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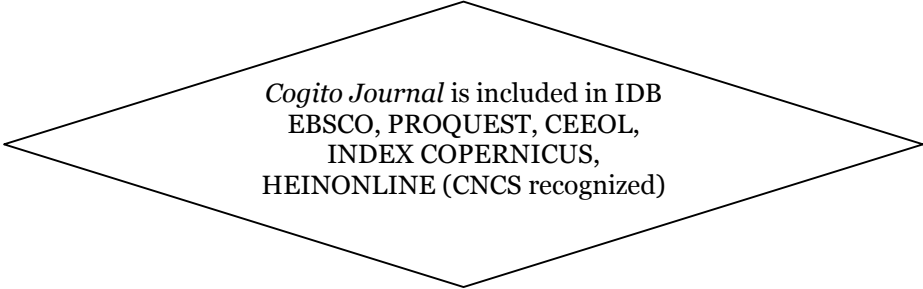
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RICOEUR AND THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF ATHEISM

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Abstract: Traditionally atheism has been conceived and construed as a rejection of religion and religious faith. However, in his Bampton Lectures at Columbia University under the title of 'Religion, Atheism, and Faith', Paul Ricoeur offers an interpretation of atheism somewhat reminiscent of Hegelian dialectical approach whereby atheism as an antithesis to religion paves the way for a paradoxical synthesis: namely, a new articulation of faith. The purpose of this paper is therefore to appraise Ricoeur's rendition of the religious significance of atheism against his problematic concepts of religion and atheism.

Keywords: Atheism, British Empiricism, Faith, French Positivism, Freud, Genealogical Criticism, Genetic Fallacy, Hegelian Dialectic, Nietzsche, Propositional Criticism, Religion, Ricoeur.

1. Setting the Scene

The Greek word *atheos* as the lexical stem source of atheism in English signifies disbelief in, or denial of, the existence of any deity – whether singular or plural – and it thereby seems an oxymoron to see atheism as a means of acquiring religious belief and faith in the existence of some sort of divine being. But Paul Ricoeur attempts to refashion an account of atheism, somewhat in the spirit and manner of Hegelian dialectics, whereby atheism as an antithesis to religion culminates in a *paradoxical* synthesis: namely, a new articulation of faith. According to Ricoeur, there is a 'dialectic between religion, atheism, and faith'¹ in which atheism acts as an 'intermediary' position clearing the ground for a new faith – 'a faith for a postreligious age.' (*Ibid.*, p. 59) In this dialectical trinity, Ricoeur reads religion in its 'most archaic form' as a system fomented from and formulated in terms of 'the fear of punishment and the desire for protection.' (*Ibid.*, p. 60) Consequently, in his discussion of atheism, he finds the atheistic 'tradition of British empiricism or of French positivism' irrelevant and devotes his discourse to 'the atheism of Nietzsche and Freud' which in his view created a new kind of reductive hermeneutic of religion as a symptom of disguised wishes and fears. (*Ibid.*, p. 61) By embracing this Nietzschean and Freudian critique of religion, Ricoeur suggests that we are only then in a position to reorient faith to its 'real focus'. (*Ibid.*, p. 62) Thus, on the basis of this outlook, the intention of this essay is to revisit Ricoeur's rendition of the religious significance of atheism against the backdrop of his *problematic* concepts of religion and atheism.

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¹ Paul Ricoeur, 'Religion, Atheism, and Faith', 57-98, in Alasdair MacIntyre and Paul Ricoeur, *The Religious Significance of Atheism*, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969, p. 60.

Specifically, it will be argued that Ricoeur's reading of religion is guilty of the genetic fallacy and because of this he fails to appreciate the force of the atheism of 'British empiricism or of French positivism' variety. In fact, it will be shown that by restricting his focus to a genetic account of religion *à la* Nietzsche and Freud, Ricoeur unwittingly falls into the classic snare of atheism that religion is nothing other than a cluster of propositional attitudes devoid of any possible intentional object, and thus any faith based on such attitudes is no more than a phantom of fuzzy feelings. The contention here is that the significance of atheism lies not so much in its *genealogical* critique but in its *propositional* criticism of religion, and thereby atheism does not have any significance for faith except for *proclaiming* it to be conceptually inadequate and experientially illusory.

2. Ricoeur's Reading of Religion and Faith

From the outset in the Bampton Lectures, without much argument and evidence, Ricoeur takes a historical or genealogical attitude towards the phenomenon of religion by focusing on what he calls the archaic form of religion in terms of the fear of punishment and the desire for protection on the part of humans. What is important to note here is that this historical or genealogical attitude towards religion need not be interpreted *chronologically* from past generations to the future ones only, since the attitude in question can be readily read *developmentally* within the same generation and individuals. So, the concept of time inherent in Ricoeur's conception of religion can be understood *inter-* as well as *intra-*generationally or at the level of a person individually. From this perspective, in Ricoeur's view, religion thus plays two paradigmatic functions for humans: 'taboo and shelter' or, in his grander terminology, 'accusation and consolation'. (*Ibid.*, p. 60) On this view, the divine being is nothing other than a 'primitive god' that oversees or regulates the activities of humans by both threatening and comforting the 'primitive man.' (*Ibid.*, p. 60)

But, in Ricoeur's reckoning, faith must overcome these twin 'rotten points of religion', and this can be done dialectically only under the aegis of atheism whereby a faith will be achieved that is not only 'beyond accusation and consolation' but also 'beyond the ordeal of religious doubt.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 59-60) Atheism as faith's *aide de camp* liberates the primitive man of the ancient as well as the present time from the taboos imposed by religion and destroys the shelters set up by religion in order to achieve a state beyond the ordeal of doubt. However, even at this early stage of enquiry and delineation, one faces the difficulty of grasping what exactly Ricoeur's faith is as atheism is dispatched to clear the grounds in order for faith to reach 'beyond the ordeal of religious doubt.' Specifically, does this mean that, contrary to the common conception, faith is a *non-epistemic* state of mind? In that case, what is a non-epistemic faith? But, if this is too much of a radical departure from standard and traditional understanding of faith and faith is still epistemic in some form or fashion, how can it ever be beyond doubt in any meaningful and non-metaphorical manner? In this respect, René Descartes' sceptical arguments in his *First Meditation* are always a salutary reminder of the indispensability of doubt to the epistemic fabric of human existence and cognitive states of mind. Generally, given Ricoeur's account of faith thus far, one is still none the wiser about what faith actually is.

3. Ricoeur's Taxonomy of Atheism

For Ricoeur, atheism is not just one type and, furthermore, not all types of atheism are capable of facilitating the dialectical transition from religion to faith. He divides all types of atheism into two broad categories: atheism of Nietzsche and Freud which may be conveniently dubbed *cultural atheism* and atheism of British Empiricism and French Positivism which may, again for the sake of convenience, be baptized as *conceptual atheism*, and predictably Ricoeur has a particular predilection for one of these types of atheism as a means of arriving at faith. In Ricoeur's reworking of atheism, cultural atheism is fundamentally 'a mode of critique in which cultural representations and creeds are considered as symptoms of disguised wishes and fears.' (*Ibid.*, p. 61) In his view, this type of Nietzschean and Freudian atheism is predicated on the underlying thought that the cultural dimension of human existence 'has a hidden meaning which requires a specific mode of decipherment' where the method of decipherment is 'reductive hermeneutics' through which one attempts to reveal and clarify 'the primary, underlying text.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 61-2) By applying such a reductive hermeneutics to the cultural dimension of human existence in the forms of religion and ethics we realize that 'the belief in an absolute origin of good and evil originated in a situation of weakness and dependence.' (*Ibid.*, p. 65)

On this account of cultural atheism, in Ricoeur's synopsis, religion is basically an *illusion*. However, in contrast with cultural atheism of Nietzsche and Freud, conceptual atheism of British Empiricism and French Positivism attempts to dispute 'the so-called proofs of the existence of God' and to argue 'that the concept of God is meaningless.' (*Ibid.*, p. 61) Thus, in Ricoeur's synopsis of conceptual atheism, the intent and function of the atheism of British Empiricism and French Positivism is only to establish the idea that religion is an *error*.

Prima facie, one may not see much difference between the claims that religion is an *illusion* as opposed to being an *error*. After all, an illusion is an error. But, Ricoeur seizes on an apparent difference between the two claims and dismisses conceptual atheism in favour of the cultural variety by arguing that in calling religion an illusion one is being alerted to the realization that 'the true meaning of religion' has been kept away from 'the observer'. (*Ibid.*, p. 61) So, unlike conceptual atheism that completely undermines the concept of religion, cultural atheism leaves room for observers to discover 'the true meaning of religion'. The archaic form of religion is intent on instilling fear of taboos and cultivating desire for shelter, and thereby the function of cultural atheism is to dismantle the shelter and free man from taboos by destroying the idea of God as the ultimate source of accusation and consolation. Unravelling the human fear of punishment and desire for protection would dispel the illusion of God as the ultimate danger and shield. However, whether Nietzsche and Freud were in fact pursuing such doctrinal cleansing and in search of the restoration of 'true religion', it will become clear that Ricoeur is too hasty in his dismissal of the profound adverse impact of conceptual atheism on the *intellectual* foundations and future of faith.

4. Cultural Atheism and Ricoeur's Response

Although Ricoeur finds cultural atheism of Nietzsche and Freud congenial in his pursuit of a new articulation of faith, the efforts of Nietzsche and Freud in

exposing the illusory origin of religious and ethical values by declaring that ‘God is dead’ and that the social institution of law is the primitive drama of ‘the murder of the father’, Ricoeur recognizes that he cannot reconcile himself with their ultimate worldviews. Thus, in order to ascertain the *theological* significance of this kind of atheism, Ricoeur raises three questions by which he attempts to demarcate his Hegelian dialectical project of transition from religion to faith through atheism from cultural atheism of Nietzsche and Freud. Ricoeur thinks that a clear response to the following questions should pave the way for the uncovering of ‘the true meaning of religion’ from the *illusion* of ‘archaic form of religion’: (1) which god is dead?, (2) who killed him?, and (3) what kind of authority belongs to the word which proclaims his death? (*Ibid.*, p. 65)

Ricoeur’s response to the first question is thus: what Nietzsche and Freud showed was the demise of ‘the God of metaphysics’ or, in Heideggerian terminology, ‘ontotheology’: God ‘of a first cause, of a necessary being, of a prime mover which is absolute goodness and the origin of values.’ (*Ibid.*, pp. 65-6) However, to say the least, this is very surprising, if not completely contradictory, in view of the fact that Ricoeur readily rejects conceptual atheism as irrelevant to his project of a new articulation of faith where in reality the aim of conceptual atheism is nothing other than debunking the very metaphysical or ontotheological conception of Deity that he refers to in his answer to the first question. Moreover, in Ricoeur’s account of Nietzsche and Freud, they are presented as being engaged in a process of *regressive analysis* to show how *primitive* emotional states of fear and desire led to the emergence of the God of accusation and consolation in the archaic form of religion, whereas the definition of the demised God that Ricoeur presents is couched in terms that bear the least connection to various human emotional states of mind. The descriptions can stand or fall in the absence of the existence of any sentient and intelligent beings including humans.

By the same extension, Ricoeur’s response to the second question that it was the cultural process ushered in by Nietzsche and Freud that killed the God by showing ‘the very nothingness which dwell in the Ideal [and] the lack of absoluteness of the surperego’ (*Ibid.*, p. 67), fails short of capturing how conceptual atheists of British Empiricism and French Positivism have deconstructed the classical conception of God, as presented in Ricoeur’s definition in response to the first question, to the point of being an empty and vacuous conception.

However, what is more controversial, if not disastrously damaging, is Ricoeur’s answer to the third question: namely, ‘everything becomes dubious as soon as we ask *who* says that.’ (*Ibid.*, p. 67; my emphasis) Thus, though Ricoeur is content with the target and the process of arriving at the death of the God through cultural atheism, ‘everything suddenly becomes problematic’ when we look for *who* proclaim the demise of the divinity. (*Ibid.*, p. 67) Notwithstanding the *ad hominem fallacy* that Ricoeur is clearly committing here², one may ask why we should distrust the message of these proclaimers if the target and the process are

² In detail, the question here is not and should not be about what authority Nietzsche and Freud have or may have in their cultural diagnosis of the archaic form of religion. Instead, the question should be about what evidence or justification Nietzsche and Freud could muster to support such a genetic account of religion. The personal authority of either of them is absolutely irrelevant here.

presented and purchased unhesitatingly. Ricoeur feels the urgency of this question and attempts to tackle it by claiming that what the proclaimers of cultural atheism are offering 'is not a demonstrative way of thinking' and 'nothing proves that [their] message is correct'. (*Ibid.*, pp. 67-8) But, if we were looking for 'a demonstrative way of thinking' and 'proof', should not have we stayed with conceptual atheism of British Empiricism and French Positivism whose proclamations are intended as 'demonstrations' and 'proofs'? Ironically, Ricoeur goes further in dismantling his own project by dismissing a Nietzschean or Freudian cultural atheist proclaimer on the grounds of being just a rebel where the 'rebel is not, and cannot be, worth the prophet.' (*Ibid.*, p. 68) But, if one needs a prophet to attain 'the true meaning of religion', what business does atheism have in the dialectical process of moving from religion to faith? To put the matter conversely, it might be rhetorically asked: are prophets in the business of 'demonstrative way of thinking' and 'proof' in the sense that they are usually understood and practiced? Nonetheless, Ricoeur compounds the inconsistencies in his account by making the following *question begging* pontification on the role of philosophers in the attainment of faith: it is the responsibility of the philosopher to find 'the level of questioning which makes possible a mediation between religion and faith through atheism.' (*Ibid.*, p. 70) But, is not the very possibility and existence of such 'a mediation' a notoriously contentious philosophical issue in its own right as evidently evinced by the proclamations of the practitioners of conceptual atheism?

5. Review of Ricoeur's Rendition of Religion and Atheism

In charting out the course of ideas put forward by Ricoeur for the process of attaining faith through the dialectics of religion and atheism, only intermittently a number of concerns and criticisms were raised. However, this concluding section is principally focused on a number of larger objections to the Ricoeurian project of rearticulating faith for a postreligious age.

(I) One of the most glaring problems of Ricoeur's treatment of religion through his elucidation and elaboration of that concept is that he appears to be guilty of the *genetic fallacy*. Even if one grants the genetic account of religion *à la* Nietzsche and Freud, it does not mean that the idea itself is irredeemably irrational. There is a difference between why something is *true* and why it is *believed to be true*. By limiting his reading of religion to a genetic account, Ricoeur inadvertently traps himself in the classic snare of atheism that religion is nothing other than a cluster of propositional attitudes devoid of any possible intentional object, and thus any faith based on such attitudes is no more than a phantasm of shadowy shenanigans of the human mind. However, although in a later writing Ricoeur admits that his account of religion in 'Religion, Atheism, and Faith' was 'tainted with the genetic fallacy'³, he still fails to see the greater consequence of his concession: namely, his failure to accord and appreciate the *priority* of conceptual atheism over cultural atheism. This consequential result of his admission effectively throws the whole project of a new articulation of faith

³ Paul Ricoeur, 'Reply to David Detmer', 494-497, in *The Philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*, L.E. Hahn (ed.), Chicago and La Salle: Open Court, 1995, p. 496.

into disarray as the focal point of conceptual atheism is to demonstrate the impossibility of any coherent conceptual infrastructure for a religious faith. This in fact highlights another attendant mistake of Ricoeur in his misreading and misinterpretation of Nietzsche and Freud. Both Nietzsche and Freud were conscientiously cognizant of the distinction between the questions about the evidence or justification of a religious claim and the questions about the psychological factors underlying an individual's religious claims. Freud, for example, prefaces his analysis of religion by stating that religious doctrines 'do not admit of proof' and they are 'incompatible with everything we have laboriously discovered about the reality of the world'⁴, and that is why he is thrust into a search for a *psychological story* of human religious phenomenon with its multifarious manifestations. Thus, conceptual atheism always takes *precedence* over cultural atheism which, in turn, has the crucial corollary that no amount of cultural theism can lend any support to conceptual theism.

(II) The second substantial problem that Ricoeur's reliance on cultural atheism faces is that his recounting of the objective of cultural atheism is guilty of the *fallacy of non sequitur*. In answering the question, 'Which god is dead?', in Ricoeur's reading of cultural atheism, the answer is: 'the God of metaphysics ... the metaphysics of a first cause, of a necessary being, of a prime mover which is absolute goodness and the origin of values.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 65-6) But, as indicated albeit briefly earlier, even if Nietzsche and Freud are right in their genetic account of religious and moral values that they stem from human fear of punishment and human relish in shelter and protection, thus *impugning* God as the ultimate source of norms, it does *not* follow that there cannot be a first cause, a prime mover, a necessary being, or even a being capable of omnibenevolence. Such concepts may have been conjured up by humans in states of existential desperation or adulation, yet that would not have any material impact on the intellectual integrity or otherwise of such concepts in their own rights.

(III) In his discussion and use of cultural atheism of Nietzsche and Freud, Ricoeur's central concern and problem with the classical conception of religion is the issue of the *origin of ethical or moral normativity*: that is, he is criticizing a type of *divine command theory* of ethics according to which God is 'the origin of values.' (*Ibid.*, p. 66) Crucially, the main motif of cultural atheism for Ricoeur is its attempt to lay bare the bones of a moribund body of morality rooted in divine accusation and consolation. Yet, in his zeal to debunk the religious account of moral normativity in the manner of Nietzsche and Freud, Ricoeur becomes guilty of a grave *historical neglect*. One of the earliest extant philosophical texts that explicitly attempts to sabotage the idea of God or gods as the source of ethical norms is Plato's dialogue, *Euthyphro*. Although Socrates does not appear in the guise of an atheist in the dialogue, and if anything at all he is charged *inter alia* for 'making new gods' (2b), his famous *Euthyphro Dilemma* that, 'Is what is holy holy because the gods approve it, or do they approve it because it is holy?' (10a), was designed to bring to light the untenability of the idea of divinity as the origin of morality. Thus, for more

⁴ Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, trans. W.D. Robson-Scott, New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1955, p. 55.

than two millennia before the rise of the reductive or regressive hermeneutics of Nietzsche and Freud of the archaic form of religion, Socrates had already subverted the contentious conception of morality founded on God's commands. Indeed, this is one of the classical devices of conceptual atheism to divest morality from religion altogether, thus depriving theism of one of its most important intellectual crutches, without indulging in any Nietzschean or Freudian atheistic reexamination of the underlying subtexts of cultural codes of morality and values.

(IV) Finally, recall that in Ricoeur's rereading of atheism, cultural atheism is presented to maintain that religion is an *illusion* in contrast to conceptual atheism that is portrayed to maintain that religion is an *error*, and, further, Ricoeur himself opts for the illusion theory of religion as articulated through the works of Nietzsche and Freud. However, it appears that in his deference towards the illusion theory of religion Ricoeur seriously *underestimates the perilous implications* of an illusion interpretation of religion as opposed to an error interpretation for theistic beliefs in general. The problems arise from the *nature* of illusions. Illusions are broadly divided into two general categories of *perceptual*, like the visual illusion of Müller-Lyer Figure, or *cognitive*, like probability illusion of Conjunction Effect. But, what is common to both types of illusion is their cardinal characteristic of being *incurable* in the sense that they *cannot* be corrected and are effectively *implasticities* of the various states of mind that cannot be changed despite knowing otherwise.⁵

A clear case for perceptual illusion is the example of mirage: no matter how hard we try, we cannot stop seeing remote objects inverted as if mirrored in water or suspended in midair in deserts or over hot pavements. But, if religion is an illusion of 'our consciousness' (*Ibid.*, p. 62), as Ricoeur's puts it, and illusions are by nature incurable, then Ricoeur is facing the self-defeating consequence of the *impossibility of transcending religion to attain faith*. In the case of illusions, there is no possibility of transcending the states of mind underpinning them, let alone attaining a new state of mind. Obviously, there is a way out of this quandary for Ricoeur which is to abandon the illusion theory of religion and opt for the error theory of religion. However, this change of tack comes with a heavy un-Ricoeurian price tag: namely, recognition of the propriety and primacy of conceptual atheism. But, Ricoeur has every reason to resist such a move as it verily vindicates the claim of conceptual atheism that the significance of atheism lie not in its *genealogical* critique of religious faith but in its *propositional* criticism of it. The *kerygma* of atheism is not so much the inadequacy of religion in particular but the conceptual and experiential vacuity of faith in general.

