and notes by Octavian O. Ghibu, Publishing House Romanian of Cultural Foundation, Bucharest, 1991, p. 146-147.

²⁰ Goga will completely change his attitude towards "Ardealul" in a little while.

on the CFR in wartime" . In those days, in Iasi, Ghibu, helped by I.G. Duca, the Minister of Public Instruction, obtained all available duplicates from the University Library. "For two days, together with the director of the University Library, G. Pascu, I took tens of thousands of duplicates by hand, choosing from them about ten thousand volumes, which I packed and went to Chisinau establishing a large public library there, later called the Chisinau University Library"²¹. Also at that time, Ghibu bought with his own money, "several thousand Alphabets, reading books, Histories, Geographies and Arithmetic books for primary schools - emptying the bookstores in Iași and carrying over the Prut as rich a «prey» as possible, which then allowed the teachers' courses to take place in relatively satisfactory conditions"²²

Ghibu's efforts in the realm of removing Bessarabian education from the Russian system and introducing it into the Romanian one - and this at a time when the province still had the status of a "governance", was a real tour de force. Here is one of the perennial truths presented by the Transylvanian pedagogue at the courses for teachers organized by the Romanian Cultural Society in the summer of 1917, in preparation for the opening of Romanian schools scheduled for the autumn of that year: "The Romanian language, as the main tool for developing national consciousness, is meant to understand History of which Bessarabian Romanians are a part". Under the title Bessarabia from 1812 onwards, the history course given to teachers by O. Ghibu included the lessons: Birth of the Romanian people; Life during the barbarian raids; The establishment of Muntenia and Moldova; Connections and battles with the Turks, Les and Hungarians; The most important voivodes of Muntenia and Moldavia; The reign of the Phanariots; Abduction of Bucovina; The revolution of Horia, Cloșca and Crișan in Transylvania; The annexation of Bessarabia to Russia; Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution; The union of the two Romanian countries, Muntenia and Moldova; Today's history of the Romanian people.

One important thing can be noted: a hundred years ago, the approach to the national history of all Romanians responded to some major commandments: the unitary presentation of the history of Romanians from all historical provinces with the emphasis on events of major interest; "Today's history" had in view the present situation of Bessarabia and the commands of the future.

Ghibu's efforts to remove on July 1, 1917 "Ardealul" from under the presses of the printing press with Latin letters or hit, as he himself

²¹ Onisifor Ghibu, *On the life's barricades...*, p. 238-239.

²² *Ibidem*.

repeatedly mentions, many and unexpected obstacles. However, in the summer of 1917, the "editing in Russian Slovene" of the magazine "Moldoveneasca School" and, in September, of the newspaper "Soldatul Moldovan" in Chisinau was successful. At the same time, with the support of the Romanian Headquarters, Octavian Goga published in Kiev, in Latin letters, "Great Romania"²³, subtitled "Foaie a voluntarilor români din Austro-Ungaria (Journal of Romanian Volunteers from Austria-Hungary)"²⁴.

This newspaper campaigned in its columns for the unity of the Romanian people, always bringing forward indisputable arguments of the action of Transylvanian mountaineers and Moldovans in the service of the same ideal - the unity of language, history, culture of the entire Romanian nation; in this context, personalities such as Gheorghe Șincai, Samuel Micu, and Petru Maior, Gh. Asachi, Gh. Lazăr, Eliade Rădulescu, Nicolae Bălcescu and their work and activity devoted to Romanian national interests were evoked. The article The National Unity of Romania, written by Gh. Pop (under the pseudonym of Gh. Pădure) emphasized that the entire activity of these luminaries of Romanian culture, their work, "written and spoken" was put "at the service of the Romanian national unity, because" national unity is the fundamental law of nature itself, and nothing opposed to nature can prevail"²⁵.

The situation in Bessarabia — with the status of a Russian governorate in the summer of 1917 — presented a series of characteristics that must be taken into account in order to understand the complexity of the political-social conjuncture in which the two camps faced each other: on the one hand, the one campaigning for the recovery the freedom of this Romanian province and bringing it alongside the Motherland, on the other hand, the retrograde, internal and external forces that opposed by all means the emancipation of Bessarabia and its break from the Russian conglomerate. Being a border province of the Empire, moreover, bordering

²³ Editor-in-chief was Sever Bocu (former editor of *Tribuna din Sibiu*) editors: Iosif Schiopul și Gh. Pop.

²⁴ "Foaia" moved in 1919 to Paris, with the subtitle "Foaia soldaților români din Franța și Italia" (apud Onisifor Ghibu, *On the barricades of life...*, p. 248). We learn from the news published by "Romania Mare" that on July 2, 1917, on the occasion of the commemoration of the death of voivode Stefan the Great (July 2, 1504), Metropolitan Veniamin of Kiev allowed the ceremony, in the Metropolitan Cathedral of this city, in the language Romanian, of the commemoration service of the voivode of Moldova by the Greek-Catholic Archpriest Valeriu Florian from Sibiu (Ibidem)

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

Romania, Bessarabia experienced a very harsh Russification regime, a stagnation of development on all levels, becoming the most backward governorate of the empire. The struggle fought by the national forces in Bessarabia for its detachment not only politically from the old imperial structures but also for the abandonment of old mentalities, of submission to Russia, of acceptance of its policy, was an action of great responsibility, especially when Romania had itself a situation of an unprecedented gravity: with a territory reduced to a small part of Moldova, where all the state authorities had taken refuge, including the Royal House, with an army under rebuilding, with the one million Russian soldiers stationed there, it was subjected of ultimate pressure from the Centrals for a separate exit from the war and the conclusion of an onerous peace.

In addition, the Russian Bolshevik forces were acting on the front in this small Romania for the removal of King Ferdinand and the annihilation of the legal authorities, while the Russian imperial army from the Romanian territory was retreating, looting, burning, terrorizing the population; as a result, Romania's support for Bessarabia was disguised in small-scale actions, actually being reduced to private actions. After the signing of the "peace" in Bucharest, the Marghiloman government, through censorship and other restrictive measures imposed, restricted the free expression of the Romanian media in Bessarabia. In the context created by the revolutionary movement in Russia, Bessarabian Romanian soldiers on all fronts supported a far-reaching action for political freedom and national rights. "Moldovan Committees" were organized everywhere: in Odesa, Yekaterinoslav, Novo-Gheorghievsk, Sevastopol and other localities, Odesa being the center of Moldavian military organizations. Moreover, the Odesa Committee, led by Anton Crihan and Nicolae Ciornei, organized, on April 18, the great gathering of Romanian soldiers who had their say regarding the political status of Bessarabia: the Moldavians "will demand that the Land of Bessarabia not to be governed as a subject country but as a free country".²⁶ "Slobozenia"²⁷ practically translated into freedom of governance in all areas without any interference from Russia. In the period that followed, the action of the Bessarabian soldiers intensified in the direction of supporting the political rights of Bessarabia. The manifesto launched on July 13 (old style) by the "Committee of the Bessarabian Soldiers

²⁶ The work of this Assembly, presided over by Cateli, Halippa, Pelivan, Păscăluță, an assembly attended by "some 10,000 soldiers" was reported in detail by "Cuvînt Moldovenesc", no. April 33/26, 1917 (old style). Next to Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania ... doc. no. 6. pp. 56-57, notes 1 and 2.

²⁷ "Slobozenia": Liberation - word of Slavic origin used in archaic Romanian.

on the Romanian Front", entitled Ten Commandments of the Moldavian Nation, is a document that should not be missing from any Romanian history textbook. The words "Don't forget..." stand in front of each of the ten commandments: "...that you are and must remain Moldovan; "... that you have to speak Romanian..."; "..never by your country..."; "... that in union lies strength..."; "... that you must be a true master in your country..."²⁸.

This position of the Bessarabian Romanian soldiers was important in the context of the events taking place at the time: the Ukrainian Rada from Kiev raised territorial claims over Bessarabia. On July 26 (old style) the Moldovan soldiers and officers from the Odesa military constituency addressed a vehement "Protest" to the Ukrainian Rada, published by "Cuvînt Moldovenesc" on August 2 (old style), from which we highlight some value judgments appropriate to the situation:

- "I categorically reject any possibility of annexation of Bessarabia to Ukraine and I consider any claim of the Ukrainians a usurpation"
- "...any attempt by the Central Rada to annex Bessarabia is categorically refused ...as imperialist, against the right of self-determination of the Moldovan People"
- "...the Rada's tendencies to expand Ukraine's borders at the expense of other nationalities deeply offended the entire Moldovan people"
- "...by official act / Rada/ to recognize the rights of autonomy of the Moldovan nation in the ethnic borders, which are determined by the geographical borders of Bessarabia and parts of the lands near the Dniester in the governorates of Kherson and Podolia inhabited mostly by Moldovans" so-called V.M.)

The above protest was presented to Rumcerod by Captain Catelli.

However, it should be noted that Bessarabia's free governance (in all areas) (autonomy) was seen only in the context of membership in the Russian Federation. In difficult political conditions, the printing press with Latin letters arrived in Chisinau and was installed in the City Hall Palace "in the main street of the city, on Bul. Alexander...". On this occasion, a "Festive Act" was signed in which it was stated:

²⁸ *Cuvînt Moldovenesc*, nr. 56/ 13 iulie 1917 (stil vechi). Apud op. cit., doc nr. 10, p. 63).

Today, on September 8, the year of the Lord 1917, it was inaugurated in the city of Chisinau and in the presence of those named below, TYPOGRAPHY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE CULTURE OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE IN BASSARABIA. May this first Romanian printing house in this country become an inexhaustible source of national light for the Moldovans who have been in the dark for 105 years. May everything that will come out from under her presses, enlighten the minds, warm the hearts and strengthen the lives of the more than two million Romanians from beyond the Prut river and beyond the Dniester, making them the conscious sons of our nation so hard tried from the earliest times to the present moment... This document is the first product issued by the Printing Press of the Society for the Culture of the Romanian People in Bessarabia.

Chisinau, the Day of the Birth of the Holy Virgin Mary, September 8, 1917

This act of inauguration of the Typography, which will bring to light the much troubled history of Bessarabia in its period of national rebirth, bears the signatures of numerous personalities from all the Romanian provinces, such as: Pantelimon Halippa, Const. Partenie (editor of the newspaper "Cuvînt Moldovenesc"), Dr. Onisifor Ghibu, , Ovidiu Țopa, Ilie Ban (Cernăuți), etc.

On the same day of September 8, "Cuvînt Moldovenesc" published Ghibu's article, entitled *O zi mare pentru Moldoveni (A Great day for the Moldovans)*, in which the already established printing program was announced, focused on publishing school books in Romanian. "The Romanian letter is the letter of our nation - it was stated in the article. The most beautiful things in our language are written with this letter. From now on, with the help of the Romanian printing press, we will also be able to share in them and we will also be able to step forward like our brothers across the Prut and across the Carpathians"²⁹.

„Ardealul” and its mission

Only on October 1, 1917 did the first issue of "Ardeal" see the light of day. It was prepared and carried out by Onisifor Ghibu which, at the beginning, led to a lack of collaborators. In a short time, however, he was

²⁹Onisifor Ghibu wrote and published the history of this highly resonant action in Bessarabia in 1917, in "Romania Nouă" (*The New Romania*), no. 162-166 of September 9-15, 1918. See also *On Life's Barricades...*, p. 353.

joined by other Transylvanian refugees: Axente Baci, a teacher from Braşov, Ioan Mateiu from Sibiu. However, the material problem was unresolved. Vasile Stroescu supported the newspaper with 200 rubles a month but for a short period of time. The announcement of the publication of a newspaper in Romanian and with the Latin alphabet, however, had a great echo among Transylvanian refugees in Russia. Ghibu speaks with great emotion about the letters received from all over Russia announcing donations from Transylvanian refugees, many of them from parts of Sibiu. "The gesture of my "borders" from Crimea and the Caucasus had a double meaning: apart from their solidarity in a risky action, with a man of their own and a "country" - as they used to say in Transylvania - there was still in the middle and their national conscience awake, which culminated with the pan-Romanian idea expressed by Mihai Eminescu with the formula: From the Dniester to the Tisa"³⁰.

What strikes you from the very beginning when you browse "Ardealul" — the first Romanian-language newspaper with Latin letters published in Bessarabia one hundred and seventeen years ago, is the appeal to history. In each issue, on the first page, there is an illustration depicting an emblematic character from the national history with explanations that everyone can understand, maps of the Romanian countries in different periods. "Following the broad line of the entire nation — writes Ghibu in his Memories — «Transylvania» gave in each issue on its first page, an illustration with a subject from our history and national life and with explanations intended to educate to the Moldovans who did not yet know their national history".³¹

The first issue of the newspaper depicted Mihai the Brave accompanied by the explanation: "Mihai the Brave, Lord of Muntenia, Moldavia and Transylvania. Killed by the Hungarians, in 1601, on the Turzii plain." In number 2 of October 8, Ghibu's editorial titled Our Mother: Romania, is accompanied by the map of Greater Romania including all the Romanian provinces, including Bessarabia. The number 4 of "Ardealul" has a special meaning. It publishes the works of the first "Moldovan Congress of soldiers, sailors and officers from all over Russia" which took place in Chisinau on October 20-28 / November 3-11, 1917. The central point of the Congress was the autonomy of Bessarabia. The internal organization imposed by this statute provided for the creation "in the shortest possible time" of the Council of the Country of 120 deputies, 84 seats for Moldovans;

³⁰ Onisifor Ghibu, *On Life's Barricades ...*, p. 378.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 382.

"to give 10 seats (in addition to the 120) in the Council of the Country to the Moldavians from across the Dniester"³².

The decisions resulting from the Congress debates were entrusted to a Commission whose members were elected by the Congress; the mission of this commission was "the translation into life of all the decisions taken". On October 25/November 8, the Resolutions of the first Moldovan Military Congress were published³³.

For the then stage of the political evolution of the society in Bessarabia, the resolutions adopted by the Congress represent indisputable progress, even if the Bessarabian Romanian military did not understand "autonomy" then only within the democratic federal republic of Russia. This is clearly stated in Resolution I itself: Congress "recognizes that the most suitable form of government for Russia is the democratic Federative Republic. ...the central government in Petrograd no longer hinders the cultural progress of nations and the improvement of their economic condition" (the participants in the Congress were unaware of Prime Minister Kerensky's decision to ban the Congress!). The idea is repeated in Resolution II (on the autonomy of Bessarabia): The Congress "decided to declare the territorial and political autonomy of Bessarabia." For the defense of the rights and interests of the autonomy of Bessarabia, in addition to the temporal rule / of the Russian Federation, n.n. V.M./, to be

³² The convocation, on October 7 (old style), of this congress, by means of a telegram sent to the commanders of units on all fronts, also reached the knowledge of the government in Petrograd. On October 19, an order signed by Kerensky categorically forbade the holding of the congress and ordered the arrest of the telegram's signatories. Ion Incuț, at that time assistant to the government commissioner, reports in his memoirs how things unfolded: "...about seven hundred Moldovan soldiers, officers, soldiers and sailors from all fronts arrived at the Congress. The Congress opened with great solemnity in the Diocesan Hall in Chisinau... On the eve, a telegram was received at the Governor's Commissariat, from Prime Minister Kerenski, with the most severe order, that no Moldavian Military Congress is authorized... This order of the first minister, I did not execute him and I did not show the telegram to anyone at the time in order not to discourage the congressmen" ("Generația Unirii" no. 12 of February 23, 1930. Apud Bessarabia Bucovina Transilvania, ..p. 86 note no. 3).

³³ *Ardealul (Transylvania)*, Chisinau, year 1, no. 6 of November 5 and no. 7 of November 12, 1817; Moldovan word, no. 96 of November 1, 1917. (Cf. Bessarabia Bucovina Transilvania Documents, doc. no. 19, p. 87-90. The debates of the Congress and the decisions adopted were reported extensively in the newspaper "Soldatul Moldovan", no. 8 of November 4 (new style), under the title Pay attention to the works of the Congress of Moldavian Soldiers, held in Chisinau, October 20-28, 1917 (old style).

a representative of the Moldovan nation". Resolutions III and IV refer to the organization of the army on the territory of Bessarabia. Resolution V contains two important issues: the establishment of the Country Council "as soon as possible", but it will be "temporary" until the establishment of the "Bessarabian founding assembly" (which was to be elected by vote). It is clearly emphasized in this Resolution: "Union with the capitalists is not desired". Resolution VI spoke of "land and colonization" in the terms we have already referred to. . Resolution VIII concerned the important issue of the "Nationalization in the shortest time" of schools, settlements and administrations in Bessarabia". It was spoken for the first time, namely in Decisions taken by a Congress, about the "establishment of Moldovan schools" in all Moldovan villages, about "national schools", about "teaching in the Moldavian language". The confusions and subjective meanings of the events of the present existing in the mentality of the Bessarabian society blocking the way to progress, to the complete liberation of the province from all the forces of the past, urged Onisifor Ghibu to use the columns of "Transylvania" to analyze and shed light on truths still unaccepted at the level of society, including among a large part of the intelligentsia. For example, in an article entitled Ardeleni and Bessarabians³⁴ from November 5, 1917, Ghibu shows that the war brought "...the Transylvanians and the Bessarabians as enemies on the battlefield, having to shoot each other with bullets; The Transylvanians for the sake of the Emperor in Vienna, the Bessarabians for the sake of the Tsar in Petrograd... here they felt that, although ``enemies", they were brothers and part of the same people. The article abounds in examples of this kind and the conclusion is: "Yes, from today on we are no longer fragments of a people, thrown by fate where she wanted, - from today on we are one people!" The article reproduces a letter received by the author from the teacher Grigore Bălan from Căprești commune, dated October 17 (old style), in which he said: "...In the present times, when Bessarabia, like a mother, gives birth to a new life, *Ardealul* you will be our teachers, very useful and helpful. At least *Ardealul* is printed specifically for Transylvanians, we Bessarabians hope that the life of Bessarabia and the national movement towards the light of the Moldovans will not be overlooked on the pages of your newspaper,,,"

The author of the article assures the teachers and teachers of all the support that will be given to them through the "Ardealul" newspaper: "With

³⁴*Ardealul (Transylvania)*, year I, no. 6 of November 5, 1917, Onisifor Ghibu, Ardeleni and Basarabeni (editorial) (article published in full in vol. Bessarabia Bucovina Transilvania Documents..., doc. no. 21, p. 97-100).

the greatest joy we will give help especially to the Moldovan teachers who are now starting a new era in the life of our nation".³⁵

The idea of the unity of the Romanian nation through the knowledge of the historical past, through the understanding of the community of language, traditions, customs, was one of the essential concerns of Onisifor Ghibu, exposed in its multiple aspects in "Transylvania". Permanent columns such as News from Bucovina, News from Romania and others brought to the readers' attention events, actions, which concretely showed the unity of interests and aspirations of Romanians from all historical provinces. In the same issue of the newspaper of November 5, for example, in the column "News from Bucovina" a short foray into the recent history of Bucovina is made, with the emphasis on the refuge of a large number of Bucovina residents in Bessarabia and Russia; "Russia is full of Romanian bathers from Bucovina. There are also many intellectuals among them. Some of them lend a helping hand to the Moldovan brothers in the work of cultural awakening that started recently. At the teachers' courses in Chisinau, Balti and Soroca, several teachers and professors from Bucovina work hard. Also from Bucovina, a large number of Romanian books were recently brought to Chisinau", which were found at the bookstore that operated next to the newspaper "Ardealul"³⁶.

The situation in Transylvania, which is under Hungarian occupation, is addressed in a parallel analysis with the issue of autonomy. Two autonomies is the title of the article signed by O. Ghibu in the issue of November 12, 1917. Basically, the article chronicles the struggle for autonomy led by Transylvanian people over time and the reasons why this status was not obtained from the leaders of Hungary. "Only then did I understand - it is emphasized in the article - that autonomy is not demanded, but taken". Here the reference is clear: the decisions for the autonomy of Bessarabia and its application in all fields had been taken by the Moldavian Military Congress, a new force of Bessarabia; In the circumstances of the time, the liberation of Transylvania returned as the mission of Romania "who sacrificed himself for us"³⁷.

³⁵ În vara lui 1917 s-au desfășurat la Chișinău și alte orașe din Basarabia cursuri pentru învățători și profesori în cadrul cărora s-a pus accentul pe învățarea limbii române, pe însușirea cunoștințelor generale de istorie a Românilor și de literatură. Autorul scrisorii luase parte la aceste cursuri.

³⁶ „Ardealul (Transilvania)” nr. 6 din 5 noiembrie 1917.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, nr. 7 din 12 noiembrie 1917, articolul *Două autonomii*, de Onisifor Ghibu. Se referă pe larg la Corpul de voluntari ardeleni constituit pe teritoriul Rusiei

The opening of the works of the Council of the Country gives Onisifor Ghibu a retrospective look at the situation in Transylvania, a comparison with the new settlements in autonomous Bessarabia. Underlining the fact that the existence of the Council of the Country was also decided by the Congress of Moldovan Soldiers, the author of the editorial with the above title refers extensively to the situation of Transylvanian Romanians. "We not only could not acquire the autonomy of our country, but our predecessors could not even enter the Council (diet) of Transylvania". He recalls the self-indulgences to which he was subjected "the great fighter Inochentie Micu - a member of the Diet for a short period - who, with deep pain, said in this Council full of enemies, that the Romanian people are only spoken about when the Hungarian boyars want to put burdens on us on the country. In their anger, the Hungarians shouted that this worthy apostle of the Romanian nation should be thrown out of the window. For his manly fight, the bishop³⁸ Inochentie had to leave his seat and die away from his wretched people." The history of Transylvanian Romanians subjected to the discriminatory policy, abuses, and crimes of the Hungarian rule is presented in this article. "Today, at our house, it's worse than ever. Weep our parents and brothers under the blows of the Hungarian whip. Our hope, emphasizes Ghibu, is in the shield of mother Romania, which through its valiant soldiers and with the help of our volunteers from Russia, will get us out of the Hungarian hell and give us freedom in Greater Romania"³⁹.

This article is a true history lesson of the present with its connections in the past of sufferings and hopes of the Transylvanian Romanians and with the emphasis on the idea of the unity of the Romanian nation, of the idea of the role of the Motherland in the struggle for the realization of the national ideal of the Union.

Nicolae Iorga, himself an apostle of Romanianism during the difficult years of the war, led the same fight in Iași, for keeping the Romanians' national consciousness awake when the country was invaded by the Central Powers. The history lessons held in Iași at that time destroyed the myth about the superiority of the German "race" and culture, demonstrated the predatory character of the Austrian state, the anachronism of the dualist Austro-Hungarian state formation⁴⁰.

, din care făceau parte militarii români din armata austro-ungară căzuți prizonieri , care se aflau în lagăre rusești.

³⁸ According to original.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, no. 8 from November 19, 1917. Onisifor Ghibu, *Sfatul Țării*, edit. paper.

⁴⁰ See N. Iorga, German thought and deed, ten lessons learned in Iasi. Foreword and notes by Prof. Univ. Dr. Viorica Moisuc, Edition edited by Alexandrina Ioniță, Demiurg Publishing House, Iasi, 2015.

Involved in the fight that was taking place in Bessarabia for national revival and liberation, Nicolae Iorga did not hesitate to harshly criticize the Romanian state for its disinterest in Bessarabia, in general. In "Neamul Românesc" which appeared in Iassi at the time, he said:

The Romanian state did not spread any propaganda there, if only out of a sense of duty towards human beings who also speak the same language as the language of its citizens. Our educational institutions have not made any effort to attract to better schools ... these children without food of the same house".

He then emphasizes the role of Transylvanian refugees, of the "meritorious professor Onisifor Ghibu" for "great things to happen in Bessarabia"⁴¹.

The turning point that it represented in the history of the liberation of Bessarabia "the settlement of governance ... which settlement is established in the form of the Council of the Country" gave the opportunity to express aspirations for a future of justice and national renaissance. "The time has come to erase the shame of our parents" - said on the opening day of the work of the Council of the Country (November 21, 1917, old style), bishop Gavril of Achermanu⁴², adding: to give "all our strength to immediately acquire our rights"⁴³.

Invited to this festivity as a representative of the "Ardealul" newspaper, Onisifor Ghibu held a real history lesson with reference to the events that were taking place then in Bessarabia, announcing radical structural changes in the life of the Romanian community and the status of this historical Romanian province:

You have suffered for a hundred years - and now you see your hopes fulfilled. We have suffered for a thousand years and even today we still do not hear the great clock of eternal justice striking⁴⁴. For one

⁴¹ *Neamul Românesc*, Iassi, November 10, 1917. Apud Onisifor Ghibu, *On Life's Barricades*, ..., p. 381-382.

⁴² A council of 20 priests, including priests from Romania, from Transylvania and Bucovina, officiated in Romanian the Te-deum that preceded the opening of the works of the Council of the Country. The choir that participated in the religious service included singers from Bessarabia, Transylvania, Bucovina, and Moldova.

⁴³ *Ardealul (Transylvania)*, year I, no. 9 of November 26 / December 9, 1917, Reports on the works of the Country Council. The full text published in Bessarabia Bucovina Transilvania Documents, doc. no. 24, pp. 105-135.

⁴⁴ According to the original doc.

thousand and eight hundred years...we have been fighting with the barbarian peoples, who destroyed everything and left us with only our lives. Our history is written only with blood and tears.

At the end of his speech, the speaker took a leap into the future by stating:

And today, when I speak in Chisinau in the Council of Bessarabia, my thoughts fly far across the Prut and across the Carpathians, stopping in the capital of our country, in Alba-Iulia, where the tricolor flag of our entire nation will have to rise victoriously! The hour of justice for all our nation must come!⁴⁵.

The emotion of Onisifor Ghibu and the other Transylvanians present at the opening of the work of the Council of the Country was also determined by the serious events that were taking place in Cluj at the time: several dozen Romanian intellectuals had been hanged for the "guilt" of wearing cockades with the Romanian tricolor flag!⁴⁶

The renaissance of Bessarabia took place at a time when Romania's situation had worsened, being on the verge of an open war with its former ally: in Iași, the Brătianu government, subject to ultimate pressure from the Centrals, betrayed by Russia which had made a pact with Germany and its allies, and the separate exit of Romania from the war and the conclusion of an armistice was imperatively demanded. On November 23, Brătianu communicated to Minister C. Diamandi, in Petrograd: "The allied governments did not realize our desperate situation even though they had been warned in advance. Now they discuss the need for an armistice and believe in the possibility of retreating to Russia"⁴⁷ at the very moment when we are forced to concentrate several divisions in Iași, where the Russian troops from the Socola station, in the middle of which Racovsky seems to be, threaten the city, announce a revolution in Romania and have taken control of the Ungheni line, where new maximalist contingents could

⁴⁵ *Ardealul (Transylvania)*, year I, no. 9 of November 26 / December 9, 1917, Reports on the works of the Country Council.

⁴⁶ „*Ardealul (Transilvania)*”, no. 9, November/December 9, Onisifor Ghibu, „*Sărbătoarea sărbătorilor (Feast of feasts)*”.

⁴⁷ The situation of total isolation of Romania had been communicated by Prime Minister Brătianu to the allied governments, which responded by predicting the withdrawal to Russia.

come". Brătianu feared the "imminence" of an open conflict with the Russian troops who were retreating in disorder from the Romanian-Russian front, looting, burning, terrorizing the population. "In any case, Brătianu added, we are obliged to think about the withdrawal of the Romanian army on the Prut river"⁴⁸. In such a context, the Declaration of the Council of the Country establishing the Autonomous Moldavian Democratic Republic, adopted on December 2/15, 1917, decision communicated on December 3 to the government of Petrograd, the Rada of Odesa, the Ural Republic and the Muslim Republic⁴⁹ clearly state that Bessarabia, proclaimed "Moldovean People's Republic", is "a member with equal rights in the Russian Democratic Federative Republic"; it was also stated that "the higher authority in Bessarabia belongs to the Council of the Country", the only body "with full powers" in this state.

The explanation, or rather the motivation expressed in this Declaration of December 2, 1917, regarding the necessity of adopting the above-mentioned decision is interesting: "The Russian Republic is in great danger - it was shown in the very first line of the document. Lack of mastery at the center and mismanagement⁵⁰ throughout the country, which is exhausted by the struggle with the enemy from without, it brings the whole republic to ruin. In this terrible moment, the only way of salvation for the Russian democratic republic is for **its people to unite and take their fate into their own hands, forming their national dominions, within the borders of the countries where they live**"(emphasis in the text). "On the strength of this foundation", of "rights won through the revolution", "supporting its historical past", Bessarabia declares itself "Moldovan Democratic Republic which will enter the composition of the Russian federal republic, as a participant with the same rights".⁵¹ Article 10 of the Declaration expresses a provision that gives rise to confusion: "Measures should be taken to immediately conclude peace without seizure of foreign lands and without war reparations, giving the people the right to decide

⁴⁸ Archives of the Library of the Romanian Academy (A. BAR), Fund XIV, file no. 1010, vol. I, Telegram f.n., Iasi, November 23 / December 6, signed Brătianu, to Minister C. Diamandi, Petrograd.

⁴⁹ Apud Ștefan Ciobanu, *Union of Bessarabia. Study and Documents regarding the national movement in Bessarabia in the years 1917-1918*, Bucharest, Cartea Românească, 1929, p. 515; fully reproduced in *Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania...*, doc. n. 36, p. 166.

⁵⁰ According to original doc.

⁵¹ Cuvînt Moldovenesc, no. 110, dated December 6, 1917 (old style). Fully reproduced in *Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania...*, doc. no. 35, pp. 162-164.

their own destiny; peace must be concluded in agreement with the Companions and all the peoples of the Russian Federal Republic"⁵². In conclusion, the Declaration of December 2 called for "the decisive struggle together with all the people of the Republic of Moldova to fully support the Russian founding assembly Only in this way will we save our country and save our motherland from destruction to all - the great Russian Democratic Republic!"⁵³

This was the state of affairs in Bessarabia at the time when "revolutionary" Russia was coming out of the war separately, disregarding the obligations to its allies ("Comrades"), without giving up the territories occupied by force for hundreds of years to the tsarist power - which he had abolished -, at the same time causing great damage to his "ally" Romania - which he had committed, by official signature, to support in the war declared by the latter only to Austria-Hungary. And the "historical past" of Moldova between the Dniester and the Prut was far from representing a "ground" for Bessarabia remaining autonomous in the Russian conglomerate.

I did not find the text of this December 2 Declaration in the newspaper *Ardealul* (Transilvania). Instead, the article published by Ghibu in no. 11 of December 10 (old style) , entitled *A înviat Moldova*, is full of edifying meanings. The author refers to the time of Stephen the Great when

Moldova used to be great and invincible, and the name "Moldovan" was a name of honor. Where is Moldova, where is your brilliance, where is your power? Enemies have spoiled you; your sons are crying in three damned countries....For more than a hundred years, Bessarabia was under the yoke of tsarism, in the most terrible darkness and in the most terrible suffering. Her brothers across the Prut thought she was on the verge of death... After a hundred years of Russian slavery, the country, which since the kidnapping was unfairly called Bessarabia, remembers that it is, in fact, nothing but the old Moldova... Nationalizing itself in this way, the Republic of Moldova will live, first of all, in the power of the national idea⁵⁴.

Not by chance, in the first issue of the "*Ardealul* (Transilvania)" newspaper, the face of Mihai Viteazul was accompanied by the article "*La Alba-Iulia*" which included such a call: "Do not doubt, brothers, about the

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴ *Ardealul (Transilvania)*, Chisinau, year I, no. 11, december 10, 1917, Onisifor Ghibu, *A înviat Moldova (Moldova has risen)*.

end of the war. However long the war lasts, it will end for our good. There is no power in the world that can overcome the Allied Powers, of which we are also a part, and which will give us all who have suffered: GREAT ROMANIA!"