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⁵ Other theoretically cognate terms for incurability and implasticity are Jerry Fodor's *informational encapsulation* (*The Modularity of Mind*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983) and Zenon Pylyshyn's *cognitive impenetrability* (*Computation and Cognition*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986).

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GIUSEPPE RENSI ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ABSURD

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Abstract: *The issue of the absurd can be taken as a cornerstone of the ideas of Giuseppe Rensi, since it allows the use of the skeptical option for the deconstruction of metaphysics and the myth of rationality, stimulating, at an attitudinal level, the experimentation of a new lucidity by which life, creation, and defiance, facing the existential tragic that is constitutive to human being, gains a meaning.*

Keywords: *absurd, scepticism, pessimism, rational-irrational, hope, history, contradiction.*

Giuseppe Rensi (1871-1941) is an important writer of the Italian philosophical literature from the first half of the 20th century. It orders/distributes following two directions, that the author tries to match, using the results of this junction at the attitudinal and ethical level; firstly, this is about a critical insight, at a speculative level, which refers to important chapters of the history of European philosophy, but also the refusal of the respective hegelianism that had epigonic results; complementarily and in a tensioned manner, one notices the continuous desire of the author to passionately involve into social-cultural and political circumstances that extended over the entire Europe; if, at the historical and theoretical level, one finds useful and productive the critical separation from sterile speculation, at the level of ideological beliefs, the disappointments that are consciously accepted, without care for spiritual and existential comfort, are unavoidable. The meeting of the two directions restates the anti-speculativism and sets up, as a principle, the taste of experience/experiment and phenomenal evidences.

A short survey over this vast work can identify more sources of convergence and ideational accumulations suitable for/at the exposure of a subsequent unity of the text, the most evident being the sceptical option. But, if we take into account the various attitudinal consequences, the value cores and the anticipation of vast metaphysical postulates, we can state that the paper „*La filosofia dell'assurdo*”, published in 1937, has the importance of a true destinal synthesis, since it uses the accumulations and thematic variations from many previous papers; we mention here the most important: „*Gli «anciens regimes» e la democrazia diretta*” (1902), „*Antinomie dello spirito*” (1910), „*Sic et Non*” (1911), „*Fondamento filosofico del diritto*” (1921), „*Moralismo e amoralismo giuridico*” (1914), „*La Transcendenza*” (1914), „*Principii di politica impopolare*” (1919), „*Introduzione alla sciepsi etica*” (1919), „*Lineamenti de Filosofia scettica*” (1920), „*La scepsi estetica*” (1920), „*Polemiche antidogmatiche*” (1920), „*La Filosofia dell' Autorità*” (1920), „*L'orma di Protagora*” (1920), „*L'irrazionale – Il lavoro – L'amore*” (1923) – also

published as „*Le ragioni dell'Irrazionalismo*” in 1933, and „*Critica dell'amore e del lavoro*” in 1935 -, „*Interiora Rerum*” (1924) – considered as the first form, of a confessional intensity, of the work on the absurd that we refer to – „*Realismo*” (1925), „*Apologia dell' ateismo*” (1925), „*Apologia dello scetticismo*” (1926), „*Lo scetticismo*” (1926), „*L'Amore e il Lavoro nella concezione scettica*” (1933), „*Spinoza*” (1929), „*Frammenti di una filosofia dell'errore e del dolore, del male e della morte*” (1937), „*Lettere Spirituali*” (1943).

The synthesis on the absurd, as the author himself states, aims at „displaying a viewpoint: a skeptical and a pessimistic one”¹; pessimism refers to the possibility of knowing reality, and the scepticism states the impossibility of such knowledge; „the skeptical intuition finally sustains that reality is irrational and absurd and, this, incomprehensible”, while „the pessimistic intuition” underlines the fact that, due to this irrationality of the absurd, „the reality is painful and despairing”²; the arguments of this plead either in favour of a theoretical origin – especially Nietzsche, Schopenhauer a. s. o. – or of an existential one, but the most important are the historical and biographical evidences reflected upon by means of exercises of lucidity; the publishing of ideas is looked upon through its therapeutic consequences. One must remember the fact that the assuming of scepticism and pessimism is realised at a gnoseological/epistemological level, and not at an attitudinal/behavioural one; this is about grasping some evidences within the interpretation of the relationship between man and world, and also about those characteristics/meanings that reality exposes when it is reported to human condition, the attitude – a moral one, ultimately – being built as a continuation of these previous lucid remarks.

The ideational and argumentative ensemble has, as a source, the understanding of philosophy as an expression/expressing (of) a temperamental structure aiming at making life bearable. Just like William James, when it comes to our perspectives upon life, the task of logical proofs is left behind, the core being composed of some irreducible intuitions, through which one implies the profound structures of our personality. Giuseppe Rensi places, at the origin of his ideas, two facts, the contradiction (= divergences or disagreements) and history, respectively. The avoidance of admitting the contradictions is looked upon as a psychological and spiritual rebound facing the evidences of reality/life/world; depending on the initial affective positions, history itself can be received as a selective synthesis, the factual horizons being subjected to some prior value judgements; given the various coherent combinations they are opened to, history is the unquestionable proof of the overall presence of contradictions. „Contradictions and history are *unum et idem* (one and the same)”³. The discourses referring to the aim of history have a comforting function; Rensi refuses „the optimistic alteration of reality” by means of illegitimate hopes, since „hope is an induction which, starting from *what it is not*, concludes that what is

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¹ Giuseppe Rensi, *La philosophie de l'absurde*, Éditions Allia, Paris, 1996, p. 27.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Giuseppe Rensi, *La philosophie de l'absurde*, ed.cit., p. 42.

not will be, and, starting from *what does not happen*, concludes that what did not happen will take place⁴. The world/reality is taken as a reign of hazard, madness, confusion, an evil; at such a conclusion – Rensi states – all lucid men arrive, even if this lucidity is accompanied by a legitimate pain; on the one side, the solutions offered by specialised readings are unsatisfactory and, on the other side, confronted with successive and conflicting choices, under the pressure of the needs of life, the desiring ego is always willing to create „a comfortable *chaise longue*” for his own „spiritual siesta”⁵.

By the very structure and goal, the philosophies serve the human need to reduce or, if possible, cancel contradictions and, generally speaking, the sources of unease; the illusion of unity, universality and absolute separates man from concrete existence, rendering it valueless. Hope accumulates incertitude, unsafety, by projecting a sort of semi-reality that does not represent only imagination or daydreaming, but more often the fears regarding what will be; this is why „hope proceeds from nonexistence towards existence”, expressing „the impossibility to accept the absence of isolated fact”⁶. In fact, all statements regarding the reality man dwell on expelling the certitude of a belief, feeling attached to some imperative desires, thus being an anthropomorphic projection. This is why hope belongs to strategies of guising contradictions, because these generate discomfort at all levels. The philosophy of Giuseppe Rensi breeds, to its last consequences, this very ideational and existential discomfort, engaging into a sort of „spiritual copernicism” through which the effective presence, proximity, the familiar are received by taking distance, having the incommensurable as reference point, or the different one, which is remote; through this psychological and spiritual exercise we are presented with the legitimate existential plurality, the diversity of truths and value criteria and, finally, of unavoidable contradictions; „copernicism is but a chapter of scepticism”⁷ and, from this perspective, Hegel himself is criticised because, although he prefers processuality and contradictions, he cancels the attitudinal and value results by accepting the match of conflicts and decreeing of a ascendant/progressive meaning of evolution. In fact, in the very current cultural beliefs, one accepts the absolute, the truth, the unity as being above current multiplicities, „absolute, universality, truth floating over contradictions and differences among empirical and concrete facts and having nothing to do with these”⁸, being accepted just as forms of spiritual activity. As a result, „there is no reason (single and unique – author’s note). There are only reasons. There is no reason; there are only opinions (*doxai*)”⁹. The belief in a pure reason, an almighty one, is, therefore, a myth analogous to the primitive’s belief in the existence of the soul, demons, a. s. o.; neither factual realities, nor the spirit show, with some permanence and certitude, a measure of rationality, but are to be accepted as what they are.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

Giuseppe Rensi considers that the world we have in common is reduced to the universe of sensible perceptions – meaning that it is very limited – each individual being captive/prisoner in an unique mental universe, an irreducible one that cannot be separated from everyday life, and this monadic identity is not only empirically, but also metaphysically relevant; the heterogeneity and incommunicability are components of reason and this is why the features of ir-rational/non-logic, un-true/false can be very easily attributed for all that is different, otherwise, exterior. Thus, reason must not be treated/considered as an outside of the mental module, as a sure standard one confronts one's personal knowledge and by which this is evaluated; divergences, contradictions, differences are legitimate for the mere reason that there is no unifying reason, an infallible one, above all discussions; using Spinoza's terms, the spirit belongs to the „naturated” nature, and not to the „naturanant” one. This is why man is built up from „passions and beliefs”, he has „rational elements, but especially he is cruel and faithful, selfish and altruistic, sensual and mystical, and all these together”¹⁰, and the conceiving of a „spirit as a pure act, as pure activity” is absurd”¹¹.

Scepticism – as a theoretical strategy and method of ideational deconstruction – is set up following Renouvier, the ancient skeptics, and also some contemporary thinkers as Aliotta and Manacorda; within their ideas, Rensi identifies the creative resources of a doubt that has vital echoes: „scepticism means honesty and loyalty”¹². This scepticism is structurally anti-dogmatical: „scepticism is nothing more than anti-rationalism and anti-idealism”, without trying to be a mere synthesis of those¹³.

History is usually presented as having a spiritual coherence, a precise goal and a source of vital certitude; but it must be looked upon as a series/system of contradictions. Given the fact that life is, in its essential structure, pain/suffering structured by an essential/unavoidable tragic, „history is nothing more than the permanent will of stepping out of the present and of taking distance from it, since present/reality is always equivalent to evil”¹⁴; „history is nothing but the useless, because eternal, effort, to avoid the absurd and evil”¹⁵. If, obviously, contradictions accompany the category of space, meaning concomitance, history must assume contradictions in the terms of temporal succession; the absence of goal/scope confirms the activism of the irrationality and the absurd, the efforts of amelioration being passing and local. „Space and Time are the conditions of an absurd reality and evidences of the fact that it is absurd; they are, therefore, categories of the absurd”¹⁶; besides the spatial and temporal existences, that are perceivable and in themselves, there is nothing more. „Nature is neither rational, nor evil or unfair”¹⁷; cruelty, irrationality, injustice, imperfection exist only as

¹⁰ Giuseppe Rensi, *Critica della morale*, Etna, Catania, 1935, pp. 166-167.

¹¹ Giuseppe Rensi, *Lineamenti de Filosofia scettica*, Nicola Zanichelli Editore, Bologna, 1921, p.273 sqq.

¹² Giuseppe Rensi, *Lineamenti de Filosofia scettica*, ed.cit., p.17.

¹³ Giuseppe Rensi, *Apologia dello scetticismo*, A. F. Formiggini Editore, Roma, 1926, p. 12.

¹⁴ Giuseppe Rensi, *La philosophie de l'absurde*, ed.cit., ibid. p. 119.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 120.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 157.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

effects of a mental perspective. History can be but a succession subject to hazard, i.e. of absurd facts that define/join life and, generally speaking, rational reality. „The totality of the world cannot be perceived, is not the object of perfection and categories cannot be applied to it, meaning the categories by which we can know only what is perceivable and, outside perception, they remain void. Totality [unity – author’s note] cannot be noticed by cognitive categories and it is, *thus*, outside the sphere of what *exists*, of what *actually* is”¹⁸. Regarding this, there is no certain knowledge, just value judgements by which the human/anthropomorphic perspective claims its rights. By cancelling the rationalist illusion, the evaluative exercise must accept some evidences: the manner in which things/facts happen expose the domination of hazard and caprice, humiliating spirit and contradicting sagacity; although everything could have been different from what it was and is, the effective course of things is due to the absurd.

Even if it is not always – at the text level – nuanced/precise when he refers to the irrationality/absurd of existence/nature, Giuseppe Rensi uses strong principial distinctions between the viewpoint of reality as such and the human one. For example, he notices that Spinoza’s effort „is not to look upon reality with human eyes, but as it is in itself”¹⁹, looking at „reality in an absolute objective manner”²⁰, so that this be neither perfect, nor imperfect, neither moral, nor immoral, neither happy, nor painful; in fact, „reality is de-spiritualised”²¹. G. Rensi continuously accepts the principial distinction between „the viewpoint of Existence in its entirety” and „the human viewpoint”²².

The characterisation of world/reality as being irrational presupposes, as a reference point, the acceptance of a certain rationality; a firm ground of rationality – as it follows from previous analysis – cannot be found neither within reality – be it natural or social-cultural – nor in spirit; to avoid this dilemma, Rensi advances the acceptance of a distinction between reason and power/capacity/ability to reason, thus refusing the fiction of a unique reason in favour of an impure reason, that is marked by sensibility, passion, violence, impulses and adaptability implied into/through a constitutive existential immediateness. From this perspective, quarrelling with hegelian idealism/rationalism, Giuseppe Rensi clearly accepts the real’s a-logism; reality „is neither rational, nor non-rational”²³; rejecting the hegelian principle as a diagnostic, Rensi states that „what is real, is irrational, what is rational is not real”²⁴.

The human being adaptability strategies by means of which it escapes from

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 170.

¹⁹ Giuseppe Rensi, *Spinoza*, Guerini Edizioni, Milano, 1999, www.liberliber.it, p. 1.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 29.

²² Giuseppe Rensi, *Spinoza*, ed.cit. p. 54. Regarding the ethical intention of „the human viewpoint” see Giuseppe Rensi, *Lettere spirituali*, Bocca Edizioni, Milano, 1943, www.liberliber.it, p. 216.

²³ Giuseppe Rensi, *L'irrazionale – Il lavoro – L'amore*, Unitas Edizioni, Milano, 1923, www.liberliber.it, p.50. The terms „rational” and „irational” do not belong to facts, but to our mind that relates to facts. (cf. also pp. 51-52).

²⁴ Giuseppe Rensi, *L'irrazionale – Il lavoro – L'amore*, ed.cit., p. 66. This is why the absurd and injustice build up the most profound essence of reality, being able to distinguish a „noumenal absurd” and a „phenomenal absurd” (cf. p. 81).

an absurd and evil present; the historical course combines repetitiveness with innovation/creation/novelty, thus the only sense of historicity resides in the eternity of the absurd. The attitude Giuseppe Renzi advances within these ontological shapes/postulates consists of „resisting to the absurdity of the world”, „this attitude of *resisting* in an absurd world, this ability to confront the absurd of the world²⁵,” by refusing faith and hope or any other technique of escape. „Against the effective *a-rationality* of nature (...) and against the irrationality of most of the spirits, (...) there is no possibility that can save us from/of the absurd”²⁶. Nicola Emery notices that the renzian absurd and the metaphysical mutiny accompanying it prove the impossibility of absolute truth and the possible relationships of man with a world that is indifferent, quiet, insensitive²⁷. Jean Grenier notices, within the essays of Camus, the echoes of absurd sensibility to which Giuseppe Renzi had granted a conceptual statute²⁸. Admitting the effective a-rationality of nature and the structural irrationality of the spirit, Giuseppe Renzi refuses the philosophical or religious remedies like hope; lucidity forces us to try to „live thrown away and abandoned without a parachute within the empty space of an absurd world, inside as well as outside, rendered to blind hazard”²⁹. Besides these important ideational closures, one must underline the fact that the limits of conceiving and understanding - as decisive arguments in favour of sustaining the absurd of the relation between man and the world - are sketched by Camus, following Kierkegaard. One is aware that, still, Jean Grenier was a friend and teacher of Camus; the same Grenier published, in 1926, an essay in which he analysed Renzi’s absurd sensibility, from *Interiora Rerum* (published in 1924).

With no references to possible influences, we find interesting to follow a fertile ideational compatibility, an interesting spiritual family resemblance between the ideas of Giuseppe Renzi and Albert Camus. The absurd is taken as a relation, and not as an attribute of the world. Camus himself refers to – invoking a series of thinkers, from Jaspers to Heidegger and from Kierkegaard to Chestov – „this inexpressible universe in which contradictions, antinomy, anxiety, and weakness reign”³⁰. Georges Goedert notices an important nuance: “Camus does not claim that Sisyphus is happy: we must imagine him happy”. This stylistic nuance expresses the very “institutive character that the author gives to his perspective on happiness”³¹. Hence, Pierre-Louis Rey states: “happiness is the categorical imperative of Camus’ thinking”³². Defiance of the absurd and the

²⁵ Giuseppe Renzi, *La philosophie de l'absurde*, ed.cit., p. 205.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 208.

²⁷ See Nicola Emery, *Renzi et le miroir du nihilisme*, in Giuseppe Renzi, *La philosophie de l'absurde*, ed.cit., p. 228 sqq.

²⁸ Cf. Toby Garfitt, Un passeur de la pensée existentielle: Jean Grenier, in *Europe. Revue littéraire mensuelle*, nr. 972/avril 2010, p. 221; Jean Grenier, Giuseppe Renzi – Le scepticisme, in Giuseppe Renzi, *La philosophie de l'absurde*, Éditions Allia, 1996, pp. 9-20.

²⁹ Giuseppe Renzi, *La philosophie de l'absurde*, ed.cit., pp.208-209.

³⁰ Albert Camus, *Essais*, Gallimard, 1965, p.114.

³¹ Georges Goedert, Albert Camus et la question du bonheur, *Edi-Centre Propr. J.-P. Krippeler-Muller*, Luxemburg, 1969, p.63.

³² Pierre-Louis Rey, Bonheur, in *Dictionnaire Albert Camus*, sous la direction Jeanyves Guérin, p. 93.

courage of assuming the existential tragic is recognised by Giuseppe Rensi within the sisyphic symbol³³.

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³³ Giuseppe Rensi, *Apologia dell' ateismo*, A.F. Formiggini Editore, Roma, 1925, p. 85 sqq.

IS THERE SALVATION THROUGH PHILOSOPHY?

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Abstract: *The idea of this text envisages the soteriological function of philosophy, which entitles us to ask ourselves some questions in this respect. We start from the premise that human reason was given to reach salvation, to achieve wisdom. If we can reach freedom, truth and happiness, wisdom and God through philosophy, doesn't salvation involve all these?*

At the basis of such a research work lies a certain understanding of philosophy, of its core and purpose for human life, especially today, in a world devoid of rationality and wisdom. All the universal philosophical thought gives us the pros and cons of salvation through philosophy. While some philosophers do not support the metaphysical path toward salvation, other philosophies are the very doctrine of salvation. The philosophical way to God differs from the religious one, implicitly the path of salvation through philosophy is distinct from the religious experience. I believe that he who reaches the consciousness of transcendence has the ontological chance of salvation through philosophy.

Keywords: *Salvation, soteriological function, philosophy, transcendence, God, philosophical faith, consciousness, the sense of existence.*

In order to answer such a difficult question, it is necessary to analyze the following aspects which we consider essential to understand the issue of our research:

1. What is philosophy and what is its purpose for man; the soteriological function of philosophy;
2. The basic connection between transcendence as a fundamental problem of philosophy and salvation;
3. Philosophical faith and salvation through philosophy;
4. Who can reach salvation through philosophy?

We do not aim to achieve an insight into the history of philosophy to present the most significant definitions of philosophy from antiquity to the contemporary era. Such an approach, although it might be interesting, would drive us apart from our initial interrogation. We will bring into discussion those approaches of philosophy in terms of their relation with religion. It is undeniable that the theme of salvation requires a philosophical-theological approach, a cultural one, generally speaking.

I. For our research we consider it necessary to start from what Hegel clearly states in *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*¹: "The object of Philosophy is God

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and, in fact, as a unique object. Philosophy does not mean the secular wisdom of the world, as it was called in opposition to faith. It is not worldly wisdom, but unworldly knowledge, it is not the knowledge of the external masses, of the empirical existence and life, but it is the knowledge of what is eternal, of what God is and what derives from its nature, and this nature should manifest and develop". Thus, philosophy distinguishes itself as a cognitive approach since it contains a moose to another type of existence, the temerity to accede to the final mystery. It is "the Science about Absolute".²

For a proper understanding of the distinction between philosophy and religion, we consider as reference N. Berdyaev's text which states: "Philosophy is not, like religion, revelation of God, it is the revelation of man, but of man who is part of Logos , the Absolute Man, the total man, and not the individual closed being. Philosophy is the revelation of wisdom in man himself, through his creative effort."³

Somehow philosophy starts from the man toward God, while in religion the path is reversed, from God to humans.

Philosophy is an activity of consciousness, and God makes himself heard only in the quietness of the consciousness voice. "There is no fully completed philosophical system that should get, sooner or later, at a limit point, which is God – either this God is matter, or, as for the pantheists, the universe, a supreme idea of good, as for Platonicians etc., but all these reach a limit point, source of all life and of all reality and, at the same time, the foundation of all reality⁴. "Following in Hegel's footsteps, the great Romanian professor of philosophy, Nae Ionescu, argues that the object of philosophy is transcendence⁵, and the differences between philosophy and religion "do not come from the object, but probably from elsewhere: firstly, from the role that the object plays in philosophical or religious concern and, secondly, from the way this object is reached one way or another on the religious path, God is reached through identification and the proof of God's existence is approved through living, whereas in philosophy, this limit point, God, is the result of a whole range of research of our reason."⁶

One can thus understand that philosophy reaches God through human possibilities of knowledge, the philosophical path toward divinity being a rational one, of self research. This aspect was noticed by the theologian philosopher Augustine, the great discoverer of human insight who, in his Confessions, writes with human imperative character: "*Do not get out of yourself; Compose yourself in yourself, for the truth dwells in the inner man*".⁷

Moreover, all philosophers have admitted, either consciously or unconsciously, the fact that divine mysteries hide only in self-awareness, in self-feeling. Philosophy, though it has concealed its nature, is always positively or

¹ G.W.F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 1995, p.18.

² Ibidem, p.17.

³ N. Berdyaev, *The meaning of the Creative Act*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 1992, p.99-115.

⁴ Nae Ionescu, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, Cluj, Apostrof Library, 1993, p.116.

⁵ Idem, *A Treatise on Metaphysics*, Bucharest, Roza Vânturilor Publishing House, 1999.

⁶ Idem, *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*, p.117.

⁷ Augustin, *Confessions*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2002.

negatively religious. The Greek philosophy, regarded as the most unaltered model of autonomous philosophy, was religion by its sources and pathos, reflecting the religious conception of the Greeks. Thus, The Ionians' philosophy cannot be understood unless it is linked with the religious feelings the ancient Greek used to have for nature.

Plato's philosophy can be deciphered only in the light of Orphism and its mysteries, which seek the deliverance from evil and death. The philosophy of Plato and of the Neo-platonicians proves to be consciously religious. The German idealism is circumscribed to Protestantism and to a certain epoch from the previous development of Christianity. Kant and Hegel could not place themselves at the edge of Christianity in spite of the considerable distance between their consciousness and that of the Church.

The rationalist philosophy of the 18th century, like the positivist and materialist philosophy of the 19th century, negatively religious through their pathos, reflect the struggle against God, against the Christian faith, and there is no autonomy, no purity, no abnegation, in these philosophical movements. Rationalism, criticism, empiricism lead a religious battle, but do not free themselves from the life bonds. Atheism is, at the same time, a state of life and religious struggle, like faith. Almost all the objective science devoted to the biblical criticism and historical research on the origins of Christianity led to religious warfare; it was moved by a negative religious pathos. This science has never lived up to pure knowledge and full detachment.

Unbelief is a prerequisite for life to the same extent as faith⁸. All the arguments presented above converge on the idea that philosophy is the spirit that becomes aware of itself and cannot be independent of a particular spiritual aspiration. The spiritual orientation determines the structure of the consciousness, which, in its turn, determines knowledge. Philosophical knowledge is not the mere knowledge of being, the reflection of reality in the one who knows. Its purpose is to get at the truth, to find the meaning, to make sense of reality.

Thus, if by philosophy we reach truth and freedom, the meaning of life and happiness, no one can challenge the soteriological function of the universal forms of knowledge, because philosophical salvation requires faith in all these. Analyzing the philosophical problem of salvation, we bring into discussion Kierkegaard's example who approached this issue rather as a fact man takes interest in directly than eschatologically. The meaning of salvation is reconsidered and lived in its significance of individual redemption, referring to one's inner self. In *Fear and Trembling*⁹ there are the typical indications on the theme of salvation. The title is taken from St. Paul's Letter to the Philippians: "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling" (Philippians 2:12). The two words indicate the state of mind in which Kierkegaard was whenever approaching the theme of Abraham, indicating the risk, the danger that exists in the movement of salvation. God tested Abraham by, who gives up life for eternity and who, despite all these, returns to life in faith,

⁸ N. Berdiaev, *Spirit and Freedom. An Essay on Christian Philosophy*, Bucharest, Paideia, 1996, p.26.

⁹ S.Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2002.

asking him to sacrifice his son, and Abraham, in silence, went to the place indicated, towards Moriah mountain. Abraham's silence indicates the introduction of fear and trembling in religion. Abraham is thus in a double movement of faith, in resignation and total surrender to God. In this way, Abraham is the symbol of humanity that launches in absurd and hopes against hope.

If Kierkegaard's experience of salvation is explained in terms of religion, an antinomic situation is that of Schopenhauer, who is an atheist philosopher, but who is not afraid to develop a doctrine of salvation that he integrated into his own philosophy of will. Yes, there is salvation from misery and error, from mistake and atonement of this life, and it is within the reach of man, the highest and most evolved, therefore the most capable of suffering and submitted to suffering, objectification of the will. Not death is salvation, it bears a completely different name and it is linked to a completely different condition. Death belongs completely to appearance, empiricism, the sphere of multiplicity and change; it does not reach transcendent reality and truth at all. What dies in us is only individuation; the core of our essence, the will, which is the will of staying alive, remains completely untouched and, as long as it does not do more than assert itself, it will always be capable to find its ways to life.¹⁰

A relevant example is also the thinking of Friderich Wilhelm **Nietzsche** (1844-1900)¹¹, who is another philosophical landmark in terms of the soteriological field. Different from faith or practice, a new principle is now indicated, that of the "will to power", conceived as "eternal return of the same". It involves the denial of traditional values and the foundation of new ones. The old morale is in fact the slaves' morale, animated by the spirit of revenge for those values they do not possess. Christianity is responsible for having made possible a morale of the obedience. Nietzsche can thus deny the values of happiness and salvation, as they are an expression of a life of renunciation and allegiance. The *nihilism* appears on these bases, expressed in the aphorism "God is dead". This statement does not contain a negation of divinity, it expresses rather a criticism to the adjustments of faith to the mundane and ecclesiastical spirit, denouncing its inability to perform a true salvation by removing the mask. This is achieved by accepting life for what it actually is, that is as joy and sorrow, pain and passion. *Salvation consists then in accepting these exceptional living conditions*. Only the super-man can accept the whole and bitter truth of life and world, admitting that, after all, there is an eternal repetition of cosmic happenings.

The new century - the 20th century - opens with the cry of "death of God ", which expresses the awareness of the crisis of everything that the 19th century considered as definitive. While in Italy the philosophies of neo-idealism, with Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) and Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944), react to scientism and positivism, elsewhere the speculation takes other ways: that of contemplation and reflection on the themes of existence. Phenomenology, inaugurated by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), is the return to pure theoreticity, claiming a diverse use of

¹⁰ Ah. Schopenhauer, *Philosophical and Religious Writings*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 1995, p.28.

¹¹ Fr. Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, Bucharest, Aion Publishing House, 1997.

reason, apart from that of world domination tool. Reason, in phenomenology, is necessary to get to know the real human being that presents itself to the world of life (*Lebenswelt*). It's that reason which confers an ultimate tendency toward the monadologic unity of the ego and upper communities, such as family and society. Salvation is seen in this context as the reconstruction of pure theoreticity. "The heroism of reason" (Heroismus der Vernunft) or 'barbarianism': this is the motto of one of Husserl's last works, *Krisis*, where salvation is seen in opposition with the objective danger threatening Europe.¹²

The soteriological intention in terms of truth (i.e. always philosophical ones), is the focus of Martin Heidegger's speculation (1889-1976)¹³. While in the first works, as in *Sein und Zeit*, this intention appears as the necessity to make man belong to banality and to the decay of inauthentic life, in a second moment the salvation theme appears among those problems with which the historical world in its destiny of decadence is analyzed. That is why it was said that the expression of Heidegger's thought is becoming more and more attentive to the soteriological and religious moment. Perhaps the most important position of this line of thinking is that of K. Jaspers¹⁴, who, in his works glorified the life of faith as the only possibility of salvation. In fact, faith identifies itself with the very condition of existence. Unable to take the leap into transcendence, it is revealed, however, by figures or limit situations, like pain, sin and death. Salvation is, therefore, in Jaspers' opinion, a condition that arises from the total abandonment or "shipwreck" of existence. In the Romanian philosophy horizon, Nae Ionescu talks about salvation as religious experience, denying the role of metaphysics as a path toward salvation, although in his opinion the object of metaphysics is transcendence. Here is an inconsistency in his thinking that does not confer philosophical knowledge the proper role in the plan of salvation, were it only at the level of superior people.¹⁵

II. The problem of philosophy must be dealt with profoundness. To be a philosopher means to know that the essential facts are not similar with everyday ones, it means searching for the truth. This quest requires the passage to something completely new. Truth does not come from the world, but from the spirit; it is known only in the transcendence of the objective world.

The fundamental problem of philosophy seems to be transcendence and, more specifically, the nature of transcendence to which the philosopher recurses in the act of philosophizing. Philosophical transcendence remains, and it claims to remain, within the man himself, being immanent to him.

It is very important to point out in this context that philosophy arises when the data of everyday life become problematic, when life becomes a problem. Summarizing philosophy, Leibniz said that it is defined entirely by the question:

¹² Ed. Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2011.

¹³ M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2003.

¹⁴ K. Jaspers, *Philosophical Texts*, Bucharest, The Political Publishing House, 1988.

¹⁵ Nae Ionescu, *op.cit.*

why is there something rather than nothing?¹⁶ No response based on a worldly thing can provide the solution to such questions. The philosophical conversion is equivalent to asking the question "Why"? which includes the whole empirical world. Transcendence is the point of view towards which one is acceding and which allows the formulation of this question. The foundation of philosophical questioning, the justification of that *why* lets itself be understood as *a revelation of the very essence of man*. Man's self-consciousness acquired through philosophy is transcendental in relation to the natural world and cannot be explained by it. There is a deep and meaningful analogy between Christ's self-consciousness and that of man. Only the revelation about Christ gives the key to revealing the mystery of human self-consciousness.¹⁷ Therefore, he who knows himself knows everything in himself. "Man's supreme self-consciousness is inexplicable starting from the natural world and remains a mystery to this world."¹⁸ The human nature that has become aware of its own essence, its own essentially independent and free existence, must exist forever only as a creative, founding nature. The human nature will definitively justify itself in front of the Creator not by fading away, but by its creative expression. The human nature, redeemed and saved from evil, has a positive content and a positive human power. Such content and such a task may be only a creation. When Berdyaev speaks about creation, he does not take into account the current, preponderantly cultural meaning of the term.

"Man is justified by creation because through creation he expresses the prestige of 'likeness' to God. God is, above all, the Creator. And if we are made after His model, then, the more we are creators ourselves, the more we will resemble Him...Man does not imitate, through creation, the created world, but he amplifies it. Also, he does not imitate the Creator, but makes it present, by participating in his Demiurgic act. Human art is an ontological act: it adds to the world being a new being and, to the seven days of Creation, a perpetual eighth day. Being a man, fully, means living in the bliss of the eighth day, always reopening the primary cycle which God sealed with His rest. God's 'Work' could be corrupted by sin. The human 'work' incurs the duty to restore, against sin, the horizon of salvation."¹⁹ The anthropological revelation is linked with the awareness of the relationship between the mystery of creation and the mystery of salvation. Thus, we can hope of a promise of salvation through the synergy of human creation.

III. There is, undoubtedly, a connection between philosophical faith and salvation through philosophy. In the history of European consciousness, two beliefs clashed and opposed each other: the faith in God and the faith in man. This opposition corresponds to a moment in the dialectics of consciousness. At a higher level of consciousness, the man understands that this faith in God involves the faith in man, and the faith in man, the faith in God.

¹⁶ G.W.Leibniz, *Principes de la Nature et de la Grâce fondés en Raison*, Hamburg, f. Meiner, 2.Aufl., 1982; (paralell text French-German). p. 12, 14.

¹⁷ Berdiaev, *The Meaning of the Creative Act*, op.cit. Humanitas, 1992.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p.70.

¹⁹ Andrei Pleșu, Forward to the *The Meaning of the Creative Act op.cit.*, p.12.

The only source of faith in God is the existence of the divine in man. No one and nothing in this world can cause the denial of this human greatness. Faith in God without faith in man is a form of idolatry. Even the idea of Revelation itself becomes absurd if the one God reveals to is an absolute nothingness and does not live up to the one who reveals himself. There are several stages of revelation which correspond to the degrees of consciousness. Salvation comes from God, the manifestation of God crucified and sacrificed. Man needs both faith in God and faith in his reason to accede to God in order to be saved. "Understanding is the reward of faith" – said Augustin - trying to reconcile faith with reason: 'so do not try to understand in order to believe, but believe in order to understand.'²⁰ On the other hand, he argued that mere belief is just a sort of blind approval. It needs to be consolidated and made intelligible through reason.²¹ The idea of faith compliance with reason is masterfully developed by Leibniz in his opening of Theodicy²², where the reason is 'canonized': the true reason is enlightened by faith, because it descends from divinity itself.

The philosophical faith, the faith of man who thinks, is always distinguished by the very fact that it exists as such only in relation to human knowledge. A conclusive example in this respect can be the philosophical faith of modern rationalists (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz) in the power of reason. Moreover, modern rationalism is originally a religious movement. Because God is the central object of knowledge, the whole modern rationalism takes the form of theodicy. Rationalism, founded by Descartes and continued by Spinoza and Leibniz, was developed to expand and strengthen the religious faith with the means of reason. The belief in the perfection of the divine creation gives way as to its rationality. The rationalists' tacit assumption is the identity between perfection and rationality. Descartes, Spinoza and Leibniz did not intend to undermine the Christian faith, but only to render it a rational character.

In the philosophers' world there are examples of thinkers like Socrates, Boethius, Giordano Bruno that we can consider martyrs of the philosophical faith assertion and, why not, the saints of the history of philosophy. They believed in their ideas, they fought and died for them.

"The philosophical faith wants to illuminate itself. Philosophising I do not take anything for granted, I do not leave anything unexplored as it I am required to. Rightly, this kind of faith cannot become universal knowledge, but I must become aware of it by self-conviction. And it must be continually carried on by consciousness, becoming clearer and clearer, more aware."²³ ***When philosophical belief leads towards a high level of awareness, we can speak of salvation. Salvation through philosophy occurs together with the purification of reason, by following all the stages of knowledge. It is that state of man's bliss, "elated with God", seized by***

²⁰ Augustin, in Iohannis Evangelium tractatus, XXIX, 6, apud. Diane Collinson, *A Small Dictionary of Western Philosophy*, Bucharest, Nemira, 1987, p.39.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

²² Leibniz, *Theodicy; Essays*, Iași, Polirom, 1997, p.45-89.

²³ K.Jaspers, *The Concept of Philosophical Faith*, in *Philosophical Texts*, Bucharest, The Political Publishing House, 1988, p. 112.

that "amor intellectualis Amor Dei" referred to by Spinoza in the latter part of his Ethics.²⁴

If philosophy is a 'prayer that we murmur all life'²⁵, it means that we can save ourselves through philosophy every moment, through self-knowledge; this cannot be achieved easily because philosophical knowledge is not a passive reflection: it is an active penetration a victory in the fight against the nonsense of universal reality, a fight that involves a synergistic action of faith, intelligence and courage.

IV. Who can reach salvation through philosophy?

Trying to distinguish between an ignorant and a higher spirit, Spinoza, in the last part of his fundamental work the ETHICS, points out: 'Indeed, the ignorant man, in addition to being disturbed in many ways by external causes and never reach true peace of mind, lives almost ignorant of himself, of God and things, so that he ceases to suffer only when he ceases to be.

The wise man, on the contrary, as we consider him as such, has his soul troubled hardly at all, but, being in a kind of eternal need of self-awareness, of God and things, never ceases to exist and always enjoys the true peace of mind. If the way we have shown that leads to it seems very difficult, it can still be found, and, of course, a thing that we meet so rarely must be hard. If salvation were within easy reach and could be attained without much trouble, how would it possibly be ignored by almost everyone?

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But everything that is great is as difficult as it is rare²⁶. From Spinoza's point of view, we can, therefore, understand that the ignorant does not ask himself existential problems, while the higher spirit is metaphysically restless, it is a ravaged consciousness.

We have submitted this text to analysis because it obviously illustrates the soteriological function of philosophy, the reason of our research work. We dare answer this interrogation containing the problem of this text as follows: we can speak about salvation through philosophy, but the way to this kind of salvation is a long and arduous one, meant for metaphysically restless spirits, always in search of the Truth, and of themselves.²⁷

²⁴ Spinoza, *The Ethics*, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1981.

²⁵ G. Liiceanu, *Love Declaration*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 1997.

²⁶ Spinoza, *op.cit.*, p. 277.

²⁷ A. Camus, *The Myth of Sisyphus, Works XXI*, Bucharest, Rao, 2011.

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THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF MAN WHO WAS MEANT TO BE GOOD

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Abstract: *The present paper is intended to answer, first of all, the question related to the reason of existence, starting from the premise that the historical moment when a man understands his destiny is the one when being is revealed to him in its true historicity. Nowadays, according to the most warned spirits in philosophy we find ourselves beyond metaphysics. The possibilities including **apriori** synthetical judgements have allowed philosophy to evolve on a second direction of research, which reached its ultimate fulfilment when Hegel formulated in **The Science of Logic** the principle of contradiction as a positive factor for the dialectic spirit. In Hegel's **Logic** the emphasis is placed on difference, diversity and opposition. The present historical moment should have Heidegger's philosophy as a cornerstone on the long way of reflecting on the essence of man.*

The key question we are trying to answer here is the following: "Is the quality of being good human beings something that we should re-discover in our destiny? Through the positive answer it offers, the present paper invites to brief reviews on philosophy, morality, psychology and theology. At the same time it holds the interdisciplinary approach of the ten commandments open. Therefore, it does not offer an exhaustive answer to a certain question encompassed to a certain field of judgement but launches further questions and new challenges for the contemporary man.

Keywords: *reason of existence, goodness, spiritual intelligence, destiny.*

About the necessity of human being to ask about meaning and reason of existence and the need to follow the path of good.

The introduction is intended, first of all, to answer the question about the necessity of questioning the "meaning" of existence. Is it necessary to know where we come from and where we are going? Is it necessary to find out if what we live today and call it generally life was determined even before we were born and what we live is in fact only the deployment of something that pre-exists any being? How necessary is it for the contemporary man today to determine this *something* that cannot be encompassed by a definition, but it is certainly part of any type of "existential analysis"? And if necessary, to what extent is it also imperative to know what is the place of the concept of *destiny* in everyone's life and especially its actual place as part of a wider concept, that of being?

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On the other hand, in this article we state that the discussion about the good man or well-being promoted by him will follow exclusively the Orthodox doctrine and vision. We do not wish to make reference to any other perspective than the Christian perspective. We would, on the other hand, find it very hard as our faith, including the rationale that leads us to write this article belongs also to the Christian doctrine.

So we start from the philosophical meaning of the vision, going over through the ten commandments of a good man from the perspective of orthodoxy and of practical psychology.

We are accustomed to the existential thought which considers existence starting from the particular situation in which we find ourselves. "This life is meaningless" stated Cioran, whose thinking seemed to make life itself a particular situation ", however each of us gives to it his own particular meaning" (Emil Cioran, **On the Heights of Despair**, 1999).

An initial premise from which we start is the need to give meaning to our existence.

The historical moment in which a man understands his destiny is that when *being* is he is revealed in its true historicity. For the most warned spirits today in philosophy we find ourselves in a move to overcome metaphysics.

Since the dawn of the Greek tragic ages, philosophical thinking has undertaken on three fundamental ways. The memory for the opening of these three fundamental ways of Western philosophical thought has been kept in the poem **De la natura** by Parmenides.