In his Memories, Onisifor Ghibu reveals an extremely interesting episode regarding the complexity of Romania's situation in those late days of 1917: shortly after the appearance in Chisinau of the newspaper "Ardealul (Transilvania)", Ghibu was in Iași looking for approvals for the demobilization of some teachers who were much needed in Bessarabia in order to start the new school year 1917-1918 (in Romanian, according to Romanian textbooks and Romanian curriculum); in these circumstances, together with I.G. Duca, Minister of Public Instruction in the Romanian government, had a meeting with Prime Minister I.I.C. Brătianu. The appearance of the newspaper in Romanian (with Latin letters) in Chisinau caused him great concern. Ghibu reports:

Your newspaper can be equivalent to erasing Romania from the map of Europe. You don't know what situation we are in with Russia! I'll tell you: if we have a piece of bread on the table, it comes to us from Russia! If we have weaponry with which to keep the front as much as possible, it comes to us from Russia! If we still have a medicine or a package of cotton wool in the hospitals for the wounded - all these come to us from Russia! We live today, to our misfortune, at the mercy of Russia, for all we had remained in the territory occupied by the Germans. And in such circumstances you come to Russia to publish a Romanian newspaper with which to inflame the Russians?⁵⁵

Indeed, the situation of Romania, abandoned by its main "ally" Russia, which became a dangerous enemy, without any support from France and England, subjected to the increasing pressures of the Central Powers, survived in disastrous conditions on all levels. In addition to what Brătianu said, let's also add that the Romanian warehouses on the territory of Russia, including armaments and other goods, were inaccessible due to the events on that territory. The concerns of the Prime Minister of Romania were fully justified. But Ghibu considered that, at that moment, Bessarabia, a constituent part of the new Russian Federation, benefited from a series of advantages resulting from the revolutionary transformations in Russia. ; she does not set Bessarabian goals that might arouse suspicion in the

⁵⁵ *On Life's barricades...*, p. 390-301.

Russians. It is, properly speaking, a Transylvanian newspaper, it says, right in its subtitle, openly, that it is a «weekly newspaper for Romanians studying in Russia»".

In his argumentation, Ghibu showed that "this modest newspaper of two small pages a week, whose appearance I made known to the Russian authorities, who took the fact into account" did not prejudice "even a little bit, the great Romanian cause whose humble I am a soldier". He suggested to Prime Minister Brătianu to "disassociate himself completely" from the activity of that newspaper as well as from the activity carried out in Bessarabia by Ghibu and his collaborators. Obviously, the orientation and attitude of the "Ardealul (Transylvania)" newspaper, as well as "The New Romania" was not at all neutral, being, in fact, on the most advanced barricade of the fight for the emancipation of Bessarabia and its union with the country. By the way. Ghibu himself appreciated after several years: "...no one could ever believe that it would be possible for Transylvania, with its national specifics that are so original, to end up being the only newspaper that appeared in Chisinau at that time"⁵⁶

But, the troubled times in which the Romanian political leaders acted then, pursuing the national interest as a priority in the whirlwind of totally hostile events, required not only verticality and courage. but also adaptability to rapid and unpredictable changes in the situation. The years 1916-1918 constituted, for that incomparable "generation of the Union", the supreme test on its way to victory.

The end of 1917 in Bessarabia represented a higher stage of the evolution of the process of national and political emancipation. Of particular interest to me seems to be the Resolution of the Assembly of Moldovan sailors from the Black Sea fleet and artillerymen from the fortress of Sevastopol adopted on December 13/26, 1917. This document shows a clear detachment of the Bessarabian Romanian soldiers from the different political affiliations with their specific interests and the declared attachment to the national interest. The wording from art. 2 of the Resolution is as clear as possible: We are neither Bolsheviks nor Mensheviks, but we are, first of all, sons of Bessarabia, which we love fervently like a mother and which we have to defend with all our strength which we have at hand", and in art. 5 stated:

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 234. Ghibu refers to the situation at the time of the publication of the newspaper when all the Russian printers in Chisinau were on strike, the only printers who worked in the Latin letterpress brought by Ghibu from the country did not stop their work.

We will defend the Council of the Country from any attempts to reduce its power, regardless of which side these attempts come from - from the right or the left; this defense will be in good understanding with the Moldavian garrison in Chisinau and will be carried to the point of using armed force... Down with anarchy and war between citizens! We will not in any way support these evil startups!⁵⁷

"Ardealul (Transylvania)" of December 17 (old style) published, in that troubled context of Bessarabia when the confrontation between the nationalist and Bolshevik currents manifested itself more and more violently, a document whose content and appearance could be considered "the book of visit" of the unimaginable state of backwardness in which the hundred-year occupation of Russia had brought the Romanians from Moldavia into a trap; we read in the "Ardealul (Transylvania)" newspaper of December 17/30, 1917:

The call of the Romanian soldiers from Tiraspol. A handful of brave soldiers from across the Dniester, realizing the spirit of the new times and wanting to place the lives of our Moldovan brothers there, on the foundations of national justice, called a meeting in Tiraspol on December 17, to show the country and to the world the wishes of over half a million Moldovans thrown by fate over the Dniester.

Here is the Call (**we preferred to render the version in Romanian, for the archaism, originality and beauty of the speech structure**):

Lumenare ‘ a. Cine – trebui nou (What we need)⁵⁸

Cap.1-î. Ni trebui nou școla sâ fii în limba norodului moldovineasc ca fii-ște care Moldovan sâ știi cel învață pi dânsu.

Cap.2-l. Învățătura afarâ di școlâ, biblioteca sâ fii pi limba moldovineasc ca sâ putem noi. Moldoveni anelumena mai bini în lume de cum an fost păr amu.

⁵⁷ Idem. On December 8, 1917 (old style), the Council of General Directors (Government) was established, with Pantelimon Erhan as president. The Director General of War, T.P. Cojocaru, by Order of the Day no. 1 of December 15 (old style) 1917 to the "armies of the Republic of Moldova" outlined the first assignments of the newly established Army (See Bessarabia Bucovina Transylvania:..., doc. no. 43, p. 175.)

⁵⁸ According to original doc.

Cap.3-i. Rugăciunea în Sfânta Biserică să fie pe limba Norodului-Moldovineasc ca fii-ștecare Bătrân sau Tânăr sâ-n-țeleag Ci fel de rugăciunie Merge Preutul pentru dânșii în-naintea lui Dunnezeu.

Cap.4-a. Trebuie ca să fii judecătorii, curat moldovani, ca judecata să fii în-țeleasă pintru Moldovanu Nostr, ca să puată fii-ște care cu gura lui a spune tuată durerea sa în judecată.

Cap.5-a. Doftorii trebuie să fii cu-știrea limbii moldovineasc. Ca să puat el înțeleje ceea ci iaspune bolnavul Moldovan.

Cap.6-a. Noi moldovanii nam fost învățată pân amu pentru că niau fost oprită deșteptarea șâ lumenarea Neamului Nostr în limba noastră moldovineascî.

Cileni Comitetului de organizații: Praporgic Bulei, soldat Jaloba, Grajdantin Durbai, Praporgic Maloman, Belinoopred Dumean”.

(Chapter 1. We need a new school to be in the language of the Moldovan people, as a Moldovan should know who learns it himself.

Chapter 2. Learning outside of school, the library should be in the Moldovan language so that we can. Moldavians are better in the world than before.

Chapter 3. The prayer in the Holy Church to be in the language of the People - Moldovineasc as a son-in-law Old or Young as a wise man What kind of prayer Goes the Price for them before Dunnezeu.

Chapter 4. You need to be the judges, pure Moldovans, so that the judgment is understood by our Moldovan, so that there is no one who can tell his pain in court with his mouth.

Chapter 5. Doctors must know the Moldovan language. So that he could understand what the sick Moldovan was saying.

Chapter 6. We Moldovans were not taught until we learned because the awakening and illumination of our Nation in our Moldavian language was not stopped.

To the Committee of Organizations: Ensign Bulei, soldier Jaloba, Grajdantin Durbai, Ensign Maloman, Belinoopred Dumean)⁵⁹.

And the Romanians from Bukovina formed in those days the National Society of Romanians from Ukraine - announced "Ardealul (Transylvania)" in the issue published on Christmas Eve: the article titled "Disappointment" included the Declaration of the president of the society, Ion Grecul, in which it was said:

In these times of great turmoil, when only the most harmonious cooperation of Romanians everywhere can save our nation from being

⁵⁹ Transcript from *Basarabia Bucovina Transilvania...*, doc. nr. 44, p. 177-179.

overwhelmed by foreignism and unite it in one body⁶⁰ strong, we, the Romanians living in Ukraine, also formed a society called "Despettarea", a national society of Romanians, based in Kiev.

The purpose of our society is: The national awakening of the Romanian people in Ukraine in political, economic and cultural terms, as well as the propagation of national principles with all possible legal means in all social strata of the Romanian people...⁶¹.

In the given context, Onisifor Ghibu re-knots the thread of the history of Moldovan Romanians, recalling heroic and sacrificial moments of Moldova's past when the "Upper Country" had been conquered.

December 24 was also Christmas Eve of that year of great trials - 1917. The editorial signed by Ghibu, with the title Our Christmas has not arrived, expressed the whole tragedy of the Romanian people at that time: The birth of the Savior "is the celebration of peace... the author wrote. But the oppressed and the slaves weep in this holy night. Only national freedom can bring them peace. Our nation has been thirsting for her for hundreds of years, but she didn't have a share! The whole life of the Romanians took place under the sign of the fight for freedom...". Examples of the struggle for freedom from the older and newer history of the Romanians support these statements. Archimandrite Gurie's speech addressed to Bessarabian Romanians during the great celebration and Octavian Goga's patriotic poems complete the contents of this issue of the newspaper whose message was addressed to all Romanians.⁶²

The autonomy of the Moldavian Republic within the Russian Federation, declared and confirmed under the signature of the leaders of this state, was far from ensuring the leadership of Soviet Russia from maintaining its dominance over the former government of Bessarabia. The Bolshevik military intervention was prompt and violent, extending, as is known, to Romania as well - in the perspective of occupying and erasing this state from the map of Europe. The Romanian resistance to the terrorist actions in Iași and throughout the territory of what Romania represented at the time, the annihilation of coup attempts and the liberation of that territory from armed Bolshevik gangs, hardened Bolshevik terrorism in Bessarabia, where the army of the Republic was at the stage of beginning of the organization, and the troops of the former Russian army remaining under the command of

⁶⁰ Stem. According to the original doc.

⁶¹ *Ardealul (Transilvania)*, year I, no. 13, din December 24, 1917.

⁶² *Idem*.

General Scerbacev tried, without success, to stop the actions of the invading Red Army. At the same time, the Rumcerod from Odesa exerted increasing pressure, in different ways, to obtain the annexation of Bessarabia to Ukraine.

The newspapers that appeared in Chisinau published news about the abuses of Russian soldiers in the villages and cities of Bessarabia⁶³. Under these conditions, the Council of the Country empowered the Council of General Directors to proceed urgently "as it deems appropriate" to restore order. As is known, the Romanian government responded to the request. On January 1, 1918, the Council of Ministers decided the entry of the Romanian army into Bessarabia, the official announcement being published only on January 12. The special edition of January 13 of the newspaper "Ardealul (Transilvania)" was entirely devoted to the entry of the Romanian Army into Chisinau; the special edition, printed in 20,000 copies, was handed to General Broșteanu and his soldiers.

Losing ground in front of the Romanian army that had already arrived near Chisinau, the chief of staff of the Red Army here, Nastarum Kaabac, wrote on January 13 to the Odessa Soviet: "The situation is serious. The Romanians, seated in a semicircle, are 20-25 versts from the Bender-Chisinau and Ungheni-Chisinau lines... The Moldovan committee requested the evacuation of the Frontotdel fighting against the Romanians... The Council of the Country does not give in. We are thinking of liquidating today, tomorrow the Country Council and the Directorate. Caminski left the command today and without handing it over to anyone, he left. We will oppose it to the extreme and take decisive measures. We evacuate the warehouses with assets. In Bender we leave an order of miners. By leaving, we will destroy the iron road. For the defense of Bender, where armed forces are concentrated, a railroad battalion that can be counted on is coming from Odessa."⁶⁴

⁶³ "Soldatul Moldovan/Moldovan soldier" from January 1, 1918 (new style), the article "Great new orders in Bessarabia"; Onisifor Ghibu published in "Ardealul (Transilvania)", year II, no. 2 of January 4, 1918 (new style), the article A country of sacrific- Romania, in which he praised the Romanian soldier who defended his ancestral land at the cost of his life and referred extensively to the betrayal of the Russian "ally", to the terrorist actions of the Bolsheviks both on the territory of Romania and Bessarabia.

⁶⁴ *Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe (Arh. MAE)*, Fond 71 /URSS, vol. 133, f. 67-68. (original in Russian). Telegram no. 10615. Signed by Naștarum Kaabac, Chisinau, January 13, 1918, to The Soviet of Odessa. Cf. *Basarabia Bucovina Transilvania...*, doc. nr.51, p.188-189; Dr. P. Cazacu, , *Moldova dintre Prut și Nistru 1812-1918*, Iași. f.a. p. 270.

The force policy of Soviet Russia in Bessarabia in order to annihilate the national liberation movement, a movement with a predictable end - the union with the motherland - simultaneously extended to the relations with Romania. On December 16/29, the Soviet Power in Petrograd handed Minister C. Diamandi an accusatory Note to the Romanian government accusing him of "criminal" action for the annihilation of the coup attempt in Iasi, for the annihilation of the destabilizing actions carried out by the Russian army in different localities (Roman, Pașcani, Fălticeni, Dorohoi, etc.), threatening that "Soviet power will not insist on taking the harshest measures against Romanian counter-revolutionary traitors". The threats immediately materialized in the ultimatum sent to the Romanian Government on December 31, 1917 - a declaration of war, signed by V. Ulianov, N. Krîlenko, N. Podvoiski, with the arrest - based on an order signed by Lenin, of the Romanian minister C. Diamandi and his imprisonment in Petropavlovsk. All this culminated, on the same day of January 13, 1918, with the unilateral breaking of diplomatic relations with Romania, the expulsion of the Romanian diplomatic corps from Russia and, as is known, with the confiscation, without no justification, of the Romanian Treasury deposited for "keeping" at the Kremlin in 1916-1917⁶⁵.

In Bessarabia, however, the Romanian army had restored order, the Council of the Country and the Council of General Directors had resumed their activity. On January 16, "Ardealul (Transilvania)" published the telegram sent by the Romanian Government's Country Council to Iași on January 15/28, in which it was said: "Our fraternal feelings towards Romania are all the more alive, as her troops are today in our country gave us a strong help to ensure our life as a new and independent state"⁶⁶ (the Declaration of Independence had not yet been adopted).

It is known that the entry of the Romanian army into Bessarabia, at the express request of the State Council under known conditions, caused negative reactions from the Russian and Ukrainian Bolshevik forces that had representatives in the State Council, confusion on the part of the population under the influence of Russian propaganda. On January 6 (new style), the Motion of the representatives of the Russian socialist parties in the Country Council expressed the protest against the request for military aid from

⁶⁵ *Archives MAE, Fond 71, URSS, , vol. 33, f. 71-72 . Decision of The People Commissioners , Petrograd. January. 13/26, 1918. Cf. Basarabia Bucovina Transilvania ..., doc. nr. 52, p. 189-190.*

⁶⁶ "Ardealul (Transilvania)", an. II, nr. 5 din 16/29 ianuarie 1918.

Romania and demanded imperatively that the Country Council and the Council of General Directors "categorically protest against the entry of Romanian troops into the territory of the Republic of Moldova and to address the Ukrainian Republic, which will give us its contest through military force and help at the same time..." Forces hostile to the democratic evolution of the Republic of Moldova feared that "the entry of Romanian armies into the territory of Bessarabia may be the first step for the occupation her and for her removal, in fact, from the bosom of the Russian Republic..."⁶⁷.

In the extraordinary meeting of the Council of the Country on January 15/28, 1918, during which the solemn reception of General Ernest Broșteanu took place, President Ion Inculeț gave clarifications regarding the purpose of the entry of the Romanian army into Bessarabia: "They had no political purpose . You must understand that as soon as the Bolsheviks seized the iron road, the Romanian troops were put in the greatest danger. The Romanians could no longer take their fodder, bread, and ammunition from here. ..this is why they had to take this step, to bind their front with their back, to prevent their telegrams from being intercepted even further, their bread to be scattered and looted... They guaranteed us together with France that they do not pursue any political goal"⁶⁸.

Responding to Ion Inculeț's message, General E. Broșteanu pointed out several issues of interest for that moment: "I must declare to you that Romania is in too difficult a situation and that conflicts and wars of conquest

⁶⁷ Apud P. Cazacu, *op. cit.*, p. 267. Cf. *Basarabia Bucovina Transilvania...*, doc. nr. 48. p. 183. The Moldovan Block, the Peasant Group, representatives of the minorities spoke against this Motion. As a result, the Russian socialists withdraw from the Council of the Country giving a Declaration by which they demanded 1/ Union with the Russian revolution, 2/ the reduction of the number of Moldovans in the Council of the Country, 3/ the withdrawal of the Romanian "tsarist" army, etc.

⁶⁸ On January 16/28, the French minister in Iași, Count de Saint-Aulaire sent a note to the French consul in Chișinău, Sarret, in which it is stated: The Council of General Directors requested "the receipt of a written guarantee, both from us and from our allies, in regarding specifying the objective of the arrival of the Romanian troops in Bessarabia. ...The Ministers of the Allied Powers and I myself are authorized to officially declare to you that the entry of Romanian troops into Bessarabia is a purely military measure, with the objective of ensuring the normal functioning of the rear of the Russian-Romanian front, according to the rules established for all belligerent states. In this way, the entry of Romanian troops into Bessarabia will have no influence either on the current political situation in Bessarabia, or on the fate of this country in the future." Signed, French Minister in Romania, Saint-Aulaire. This note was read in the meeting of the Council of States on January 22/February 3, 1918. (Apud P. Cazacu, *op.cit.*, p. 280). Cf. *Bessarabia Bucovina Transilvania...* doc. no. 55, p. 193.

cannot be thought of."- a stated the general and continued: "You have decided to create a republic but you have no powers of your own. Every hour, looting and murders are taking place on the territory of the republic and you cannot prevent them. ...At the creation of the republic, force is needed to guarantee the economic and financial life for the formation of the young State; no government without organized force can accomplish the problems that fall upon it ... Create your life as you think and no one will interfere in it". As for the objectives of the Romanian army, the general specified that "the only purpose for which the army was sent here" was "the protection of warehouses, transports and iron roads" which were looted, devastated, endangering the food of the population and the army.

Issues related to the armed confrontations with the Bolsheviks, the coup attempts in Romania, the terrorist actions of the Bolshevik armed groups on the territory of Bessarabia, the bellicose declarations of the Soviet Power towards Romania made from Petrograd on January 13 with the breaking of diplomatic relations were carefully avoided. .

The times were extremely complicated, the danger of Russian military interventions not only in Bessarabia but also in Romania was very real. Added to all this were Ukraine's claims to annex Bessarabia and to keep Northern Moldova (Bucovina).

(To be continued)

HISTORICAL LANDMARKS ABOUT DOMESTIC VIOLENCE REGULATIONS IN ROMANIA (II)

Dr. Aura PREDA, Senior Lecturer¹

Abstract : *The present study aims to continue an approach started last year, i.e. to present how the legislation regarding family violence (a term used before the change in the title of the Romanian law) evolved, from the first law adopted at the beginning of the first decade of the millennium until autumn of 2024, i.e. for over 20 years. Some normative acts or articles that mark moments in the implementation process of some EU Directives and/or the Istanbul Convention (using the term domestic violence) will be marked along the way, others were the result of quantitative and qualitative accumulations at the level of this phenomenon, felt as pressures that required legislative changes. We include in this category the efforts of some public authorities, some parliamentarians, but, above all, some NGOs that have been involved for a long time, actively, with positive results in the control and prevention of domestic violence.*

Keywords: history of law, family violence, domestic violence, legal framework, temporary protection orders, protective orders, victimization prevention, electronic monitoring

1. Introductory aspects

As we showed in the previous article, the special law that regulates the issue of domestic violence in Romania is Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of domestic violence (originally, family violence).

Before the 2000s, it was considered that aggressive, tense events experienced at the level of a family are problems related to private life, that they diminish over time, that they are inherent in life as a couple, in relationships with children, etc., but the moment the scope (quantity) and

¹ Dr. in Law Science, Faculty of Law and Administrative Sciences, Bucharest, "Spiru Haret" University, researcher at Legal Research Institute "Acad. Andrei Rădulescu", Romanian Academy.

severity (murder, attempted murder) of the negative ones exceeded expectations, with serious effects endangering the life, health, safety of the victims (adults and/or children from a family or cohabitation relationship), then the state reacted by the adoption of normative acts to sanction the perpetrators, initially with aggravating some crimes, but also to protect and secure minor victims and witnesses (recently).

State intervention at the level of this type of private relations, through coercive and punitive measures, can also be argued from the point of view of ensuring the quality of life, and justified as the guarantor of respect for human rights.

So, we can consider that, with the adoption of this law, the paradigm related to the fact that domestic violence is a matter strictly related to the family, privacy, private, where the state should not intervene with clear and prompt regulations, becomes outdated.

We will try to continue tracing the trajectory of these changes aimed at ensuring and restoring balance in the couple, as well as providing protection and multidisciplinary counseling to the victim.

Other Amendments to Law no. 217/2003 for preventing and combating domestic violence (originally family violence)

To continue the analysis of the normative acts that modified or completed the special law, we will list them, it being easier to follow what still needs to be studied.

Therefore, Law no. 217/2003 was amended by the following normative acts:

- O. G. no. 6 /2015, approved by Law no. 160/2015
- Law no. 272/2015
- Law no. 351/2015
- Law no. 35/2017
- Law no. 174/2018
- Law no. 212/2019
- Law no. 106/2020
- Law no. 162/2020
- Law no. 233/2020
- Law no. 114/2023
- Law no. 240/2023

Maintaining the chronological approach gives the presentation not only objectivity, but also reflects the direction in which the legislative changes were imposed as a social reaction to the signals "from the field". Since in the previous article I pointed out essential aspects of Law no. 174/2018, we will continue the presentation with Law no. 212/2019 regarding the amendment of para. (1) of art. 30 of Law no. 217/2003 for preventing and combating domestic violence².

This law modifies, as specified in a single article, with the following content: "The decision by which the request for the issuance of the protection order is resolved is only subject to appeal, within 3 days from the pronouncement, if the parties were summoned, and from the communication, if it was given without citing them." So, it is about the appeal regarding the decision regarding the protection order and the term in which it is exercised, for two situations. Thus, the victim is granted an essential right³ which it was deprived of until now, as she will be able to reject the issuance of a protection order by a judge.⁴

Law no. 106/2020 regarding the amendment and completion of Law no. 217/2003 for preventing and combating domestic violence. This law brings substantial changes, namely the definition of domestic violence, amending article 3, with the following text: "domestic violence means any inaction or intentional action of physical, sexual, psychological, economic, social, spiritual or cyber violence, which occurs in the family environment or domestic or between spouses or ex-spouses, as well as between current or former partners, regardless of whether the aggressor lives or has lived with the victim". It is true that cases of "inaction" are reduced

All forms of domestic violence are also listed, although in art. 4 letter h) cyber violence is complexly defined "online harassment, online messages inciting gender-based hatred, online stalking, online threats, non-consensual publication of information and intimate graphic content, illegal access to intercept communications and private data and any other form of abusive use of information and communication technology through

² <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/219727>

³ The Romanian Institute for Human Rights, *Drepturile femeilor, o viață fără violență este dreptul fiecărei femei (Women's Rights, a life without violence is the right of every woman)*, revised ed.II, Publishing House I.R.D.O., Bucharest, 2023, p.61

⁴ The success of this change is due to civil society, namely the ANAIS Association, *ibidem*, p.62

computers, smart mobile phones or other similar devices that use telecommunications or can connect to the Internet and transmit and use social or e-mail platforms, with the aim of making shame, humiliate, frighten, threaten, silence the victim."

The next two articles refer to public institutions. We consider art.8, to which a paragraph with the following content is added: The National Agency for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men ensures coordination together with other ministries in relation to the integration of an equality perspective between women and men in all policies, programs and artificial intelligence research, to avoid the potential risks of technology that perpetuates sexism, gender stereotypes and cyber-violence.

Indeed, ANES is an agency heavily involved in the development of gender policies, to which another complex mandate has been added, aspects difficult to follow/fulfill with reduced staff, no territorial centers, etc.

The other institutions are the ministries that are related to this phenomenon and can contribute to social control and the prevention of domestic violence, especially the cyber one. We consider art. 9 with two paragraphs. The first paragraph referred to the following ministries: "The Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Research, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure and Communications develop and disseminate documentary materials on the prevention, causes and consequences of domestic violence."⁵

The third paragraph refers exclusively to the Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure and Communications⁶ which through the coordinating bodies responsible for the prevention, analysis, identification and response to incidents within cyber infrastructures, has the obligation to carry out the necessary steps to develop public awareness campaigns on cyber violence and to provide practical assistance to central and local authorities in the prevention and responding to cyber violence. Together with the institutions provided for in art. 8, the Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure and Communications establishes, promotes and budgets for programs intended for a wide range of users, for digital literacy.

⁵ As were the names of these ministries at that time

⁶ Ibidem

Chronologically, we must point out the amendment of the Criminal Code made in 2020, during the pandemic, amendment made by Law no. 233 which has a unique article, regarding the legal regime of criminal liability, related to acts of domestic violence. It is about art. 199 paragraph 2 which has the following content: "In the case of the crimes provided for in art. 193 and art. 196 committed against a family member, the criminal action can also be initiated ex officio." Specifically, the law refers to domestic violence embodied in the crimes of hitting and other violence (art. 193)⁷ and bodily injury due to negligence (art. 196).⁸ Let's point out that it is the period when the increased number of domestic violence was reported and publicized, regardless of its forms and related crimes. It should be noted that quite a lot has been written in the specialized literature about the rights and protection of victims.⁹ Another law amending the special law no. 217/2003 is Law no. 162/2020¹⁰ for the modification and completion of normative acts that include provisions regarding the record of persons and identity documents of Romanian citizens. This law brings changes to 3 ordinances and two laws. We will first present aspects related to the special law, then other related elements.

Therefore, through this normative act, relatively recently, the amendment of article 31 of Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of domestic violence, the first paragraph of which has the following content: (1) A copy of the operative part of the decision by which the request for the issuance of the protection order was ordered is communicated, within a maximum of 5 hours from the moment the decision is pronounced, to the structures To the Romanian Police, in whose territorial radius the residence of the victim and/or the aggressor is located, as well as to the Directorate for the Records of Persons and the Administration of Databases.

This measure aims at a more effective intervention in the protection of the victim, based on a quick communication expressed in terms of hours.

The same law brings another change of interest for the field subject to attention, this time to an ordinance, namely the Government's Emergency

⁷ <https://sintact.ro/legislatie/monitorul-oficial/codul-penal-din-2009-legea-nr-286-2009-16901302/art-193>

⁸ <https://legeaz.net/noul-cod-penal/art-196>

⁹ A. Preda și Mihaela Berindei, *Contemporary landmarks on victims' rights*, Valahia University Law Study, Ed. Bibliotheca, Târgoviște, nr.1/2023, p. 14-25

¹⁰ <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/228641>

Ordinance no. 97/2005 regarding the record, domicile, residence and identity documents of Romanian citizens. The change from art. 9 para. (4), lit. c) is amended and will have the following content:

"c) judicial bodies, for the persons against whom the prohibition of the exercise of electoral rights, the prohibition of presence in certain localities, the prohibition of leaving the territory of Romania, the measure of prosecution, the preventive measure of judicial control or that of judicial control on bail or of arrest at domicile, for persons wanted for participation in judicial proceedings, for persons subject to a protection measure ordered by a protection order, as well as for persons placed under prohibition;"¹¹

Therefore, the interest of this article is only on one of the listed categories, namely the one for which a protection order was issued. The next law that must be listed and analyzed is **Law no. 114/2023**¹² regarding the completion of art. 38 para. (1) from law no. 217/2003 to prevent and combat domestic violence, as well as to amend art. 4 para. (1) from law no. 61/1993 regarding the state allowance for children. Obviously, we will refer only to the changes related to law no. 217/2003. Thus, according to this change, the Romanian parliament after letter j) introduces a new letter, lit. k), with the following content:

k) the prohibition for the aggressor to collect the state allowance for children and the approval of its collection by the parent/person to whom/to whom the child was entrusted for raising and educating or with whom his residence was established. the ban is immediately communicated to the county agency for payments and social inspection or to the Bucharest municipality, as the case may be. the allowance is collected by the parent/beneficiary of the protection measure during the validity of the protection order and as long as the child was entrusted to him/her or in the situation where the child has established residence with him/her.

We note that this article protects the child, protecting him from the situation where the aggressor can collect his allowance and use it as he pleases, return it in installments or not at all, use it as a way of pressure, blackmail, coercion, etc. We also note that the duration of this ban coincides with that of the protection order.

¹¹ Ibidem

¹² <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliuDocumentAfis/270064>

Law no. 240/2023¹³ regarding the amendment of Law no. 217/2003 on preventing and combating domestic violence also contains a small number of changed articles. Thus, the Romanian Parliament changes art. 39 which now has the following content:

(1) The duration of the measures ordered by the protection order is determined by the judge, without being able to exceed 12 months from the date of issuing the order.

(2) If the decision does not include any mention regarding the duration of the ordered measures, they will produce effects for a period of 12 months from the date of issuing the order.

We note the possibility offered by the legislator to the judge to double the maximum period for which he issues the protection order, from 6 months to 1 year, thus raising the level of protection of the victims

The second amended article is art. 45, only paragraph 3, which has the following content: (3) The appeal is judged with the citation of the parties. This amendment can be combined with the one from Law no. 212/2019, previously presented.

Finally, it is specified that the provisions of art. 42 para. (1)-(4), (6) and (8) apply accordingly.

2. Related normative acts

By "related normative acts" we mean those normative acts that do not modify the special law, but have an impact on the way in which, for example, the application of "electronic bracelets" is monitored. We consider **Law no. 146/2021**¹⁴ regarding electronic monitoring in the framework of criminal judicial and execution procedures, which includes several titles, chapters, implicitly articles with an impact on the area under analysis. Title I refers to Electronic Monitoring in the framework of criminal judicial and enforcement procedures and includes several chapters, of which Chapter I is relevant, which through the General Provisions familiarizes us with the Scope, regulating in paragraph 1:

- a) the establishment, organization and operation of the Electronic Monitoring Information System, hereinafter referred to as SIME;

¹³ <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/272310>

¹⁴ <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/242354>

- b) how to use electronic surveillance devices and how to act in the event of generating alerts;
- c) SIME data protection measures.

From paragraph (2) we note that SIME is used for the purpose of electronic monitoring, in several situations such as:

- a) execution of the measure of judicial control or judicial control on bail, according to Law no. 135/2010 on the Criminal Procedure Code, with subsequent amendments and additions;
- b) execution of the house arrest measure, according to Law no. 135/2010 on the Criminal Procedure Code, with subsequent amendments and additions;
- c) application of the provisional protection order and the protection order, according to Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of domestic violence, republished.

Chapter II of the same law refers to the Organization and operation of SIME, it contains an important article in our opinion also because initially there were problems with the concrete application of this measure. It is about art. 9 regarding Staff Training Institutions provided for in art. 6 para. (1) have the obligation to ensure, periodically, the professional training of their own staff, regarding the way of operating the SIME components, in the parts that concern them.