The current philosophical thinking is once again at the crossroads of the three fundamental ways, of this *trivium* before which there is the tragic Greek consciousness (*Oedipus the King*).

The most frequented philosophical path in this regard was opened by Parmenides, whose vision was kept by his poem **De la natura**, in its part concerning *aletheia*. For Parmenides, there is no doubt that the road of truth and certainty is the one that states: " It shall never be proved that what-is-not is; keep your thought from this way of enquiry, and do not let habit-forming custom cause your heedless eye and echoing ear and your tongue to mislead you, but judge by reasoning the hard-hitting argument reported by me. (**De la natura**, Fr. 8). Engaged on this direction, Parmenides reaches the following axiom: " It shall never be proved that what-is-not is; keep your thought from this way of enquiry, and do not let habit-forming custom cause your heedless eye and echoing ear and your tongue to mislead you, but judge by reasoning the hard-hitting argument reported by me". (**De la natura**, Fr. 10).

The limits fixed by Parmenides to the philosophical research have not been questioned by Aristotle who incorporated this principle in his work, **Metaphysics**.

Now although being and non-being are verified of the same subject according to those who deny the first principle, still being a man and not being a man must differ in concept, just as white and musical differ in concept even though they are verified of the same subject. Hence it is evident that being and non-being cannot be the same in concept and in subject in the sense that they are signified by one univocal term.

The possibilities including *apriori* synthetical judgements have allowed philosophy to evolve on a second direction of research, which reached its ultimate fulfilment when Hegel formulated in **The Science of Logic** the principle of contradiction as a positive factor for the dialectic spirit. In Hegel's **Logic** the accent is placed on difference, diversity and opposition.

The need to express this logic present to the great thinkers of the existence such as Heraclitus, Pascal, Kirkegaard and Nietzsche is fundamental in revealing the paradoxical aspects of being. To understand the paradoxical nature of being, we must strive to follow the third way of research opened by Heraclitus, the way that we reach the paradoxical synthesis of opposites.

Speaking of the *logos* which governs everything, Heraclitus said that we need to follow the thinking that knows how to link the opposites, "thought common to all" (Heraclite, Fr. 11)

Pascal is the one who demonstrates in his **Pensées**, quoting another great philosopher, St. Augustine, that man is actually an *incomprehensible monster*, but that his essence lies precisely in the inability to understand what he is made up of. A human being is a *Monstrum*, said St. Augustine; he is not capable of self-understanding and cannot do anything in connection with himself but the gesture of *deictic-monstratio-to show*. Man consists of body and soul, he is the Union of the spirit with nature and as nature could not be thinking of itself, nor can the human spirit think of himself.

The only thing he can do is to question. He is "the most awesome end of nature" and its most wonderful paradox; his essence seems to be just the consciousness of the unity of opposites in themselves: "who wouldn't think seeing us composing all the things of the spirit and the flesh, that this mixture would be very understandable? And yet it's the thing that I understand the least. The man is himself the most awesome of nature, for he cannot conceive what the body is and even less what the spirit is and at all that a certain thing such as the body can be united with the spirit. This is the ultimate point of his difficulties in understanding and yet it is his own being: *Modus corporibus adhaerent quo spiritus comprehendi hominibus non potest et ad hoc tamen est homo.*" (Pascal, **Pensées**, p. 183).

The question about what the essence of *Being* turns us to its ultimate meaning and the Heideggerian phenomenology of Being, toward the understanding of some fundamental concepts as *Sein*, *Seiendens*, *Da-sein*, *das Dasein* or *Ek-Sistenz*.

Das Sein is not man, but only man can be *Das Sein*, says Heidegger, who searches into the ontological and existential depths of humanism a deeper sense than Sartre's Existentialism or formulas that have dominated the history of philosophy as: "man is the measure of all things" (Protagoras), "the man made in the image and likeness of God" (the biblical formula). Heidegger's *Formula* that "the essence of our presence in the world lies in the existence" is more than a definition, it's an attempt to recast the position of man on the existence, the letter in the meaning of project, overtaking, as Heidegger says that contemporary philosophy ends up as a philosophical anthropology. This philosophical anthropology is some kind of an end and Heidegger's thinking wants to be a start.

The current historical moment must have Heidegger's thinking as a landmark on the way of thinking about the essence of man. He is the one who restores the pre-Socratic thinking, the latter being the first to make the distinction between *Being-in-the-world* and *Being*. The actual man remains shrouded in mystery and oblivion, but we are called to remember that there is something there (*Das Dasein*, *Da-Sein*), to restore the link between *Being-in-the-world* and *Being*, to remember that he had forgotten and to remember what he had forgotten; He must seek out and develop a logic of the original logos, listening to the teaching of Heraclitus: "Do not listen to me but the logos" (FR. 52).

A Latin phrase such as *larvatus prodeo* has become a familiar motto of psychoanalysis and a law of metaphysical thinking. Heidegger, speaking of metaphysics, called it *Werwindung*. The being is *Grund* (Foundation which ensures the rationale and of which reason is assured of), as well as *gabe* (given as a gift of being, who has a destiny only as a proclamation). For this reason, the crisis of humanism is not an something to overcome in itself, but *Verwindung*, a call by which a man is summoned to recover after humanism, to return to it and to restore it as something which it is intended to him.

The ten commandments of man destined to be good

The key question we are trying to answer here is the following: "Is the quality of being good human beings something that we should re-discover in our destiny? Before you answer it, this time more practically than philosophically, it is necessary to point out that we naturally develop having with us a moral compass that tells us what is right and what is wrong. We do good by acting according to the gifts offered by God. John T. Chirban¹ cites in an article of his about a good man his students' answer the question "What is the good?:" Good unearths that new side in us which is made of God-God is the good word ", they replied.

We continue to make reference to the perspective of these students. Being aware of the fact that there is good inside of us and all you need to do is to get it out alive and not to move it away from us, we state a first imperative, a command of the man destined to be good:

1. KNOW THYSELF!

The successful implementation of this first commandment will give birth to the subsequent ones. A man who studied his conscience, proceeded to self-analysis, and who *searched the thoughts of his mind* as Holy Fathers say, is the man who knows his limitations, his weaknesses and his qualities. The most important thing is to make this process of self-inquiry with the consciousness that this is just the first step to the completion of his personality. In other words, in our opinion, man is a creation designed to maintain further creative and positive values through technique of *apheresis* which we may borrow from art or linguistic area, which invites us, through the process of self-knowledge, to move away from us that harmful surplus with our personality. Knowing us and our peers well, we

¹ Trainer in psychology within Harvard Medical School and the author of True Coming of Age: A Dynamic Process That Leads to Emotional Stability, Spiritual Growth, and Meaningful Relationships.

know how to stay away from what is bad (people, objects, institutions, energy or any court meant to propagate evil).

2. BE HAPPY!

Probably each of the concepts of these commandments should be explained starting, as we proceeded in the introduction, from their philosophical origin. We prefer, however, to define them in terms of orthodoxy and explain them in terms of applied psychology. So the quality of being happy here will be translated in terms of orthodoxy, from the *Beatitudes* in the Bible to the rationale that makes many church parents state that *the world's unhappiness is the spiritual and holy happiness*. The view that we want to highlight here is the good man's duty to maintain this condition of goodness through the continuity of the mood of happiness. This mood is one assumed by each person, like that of goodness. The two go hand-in-hand or step by step at a pace dictated by the events of life. Another difficulty outside of the continuity of this mood regards the ways in which we can do this. "How can we let us bear the miseries of earthly life with joy?" "What are the qualities that could support the maintenance of this mood?" They derive from the subsequent commands.

3. BE SPIRITUAL!

With the exception of instants of unifying experiences, we live our own lives through cultural and spiritual filters and. Spirituality is one of these filters. People are creators, hence trying to be spiritually fulfilled. For many of us, spiritual fulfilment is very important. We also agree with w. Allport ² when he states that the entire faith, religious or not is an affirmation, and knowledge, though used, is not the decisive factor. Here is our observation that the commandments are phases, they constitute the steps of spiritual man intended to be good.

The spiritual man is he who has the opening to spirituality, to the communication with the divine and spiritual side of personality permanently open like a gate that leads to a ladder with many steps. As long as the gate is open, good men can climb the steps in their own rhythm; it may happen that they stop at a certain point or just meditate or even to come down a few steps but the important thing is to keep the spirituality line open.

4. BE KIND TO THE OTHERS!

Kindness toward others translates into acts of kindness but also the attitude of doing good things. In other words, we need to keep the predisposition to kindness inside of us and to transpose this pre-disposition in act.

5. BE FORGIVING!

Forgiveness is the final phase of an entire process of thought; after a man overpassed the cognitive and affective phase the one that follows is the behavioural phase, which involves the successful completion of cognitive and affective phases related to the impact of a life event on the psyche and the soul.

² Gordon W.Allport, *Structure and development of personality*, Bucharest, Didactic and Pedagogical P.H., 1991, p.304.

Here there is also a question that is present in the minds of researchers: "Is forgiveness only of the soul or only occurs in the human mind, in his psyche? "Well, the authentic forgiveness should take place at all levels: cognitive, emotional and behavioural.

6. DEVELOP YOUR SPIRITUAL INTELLIGENCE!

In Romania of the last 20 years we have been familiarized with emotional intelligence, and spiritual intelligence has remained less known among researchers. It is a phrase that was circulated in electronic articles and there is unfortunately too little scientific credentials of spiritual Intelligence (SI). So we feel the need to clarify this term, very closely tied to the emotional Intelligence (EI).

Generally, when we speak of spiritual intelligence, we have in mind the ability to act with wisdom and compassion, keeping unaltered the inner and outer peace, regardless of the circumstances. Spiritual intelligence is an innate trait, but as with any kind of intelligence, it should be developed. To better understand how we can do this, one needs to analyze more closely the components of this kind of intelligence.

A. Spiritual intelligence is the ultimate intelligence. This is the intelligence with which we address and solve problems of meaning and value, the intelligence with which we place our actions and lives in a wider, richer, meaning-giving context, the intelligence with which we can assess that one course of action or one life-path is more meaningful than another. (Zohar & Marshall³).

B. Spiritual Intelligence is not necessarily religious or even dependent upon religion as its foundation. It can be defined against or observed after some telling criteria such as: truthfulness, compassion, respect for all levels of consciousness,, constructive empathy, a sense of being a player in a large whole, generosity of spirit and action, a seeking of being in tune with or in synch with the nature of the universe and being comfortable with being alone without being lonely” (Clive Simpkins⁴).

C. Emmons (1999) asserts that persons who demonstrate a capacity for heightened consciousness of transcendence possess spiritual intelligence. Spiritual intelligence empowers the individual to cope with and resolve life-world issues while demonstrating virtuous behaviour such as humility, compassion, gratitude, and wisdom. Thus, he describes spiritual intelligence as a cognitive ability to envision unrealized possibilities and transcend ordinary consciousness through applying basic thought processes that have both temporal and existential meanings. (Robert A Emmons, 2000, p. 163).

We can conclude from here some of the most important qualities of the man endowed with spiritual intelligence: the consciousness of The Other; wonder, fear, the sense of *Numinous*, wisdom, insight, ability to listen, ability to not feel threatened by chaos, paradox or ambiguity, faith, commitment, devotion, etc. In

³ Danah Zohar and Ian Marshall: *SQ - Spiritual Intelligence, the ultimate intelligence Bloomsbury*, London 2000; UL copy. Introducing SQ
(<http://www.alisonmorgan.co.uk/Zohar%202000.htm>)

⁴ Clive Simpkins, in Walter Kania, *A Credible Christianity: Saving Jesus from the Church*, p.48.

our opinion, spiritual intelligence is the last step on the path of knowledge. We use it to see unrealized possibilities until then, to understand pain, to answer the classical philosophical questions about life, to eventually make sense of important events in our lives.

In conclusion, people who overlap the emotional intelligence components over the others of spiritual intelligence are those individuals with the greatest chance to develop the latter type of intelligence.



EQ growth assists SQ growth, and SQ growth enhances EQ growth

7. BE PURE IN HEART!

8. BE HUMBLE!

These two commandments should be explained together as mind and heart are treated by Orthodox theology together. They are two phases of the process that we may call completion process. (or **individuation process**, as Jung called it).

What is meant by humility and what are the consequences of pride? Humility is the art that sends you to yourself, invites you to sit with you, humbled inside. The process which has ordained the whole State of things, the fate of the entire creation of God done through an act of great humility, frightening the angels and all the heavenly powers, is the incarnation of the Saviour. Certainly, being God, we may only imagine what a sacred act beyond any power of understanding He made, to take the face of man. (Fr. Arsenie Papacioc, interview, **About humility**)⁵

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God!" (Mathew 5,8)

The human heart, as showed in the Sacred Scripture, is deeper than all (Jeremiah 17, 9-10), it can be the endless root of all without evils (when not guarded with prayer and repentance), but can become a fount of all good things, when it is cleansed of its sins. St. Isaac of Nineveh teaches us that "mind can be cleansed easily but all so easy it defiles whereas it is difficult to pure the heart and it becomes even more difficult to harm, because the hard covers and keeps all senses inside." Cleansing of the heart is necessary for man to be able to draw near to God, to reach the resemblance with him. \"God is absolute purity, absolute Holiness, who wants to get closer to God must tend to His resembles\". Also, it is

⁵ <http://www.crestinortodox.ro/sfaturi-duhovnicesti/parintele-arsenie-papacioc-despre-smerenie>

required due to the decay of nature, the presence of evil in the flesh to be removed through various means for man to reach its original, pure state.

Cleansing the heart is necessary for man to be able to draw near to God, to reach the resemblance with him. "God is absolute purity, absolute Holiness, therefore whoever wants to get closer to God must tend to resemble Him". Also it is required due to the decay of man's nature, the presence of evil inside the flesh which should be removed through various means for man to reach his original, pure State.

Heart is the fountain of life (Proverbs 4, 23). Therefore: "Happy those pure in their hearts and they shall see God" (Matthew 5, 8). The heart is the first created of the members of our body. It is the root of life. The heart is the centre of our life and soul. To do this even God requires it, saying, "My son, give me thy heart" (Parables 23-26), and the Wise Solomon said: "With all your heart take care of your heart" (4, 23 Parables).

The Philokalia (The main spiritual text in all Eastern Orthodox Churches) highlights the character of mystery of the human heart. In anthropology, heart is the synthesis and the centre of the human being, of functions and human spiritual faculties. Deep down inside it, considered St. Mark the Ascetic, is the mind, the throne or the place where Christ the Lord and the Holy Spirit lives after man has been baptized. Also in the Philokalia we find that heart is the "organ of organs in the body and the mind uses it through it as an organ", "the house of the soul", another heaven in your heart", "mind's eye" or "Jerusalem and the Kingdom of God hidden deep inside of us."

9. OFFER WITHOUT ASKING NOTHING IN RETURN

In this pantry of the heart all our good thoughts flourish as the potentiality of virtues. Our spiritual energies lie inside of it. It is the altar of the soul that Saint Mark the Ascetic speaks of, "the starry sky of brilliant and sparkling meanings".

If we are able to offer without asking anything in return it means that our help starts from the heart and that we manage to keep our good nature with which we are entrusted.

Probably the next question involves the object of the offer. What do we have to offer? Do we offer only what we have as an extra, something that is a plus to us and we do not need? The answer is no, of course. First we need to question the needs of the other person. Whereas psychologists state that help should be offered only when asked for, the orthodox faith states that we should also try to find out the needs of the person next to us. In other words, even if the peer did not ask for help but we do know how much he or she needs it, we should do our best to help that person.

10. BE ABLE TO LISTEN!

Psychologically, to live authentically is the capacity to act in accordance with our own traits of character. When we talk about honesty, integrity, we refer primarily to reporting these traits to ourselves. If we are honest with ourselves, if we know each other well enough, we know how to listen to inner voice and we know how to listen to others; we also know how to listen to what you need to

follow in order to be good. Well-being and the quality of being good we've dealt in this article are essential aspects of man engaged on the path of completion. When we talk about being able to listen we refer to:

- listening our inner voice which dictates to us what to do further;
- obedience to superior instance, that is, a model (confessor, Holy Fathers, teachers, God, respecting Canon etc)
- be vigilant permanently in such a way that we can seize the changes we need to make in our lives in order to keep the goodness inside.

We decided that instead of a long list of principled conclusions, it may be more suggestive to conclude with the 10 paradoxical commandments of Kent Keith to counterbalance the sceptics' theories about the good nature of human being. I truly share these commandments which practically set out a direction of divine power and inspire integrity, confidence and guidance for daily life:

The Paradoxical Commandments

People are illogical, unreasonable, and self-centred. Love them anyway.

If you do good, people will accuse you of selfish ulterior motives. Do good anyway.

If you are successful, you will win false friends and true enemies. Succeed anyway.

The good you do today will be forgotten tomorrow. Do good anyway.

Honesty and frankness make you vulnerable. Be honest and frank anyway.

The biggest men and women with the biggest ideas can be shot down by the smallest men and women with the smallest minds. Think big anyway.

People favour underdogs but follow only top dogs. Fight for a few underdogs anyway.

What you spend years building may be destroyed overnight. Build anyway.

People really need help but may attack you if you do help them. Help people anyway.

Give the world the best you have and you'll get kicked in the teeth. Give the world the best you have anyway.

Kent M. Keith 1968, renewed in 2001

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THE GROWTH AND DECAY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE - CONTRIBUTIONS TO ITS WORKS AND PUBLICATION

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Abstract: *Dimitrie Cantemir's work is, still, very little scrutinized. The present study is meant to bring to the attention of the research workers a lot of genuine records information from Russia and other countries, to a better understanding of the context in which Dimitrie Cantemir wrote some of his historical works.*

Keywords: *History of the Ottoman Empire, Descriptio Moldaviae, the Cantemirian historiography.*

First of all, I would like to mention the good thing that, the last years of Dimitrie Cantemir's literary and scientific activity, and also life of the famous encyclopedist and Prince of Moldavia, became special topic for numberless scientific papers of research workers in the different countries of the world.¹

Given the archeographic investigations made in various records and manuscript sections of libraries in the Russian Federation, Romania, the United States of America and Turkey several genuine documents have been found out and introduced in the scientific world, which have greatly contributed to the enlightening and settling the unknown pages of the biography and scientific heritage of the great European thinker.

Yet, one should notice that despite the rich References of the life, political and intellectual activity of the Moldavian Prince, several unsearched topics remained outside the attention of the Cantemirian specialists, of which the history of the works and publication of Dimitrie Cantemir's "History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire".

Among the first matters the research workers of Dimitrie Cantemir's faced was the identification of the writing time period. Up to now, in the Cantemirean historiography there have been various opinions in terms of the years the mentioned work was issued. P. Panaitescu, the well known Romanian Cantemirean research worker, considered that "The History of the Ottoman

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¹ Ecaterina Țarălungă. *Dimitrie Cantemir*. Bucharest, 1989; *Cantemir Dynasty, the 17th -18th centuries*. Coordinator and scientific editor - acad. A. Eșanu. Chișinău, 2008; Klaus Bochmann, Vasile Dumbrava. *Dimitrie Cantemir: Fürst der Moldau, Gelehrter, Akteur der europäischen Kulturgeschichte*. Leipzig, 2008; Густерин П.В. Первый российский востоковед Дмитрий Кантемир. М., 2008; Ștefan Lemny. *The Cantemirs. The European Adventure of a Princely Family from the 18th century*, Bucharest, 2010; Andrei Eșanu, Valentina Eșanu. *The Cantemirs' Cultural Heritage*, Chișinău, 2010; Țvircun Victor. *Pages from Dimitrie Cantemir's History of Life and Political Activity*, Chișinău, 2009; Цвиркун В.И. Димитрие Кантемир. Страницы жизни в письмах и документах. СПб., 2010 etc.

Empire” was started in 1714 and finished not later than November 1716²; he noticed that in a letter addressed to the members of the Berlin Academy in 1714, Dimitrie Cantemir “was counting his works he could send to be published”. He mentioned that Cantemir had a “synopsis of the Turkish history” which he wanted “to entitle *The Growth of the Ottoman Empire*” and which he was just having in his hand³. P. Panaitescu drew the conclusion that “Cantemir had only a short version of the Turkish history, namely the first part, *The Growth of the Ottoman Empire*, as he had not written the second part of the decay”⁴ yet. With regard to determining the right date of ending that paper, P. Panaitescu considered that the last page of the Ottoman history was “the fight from Peterwaradin between the Austrians and the Turks, which took place in August, 3, 1716.”⁵

The conclusion was that “as no other historic data is later mentioned in the “History” it meant that the mentioned work was finished after the written event”.⁶ On the other hand, P. Panaitescu mentioned a fragment in Dimitrie Cantemir’s book in which the author remarked that “while he was writing that, Nicolae Mavrocordat was the Prince of Wallachia, and his brother John the great *terziman* of the Empire.”⁷ The period when both brothers had the mentioned position at same time, was between January and November 1716. “Thus, said P. Panaitescu, the History of the Ottoman Empire was finished in 1716, after August but before November”.⁸

If we consider P. Panaitescu’s logics, one may conclude that the beginning of D. Cantemir’s work took place much before 1714. The historian contradicted himself. He also stated that the “History” was written parallel to “*Descriptio Moldaviae*, his other work”.⁹ It is hard to believe that a Moldavian Prince, preoccupied with settling family matters and new establishments¹⁰ could achieve such valuable and various historical works in terms of contents, at the same time, such as the “History of the Ottoman Empire” and “*Descriptio Moldaviae*”.

There is another interesting fragment in P. Panaitescu’s statements with regard to dating the mentioned work. According to the Romanian historian, “*The Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*” was written at the beginning of the Austrian–Turkish war between 1716–1718, when “the Ex-Prince of Moldavia had unsuccessfully tried to attract the Russians in the war against the Empire in order

² Panaitescu P.P. Dimitrie Cantemir. *The Life and Work*, Bucharest, 1958. p. 171.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Dimitrie Cantemir. *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, quoted after P. Panaitescu. Ibidem. p. 171.

⁸ P. Panaitescu. Ibidem. p. 171.

⁹ Ibidem. p. 149.

¹⁰ In 1715, in the center of his estates from Sevsk region, near the village Gorbunovo, Dimitrie Cantemir founded another village, to which he gave the name Dmitrievka. According to D. Cantemir’s sons ‘their father founded this village as his own residence on a waste land, where there was no building, and so he called it after his own name’. Next to the prince’s mansion there were built several houses and households, St. Demetrius stone Church and a park was planted. In the second half of the 18th century Dmitrievka village received the status of a town. Today it is the town of Dmitrovsk Oryol region, the Russian Federation. Романов В. Неделин В. Архитектурные древности Орловщины. Орел, 1998. с.174.

to free his country”.¹¹

We cannot doubt Cantemir’s noble intention to contribute to his country freedom from the foreign yoke. Yet, it is unlikely that only through the scientific activity, a new war with the Ottoman Empire should have been possible for Russia, at the same time with the war with Sweden, which had been taking place for several years. Moreover, one should remark that between 1716-1718, the diplomatic missions of Russia and Sweden had been developing intense negotiations for peace on the Alland Islands. Dimitrie Cantemir couldn’t have been aware about that.

Also, we consider that the Moldavian thinker hadn’t finished his work with the events in August-September 1716 without reason, as the catastrophic defeat of the Ottoman army by Eugene of Savoy was the top moment of the Ottoman Empire loss.

Several decades after the issue of P. Panaitescu’s monography, Ecaterina Țarălungă, another research worker of Dimitrie Cantemir’s scientific heritage, offered new data with regard to the “History of the Ottoman Empire”. In her opinion, that work was achieved between 1716-1718¹². Unfortunately, the research worker brings new argument to support the rendered opinion.

The archeographic research made by the author of this publication in the Russian Federation, offers opportunities of scientific views with reference to the writing time of Cantemir’s work, especially the year when it was finalized.

The experts studying the Russian history of literature and historic thinking during Peter’s I time, noticed an important and genuine characteristic of this period, namely no work- no matter the field- could have ever been written, issued or sold without an order, surveyance or agreement of the monarch.¹³ Cantemir’s works are no exception. More than that, the documents showed the fact that the above mentioned work was finalized at the end of 1718, and then it was sent to the College of Foreign Affairs, at the Russian monarch’s order, to be translated from Latin into Russian.

The translation was done by Dimitrii Grozin, the College translator,¹⁴ who successfully finished it in 1719, when “it was handed to His Majesty”.¹⁵

Cantemir’s manuscript was sent to the College of Foreign Affairs to be translated, but it was not handed back to the author, as it remained in the records of that public institution.¹⁶ Also, the Latin version circulated among the intellectual members of the Russian society, in several copies, much before the issue of the book in England.¹⁷

¹¹ Panaitescu P.P., *Dimitrie Cantemir. The Life and Work*, p. 175.

¹² Ecaterina Țarălungă. *Dimitrie Cantemir*, Bucharest, 1989, p. 21.

¹³ Victor Țvircun. *Pages from Dimitrie Cantemir’s History of Life and Political Activity*, Chișinău: „Cartdidact”, 2009. c. 56-57.

¹⁴ We should mention that in some research the translation of the D. Cantemir’s work ‘*The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*’ is wrongly attributed to the Moldavian prince’s secretary, Ivan Ilinskii-Iaroslavtsev. See: *Cantemir Dynasty, 17th -18th centuries. Coordinator and scientific editor – acad. A.Eșanu*. Chișinău, 2008. p. 503.

¹⁵ Цвиркун В.И. Димитрий Кантемир. Страницы жизни в письмах и документах... с. 77.

¹⁶ Up to now all efforts made to find this work in Russian have not been successful.

¹⁷ At present we know two variants of the manuscript of Dimitrie Cantemir’s research book ‘*The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*’ in Latin. One of these is kept in the

Mihail Shenda, the great learned writer, confirmed that in his work “about the state of the Russian education in 1725”, written in Sankt Petersburg, in the summer of the same year, but published one century after the author’s death.¹⁸ One cannot state any unknown data from the great thinker’s biography. Yet, the proofs and the notes of D. Cantemir’s contemporary with regard to the scientific activity of the Moldavian Prince and his contribution to the development of the Russian culture and historic thinking in the first quarter of the 18-th century is worth paying attention.

Characterising the remarkable Russian personalities during Peter the Great’s time, Mihail Shenda dedicated the following lines to Dimitrie Cantemir: “A cruel destiny took the genius author of the “History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire” away, but everything he did would not let him die, leaving him alive ever after his death. Moreover, he is worth rewarding, as passing over all the horrors of the Turkish oppression, he succeeded in winning the glory of an outstandingly intelligent Man. His works will always be full of value”.¹⁹

Given Antioh, Dimitrie Cantemir’s son efforts, the original text of the above mentioned work and its Russian translation were sent at the end of the 18-th century to the Academy of Sank Petersburg, namely in the publishing house of that institution, the issue of the first edition of that work in Russian was planned, by the help and consultancy of G. Baier, the well known historian.²⁰

The latter played a special part in the destiny of the historical inheritance of D. Cantemir, his contribution to the writing and edition of the “History of Moldavian Prince Constantin Cantemir’s Life and Activity” being well known. A bit less is known about his work of publishing “The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire”, a fundamental work of Dimitrie Cantemir. Meanwhile, the research of this matter enlightens the paternity of the manuscript found by academician V. Căndeia.

By studying for several years in the University of the Sankt Petersburg Academy, Antioh Cantemir settled tight connections with its management and teachers, relations that he would keep for the rest of his life. He had close links

Orientalists’ Archive from St Petersburg branch of the Orientalist Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Ф.25. Оп.1. Д.1-6 (The first volume is dedicated to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire between the years 1214/15 and 1672/73 – 238 pages; the second one consists of the author’s notes about the first volume and references to many Oriental authors– 309 pages; the third volume contains the history of the decay of the Ottoman Empire between 1672/73 and 1710/11 – 295 pages; the fourth volume contains remarks on the previous volume, enumerating the specific sources – 292 pages. Another variant of Dimitrie Cantemir’s work is kept in the section of Manuscripts of Houghton library of Harvard University, the USA. – See: Căndeia, Virgil, The original manuscript of the History of the Ottoman Empire by Dimitrie Cantemir. // in Demetrius Cantemir. *The Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire. Original latin text of the final cersion revised by the author.* The final original text in Latin revised by the author. Facsimile of the manuscript in Latin – 124, from Houghton library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Published by Căndeia Virgil. Bucharest: Roza Vânturilor Publishing House, 1999, P. LIX-CII.

¹⁸ Михаил Схенда. О состоянии просвещения в России в 1725 году. // Сын Отечества. № 1.

¹⁹ СПб., 1842.

²⁰ Цвиркун В.И. Научные связи Антиоха Кантемира с Российской Академией Наук. // Вестник Славянского университета. Вып. 19. Кишинэу, 2011. с.155-160.

with Christian-Friedrich Gross, a philosophy teacher²¹, Gottlieb (Teofil) Siegfried Bayer²², and I. D. Schumacher, a librarian²³. One should mention that when at the beginning of 1728, the Emperor's Court, the monarchs doctor and L. Blumentrost, the first president of the Academy had moved to Moscow, "all the mandates and running of the Academy of Science were given to librarian I. D. Schumacher".²⁴

Between 1728-1730, Antioh Cantemir in his position of an officer of the Preobrajenski elite regiment was in Moscow doing his responsibilities at the Lefortovo Palace, where young Emperor Peter II stopped. At that time, the most intense correspondence between A. Cantemir and the Academy at its top took place, with regard also to the publication of his father's manuscript.²⁵

In his letter addressed to I. D. Schumacher on the 24-th of February 1729, he wrote the following words to the Academy librarian: "I think that it is my duty to thank you kindly from all my heart for your efforts to publish the books written through the endeavour of my father, God remember him forever. This book might not carry in it too much wisdom, but it contains events about countries far away from us. I hope many of you would wish to get it. Following your advice, I talked to Mr. Plumendrost (L. Blumentrost, as indicated in the text – the author's note) about the book and he should to be very pleased with it".²⁶

In the same letter, and wishing to give more substance and scientific importance to his father's work, he wrote that "in my father's paper there are no mistakes to stop its presentation to the academic world", and he announced I.D. Schumacher that he "would ask Mr. Bayer (knowing he is a good connoisseur of the history of antiquity and oriental times) to read it through and, when he finds it

²¹ During the following decades, Antiochus Cantemir and CF Gross were related not only by purely scientific interests, but also general human relationships. One of these events was that Gorss's nephew was admitted as a secretary of a diplomatic mission led by A. Cantemir, first in England and then in France.

²² Bayer, Gottlieb (Teofil) Siegfried (1694 - 1738), historian and philologist.

Graduate of the University of Königsberg. He spoke eight ancient and Oriental languages, at the same time he spoke Greek, Latin, Aramaic and Arabic. In 1725, at H. Goldbah's proposal he was invited to lead the department of antique Oriental languages of the newly created Academy in St. Petersburg. He was the first Russian historian for whom scientific activities were the main area of professional activity. He incurred the attention of Theophanes Procopvici who invited Bayer to teach at first Russian seminar opened in his own house. In 1727 he was appointed inspector of the gymnasium of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. He participated in drafting the Academ's Charta, advocating that the system of organization and activity should be like that of the German universities. In 1737, due to a conflict with ID Schumacher, he takes the decision to return to Prussia, resigning. He falls ill with fever and dies in 1738. - see: Большая Российская Энциклопедия. Т.2. М., 2005. с 658.

Johann Daniel Schumacher, a state councilor and librarian of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (born on September 5, 1690 in the city of Colmar, Alsace - died on July 3, 1761). He graduates from the University of Strasbourg. In 1714 he comes to Russia, where he enters the service of he Tsar's doctor, Areskin, as a secretary for the international correspondence. After Areskin's death in 1719 he remains to work for Blumentrost, Peter I's new doctor. Since the foundation of the Academy of Sciences until 1758, he served as a librarian, leading its administrative affairs. - View.: РБС. Т. Шебанов - Шютц. М., 1999. С. 534-536.

²⁴ Леонов В.П. Судьба библиотеки в России. СПб., 2001. с.136.

²⁵ Цвиркун В.И. Научные связи Антиоха Кантемира с Российской Академией Наук. // Вестник Славянского Университета. Вып. 19. Кишинэу, 2011. с. 156-158.

²⁶ Ibidem, pag. 159.

proper, to feel free to add notes, to perfect it, and if he wishes and he considers to add data, significance, indexes and others the way he would think as necessary”.²⁷ Antioh also informs the Academy librarian about the necessity of editing the mentioned work with a dedication written by Mr. Bayer and addressed to the Emperor”.²⁸

These documents prove not only the strong connections between A. Cantemir and the academic historian, but also the fact that in his eyes professor G. Bayer was the only authority in the academic world able to correct, to complete and to “perfect” the works of his father. We think that G. Bayer answered Antioh’s wish – as it happened with “The History of Life and Work of Constantin Cantemir” and with “The Description of the Caucasian Wall”²⁹ and he minutely scrutinized the manuscript sent by Ivan Ilinski-Iaroslaveț in 1729.

Thus, one can consider that V. Cârdea, the well known historian and academician might have not discovered Dimitrie Cantemir’s original text, but only one of its variants written by the hand of G. Bayer, another eminent historian of the 18th century.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ In 1726, under the editorship of Professor G. Bayer, in the first issue of the newly created magazine of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, there was published D. Cantemir’s work, *de Muro Caucaseo*, written by him during the Persian campaign in 1722 - See comments of the *Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum Petropolitanae*. Vol. I. St.Petersburg, 1726. p. 425-463.

ROMANIA AND THE ENTENTE DURING THE SECOND BALKAN WAR (II)

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Abstract: *Romania and the Entente during the Second Balkan War.*

The study analyses Romania's relations with the Entente in the course of the Second Balkan War, in the context of the Great Powers' policies, positioned in opposite political-military groups with respect to the South-East European zone. Gravitating in the political orbit of the Triple Alliance, which faced a true crisis situation, Romania had a great freedom of action in the relation with the Triple Alliance. But his relationship with this political-military group did not lead to a reorientation of the Romanian state's external policy towards the Entente, as was sometimes considered in the historiography of the researched theme. Basing on a rigorous analysis of historical sources, the author shows the real nature of this relationship and emphasizes the exceptional value of Romania's political-diplomatic and military actions, which led to the ending of the war and to the conclusion of peace between the conflicting states.

Keywords: *mediation, arbitrage, non-intervention, European concert, Great Powers' conference, conference of the conflicting forces, the Turtucaia-Balchik line, Balkan balance, negotiations, agreement, armistice, demobilization, peace.*

While Russia and France's diplomatic representatives in the Romanian capital, according to the instructions received, wished to obtain a cessation of the advance of the Romanian army towards Sofia, the diplomatic chancelleries of the Great Powers developed an intense activity concerning not only the ways deemed necessary to follow in order to end hostilities, but also the role which they understood to assume for solving Balkan problems. They considered the solution of direct negotiations between the belligerents, as well as the opportunity of organizing a conference of the Great Powers that could impose peace or at least ratify the decisions to be taken by the States participating in the war after the peace talks.

If the governments in Petersburg and Paris understood to take measures for holding direct negotiations between the belligerents in Nis, simultaneously exerting pressure on Constantinople and Bucharest to cease the advance of their

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armies on the Bulgarian territory¹, the Great Powers of the Triple Alliance had different views. Germany, while accepting the idea of direct negotiations between the belligerents, considered Romania's military actions as justified. Jagow took into consideration that *'the Romanians' march has no other object than giving them pledges, providing them the possession of Turtucaia-Balchik border, as the character of the Bulgarian policy would not only allow them to rely only on Sofia's assurance'*². Instead, the Austro-Hungarian Government showed less favourable to a direct agreement between the warring states, believing that *'he had his say in such regulation, as well as the other Great Powers'*³. In fact, Vienna wanted to give satisfaction to Sofia so as to reach a settlement by the Great Powers of the Balkans.

It is interesting to note that the point of view of the German diplomacy was consistent with that of the Romanian diplomacy. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador in Berlin, informed Pichon that Jagow proposed to Sazonov that the *'plenipotentiaries of the warring states to meet for the final settlement of peace in Bucharest'*. The German diplomat argued that in the Romanian capital all Major Powers are represented, from this point of view, Bucharest *'would seem well placed to serve as the center of the negotiations.'* In the opinion of the German State Secretary, *the Great Powers' ministers will not attend the conference, but will naturally exert their influence'*⁴.

Edward Grey deemed there was necessary to be a previous agreement between the Great Powers, in order to solve the Balkan problems. Paul Cambon, the French Ambassador in London, informed Pichon that the British minister's conception, *'the six Great Powers, especially Austria and Russia would first have to agree on a partition taking into account two considerations:*

1. *A common frontier to be fixed between Greece and Serbia;*
2. *Bulgaria's access to the Aegean Sea is to be respected'*⁵.

While the diplomatic chancelleries of the Great Powers were making such plans, the events in Bulgaria highlighted again the importance of Romania's military actions. For the Great Powers of the Triple Entente these had a special significance. In Sofia there could not be a pro-Russian government led by Malinov, leading to the solution of a government run by Radoslavov, in favour of a policy of rapprochement with Austria-Hungary. Panafieu informed Pichon that the new government *'was prepared to **immediately** accept direct negotiations with Serbia and Romania, in order to know their exact intentions.'*⁶ In these circumstances, Baron Fasciotti, the Italian Ambassador in Bucharest, came to Titu Maiorescu with a note from the new foreign minister Ghenadiev, Radoslavov cabinet, "and using *the well known statements, à la Danev*" asked the Romanian prime Minister of Romania's *desire*, which he promised them to *examine with*

¹ *Documents diplomatiques français. 1871-1914, 3^e série, tome VII, Paris, 1933, doc. no. 391, p. 430.* Delcassé to Pichon, 17 July 1913.

² *Ibidem*, doc. no. 393, p. 431-432. Jules Cambon to Pichon, 17 July 1913.

³ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 394, p. 432-433. Dumaine to Pichon, 17 July 1913.

⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. no 397, p. 435-436. Jules Cambon to Pichon, 17 July 1913.

⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 398, p. 436-437. Paul Cambon to Pichon, 17 July 1913.

⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 405, p. 441-442. Panafieu to Pichon, 17 July 1913.

high conciliation" and asked him to immediately stop the advance of the Romanian army. That note came through the Italian Minister, as Italy used to represent Romania's interests in Bulgaria after Ghica's departure to Sofia⁷.

The Romanian government's position, expressed during this 'diplomatic approach' of the Bulgarian Government is clear from the report made by Prime Minister Titu Maiorescu, the next day, towards King Charles I: *'The telegram of the new Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, in which he was talking about "examining our aspirations" and which I brought to the attention of His Majesty King today, soon after HM returned from Corabia, was transmitted both to the Austro-Hungarian and Russian ministers, and we expressed our astonishment for these outdated proposals which I will not even respond to. Mr. Schebeko who still insisted yesterday that the Romanian army should not advance to Sofia, today never repeated his advice, but he confined to saying that "we have to wait attitude of the new government." And the Prince of Fürstenberg looked just as surprised as me and he found the telegram of the Bulgarian Minister even less appropriate to the circumstances, as it came after Emperor Franz Joseph himself, to whom King Ferdinand of Bulgaria had addressed, had advised him to yield Turtucaia-Balchik territory to King Charles of Romania.*

*The Prince of Fürstenberg informed me that the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Sofia was commissioned by Count Berchtold to communicate the Bulgarian Government that Austria-Hungary had always advised the Bulgarian government to meet the demands of Romania, but was not obeyed. The serious situation of today's Bulgaria comes mainly from the major mistakes committed in Sofia against Romania.... Another consequence of this wrong policy is that through the current conflict between Romania and Bulgaria, the freedom of action of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is low... Only if an agreement between Romania and Bulgaria was established, could the Monarchy to continue its willing policy in favour of Bulgaria"*⁸.

We think it follows clearly that Austria-Hungary had not renounced its earlier project of attracting Bulgaria towards the Triple Alliance through an agreement between Romania and Bulgaria, at the cost of satisfying Romania's territorial claims. In the new situation created by the establishment in Bulgaria of Radoslavov government for the Triple Entente Bucharest grew more and more important for its efforts to restore peace in the Balkan Peninsula. In a telegram of the head of the French diplomacy, Pichon, to the French Ambassador in Romania, from July 18th 1913 it was stated: *"The assurance that you sent me from Mr. Maiorescu are likely to give us hope that Romania will not give up **the moderator role it declares it wants to take and in front of Europe** (a.u.). In these circumstances, I will not have objections to assisting the*

⁷ *Original Daily Political Notes*, in vol. Titu Maiorescu, *Romania, the Balkan Wars and the Cadrilater* in vol. Titu Maiorescu, published by Stelian Neagoe, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 140.