Other chapters that should be mentioned, at least enumeratively, are:

- Chapter III entitled How to use electronic surveillance devices, which in Section 1, respectively Use of electronic surveillance devices, through Article 10 which refers to the communication of the supervisory body with the supervised or protected person
- Chapter IV covers the Procedure in case of generating alerts, and the first article, Article 21 specifies the Categories of alerts
- Chapter V refers to Access of the authorities to the location data and the most relevant remains art. 33 because it details the access of the supervisory body and the judicial body to the location data
- Chapter VI concerns the Protection of personal data, and art. 137 specifically presents Rules on the protection of personal data
- Chapter VII and the last, called Transitional and Final Provisions, brings clarifications through art. 38 on the realization of SIME components.

Title II of the same law refers to the modification and completion of some normative acts. Of these, article 42 refers to the Criminal Code, the next to the Criminal Procedure Code, art. 44 of Law no. 253 /2013, and art. 45 to Law no. 254/2013.

Finally, in art. 46 involves a change at the level of a sentence in the special law. The related wording is "In the context of Law no. 217/2003 for the prevention and combating of domestic violence, republished in the Official Gazette of Romania, Part I, no. 948 of October 15, 2020, the phrase "electronic surveillance system" is replaced by the phrase "electronic surveillance device".

A few ideas at the end of this analysis: The methodological norms fixed a gradual application of this law on the territory of Romania, starting with the counties where there were more cases of domestic violence, but the whole country will be covered until the year 2025. However, there are also changes to established order.¹⁵

It should also be mentioned that this law was partially changed by the Emergency Ordinance no. 61/2024 for the amendment and completion of Law no. 146/2021 regarding electronic monitoring in the framework of criminal judicial and executive proceedings¹⁶ with special reference to the European protection order.

In context, we remind that a new European directive was adopted in this area, namely Directive no. 2024/1385/EU on combating violence against women and domestic violence¹⁷ which will generate new legislative changes through the process of transposition into Romanian legislation. The same procedure was generated by the adoption of directive 2012/29/EU, discussed in numerous articles.¹⁸

It is also necessary to emphasize the Government Decision no. 1547/2022¹⁹ for the approval of the National Strategy on the promotion of equal opportunities and treatment between women and men and the

¹⁵ https://www.avocatnet.ro/articol_60478/Oficial-Monitorizarea-agresorilor-prin-br%C4%83%C8%9B%C4%83ri-electronice-se-va-face-din-2024-in-mai-multe-jude%C8%9Be.html

¹⁶ <https://lege5.ro/gratuit/ge2tenruguzti/ordonanta-de-urgenta-nr-61-2024-pentru-modificarea-si-completarea-legii-nr-146-2021-privind-monitorizarea-electronica-in-cadrul-unor-proceduri-judiciare-si-executional-penale>

¹⁷ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/RO/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022PC0105>

¹⁸ A. Preda, *Protecția victimelor criminalității*, Curierul judiciar, 6/2022, Ed. C.H.Beck, p.367-371

¹⁹ <https://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocumentAfis/262994>,

prevention and combating of domestic violence for the period 2022-2027. The strategy is innovative and integrated, it involves abandoning stereotypes, multidisciplinary intervention with responsibility. This involves the involvement of the authorities and NGOs in fields, symmetrical to the 2 pillars, respectively:

- Pillar I - Equality of opportunity and treatment between women and men
- Pillar II - Preventing and combating domestic violence and violence against women

ANES plays an important role, especially with regard to the second pillar²⁰

considerat garantul respectării principiului egalității de șanse între femei și bărbați , precum și al asigurării elaborării și implementării cadrului juridic necesar.

ANES is a specialized body of the central public administration, with legal personality, subordinated to the Ministry of Family, Youth and Equal Opportunities, and the attributions and mode of organization and operation of ANES were regulated by Government Decision no. 177/2006 regarding the functions, organization and operation of ANES.

Conclusion

As can be seen, the legislative framework in the field of domestic violence is very generous, sometimes even reaching over-regulation. The question is and remains whether this normative framework is sufficient to reduce the phenomenon of domestic violence?

If so, then we still wonder why an extended protection order, regulated by **Law No. 26/2024 regarding the extended protection order**²¹

We believe that other solutions are required, such as:

- the need for research institutions with representativeness at the national level (e.g. National Institute of Criminology - Ministry of

²⁰ The responsibilities and mode of organization and operation of ANES were regulated by Government Decision no. 177/2006 regarding the functions, organization and operation of ANES.

²¹ Effectiveness on August 31, 2024

Justice), possibly with territorial structures according to the Courts of Appeal

- ▶ the need to introduce into the Programs of the faculties of Law (license and/or master's degree) and/or INM/IPPA compulsory disciplines — Victimology)²² but also Executorial Law/Penology (A. Preda, 2022)
- ▶ the establishment of specialized Courts, with psychologists specialized in the hearing
- ▶ the collaboration of magistrates with NGOs (recommended in the latest victims' directive, but also by the Lanzarote Convention 25 Oct. 2007)
- ▶ permanent training of specialized personnel who come into contact with different types of victims
- ▶ encouraging the volunteering of students/master's students at DGASPCs/ANA and relevant NGOs
- ▶ encouraging victimological research within the evaluation projects in Criminology and related disciplines, of undergraduate and dissertation works in this field, at the level of the faculties of Law, Psychology, Sociology, Social Work, Theology, Journalism, etc.
- ▶ steps for a new occupational standard in Romania: the profession of victimologist

In context, we would like to mention the Romanian Society of Victimology (founded in 2022) with the aim of carrying out research (annual conferences), publishing volumes, specialized journals reporting quantitative and qualitative aspects regarding different forms of victimization.

²² Cătălin Andrei Popescu- PICCJ, Revista Prolege, nr. 2/2020, p.19, p.24

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PAMFIL ȘEICARU – 130 YEARS ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH

85 years ago – Analyzes of the international situation around and after the outbreak of the Second World War (August 4-September 27, 1939)

Stoica LASCU, PhD, *Ovidius University*, Constanta

Abstract: *This spring, 130 years have passed since the birth of the one who was Pamfil Șeicaru (April 5/18, 1894-October 21, 1980) (civil name was Popescu; later, he took the name of Șeicaru)*¹.

¹ About him – Victor Frunză, *The fate of a death row inmate. Pamfil Șeicaru*, Victor Frunză Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001 /462 pp./; René Al. by Flers, Pamfil Șeicaru as it was. A hero of national integration and a prominent journalist of Romania. Edited edition and with an afterword by Prof. Constantin Juan-Petroi, 2nd Edition [first edition: 2009: Didahia Publishing House, Drobeta Turnu Severin, 2009], MJM Autograf Publishing House, Craiova, 2019 /104 pp./; George Stanca, "Blackmail and the Floor". Pamfil Șeicaru between legend and truth, Adevărul Publishing House, Bucharest, 2012 /320 pp./; Fănel Teodorașcu, Pamfil Șeicaru, Ars Docendi, Bucharest, 2014 /290 pp./; Florian Bichir, Pamfil Șeicaru. A pen of genius, crushed between two dates: August 23, 1944 – August 23, 1976. Foreword by: Ion Cristoiu. Foreword by: Marian Moșneagu, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 2014 /176 pp./ (and with a useful Bibliography: pp. 167-175); Ando Andrei, Pamfil Șeicaru. Author and literary character, David Press Print Publishing House, Timisoara, 2020 /292 pp./.

Also - Gh. Buzatu, Pamfil Șeicaru and the world he passed through, in xxx Tribute to the historian Stelian Neagoe (Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations of the Romanian Academy), Publishing House of the Institute of Political Sciences and International Relations (Col. History & Politics) , Bucharest, 2003, pp. 19-33; Stoica Lascu, "Politics of the sea" and "politicianism" in the vision of Pamfil Șeicaru, in Sorin Liviu Damean, Marusia Cîrstea (coord.), Politics, diplomacy and war. Professor Gheorghe Buzatu at 70 years old [Foreword: university professor Dr. Sorin Liviu Damean, pp. 7-8] (University of Craiova. County Library "Alexandru and Aristia Aman"), University Publishing House, Craiova, 2009, pp. 534-557; Constantin Juan-Petroi, Romania and the crises of the 20th century in the vision of Pamfil Șeicaru (Unpublished documents), in Ionuț Șerban, Lucian Dindirică (coord.), State and society in Europe (Universitatea din Craiova – Department of History. County Library "Alexandru and Aristia Aman"), vol. II, Aius PrintEd, Craiova, 2010, pp. 349-372; Valeriu Nicolescu, A famous buzoian - Pamfil Șeicaru, graduate of the "Al. Hașdeu", in "Annals of Buzăului", III, 2011, pp. 73-77; Florian Bichir, Pamfil Șeicaru, in "Historia", XII, no. 6 (126), June 2012, pp. 12-29; Mircea, Colosenco, Total Journalist: Pamfil Șeicaru (April 18, 1894-October 21, 1980), in "Literary Romania", XLIX, no. 27-28, June 23,

Keywords

Prolific and very influential journalist - the well-known journalist Ion Cristoiu considers him "the greatest journalist between the two wars", and professor Gh. Buzatu "a journalist and politician of caliber"²,

– (in a suite of remarkable comrades, among which stood out, among the directors-owners of newspapers, Stelian Popescu /1875-1953/, the director of "Universului", the other great daily newspaper from the Monarchy period; both were also political people, both gave up their souls in Exile), he was:

- founder of publications - including the widespread and combative newspaper "Curentul" (1928-1944) (with editorials that had a great resonance in the era, with a deep understanding of socio-economic and cultural issues and analyzes of an almost unique visionary, in our country, in regarding the evolution of international life, Romania's place within it);
- parliamentarian (with a rich activity – interpellations and interventions³) and opinion leader (with a laborious publicity and memorial presence in Exile⁴ –in Spain and the Federal Republic of Germany - in the period after August 1944, including through letters sent to respondents in the Country⁵);

2017, pp. 22-23; Tudor Nedelcea, Among books and people, vol. V, TipoMoldova, Iași, 2019, pp. 251-258: Pamfil Șeicaru, founder of monasteries and newspapers; Gheorghe Dumitrașcu, People and facts from history (Studies and articles), Intol Press Publishing House, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 2021 [526 pp.]; among the 17 Statesmen, Pamfil Șeicaru is also listed, pp. 180-190.

² Gh. Buzatu, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

³ See - Pamfil Șeicaru, Parliamentary Speeches (1928-1937). Edited by Dr. Andrei Ando. Preface by Acad. Păun Ion Otiman (Romanian Academy. Timișoara Branch. Institute of Banatic Studies "Titu Maiorescu"), Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2021 /688 pp./; Păun Ion Otiman, Pamfil Șeicaru - parliamentary speeches or the best demonstration of the precariousness of current political life, in "Academica", XXXII, no. 2 (376), February 2022, pp. 21-24.

⁴Some of them are republished – Pamfil Șeicaru, Writings. Selection of texts, care, preface and notes Victor Frunză, vol. 1, 2, 3, 4, Victor Frunză Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005-2006 / 256 + 300 + 288 + 264 pp./; Idem, Writings from exile, I: Figures from the literary world; II: Political portraits. Edited and prefaced by I. Oprisan, Saeculum I.O. Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002 /560 + 416 pp./; see also, in context - Ovidiu Vuia, Under the sign of the book and the study. With Pamfil Șeicaru in exile, I-II-III, Almarom Publishing House, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, 2002 /1,036 pp.: 304 + 305-668 + 669-1,036 pp./

⁵See - Pamfil Șeicaru, Letters from emigration [51 letters to Radu Valentin]. Portrait sketch by Vasile C. Dumitrescu. Edited by Rodica Șerbănescu and Nicolae Copoiu, EuroPress Group, Bucharest, 1992 /128 pp./; Ditto, Epistolary. Letters from Exile 1968-1978 [268 letters to Dr. Maria /Mimi/ Ciorănescu]. In the Annex: documents from the S.R.I. archive. Edition compiled by Mircea Coloșenco. Text established by Sergiu Coloșenco, Elion Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001 /357 pp. + 2 pp. facsimile/.

- author of numerous volumes of historical and national-cultural nature⁶: History of political parties in Romania (1958), History of the National, Peasant and National-Peasant parties (I-II), 1963), Pax Americana o Pax Sovietica (1947), La Roumanie dans la Grande Guerre (1968), Karl Marx – Notes about Romania (1968), Die Donau – Fluss *der fünf Meere. Ein europäisches Problem im Lichte der rumänisch-sowjetischen Kontroversen*⁷ (1975 Truths to remember (1980); ș.a.

⁶ A list of titles (the author mentions that "The list is not exhaustive"), at - Victor Frunză, op. cit., pp. 435-458: Bibliography of Pamfil Șeicaru's work ["only for writings after August 23, 1944"], pp. 167-175: Bibliography), with the following systematization: Books published during his lifetime (20 titles, almost all in Romanian, during the period 1947-1980); Texts published in the Almanac of Romanian Wanderers (According to "Caietului Veguței") (21 titles, 1959-1962); Articles published in Curierul Românesc and in Chemarea (164 titles in the period 1949-1964); Articles published in the Call (List compiled on the basis of information provided by the Romanian Library in Freiburg, F.R.G.) (49 titles); Articles published in various magazines in exile (According to the "Caietului Veguței". The respective titles are erroneously stated to have been all published in Chemarea) (102 titles in the period 1952-1964): Articles published in the magazine Political Annales, Palma de Mallorca (17 titles in 1952); Articles published in Carpathia magazine, Madrid (33 titles in the period 1954-1962); Various articles without mention of publication and year when they appeared. Probably, original versions of the articles written for El Alcazar and Liberty and Justice (Bibliography compiled on the basis of "Veguței's Notebook") (167 titles); Articles from working Romania (2 titles); Articles from Curentul - Munich. Published during his lifetime (18 titles between 1978-1980); Original articles published posthumously (6 titles in the period 1981-1992); Unprinted manuscripts (For most of them the owner is unknown) (8 titles); Other unprinted manuscripts (according to the "Veguței Notebook") (20 titles); Texts known only in the form of typescripts, most of them unpublished (12 titles); Books published posthumously, in Romania (6 titles, in the period 1990-2000: Nicolae Iorga, Publisher Clio, 1990; Letters from emigration, Europres, Bucharest, 1994; Romania in the Great War, Publisher Eminescu, 1994; Dotla, Fronde, Alba Iulia – Paris, 1996; History of the National, Peasant and National-Peasant Parties, Victor Frunză Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000)

⁷Edition also in Romanian: Danube - river of five seas. A European problem in the light of the Romanian-Soviet controversies. Foreword by Aureliu Goci. Edited and translated by Ioan Dan Poenăreanu. Comments by Ioan Dan Poenăreanu, Ionel Muscalu, Constantin Stoenescu, Pelican Publishing House, Giurgiu, 2006 /130 pp./. Other works published posthumously in the Country (apart from those mentioned by Victor Frunză and the anthologized ones, mentioned in the previous notes) – Indictments. Foreword by Nicolae Florescu. Edited by Mihaela Constantinescu, Jurnalul literar (Col. Capricorn), Bucharest, 1996 /104 pp./ (contains two materials, both published in the press from Exile: Tejgheaua kuvinolor - article-pamphlet addressed to Tudor Arghezi - and Open letter to Mihai Sadoveanu); Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty. Introductory presentation Vasile Iliescu. Neat edition and notes by Ioan Țepelea, Virgil Bulat, "Aetheia" Library, Oradea, 2002 /164 pp./; The ahistorical politics of Romania. Essays and medallions. With a Portrait of Cezar Petrescu. Edition and foreword by Mircea Coloșenco respectively: The total journalist: Pamfil Șeicaru] Elion Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002 /XVIII + 292 pp./; Murderous balkanization. From

- genuine patriot, fighter in the First World War, had, in Exile, a realistic-comprehensive attitude towards the new realities in the Country;
- Law graduate (1918); founder of the "Adormeria Sfintei Ana" Monastery from Orșova⁸ (where he was reburied in 2005).

Pamfil Șeicaru was also an appreciated lecturer, addressing various social-political and national-cultural topics, and his polemical verve⁹ it was revealed as such by contemporaries. As the man of letters, the philosophy professor Grigore Tăușan (1874-1952; honorary member, elected in 1939, of the Romanian Academy, influential publicist under the pseudonym Petronius) appreciated in January 1935 - at the celebration of seven years of existence of the daily "Curentul" (the most influential newspaper, along with "Universul" and "Adevărul", in the interwar period) -, Pamfil Șeicaru represents "in our daily journalism a temperament shaped by culture, cemented by rich reading and chiseled into a polemical style by the cutting edge heavy that does not hurt or offend because it is melted in the gold of talent. Aristocrat by himself, as a peasant poem is noble as a Racine drama when it captures the meaning of the lyre and renders it with the sincerity of the polished word in the true feeling of the soul.

Here, we celebrate not the polemicist who can sometimes be wrong, but the guild that brought to our daily life the contribution to the Romanian spiritual heritage, the line of a conviction and

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⁸See - Justina Popovici, Saint Ana Monastery and its founder Pamfil Șeicaru, MJM Publishing House, Craiova, 2008 /88 pp./; Constantin Mănescu, Pamfil Șeicaru, founder of the "St. Ana" Monastery in Orșova, in "The Mission". Magazine of the Research Center for the Cooperation of the Orthodox Church with the Romanian Army "General Paul Teodorescu", III, no. 1 (3), 2016, pp. 37-41.

⁹ See - Vlad Hogeia, Anthologia pamfletului romanesc, vol. II, Samizdat, f.l., 2005 [414 pp.], pp. 53-86: Pamfil Șeicaru (1894-1980) (there are two anthologized texts: Open letter to Mihail Sadoveanu, respectively a fragment entitled The Picturesque of N. Iorga); Magda Răduță (editor), I hate them, me! An anthology of the pamphlet. From the mountain chroniclers to Pamfil Șeicaru. Foreword by Radu Paraschivescu, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2017, pp. 259-281: A loser: Pamfil Șeicaru; more recently, Stoica Lascu, Pamfil Șeicaru —, *The pamphlet is not a manner of style, but an attitude of the soul*, in „Agora”. Quarterly of culture and interdisciplinary dialog [Constanța], XXI, no. 93-94, May 2024, pp. 23, 25.

the vibration of a literary talent, so useful to a career that lives on the magic of the idea and its transvasation from creation to creation"¹⁰.

The prestigious, hardworking and influential Romanian journalist¹¹ – no less feared pamphleteer and frequent lecturer -, leaves the country a few days before August 23, 1944(at August, 10)¹², being sent on a mission abroad, by Mihai Antonescu, respectively for "publishing a magazine in two languages or two magazines in widely circulated languages (English and French) through which to support the Romanian cause in front of the West"¹³. He was sentenced to death - the only Romanian journalist "honored" with such a punishment, in 1945, being accused of being a war criminal; is pardoned in 1966, by Decree no. 977/December 12, 1966 of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania (chaired, at that time, by Chivu Stoica; Nicolae Ceaușescu will combine this position with that of general secretary of the P.C.R. starting from December 9, 1967), in the Explanatory Memorandum of to the Minister of the Interior Cornel Onescu, revealing, among other things, that "Currently, Pamfil Șeicaru, as an emigrant, has an appropriate attitude and carries out an activity abroad, through writing, useful for our country"¹⁴.

¹⁰ Gr. Tăușan, Literary journalist Pamfil Șeicaru, in "Curentul", VIII, no. 2.505, January 24, 1935, p. 11 (article reproduced from "Rampa" newspaper).

¹¹See Viorica Constantin, Pamfil Șeicaru. Great Romanian journalists, in "Spiru Haret University Annales". Journalism", I, no. 1, 2000, pp. 104-120; Mircea Coloșenco, Total Journalist: Pamfil Șeicaru, in "Literary Conversations", CXXXIX, no. 11, November 2005, pp. 75-79.

¹² Florian Bichir, Pamfil Șeicaru. A pen of genius..., p. 22. The last published articles are: Mr. Churchill's exposition, in "Curentul", XVII, no. 5.916, August 5, 1944, p.1; The conference for the organization of peace, in Ibidem XVII, no. 5.919, August 8, 1944, p. 1; Lenin ratifies Stalin, in Ibidem XVII, no. 5.920, August 9, 1944, p. 1; From the Curzon line to the constitutional controversy, in Ibidem, XVII, no. 5.922, August 11, 1944, p. 1; see also – Pamfil Șeicaru, Substantive articles. January-August 1944, Curentul Publishing House, Munich, f.a. [1944] /150 pp./. See, in context - Gh. Buzatu, August 23, 1944, in the vision of Pamfil Șeicaru, in "Tricolorul", IV, no. 636, 23 August 2007, pp. 1, 3.

¹³Pamfil Șeicaru, Writings from exile, vol. I. Figures from the literary world. Edition edited and prefaced by I. Oprisan, Saeculum I.O. Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002, p. 5 (respectively, I. Oprisan, Memorialistica lui Pamfil Șeicaru).

¹⁴apud Gh. Buzatu, Pamfil Șeicaru and the world he passed through..., p. 33. However, on May 8, 1995, admitting the annulment appeal declared by the general prosecutor, Pamfil Șeicaru and the other defendants in the June 1945 trial are rehabilitate! To have not been known, by those in question, regarding Pamfil Șeicaru, the Decree from 1966 - discovered in the archives of C.C. of P.C.R. and made public, in 2003, by Professor Buzatu -?...; in detail - Ditto, Nicolae Ceaușescu. Parallel biographies. Transcripts and Secret Speeches. Original files. The trial and execution, Tipo Moldova (Omnia Collection), Iași, 2011, pp. 415-429: N. Ceaușescu intervenes decisively in the case of Pamfil Șeicaru; also - Tudor

Being abroad, he will lead a precarious material existence, together with his family, in Spain (in Palma de Mallorca, where he will only arrive in February 1945, via Paris; respectively in Madrid), then, from 1975, in the Federal Republic of Germany (in Munich, respectively Dachau - where, on October 21, 1980, he met his common end¹⁵).

Far from the Country, in Exile, he will assert himself as a consistent defender of general-democratic values and will stay away from the political turmoil that characterized the existence of various circles of Romanian exiles. He will carry out a sustained journalistic activity, with memorable memorial pages, creating a critical projection on political morals, on some political morals that undermined the credibility of the parties in the interwar years, on some representatives of the Monarchy, on other figures and personalities who dominated Romanian public life in the first half of the last century. A consistent patriot, he did not overcome his anti-Russian attitude even in exile¹⁶, numerous articles and studies bear witness to this¹⁷ (in

Nedelcea, Among books and people, vol. X, TipoMoldova, Iași, 2024, pp. 195-198: Pamfil Șeicaru pardoned by the Ceaușescu regime

¹⁵In the Historical Bibliography of Romania, IX: 1994-1999. Selective bibliography. Authors: Felicia Hristodol, Gheorghe Hristodol, Stelian Mândruț, Simona Nicoară, Magdalena Tampa, Ottamar Trașcă, Lucia Turc. French translation: Ligia Molnar. With an Addenda by Venera Achim /Coordinator: Gheorghe Hristodol/ (Romanian Academy. Institute of History Cluj-Napoca. "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library Cluj-Napoca), f.e., Cluj-Napoca, 2000, p. 459 - is past, due to the lack of careful correction, the year of death is 1984.

He was born in Tăbărăști commune, Buzău county (April 6/18, 1894) (his paternal grandfather was from Mărginimea Sibiului, probably from Șeica Mare or Șeica Mică) and died far from the country, in Dachau, on October 21, 1980; reburied, on February, 17, 1991, at the "St. Friday"-Grivița, from Bucharest; later, on October 20, 2005, he was re-buried at the "St. Ana" from Orșova (its foundation from the interwar period). Two school units bear his name - the "Pamfil Șeicaru" School Group from Ciorogârla (Ilfov county), respectively the School with classes I-VIII "Pamfil Șeicaru" from Orșova.

¹⁶This attitude of his is found not only in the publishing activity in the Country, but also in that in Exile, being concretized in articles and independent works, and explained by him in numerous situations; we point out, in this sense, what was said in a letter to Nichifor Crainic (dated Madrid, May 28, 1971) - in which he also reveals an ideational naivety regarding aspects of internal life (for example, he saw his superior as the most suitable to be the editor-in-chief of the new series of "Branches"!) or international: "I fought with the weak powers of a journalist Russia from 1918 to 1944, I supported the war against Soviet Russia and the aftermath of Yalta mi- they ratified the attitude. Who can claim today that Russia can be our loyal friend? (...) Painful, but my fate is to remain in exile until Russia finds itself in tragic turmoil with China and Japan. You will say, you will wait a long time for Pamfile and you will be put in the same grave as Tantz. You will be amazed when I answer you, I will sing the prohod to Russia. This is my great certainty and the day is not far when the skeptics will realize that I am right" - apud

August 1976, he accepts a visit to Romania – „according to some sources”¹⁸, credible¹⁹ –, for a few days, but not allowing himself to be drawn into the chariot of official propaganda that would exploit his feelings anti-Russian²⁰, will return to Germany, preferring to lead the same material existence, at the limit of normality); remaining faithful to this attitude, he expressed himself, in writing, in the sense of supporting the foreign policy of the Romanian authorities from the years '60-'70²¹, from the perspective of revealing the perennial interests of the Romanian State versus the equally perennial interests of Russian/Soviet imperialism. Consistent, also anti-communist, Pamfil Șeicaru had the lucidity and strength to reveal, at the same time, to his exiled compatriots (he did not give up his Romanian passport), those aspects of the life of socialist Romania that illustrated the "gigantic affirmation of the Romanian genius". Thus, showing that "The opposition in exile is purely affective, it does not oppose a severe criticism, as it should, but a constructive one, as conditioned by the realities created during 27 years", he reveals the technical-constructive successes of post-war Romania (the construction of steel plants, hydroelectric plants, bridges, etc.), showing that "Beyond everything that can rightfully separate us from the regime in the country, I feel a sense of pride for the victory of the intelligence, courage and creative will of those who they achieved the gigantic affirmation of the Romanian genius"; and continues, bringing the

Nicolae Scurtu, An unknown epistle of Pamfil Șeicaru to Nichifor Crainic, in "Romania literară", X LIV, no. 9, 2012, p. 15 [continued on: p. 23].

¹⁷See, in context (with comprehensive assessments on the relations with the authorities in the country) - Sorin Gabriel Ioniță, "The publications "Current", "Carpathians" and "Stindardul" in the archives of the Security (1975-1989)". Part I Part II, in "Caietele Inmer" [National Institute for the Memory of the Romanian Exile], VI, no. 14, March 2009, pp. 70-74; no. 15, July 2009, pp. 18-27.

¹⁸See Gh. Buzatu, Romania and the Great Powers (1939-1947), Encyclopedic Publishing House (Coll. Romanians in universal history, vol. 101), Bucharest, 2003, pp. 629-636

¹⁹Nicolae Sporiș, Pamfil Șeicaru. The return to the springs, in "Vitrailii. Lights and shadows". Magazine of Veterans from the Romanian Intelligence Services, II, no. 3, December 2010, pp. 87-92; according to a documented author - who extracted testimonies from the archives of the National Council for the Study of Security Archives /CNSAS/, he was really, incognito, in Bucharest a few days before August 23, 1976; the documentary file in question: Florian Bichir, Pamfil Șeicaru. A pen of genius... /176 pp./.

²⁰Pamfil Șeicaru, Ahistorical Politics of Romania..., p. XVI (respectively, Mircea Coloșenco, Total Journalist: Pamfil Șeicaru).

²¹Florian Bichir, Figures of the Romanian exile in the files of the Security. Pamfil Șeicaru case study, in Constantin Augustus Bărbulescu (coord.), Romanians and Europe (XIV-XXI centuries), Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, pp. 115-132.

clarifications as such: "But precisely this victory of the technical organization in the most daring enterprise constitutes a painful contrast with, alas, so many declines of the Romanian economy under the communist regime. The explanation exists: at the Iron Gates, ideology was fatally absent, because mathematics has no ideology, neither does technique and the engineer, the designer, the technicians in general, do not need to consult Marx, Engels or Lenin, in the work in which they engaged. The treaties they consult have nothing in common with any ideology. In the organization of state trade, in cooperatives, in the various collectives and state enterprises, ideology is the master, and the embodiment of ideology is the bureaucracy of the party. That is why the results are special"²².

The great Romanian journalist and patriot, present almost daily in the pages of the newspaper "Curentul"²³, he made public, almost daily, his opinions also on international events, in the given geopolitical context, revealing in this framework, the national interest of Romania.

On the 130th anniversary of his birth, we are returning to readers today his articles dedicated to the analysis of the evolution of the international situation in the period August-September 1939 - before and after the outbreak of the Second World War (September 1, 1939).

Mr. Chamberlain's statement

Mr. Chamberlain considered it necessary to make a series of statements in the House of Commons, in response to several questions put to him²⁴. What defines Mr. Chamberlain's eloquence is that calmness that runs through each phrase, that special care in the choice of words, lest a rush, a special emphasis highlight a phrase by using a word that would testify to a startle of anxiety.

Even for the English spirit so controlled in the face of the most obvious dangers, Mr. Chamberlain is an exception. To many, the English prime minister appears to them as very slow in making decisions, as an incorrigible optimist, refractory to the harsh and immediate reality of the

²² Pamfil Șeicaru, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²³According to his own words (dated Madrid, January 10, 1954), he entered the press in 1913, and from "April 1918 until August 10, 1944, I wrote at least one daily article" - Pamfil Șeicaru, *Istoria presei*. Edited by George Stanca [Preface, by George Stanca], Paralel 45, f.l. [Pitesti/] 2007, p. 13.

²⁴

war; but no less. Chamberlain appears as the most stubborn resistance to an inconsiderate rush, a predominance of emotionality over cold judgment.

Basically, Mr. Chamberlain wants to exhaust all the means to save the peace, so that he might not someday be able to reproach himself that there was another means that was not tried.

But one cannot dispute a certain change in Mr. Chamberlain's attitude and, implicitly, in England's policy.

A year ago, in the matter of the Sudetenland, Mr. Chamberlain (to emphasize England's strict objectivity) sent Lord Runcimann to Prague, with the mission of consulting the two nations in dispute; today, the entire British war fleet is concentrated for two months, which is supposed to last the period in which some complications might arise. Naturally, this mobilization of the war fleet is justified by the necessity of the maneuvers of the English navy - as in the region of the Po river the great maneuvers of the Italian army began, and as on August 10 we will record the great concentrations of the French army and, by causal connection, so far... Noting the existence of "numerous centers of unrest", the persistence of these nerve points can only stimulate England's will to solidarize all those threatened, to totalize the disparate forces, to unite what Mr. Chamberlain calls "the front peace", which Germany qualifies as a policy of encirclement.

English tenacity irritates: this persistence in one direction, this acceptance of all means to secure a victory, causes the most legitimate concerns.

England is not a comfortable opponent: because you cannot end their resistance with a lightning offensive. Unfolded over time, this resistance has a crushing massiveness. In this respect, Germany has a recent experience from the period 1914-1918 and the older experience of Napoleon.

What seems incomprehensible to me, however, is how the Fuehrer-Chancellor Adolf Hitler moved away from those lines of direction in foreign policy that he had fixed in "Mein Kampf", when he formulated the criticism of the foreign policy of the German empire that led in conflict with England:

"To secure England's good graces, no sacrifice had to be too great. We had to give up colonies and maritime power and remove all competition from English industry".

However, from this point of view, so bluntly formulated, it is surprising what a deviation German policy had. And it is all the more difficult to understand, since Fuehrer Adolf Hitler is unchanged in the broad lines of

direction he fixed for German politics; if it accepts some temporary adaptations, no less preserves the major line of direction.