⁸ *The Green Book* in vol. Titu Maiorescu, *Romania, the Balkan Wars and the Cadrilater*, vol. Titu Maiorescu, published by de Stelian Neagoe, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 222-223.

*Romanian government in the choice of Bucharest (as a place of peace talks - Ed). You should also agree on this point with the governments in Petersburg and London. Moreover, I estimate that we will have to continue our efforts, in any case, to enable direct negotiations*⁹.

It was actually the meaning in which the Romanian government deemed it appropriate to act, and whose conduct began to be increasingly appreciated by the Great Powers, eager to have the peace restored. On July 18th, 1913 Titu Maiorescu sent the following telegram to the plenipotentiary minister in Belgrade: "Ask Mr. Pasic's opinion about whether he considers it appropriate for the representatives of the five belligerents to immediately start discussing the preliminaries of peace in order to avoid any catastrophe in Sofia and any European complication"¹⁰. Blondel, in a report to Pichon, stated on the same day: "Based on the information that I received during the night, I urged the Minister of Foreign Affairs to think of the serious inconvenience which would be caused by a march of the Romanian army to Sofia. Maiorescu told me that he had telegraphed the king the summary of the conversation that he had yesterday on this topic and that he was going to receive the sovereign's answer.

The King, who is actually returning this evening to Bucharest, he added, has no intention of allowing the troops to advance to the Bulgarian capital, but he considers it indispensable for us to occupy the ravines in order to prevent the resumption of a Bulgarian offensive against the Serb army. Once masters on these ravines, which must have happened by this time, the troops will stop. This measure, Maiorescu continued, is all the more important since, based on the information received from Sofia, the 200000-300000 Bulgarians concentrated around Sofia are ready to reject the Greeks and Serbs if they advance and attack them if the Bulgarian government might think that we retire or that we are indifferent, yet we do not want this.' From Blondel's report it follows that Maiorescu had informed him about the telegram sent to Belgrade in order to enforce negotiations. The fear of any 'European complications' expressed in the last part of the telegram was explained by Maiorescu as it follows: '*I informed Mr. Pasic about this particular danger, which is clear from the last conversation I had with the Austrian Minister. This conversation makes me worry that Austria might want to take advantage of these circumstances so as to complicate the situation by its interference. Thus we will have to act quickly and agree directly without wasting too much time.'* Maiorescu remained consistent in proposing Sinaia or another place in Romania as the venue of the peace conference¹¹.

The Austrian-Hungarian government hesitated to intervene in any way in favour of Bulgaria because they knew it would not be supported by Germany and Italy in its actions. As a matter of fact the German Ambassador in Petersburg recommended the Russian government '*to let the belligerents deliberate in Bucharest, and Sazonov did not object*'. Berchtold had once the intention to propose Macedonia's autonomy, in agreement with Italy, a solution that might have enabled confining the annexations of Serbia and Greece, the separation of

⁹ *D.D.F.*, 3^e série, tome VII, doc. nr. 408, p. 444. Pichon to Blondel, 18 July 1913.

¹⁰ *The Green Book*, p. 223.

¹¹ *D.D.F.*, 3^e série, tome VII, doc. nr. 411, p. 446. Blondel Pichon, 18 July 1913.

the two states 'allowing Bulgarians to preserve hope', but he himself was pessimistic about the success of such a project¹². Therefore, the request of Radoslavov Government to the Viennese Government of *proposing the Great Powers a congress to regulate all issues raised by the war and to pronounce itself on the autonomy of Macedonia* did not receive a favourable response¹³. Besides, on the same day the Bulgarian government announced that they had decided to start negotiations¹⁴.

On July 20, 1913, Billy, the French chargé d'affaires in Rome, reported the following telegram to Pichon: *'Russia's chargé d'affaires informed the Consulate his government has no objection, that accordance with a German proposal, the representatives of the Balkan states meet in Bucharest in order to discuss the terms of peace. Besides, the Russian government reserves the Great Powers the right to review it.* The answer of the Italian government was favourable to the summit in Bucharest, also specifying that *'Italy will join Germany'*.¹⁵

The same day, through the Italian legations in Bucharest and Sofia, Prime Minister Titu Maiorescu sent the Bulgarian government the following telegram, which was also reported to the French ambassador, C. Blondel: *'The offer that Bulgaria is making through the telegram, sent from Sofia on 5/18 July and reported to the Italian Legation in Bucharest on 6/19 July, 'to give Romania the Bulgarian territory lying north-east of a line leading from Turtucaia and reaching Balchik", has already been officially made on behalf of Bulgaria, more accurately, especially assigning Romania Turtucaia-Dobrich-Balchik towns, and Romania acknowledged it, adding, of course, the number of kilometers shown in the topographic situation westwards and southwards of the line above specified'. As for Bulgaria's request that the Romanian army would stop its march and retreat on the left bank of the Danube, it cannot be accepted, Romania ordering its army to advance in order to hasten peace between all belligerents. If Bulgaria wants to reach the same result, it must inform Romania about it as soon as possible and appoint its plenipotentiary to discuss the preliminaries of peace between all belligerents. In this discussion Romania will proceed with a spirit of conciliation and equity'*.¹⁶

Having received a favourable response from the Bulgarian Government, on July 21st, 1913 Titu Maiorescu sent to Sofia, through the Italian legations in the Romanian and Bulgarian capitals, the following statement: *'I have received this morning the dispatch Your Excellency (The Bulgarian Foreign Minister – a.n.) condescended to send to me directly. I am happy to note that you are animated by the same desire to hasten the peace. Following our communication, either direct or mediated, the Romanian government considers it a gain out of the question that Bulgaria gives back the territory requested for the new border by*

¹² *Ibidem*, doc. no. 417, p. 452-453. Dumaine to Pichon, 19 July 1913; see also *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette. 1871-1914. Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes*, Berlin, 1926, vol. 35, doc. no. 13.508.

¹³ *D.D.F.*, 3^e série, tome VII, doc. no. 421, p. 455-456. Panafieu to Pichon, 19 July 1913.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 422, p. 456-457. Panfieu to Pichon, 19 July 1913.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. no 424, p. 459-460. Billy to Pichon, 20 July 1913.

¹⁶ *The Green Book*, p. 223-224; *D.D.F.*, 3^e série, tome VII, doc. nr. 425, p. 460-461. Blondel to Pichon, 20 July 1913.

giving Romania Turtucaia, Dobrich, Balchik towns and the necessary number of kilometres westwards and southwards.

In addition, it is obvious that the autonomy promised to the Aromanian schools and churches, the creation of a bishopry and also subventions are also gained, as well as Bulgaria's obligation of destroying the fortification works and of not to building any others, an obligation which, given the change of circumstances, Romania is willing to limit to Şumla, Rusciuk fortifications, to the intermediate site and to an area of 20 kilometers around Balchik. As for the decisions on peace, we have to distinguish between military negotiations and political discussions. For the military talks, Romania is willing to appoint its representative who will go to the place agreed upon by Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece, in order to convene about the truce, the positions occupied by the armies, supplies, etc. But for the discussion of the preliminaries and for the peace treaty we consider that Bucharest is the best place and simultaneously with the military representatives we ought to appoint the delegation that will go to Bucharest for this purpose. We will also report this opinion to Serbian and Greek governments¹⁷.

For the Romanian Government there began a period of intense diplomatic efforts in Belgrade and Athens, which ultimately were to lead to a truce in Niş and later on to the peace conference in Bucharest¹⁸. Meanwhile, the Romanian Prime Minister rejected the request made by the Turkish government, through its ambassador in Bucharest, Sefa-bey, for Turkey to attend peace talks in the Romanian capital. Titu Maiorescu argued that *'the negotiations that are to take place in Bucharest, either for the preliminaries or for the final peace will only concern territorial exchanges between the Christian states'*¹⁹.

The diplomatic efforts made by the Romanian state in order to make peace, in which King Charles I directly involved himself, proves the role of mediator that Romania had practically assumed after Bulgaria had insisted upon the Romanian authorities to stop the army and exercise an influence on Belgrade and Athens for the cessation of hostilities²⁰. Besides, these diplomatic efforts made after the Romanian Government's requests had been accepted can definitely prove the significant role Romania had in restoring peace, while the Great Powers, as we have noted, showed more and more willingness in accepting the Romanian capital as a venue of the peace conference, under the reserve of expressing further on their agreement on the decisions to be taken by the belligerents.

Accepting the role of mediator, a mission in which a great power like Russia had failed, the Romanian government firmly rejected the attempts of the Bulgarian government to make a separate peace with Romania. On July 21st, 1913, Panafieu Pichon informed Pinchon about the contents of a telegram sent by King Ferdinand of Bulgaria to King Carol I, in which the Bulgarian sovereign accepted

¹⁷ *The Green Book*, p. 224-225.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 225-230.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 227.

²⁰ See in this respect the exchange of telegrams between King Charles I and the Kings of Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro in A.N.I.C, Fund of the Royal House, file 37/1913, file 40/1913, file 43/1913.

the situation resulting from the refusal of the Romanian party *'The vivid and profound desire that animates me into ending the current situation leads me to once again ask Your Majesty, on behalf of myself and my government, to ask the peace.*

In so doing, we have no intention of taking advantage of any favourable response that Your Majesty might give to our request in order to continue war with Serbia and Greece. On the contrary, my government is firmly determined to quickly make peace with the two states and it really proves it by sending to Niş the two delegates charged with full powers to do so. If Serbia and Greece respond accordingly, it is ready to immediately cease hostilities and to proceed to demobilizing the army. Providing all possible guarantee as a proof of his sincerity, King Ferdinand asked King Carol I to stop the advance of the Romanian army²¹

The Great Powers of the Entente welcomed the news concerning the start of negotiations between the belligerents, but persisted in the idea of a ratification of the treaty that was to be signed. Reporting the content of a discussion with Sir Edward Grey, Paul Cambon, the French minister in London, informed Pichon: *'He (Sir Edward Grey – s.n.) told me that if the government provides Bucharest as a meeting venue for a conference between the five belligerents and if Bulgaria is sending its plenipotentiaries, we only have to wait for the outcome of the negotiations. The agreement that will be established will have to be ratified by the Powers. [...] We agreed to speak only of the need for the European ratification of the arrangements of the Balkan states. Who mentions ratification mentions an opportunity of examining and reviewing, but speaking now about a revision would mean raising the susceptibility of the Balkan governments. We think it is not proper to explain right now the word ratification, nor to pronounce the term conference which would involve choosing a meeting venue²².*

The proposal of submitting the peace treaty, which the belligerents would agree upon, to the 'examination and approval' of the Great Powers was made by Sir Edward Grey to the accredited ambassadors in London on 21st July 1913. On this occasion Paul Cambon let Pichon know that *'Sir Edward Grey's opinion did not raise any objection by the ambassadors, who will submit it to the approval of their governments'²³*. Accepted in principle by the Great Powers, the idea of revising the treaty, which was to be concluded between the belligerents, had no real chance of success, however, because of the opposition of Germany to establishing the French capital as the venue of the planned Conference of the ambassadors. The German government's position was communicated by Pourtalès to Sazonov²⁴, the German Ambassador in St. Petersburg's. Although he did not rule out the idea of organizing such a conference in London and not in Paris²⁵, in reality the German government was, generally hostile to any conference

²¹ *D.D.F.*, 3^e série, tome VII, doc. nr. 431, p. 466. Panafieu to Pichon, 21 July 1913. The content of the telegram was reported to Paris by Blondel as well; *Ibidem*, note 1, p. 466-467.

²² *Ibidem*, doc. no. 433, p. 468-469. Paul Cambon to Pichon, 21 July 1913.

²³ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 436, p. 471. Paul Cambon to Pichon, 21 July 1913.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 440, p. 476. Delcassé to Pichon, 22 July 1913

²⁵ Such a position was also expressed by Jagow to Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador to

of the ambassadors²⁶. Secretary of State Jagow ‘persisted in believing that an exchange of notes between the chancelleries of the Great Powers would be enough’²⁷.

Germany's attitude could only ensure the success of the Romanian diplomacy. Blondel constantly informed Paris about the significance of the Romanian government's diplomatic actions. On July 22, 1913, in a report to Pichon, the French Minister accredited to Bucharest stated that ‘*the Romanian government took note of the commitment of the Bulgarian government regarding the border between the two countries. As for signing the armistice, the Romanian government easily admits it to be signed in Niş or in any other town that the belligerents would like to choose. Romania will send its own delegations. Regarding the peace preliminaries, the Romanian government estimates that for the general interest it would be good for them to be signed in Bucharest or any other Romanian city. Having no other territorial claims – its claims have already been admitted – Romania will be able to better use its offices to reconcile the interests of others parties*’²⁸.

On July 24, 1913 Blondel informed Pichon contents of a telegram which Charles I sent to the kings of Greece, Serbia and Montenegro: ‘*His Majesty King Ferdinand addressed me with a request to intervene with Your Majesties to hasten peace. The knowledge I have about the general situation and the relations between the Great Powers, which will not allow too much reduction of Bulgaria, makes me draw your attention on the precarious state of this country and on the interest to reach a truce as soon as possible after the most urgent military measures have been established. I do not doubt that Your Majesties will see my approach as one more proof of my friendship and that you will notice that our mutual interests are that the balance in the Balkan Peninsula, desired throughout Europe, is not too long troubled. Any further bloodshed could only worsen the situation*’. Blondel added that ‘*the plenipotentiaries of the four states are expected to arrive for the weekend. The meeting will be held in Bucharest*’²⁹.

These Romanian diplomatic steps were absolutely necessary for the restoration of peace, while the armistice talks were hanging fire and the Serbs were preparing to initiate a new offensive against the Bulgarian army. The same day Blondel informed Pichon about the concerns of the officials in Bucharest in this regard: ‘*The king and the government are very concerned about the preparations for the attack of the Serbian General Staff, which called for the Romanian military cooperation. The king has just sent one of his ministers to draw my attention on the serious complications that Serbia would face if it accepted to let itself caught in a kind of aggression that seemed to hinder peace negotiations. [...] The government fears that Serbia's attitude might cause an Austrian intervention*’³⁰.

Berlin, on 19 July 1913. *Ibidem*, note 1, p. 469.

²⁶ *G.P.*, vol. 35, doc. no. 13554.

²⁷ *D.D.F.*, 3^e série, tome VII, doc. no. 445, p. 480-481. Jules Cambon to Pichon, 23 July 1913.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 438, p. 474-475. Blondel to Pichon, 22 July 1913.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 455, p. 492. Blondel to Pichon, 24 July 1913.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 459, p. 495-496. Blondel to Pichon, 24 July 1913.

The Great Powers of the Entente were concerned not only about the prospects of a truce between the Christian warring states, in which the Romanian diplomacy played an important role, but also about the purpose that the Turkish troops evacuated Adrianople, in order to thus enforce complying with the rules of the Peace Conference in London. Their diplomatic efforts, particularly those of Russia, for making certain naval demonstrations of the Great Powers to intimidate the government of Constantinople, were not meant to succeed though, because of the categorical opposition of Germany, joined by Austria-Hungary³¹, which risked disintegrating 'the European concert' through a unilateral action by the Triple Entente.

It became more and more obvious that Romania represented the most meaningful factor that could contribute most significantly to restoring peace. But aware of this, the Great Powers were trying to influence the Romanian diplomacy according to their own interests. In this regard, Blondel wrote in a report to Pichon: *'The responses of the kings of Greece and Serbia do not appear to let us hope for a prompt cessation of hostilities. The fears inspired by the Bulgaria's past dishonesty compelled them, they say, not to consent to the cessation of hostilities until the preliminaries of peace have been signed. If they persist in this intention, the only salvation will be a very prompt decision of the delegates, who are expected to come to Bucharest: it is the the government which will attend to this.* (the Romanian one - Ed).

Austria and Italy's efforts have been focused for a few several days to determine Romania to support Bulgaria against Serbia and Greece (sn). The Italian Minister is on various occasions, the warmest defender of Bulgaria and does not hide **his hope of seeing an alliance between Bulgaria, Romania and Austria** (sn). Serbia's hardline attitude might enable Austria's projects, being helped by Italy. [...] At the same time, **Russia shares its feelings for the Serbs or Bulgarians, supporting them at turns** (sn), not displaying any definite impression and giving to understand that **it envies Romania which plays the role of mediator in which it failed. It seems that St. Petersburg does not fully acknowledge the importance of the Romanian friendship, which in our opinion tends to go towards Russia. They admit the utility of Romanian intervention, but it seems to be seen rather as serving momentary interests of the than to ensuring the continuity of a collaboration whose benefit I still believe in**³² (s.n.)".

About an exchange of telegrams between King Charles I and the Kings of Montenegro and Greece we were also informed by Delaroche-Vernet, the French minister in Cetinje, who wrote about it on 25 July 1913. The Romanian sovereign's telegram was calling for hastening peace, alluding inter alia, that *'the Great Powers will not allow for a too big reduction of Bulgaria'* and the need for a

³¹ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 454, p. 489-491. Paul Cambon to Pichon, 23 July 1913; doc. no. 462, p. 498. Boppe, the French chargé d'affaires to Constantinople, to Pichon, 24 July 1913; doc. no. 465, p. 500-504. Paul Cambon to Pichon, 24 July 1913; doc. no 466, p. 504-505. Pichon to Delcassé, 25 July 1913.

³² *Ibidem*, doc. no 467, p. 505-506. Blondel to Pichon, 25 July 1913.

balance in the Balkan Peninsula. If in principle the Kings of Montenegro and Greece agreed on sending plenipotentiaries in order to make peace, the Greek sovereign pronounced in favour of the need for some '*real pledge*' from Bulgaria, through Sofia's acceptance of the conditions imposed before signing of the armistice. Moreover, he communicated to the King of Montenegro: '*I am deeply convinced that if we do not impose our conditions on the battlefield, we will lose, if not entirely, at least a large part of the fruits of victory*'³³.

The actions of the Romanian diplomacy undertaken in order to make peace were fully consistent with those of the Triple Entente. Yet while Romania focused its interest on the necessity of the cessation of hostilities between the Christian warring states, by tempering down the warrior zeal of the Serbs, Greeks and Montenegrins, the Great Powers of the Entente were mainly focused on the evacuation of Adrianople by the Turks, thus ensuring compliance with the Treaty from London. Knowing the German opposition to the project, the French ambassador in London, Paul Cambon, and the British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey had discussions on this issue with the Minister of Germany to London, Prince Lichnowsky. Paul Cambon envisaged '*the possibility of a Russian intervention in Turkey to determine the evacuation of the Bulgarian territory and Adrianople*'. Sir Edward Grey deemed that '*it would be impossible for Russia not to defend Bulgaria*'; he did neither believe in an agreement of the Great Powers on a collective action, nor in the possibility of a separate action of the Triple Entente'. The British Foreign Minister suggested that an agreement should be reached between Berlin and Petersburg about an intervention from the part of Russia, a power which should receive 'White Book', but with its commitment not to act in Asia, but only in Europe³⁴.

The Russian diplomacy was not informed about these discussions by the Russian ambassador in London, but they were not willing to pursue them, perhaps sensing that Germany would oppose a Russian intervention. In addition, the Austrian-Hungarian attitude had to be known. The position of the Viennese diplomacy position was expressed by Count Thurn, the Austrian-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, during a meeting he had with Sazonov. The Austrian diplomat '*hinted that, following Germany's model, Austria-Hungary would not join a naval demonstration*'. Yet, he considered that '*it is high time to cease hostilities everywhere* (sn)". Count Thurn suggested that a concerted diplomatic action by Russia and Austria-Hungary was required in order to put pressure upon Constantinople and, Belgrade, summarizing: '*Act against Turkey. We will press on Serbia*'.

Delcassé informed Pichon that '*Sazonov did not subscribe to this isolated and parallel action*'. He also believed in a possible collective action of the Great Powers to urge the Turks to evacuate Adrianople and make it withdraw through Enos-Midia line and *if necessary* to strongly require the officials in Athens and Belgrade to stop military operations and sign the '*preliminaries*' of peace in Bucharest³⁵. Beyond a certain disagreement between the positions of England and

³³ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 468, p. 4506-507. Delaroche-Vernet to Pichon, 25 July 1913.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. No 469, p. 508. Paul Cambon to Pichon, 25 July 1913.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 470, p. 509. Delcassé to Pichon, 25 July 1913.