With his exceptional intuition, he understood the immense British reserves which, when mobilized, break through their resistance even the most pathetic strains of energy, as was the formidable attitude of Germany from 1914-1918. However, England's attitude can no longer be a topic of controversy; and Mr. Chamberlain, so measured in all things, sought to calm English opinion by saying:

"The chamber knows that we have made the most of the time since March so far and that our defense is now of a formidable character."

For a refractor of rhetorical exaggerations, for an enemy of assertions that are completely inconsistent with reality, the phrase acquires the aspect of an impressive copy of a reality.

How decisive English policy is can also be seen from the acceptance of the continuation of negotiations with Moscow.

There is no doubt that the Soviets - as is natural - seek to capitalize on their situation; hence the system of delays, of introducing new elements into the discussion, of complications surrounding the specification of the term "indirect aggression". The French General Staff especially values the agreement with the Soviets: and not so much in the positive performance of this agreement, but especially that Germany would not have in the neutrality of the Soviets a point of support in a supply of the raw materials that it absolutely needs in case of war.

There is - in Mr. Chamberlain's statements - a phrase that perfectly sums up the difficulty of negotiations with the Soviets:

"We very much want not to give the impression that we are aiming to bring about any violation of the independence of other States".

Beyond the words, lies the deep meaning of the difficulties that stand in the way of perfecting the agreement.

Mr. Chamberlain's exposition makes a serious contribution to the reassurance of the public spirit, beset by all worries.

The English Prime Minister does not seek to mobilize enthusiasm, to stir up passions, to add an additional irritation to the general restlessness; but precisely the character of subdued exposition (without missing that accent of decision which forces the opponent to a serious meditation) facilitates the passage of this autumn without reaching a dramatic denouement.

Moreover, even from the comments made by the German press to Mr. Chamberlain's statements, the legitimacy of our confidence in the viability of peace emerges.

It is a great fortune for this tormented humanity that, in this troubled age, there sits a lucid, a staunch defender of peace in the office of Prime Minister of the British Empire. The calmness of Mr. Chamberlain impresses more than the vehemence of a precipitate of impulsiveness.

With Mr. Chamberlain, at any time, Germany can find a way of discussion. And this very possibility of discussion is a great gain for peace²⁵.

[Great efforts are being made to avoid an armed conflict]

It is not at all wise to let the opponent have a superiority in freedom of movement, in command unity, in speed of execution. However, authoritarian regimes have an undisputed superiority in developing a plan and in its execution compared to democratic regimes, much slower, much more difficult in making decisions. It is quite possible that a decision taken through a debate in a legislative assembly, filtered in controversies, subjected to the decantations of a critical analysis - will be much better constructed, much better cohesive as a presentation and conception, but no less what is most precious was lost: time. And there is a principle: in turbulent times, when the pace of events accelerates, a lost day is a lost battle, and especially the hesitant, all the decision-makers, become the factors of defeat.

However, the democratic regimes, continuing to denounce the regimes of dictatorial authority, still feel obliged to imitate them through some obvious deviations from the democratic spirit and letter. Two facts: the prorogation of the French parliament and the two-month vacation of the English parliament. So the mandate of the current French parliament has been extended for two years, which is exactly how long the crisis is believed to last. The newspaper "Le Populaire" publishes this headline "Coup de force contre le suffrage universel" (Coup de force contre le suffrage universel) and the political director of this newspaper is Léon Blum. Keeping the parliament beyond the deadline means a fear of the ballot box; to close it means that the times are too bad for anyone to have the courage to unleash party passions, to give free rein to irresponsible ambitions or self-interested disguises.

²⁵Pamfil Șeicaru, Mr. Chamberlain's statements, in "Curentul", XII, nr. 4.123, August, 4, 1939, pp. 1-2.

However, the incompatibility of universal suffrage with the troubled times we live in is implicitly acknowledged. The normal rhythm is compatible with the slow deliberation of the laws, it is synonymous with a command that cannot command without prior authorization, the result of a thorough controversy. But in this age of uncertainties, of the precipitation of events, who is so unconscious as to let the country fall prey to party fights, to accept with a sinister serenity the prospect of an electoral campaign, that is, to risk the disintegration of the moral unity of the nation and the collapse of the State? A functioning parliament is much less dangerous than the consultation of universal suffrage, when you do not know whether the enemy will not attack you at any moment

However, Mr. Daladier proved himself to be a courageous politician, of authoritarian initiative and he did not shy away from presenting the prorogation decree to President Lebrun for signature. What gives a much more comprehensive meaning to the act of confessing the incompatibility of universal suffrage with national interests in exceptional times, is the coincidence with the 150th anniversary of the French revolution, which proclaimed the Sovereignty of the People. Implicit is a condemnation of the system, a confession of an authoritarian opportunity, the democratic regime being for normal times. But d. Daladier, as a history teacher, remembered the origins of the dictatorship in the Roman republic, as an institution imposed by exceptional circumstances.

The English attitude is interesting. In the most critical period, when the destinies of peace are decided, when the intense activity of the government has to balance the attitude of England in a dramatic concentration, a two-month vacation of the parliament is considered more suitable to the English interests. There cannot be a more complete proof of the contradiction between the parliamentary system and the fundamental interests of the State in decisive moments. English pragmatism adapted to the circumstances, removing a superiority of the opponents. And once again we repeat: there will be no war. Democracies adapt too quickly to the ritual of totalitarian regimes. War means a break in the balance of forces. However, every day the balance of forces is restored more and more.

We will not have war.

Which means that we have to be exceptionally well prepared²⁶.

²⁶Idem, Great efforts are made to avoid an armed conflict, in *Ibidem*, XII, no. 4.126, August 7, 1939, p. 12; the entire page is subtitled The international situation at a difficult time. Great efforts are made to avoid an armed conflict, the article not having an independent title.

Maginot or Siegfried?

A very interesting controversy is being debated between the French press and the German press: which is stronger: the Maginot line or the Siegfried line? The conception, the works carried out, their deployment in depth, the value of the obstacles designed to nullify the effectiveness of the assault chariots, everything is presented in luxurious detail, so everyone asks, and rightly so: what do these clarifications answer?

Fortifications are by their very nature secret, and the less one knows about a defensive line, defined by fortification works, the more intimidating they will be. No one is afraid of what he knows exactly; the unknown amplifies and torments the human imagination. You walk through a forest during the day with a kind of joyful lyricism, you participate in all the plant exuberance, you experience a feeling of freshness, you have the impression that your thoughts receive drops of dew, and exactly the same forest at night makes you shudder, you have the feeling that the darkness is populated with visions.

Este firească întrebarea: ce interes are atât presa franceză cât și presa germană să despoie fortificațiile de acel vâl amplificator al misterului? Orgoliul unor realizări ciclopice? Eterna întrecere între două națiuni care nu se pot nici când împăca, fie în orice domeniu, cu gândul că cealaltă a întrecut-o?

But no matter how much we multiply the questions, they cannot define the mood, the motive that determines the controversy around the Maginot and Siegfried lines.

The insistence with which the value of the fortifications is emphasized on both sides is not only intended to calm natural concerns, to increase the safety of the German and French nations; there is another goal they want to achieve. The French want to convince the Germans that they are not allowed to hope for a breakthrough - through a surprise attack - as they were able to pour on the plains of Flanders in 1914. All the technical effort, artillery, aviation, tanks will remain powerless in front of the Maginot line.

German military experts are too convinced of the strength of this line of resistance, they realize that France is closed in a steel shell, like a turtle. But no less than the Germans want the French to be filled with the same feeling towards the Siegfried line; hence the insistence with which the German press presents the fortifications lining the Rhine.

It was enough for some rumors to circulate around this line of fortifications for the press reaction to occur against the tendency to

underestimate the importance, the invincible strength that the Siegfried line of fortifications represents.

What is being watched?

To remove any illusion that could be considered as an exhortation, that could encourage aggressive tendencies. In vain you will try to apply the concept of a "Blitzkrieg", a lightning war, because the tension of the German forces will hit powerlessly by the fortifications of the Maginot line. And the French want to convince the Germans that it is not to their advantage to try. When it seemed that some rumors about the inadequacies of the Siegfried line were making their way in the French opinion, the luxurious presentation of the fortifications began. That is, no matter how ingenious the French General Staff, no matter how stormy the energy of the French troops, no matter how perfect the material used, military genius, bravery, cannons, aviation, tanks will crash helplessly against the Siegfried Line. But it is obvious that both sides of the Rhine reject the idea of war. There is too much talk, too much bragging about the armaments, the fortifications, so as not to highlight one concern: to eliminate the war. "Please, don't be fooled! You try in vain and it's a pity for a useless waste of human lives!..." This is, in the final analysis, the meaning of these ridiculous presentations of the Maginot and Siegfried lines of fortifications. And it is natural to take care to inform the opponent so that he does not fall easily into the temptation of the illusion of an easy war.

Does anyone imagine that the war would have broken out in 1914 if Germany had been convinced that France was not a tired country, incapable of a heroic effort and England would not be a spectator like in 1870?

The war broke out from a lack of information, from a false appreciation of the opponent. This time, precisely to prevent the opponent from falling into the nets of an illusion, they hurry to announce the risks, to convince him of the ruinous futility of any offensive approach. It's really moving the care that both of them take to protect their opponents from a wrong appreciation of the fortifications, from an underestimation of the defensive powers. Besides, both the French and the Germans esteem themselves too highly; they knew each other well enough to jump to conclusions about military forces.

For us, all these ridiculous presentations of the fortifications are still a sign of peace. Not only does no one want war, but everyone tries to convince their opponent of the tragic futility of any attack.

More than all the pacifist speeches, more than all the subtleties of international law, everyone's potential for war contributes to peace. Maginot and Siegfried are two sentinels of peace.

The more invincible they will be, the more it will be known that they are invincible, the more lasting the peace will be.

By the way, like the fortifications of other countries²⁷.

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https://adt.arcanum.com/ro/view/The_Current_1939_08/?pg=124&layout=s

The Current, August 1939 (Anul 12, nr. 4120-4150)1939-08-12 / nr. 4131: 1, 2.

Examination of the external situation

We are entering a nerve-wracking phase. From August 10 to October 10-15, every day will contribute to fueling our fears of war.

What remains gained is the horror that all warring peoples have. Obviously, the peoples never had enthusiasm for this bloody war, but there were moments in the various phases of history when war was considered a dramatic necessity. As today, however, the peoples have never been more hostile to the hypothesis of an insane outbreak of war, never have they been more deeply convinced of the sinister error that a general conflagration would mean.

Enthusiasm for war? No one but absolutely no one except the prophets of the world revolution, those who are waiting for the war as the mother of the revolution that could not be victorious, universal in 1918, no one wants the war. In the press of all countries, the feelings of the people are not reflected, but the harsh state needs to prepare the public opinion for a possible catastrophe of the peace assassinated by a cursed imprudence. Basically, the press in all countries is directed, only the methods differ, so we cannot orientate ourselves, at most we can distinguish the trends of the governments of different countries. However, this muted, categorical hostility of the peoples towards the idea of war, decreases a lot from the possible precipitation of the governments. It is enough to cross different countries, to bend your ear, to listen not to what is whispered but to open confessions of an identical state of mind.

²⁷Idem, Great efforts are made to avoid an armed conflict, in *Ibidem*, XII, no. 4.130, 11 August 1939, p. 12.

Apart from this temperature of the peoples, there is another decisive contribution towards the elimination of war. If the League of Nations, of which nothing is known anymore, saw that it could not prevent violent clashes between states, it took refuge in the formula of war localization.

Today no one doubts the war can no longer be localized, in case it breaks out. If Danzig were to become a cause of armed conflict between Poland and Germany, it would simultaneously lead to a declaration of war on the part of England and France, which would cause the automatic participation of Italy. Or, precisely this completely new character of the conflict will determine an accentuation of prudence in the various diplomatic relations. Each holder of responsibility will measure his words, will try not to exceed a limit beyond which the storm is unleashed. As starting from August 10, the armies of all states are almost mobilized under the pretext of maneuvers, no one can benefit from a surprise attack, from a mobilization carried out earlier, which would facilitate the rapid concentration of forces at a certain point to give a fruitful blow, to impose the opponent's movements, to condition his defense. All this contributes to the removal of a tragic outcome.

There is no government in any State that has any illusions about the proportions of the risk, about the true aspect of the war. When Germany was able to conquer almost the whole of central Europe without firing a single shot, it cannot be admitted that for the annexation of Danzig it would provoke a general war. If the annexation of Czechoslovakia and Danzig had been solved simultaneously in March, the game would have been won, given the diplomatic situation of Poland, the almost isolation in which it was. However, after the passage of six months the situation has completely changed, Poland is no longer isolated, in March it agreed with Germany regarding the modification of the political map in Central Europe, and today something more, France and England are determined not to allow no news of the current situation. Victories through intimidation, i.e. the most splendid victories that delight, fascinate peoples - thus freed from the sacrifice of hundreds, millions of lives on the battlefield - are no longer possible.

Today Germany is faced with a terrible dilemma: Danzig with the outbreak of war or finding a middle ground to satisfy German pride and Polish interests. Here are the true terms of the problem, which form the critical point of the international situation. The leader of Germany is in a lucid exaltation, he proved a brilliant strategist of opportunities; it was not a blow that was not calculated down to the smallest detail, not only in terms of execution, but in an equal degree of foresight and in terms of

international consequences. It is in this political structure a strong guarantee meant to brake suddenly at any moment when the situation would take a particularly tragic aspect. Now, we present these elements to the readers in order to obtain the necessary calm, to go through these moments of wavering certainties.

Obviously, logic can be disproved, a thoughtless gesture can unleash destruction, but we will benefit from a position both military and diplomatic when we keep calm, when we are determined to accept even the sinister error of others. We only do a policy of conciliatory attitude, eliminating any element of provocation; but precisely this balance of gestures, this measure in words should be the expression of a determined will to accept and fall...

The more determined we are, the more we present an aspect of calm will, the more we will contribute to the defense of peace. From August 10 to October 15 we enter the phase of uncertainties. Let's have our nerves ready to meet the abysmal news.

We're entering in winter without a storm²⁸.

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https://adt.arcanum.com/ro/view/The_Current_1939_08/?pg=159&layout=s
The Current, august 1939 (Anul 12, nr. 4120-4150)1939-08-14 / nr. 4133: 12.

War postpone, war removed...

No one is allowed not to let his writing be permeated by a sense of responsibility, to abuse the prestige that the print still retains, and instead of an honest orientation, to try the lightness of the statements intended to receive the denial of the events. No one has to promote a trend, but to facilitate a clarification in the disorder and the fullness of contradictions that characterize the contribution of the telegraph agencies.

The reader is waiting to be clarified, to be facilitated in his understanding of international facts, by establishing causal links between - apparently - disparate events. And every day, my purpose boils down to this orientation contribution, always keeping the discipline of a single Romanian point of view. The events that will take place until the middle of October can only be related strictly to the line of Romanian interests, in the

²⁸Idem, Examination of the external situation, în Ibidem, XII, nr. 4.131, August, 12, 1939, pp. 1-2.

light of these interests they should be interpreted, national discipline should coordinate all our attitudes in the face of the coming days.

The first fact that opens the series of chains: the speech of Mr. Foerster, the National Socialist leader of the Germans in Danzig. An energetic speech, well-cohesed as a valorization of the arguments, without bringing a new contribution, only the accent of the decision gives a fresh relief of known theses. Historical rights, the rights of self-determination are invoked to establish the legitimacy of the incorporation of Danzig into the Reich on the basis of a debate before public opinion.

What we found particularly significant in Mr. Foerster's speech is this passage: "The years that followed this detachment proved definitively that the people of Danzig suffered material and cultural damage of all kinds. Even the fact that the port of Danzig was to be Poland's only access to the sea - for which reason Danzig was separated from the Reich - could not prevent this principle from being violated, the vital rights of Danzig were systematically violated. Gdynia has overtaken Danzig and this proves that Danzig has nothing but economic disadvantages to expect from Poland".

Checking on the ground, i.e. visiting Danzig and Gdynia brings you a confirmation of the prosperity of the port of Gdynia and the languor of the port of Danzig. In truth, from a poor fishing port, the Poles made a large and modern commercial port, with intense activity. Rarely in a shorter time has a country managed to create a more beautiful work. But while the Polish port prospers, Danzig receives less and less goods from Poland.

It would be too simplistic a presentation of the Danzig problem if we reduced it exclusively to economic determinants. A good part of the German pride raised to an almost nerve-wracking intensity enters into the composition of the problem that is obsessing Europe today, as well as military considerations, Danzig forming a strategic point not only for the Baltic but also for the East.

The question is: Will Germany make war for Danzig? Let us suppose that Danzig, by proclaiming the rally to the Reich, would provoke the military reaction of Poland which will occupy it.

Can Germany create the illusion of a dissociation of England and France, in the event that Poland appears as an aggressor, as disregarding the principle of self-determination contained in the Treaty of Versailles? Obviously not. All the subtleties of the past, developed around the definition of the aggressor, no longer apply, the positions feel perfectly defined, no matter who attacks, solidarity will occur automatically. No one has any doubts about this aspect of the problem.

Then? Germany will not unleash a world war to regulate a new Statute of the city of Danzig. That it is quite possible to prepare a disturbance among the Ukrainians, to create internal difficulties for Poland, is again out of the question, but the world war will not unleash it for Danzig.

The agitation in Danzig can be a pretext, it can be a huge compulsion to debate a series of issues much more important for Germany, but Danzig cannot be an introduction to a catastrophe. The regulation of Anglo-German relations - (because in the last analysis these relations are what we are talking about in all the neurasthenic tension we are experiencing) - through an unreserved recognition of England's colonial empire in return for Germany being recognized as a zone of economic influence in central Europe and the Balkans, where - according to the German thesis - England has no real interests. The great industrial production power of Germany needs, as a breathing space, outlets that are not under the political pressure of England.

This is what the problem of peace and war basically boils down to. However, England only makes war when all the possibilities of peace have been exhausted. It is significant that Sir John Simon - the English finance minister - defended the Munich agreement at this time "because only thanks to this agreement, today so many millions of people can spend their summer vacation. Where would all these people be now if that agreement had not been signed? And then let's not forget that a war postponed can sometimes also mean a war removed. In Munich d. Hitler solemnly declared that his territorial claims in Europe had ceased.

It's a pity that later facts did not confirm this assurance at all".

So only the uncertainty of the commitments that would be made could be an obstacle in the way of a peaceful understanding.

But to revive the hopes of peace there is still a serious contribution: Italy. Apart from all political and military solidarity, Italian interests cannot be subordinated to other interests. Duke Mussolini can only interpret events from the perspective of Italian interests.

Does anyone seriously believe that Italy will second Germany - if there is an unaccounted for precipitation - in the Danzig business?

There are still so many elements that will contribute to the postponement of war, as Sir John Simon's words "a war postponed may sometimes mean a war removed"²⁹.

²⁹ Idem, *Warpostpone, war removed..*, in Ibidem, XII, nr. 4.133, August, 12, 1939, p. 12.

The role of Duke Mussolini

Our optimism begins to receive some shy confirmations: peace will be saved this time as well. Of course, the utmost secrecy is kept regarding the agreement reached in Salzburg between the foreign ministers of Italy and Germany, but something seems to have come out: Germany will not take any action in Danzig without prior consultation with Italy.

So, in the final analysis, Duke Mussolini has the role of arbiter of the destinies of peace, Italy has the role of decisive factor. The situation is correctly summarized, and implicitly an increase in the legitimacy of our optimism. So Mr. Mussolini today holds the historical role of savior of peace, that is, between so many congested prides, the political leader of Italy should keep a cold lucidity.

Commenting on the recall from London of Mr. Grandi on July 15, 1939, we drew the conclusion of a conference for the organization of Europe, the initiative coming from Italy, that is, a new Munich, but in an Italian interpretation, without the offended pride, without that haste that thwarted the effectiveness of the agreement of the autumn of 1938. Naturally, our statement surprised, it seemed like an isolated note, lost in the tumult of telegrams designed to alarm the world. Unfortunately, the democracies are so turned against Duke Mussolini that they have forgotten, with strange ease, the saving role he played in September 1938. Without such a decisive intervention of the political leader of Italy, we would have been at war for a year and others were the balance of power in September 1938 versus the balance of power in August 1939.

However, after October, while Germany saw its claims fully satisfied, Italy did not even benefit from a moral satisfaction: everyone's gratitude for the saving act of peace.

Resentment stifled even the most basic reflexive gesture of gratitude. A statesman, to whom circumstances designate a historical role in the most difficult moment in the lives of peoples, is not allowed to work with resentments, to let his right judgment be disturbed by the presence of bitterness, disappointments harvested. Duke Mussolini is overwhelmed by the responsibility that the events attribute to him and he is too much of the land of classicism not to have the universal meaning of things. That is why he will hardly decide to accept the fatality of a European war, which would endanger all the spiritual capital that feeds the disciplines of thinking and feeling of modern man.

But if this is the Italian point of view - not only the saving of a synocopated peace every spring and every autumn - a peace ensured by the very order on which it rests, it is no less true that he will have to find out in the ranks democratic countries an understanding, an approval.

The Munich Agreement was concluded under the pressure of panic; it was therefore fatal that it would not have any kind of duration, to continue a temporary period in which the insecurity of all peoples would amplify the economic difficulties of each one. The problem of Danzig, which today forms the nerve point that threatens the viability of peace, is more a matter of honor for Germany, as the "Deutsche Diplomatisch Politische Korespondenz" also testifies.

Let us admit - by reduction to the absurd - that Poland would sacrifice itself and give in without any objection to the German point of view. With Danzig entering the Reich, does anyone imagine that peace in Europe is assured?

What determines the restlessness, we would say the spatial insatiability of Germany, is it only an exaltation of German pride, a demonic inclination towards warlike expansion? But everyone knows the immense difficulties of the German economy; the production power of the German industry is struggling with the narrowing of the sales space as well as with the weight of supplying the factories. The machine is a monster that if you don't let it eat, it eats you and all the huge industrial armature of the German economy creates that climate of warlike neurosis in German politics.

We find almost exactly the same elements - of course, less exasperated - in the structure of the Italian economy. Undoubtedly, there will be no war, Danzig will not cause a general conflagration and Italy is a strong brake.

Surely a compromise will be reached, even only through the direct negotiations that will take place between the Commissioner of Poland in Danzig and the president of the Senate of the Free City, but admitting that the agreement would be strengthened by the accession of the Reich, admitting that Danzig will be removed from the discussion, peace it still remains fragile. Something becomes more and more evident: since 1914, every holder of responsibility does not look lightly at the possibility of a war. There is a fear, everyone is willing to make some sacrifices just to postpone the terrible bloody deadline. Or, precisely this dramatic presence of the sense of responsibility in consciences forms the basic element of a possible understanding

We cannot appreciate enough the value of this sense of responsibility, what role it can play in smoothing out rough edges, in creating that balance of interests meant to give peace a wide breath, comforting for the tormented peoples who inhabit this old continent.

If peace plans really begin to take shape, they demand not only a courageous initiative, not only the bold will of Duke Mussolini, but also a basis for discussion regarding the possibility of normal supply of German and Italian industry.

If today unemployment has disappeared in Germany as in Italy, the fact is due to an artificial supply of industry through the arms race. It is easy to say peace, but this tranquility is conditioned by ensuring economic normalization in Germany and Italy.

It requires a courageous rejection of all the entrenchments of hypocrisy and a total recognition of the causes that perpetuate the neurasthenic specter of war. Ideas of a conference in which England, France, Germany, Italy and Poland would participate in order to liquidate the Danzig problem, would have the advantage of forming an introduction to the complex of economic and political problems that are the substrate of today's situations, threatening peace.

Duke Mussolini's role is to take the initiative of a pacification of spirits by removing the rhetoric of arrogance with the debate of the real elements that make up the tragic equation of peace.

And we are convinced that the detoxification of Europe will begin in the fall of this year.

The sinister absurdity of war will be defeated³⁰.

Defending Peace

A reader asks me with some bewilderment: if I don't believe in war, if I consider war a moral and material impossibility, a true catastrophe of civilization, why do I extol the military virtues with equal strength, and constantly make the apology for the heroic potential of the Nation? I feel obliged to give an answer, I feel obliged to clear up the confusion.

If we are today with broken souls, if the specter of war is looming over all countries, the cause lies in a false conception of peace. For years the peoples were deceived by Geneva's pacifist lemonade. Speeches were

³⁰ Idem, *The role of Duke Mussolini*, in *Ibidem*, XII, nr. 4.136, August, 17, 1939, pp. 1-2.

given, grandiose performances were given with "matches" of eloquence, the outlawing of war was invented, utopias were talked about, virile energies were drugged with the illusion of disarmament and in this orgy of utopias was forgotten by the unendurable laws of human history.

Common sense was considered a reactionary prejudice, the warnings given by the political intelligences as militaristic starts, and no one thought how you can preserve a state, a European order created by a military victory, by denying the forces that created it. Everyone in the political world was convinced that we had fallen out of the bloody phase of history, towards entering the phase of relations of law intended to replace relations of force. War will be an exception, as are individual crimes in social life, everything will be liquidated by legal procedure, the tribunal of peoples being the "League of Nations" (where else is the noble institution of sleepy illusions of the conservation instinct?). You did not oppose an inconvenient neighbor with the profile of a strong army, you did not rest your right on military force, but on the force of eloquence, as the accused hope everything from the brilliance of the lawyers who plead their case. However, all these illusions were considered as axioms in international relations.

But he forgot that it is not enough for the majority to be in good faith, that it is enough for only one country to make a separate opinion, for the whole legal concept of peace to collapse, as the wind shatters the sand dunes. However, at the first manifestations of a separate opinion, at the first visible manifestations of another conception that is completely against the spirit of Geneva, instead of renouncing all the baggage of utopias, they continued to seek to accommodate themselves as if they could coexist in Europe the warrior spirit with the pacifist spirit. And one fine day it was noticed that legal peace, the peace of law receives serious corrections from the force, that everything is shaking, that nothing is certain anymore. The utopians became angry, but anger in the face of force is comical if it has no equivalent power. Then it returned to the reactionary prejudice of common sense and instead of limiting armaments, it began to make up for lost time through a frightening increase in production.

Peace is not a juridical creation, but a finalization of a political order by force, and as long as the force called to preserve it lasts, so does the breath of peace. The political order defined by borders is defended not with legal eloquence, not with the skill of a brilliant lawyer at the bar of the League of Nations, but with cannons, tanks, machine guns, planes, torpedoes, submarines, battleships and cruisers. Pleasant, unpleasant, convenient or inconvenient, human or inhuman, the reality is this and you

cannot ignore the laws of the existence of states, without risking to disappear as an independent country. Whoever wants to be free defends his freedom, whoever wants not to be a slave to the invading foreigner defends his borders. Even defeated, a country imposes respect on the victor by the stormy energy with which it opposed it, but woe to the country that surrendered without a fight, woe to the nation that preferred to kneel rather than fight. Peace is a creation of strength, the lasting breath of peace depends on strength, on the decision of those who defend the established order in the form of borders that delimit the sovereignty of States. I don't believe in war, because I don't allow anyone any more illusions regarding the possibility of a strong tension that would ensure victory in the shortest possible time. The stronger we are, the more determined we are, the more we will serve peace.

Those who do not want war, those who realize why peace is a priceless good, should be determined to defend it. But not a parody of decision, not a frightening decision, but a decision so affirmed, so reckless, that even the boldest tendencies feel suddenly restrained by fear. Let only the achievement of that potential of will that we had in 1916 be coveted, let everyone find in it the exaltation that those who created this Great Romania had.

And because of that, the splendid speech delivered by M.S. The King in Constanța is basically a great act of peace, through the very energy with which the will to defend the borders was asserted. Moreover, the echo that the Sovereign's speech had abroad, indicates the value of Romania's peaceful contribution. You are only respected to the extent that you are determined to defend your prestige, to the extent that you are determined to sacrifice your life to defend your honor.

On August 15, 1939, Romania, through the voice of its King, gave the most beautiful contribution to peace.

And I firmly believe in peace, because no one accepts the falsification of peace anymore³¹.

³¹ Idem, *Defense of peace*, în *Ibidem*, XII, nr. 4.139, 20 august 1939, p. 1.

[How the international situation is evolving]

For us it was not a surprise. We foresaw this agreement and we were only surprised by the certainties that were always insistently affirmed, although the negotiations progressed slowly, anemic. An innovation was even introduced, before all the political asperities were ironed out, before an agreement was reached. And in order for the diplomatic protocol to be concluded, military missions were sent to discuss as if the political agreement was a *fait accompli*.

I was surprised by this innovation, all the more so since Mr. Litvinov's change from abroad could give a lot to think about. If it had only been the guarantee of racial adversity - Mr. Litvinov was Jewish - and it would have been enough to ratify all the certainties regarding the move against Germany. However, the sudden change of Mr. Litvinov required a serious examination, an investigation, an extensive documentation in order to conclude something. It is true that as far as England is concerned, she was much more skeptical and it is not known whether a pact with the Soviets would not have determined some situations in the Far East that were against British interests. But no less contributed the telegraph agencies who felt obliged to create an atmosphere of total confidence in concluding an agreement of a negative value for England and France, although the same agreement for Germany, given the internal reserves of raw materials of the Soviets, has a special value.

And all of a sudden, all certainties are shattered, no one expected such a fundamental reversal of situations, Germany obtaining a clear diplomatic victory. It demonstrates the superiority of silence, it proves the value of secrecy in external actions, the publicity serving only to disorientate, the press serving as a splendid diversion to better cover the blow prepared in a completely different direction.

How should we be well oriented, to separate from the tumult of the last events a single fact: the German-Russian economic agreement complete with a non-aggression pact. It is a beginning of clarification, of delimitation of the fronts, which are not ideological, they are not groupings of forces under mystical banners, either Marxist or anti-Marxist, but groups of interests.

Here is a great gain for a political judgment free from the delusions of ideological veils. Everyone adjusts their political direction as the interest of their country dictates. Ideas are adjusted, adversities are forgotten, doctrinal chasms appear as if they did not exist, over them political needs

are breaking the bank. Even worse for those who allow themselves to be caught under the spell of ideologies, they risk finding out that ridiculous positions in politics often equate to disasters.

Anti-fascism, anti-Comintern, ideological solidarities, Spain's three-year passion, everything is looked at, everything is adapted. Let us also retain something from this brutal call to reality, from this unexpected lesson in political realism. We are obliged to examine with all calmness, to be attentive spectators of the events and to relate everything exclusively to the line of demarcation of our interests. The calmer we are, the more we will be subject to the discipline of Romanian thinking (and for anyone who says enough, we will serve the country more fully. We do not expect approving applause from anyone, because the foreigner applauds when it serves his interests him, or at least do not contradict them, so do not imagine that they ratify the right understanding of your own interests. Let us ask only from our instinct of national preservation. Where judgment may err, the robust instinct of the race cannot fail.

Let's not let ourselves be seduced by the waves, let's once be exclusively subordinated to Romanian thought, let's once be exclusively Romanian. To think Romanian means to think according to the interests of your nation and the outline of Romanian interests is obviously the outline of the country's borders.

It is necessary to remember that the borders of the country imply the independence of the nation, masters at home. Why do I feel an imperative need to remember these simple commandments? That each of us should do the examination of conscience and detach the national imperative. The more disciplined, more lucid, more subordinated to reality we will be, the more we will be protected from risks. We are not allowed any adventure, no romantic gesture to validate ideological or lunatic solidarity, but all the energy, all the vigor for the borders of the Motherland. ROMANIAN BLOOD AND TERRITORIES, HERE IS THE FORMULA: HERE IS THE AXIOM OF NATIONAL POLICY.

Until today, the one who writes these lines has not been lied to in any of the anticipations he made about the external situation, allowing me to keep my optimism intact, to find absolutely no reason to panic. On May 4 and 7, 1939, I was predicting today's relations between Germany and the Soviets, I was trying to extract the full meaning of Mr. Litvinov's resignation, so the commercial treaty, the non-aggression pact and other variants of the German-Soviet rapprochement cannot be a surprise for me. once again I repeat: calmness and realistic understanding of the situation.

There is absolutely no reason to panic, as long as we obey the national imperative. It is clear to anyone who thinks exclusively in Romanian³².

The consequences the Russian-German non-aggression pact

In these days of great nervous tension, of shock due to the unexpectedness of events, of contained violence, of delirious exaltation of the forces of destruction, a voice was raised in which the last vibration of humanity seemed to have taken refuge. In the name of the King of Denmark, the King of Sweden, Norway, the Queen of the Netherlands, the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg, the President of Finland, King Leopold of Belgium appealed for peace. The King's youth found accents, found out words intended to impose an examination of conscience on each holder of responsibility, before making the gesture intended to unleash the hurricane of anger, each one having a confrontation with that island of human tenderness that still exists in him. Does he have the right to send young lives to the slaughterhouse? Isn't peace possible? Isn't there enough space for a less wild coexistence to be possible? King Leopold of Belgium states that "The world is threatened by an economic collapse, although hostilities have not even opened; a fearful battle is preparing for Europe". In truth, all the states were still struggling under the burden of difficulties left as a sad legacy by the war that ended in 1918 and instead of finding means of correction, they plunged into the madness of this demonic arms race. Of course, unemployment has disappeared, the factories smoke day and night, giving the illusion of prosperity, but at the same time the savings reserve is wasted, the future of the nations is mortgaged, the tension of this necessary armament policy, prepares the economic collapse of tomorrow. The peoples are equally affected by fiscal pressures, almost half of the national income is consumed for the preparation of the war. With a unique moral courage, King Leopold made that appeal of the Kings, reminding that this is not the time for vain opinions, pride, ambitions, because "time does not forgive" and in today's situation, the mercilessness of time, the horrible punishment they want atone equally for all peoples is to "send their children

³² Idem [supratitlu: *Soluționarea problemei Danzigului nu satisface Germania*, cu două subtitluri: *Se cere rezolvarea problemei coloniilor și a tuturor revendicărilor italiene*, respectiv *Cum evoluiază situația internațională*], în Ibidem, XII, nr. 4.144, 25 august 1939, p. 12 (*Ultima oră*).

to the slaughter". And in truth "time does not forgive". The latest telegrams inform us that "If Poland is attacked, England will intervene with all its forces", "New concentrations in France", "The archives and luggage of the German embassy in Warsaw have been evacuated". And every telegram increases the worries, adds to the general panic. In all this warlike tumult, a human voice resounds, a supreme call of humanity, the voice of a King who remembers that regiments, divisions, armies, include people, that aviation squadrons, tanks, warships also include people. All these millions of beings leave behind families at the will of chance, millions of them will never return to their homes, and millions more will return with mutilated, crippled bodies. And apart from the conscripts, the cities and villages are doomed to become targets of the air squadrons so that the destruction is as general as possible, and the man finds no refuge anywhere. Monuments of art, all that human genius has achieved, be turned into a heap of smoking ruins. This sinister perspective stirred the soul of King Leopold of Belgium, the humanity condemned to slaughter torments the tender soul of the Kings who gave the mandate to the youngest to try to find the mercy of the people. A young voice in the storm, a tender voice of peace in the midst of the passions stirred up by the ugly hurricane, and the voice is that of a King.

150 years ago, the French revolution broke out to free the peoples from the tyranny of the kings, to ensure the fraternization of the peoples by expelling the tyrants who for personal ambitions, often out of whims, lead wars that impoverish the people. And to be sure that the age of tyrannies was ended, that the people would be free, a gentle king was taken to the scaffold, a king who refused to admit repression in order not to shed human blood. And then came not the fraternization of peoples, but twenty years of continuous wars. Instead of royal armies so few in number did the national armies appear; the kings no longer made wars, the peoples in their integrity made the wars, they mobilized tens because the peoples themselves paid the cost of these warlike confrontations. A numerical competition between armies, a competition in the effectiveness of weapons, a more extensive devotion to death. Where the kings hesitated, sought to avoid wars as much as possible, freedom and democratic fraternity rushed enthusiastically to increase the recruitments, and an eloquent exponent of democracy, a tribune of the people, Jean Jaurés conceived in the "new army" the mass raising of a people in case of war, so that no one should be consumed by the equality of the slaughter.

We live in the era of the domination of the masses, the leaders of the peoples are exponents of the multitudes who continuously plebiscite them by acclamations. But all these sons of the people, all these tribunes, all these exalters of death, of the desire to destroy and distinguish themselves, do not for a moment have the image of the individuals taken in isolation, of the individuals who make up these masses destined for war. They do not see families, hardworking people, those humble heroics of a working existence, gray days but sunny with joys, they have contempt for the individual because they see the uninformed, bestial mass, ready to indulge in the bloody bacchanals of death. The individual has humanity, the mass is an apocalyptic beast; the individual can arouse pity, the mass only the passion of force, the dynamism of destruction. Now, democracy has the cult of the masses, the cult of numbers, of anonymity that cannot stop the momentum of a warlike unleashing, by curbing the mercy of people. And here a voice is raised that echoes the forgotten love of people, a King in the name of Kings invokes mercy for life, tries to stop the slaughter towards which the demonic exaltation of the masses is heading³³.

Peace will be saved

D. Mussolini managed to convince D. Hitler not to start any military action against Poland before trying a peaceful solution to solve the Danzig problem

President Roosevelt's message will not change the course of events. It is an act of vibrant humanity, but it cannot have political consequences. Germany today has a dominant political situation and it is impossible not to exploit the success obtained, after such a secret preparation. In the French conception especially, if the military alliance with the Soviets had not had too substantial a contribution, instead Germany would have been deprived of raw materials, so implicitly it would have caused a serious decrease in its war potential. For France, there could no longer be any doubt about the alliance with the Soviets. It was a political certainty evident through the very fundamental difference in doctrine, through the manifest adversity between communism and Hitlerism. Only in Spain didn't communism and national-

³³Idem, Consequences of signing the Russian-German non-aggression pact, in *Ibidem*, XII, no. 4.145, 26 August 1939, p. 1; with the supertitle: THE REICH DOES NOT GIVE UP DANZIG. AND POLAND, ENGLAND AND FRANCE REMAIN IN POSITIONS.

fascism collide with an unyielding start? Were not Italy and Germany behind General Franco, and weren't the Soviets behind the communists? What could be more logical for France than the impossibility of an agreement between the Comintern and the Anti-Comintern? Due to this certainty, they did not wait for the conclusion of the political agreement and went directly to the application on the ground, sending the commission of military experts, with maps, with an inventory of the available combat material.

We can say that never was a more elaborate farce played than when both Hitler and Stalin had to avoid the prying eyes of that famous "Intelligence Service".

The non-aggression pact concluded between Germany and the Soviets is designed in the traditional spirit of such pacts imagined by the League of Nations, which has always considered them instruments to guarantee peace in sectors threatened by armed conflicts.

No one can attribute to the satanic League of Nations the unconfessed intention of having imagined non-aggression pacts in form, in fact being disguised groups of aggressive intentions. Now, what were the main forces that threatened the peace of Europe? The two ideologies, something more than two political mystics outright enemies, two religions: German-Italian authoritarian nationalism (fascism-racial) and Soviet Marxism. However, at the border of the supreme antagonisms, a non-aggression pact is unexpectedly produced. Read, interpreted, analyzed in the drafting of the texts, in the possible adhesions, in the logical assumptions, this pact bears the stamp of Geneva orthodoxy. You have the impression that the last worshipers of spirituality, of the Geneva method are in Berlin and Moscow. Then why isn't a solemn meeting held at the League of Nations for the approval of the pact and the apologetics for the achievement of an ideology, fecund even apart from the faithful, the parishioners?

If the pact is only a cruel irony to Geneva, which imagined such methods of removing possible conflicts, then it is only a proof of the persistent delusion in which those who served an ideology and a method in international politics have indulged. For the historian of tomorrow, our era will obviously be a theme of perplexities, contradictions, a grid of all possible paradoxes. For us, those of today, the German-Soviet pact only requires a serious examination in order to adapt to the new circumstances.

We have seen what ideological demarcations mean, we have seen that each country is not controlled by the concern, by the fanaticism of a

political mystic, that between the most stubborn political opponents, interests create unexpected affinities, shocking solidarities. Adaptation to the circumstances is the essential condition for the viability of any organism and even more so it is mandatory for States. A careful examination of the map imposed on both Germany and Soviet Russia some rectifications of intransigence, some appeasement of troublesome sectarianisms, for the realistic understanding of the interests of the State.

One of the primordial conditions of a politician is not to ignore the importance of geography. I have often wondered if the downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte was not due to an ignorance of the geography of Russia. And, obviously, geography does not only mean spatial recognition, but also climatic knowledge, ethnic knowledge.

But not only for a military man it is mandatory, but also for a statesman, because the map imposes the line of political action. One day, through the successful farce of two irreducible adversaries, all your geopolitical data is overturned, what is the first duty of the person in charge? To adapt. It is not enough to look at a calendar to know what clothes to wear, open the window or look at the thermometer, because often the temperature has whims that contradict the calendar's indications. However, this matching of clothing is not according to the season but according to the temperature, it is called adaptation, apart from the resistance of those who are insensitive to the cold or who are not afraid of the flu. I for one prefer cold sores. And if I often practically isolate the intransigence of attitudes and do not use to insult my opinions, I will never recommend to the country a very uncomfortable method – even for an isolated individual³⁴.

Diplomats stopped the war instead

The British government's response to Mr. Hitler's message includes new conversations between London and Berlin

All these telegrams announcing the measures taken, as if war were to be declared at any moment, cannot be refreshing to the people's expectations of peace. Yes, the circulation of the subway in London was

³⁴Ditto, Peace will be saved. Mr. Mussolini managed to convince Mr. Hitler not to start any military action against Poland before trying a peaceful solution to solve the Danzig problem, in *Ibidem*, XII, no. 4.147, 28 August 1939, p. 1; supertitle and subtitle on the entire p.1.

interrupted so that it could serve as shelters for archives and refuge for the population in case of bombing; indeed, all the art treasures in Paris were evacuated. And the telegrams in their laconic rendering complete the sea, the gloomy fresco of the fear of the imminence of war.

If there can be doubts about the intentions attributed to Germany to unleash the war, there is not a shadow of doubt about the decision of England, France and Poland to accept the war. There is such a strained will to receive the blow that you would be inclined to believe in a close and tragic denouement.

But from all these telegrams that are full of bad news, I have detached one that reflects a very strange state of mind: the fear of being attributed responsibility for the declaration of war. Each State renounces this sinister role. However, when there is such a great fear, when every country refuses to appear in the memory of mankind as having provoked a war, it is a hopeful sign. When there is still the fear of being responsible for a possible war, implicitly foreign and the fear that the certainty of the final victory is not so total. If there were today a country, or a group of powers that had a certainty in the invincibility of their forces, that is, for this group victory would be as precise as the calculation of a tried and tested engineer, then without a doubt there would no longer be at least beware of the responsibility of unleashing the war. The winner is not afraid of judgment, because he is the judge and it is natural to attribute the responsibility to the loser in the first place. The one who is not sure, who is still calculating, who is still balancing the expectations of victory with the fears of defeat, does not dare to plunge into the tragic unknown of a war. We reproduce a fragment of a telegram from the D.N.B. agency:

"In political and journalistic circles in Rome, the impression is manifested that the decision on the outbreak of war or the maintenance of peace is getting closer hour by hour. The newspapers base this impression on the haste with which democracies continue preparations for war. They suspect that England, in its response to Mr. Hitler, will try to attribute responsibility for a possible war to Germany. Unanimously, the newspapers state that it is expected to produce that characteristic democratic maneuver, to try to change the roles and assign responsibility to Germany. Such a crude attempt - the newspapers continue - cannot deceive anyone, especially since Germany and Italy have repeatedly proven their will for peace: Germany through its well-thought-out initiatives, and Italy through its tireless diplomatic efforts". There cannot be a more conclusive telegram for a general state of mind. But it is not only the great powers' fear of being

responsible for a possible war; we also add everyone's fear of doing it. All the responsible men of Europe at this moment, Chamberlain, Hitler, Mussolini, Daladier and Beck have a complete understanding of what a war could mean for Europe. The victors at the end of the war will be as powerless as the vanquished, and the dominance of the white race in the world will collapse. The colonies were maintained by the prestige of the white race and a war for the colonies, areas of influence, vital space, which would leave Europe desolate, ruined as after the thirty years' war, cannot tempt anyone. No matter how strong, how well armed a State is, it still fears war even if it has a mathematical certainty of final victory. However, no one has such certainty. That is why more than all telegrams, I value as a means of orientation this telegram which denounces the fear of being responsible for a possible war, which implicitly also includes the general fear of war.

I continue to believe in saving peace and I continue to believe in the decisive role of Duke Mussolini. Italy is the active factor and more than ever, the country of classicism, i.e. of the sense of measure, will be the one that will contribute to removing the sinister specter of war. No one has the courage to unleash the war.

It is the only cowardice that can rehabilitate humanity. In a climate of liability fears, initiatives stop, intimidated by the burden of atonements.

Peace is in the making³⁵.

Above the borders

In the flurry of information intended to increase the fear of all peoples, the publication of the exchange of letters between Messrs. Daladier and Hitler brought a touch of humanity.

And one and the other remember that they made the war, that they lived it in all its dramatic unfolding, so two people who breathed that anonymous heroism of the trenches, who knew the absurd existence of man lurking in order to suppress him - and- they presented the titles of mutual understanding.

It is obvious that those who actually made the war cannot desire it, cannot even conceive of it without a shudder of horror. It can be easy for one who has stayed safe from that zone of waiting for death to easily throw

³⁵ Idem, *Diplomații au oprit în loc războiul*. Răspunsul guvernului englez la mesajul d-lui Hitler include noi conversații între Londra și Berlin, în *Ibidem*, XII, nr. 4.149, 30 august 1939, p. 1; supratitlu și subtitlu pe întreaga p. 1.

out the warlike calls and rush right to the tragic denouement. But a former combatant who ended up holding a command post in Stat, a former combatant who can decide on peace or war, will feel the procession of memories curbing any warlike impulsiveness.

In the consciousness of each combatant, the ghosts of dead comrades begin to rise, to parade forgotten images - everything that preserves, unchanged by time, the sensitivity and emotional memory. No one can so easily defeat all these returns that make a procession around the decisions like a chorus in an ancient tragedy, precedes destiny in its implacable sanctions. No one frees himself with a serene soul from the silent grip of memories; no one can easily accept the confrontation with the forgotten images of the war he made.

I also read M. Daladier's letter and M. Hitler's reply—letters intended to form a turning point in the course of events. The gesture of Mr. Daladier, to address Chancellor Hitler directly, has a noble pathos in the nature of the act. It is not addressed to a man who is afraid of the cruel examination of the battlefields, all the tragic silence of the supreme decisions runs through Mr. Daladier's ranks. He feels that he is the exponent of a Nation that made history resound with the footsteps of its victorious armies. But it is precisely this sense of security, of a race in which the memories of Caesar and Vercingetorix are intertwined, precisely this consciousness of strength that gives Mr. Daladier's letter an even greater human value.

Let's not forget that only twenty years separate us from the victory obtained primarily by the French army, no matter how great the devastation of democracy was, none of the great attributes that ensured the victory was lost. Now, having the certainty of the potential of war, Mr. Daladier considers it a duty of human conscience to try to remove the act of devastating madness, to try to save this priceless asset called civilization. The answer given by Chancellor Hitler has the elegance of an adversary's response that refuses to be attributed to aggressive intentions. The praise he gives to French heroism, the insistence with which he emphasizes the evidence of good neighborliness and the acceptance as definitive of the border between the two great nations, give special relief to Chancellor Hitler's reply letter. Especially this phrase we considered appropriate to remember: "Whatever bad things may be said against my method, it will not be denied that I managed, without blood being spilled, to find solutions".

I mix in this confession something more than hopes; and it is not possible for a leader of the destinies of a Nation of eighty million souls to be so blatantly proud of a method - and still have his pride be legitimate -, that

one day he will renounce his method. It is true that before Fuehrer Hitler there was von Stein, then there was Chancellor Bismarck; but the enlargement of Prussia and the realization of the unity of Germany were done through wars. The great, fascinating innovation of Fuehrer Hitler is to have secured a series of astonishing victories "without blood being shed".

Obviously, the German people were forced to some deprivations; but what do these food restrictions mean, these mutilations of individual liberties, when instead the German people were given such a dominant situation, the borders of the Empire were expanded to proportions that would have amazed even Bismarck?

However, it is precisely this method that fascinates the German people. A war?... But then the charm of the miracle no longer exists, because the Fuehrer accepts the dangerous game of chance: he no longer wrests victories from events without subjecting them to that chance check. For a great conqueror of collective sensibility, for a man who knows all the folds of the people's soul, the uncertain paths of war cannot have any seduction: "Whatever may be said against my method, it cannot be denied that I have managed, without blood being spilled, to find solutions".

Naturally, the letter also has some blunt assertions of a twisted logic: "Allow me now, Monsieur Daladier, to ask you: How would you, as a Frenchman, act if, following the outcome of a heroic struggle, one of the provinces of - yours would be separated by a corridor occupied by a foreign power, from a large city, let's say Marseilles, which would prevent it from declaring for France, and if the French settled in that territory were brutally mistreated and murdered "?... So that this passage can then be framed in this gloomy perspective:

"I realize the serious consequences of such a conflict. But I believe that Poland will be the one that will have to suffer the most serious consequences, because in any way a war fought over this issue would end, the Polish state today would have lost in any case".

... To conclude:

"If our peoples continue to throw themselves into a new bloody and destructive war for this reason, this, Mr. Daladier, is not only a cause for sadness for you, but also for me."

When the prospect of war projects such a state of mind, the bridges of a solution "without blood being shed" are still intact...

The peace will be saved³⁶.

³⁶Idem, Above the frontiers, in Ibidem, XII, no. 4.150, 31 August 1939, p. 1; supertitle and subtitle on the whole of p. 1; supertitle, on the whole page: THE

**[The break between war and peace continues.
The Anglo-German negotiations did not bring any change apparent in
the international situation]**

The Prime Minister of Great Britain began his statement in the House of Commons on Tuesday with these words: "The threat of immediate catastrophe has been removed, but I cannot yet say that it has been definitively removed." Measured in words, excessively cautious in optimistic provisions, Mr. Chamberlain gave a breather to humanity tormented by waiting. However, it is not enough to draw the conclusion of a total removal of the conflict. Even neutral states like Switzerland, which closed like a snail, closed their borders; the civilian population on the Rhine border was ordered to evacuate; consumption cards began to be distributed in Germany; The Netherlands has mobilized, and in all countries the soldiers are at their units, which have also occupied the positions intended to defend the borders. However, such an atmosphere does not allow excessive optimism, it shakes even the strongest resistances. But no less, something completely new emerges: the unanimous opposition to the idea of war.

Not only the states in the vicinity of the points of conflict, not only the States that could possibly be caught in this collapse, but even distant countries, completely safe from any participation in a possible war, manifest a fierce will for peace, they consider themselves obliged to facilitate a peaceful resolution of the conflict. It is in this participation in the concern of the directly interested countries an affirmation of the spirit of the unity of human life. No country can count that it could reap some benefits from the disasters that lie in wait for the losers as well as the winners.

The imbalance of the world economy from 1919 until today is the cursed legacy of the last war; or, who is that demented, that reckless statesman, who imagines that a new war would not complete the work of the other, that is, would not totally destroy the world economy? By what miracles would not the same cause produce exactly the same effects?

And let's not forget that in 1914 all states participated in the war with healthy finances, with a balanced economy; we could say that they went on the sinister rampage because of a congestion of prosperity. Today, before the war even begins, the consumption cards come into effect, the gold

FUEHRER LATELY DELIVERED TO MR. HENDERSON the answer to the British note, with the subtitle: The international situation has not changed in any way.

reserves, if not devastated, in any case do not have the integrity of 25 years ago. What to make war on? With credits? To mortgage a victory and that extremely problematic? Then?

It is therefore natural for the participation of distant States, completely outside the threatened area, because the economic ruin of Europe would bring the ruin of the entire world economy. However, it is precisely this solidarity that will force us to put a stop to the aggressive beginnings, to an increase in the will for peace.

But apart from the economic aspect, there is also a strictly military one. In the present situation of armaments, the power of arms imposes on any attacking army a double effective and a doubled strength as armament. The effectiveness of the fire mouths increased the strength of the defense so much that the attackers had to have overwhelming forces and be determined to make great sacrifices. German tactics make the most of the principle of surprise and lightning attack (the famous "Blitzkrieg"). Or, precisely this tactical concept promoted the value of motorization, that is, the maximum development of mechanical means of transport.

When Germany has been discussing the Danzig problem for so long, it sets deadlines by which it is decided to liquidate the problem, it implicitly removes the conditions of surprise, cancels the effectiveness of the lightning attack. The aviation, which, through a stormy action, was supposed to prevent the mobilization, to destroy the concentration centers, sees its task removed because all the troops are in positions ready to receive the attack. Would Germany have given up its doctrine of war? But until now he practiced with rare fidelity the tactical principle of surprise and exploited the effectiveness of the lightning attack. Then what happened?

Nu-i oare legitim să acorzi oarecare temeinicie afirmărilor made by Germany that it does not want to unleash the war? Precisely because everyone has mobilized, the troops have taken a fighting position, I think that the war becomes, if not impossible, in any case very risky for the one who goes on the offensive. We believe that the very appearance of a vast battlefield, which Europe has increasingly accentuated, is a guarantee of peace.

Each country that mobilized its army contributed to a decrease in the possibilities of war. And Germany, through the uproar it caused, determined the removal of the surprise. However, a country that wants to attack does not increase its obstacles, does not create overwhelming difficulties. Removing the surprise, Germany showed its will to provoke a discussion of

all European issues. At most a brutal method of forcing consideration of Axis claims.

And here are the points of support of a lucid optimist³⁷.

**[Poland rejected Germany's proposals
Resolving the conflict peacefully seems an impossibility]**

It is almost certain that the Senate of the Free City of Danzig will solemnly declare its accession to the Reich.

Obviously, this declaration, this political act will have consequences. Germany, like Poland, has mobilized, or is in the process of mobilizing, waiting to see the reactions of Poland, which has already taken all measures to ensure the greatest effectiveness of artillery fire, so that Danzig is reduced to a wasteland agglomeration of smoking ruins.

Germany will wait: Poland attacks the city of Danzig, it will respond without a moment's hesitation with a lightning offensive. So in the final analysis it remains to be seen what Poland will do.

From London and from Paris there was no shortage of exhortations for as much conciliatory spirit as possible, that is, decision in substance and a lot of flexibility in form. These exhortations did not take anything away from Poland's freedom of decision. These exhortations are all the more circumspect since England and France are perfectly aware of a specific state of mind in Poland that can be explained by the experience of Czechoslovakia.

There is no doubt that Poland bitterly regrets the attitude it had exactly one year ago, and in exactly the same circumstances.

Instead of assuring Czechoslovakia of neutrality, it participated in the border rectifications, receiving its share of the benefits upon partition.

However, today when Danzig is discussed, Lithuania raises claims on the city of Vilno, thus another threat and implicitly an extension of the surveillance front beyond the line of East Prussia to the border of Latvia. They are almost exactly the same conditions in which last year's Czechoslovakia surgery was performed. The similarity causes a legitimate susceptibility and a desperate intransigence on the part of Poland. In the

³⁷Ibidem, XII, nr. 4.151, September, 1, p. 1; the article is placed under the supertitle, on the whole page, The break between war and peace continues, respectively the subtitle Anglo-German negotiations did not bring any apparent change in the international situation.

end, than a transaction that might not be, given the precedents, than an introduction to the fourth partition of Poland, rather the unleashing of the catastrophe, the war between the two groups of forces. And - unfortunately - the Polish temperament also works. Germany does not ignore all this political psychology of Poland and hence the method it uses.

The annexation of Danzig is proclaimed by the Senate of the Free City.

What will Poland do?

This is the question that can only be answered by negotiations or war. The Polish government has the right to take any attitude regarding the German proposals.

In these moments, national prides are overexcited, the elements in dispute are almost no longer noticeable, declamatory attitudes predominate, but precisely this strain would require a total reduction of passionate impulses to facilitate the exclusive action of the judicial forces, to be able to immobilize the senses of responsibility human.

What will Poland do?

We repeat the question that summarizes the situation. It is almost a certainty that when these lines appear, Danzig will have declared itself German, and Poland will have taken the attitude that it will have considered more suitable to its interests. Military attitude, i.e. war, political attitude, i.e. a conference meant to find a balance of interests and not a provisional balance disturbed in spring and autumn.

He refuses logic, he refuses the instinct to preserve civilization to believe in war. A passionate congestion may cause the accident of right judgment, but it still activates the forces of reason.

The day of September 2 is decisive.

But in all this disorientation, in all this hubbub of excited pride, let's keep calm. Attentive spectators of the events, we have only one discipline: our Romanian interests.

And exclusively of these interests³⁸.

³⁸ Ibidem, XII, nr. 4.152, September, 2, 1939, p. 1; the article is placed under the headline, on the whole page, Poland rejected Germany's proposals, respectively the subtitle Peaceful resolution of the conflict seems an impossibility.

Our duty

So Europe has become a theater of war again.

Only 21 years have passed since the day when the last shot was fired, when the bugler sounded the cease-fire for a long time. It was believed, then, that each of those who had made the war, would keep his memory so strongly, that he would become an active factor in the defense of peace. Those who know what a war means and another one begins have not traveled to the secret worlds of non-being.

Arguments will be invoked from both sides; each of the belligerents will seek to prove the legitimacy of his action. But we are not a forum for judging the events of others, but a forum for judging our own interests.

Until the pact concluded between Germany and Soviet Russia, the necessity of joining one of the two great political religions of revolution and counter-revolution, of Bolshevism and anti-Bolshevism, of nationalism and Marxism, could still be invoked. Today, such a delimitation of politics through the affinity of ideology, of the conception of the State, of man, of history, appears completely naive. "With Christ against Antichrist" remains a slogan of dangerous candor.

We can only be with our Romanian interests. Any action taken apart from the selfish line of these interests can mean a guilty bleeding, a waste of Romanian lives.

There will be no lack of idealistic declarations, each party engaged in the struggle will seek to prove the righteousness of the intentions for which they are fighting, the sacrifice for a noble principle, on whose victory the definitive establishment of peace will depend in the future. Let us only believe in ourselves, let us only have one frontier to defend, let us only know the line of our interests. Whoever would like to try idealistic arpeggios, intended to convince us to an untimely escheat from our vigilant reserve, will not speak under the inspiration of national interests.

The events that began to follow each other will harass us with their unexpectedness. We will daily have the sensation of taking off in an airplane with those sudden, vertical falls, in what are called "air gaps", or the similar startles when we go to the "Montagne russe". Today's certainty can be denied to us tomorrow; hence the need for a very cautious reserve and watchful eyes of spectators.

Let's not lose sight of the fact that we still don't know how far the mutual commitments from the German-Russian pact extend. A Soviet military mission is in Berlin, and who can say with certainty that Soviet

participation will be limited to air force collaboration? Both Berlin and Moscow have proven that they know the art of dissimulation in order to better hide a secret, so the military pact between Germany and Soviet Russia can, it is almost certain, have a series of surprises in store for us.

It is not known, but it is infinitely probable, unless there is an agreement between Germany and Soviet Russia, with the objective of dividing Poland, the fourth partition. Germany would advance to the old borders between Austria and Russia, between Germany and Russia, and the Soviets would do the same.

The threat from Fuehrer Hitler's last statement regarding the fate of Poland, could very well have as a point of reference a secret content of the military pact concluded with Soviet Russia. Moreover, there is no need to try to decipher it, to struggle with all kinds of hypotheses, because the events will quickly reveal to us the entire military content of the pact. But let us content ourselves with taking note of the existence of a military pact between Germany and Soviet Russia and outline our attitudes in relation to this situation. Not a gesture, not a word unheeded; for us there is only one policy of interest national: a good reserve. We do not have to participate in this sinister duel of forces. The reserve, however, also involves a very intense military training and a very severe moral discipline.

The stronger we are, the more our reserve will be respected; the more morally disciplined we are, the more perfect we will be in our lucid reserve. An intense arming, a refreshing of the military training of each soldier, this is what we have to do in the first place.

And parallel to this military training, we are required to learn moral discipline. Let's not get caught in the cobwebs, let's not always be unconscious agents of panic, through all the chasms we make to circulate.

The eagerness to appear well-informed makes many invent all kinds of absurdities that cause disorientation, anxiety, disturbing the normal life of the population. Every lie disseminated should be considered as an action against the interests of the country and repressed by individuals. At the same time, the clear awareness of the fierce times we live in.

It is an age in which comfortable living is forbidden to us. We live as Nietzsche predicted, in the storm of dangers. We will get used to it. And let's fill each day with our dignity, with our decision, with our strong will to regain the lost time.

Let's not forget, let's always repeat as a saving prayer: armament and national discipline.

The times do not forgive the lazy. History records serfs in the cemetery of oblivion. Reserve, attention, discipline, this is what the imperative of this dramatic current situation consists of³⁹.

Strict national discipline

The slowness of the operations on the western front produced a natural bewilderment, this cadence is all the more striking, as the German offensive is unfolding in the East with lightning speed.

You have the impression of a wildly unleashed hurricane, to uproot the trees, to blow the roofs off the houses, as if no resistance would have opposed it.

The German deluge is forcing the Poles to retreat in a hurry, so that by forming a narrow front - as you clench your open fingers to make a fist -, they can put up a resistance with more chances of victory, they can try a battle with all their forces reunited. The intention of the German offensive is to force Poland to ask for peace; hence the whirlwind of the cadence, hence the focus of attention only on the East, where it is not entirely excluded that the political objective (more than the military) will be achieved.

The hypothesis was also examined in London. The "Manchester Guardian" writes, under the signature of its diplomatic editor:

"It is obvious that Germany aims first of all to eliminate Poland, to then turn to the Western powers and other countries in Central Europe."

But this hypothesis did not shake England's decision to carry the war to the end. A war of grinding the German powers, a war without resounding victories, a war of stretching the muscles of the opponent.

From the first days, the character of the war, as conceived by England, was observed: instead of bombardment with explosives, millions of manifestos were circulated, with the objective of the moral dissociation of the German resistance.

³⁹ Idem, our debt, in Ibidem, XII, no. 4.156, September 6, 1939, p. 1; the general supertitle of the page: Romania will keep its peaceful attitude in its foreign policy until now, and the general subtitle: The Government will pursue a good understanding with all its neighbors and is ready to renew the proposal of a non-aggression pact.

The theme of the manifesto: "You do not have the means to wage a long war... Our resources and our reserves and those of our allies, in arms and supplies, are immense."

It is not only a threat; it is England's very conception of war. The economic blockade of Germany - because England considers Germany capable of a huge strain - crushing for any adversary, provided that this strain is not of long duration. In the English conception, Germany does not have ample breathing space to be able to wage a long-lasting war.

Hence that proud assertion: "We are too strong to be broken by blows and can wear you out without escape."

So England did not enter into a short war; it may last four, five, and even seven years - that is, exactly as long as it will be necessary to cause the moral dissociation of the German force and, as a result, the dissociation of the military force.

Will you succeed?

No one can predict the physical resistance of a people to a great moral tension. But apart from the resistance capacity of the Germans, there is also Soviet Russia, — a huge reservoir of supply.

How much assistance will Soviet Russia give?

Can anyone say that after a while Soviet interests will no longer match German interests?