France on the one hand and Russia on the other hand, the issues of the discussion between Count Thurn and Sazonov reveal that the statement of the Austrian ambassador was part of a diplomatic manoeuvre that Berchtold had conceived of so as to prevent Russia from taking military action against the Ottoman Empire³⁶.

If the Russian diplomacy remained reluctant to accepting any suggestions from Vienna, instead, Berchtold's duplicitous policy impacted upon in Sofia. Matharel, the French military attaché in the Bulgarian capital, advised Etienne, the French Minister of War in the cabinet that '*Bulgaria's policy is clearly directed towards the Triple Alliance*'³⁷.

Fully sharing Sir Edward Grey's view, Pichon struggled to influence the Russian diplomacy in this direction. On July 26, 1913, during a meeting with Russia's ambassador to Paris, Izvolski, the French Foreign Minister stated that '*if an agreement could be established between Petersburg and Berlin for an intervention of Russia into Europe, to ensure that the Treaty of London is being, we will be the first to appreciate it*'³⁸.

Meanwhile, the efforts of the Romanian diplomacy bore fruit. Thus Blondel Pichon informed Pinchon that on July 28, 1913 the delegation of Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece would come to Bucharest. But he also showed that the Romanian government did not want to take any action against the Ottoman Empire. '*Several newspapers in Vienna - the text of the telegram mentioned - consider that Romania, as a mandatory, will have to be in charge of convincing Turkey, by means of the weapons. This suggestion is very badly appreciated here and I estimate that no Romanian government could accept this mission without facing the most violent public opposition*'³⁹

We consider that the idea of Romania's armed intervention against the Ottoman Empire, for it to abandon Adrianople was only a manoeuvre of the Austrian diplomacy to avert the prospect of any intervention by Russia. In fact, for reaching no conflict with the Triple Entente, the Central Powers were considering a compromise solution for the problem of Adrianople." Count Berchtold and the German ambassador in Vienna, Tschirschky, declared that the two empires allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary are determined, '*out of consideration for the dignity of Europe, not to let Turkey in possession of Adrianople and that they will rally to any arrangement that improving the Turkish border in Thrace, would give enough satisfaction to the Turks*'. Dumaine, the French Ambassador to Vienna show that Tschirschky, '*talking on behalf of the two governments, insisted on gaining time, i.e. preventing any precipitated and isolated demonstration from the Russia*'. The German Ambassador further stated that the Turkish government would only give in following individual steps, since a collective action of the Great Powers is ineffective⁴⁰

The Italian diplomacy acted in perfect agreement with the German one, refusing to join a naval demonstration of the Great Powers against the Ottoman

³⁶ G.P., vol. 35, doc. no. 13588.

³⁷ D.D.F., 3^e série, tome VII, doc. nr. 471, p. 513. Matharel to Etienne, 25 July 1913.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 472, p. 514. Pichon to Delcassé, 26 July 1913.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. no 473, p. 514. Blondel to Pichon, 26 July 1913.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 474, p. 515. Dumaine to Pichon, 26 July 1913.

Empire, an idea that Sazonov continued to support. The French chargé d'affaires in Rome, Billy, thus informed Pichon that such a request made by the Russian diplomacy at Consulta was left with no result, the response being that for the Italian government '*a demonstration of this kind would be very disagreeable*'. However, "*if Germany participated, Italy will follow it*"⁴¹.

Basically, due to the divergence in positions between the Major Powers to take action enforcing Ottoman Empire to comply with London Treaty, an impasse was reached. It is interesting to note in this regard that in this case the idea of Romania undertaking on behalf of the 'European concert' a mission in this direction was being increasingly debated on. Delcassé, after showing Pichon in a report the difficulties Russia was having, not being able to ensure a consensus of the Great Powers for an intervention upon Constantinople, noted that despite the mood of the Romanian society, hostile to an action against the Turks, Romania 'would be willing to accept a mandate from Europe'. "Delcassé concluded that, taking into account 'its intact strength and the role that it would be allowed to play', it would be almost certain that 'the simple movement of the Romanian Army would lead the Turks to recoil in the Enos Midia line'⁴².

It seems just as interesting to note that, although among the Great Powers Russia was the most concerned about Adrianople being abandoned by the Turks, the Bulgarian government was drawing closer and closer to the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In a long report to Pichon, Panafieu, the French minister in Sofia, showed, among other things: '*In terms of external affairs, there is no need to repeat that all current government sympathies are going to Austria*' and '*the pro-Russian policy went bankrupt*'⁴³. That was what the government in Vienna had long wanted, government which, while preparing to start peace talks in the Romanian capital, wanted to announce in Bucharest that its views would have to be taken into consideration. Count Berchtold sent to this purpose a telegram to Fürstenberg, the Austrian-Hungarian minister, to notify the Romanian government that 'Austria-Hungary considered that the arrangements intervening between the warring states in Bucharest would have to be ratified by the Great Powers" and if such arrangements harmed its interests, "Austria-Hungary reserves all of its freedom of action." Blondel, commenting the Austrian government's approach, stated that "Mr. Maiorescu strives to help achieve an agreement between the delegates of the states (Balkan states - Ed) based on fairness, in order to remove the interference of the Major Powers, which he would like to avoid at all costs'⁴⁴.

The Great Powers of the Triple Entente envisaged to intervene only in order to achieve the cessation of hostilities, and sought to achieve the agreement of the Triple Alliance for action against the Ottoman Empire. Sazonov expected

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, doc. no 476, p. 516. Billy to Pichon, 26 July 1913.

⁴² *Ibidem*, doc. no 476, p. 516. Billy to Pichon, 26 July 1913.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, doc. no 478, p. 521. Panafieu to Pichon, 26 July 1913.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 479, p. 521. Blondel to Pichon, 27 July 1913. See the text of the telegram sent by Berchtold to Fürstenberg in *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise 1908 bis zum Kriegsausbruch 1914. Diplomatische Aktenstücke des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Ministeriums des Aussern*, Viena and Leipzig, 1930, vol. VI, doc. no. 8016.

exercising financial constraints on the Ottoman Empire in order to have the occupied territories abandoned beyond the limits set by the Treaty of London. On the other hand, Edward Grey warned the Constantinople government that they "should hope for nothing," given the "*alleged discrepancies between the Great Powers*". Moreover, the English diplomacy probed the intentions of Austro-Hungary and Germany in case of military action of Russia against the Ottoman Empire. The Austrian-Hungarian government replied they would not prevent such action, yet they "*reserve the right to take the measures which are deemed appropriate to protect Bulgaria*". The German Government agreed on the Russian intervention with the conditions of it being limited to the European part of the Ottoman Empire, being temporary and made by previously warning the Great Powers⁴⁵. Delcasse however feared that "*Germany limits itself to taking note of the Russian declaration, reserving the right to intervene if the circumstances seemed favourable, when Russia is fully committed*". In order to eliminate that problem, **Delcassé supported Romania's military action against the Ottoman Empire**. "It would be preferable - the French diplomat wrote to Pichon - that once peace is promptly signed with Bulgaria, Romania can be determined **by virtue of a warrant of Europe or by any other means** (sn) to make Turkey feel the power of its sword⁴⁶".

When making this proposal to the Head of the French diplomacy, Delcassé disregarded the total lack of receptiveness during the First Balkan War King Charles I had accepted in principle the idea of cooperation between the Romanian and Bulgarian armies so to chase the Turks from Adrianople, provided Silistra was given to Bulgaria. We believe however that such a proposal could not be welcomed by the Romanian decision-makers, due to new conditions created after the application of Petersburg Protocol and the developments of the Second Balkan War - when the Romanian troops had already occupied the territory claimed as far as Turtucaia-Balchik line, and additionally considering the Bulgarian government's approval to concede this territory.

Even in these circumstances, the Turkish diplomacy wanted to eliminate such a danger, by promoting good relations with Romania. The letter of Sultan Mehmed V sent to King Charles I on 28 July 1913 is particularly eloquent in this respect. The Sultan insisted on justifying and explaining why Adrianopoloe vilayet was partly reoccupied as "*a limited area and attached by indissoluble ties to its Ottoman homeland*"; at the same time, he showed king Charles I that he also wished for a durable peace in the Balkans and that he understood why the King of Romania wanted Bulgaria's territory not to be too much reduced⁴⁷.

A moderation of over-zealous states that were victorious in the Second Balkan War, was necessary; and the Romanian government understood this, due to the stance of mediator it had taken. Thus it was not only the danger of intervention of the Great Powers that was averted, but also the goals for which Romania entered the war were reached. Among these, the most important one was to ensure the

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 480, p. 522. Jules Cambon to Pichon, 27 July 1913.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. no. 481, p. 523. Delcassé to Pichon, 27 July 1913.

⁴⁷ A.N.I.C., Fund of the Royal House, file 45/1913; letter from 28 July 1913, signed by Mehmed V to Charles I.

balance of power in Southeast Europe. Moreover, the conduct of the Romanian diplomacy was well understood and appreciated in those circumstances. Descos, the French Minister in Belgrade, informed Pichon in this regard, on 28 July 1913, that according to the Italian chargé d'affaires in the Serbian capital city, who exaggerated to a certain extent, "*the Romanians are now furious against the Serbs and Greeks, and are more ready to defend Sofia against them, than to support them against Bulgarians*"⁴⁸.

The assessment seems significant to us in terms of studying the "Origins" of the First World War. Indeed, during the First Balkan War, Romania's entering the war could have led to the onset of a generalized conflict; to avoid such a situation, the Great Powers resorted to a mediation of the dispute between Bulgaria and Romania during Saint Petersburg Ambassadors' Conference. All diplomatic and military actions that Romania took during the Second Balkan War demonstrate the significant role that the Romanian state had in avoiding the World War. If the "European concert" stopped functioning and a Great Power became involved in a military way, the risk was conflict extension.

It is clear, from a historical perspective, that under the aegis of Romania, the conditions for peace settlement were created with a view to establishing a climate of cooperation between South-East European states, thereby ending a war that threatened the peace of the whole continent. Once the delegations of the belligerent states came to Bucharest on July 28, 1913, prerequisites were created in order to solve by negotiations the complicated problems that gave to the Balkan Peninsula a sad reputation of "*powder keg of Europe*".

⁴⁸ *D.D.F.*, 3^e série, tome VII, doc. no. 482, p. 524. Descos to Pichon, 28 July 1913.

TERRORISM AS POLITICAL TOOL. THE ASSASSINATION OF ROMANIAN PRIME-MINISTER ARMAND CĂLINESCU BY LEGIONNAIRES: 21ST OF SEPTEMBER 1939

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Abstract: *On 21st of September 1939, after Poland had been attacked by Germany (on 1st of September 1939), a terrible piece of news worried the Western chancelleries about the fate of Eastern Europe. The Romanian Prime Minister, Armand Călinescu, had been killed by a group of legionnaires. Armand Călinescu was not only the ruler of the Romanian Government, but also the leader of an authoritarian regime. From his capacity as a prime-minister, he was standing soldier by soldier with King Carol II stripping out some democratic liberties and arresting those who disagreed with them. Therefore, we can consider the assassination of Armand Călinescu a political crime within a state in which police law enforcement was very high. In that historical context, this situation increased the instability in this area.*

It is interesting to note that the assassins of Armand Călinescu surrounded in a particular way. They forced the entrance of the Romanian Broadcasting Radio and announced the assassination. They called themselves “the Revengers” and motivated their deed as a penalty for the assassination of their leader, Corneliu Codreanu, the chief of Legionary Movement (30 of November 1938). As a reply, in the next days, the most important leaders of the Legionary Movement was executed by the authorities even they weren’t involved in the death of Armand Călinescu.

Apparently, the authoritarian regime of King Carol II seemed to stand firm even it faced up to political terrorism. Of course, the reaction of the government wasn’t justified because as a counterattack were killed people without any involvement in Prime-Minister’s assassination. Because the legionnaires were hold up by Germans, King Carol II was forced to change the policy regarding the legionnaires. The legionnaire’s prisons conditions were improved and those free one were invited to negotiate with the Government for endorsement King’s regime and sustain internal and external policy.

Keywords: *terrorism; Romanian Legionary movement; Romanian prime-minister Armand Călinescu assassination; King Carol II of Romania dictatorship; world War II.*

Armand Călinescu was an old enemy of Legionnaires before reaching Interior Minister and later Prime Minister, during the dictatorship of King Carol II. His

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physical punishment had been prepared by the radical legionaries from the spring of 1937. “Responsible” with this mission were the students of the Medical School. In January 1939 in Bucharest, the plot planned by the student Nadoleanu, a close collaborator of the illegal Legionary movement “persecution commandment”, was discovered. Subsequently, in Constanța there were identified the members of the FdC (legionary Cross Brotherhood) who possessed arms and ammunition with the declared purpose of assassinating the dignitary. However, the most important preparations were done in Berlin by Miti Dumitrescu who had in Romania a radical team made up of the former local clandestine commandment in Prahova Country.

The punishment strategy of the death of Corneliu Codreanu had several phases. Before his arrest, the “Captain” had left instructions to be revenged in case he would be assassinated in prison. The plans of the 1938/1939 winter were discovered by the authorities and some of the organizers, like Nadoleanu, were assassinated shortly after the disclosure.

The “commandment” of organization from Germany (made by exiled legionnaires) had set the goal of revenging the death of Corneliu Codreanu from the moment of its establishment. However, various disagreements came up regarding the measures that needed to be taken. Some legionaries were afraid and others did not want to be part of any extremist actions anymore¹.

Miti Dumitrescu had come to Berlin to make sure that Corneliu Codreanu was still alive², and had left a team of legionaries in Prahova with the mission of constantly surveying Armand Călinescu³. The team in Prahova County had been very active after the reorganization done by Horia Sima in summer of 1938 – he changes the former county leaders, and had carried out efficient actions in secret. Although it had ensured the transit of the legionary commanders that had taken refuge in Poland and in Bukovina the connections had been identified by the authorities, the group had not been discovered. These legionaries were also extremists and took part in the sabotage actions that had been organized in the fall of 1938 by raising funds from the contributions of the workers from the Prahova Valley and by contributing to the effort related to weapons. However, in February, Miti Dumitrescu was forced to flee Romania once the authorities had discovered the clandestine nest functioning at 8 Pretorien St. in Bucharest. Before leaving in 1939, Dumitrescu gave the arms and ammunitions he had to Cezar Petrescu, a medical student in Bucharest who was originally from Ploiești. Miti Dumitrescu had “inherited” the arsenal from Lt. Nicolae Dumitrescu, which included 20 grenades and 20 Steyer and Beretta pistols. Cezar Petrescu was ordered to survey the activity of Armand Călinescu⁴.

In Germany, the main collaborator of Miti Dumitrescu was Constantin Papanace, and they both living at Amalienhof. Ion Dumitrescu-Borșa supported

¹ Dumitrescu-Borșa, Ion, no year, *The Trojan Horse Intra Muros. Legionary Memoirs*, Bucharest, Lucman Publishing House, p. 269-271.

² Sima, Horia, 2004, *The End of a Bloody Reign (10 December 1939 – 6 September 1940). The Fight of the Legionary Movement against Charles II Regime*, Metafora Publishing House, p. 85.

³ Chioreanu, Nistor, 1992, *Living Tombs*, Iași, Institutul European Publishing House, p. 48.

⁴ Chivulescu, Nicolae, 2005, *Armand Călinescu, Official and Country Ruler*, Bucharest, Lucman, p. 299.

Miti Dumitrescu on the condition of organizing the simultaneous assassinations of Carol II and Armand Călinescu to avoid repercussions. Miti Dumitrescu agreed with this plan but claimed that a priority should be the assassination of Armand Călinescu because if he outlived Carol II he would come out much stronger and would organize the repercussions. Dumitrescu planned the assassination of the King for 20 July 1939 in Curtea de Argeș or for 27 August in Sinaia on the occasion of the athletic competition organized in the nearby town of Predeal⁵.

Horia Sima had a different strategy for the revenge of the death of Corneliu Codreanu, namely a coup. In June he presented to the Berlin “commandment” a plan for the coup after the model of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917: from isolated locations, groups of legionaries would first disarm the gendarmes to arm themselves and then would take over the local police prefectures. Then, they would go to Bucharest where they would take over the Capital’s Police Prefecture, the Telephone Palace (headquarters of the telephone company), the Radio Station, the ministries and the Royal Palace. The plan aroused a confused murmur among the members of the “commandment” and was not accepted as a valid action⁶.

At the end of June 1939, Miti Dumitrescu went to Romania accompanied by Ilie Smultea and Victor Silaghi. The two were experienced in fraudulently crossing the border and Victor Silaghi spoke Hungarian. From Vienna onwards, Miti Dumitrescu was accompanied only by Victor Silaghi crossing from Hungary into Yugoslavia and then into Romania via Beba Veche, the old transit point used by the legionaries. Victor Silaghi went back to Yugoslavia and together with Ilie Smultea returned to Berlin⁷. Ion Dumitrescu-Borșa constantly maintained contact with Miti Dumitrescu by mail⁸, and the “commandment” did not raise any objections regarding the completion of the assassinations.

Nevertheless, Horia Sima did not give up his strategy of organizing a coup. As in 1938 he counted on the organizations in Banat and Prahova and on the Unit of the “Isolated” with whom he kept contact through messengers. In July, in the German capital arrived engineer Ion Nicolau, the head of the “Isolated”, who presented to the “commandment” a report on the situation in Romania. After talks with Ion Dumitrescu-Borșa, Nicolau had several secret meetings with Horia Sima who showed him his plan of overthrowing the authoritarian regime. Via Nicolau, Horia Sima instructed professor Ion Protopopescu from Timișoara to restructure the organization in Banat with new “cadres” and to eliminate the known members in order to avoid the risk of another wave of arrests. The purpose of the reorganization was to acquire weapons and to prepare the coup. Starting with March 1939 the terrorist cells in Banat had managed to clandestinely get armaments from Yugoslavia; they had established connections there that permitted them to continue the arming process. Engineer Ion Nicolau received the mission of organizing this action in secrecy. As regards the rest of the

⁵ Horia Sima *File (1940-1946)*, 2000, Bucharest, Evenimentul Românesc Printing House, pp. 143-144.

⁶ Dumitrescu-Borșa, *op.cit.*, p. 282.

⁷ Sima, Horia, 1975, “On Insults and their Significance”, in *The Country and the Exile*, year XI (January-February), p. 9.

⁸ Dumitrescu-Borșa, *op.cit.*, p. 282; Sima, Horia, *Ibidem*, p. 9.

organizations around the country, the instruction was to maintain contact without taking any actions. Furthermore, the head of the “Isolated” found out about the mission assigned to Miti Dumitrescu with whom he was supposed to establish contact to inform the legionaries in Berlin about the status of the preparations.

At the end of July 1939, Ilie Smultea was sent by Horia Sima to Timișoara to contact professor Ion Protopopescu and observe the implementation of the instructions sent via engineer Nicolau. Smultea was the former leader of the Caraș organization of the “Everything for the Country” Party and a close collaborator of Horia Sima. Moreover, he knew very well the clandestine Banat organization. The legionaries in Berlin learned that in August Carol II would visit several industrial locations in Banat and thus Horia Sima decided that that would be the perfect moment to launch the coup by assassinating the King. Ilie Smultea found out that the “insurrection” plan encountered some problems because the legionaries in Banat did not manage to acquire sufficient arms. The contribution money raised in the summer of 1939 were very little, not enough for the imprisoned legionaries. Therefore, only seldom was money sent to Berlin. Given these conditions, Ilie Smultea returned to the German capital⁹.

On 15 August Horia Sima left Berlin to go to Romania using almost the same old transit route. This time, he had a false passport that had belonged to the German student of Romanian origin, Otto Schneider, who had moved to Germany. Timișoara organization had found a new transit route that passed through Lățunaș because the route through Beba Veche had been used too many times already. In Yugoslavia, Horia Sima met with Ion Boian, who accompanied him to Timișoara to the house of professor Ion Protopopescu. His explanation in case he was caught was that he returned to stop a war between Romania and Germany, according to the Romanian-Polish treaty. He spent two days in Timișoara, sometime between 2 and 14 September. He learned from the leaders of the clandestine nests that a coup could not be launched especially because the drafts had begun on 7 September. However, when he left for Bucharest he instructed the legionaries to put his plans into practice when the King came to visit the industrial locations in the region, but had no high hopes of realization.