Here is an unknown: we would say that, for Germany, it is really an unknown drama. England will continue the war, and will wait, with that cold obstinacy that forms the decisive element in defining the English character.

A people hostile to confessions by gesture and word, silent and focused, you never know the intensity of the feelings of friendship that they bear to someone; but you can feel the immensity of hatred. When the fog of hatred has taken control of the English will, then you know that he will not tire, he will strain with all his strength, he will pursue the same goal in all ways: the downing of the opponent.

Today's war is a historical conflict between English imperialism and German imperialism. And two rebels collide, two huge forces have engaged in battle, a battle that should not be summarized only at the battle front line, but continues everywhere, to recruit allies, to destroy alliances.

One trembles at the thought of the proportions of this battle with material and spiritual, military and political fronts, seen and unseen. A formidable military potential, in battle with a formidable economic potential, a terrible battle, a battle of extermination.

Who can predict the outcome of this clash of forces?

It would only seem that we will have an innovation of methods.

As England pursues the moral dissociation of German resistance—through this deliberate peace offer addressed to the German people, not the German government—it is to be hoped that the civilian population will be spared bombing, and instead of explosives, will receive manifestos designed to thwart the censors. , to animate the hypothetical discontent of the population against the government.

At least with that to console poor humanity, so that the unarmed, the elderly, women and children are safe from air attacks. We feel a pang of heart when we have come to formulate such timid wishes: to wait for a flimsy protection for humanity to emerge from an act of political tactics...

The war will be lasting. We remember chapters from history: the seven-year, thirty-year, one-hundred-year war. They seemed to us strange inventions, almost the stuff of legend. Who knows if we will not be given the sentence of such an experience?...

The war will be long lasting...

But as we all prepare when a long winter is announced, so let's organize ourselves for our long neutral expectation. With our souls torn by the tragic absurdity of the show, we will keep all the strict discipline that the times impose on us. No one is sure of anyone or anything; hence, the necessity of a straining of all labor powers.

Let's double the work, let's produce as much as possible, and from the yield of the work let's increase the military potential.

Neutrality is guaranteed by the war potential of your army, it is guaranteed by a severe national discipline, it is guaranteed by the seriousness of the understanding of these terrible times. Come on - and in everything let's think exclusively from the perspective of Romanian interests!...⁴⁰

The rebuke of human conscience

Some news about the atrocities committed by the Germans in Poland were published - obviously, in the natural struggle between the telegraph agencies of the countries at war.

⁴⁰ Idem, *Strict national discipline*, în Ibidem, XII, nr. 4.161, September, 11, 1939, p. 1.

But the Germans did not remain indifferent, and wanted to give an immediate denial, through the testimony of an American journalist sent to the spot. The German press reacted violently against the fabrications intended to dishonor the German people. But in this prompt reaction, in the tumult of indignation caused by the statements of foreign telegraphic agencies, we see a different psychology emerging, a different conception of war.

No one has the courage to present himself in the armor of cynical brutality; no one bothers to give the force that accent of inhumanity, that wild unleashing meant to create an atmosphere of horror.

Let us not forget that we are in the fourteenth day of the war, and no capital has been bombed, no city reduced to a few smoking ruins. Naturally, every country entered into the war - as well as neutral countries - is mentally prepared for any sinister attempt. The citizens drive around with gas protection masks, they know the shelters where they can take refuge immediately in case of an alarm, they have the agility of their movements because they have done exercises, but so far there has been no need for passive defense instructions.

Without any record, without having established a prior agreement, all the belligerent countries sought to avoid the bombing of the cities. The aviation kept its strictly military objectives, it refrained from raining on defenseless cities quantities of explosives intended to mutilate poor human beings.

It would have been shameful bravery, it would have been an act of criminal cowardice, an unnecessary loss of courage of those pilots who would have faced all the risks, in order to machine-gun the peaceful population from the heights.

And it seems that we are allowed to hope for a finalization of this procedure not imposed by any pact, but a simple, spontaneous compulsion of consciences, a simple confession of another human conception.

It is true that no people is pierced by hatred, no one has set out to fight driven by a wild impulse, ready to commit the most terrible acts, ready to burden their conscience with all the crimes, in order to quench a terrible thirst for revenge.

Troops fight out of duty; the momentum of hostile starts is missing. You get the impression that everyone realizes the immense evil in which they are forced to participate.

There are acts of bravery, there are tens of thousands of unknown heroisms; every army can enumerate its legitimations of a pride—but all these valors cannot testify to a tempestuous elan, an impetuous outpouring of hatred in acts of fearful ferocity. It is not only the concern to preserve a humane demeanor, there is also the fear of public opinion in all countries, which remained neutral. Every war has an end. No matter how strong a country is, it cannot afford the luxury of turning the whole world against it. But this fear of practicing the policy of provocation is not determined only by war, that is, it does not suit anyone to increase their battle fronts, to have nine battle fronts, but much more the countries are afraid of the hatreds that could provoke, for the day when the war would end.

And the bravest people toil and the most warlike secretly comfort the hope of the quiet days of peace.

The mechanical conditions of modern warfare put individual qualities on the back burner, the value of the machine being decisive. The most skilled pilot, a frenzy of dangers, a challenger of distances, will not be able to assert all these attributes of courage in an aerial battle, if his plane only flies at a speed of 400 kilometers per hour and the opponent's at 500 km. However, this embarrassing subordination of man to the machine - his personal value being dependent on the machine - cannot stimulate warlike passions; the man feels like an appendage, he is humiliated...

The will of heroic affirmation, in modern war, finds its field very limited; everything appears as a competition between brands, a clash of patents. Man is more heroic when he watches the attack than when he gives it. In such conditions, peace is a harbor towards which his whole being aspires, and each country thinks especially about the relations it could have, after the war is over, with the other countries.

Let's not forget that today's war will grind a lot of energies, it will exhaust the moral powers as well as the material powers of each participant. When the war is over, no one will be strong enough to scare anyone. Then he will find out, in any country, what remained neutral for the entire duration, the dispositions of opinion that will be determined during the war.

No one has the courage to sow the horror, because no one imagines that victory can ensure his impunity through a formidable reaction of public opinion. The care of the atmosphere that he could create through thoughtless gestures, through acts of revolting atrocities, creates restraint, reduces the destructive starts that could germinate in some instincts.

There is one more aspect: the more the destructive power of man-made machines increases, the more (through a kind of striving for balance) the human sensitivity of the armies participating in the war increases. And nowhere are those roars of warlike enthusiasm recorded, that collective delirium that forms the introduction to the heroic symphony.

You feel an acceptance of a tragic necessity.

For the first time since the beginning, people hate war - not as a consequence of years of hardship, of misery, of crushing all the jolts of excitement.

This war didn't start with just a piece of bread, but it started without even being able to find enthusiasm. Something gray, cold, desolate, defines this war. But this restraint from horrors, this human rectification of machines of a sinister perfection, this housekeeping of the civilian population, indicates a sense of responsibility before a tribunal of human conscience, which exists above artillery duels, flights of bombing planes.

It had a profoundly human meaning, the indignation with which the German press rejected the slanderous accusations regarding the bombing of the famous church in Czestochowa, where the miracle-working icon of the Black Madonna is located.

In the face of technical perfection, the human conscience begins to rise in reproach⁴¹.

Soviet Russia and Poland

Soviet Russia maintained impeccable neutrality throughout the conflict between Germany and Poland. In no way were the Polish armies embarrassed in their operations

the fear of a threat from the east, which would have forced the supreme command to detach units to strengthen the border from Soviet Russia. The attitude of strict neutrality of the U.S.S.R. it made it easier for Poland to oppose the totality of the forces in the war with Germany. What no one expected happened: that the Polish army allowed itself to be continuously maneuvered and, cautiously avoiding a decisive battle, pushed the retreat until it reached the border of Soviet Russia (U.S.S.R.). However, the situation required an examination by the Soviet government.

⁴¹ Idem, *The rebuke of the human conscience*, in Ibidem, XII, nr. 4.165, September, 15, 1939, p. 1.

During the German-Soviet negotiations, as well as on the occasion of Mr. von Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow, the line of Germany's claims against Poland was fixed on the map. But, through the continuous retreat of the Polish army, through the destruction of the resistance front, the German army in pursuit of the same Polish army far exceeded the line established in Moscow.

In the German-Soviet non-aggression pact there is a clause that provides for consultations in case the interests of one of the two countries are affected. The government in Moscow tasked its military attaché in Berlin to clarify Germany's intentions, who made it clear that only strictly military considerations compel it to cross the established line, because when in the west it has to deal with the Franco-English front, it cannot leave in behind her a strong and intact Polish army and she is forced to continue pursuing the Polish army, if necessary even to the Russian front.

Obviously, the German point of view related to the military situation was just; that is why Moscow sought to examine the new situation created by the Polish army's inability to resist in order to conclude a stable front, which would allow the rear reorganization of a State life. However, according to the approximate calculations of the Soviet government, 2,000,000 Polish soldiers, accompanied by several million refugees, would cross the Soviet border, invading the fortified area, from which even the native population was removed.

These were the two interests whose conciliation formed the objective of the negotiations carried out by the Soviet military attaché in Berlin with the heads of the German army.

Back in Moscow, the Soviet military attaché brought the German proposals. Based on these proposals, Germany accepts the Soviet thesis to occupy the regions populated by Belarusians and Ukrainians, in order to bring peace and pacification and to be able to facilitate the formation of a protection region for refugees.

But the Soviet government insisted that this action could not be interpreted as a denial of neutrality, instead of being taken for what it is, free access for the Polish army to be disarmed and interned, that is, to create a area for sheltering the defeated Polish army and refugees.

What must be emphasized is that both Germany and Soviet Russia are in favor of maintaining an independent Polish State, a state that will be interspersed between the border of Germany and Soviet Russia. Of course,

the parts claimed by Germany and the parts from Ukraine and Belarus will be broken up from the Poland of yesteryear.

For us, what is of overwhelming importance is the care shown by the Soviet government not to interpret its attitude as a reflexive gesture towards the collapse of the Polish state. As long as there was a legal government, Soviet Russia respected the treaties that existed between it and Poland.

The attitude of Soviet Russia and both the note delivered to the Polish ambassador in Moscow and the note sent by the Soviet government to all the States that have relations with the Union of Soviet Republics, as well as the speech given on Radio-Moscow by Mr. Molotov, the president of the Council of People's Commissars, cannot be overturned. and people's commissar for foreign affairs, affirms the same firm will to prevent upheavals. Soviet Russia did not violate its neutrality, it acted in the logical line of its interests only when "the Polish state and its government effectively ceased to exist."

This action, preceded by all the clarifications intended to remove even the possibility of interpreting a denial of attitude, as a strengthening, as a relief of the Soviet policy, was the note declaring that "it will observe the policy of neutrality towards all countries and Germany and Italy and England and France, as well as towards neutral countries like Finland, Romania, Bulgaria, etc."

There could not be a better confirmation of the policy of neutrality that Romania has established.

The attitude so blatant in its neutral assertions, of Soviet Russia, implies on our part a more frequent direct connection with Moscow. And the change made in the last few days, by sending Mr. Gheorghe Davidescu to Moscow, indicates a natural accentuation of relations with a State that, like Romania, observes the policy of neutrality. A sense of nuanced foresight defines our policy, which legitimizes a particular calmness and finding the normal rhythm.

For the ramblings of all nonsense, I recommend only one word: CONSPIRACY⁴².

⁴² Idem, *Soviet Russia and Polish*, în *Ibidem*, XII, nr. 4.169, September, 19, 1939, p. 1.

European responsibilities

The article in "Popolo d'Italia" and the speech delivered in front of the fascist leaders in Bologna correspond to the same need to give due relief to Italian politics. This policy of anxious vigilance, of non-intervention in the conflict, of continuous efforts to stop the development of the conflict whose catastrophic consequences for European civilization he sees, is the exclusive work of Duke Mussolini.

A profoundly realistic intelligence, refractory to the chimeras that often serve to cover precise interests; a political spirit with a rare power of scrutinizing the future, Duke Mussolini believes that he can still remove that huge clash of forces on the Western front. He thinks logically, this pacification is necessary to save Europe from a terrible desolation.

The intervention was determined by the situation created by the rapid liquidation of Poland and the intervention of Soviet Russia, which occupied two thirds of the territory of the former Polish State.

Let us examine the Italian point of view.

As long as there was (even for a small space), a Polish government, an army continuing to maintain a line of resistance, England and France were bound to defend Poland, continuing the war with Germany. However, it happened (against all expectations), not only the defeat of the Polish army and the evaporation of the government, but also the entry of Soviet Russia, which agreed with Germany to divide Poland, even delimiting its borders. By nothing, Soviet Russia did not show the intention to consider this provisional occupation, when, apart from the mobilization of 100 divisions in Poland, the organization of the territory to become an integral part of Soviet Russia began. Sovietization has already begun in the agricultural regions, which is a definitive indication. However, England and France want to restore Poland to the borders it had before September 1. It could only be idealized, admitting a final defeat of Germany, than to continue the war also against Soviet Russia which occupies two thirds of Poland. Up to this day no act has taken place on the part of the two great guarantor powers, except the Maisky-Halifax meeting, during which the various aspects of the present situation were examined at length, Mr. Maisky promising Lord Halifax to take immediate contact with his government and to answer in short order its question regarding the future attitude of Soviet Russia. But no summons was formulated, the point of view of the territorial integrity of Poland was not decisively raised,

everything remained confused, in a tragic imprecision for the Poles. Or - writes "Popolo d'Italia", under the direct inspiration of Duke Mussolini -, "the guarantees were given to the State in its entirety. They were, in other words, addressed to any threat and any danger, they were made for the intangibility of Poland since Versailles".

But you cannot have two attitudes: to carry the war to the end with one of the occupiers of Poland, and to ignore the presence of the other.

Hence the formulation of Duke Mussolini:

"The governments in Paris and London, out of a wise intention not to widen the conflict, have so far not reacted to the fait accompli of the Soviet Union; but by acting in this way, they compromised their moral justification to tend to the revocation of Germany's fait accompli".

Hence the Duke's statement to use these moments when "the armed masses have not yet met".

Naturally, the Italian point of view could not be shared by England and France, because it would mean devaluing the guarantees given or what they want, given to another State.

That is why Duke Mussolini's call cannot be heard.

Interesting to note is Italy's strict logic, which places the war within the most paradoxical narrowness. It is an endless war; it is an absurd war in that victory can no longer tempt any of the parties, because a decision can only be expected from the grinding over time of the powers in battle. However, the grinding of the forces is done almost in the same proportion, and in the final, the difference is very small.

If the war continues, given the need to save prestige, "a peace based on German victories would mean a dishonorable peace. It would be a peace that would certainly allow new aggression and new war", writes the "Daily Herald".

Italy has fixed a clear position of determined neutrality: "It responds to our national interests, our political agreements and pacts, as well as the desire of all peoples, including the German people, to at least localize the conflict", declared Duke Mussolini. It is in this repetition of the desire to localize the conflict that proof of a sense of European responsibility dominates Duke Mussolini's political sensibility. Italy facilitated the maintenance of large sectors of peace, but however tight the logic of Duke Mussolini's judgment may be, it will not be able to determine a stop to the continuation of the war on the Western front. Due to his neutral position, not being engaged in a decisive measurement of military forces, Duke

Mussolini can have a calm judgment, can scrutinize with lucidity the fatal consequences of this war.

What dominates in judging the situation are not the present relations, but the future relations, the social-political topography of tomorrow's Europe. Rationalism indicates a sudden braking, the courage to examine the dramatic data of a new situation, as it emerges from the ruins of Poland. He who thinks about tomorrow, that tomorrow of tragic fatal convulsions after every war - cannot help but find in Italy's attitude the echo of his own fears.

In a Europe ravaged by passions, Italy keeps the balance of right judgment, that decency that many lack.

Repeating some truths can sometimes also lead to some rediscovery of common sens⁴³.

⁴³ Idem, *European responsibilities*, în *Ibidem*, XII, nr. 4.177, September, 27, 1939, p. 1.



Philosophy



BLAGA AND NOICA ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE CATEGORY ONE MULTIPLE

Ioan N. ROȘCA¹

Abstract: *Blaga and Noica were concerned with the category One multiple, which contains in itself the contradiction between a thesis (One) and an antithesis (multiple). They analyzed the mentioned category from different perspectives, but both argued for its importance in knowledge and culture. Blaga argued that the use of the One multiple category contributes to the deepening of the mysteries through a so-called minus of knowledge, and Noica argued that the same category ensures a plus of knowledge through a maximum expansion of creative freedom and the open nature of culture. The two positions are complementary, because any expansion of the known area is also accompanied by a widening of the boundaries of the unknown. Both positions are valid and further valorization.*

Keywords: transcendent, *One multiple* as possible cognitive reporting to the transcendent, dogma, minus knowledge, plus knowledge, *One multiple* as a possible way of understanding the cultural relationship between One and the multiple.

1. Blaga about the multiple One as a transfigured antinomy

Lucian Blaga and Constantin Noica were concerned with the multiple one category within different theoretical approaches: the first analyzing dogmas as transfigured antinomies and distinguishing them from the usual antinomies of knowing the sensible world through the senses or other types that do not have the imprint of dogma; the second through his analysis regarding the degree of freedom of cultures. Despite the different paths taken, both thinkers appreciate the admission of the category one multiple as marking a fruitful novelty in the sphere of knowledge and culture.

In his work *The Dogmatic Aeon* (1930), the first of his trilogy of knowledge, Blaga was concerned with the so-called dogmatic method of knowing, starting from the analysis of some fundamental dogmas of religion, in this case of the Orthodox religion, which include the category one multiple, such as those relating to the trinity and the double nature of Jesus Christ. He

¹ Academy of Romanian Scientists, 3 Ilfov, 050044, Bucharest, Romania

believed that religious dogmas do not come solely from faith, but are also a result of intellectual knowledge. More precisely, he argued that, from an intellectual point of view, religious dogmas or non-religious ones are transfigured antinomies. They are antinomies because they contain a logical contradiction, but they also have an intellectual aspect, since they are formulated with the help of concepts. At the same time, they are transfigured or dogmatic antinomies in that the transcendent itself, which I cannot logically explain, determines, as Blaga says, a deformation of the logical laws and, thus, an indication of it in a transfigured way, in a appearance other than a logical one, shrouding him in an aura of mystery. For example, the dogma which holds that God is a being in three persons is unrationalizable, illogical, and, not being logically admissible, presents the divine Being as a mysterious being. The dogma of the trinity would somehow lose its dogmatic, illogical character, only if it affirmed that God is a single being, but who has three ways of manifestation, because such an affirmation can be accepted rationally, logically.

Given the fact that religious dogmas appear in statements about the transcendent, Blaga argued that the method of dogmatic knowledge can be found not only in religion, but also in philosophy (in metaphysics), but he specified that not every metaphysical report opposed to the transcendent has character dogmatic.

In this context, he distinguished several possibilities by which thinkers of different times related to the transcendent.

1) "The transcendent is rationalizable and formulable" (eg: Eleats, Aristotle, Spinoza, Leibniz).

2) "The transcendent is experiential through a kind of intellectual intuition and describable at least metaphorically, or negatively formulable" (eg: Plotinus - the unique, Schelling - the absolute, Bergson - consciousness, Goethe - original phenomena).

3) "The transcendent is rationalizable and formulable dialectically" (eg: Hegel)

4) "The transcendent is unrationalizable and unformulable" (eg: agnosticism, Kantian criticism).

5) "The transcendent is non-rationalizable, but formulable" (eg: the dogmatism of Philo, Gnostic, Christian).²

Therefore, Blaga distinguished the dogmatic reporting to the transcendent, either religious or philosophical, expressed by the last possibility

² Lucian Blaga, *The Knowledge Trilogy Trilogia cunoașterii (The Knowledge Trilogy)*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2019, p. 208

(no. 5), by which the transcendent is indicated by contradictory concepts, remaining non-rationalizable, mysterious, from the other types of reporting (no. 1- 4), which is achieved either through rationalizing concepts (pos. 1 and 3), or through intuition and not through concepts (pos. 2), or by considering the transcendent as non-rationalizable and denying the validity of the categories applied to it because they generate antinomies (pos. 4). Among the non-dogmatic positions, Blaga insisted on Kant's conception and Hegel's conception, which admitted that the reference to the transcendent is made through pairs of opposites, theses and antitheses, but did not grant them a dogmatic character, whereby the transcendent to appear transfigured, mysterious.

Kant argued that reason that refers to the transcendent reaches antinomies, that is, contradictory but equally justified assertions, because both have their arguments and cannot be controlled by experience. Hence his conclusion that the transcendent is unknowable and cannot be rendered by categories. For example, the thesis of the first Kantian antinomy states that the world has a beginning in time and is limited in space, and the antithesis admits, on the contrary, that the world is infinite in time and infinite in space. But, as Blaga noted, antinomies of the Kantian type do not have the character of dogmas, because they are not inscribed "in the very nature of the transcendent", as the dogmatic method claims. Or, "As long as the theses of the human mind do not admit to be confronted directly with the transcendent, the Kantian theory that the transcendent is unrationalizable and unformulable remains a simple statement, like the rationalist thesis, like the dogmatic thesis."³ Unlike Kantian agnosticism and rationalist procedures, which reconcile theses and antitheses with logical procedures, the dogmatic method considers that contradictory claims cannot be reconciled by a synthesis, because they are specific to the transcendent being itself.

With regard to Hegel, the Romanian philosopher noted the fact that he, supporting the transition from thesis to antithesis and their resolution in a synthesis, operated a transition from the metaphysical panel of categories to the relative, sensitive plane engaged by that transition, which it takes place in the real and therefore relative plane and not in the transcendent, in the absolute. We recall the fact that the first series of triadic categories in the Hegelian *Logic* are: *Pure Being – nothingness – becoming; quality - quantity - measure* etc. *Pure Being* imposes itself on thinking as a transcensus, as an absolute, because the original source from which everything that is sensible flows, cannot possess any sensible determination.

³ Ibid, p. 210

But something devoid of determinations amounts to nothing in relation to the sensuous which is full of determinations. According to Hegel, the contradiction between *the thesis that affirms Pure Being* and *the antithesis that admits nothingness* is resolved in their *synthesis*, in the reciprocal transition between thesis and antithesis, which implies a becoming. But the becoming can only be of something determined, sensible, of a quality. However, as Blaga repeatedly stated, the true dogma is in opposition to the sensible, which it transcends, the opposition being constitutive of the dogma and somehow imposed by the mysterious character of the transcendent.

According to Blaga, "although the proper field of dogmatic thinking is metaphysics", dogmatic or transfigured antinomies can also be found in the scientific field. He adds that although "the dogmatic can neither be verified nor denounced directly by experience, because a dogmatic formula will always exceed experience", yet "indirectly experience could serve as a basis and justification for formulas of a dogmatic nature"⁴. As striking examples, which admit transfigured antinomies in the sphere of scientific knowledge, Blaga referred to the cohabitation in physics between *quantum theory* (of Max Planck) and *wave mechanics* (of Louis de Broglie), by which it is admitted that light has a *corpuscular* and *undulatory* character, and to *the vitalist conception* (of Max Driesch) in biology of entelechy or finality, according to which "entelechy is capable of *acts* but not *energy*" or "entelechy is *aspatial* but manifests *in space*."⁵ "Such formulas," he argued, "would come into being through the equally justified aspiration of 'two archetypal phenomena' that exclude each other, to substitute for one experience."⁶

Blaga considered that the transfigured antinomies from metaphysics and those from particular sciences denote the presence of the intellect, constrained by reasons that may come from the very specifics of metaphysics or from experience to support them. It is about an intellect that no longer respects the logical laws inherent to it, it is no longer *enstatic*, but it is one that leaves the sphere of logic, leaves itself, is *ecstatic*. *The ecstatic intellect*, through its *ecstasies*, realizes a knowledge, but not one with a plus sign, which brings an increase of logical knowledge, but one with a minus sign, a *minus knowledge*, which increases the halo of mystery that surrounds *positive knowledge*. In other words, Blaga argued that a knowledge, whether metaphysical or scientific, to the extent that it operates with transfigured antinomies, not only does not elucidate its object of knowledge, but even increases its aura of mystery, as the background of these antinomies. He also did not minimize the

⁴ Ibid, p. 217

⁵ Ibid, p. 231

⁶ Ibid, p. 217

importance of enstatic knowledge, but even specified that *the ecstatic method of dogmatism* comes in only after all *enstatic attempts* have been exhausted. According to him, behind any familiar objects there is something mysterious. The enstatic direction aims to reduce the mystery of objects, realizing a *plus-knowledge*, while the second direction enhances the mystery through a *minus-knowledge*.

Given the fact that the transfigured and mysterious object of dogmas can be diverse, belonging to the theological or metaphysical perspective, but also to particular sciences, the author of the Dogmatic Aeon concludes that "the dogmatic mystery is plural" or heterogeneous.⁷ According to him, the "felt world" is only "a complex of signs of the mystery", and these "signs" or "symptoms" can be constitutive and integrated into the mystery, and then the knowledge is realistic, or they can be simple subjective reflections of the mystery, and then knowledge is illusory.⁸ But even the "archetypal phenomena," he added, "although obtained by the reductive processes of the enstatic intellect, do not cease to be 'mysteries.'⁹

We would say, following the meaning of Blagian thought, that behind sensible things, with their perceptible attributes, lies the mystery of their specific essence, usually defined by proximate genus and specific difference, the essence of the species, once defined, is embedded in the mystery of the genus, this is understretched by the mystery of the living world, or, respectively, of the non-living world, etc. By incorporating any known object into a more comprehensive system, there is an amplification of plus-knowledge, but on any level of positive knowledge there is also room for minus-knowledge, which increases from one level to another.

2. Noica about the category *One multiple* in the context of the analysis of the degree of freedom of cultures

In his book *The European Cultural Model* (1993)¹⁰, Constantin Noica started from the premise that any cultural creation is an expression of human freedom, and human freedom presupposes a certain detachment from the concrete-historical conditions of human life, including from the defining spirit

⁷ Ibid, p. 2011

⁸ Ibid, p. 221

⁹ Ibid, p. 215

¹⁰ Constantin Noica, *Modelul cultural european (European Cultural Model)*, Humanitas, 1993 (The work originally appeared in German, under the title *De dignitate Europae, 1933*, Criterion, 1988.)

embedded in the guiding ideas or rules of a culture at a given time and constituting the unity or One of that culture. As creative freedom means exceptions to given cultural rules, a certain culture can be characterized as more or less open to creative freedom depending on the degree to which its rules allow exceptions to these rules, in other words according to the way in which understand the ratio of one to multiple

Cultural innovations that appear as exceptions to the rules, from the guiding ideas of a culture also imply a certain understanding of the unity-multiplicity, One-multiple relationship.

Considering the examples provided by the history of culture, Noica concluded: "There are five possible ratios between the One and the Multiple:

1. One and its repetition;
2. One and its variation;
3. One in Multiple;
4. One and Multiple;
5. One multiple."¹¹

In his book on the *European Cultural Model*, the author analyzed and exemplified each of the five cultural ways of understanding the relationship between the one and the many.

1) *On the lowest rung of admitting creative freedom* are cultures that reject renewals, exceptions to the rule. Thus, Noica appreciated, it was *the totemic cultures* (primitive religious, but also non-religious), which showed a zero degree of freedom towards the renewals that appeared within them and which they did not tolerate. So are, he considered, the different types of cultures, including "from the immediate historical life", which preserved the totemic spirit, as is also *the technical-scientific civilization*, whose engineering spirit also penetrated the "higher human areas"¹². These cultures admit only *the repetition of One*, that is, of the standard explanation on which they focus. Opposing renewal, such cultures are dogmatic in the usual sense of the term dogmatism, *non-blagian*, cultures with imperative attitudes, which oppose any deviations from the promoted rules.

2) *On the second step* are the cultures that have a certain degree of freedom with regard to renewals, but a minimal freedom, in the sense that they admit exceptions, but only as appearances of the common fund, demanding their compliance with the standard explanations. They admit the *One that manifests itself varied in multiplicity* and not as such, but they consider the variations as lacking, however, their own essentiality, so that they only confirm

¹¹ Ibid, p. 44

¹² Ibid, p. 14

the common ground. Noica appreciated that at this level are *the older (Mosaic) or newer (Islam) monotheistic cultures*, or *the political ones based on the constitution* (but also others, of a different kind). Indeed, for Mosaicism, for example, Christianity only confirms the laws of Moses through the teachings of Jesus Christ, who would not be a hypostasis of Divinity. Likewise, any constitution-based political culture demands that all other laws be constitutional.

3) *The third stage*, with a higher degree of freedom and knowledge, is occupied by the cultures that give exceptions a certain essentiality, in the sense that they reflect, as a differentiated manifestation, the common background of the entire culture. The examples given by Noica are *pantheistic religious cultures* or *panlogistic scientific creations*. Pantheism considers that God (*theos*) is present in the entire created universe (*pan*), without, however, identifying the Creator with the creation, the divine One present in multiple with the multiplicity itself. Similarly, panlogistic scientific creations support the presence of logic in any particular science, but in each, in a different form, through other laws.

4) *On the fourth*, and higher, level of freedom and knowledge are placed the cultures that give the same importance to both their own rules and exceptions, that is, they place the same value emphasis on both the One and the multiple. According to Noica, *polytheistic religions* and *moral and legal creations* have always been of this kind, as well as *Plato's conception of the essences of things*. In other words, they are the conceptions that do not make a hierarchy between the professed values, whether religious, moral or legal, and, as such, admit that the new values (exceptions) are of equal importance to the standard values.

5) *Finally*, the freest and most creative would be the culture that asserts itself only through exceptions, so that exceptions become the rule or the rule would consist of exceptions, that is, One would be a One multiple. It is, Noica believes, *about medieval, modern, contemporary European culture*, which he calls *the European cultural model*. And he, like Blaga, believes that the multiple one structure was specific to the trinity dogma. That is why, according to him, European culture began in the year 325, when, in the Council of Nicaea, the understanding of divinity as a being in three persons was imposed. With the admission of the trinity, the acceptance of other forms of knowledge and culture that no longer respect the rules of formal logic was imposed. Since then, European culture has come to admit cultural exceptions to the rule as the very rule to be followed. In literature, for example, but also in other forms of culture and values, each creator aimed to be original, and each new literary

value began to be valued not only as autonomous in relation to previous literary standards, but also as another standard which can be diversified. Noica revealed the following characteristics of European culture focused on the category *One multiple*: *it is open to other cultures, it cultivates the complete man, it is located beyond nature, it is always creative*. The mentioned features result precisely from the fact that the European cultural model is structured by the category *One multiple*. Precisely because its rule is the exception, *it is a model open to other cultures*. Thanks to the same substrate that finds itself as multiplicity, the European model cultivates the complete, polyvalent man, who asserts himself through all kinds of values, "in all his versions", integrating the irrational into the rational. Also, the European model is no longer limited to a nature described by science and left unchanged, as in other cultures, "but refers to a nature ... generally, artificialized, passed in the laboratory through science and philosophy"¹³. Seeking and finding itself in exceptions, European culture does not stagnate, but exists in a state of rest, it is always creative.

So, Noica ends up, like Blaga, surpassing the category one multiple and also illustrating it through the European cultural type, affirmed starting from the medieval period, continued with the modern period and sustained also in contemporaneity. Despite the different perspective from which they analyze the aforementioned report, the two philosophers converge by concluding that European culture is focused on the one multiple category and by highlighting its importance: at Blaga in the sphere of understanding knowledge, at Noica in ensuring a maximum of freedom and creativity for culture .

3. Blaga and Noica on the scientific and cultural importance of the category One multiple

Blagian's cognitive perspective on the category One multiple is workable in both science and philosophy.

In supporting the dogma (based on the One multiple ratio) as one of the methods of scientific knowledge, Blaga relied on the sciences that admitted as valid contradictory claims, such as the theory of relativity with the idea of a space-time continuum, wave mechanics and the corpuscular theory about the duality of wave-the corpuscle of light and the biological theory of an entelechial factor, in turn dual and inconceivable according to classical, Aristotelian logic. Subsequent to Blaga's philosophical elaborations, in a work from 1951, the French philosopher of Romanian origin Stéphan Lupasco theorized the

¹³ Ibid, p. 279

principle of antagonism in science and proposed a non-Aristotelian logic (of the third included), his contributions being translated into Romanian under the title *Logica dynamics of the contradictory* (1982).

Indeed, the Aristotelian logic of the *excluded third* (according to which a proposition is either true or false, the third position being excluded) is appropriate to physical, corporeal phenomena under their (relatively) stable, identical, defining aspects for the macrophysical level. Instead, the law of the included third (or, in Blagian language, the method of transfigured oppositions) is claimed by understanding things more deeply, at the microphysical level, where microparticles behave contradictory, a certain theoretical thesis justifying a certain behavior, and the antithesis an opposite behavior. Although it seems to clarify the phenomena to be known, the logic of *the included third* or the dogmatic method does not cancel the mystery of the things Blaga was talking about, because, compared to *the excluded third*, which is rationalizable, being a basis of positive knowledge, *the included third* is non-rationalizable and does not give us an increase in positive knowledge.

Regarding the conception of a metaphysical knowledge through dogmas, as transfigured antinomies, Blaga was largely personal, detaching himself, as I have shown, from other philosophers of the modern and contemporary period. His conception of philosophical dogmas was also echoed by other Romanian philosophers, followers of a certain philosophical mystery, such as the philosopher Vasile Băncilă, the most receptive interpreter and supporter of Blagian philosophy in the interwar period¹⁴. In the first decades of the 21st century, the logician and philosopher Alexandru Surdu took up the problem of metaphysical knowledge through categories that go beyond not only experience, but also formal logic, which he called *supercategories*.¹⁵

Blaga's belief was that philosophy and science will increasingly apply the method of ecstatic or dogmatic knowledge, ushering in a new aeon, the *Dogmatic Aeon*, that is, a long period of time dominated by the new spirit. His conviction remains to be increasingly confirmed.

And Noica's conception of the virtues conferred on European culture by its structuring on the category *One multiple*, in which the rule consists of exceptions, is to be valued and updated. Given the fact that in any culture

¹⁴ Vasile Băncilă, *Lucian Blaga, energie românească (Lucian Blaga, Romanian Energy)* IInd edition, Ed. Marineasa, Timișoara, 1995 (first edition at the printer house Gând Românesc, Cluj, 1938)

¹⁵ Alexandru Surdu, *Filosofia pentadică I. Problema transcendenței (Pentadic Philosophy. The Problem of Transcendence)*, Editura Academiei Române, Bucharest, 2007

there is not one, but different ways of understanding the One-multiple relationship, a certain culture, Noica will conclude, can be distinguished from others by the predominant type of relationship. Without being a follower of a cultural Eurocentrism, he nevertheless appreciates that, unlike others, the European cultural model is dominated by the category *One multiple*, hence its dominant features, manifested more than in other cultures. Therefore, the advantages offered by this model are greater than in others. For example, any culture is influenced by those with which it comes into contact, but European culture is not only receptive and permissive to other cultural ways, but also imposes its dominant character on others, i.e. imprints on them the tendency to consider themselves exceptions as a rule of creation. It is also about an influence, but of taking over not already created values, but of the *One multiple* creation structure. To use Blaga's terminology, in this case the influence exerted by the European model is catalytic, stimulating the background of the influenced culture. Through its catalytic influence, the European model is also important for the fact that, in its expansion, it also allows in other cultures both a full human affirmation, through all types of values, including through opposite types, such as theoretical and religious ones, as well as a reference to a nature recreated by man through his theories and laboratory experiments. Regarding religion and science, Noica is not interested in the fact that their structuring on the principle of one multiple provides them with a margin of mystery, but is concerned with arguing that the mentioned principle allows a cohabitation of both value types.

The theoretical efforts made by the two Romanian philosophers to theorize the importance of the one-multiple relationship in knowledge and culture remain valid and valuable both in the direction preferred by Blaga, of deepening the mysteries through a so-called minus knowledge, and in the complementary sense pursued by Noica, that of the plus of knowledge, through a maximum expansion of the open character of the culture and its freedom of creation.

NARRATIVE COMPETENCE: WRITING AS COMMUNICATION AND TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

Vanni DE SIMONE, PhD

Abstract: *Narrative writing is, on the one hand, a vocation, like any other artistic vocation, but, on the other hand, it also represents a way of transmitting knowledge, implying in this sense an immense responsibility on the part of the author. Also on the shoulders of the author "blessed" with the talent of writing fall, as in the case of the other arts, the hours of study and practice that lead from vocation to brilliant destiny.*

Keywords: knowledge transmission, narrative competence, understanding, memorizing, reorganizing

Writing requires forms of self-discipline and methodology, such as forcing oneself to work (as Hemingway or Moravia did) certain hours or minutes a day: the important thing would be to try to make an effort to do so every day, psychological and material conditions permitting. You don't have to be too strict with yourself, especially at the beginning, the elaboration of a text, whether long or short, generates anxiety. If you have to make radical corrections, do them when you have accumulated at least a certain number of written pages: even from a psychological point of view, it is essential to have the feeling of having written something concrete.

Writing is also a form of communication, not of solitude: you write to tell someone something. At first, you do it thinking that someone will be a friend or relative. As one advances, and one is convinced that one is working well, that 'someone' ceases to have a face, and becomes an indistinct multitude.

You write for others then, this is the spring that pushes the writer. Starting from this point is fundamental, because writing for others means first of all making yourself understood.

In this regard, clear distinctions must be made: in the reading of any text, the reader's fundamental will to understand must actively intervene,

without which no text has value; And it means, for the author, asking questions: about the stories you want to tell, about how to tell them, and above all about why you want to do it.

Other times it is instead just the pleasure or pleasure of telling something. Writing a book implies in a certain way the desire to seduce the world.

It should never be forgotten that the first rule is to grab your reader, who, however, must be willing to be captured, and make sure that he does not detach himself from your writing.

But here other elements intervene: the type of audience, the type of narrative operation that is intended to be carried out, the historical-literary references of the masters of the past, that is to say the objective to which one intends to refer. There is no type of writing, and therefore literature, good for everyone, but specific fields (genres, linguistic choices, use of digital systems, graphic processing, etc.) and therefore literature, good for everyone, but specific fields (genres, linguistic choices, use of digital systems, graphic processing, etc.) within which to move.

The objective that we intend to indicate here will be a type of writing related to a very specific historical period of Italian literature, to well-identified masters and, more generally, to a form of novel that comes out of the very strong image of the handset telephone in an era of mobile telephony, as Claudio Magris has well pointed out in a passage.¹

There are international authors who are moving in this direction.

We will try to learn from them. Narrative competence (of narratives) is essentially the ability to understand, memorize, reorganize and create complex linguistic structures that can be qualified as 'stories' or 'tales'.

More specifically, the verb *narro* indicates, in a simplified form, the action performed by the one who is *gnarus* (hence *narus*), the one who knows, who is familiar with a thing, who has knowledge of it, and is therefore learned and expert: writing thus becomes making others aware of something.

The word *narration* derives from the Latin *narratio*, dependent on the verb *narro* (to tell), and by extension 'to divulge'. More generically also used in the meaning of saying, speaking, remembering, mentioning of.

¹ Claudio Magris emphasizes the relevance of handset phones, in contrast to the modern era of mobile telephony, highlighting how technology has evolved and how communication has changed. However, landlines have a nostalgic and symbolic significance in popular culture that is worth exploring.

The narrator, therefore, communicates contents around which he has precise knowledge: the act of narrating does not arise from the pure and simple organization of a logical-temporal sequence within a structure of more or less interconnected partial elements.

Conclusions

Narration is the result of an act of knowledge, which translates into the public publication of the knowledge learned, and into the offer of expertise aimed at organizing that knowledge according to its further usability, according to purposes, ends and skills that are partly the narrator's, partly the reader's: and here we reiterate, again, that the reader must also be familiar with a certain idea of writing.

Maybe your proposal may not be accepted or shared, but it doesn't matter: these are problems that authors who have made the history of literature have dramatically experienced, but from which they have not been blocked.

CHANGE AND ROUTINE IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. THE POPPER-KUHN DEBATE

Constantin STOENESCU
PhD Faculty of Philosophy
University of Bucharest

Abstract: *A new debate has started in the philosophy of science between Karl Popper's followers and the representatives of the New philosophy of science. We may suppose that some of the commentaries made by the two mentioned philosophers were the result of their need to place themselves more explicitly in their debate, which was in full swing at that time. And if we agree that the core of the debate between the two lies in the way we understand the concept of "normal science", then it should be noted that Popper himself mentions in his "Preface" to the first edition of LSD that a scientist works in a research framework understood as an organized structure.*

Keywords: Karl Popper, Thomas Kuhn, normal science, extraordinary science, philosophy of science, the Duhem-Quine problem, rationality,

A short introduction: the stakes and challenges of the debate

In the 1960s, after *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* was published by Thomas Kuhn, a new debate has started in the philosophy of science between Karl Popper's followers and the representatives of the *New philosophy of science*. We may suppose that some of the commentaries made by the two mentioned philosophers were the result of their need to place themselves more explicitly in their debate, which was in full swing at that time¹. Thomas Kuhn had mentioned certain points of agreement between them, including the fact that both emphasize "the intimate and inevitable entanglement of scientific observations with

¹ See, as the best example, the book *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge* edited by Lakatos and Musgrave, 1970.

scientific theories"². And if we agree that the core of the debate between the two lies in the way we understand the concept of "normal science", then it should be noted that Popper himself mentions in his "Preface" to the first edition of *LSD* that a scientist works in a research framework understood as an organized structure³.

Therefore, it could be noted that the two philosophers were trying to identify an area of theoretical consensus and closeness. But which was the theoretical stake felt by each of the two and what effects resulted from this for their views on science and scientific development?

If we take into account the relationship between theory and observation as a component of a general framework accepted at least implicitly by Popper and Kuhn for a debate between realism, objectivism and convergence to truth, on the one hand, and relativism, subjectivism and under-determination, on the other hand, then it will be easier to understand their debate too.

Anyway, Gupta proposed a set of four theses in connection with which Popper and Kuhn clash:

- “1. the non-existence of conclusive verification;
2. the non-existence of conclusive falsification of specific theories if they cannot be tested in isolation from auxiliary assumptions (the Duhem-Quine problem);
3. the necessity of conventionalism about basic statements;
4. the theory-ladenness of all observation”⁴.

Taken together, all these implies that the observation cannot be a neutral arbitrator in theory choice.

Kuhn thinks that different paradigms transform observation and experience⁵ and that “paradigms determine large areas of experience at the same time”⁶. Kuhn argues that “the commitments that govern normal science specify not only what sorts of entities the universe does contain, but also, by implication, those that it does not”. From it follows that a discovery of something like that of oxygen does not just add one more item to the scientist’s world, but also shift “the network of theory through which it

² Kuhn, “Logic of Discovery or Psychology of Research?”, 1970, p. 2.

³ See Popper, 2002, p. XV, and his comments in “Normal Science and hid Dangers”, 1970, p. 51.

⁴ See Gupta, 1993, p. 322.

⁵ Kuhn, *The Structure...*, 1970, p. 7, also pp. 111-112.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 129.

deals with the world. Scientific fact and theory are not categorically separable, except perhaps within a single tradition of normal- scientific practice. That is why an unexpected discovery is not simply factual in its import and why the scientist's world is qualitatively transformed as well quantitatively enriched by fundamental novelties of either fact or theory"⁷ The transformations are irreversible and looks like a switch in visual *gestalt*. I think that this approach to scientific activity and change in science is the starting point of the debate between Popper and Kuhn.

Two meanings for “normal science”? *Popper's view on Kuhn's theory*

It is generally accepted by consensus that the central point of the controversy between Popper and Kuhn was the problem of the rationality of normal science, the latter being a concept introduced by Kuhn and criticized by Popper and his followers. Normal science is understood as a research based and guided by a paradigm and aimed at solving puzzle-like problems, a research based on a fine articulation of the paradigm within it, without in any way questioning the theoretical foundations of the field. Normal science carries out the exploratory promises of the paradigm in several ways, “by extending the knowledge of those facts that the paradigm displays as particularly revealing, by increasing the extent of the match between those facts and the paradigm 's predictions, and by further articulation of the paradigm itself”⁸. As for the puzzle problems, which appear not only in sciences, they are characterized by the fact that the existence of a solution is guaranteed and that finding the solution requires creative imagination and persistent effort⁹.

The critical reactions of those on Popper's side were different in intensity, between a radical criticism that leads to rejection of Kuhn's view on normal science, and a critical reception, sometimes moderate, the result of

⁷ Kuhn, *The Structure...*, p. 7. Kuhn develop this idea in chapter X of *SSR* where he points out that “Paradigm changes do cause scientists to see the world of their research-engagement differently. (...) After a revolution scientists are responding to a different world”. (Kuhn, *The Structure...*, p. 111)

⁸ Kuhn, *The Structure...*, 1970, p. 24.

⁹ Kuhn picks up on this common use of the term “puzzle”: “Puzzles are, in the entirely standard meaning here employed, that special category of problems that can serve to test ingenuity or skill in solution”. (Kuhn, *The Structure...*, 1970, p. 36.)

which would be an agreement or proposal for a revision, possibly from both sides. Thus, John Watkins expresses the most virulent point of view in his paper "Against 'Normal Science'". Foreshadowing the interpretation according to which there was a communication breakdown between the followers of Popper and Kuhn, Watkins claims that the term "paradigm" is just a substitute for "scientific theory"¹⁰, and that, therefore, what Kuhn says about the paradigm must be applicable to scientific theory. Or, if normal science does not critically investigate the foundations, this means from the perspective of Popper's theory about science understood as a rational activity, *i. e.* critical, that the practice of normal science does not fall within the norms of rationality and does not serve the progress of knowledge. Rather, only what Kuhn calls "extraordinary research" would correspond to authentic science defined as the daring activity of formulating hypotheses and deductive testing of theories. Finally, Watkins thesis is that "a new paradigm never could emerge from Normal Science as characterized by Kuhn".¹¹

Popper himself adopts a moderate position, even looking for convergences or agreements, but under the recognition of some irreconcilable differences emerged from the concept of normal science. First, Popper admits that he neglected those aspects of research that fall under the concept of normal science and that Kuhn really opened his eyes to the important distinction between "normal science" and "extraordinary science", Popper himself being devoted to the latter way of doing science as a bold and heroic enterprise. But the way Popper describes normal science shows that he sees it differently than Kuhn, namely, from the perspective of his own privileged concept of "heroic science". Popper thinks that normal science is the non-revolutionary or not-too-critical professional activity carried out by those "who accepts the ruling dogma of the day; who does not wish to challenge it; and who accepts a new revolutionary theory only if almost everybody else is ready to accept it – if it becomes fashionable by a kind of bandwagon effect. To resist a new fashion needs perhaps as much courage as was needed to bring it about".¹² Normal science understood in this way is for Popper a phenomenon that deserves to be studied by the history of science, even though he personally dislikes like it, even considering it a "danger to science".¹³

¹⁰ Watkins, 1970, p. 26,

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 34.

¹² Popper, "Normal Science...", 1970, p. 52.

¹³ *Idem*.

Moreover, Popper suggests that the researcher who practices normal science “is a person one ought to be sorry for”¹⁴ and that it is a mistake to think that the greatest scientists were “normal” in the sense prescribed by Kuhn. Popper describes normal scientific activities in an opposite way to Kuhn. In his view, a scientist is “normal” if he has been taught “that all teaching on the University level (and if possible below) should be training and encouragement in critical thinking”¹⁵, while the “normal scientist” described by Kuhn “has been taught in a dogmatic spirit: he is a victim of indoctrination. He has learned a technique which can be applied without asking for the reason why (especially in quantum mechanics). As a consequence, he has become what may be called an *applied scientist*, in contradistinction to what I should call a *pure scientist*”¹⁶. Therefore, all the kuhnian “normal scientists” have to do is to solve “puzzles”. Popper thinks that the choice of this term by Kuhn seems to suggest that he wants to stress that the “normal scientist” isn’t trained to solve fundamental problems but just routine problems, understood as problems of applying what one has learned based on a dominant paradigm (or theory). Popper claims that if in his view the success in science means to test and to reject hypothetical theories, Kuhn’s view is very different: “The success of the ‘normal’ scientists consists, entirely, in showing that the ruling theory can be properly and satisfactorily applied in order to reach a solution of the puzzle in question”¹⁷. Popper thinks that this is a downgrading use of the term “puzzle”, similar to Wittgenstein’s thesis that there are no genuine problems in philosophy, but only puzzles, namely, pseudo-problems related with the improper use of language. Popper concludes that, anyway, “the use of the term ‘puzzle’ instead of ‘problem’ is certainly indicative of a wish to show that the problems so described are not very serious or very deep”¹⁸.

This description of normal science reminds Popper of a conversation with Philip Frank in the 1930s about the uncritical approach used by Engineering students who are satisfied with little theoretical knowledge and who want just to “know the facts” and how to do applied science with devotion, “without heart-searching”¹⁹. Popper remarks that the same

¹⁴ *Idem.*

¹⁵ Popper, “Normal Science...”, 1970, p. 53.

¹⁶ *Idem.*

¹⁷ *Idem.*

¹⁸ Popper, “Normal Science...”, 1970, p. 53, footnote 1.

¹⁹ Popper, “Normal Science...”, 1970, p. 53.

attitude is also common among the people trained directly in pure science and its symptomatic presence consists in refusing to discuss theories that aren't "generally accepted" or are considered problematic. His diagnosis is put in the same worrying way, considering this type of normality a danger not only for science but also for our civilization²⁰.

I think that here, in the definition of what is normality in science, we have the main divergence between the two philosophers with effects on the understanding of the relation between pure and applied science, of scientific practice and changes in science. Popper thinks that "Kuhn is mistaken when he suggests that what he called 'normal' science is normal"²¹. This isn't just a quarrel about the term, but a difference about the description of science. Popper suggests that if we take a look at the history of science then we will find that few or none of the scientists were 'normal' scientists in Kuhn's sense.

Therefore, we may conclude that Popper disagrees with Kuhn both about the imagine of science derived from the historical facts and about what is characteristic or normal for science. The example given by Popper is that of Charles Darwin who became a "reluctant revolutionary" (an expression used by Pearce William as description for Max Planck), only after the publication of *The Origin of Species*. There was nothing like a "conscious revolutionary attitude" in *The Voyage of the Beagle*, but it is already full of new and fundamental problems, questions, observations, and of ingenious conjectures which challenged Darwin to think comparatively about them and to find a solution. Even in the case of descriptive botany, a less revolutionary science because its descriptive approach, the botanist have to solve all the time genuine problems regarding different botanical items like distribution, characteristic locations, species of sub-species differentiation, symbiosis, characteristic enemies and diseases, resistant and more or less fertile strains, and these genuine problems are both theoretical and experimental ones. If we accept this approach proposed by Popper, then it becomes obvious that the history of science does not support the idea of "normal science" as it was described by Kuhn. The history of science pictured by Kuhn as a sequence of dominant paradigms that generate "normal science" and revolutionary periods of "extraordinary science" clashes with the historical facts.

²⁰ See Popper, "Normal Science...", 1970, p. 53. Another great danger mentioned by Popper is the increase of specialization.

²¹ Popper, "Normal Science...", 1970, p. 53.

The opposition between the two approaches of normality in science is explained by Popper by the contrast between a so called *logic of methodological universalism* and a so called *logic of historical relativism*. Popper believes that “science is essentially critical; that it consists of bold conjectures, controlled by criticism, and that it may, therefore, be described as revolutionary”²² On the contrary, Popper believes, Kuhn’s theory about science is based on the logical thesis of relativism: “the rationality of science presupposes the acceptance of a common framework. He suggests that rationality depends upon something like a common language and a common set of assumptions. He suggests that rational discussion, and rational criticism, is only possible if we have agreed on fundamentals”²³

But both methodological universalism and historical relativism presuppose logically a certain form of dogmatism, but a different one in each case. From the perspective of methodological universalism, we will subject a theory to criticism in a systematic way and in stages, step by step, first giving it all good wishes because “if we give in to criticism too easily, we shall never find out where the real power of our theories lies”²⁴. Kuhn prefers and supports another kind of dogmatism whose main characteristic is given by the fact that the scientist believes in the dominant paradigm and is ready to do all is possible to save it. In Popper’s view, Kuhn is a philosopher placed on the other side: “He believes in the domination of a ruling dogma over considerable periods; and he does not believe that the method of science is, normally, that of bold conjectures and criticism”²⁵

Kuhn’s comment to Popper’s criticism

In “Logic of Discovery or Psychology of Research?”²⁶, his contribution to the volume *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*, Thomas Kuhn try to offer a “disciplined comparison”, and not a sanguine confrontation, between his view of scientific development and that proposed by Popper, so that to

²² Popper, “Normal Science...”, 1970, p. 55.

²³ Popper, “Normal Science...”, 1970, p. 56.

²⁴ Popper, “Normal Science...”, 1970, p. 55.

²⁵ *Idem*.

²⁶ See Kuhn, “Logic of Discovery...”, 1970, pp. 1-23. It was also published in Schilpp’s volume devoted to Popper’s philosophy, and Popper reply to it. See Popper, “Replies to My Critics”, in (ed.) P. A. Schilpp, *The Philosophy of Karl Popper*, Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, 1974

produce a “peculiar enlightenment”²⁷. Kuhn confesses that he has discovered some puzzling characteristics of the relation between his view and Popper’s approach even before to publish his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

Surprisingly, Kuhn notes that each time throughout their theoretical developments they dealt with the same problems, and that their views were “very near identical”²⁸. Kuhn advances an unexpected perspective that erases the distinctions that Popper himself and his followers have highlighted. Kuhn claims that they are both “concerned with the dynamic process by which scientific knowledge is acquired rather than with the logical structure of the product of scientific research”²⁹. Kuhn’s statement surprises and proves that the two have different readings of each other. Popper, on the contrary, emphasizes from the beginning, even in *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, in the paragraph “Elimination of Psychologism”, that he is interested in logical problems, not factual ones, that he isn’t concerned with questions of fact, but with questions of justification or validity³⁰, a distinction that then took the form of the one between the context of discovery and the context of justification. Furthermore, Kuhn admits that both have undertaken actual research to ascertain the authenticity of scientific research and “both of us turn often to history”³¹. From all these data, the two philosophers would have drawn, in Kuhn’s view, the same conclusions: “Both of us reject the view that science progresses by accretion; both emphasize instead the revolutionary process by which an older theory is rejected and replaced by an incompatible new one; and both deeply underscore the role played in this process by the older theory’s occasional failure to meet challenges posed by logic experiment, or observation”³². This description is, indeed, a very popperian one, especially since Kuhn does not even use the concept of paradigm, leaving it to be understood that an equation between “theory” and “paradigm” would be unproblematic. However, aren’t the reasons why Kuhn prefers the term paradigm a symptom of a difference in vision? Kuhn emphasizes in *SSR* and will do so in “Logic of Discovery...” the differences

²⁷ Kuhn, “Logic of Discovery...”, 1970, p. 1.

²⁸ *Idem*.

²⁹ *Idem*.

³⁰ Popper, *Logic of Scientific Discovery*, 2002, p. 7.

³¹ Kuhn, “Logic of Discovery...”, 1970, p. 1.

³² Kuhn, “Logic of Discovery...”, 1970, pp. 1-2.

between theory and paradigm as cognitive entities, including from the perspective of the relationship with the framework (or the context) and with the aspects regarding the problem of theory ladenness.

Thus, Kuhn believes that him and Popper are on the same side against classical positivism, such as, among other things, revising the rigid distinction between observations and theory. Kuhn underlines some major family resemblances: "We both emphasize (...) the intimate and inevitable entanglement of scientific observation with scientific theory; we are correspondingly sceptical of efforts to produce any neutral observation language; and we both insist that scientists may properly aim to invent theories that *explain* observed phenomena and that do so in terms of *real* objects, whatever the latter phrase may mean"³³

Kuhn also highlights two points of divergence that were noticed by his popperian readers, but he considers them secondary. These are the emphasis on the importance of deep commitment to tradition and the discontent with the implications of the term 'falsification'³⁴. As far as the influence of tradition is concerned, Kuhn believes that it is only a difference in accent, not in content. Popper recognized the importance of tradition and Kuhn quotes fragments in which Popper discusses its role before him³⁵ As regards the problem of falsification, here we really have a matter of divergence regarding the concept of scientific change, the logic of scientific change, the entities that are changed and their relationship with experience.

Kuhn offers a suggestive picture of the similarities and differences between him and Popper. They start from the same data, but, because they use different glasses, they arrive at different configurations: "Though the lines are the same, the figures which emerge from them are not. That is why I call what separates us a gestalt switch rather than a disagreement"³⁶. Kuhn believes that one of the most fundamental issues on which Popper and him agree is that an analysis of the development of scientific knowledge "must take account of the way science has actually been practiced"³⁷.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

³⁴ *Idem*.

³⁵ See Kuhn, "Logic of Discovery...", 1970, p. 2, footnote 2. For example, Popper writes: "I do not think that we could ever free ourselves entirely from the bonds of tradition. The so-called freeing is really only a change from one tradition to another." (Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations*, 1968, p. 122).

³⁶ Kuhn, "Logic of Discovery...", 1970, p. 3.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 4.

The standard statement of Popper's view is at the very beginning of *The Logic of Scientific Research*: "A scientist, whether theorist or experimenter, puts forward statements or systems of statements, and test them step by step. In the field of the empirical science, more particularly, he constructs hypotheses, or systems of theories, and test them against experience by observation and experiment"³⁸ Noting the ambiguity between "statements" and "theories" as goals of testing, Kuhn agrees that we test statements or hypothesis, but we do this to solve puzzles and this means to do "normal science". Then, the scientist connects the result of the test with the corpus of accepted scientific knowledge. But, Kuhn admits, Popper has in mind another kind of tests because he thinks that science grows not by accretion, but by the replacement of accepted theories with better ones. Popper thinks that there are two main ways in which the growth of science may be explained, either by the accumulation of knowledge, or by criticism. The last means that science grows revolutionary by "a method which destroys, changes, and alters, the whole thing including its most important instrument, the language in which our myths and theories are formulated"³⁹. Thus, our epistemological task and the end of any research aren't the construction of definitive and closed deductive systems, but to examine them critically, to try to refute them by new and more severe tests. But these tests are very rare. Therefore, Kuhn claims, Popper "has characterized the entire scientific enterprise in terms that apply only to its occasional revolutionary parts"⁴⁰. Kuhn asserts that Popper ignore normal science and the fact that science is normally practiced most of the time and that those severe tests are only rare occasions, when the scientist must choose between competing theories.

This normal practice is also the demarcation between science and other enterprises. Popper describes the so called critical tradition in philosophy, but this critical approach happens in science only when we have to test competing theories. In normal science, when we aren't able to solve puzzles, "only the practitioner is blamed, not his tools"⁴¹. The difference between science and other enterprises and that in science we solve puzzles. For example, Kuhn suggests, though astrologers are able to make testable predictions and they also recognize that these predictions

³⁸ Popper, *The Logic of ...*, 2002, p. 3.

³⁹ Popper, *Conjectures...*, 1968, p. 129.

⁴⁰ Kuhn, "Logic of Discovery...", 1970, p. 6.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

sometimes failed, they cannot engage in the sort of activities that characterize all recognized sciences. Kuhn concludes: "With or without tests, a puzzle-solving tradition can prepare the way for its own displacement. To rely on testing as the mark of a science is to miss what scientists mostly do and, with it, the most characteristic feature of their enterprise"⁴².

Popper's reply to Kuhn's commentaries

In his "Replies to My Critics", section "Kuhn on the Normality of Normal Science", Popper answer to Kuhn's commentary. He agrees with Kuhn that their views of science have something in common, but he warns us that Kuhn was somewhat influenced by the so-called "Popper legend", a false image of Popper as a positivist philosopher⁴³.

First, regarding the differences between them, Popper mentions again that Kuhn has discovered the so called "normal science" and "normal scientist", a phenomenon ignored by him. Popper admits this phenomenon, but he believes that it isn't a scientific virtue, but, on the contrary, a danger for science. Popper is also aware of the fact that his interpretation could be considered inadequate in relation to what Kuhn understands by "normal science": "one might say that I look at this phenomenon through spectacles very unlike those used by Kuhn"⁴⁴. As a consequence I will try a discursive placement in a neutral area, between the legend and the improper spectacles, that will allow a non-partisan evaluation.

It is obvious that Popper believes that the periodization of the history of science in two different periods, one normal, another extraordinary, is mistaken. Popper uses the key word "routine" in order to characterize the two periods: "(1) *normal periods*, in which there is an *established 'routine' of puzzle solving*; this routine unites the community of normal scientists, and their activities constitute 'normal science'; (2) *extraordinary periods*, consisting of a crisis followed by a revolution, which consists in the overthrow of the old routine and in the establishment of a new one"⁴⁵.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁴³ See for details, Popper, "Replies...", 1974, pp. 963-965.

⁴⁴ Popper, "Replies...", 1974, p. 1145.

⁴⁵ *Idem*.

Popper explains that he admits the existence of “routines” in science and the existence of “normal science”, but he thinks that the idea of a routine isn’t characteristic to science and that the so called “normal science” isn’t normal, but uncharacteristic. Popper explains Kuhn’s preferences for this picture of science as an illegitimate generalization of his own experiences regarding the scientific activity and the history of science. Popper thinks that the phenomenon of a “routine” in science has become prominent only recently, as a consequence of the so called “mass production of scientists”. Kuhn projected “a comparatively recent phenomenon which he has personally experienced, not only upon earlier periods but upon the whole long history of science”⁴⁶ Popper clearly highlights this difference between them: “I believe that routine played very little role in science until this century, or more precisely, until the First World War. Kuhn believes that routine characterize the essence of science”⁴⁷.

Popper adds another argument regarding the difference between him and Kuhn starting from the evolutionary theory. “Normal science” or “routine” is for Popper nothing but the way in which animals “know”, namely, they are able to adapt themselves to their environment, while the humans, creators of the descriptive and argumentative language, replace *routine* by *critical approach*, and science is “the most advanced application of this critical approach to the growth of human knowledge”⁴⁸. Thus understood, routine may supersede science and it is a danger for science if Kuhn’s criterion of science, as “a community of workers held together by a *routine*”, become a practice. “If so, this will be the end of science as I see it”⁴⁹. Popper points out that although Kuhn considers that astrology is not a science, it would fulfil Kuhn's criteria since there is a community of practitioners of astrology who share a routine, and who are deeply engaged in puzzle solving. Popper thinks that this is a consequence of the sociological approach proposed by Kuhn. But to recognize astrology as science is only a minor disaster, because “the major disaster would be the replacement of a rational criterion of science by a sociological one”⁵⁰.

Popper asserts that if we consider science in an evolutionary context, then science has to be seen as “the conscious and critical form of an

⁴⁶ Popper, “Replies...”, 1974, p. 1146.

⁴⁷ *Idem.*

⁴⁸ *Idem.*

⁴⁹ *Idem.*

⁵⁰ Popper, “Replies...”, 1974, p. 1147.

adaptive method of trial and error”⁵¹. Therefore, from amoeba to Einstein we learn from our own mistakes. The explanatory principle that “science is revolution in permanence” doesn’t mean that there aren’t periods of stagnation or that science is revolutionary all the time in the sense in which we speak about a Copernican, a Galilean, a Newtonian, or an Einsteinian revolution. Popper explains that for him the catchphrase “revolution in permanence” means that even a minor discovery is revolutionary and that many engineers and technologists are revolutionaries just because usually “established beliefs (or routines) are overthrown every day. Sometimes these are major discoveries: more often they are minor discoveries”⁵². For example, the heating engineer who install a central heating system solve some practical problems. He works like an applied scientist and he made some minor discoveries by critical thinking, by critical rejection of erroneous solutions. Kuhn would say that this engineer solves just puzzles and that he is like a normal scientist. But Popper adds that “when he works by trial and the elimination of error, and when he eliminates the error by a *critical* survey of tentative solutions, then he does not work in this routine manner; which for me makes him a scientist”⁵³.

An interesting comment regarding the concept of ‘normal science’ and the comparison between Popper’s and Kuhn’s theories is proposed by J. O. Wisdom. Like Popper and Watkins, Wisdom equates the paradigm in the Kuhnian sense with the theory that dominates and guides research in a certain field. Thus, normal science, as puzzle solving, is nothing but a research based on a paradigm (theory), without in any way questioning the fundamental theoretical aspects. Normal science is a detailed investigation of the facts, a perfecting of the calculations, a more precise derivation of the predictions, that is, a so-called fine articulation of the theory by the day-to-day work of the scientist. On the contrary, Popper believes that science is “revolution in permanence”, that the scientist is always concerned to refute hypothesis by testing them. Wisdom describes the difference between the two philosophers in these terms: “On the view accorded to Popper, every theory is all the time in all circumstances being tested, no matter what applications are going on. Thus the daily work of science, if not revolutionary, aims at small-scale rebellion (which might blossom into a revolution at any moment). According to Kuhn, the situation is quite

⁵¹ *Idem.*

⁵² *Idem.*

⁵³ *Idem.*

different: you are not attempting to test a theory at all; in certain circumstances you are concerned simply to exploit it, use it, extend it, apply it. The Popperian might, to this account, reply, 'Of course, you may be extending the theory; but, if the extension goes wrong, this is taken as a test of the theory'⁵⁴. Wisdom thinks that there is no clash between the two views if we interpret them correctly. Kuhn's distinction between "normal science" and "extraordinary research" is equivalent to the distinction between the articulation and application of theories and respectively, the change and replacement of theories. If it is so, then the incompatibilities disappear and, more than that, appreciates Wisdom, "Kuhn's theory and (when correctly interpreted) Popper's (when developed) are identical"⁵⁵. Wisdom also remark the similarity between his view and Lakatos attempt to reconcile the two in his theory of scientific research programmes.

Popper's last attack: The myth of the framework

Apparently Popper and Kuhn admit that they agree in some respects, the main point of convergence or similarity being the recognition of the role of the context or framework or problem-situation in any scientific research. Popper described this standpoint even from the "Preface to the first edition, 1934" of *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, where after two preparatory quotes from Schlick and Kant he states that "A scientist engaged in a piece of research, say in physics, can attack his problem straight away. He can go at once to the heart of the matter to the heart, that is, of an organized structure. For a structure of scientific doctrines is already in existence; and with it a generally accepted problem-situation. This is why he may leave it to others to fit his contribution into the framework of scientific knowledge"⁵⁶. Afterwards, in his commentary on Kuhn's *Structure*, Popper highlights that his point of view that "there is an edifice, an organized structure of science which provides the scientists with a generally accepted problem-situation into which his own work can be fitted" seems to be "very similar" to Kuhn's main point that the so-called normal science "presupposes an organized structure of assumptions, or a theory, or a research programme, needed by the community of scientists in order to discuss their work rationally"⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ Wisdom, "The nature of 'normal science'", 1974, p.825.

⁵⁵ *Idem*.

⁵⁶ Popper, *The Logic of...*, 2002, p. xv.

⁵⁷ Popper, "Normal Science...", 1970, p. 51.

Also, we must not overlook the fact that Popper makes a meta-theoretical consideration regarding his debate with Kuhn, which proves again that he is strongly aware of the role of previous or background knowledge in any theoretical interaction, including a critical debate. Thus, each of them judges the other from the perspective of their own expectations, which is nothing but a confirmation of the thesis "that we approach everything in the light of a preconceived theory"⁵⁸.

But this convergence is only apparent, because the two philosophers understand differently the fixation of a scientist in a theoretical context. The differences between the two are related with their different insights regarding the 'normal science' or 'normal scientists'. In fact, from Popper's perspective, the way Kuhn understands normal science involves the elimination of critical discussion in the case of the foundations of the theory or the research tradition, which leads to a relativistic position, characterized by Popper as an acceptance of the "myth of the framework".

Popper claims that this thesis is mistaken and rejects it. He admits that it is easier to discuss puzzles within a common accepted framework and then to delete them into a new framework than to discuss fundamentals, but the thesis that the framework cannot be critically discussed can be critically discussed and does not stand up to criticism. Later, in his *The Myth of the Framework*, Popper provides a concise formulation of this thesis: "A rational and fruitful discussion is impossible unless the participants share a common framework of basic assumptions or, at least, unless they have agreed on such framework for the purpose of the discussion"⁵⁹.

Popper explains why he isn't a relativist. First of all, he believes in 'absolute' or 'objective' truth in Tarski's sense. Secondly, Popper explains his different view from Kuhn about the idea of a framework: "I do admit that at any moment we are prisoners caught in the framework of our theories; our expectations; our past experiences; our language. But we are prisoners in a Pickwickian sense: if we try, we can break out of our framework, but it will be a better and roomier one; and we can at any moment break out of it again"⁶⁰.

Therefore, according to Popper, it follows that the central point of his view on the debate around the myth of the framework is that "a critical

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

⁵⁹ Popper, *The Myth...*, 1994, pp. 34-35.

⁶⁰ Popper, "Normal Science...", 1970, p. 56.

discussion and a comparison of the various frameworks is always possible⁶¹. Although it is difficult, it is possible to learn totally different languages, like English, Hopi or Chinese. Oh course, it is difficult to have a discussion between people from different frameworks, but it can be done in the end if those who belongs to different frameworks adopt rational strategies.

Taking Kuhn's suggestion of how a new paradigm is adopted through conversion by a researcher, Popper supposes that even if we admit that "an intellectual revolution often looks like a religious conversion (...), this does not mean that we cannot evaluate, critically and rationally, our inner views, in the light of new ones"⁶². Thus, it is false to say that the transition from Newton's theory of gravity to Einstein's is an irrational leap, and that the two aren't rationally comparable. On the contrary, there are a lot of points of comparison between the two. Generally speaking, in science, as a very distinct human activity from theology, a critical comparison of the competing theories or of the competing frameworks, is always possible. The denial of this possibility starting from the idea that the framework in which the scientist is caught is like an "iron cage" is a mistake: "In science (and only in science) can we say that we have made genuine progress: that we know more than we did before"⁶³.

Therefore, in Popper's view, the debate between him and Kuhn is a fundamentally logical one. Popper thinks that Kuhn proposed a logical thesis, even if a wrong one, described by Popper as such: "the scientist is *logically forced* to accept a framework, since no rational discussion is possible between frameworks"⁶⁴. Popper adopts an anti-psychological view because he thinks that 'scientific knowledge' may be regarded as subjectless⁶⁵. Scientific knowledge may be regarded "as a system of theories on which we work as do masons on a cathedral. The aim is to find theories which, in the light of critical discussion, get nearer to the truth. Thus the aim is the increase of the truth-content of our theories"⁶⁶.

⁶¹ *Idem.*

⁶² Popper, "Normal Science...", 1970, p. 57.

⁶³ *Idem.*

⁶⁴ *Idem.*

⁶⁵ See Popper, "Epistemology without a Knowing Subject", 1968.

⁶⁶ Popper, "Normal Science...", 1970, p. 57.

Popper takes up his argument based on the epistemology without a knowing subject in his "Replies to My Critics"⁶⁷, where he accepts the difference drawn by Kuhn between the logic of discovery and the psychology of research and he concludes that science as a theoretical system is independent from the subjectivity of: "Science is part of world 3., and not of world 2; or more precisely, the psychological world 2 of the scientist is almost completely dependent upon the man-made world 3, the world of scientific theories and problems. The world 3 science can be investigated only logically. Thus any good psychology of research will have to depend on, and be guided by, the logic of discovery"⁶⁸.

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FEAR-MENTAL PATTERNS/BELIEFS/PROGRAMS AND THEIR MODIFICATION THROUGH NEUROLINGUISTICS

Author: Alexandra RADU,
PhD. Faculty of Psychology
and Educational Sciences,
University of Bucharest

Abstract: *Since ancient times, fear has been a survival mechanism for humanity, which appeals to the conservation instinct of the species and which has been cultivated to some extent in the collective mind. From the simple warning of children, about the dangers that lurk at every turn, to the sacred commandments of the biblical texts, we are dealing with as many mechanisms for cultivating fear, in the form of an instrument of defense of the human individual, in the face of the greater or lesser dangers that the world puts in his way. Unfortunately, however, the human brain must be "calibrated" so that it blocks only the real, insurmountable dangers, and this is not an easy task at all.*

Keywords: fear, survival mechanism, collective mind, danger, blockage

1. From the fear of death to coping mechanisms

"Don't lean over the balcony, because you'll fall!", how many times have we heard this warning as a child, which has been deeply imprinted in our psyche, acting as a lifeline and sometimes as a threat in itself. Thus, as many times as adults, we have not dreamed of falling into the void, endlessly repeating in our nightmare the image that the adult who took care of us once created for us.

The Austrian psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud explored the concept of fear, differentiating between rational fear, provoked by a real danger, and neurotic fear, which appeared as an exaggerated reaction to a threat. Thus,

Freud is the first to bring into discussion the "mechanisms" of individual self-defense, as well as the idea of filtering emotions, in order to control destructive feelings.

In fact, fear is defined in the explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language as: "A state of deep anxiety and disturbance, caused by a real or imaginary danger;"¹, so we are talking about a state that is born deep within our being and whose cause is represented by a danger. Fear is therefore a natural emotion that arises in response to a perceived threat. However, the problem lies at the level of perception: the different way in which individuals perceive fear and their reaction to **potential, imaginary or exacerbated danger** is related to past experiences, psychological resources and social support.

We will talk about the mechanisms that trigger the exacerbated perception of danger, but also about the response mechanisms of the psyche below.

2. Factors that contribute to exacerbating fear

The exacerbation of the feeling of fear occurs when the fear becomes more and more intense, to the point where it becomes overwhelming and difficult to manage. It can be triggered by several factors and can lead to emotional and behavioral disorders.

In fact, a masterful analysis of the triggers of the sensation exacerbated by fear can be found in Franz Kafka's symbolist novel "The Trial". Here, the protagonist of the novel, Joseph K., illustrates precisely these factors that trigger the feeling of exacerbated fear that can no longer be seen as an instrument of self-defense, but that negatively influences the individual's mental and social comfort.

1. Chronic stress – Constant exposure to stressors can intensify fear, especially if the person does not have effective coping mechanisms.
2. Rumination – Obsessive and repetitive thoughts about the source of fear contribute to its amplification. For example, constantly thinking about a threatening situation or possible negative

¹ www.dexonline.ro

consequences can lead to a feeling of fear disproportionate to reality.

3. Social isolation – The lack of adequate social support can make the fear more difficult to manage, as the person does not have a support network that provides an external perspective or encouragement.
4. Trauma – Traumatic experiences, whether in childhood or adulthood, can cause fear to become much more intense in future situations. For example, a person who has been through an accident may develop an exacerbated fear of driving a car or traveling.
5. Generalized anxiety – People who suffer from generalized anxiety tend to exaggerate perceived dangers and thus may experience exacerbated fear in the face of relatively common situations.
6. Avoidance – Constantly avoiding situations that cause fear can reinforce the feeling of fear. For example, someone who avoids crowded places due to fear of panic may feel an increase in fear every time they are forced to face such situations.
7. Media and external influences² – Exposure to alarming news or information (e.g., about global crises, natural disasters, or crime) can intensify feelings of fear, especially if the person is already predisposed to anxiety.

We find in the Kafkaesque hero that when fear is exacerbated, it can affect mental and physical health, interfering with the ability to function normally in daily life.³

Exacerbated fear manifests itself at the level of some:

- Physical symptoms – Increased fear can lead to strong physical reactions, such as palpitations, shortness of breath, tremors, dizziness, excessive sweating, or headaches. These symptoms are common in panic attacks.

² In the case of Kafka's hero, we are even talking about the social and administrative system, as an external stress factor and trigger of deviant attitudes.

³ "The feeling of guilt cannot be removed by anyone, and even if it had succeeded, it would not have lasted long, because K. would still have been arrested again, but this time not because of guilt, but because of a suspicion that could not be banished by any logic.", Kafka F., *The Trial*, Polirom Publishing House, 2019

- avoidance behaviors – A person with exacerbated fear may begin to avoid more and more situations, to the point where daily life becomes very limited. This may include avoiding public places, public transportation, or even social interactions.
- cognitive distortions – Fear can lead to misinterpretations of reality, such as catastrophic thinking ("everything will go wrong") or overgeneralization ("if it happened once, it will happen again and again").
- Sleep disorders – People with heightened fear may experience difficulty falling asleep or have frequent nightmares related to the source of the fear.
- states of hypervigilance – This is a state of continuous alertness, in which the person is always looking for signs of danger and feels unable to relax.

We see, therefore, how, under the influence of decisive factors, fear can be transformed into a mental program that functions autonomously and leads the human individual to deviance.

But can this program be transmitted as a model of behavior from individual to individual? Can he contaminate the whole of society, giving rise to an absurd and deviant society in its turn?

The answer is "YES", and the examples can be found both in literature and in our "modern" society. If we refer to literature, we must necessarily refer to the novel "1984" by author George Orwell, which masterfully explores the theme of fear of a totalitarian state, loss of identity and control of thought. "Big Brother" uses fear, constant surveillance, and manipulation to control citizens. The fear of torture, denunciation and psychological annihilation dominates society. Room 101, the place where individuals are confronted with their greatest fears, symbolizes the pinnacle of this terror-based control.

In fact, a relevant quote about societal critical thinking, I think, is the one referring to the most effective way of destroying identity: "The most effective way to destroy people is to deny them and erase their own understanding of the past."⁴

I was previously talking about real-life examples, relevant for transmitting patterns of behavior related to fear, at the level of human society. And what better example can we give, than the one related to our

⁴ Orwell G. (2022). 1984, Litera, Bucharest, 2021

daily lives as post-pandemic individuals. Aren't the hysteria around fake news, isolation, frustration, so many manifestations of social fear? Isn't our post-pandemic society a society of fear and uniform thinking? Of course, we all know the answer that raises the following question: is there hope for the healing of society from this terrible existential fear? And can the already inculcated mental programs be replaced with healthier behavioral models, more beneficial to humanity?

In the opinion of the author of this article, the answer is positive: the human mind has the ability to defend itself, to self-adapt to external challenges and even has the ability to trigger its own defense mechanisms.

3. Coping mechanisms, effective methods of combating fear at the individual level

As I said before, the human brain is endowed with the ability to develop certain self-protection mechanisms, if it perceives external threats, called **coping mechanisms by specialists**.

The term borrowed from English, refers to the verb "to cope", which means "to cope, to deal with a difficult situation".⁵

Definition: Coping mechanisms are strategies used unconsciously and/or consciously by a person to avoid, diminish or remedy as much as possible the negative impact that a situation they are facing has on their state of mental and physical comfort.⁶

Coping mechanisms include all kinds of strategies that people use to remove or diminish an unpleasant mood: from distraction with something else, to complex methods, which we sometimes use even unconsciously.

Here are some examples of unconscious coping:

1. **Repression** is the mechanism by which our psyche "pushes into the unconscious" an idea or a memory that would be unacceptable to us (either it is too painful or it would say something unacceptable about ourselves). A repressed idea is automatically "put into storage" without us realizing it, somewhere in a drawer of the mind that we never look into. As long as we don't realize that

⁵ www.hallo.ro

⁶ www.minteforte.ro

that idea or memory exists, it can't hurt us. For example, if in childhood we had an unpleasant experience related to a danger of drowning, our brain can do two things with it: either choose to block certain behaviors that could expose us to a similar risk, or it pushes the experience into latent memory, without bringing it back to memory too often.

2. **Rationalization** is the mechanism by which we convince ourselves that we have done something for a logical or desired reason, although in fact we have done that thing for completely different reasons. This strategy first protects us from disappointing ourselves, and then from disappointing others. It's essentially automatically (without realizing it) finding a plausible excuse for what we've already done. Of course, this capacity has a lot to do with the place of control of each of us, that is, with the way to justify our actions through a personal approach or through an external intervention.

Unconsciously, the human psyche not only resorts to coping mechanisms that help, but also to the so-called maladaptive or negative coping. These strategies may provide temporary relief, but they generally aggravate fear or other long-term emotional problems:

- a. **Avoidance** – Avoiding situations or people that cause fear can worsen the feeling of fear in the long run, as the person never faces the problem.
- b. **Alcohol or drug use** – These behaviors can mask fear temporarily, but can lead to addiction and an increase in mental health problems.
- c. **Rumination** – Repetitive and obsessive thinking about the causes of fear can amplify negative emotions and lead to blockage.
- d. **Excessive self-criticism** – People who use this strategy can constantly blame themselves for their fears, which can lead to low self-esteem and depression.

Fortunately, there are of course situations that the individual triggers consciously and that he can even practice, as defense mechanisms in combating the feeling of fear:

1. **Problem-focused coping** – The person tries to directly face the situation that causes the fear. For example, someone who is afraid of an exam can manage their fear by preparing better and

- imagining themselves concretely in the exam situation. (We will discuss the exercise of the ability from a neurolinguistic point of view as well).
4. **Cognitive reappraisal** – Changing the way you perceive the situation to see it as less threatening. For example, instead of focusing on the possibility of failure, you can focus on the lessons you can learn.
 5. **Social support** – Discussing fear with friends or family can help gain an outside perspective and reduce anxiety.
 6. **Intellectualization** protects us from cruel reality, helping us to look at everything in an abstract, detached, or intellectual way. We often resort to symbols or metaphors, so that we don't have to look at the painful reality as it really is and be overwhelmed by emotions.

For example, a soldier on a mission looks at the objectives as if he were playing a strategy game, in order to keep his "cool head".

Starting from the previous example, as well as from the one related to the exam situation, we can easily make the transition to the "saving solutions" that our brain itself has and that we can practice thanks to neurolinguistics.

Neuro-linguistic programming (NLP) offers a practical approach and techniques that can help combat fear and manage negative emotions, both individually and collectively. NLP is a psychological method that is based on understanding how our language, thinking, and behaviors are interconnected. The central idea is that by altering the way we think and use language, we can change our emotional and behavioral reactions, including fear-inducing mental programs.

4. Neuro-linguistic programming to combat fear at an individual and collective level

"Every time words turn out to be the only obstacles to achieving the things you consider important – change the words."⁷ This is, in the author's opinion, the key in which we must decipher the fight against fear. Fortunately, neurolinguistics offers us some innovative approaches such as:

⁷ O'Connor, Joseph, *Manual de NLP*, Curtea Veche Publishing House, 2019, p.225

1. Reframing

The technique by which the interpretation of an event is changed, offering a new perspective. In the case of fear, reframing involves changing the way you perceive the situation that causes your fear.

How it works: Instead of seeing fear as an insurmountable obstacle, you can perceive it as an opportunity for growth or learning. For example, if you're afraid of public speaking, you can reframe this as a chance to develop your communication skills.

2. Emotional anchoring (Anchoring)

Anchoring is the process of associating a positive emotional state with a certain gesture, sound, or image, so that you can access that state when needed.

For example, at a time when you feel strong and confident, associate this state with a specific gesture (such as clenching your fist). Later, when you face fear, you can use this gesture to "activate" the associated positive emotional state.

3. Future Pacing Technique

This technique involves visualizing the future and the desired outcomes in a detailed and positive manner.

In the case of facing a situation that causes fear, such as a job interview or an exam, there is the solution of self-visualization in that situation, calmly and confidently, obtaining a positive result. This practice allows to change the perception of the situation and reduce anxiety.

4. Chunking Down

In NLP, fragmentation means breaking down a big fear or problem into smaller, more manageable parts.

For example, instead of seeing a dreaded situation as an insurmountable whole, break it down into small, actionable steps. For example, if you feel overwhelmed by the fear of failure in a project, focus on each individual stage and the small steps you can take to move forward.

5. Behavior Modeling

This technique involves identifying a person who successfully manages fears and using their behavior as a role model.

How it works: Find a person who confidently approaches situations you're afraid of. Ask yourself what this person does differently: how they think, how they talk to themselves, and what actions they take. Then try to apply these behaviors in your life.

6. Mental Scenario Rewriting (Swish Pattern)

This is an NLP technique that allows negative or scary mental images to be replaced with positive and powerful ones.

How it works: Visualize a scary scenario in detail, and then quickly replace that image with one in which you see yourself calm and confident, successfully managing the situation. Repeating this technique helps you reprogram your mental response.

7. Self-talk

What it is: The language you use when talking to yourself directly influences how you feel.

How it works: Replace negative or catastrophic thoughts with positive, rational affirmations. For example, instead of "I'll never make it," you can say, "I have all the necessary skills, and I can learn along the way." This change in language reduces fear and increases self-confidence.

8. Relaxation and controlled breathing exercise

What it is: In NLP, controlled breathing is used to combat physiological responses associated with fear, such as increased heart rate and muscle tension.

How it works: When you feel fear affecting your body, stop and focus on deep, calm, and controlled breathing. This technique helps to relax the body and calm the mind.

Of course, the techniques described above work at the individual level. But, as I said before, we are currently facing an exacerbation of the feeling of fear at a collective level and even an exaggerated manifestation of self-defense practices, which materializes in social isolation, lack of communication and even enmity with others.

In this case, the solution would be innovative education, i.e. the inclusion of neurolinguistic systems in parenting practices but also in psycho-pedagogical ones. How can we do that?

Each of us can intervene when the child cries and cannot control his fear of water, for example. We can teach him to control his breathing, then

give him a very pleasant experience in a small amount of water and with many favorite toys. In this way, we create a positive experience, which we can later "exploit" in the pool or in the aquatic environment.

How do we intervene in education? Neurolinguistic communication is the solution. There are children who are afraid of failure, children who communicate with difficulty or children with learning problems. It is clear that in these cases, traditional methods have sometimes been insufficient.

For example, fear of failure can block a person's potential and affect their confidence and productivity. NLP proposes a series of techniques that help change the way we perceive failure, transform limiting thinking and create a positive and proactive mindset: reframing, by approaching failure in an easier note, rewriting the inner dialogue, that is, replacing statements about failure with positive affirmations, for example "I do my best and I will learn from any result."

Of course, we can also intervene at other levels of society, not only in the case of learning. For example, collective fear and the feeling of an unhealthy society and diabolical manipulation practices can be combated through social programs that develop individuals' trust in the administration, combating fake news, correct and complete information and developing critical thinking of individuals. And... We are going back to education...

Conclusions

As we have seen from the article above, fear is a behavioral model based on beliefs and mental programs that can be managed and modified.

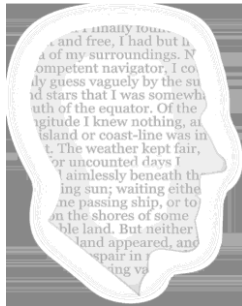
The redrawing of the behavioral model is possible with the help of neurolinguistic methods, so that even a state as frightening as fear can be controlled.

At the societal level, we can intervene in order to cancel the transmission of wrong behavioral models that induce fear of failure or maladaptation, and at the individual level, each of us can adapt our own perceptions and parenting style.

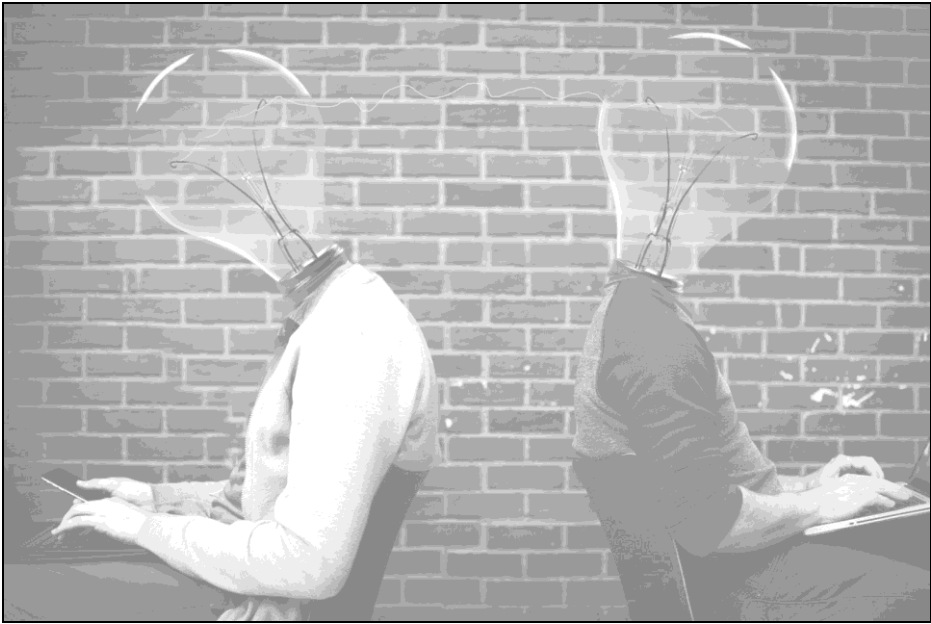
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A BOOK REVIEW



A BOOK REVIEW

**ROMANIANS
between
CURSES and MIRACLES
A historical-sociological approach¹**

Nicolae GROSU, PhD



The author of the volume, prof.univ.dr. Nicolae Grosu

When you receive a diagnosis for your bodily or spiritual illness from fate, the first reaction is rejection. It is very difficult to look the truth in the face. When the diagnosis is received by your people and it has been aimed at serious diseases for over 2000 years, the pain is boundless. Two big and broad reasons make us run away from the truth, one being related to the fact that we give water to the mill to the enemies of the nation, and the second to the fact that a well-packaged lie is easier to carry on one's feet.

These elements are enough for today's Romanian elite to avoid understanding the sociological phenomena described in this book and to

¹ Volume published by Ecou Transilvan Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2024

avoid as much as possible the debate on these diseases of the Romanian nation. Well, a strong society faces the truth and restarts the engines of society with the little energy left after this stinging diagnosis. Hard times give birth to strong people. In the current geopolitical context of deep crisis – moral, geopolitical, energy, agri-food, sanitary, etc. – Romania needs an intelligent and patriotic elite, which will pass the exam with the Professor called History.

For the three diseases of the nation, namely division, family weakness and lack of motivation, the book describes the behaviors and related language that characterize these diseases. At the same time, every social disease finds other keys to discovering a suitable cure, and the fact that this nation has resisted in history until today can mean a miracle, but at the same time it can also mean the fact that it found its sap in that fiber touched by spiritual rotteness.

What intimate springs must be touched in order for the strength of this nation to vibrate again as in the past? The nation has kept its language spoken without dialects because it has created a unique phenomenon in Europe in the last 2000 years, namely Transhumance, an element of uniformity of speech between the different historical regions, and the main mechanism of geopolitical struggle with the Roman Empire. I lost

The battle with Rome only when the Roman legions blocked the transhumance routes from the Balkans to Dacia. After the desolation of the territory by migratory waves, you had to rebuild your household, and for this the people invented the claca, which is still found today in different areas. In the face of the migratory wave you could not resist individually, even if you retreated to the mountains, and then they created the sheepfold, as a socio-economic survival mechanism, in times of peace or war. In poverty, the young family had a wedding financed largely by the village, through mutual aid systems. These survival mechanisms of the Romanian nation show us that in critical moments it has found answers to spiritual illnesses.

To today's division and enmity, the ancestors in history found as a cure the sheepfold, the claca and other systems of mutual aid. To today's nationwide weakness and the betrayal derived from it, represented in the official version of "Miorița", our ancestors found as a cure over 800 variants of "Miorița" collected from the current Romanian territory by Victor Ravini. To the lack of motivation as a disease of the soul of the nation, which derives in the lack of respect for others, our ancestors found as a cure the hundreds of agro-cultural events (Sitatoarea, Hora, Jocul) that mobilized

communities to organize themselves to preserve their identity, found in Ion Ghinoiu's book (The Popular Calendar of the Romanian Peasant).

Professor Nicolae Grosu has the moral duty to the nation to come up with another book, in which he explains the miracle of the survival of the Romanian nation and selects the positive behaviors and the related language that will allow us to be reborn, like the Phoenix Bird, from our own ashes.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. AVRAM FIȚIU

Author's considerations about the volume

Conceived as an attempt to sociologically explain the historical development of our nation, the book was written in the light of: the semantic exigency, to give the phrase, rigorously choosing the concepts, the virtue of precision; syntactic exigency, to give the sentence, rigorously formulating the statement, the virtue of clarity; the euphonic exigency, to give the phrase, rigorously pursuing fluency, the virtue of harmony; to the logical exigency, to confer on the sentence, rigorously unfolding the reasoning, the virtue of truth.



Edgar Allan Poe
Photo source: Getty Images

Through the above requirements, the text aims, in the spirit of the Poetic Principle of the great American poet, prose writer and literary critic Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849), both syntactic non-redundancy, i.e. the sentences do not contain any extra word, and semantic non-redundancy, i.e. the words do not contain any extra syllable, so as to achieve physiological synchronicity between the dynamics of normal reading and the rhythm of resting breathing and, So, the reading of each sentence should end at exactly the same moment as the exhalation, this type of synchronicity aiming to transpose the reader into resonance with the text, as if he had written it himself. And because simplicity is one of the strong criteria for assessing the elegance of scientific theories, it is plausible – according to a genius of simplification of form, Constantin Brâncuși (1876-1957) – that simplicity is complexity solved, this axiomatic truth being the imperative of writing this book.

The requirements presented are subsumed to the methodological requirement that each statement be rigorous in relativity and relatively rigorous, which means that it must be achieved through generalizations, not through absolutizations, that is, on the certainty that the analyzed phenomena have occurred or occur in most cases, not in all, and that therefore, methodologically accept the exception.

Also subsumed by the methodological exigency, the generalizations are based on both statistical data and historical evidence, the most strident evidence being that of the poorest people in the richest European country, the last in the positive indicators (per capita income, life expectancy, etc.) and the first in the negative indicators (morbidity, mortality, etc.)

In our approach to analyzing the nation, the nation itself has helped us, through its specific sayings, sayings that, emanating from over 1900 years of life conclusions, describe, explain and evaluate it in an undeniable way, their plasticity apodictically completing² the rigor of the explanatory labor.

In the light of what has been presented, the reader will find that each paragraph constitutes in itself both a stage conclusion and a premise to be followed, this double epistemological hypostasis³ – both conclusion and

² Apodictic, which excludes the possibility of an opposition. (Explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language. DEX).

³ According to the theory of scientific knowledge. (DEX).

premise – of each paragraph giving their succession continuity, coherence, consistency, clarity and relevance.

Realized in this way, the book gives me the awareness of the maximum scientific exigency, as a work that succeeds in the epistemic leap from the constative-descriptive to the conceptual-explanatory, and externalizes itself to me on the wavelength of scientific self-knowledge as a message of my life, which I dedicate to Romanians Everywhere.

Compared to the above – inspired by the title of a book written by Gabriel García Márquez (1927-2014),

"To live to tell your life", I feel predestined to the destiny of

"To live to understand my nation", that is, to know it as realistically as possible and to love it as much as possible rational.

Nicolae GROSU





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