Given these conditions, the only plausible plan was that assigned to Miti Dumitrescu. He studied very thoroughly the various action possibilities and worked very discreetly. Even Horia Sima had difficulty in finding the leader of the team and barely managed to pass on to him the message authorizing the action. The last to meet with Miti Dumitrescu was engineer Ion Nicolau who told him the instructions received from Horia Sima without finding out however the date and location of the assassination and neither the number of mobilized legionaries¹⁰.

The preparations for the assassination of Armand Călinescu (Prime minister from 7 March 1939) did not bring any new approaches compared to the legionaries’ old attempts. The technique had been known by the authorities as early as 1937, namely the surveillance of the dignitary to find out his daily routine and activities.

⁹ *Horia Sima File (1940-1946)*, pp. 143-145.

¹⁰ *Horia Sima File (1940-1946)*, pp. 146-147.

In February 1939 Miti Dumitrescu had left a group in charge of the surveillance that, until July 1939 when their leader returned to Romania, knew the Prime Minister's daily program. After his arrival, Dumitrescu met Cezar Popescu clandestinely in the church Saint Constantin in Ploiești. Popescu informed Miti Dumitrescu that the ammunition left in his care in February 1939 was still in a safe place and that together with another four legionaries he had surveyed Armand Călinescu, thus knowing his daily routine. The "colleagues" of Cezar Popescu were all originally from Ploiești: Traian Popescu (his brother), a senior medical student; Ion "Nelu" Moldovan, a polytechnic student; Ion "Jean" R. Ionescu, a law student, and Ion "Jean" Vasiliu, an (drawer). The team did not have any contact with other legionary structures in Bucharest or other cities.

The plan of Cezar Petrescu was to attack the car of the Prime Minister while he was on his way home from the Council of Ministers. Miti Dumitrescu changed the plan suggesting to buy a car which the attackers would use to bump into the car of Armand Călinescu, thus forcing him to come out and only then shoot him. Cezar Petrescu received 34,000 *lei* to acquire the car. Traian Popescu and Nelu Moldoveanu bought it from a driver named Lazăr Ureche from Urlați in Prahova county.

After finalizing the plan, Miti Dumitrescu went to Bucegi mountains in a town called Valea Coștilei. On 20 September 1939 he came down to Bușteni where he was taken by Traian Popescu and Nelu Moldoveanu in the car bought for the attack. They spent the night in the car on the outskirts of Ploiești and on the morning of September 21 they went into town, picked Cezar Popescu up from his home where the necessary arms and grenades were deposited. On leaving Ploiești they also took Jean Vasiliu with them. The team was completed in Bucharest with Jean Ionescu. Until about 1.00 p.m. the attackers just drove around the outskirts of the capital, and then parked the car on Făgăraș Street, close to Știrbei Vodă Street. At 12.55 they drove to Elefterie Bridge (the present day Eroilor bridge), and drove behind the car carrying the prime minister on the Carol II Boulevard (the present day Eroilor Boulevard). According to the plan, they strongly bumped into the car in front of them, which due to the impact crushed into a carriage coming from the other direction. The car carrying Armand Călinescu ended up on the left side of the road. At that moment the guarding agent came out of the car with his gun out, realizing that that was no accident but an assassination attempt. Agent Androne was immediately gunned down. The driver of the car also came out and he ran terrified by the scene which he had just witnessed. Left alone, Armand Călinescu tried running from the car as well but the attackers opened the car's door and shot him 21 times, injuring his lung, kidney and three times his head¹¹.

Then the assassins seized a car that was just passing by and drove to the headquarters of the Romanian Radio Society where they read live on air the letter of the "Avengers". They "justified" their deed by stating that the "soul" of the Romanian nation "had to be cleansed by dishonesty" although they claimed that "violence in itself did not change anything but was a painful necessity". In the assassination "affair" were also involved another three legionaries: Marin

¹¹ Chivulescu, Nicolae, *op.cit.*, pp. 300-302.

Stănculescu, Ovidiu Isaia and Gheorghe Petrovicescu who either housed the attackers or just knew about their plan.

The legionaries' behavior after the assassination was typical of the legionary mysticism that had also been evident in the cases of I. G. Duca and Mihail Stelescu. Although they had the possibility of fleeing at least for a while, the assassins simply surrendered. At the end of the letter read on the radio, they said: "the legionary watches with open heart the consequences of his actions – he answers – we will also answer"¹².

The assassination was a shock for the Romanian society also due to the manner it was presented to them: the attackers who read a letter live on the radio by interrupting the show¹³. The attackers' entry in the Radio Station happened by chance although the movement had had plans for occupying this institution from the winter of 1938. In 1939 the radio shows was generally live. The guards at the gate of the radio station were waiting for a band to come for a show and therefore when the attackers came out of their car none of the guards thought of stopping them. After entering the building, probably because they knew the floor plans the legionaries quickly reached a studio where they announced the death of Armand Călinescu and read the letter.

The assassination of the prime minister was followed by a repression campaign against the Legionary Movement. Apart from the central level organizational leaders, the authorities' reprisals also included three legionaries from each county. The action was ordered by the new government led by general Gheorghe Argeșeanu and with Gabriel Marinescu as Minister of Internal Affairs. On the night of 21/22 September 1939 the "historical" legionary elite practically disappeared.

The murder of Corneliu Codreanu had not beheaded completely the movement's potential because there were many other "cadres" capable of mobilizing the legionary masses if they came out of prison. In Râmnicu Sărat, Gheorghe Clime appointed Ion Banea as leader of the Legionary Movement after the death of Corneliu Codreanu probably to have two "legitimate successors" in case the former leader of the "Everything for the Country" Party would have died in prison.

The most important executions took place in Râmnicu Sărat: Gheorghe Apostolescu, Ion Banea, Alexandru Cantacuzino, Gheorghe Clime, Paul Craja, Bănică Dobre, Gheorghe Furdui, Gheorghe Istrate, Mihail Polihroniade, Aurel Serafim, professor Sima Simulescu, Alexandru Christian Tell, Nicolae Totu¹⁴. Some of the survivors from Râmnicu Sărat later claimed that before the executions that took place at dawn Gheorghe Clime was beaten in order to confess that he had organized the assassination. After he had not confessed anything, the others were taken out of their cells and shot¹⁵. Seven legionaries were killed at the

¹² 'A document of the time and an answer to the traitors of the Movement. The letter of the team that punished Armand Călinescu, sent to the legionaries', 1981, in *The Country and the Exile*, year XVII, nr. 9-10 (July-August), pp. 1-2.

¹³ Dorian, Emil, 1996, *Diary from the Times of Persecution*, Bucharest, Hasefer, p. 109.

¹⁴ *The Legion in Original Texts and Images*, no year, Lucian Borleanu Printing House, Bucharest, Lucman, p. 203.

¹⁵ "How the Legionaries in Râmnicu Sărat were Martyrised", 2001, in *Permanențe*, year IV, nr. 9.

Military Hospital Braşov, among whom the most important ones were Traian Cotigă and Gheorghe Proca, a collaborator of Horia Sima in the “persecution commandment” who had participated in the transportation of the legionary commanders into Poland. In the Vaslui prison 32 executions were carried out, and among the dead were Ion Belgea and Ion Antoniu. In Miercurea Ciuc 44 legionaries were killed, the most important ones being Afilon Dorca, member of the group of lieutenant Nicolae Dumitrescu, and Iordache Nicoară¹⁶. The survivors from Vaslui stated that the local infantry regiment surrounded the building and the 32 legionaries cited were told that they were transferred to Miercurea Ciuc, but they were executed instead¹⁷.

Not in all the counties were carried out only the three ordered executions: in the counties of Cluj, Prahova, Bihor, Brăila, Teleorman, Romanaţi, Trei-Scaune and Satu-Mare two persons were executed; in the counties of Roman, Vaslui, Sălaj, Suceava and Buzău only one legionary was killed; and in Braşov four legionaries were punished. There were also situations, like in Cahul county, where the legionaries were executed after the deadline given in the government’s circular. In total, 147 legionaries were executed¹⁸.

The bodies of the nine legionaries involved in the assassination of Armand Călinescu were displayed at the location of the attack¹⁹, a gesture that was also copied by many local authorities who exhibited the “lots of three”²⁰. Many writers recorded at the time that the government’s brutality caused a deep impression. Sometimes children were taken in organized school trips to see the nine assassins’ bodies riddled with bullets²¹. According to several sources, in the counties where the known legionaries were not found in their homes, common criminals were executed instead, as it probably happened in Craiova, in Dolj county²². Some legionaries managed to escape the reprisals due to the interventions of the local authorities or of their military superiors from the units where they had been enrolled²³.

In September 1939, the authorities’ retaliation against the Legionary Movement reached its highest level since the establishment of the extremist nationalist organization. If the international situation had not helped it return on the political stage, the movement might have died out and be forgotten. By the end of September, the ending of the war in Poland was evident and the government could not consider the disappearance of this state and the inevitable closeness of

¹⁶ *The Legion in Original Texts and Images*, pp. 203-206.

¹⁷ Călescu, Emil, 2001, *Notes about the Persecution. Fantom Transport. The Massacres in Vaslui Extermination Camp, 2st Septembrie 1939*”, in *Permanențe*, year IV, nr. 10.

¹⁸ *The Legion in Original Texts and Images*, pp. 206-210.

¹⁹ ‘The Revengers killed and thrown onto the pavement’, 2004, <www.fgmanu.org/imag/01/Perioada_Capitanului/Image133.jpg> (3 September 2004).

²⁰ Sturdza, Ilie-Vlad, 2002, *Wandering during a mad century. From Archangel Michael’s Legion to the Foreign Legion*, Bucharest, Vremea, p. 25; Terrifying scenes throughout the country. The Killed Legionaries’ Bodies are exposed in the streets and squares, 2004, <www.fgmanu.org/imag/01/Perioada_Capitanului/Image132.jpg> (3 September 2013).

²¹ Dorian, Emil, *op.cit.*, p. 85.

²² Boilă, Zaharia, 2002, *Souvenirs and thoughts on the Legionary Movement, Cluj-Napoca*, Apostrof, p. 79.

²³ Chioreanu, Nistor, *op.cit.*, p. 47; *Horia Sima File (1940-1946)*, p. 148.

Germany's border to Romania. In the second half of September, in Bucharest's intellectual circles it was rumoured that the Germans from Bukovina region would rebel as a consequence of the advancement of the German-Polish battle front. However, this possible situation was ceased by the fixing of the USSR border on the former Romanian-Polish border. Many said that the assassination of Armand Călinescu was a diversion set up by the Germans who had trained the legionary team²⁴. No matter what was the truth behind these rumours, it was certain that the population was agitated and the government had to accept the relaxation of the conflict with the legionaries.

At the beginning of October, the reprisals that followed the death of Armand Călinescu were replaced by several agreements with the legionaries because the government was aware of Germany's position regarding the movement. Carol II even gave up the last man of steel from the government, Gabriel Marinescu, who was dismissed from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In parallel with the acceptance of the legionaries as a political force, negotiations were initiated with the National Peasants Party and the National Liberal Party. The legionary leaders that had survived the detention period started negotiating with government representatives. The first willing to give up his opposition against Carol II was Vasile Noveanu, the former leader of the Arad County, who was shortly after that followed by Ilie Gârneață and Corneliu Georgescu, two of the founding members of the Legionary Movement. Thus, in exceptional conditions, the Legionary Movement came out stronger after the assassination of Armand Călinescu.

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THE SINOSPHERE AND THE CASE OF THE CHINESE STROKE OF ATONEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Abstract: *The Sinosphere – is not only a doctrine that has reached a similar characterization in other cultures than the Chinese one. For the Chinese, it is a norm, encompassing and indicating of other norms, used in producing well-adjusted relationships between the Chinese people and the cultural cradle that made their cultural identities reverberate in non-extinguishing. Moreover, it is a viewpoint of extraordinary ideologies and perceptual frames, formed both by experience and knowledge, not needing to conform to any historical circumstances set its way. Throughout this article, we will be trying to satisfactorily involve such recognition of the similarities of construing and add personal ones that fit the threshold of newness, required for anyone daring to add novel quantities of evaluation, when talking about China.*

Keywords: *China, sinosphere, connecting experiences, immigrants, culture and civilization.*

The Surfeit of Connecting Experiences – The Patent Applications of the Sinosphere.

China`s stretch of influence upon the geographically surrounding territories has suffered indices of malaise in the tormenting years of the XIXth century and in the beginning of the XXth century¹. The threshold of pain was quite formidable, prolonged by the loss of status and privileged position in the international system. For centuries, China was part of the premier collection of sophisticated, premier powers. Like any source and tempo of influence, China`s underlying exercise of influence and power had to come to its due end. Until it did, China accumulated key punch-lines of luxurious civilization tenure, within the international system. The landscape of gilded conceptual products was magnificent and impressive. China was not an unlicensed pretender. The avenues of expression for

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¹ With reference to the territorial losses and the enormous military defeats that have been impregnated into China`s international reputation in the XIXth and the XXth centuries; until then, China managed, by and large, to operate, intentions of its distinctiveness into the type of identity it strived to create for itself internationally; The measurements of this narrative ended abruptly, with the beginning of China`s humiliation by the regional powers (e.g. Japan) and by the European perpetrators that have begun to eye Asia`s potency of resources and strategic teemingness for their global prominence; China was not only disparaged by such defeats and attempts of chagrin, but has been commencing to scale down the appreciation of the loose structures of its identity; it was a wave of decline that could not be fought with the principles and usages of feudalism; this unfortunate mix was, nonetheless, remnant for China; the foil of the understanding of change did not come rapidly at hand, but rather dilatorily and with the price of status-loss;

status-building offered no shortage of interesting and novel observations and analytical points. Certainly, the lack of importance of these avenues of expressions meant the arising of a collective self-doubt and the emancipation of other principles².

Until the metamorphosis that incurred into the international tallness of China, there is a conceptual salience of the imperial era that is worth being taken into discussion. The concept that is most conveying of eminence is **the sinosphere**. The solicitation of meaning of such a concept would represent, at a semitone analysis, **China`s sphere of influence**. The extent of the use of such a concept does not make it supernumerary, at all, nor confusing for the reader that wants to catch the summed up version of such a concept. For those willing to read more between the lines, the concept of **sinosphere** is a concept of a gibbous content and perpetual empiricism. It is composed of trans-historical tiles, claiming bond and call to the ground connection of China`s identity-making process that took place over millennia. **Sinosphere** stands for a widespread evidence of the pinpointing of areas, under the emblematic mace of China`s influence. Long before the emancipation of the principle of the equality of nations, China regarded itself and was regarded upon by other nations as the **centre of the terrestrial world – the Middle Kingdom**. Likewise, the Chinese nation was the only nation in the world entitled to connect cohesively with supra-natural forces and transmit their messages towards the terrestrial sphere. This columnar structure of analogical conjugation of views was transferred into inter-state politics. States and nations, together with all their coalescing elements, were not viewed on the foot of equality. Especially for the states and nations that had cultural and civilization bonds with China, China was treated reverently as the outfield core of attention in global affairs. Being the center of gravity in world politics, China encouraged the use of hierarchy to maintain the inward vision of **the Middle Kingdom**. Without the altering resistance of inertia, the degree of demanded obeisance was given to China. By natural sequence, China reasoned the opportunities of the innate position it held. China grew under its mantle a related bunch of civilizations and cultures, especially in the nearby areas. The **Sinosphere** was rooted historically and peddled into circulation, by inter-cultural and linguistic interaction. The main focus of the processes of development of such an area of influence was China. The terms and nature of fashion of existence was given by China. The system of inter-state partnerships was not shifting and rather stable. Turbulence emerged, nevertheless, with the same poignancy that the peaceful interactions within the **Sinosphere**, were upheld³. China strived to implant these regulating hallmarks of its influence all over the world: “Historically too, China has maintained a claim of jurisdiction over Chinese all over the world. **The term huaqiao**, or Chinese sojourners, became popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in China. By the

² With reference to political assumptions made after World War II in China, to the triumph of Communism and to the replacing of the imperial regime with the republican pillars of institutional-setting; the forging of this consensus meant the leaving behind of one of the most important periods of development and of global protrusion for China and for the Chinese nation;

³ Rebellions were an usual derivative function of imposing hierarchy; hierarchy led to order; but, hierarchy led to the imposition of submission and of tribute-paying for the highest level of authority;

early twentieth century, *the term huaqiao* had become an all-encompassing term for all Chinese overseas⁴. The stool of China`s power and influence was given important innuendoes by the displacement of such ideas within the nearby territories, where China naturally projected its inducing: the remaining parts of East Asia and Southeast Asia. The transportation of such ideas was given the proper ambit by Chinese settlers into the influenced territories. As Joel Kotkin explains, China`s concentration of bias and sway had a lot to do with the drift of ethnic Chinese into these territories. They were streamer of China, bearers of its elements of culture and civilization: “The Sinosphere`s roots lie with the Han expansion into southern China during the Tang dynasty (618-907). By the 12th century, the newly Sinoified southern Chinese had started moving south. There they created trade-oriented colonies like Vietnam, Burma, Malaya and the island of Java. In the 1600s Chinese settlers overcame the aboriginal inhabitants of Taiwan, creating another powerful base in the South China Sea[...]At its height, during the expeditions of the legendary eunuch Admiral Zheng Hein in the early 15th century, China`s maritime sphere of influence extended all the way to the Indian Ocean and beyond[...]Although ensuing Chinese regimes pulled back from expansion and all but abandoned their scattered children, the colonies, particularly in Southeast Asia, survived. They developed business and industries suitable to their new homes, but also maintained their cultural heritage and language”⁵. Accordingly, China managed to transform its culture and civilization into an epitome of worship, also by the employment of overseas Chinese. The process saw its initialization during the time of Imperial China, although, at first, it was not seen as serviceable to China`s potent image of power and influence. China disapproved back then with the contamination of its culture and civilization, by other inferior artefacts, by whatever means, ways or manners. The middle force of Chinese influence was made up of indecomposable constituents and was forged mainly, within the imperial walls. The diffusion of the different milieus of Chinese culture and civilization was thought to arrive in the encircling territories, within second-rate espousal of interpretations⁶. The betrothal between ethnic Chinese and the Chinese rulers was depicted as complete and unbreakable. This is why, Chinese individuals that decided to leave the nucleic civilizational and cultural grounds of Chinese rearing and refining were seen as traitors in Imperial China. Not only did they mingle with elements from inferior cultures, but they would also betray the polish that China`s breed of conceptual cultivation gave them⁷. In the new inbreeding cultural and civilizational milieus, they were designated abbreviations of China. In the departed

⁴ Li Peter, Li Eva Xiaoling, *Changes in Chinese Overseas Population, 1955 to 2007*, Canadian Review of Sociology, Vol. 48, No.2, May 2011;

⁵ Kotkin Joel, *Inside the Sinosphere: China`s New Diaspora Economy*, 23rd of August 2011, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2011/08/23/inside-the-sinosphere/>, date of accession: 24th of June 2013, accession time: 14:12 p.m.;

⁶ These ministrations were thought to be lacking the due accuracy of construing that the original accounts of Chinese civilization had, as they were prepared, adopted and transmitted within the China`s civilizational and cultural nucleus;

⁷ They had an intermediate status between outer and deep-seated compounds of culture and civilization; being observed within the dissimilar combinations between the Chinese culture and civilization and other processes of acculturation was not at all for their benefit, though;

environment, the immigrants were thought as apostate elements, regardless of the fact that their presence in the surrounding cultural settings was a natural consequence of the ever-expanding sphere of Imperial China's Influence. The entourage of ethnic Chinese in other decors did not come as a surprise, either! It was an avail of the development of different industries, to an extensive scale, that facilitated aggregate motilities of people all around the world⁸: "Historically, whereas Chinese emigration to Southeast Asia was originally prompted by China's imperial aggrandizement and trade relations with regions outside of China, the migration of Chinese to North American, Australia, and European countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was largely triggered by industrialization of the west and the subsequent demand for Oriental labourers during times of labor shortage"⁹. Out of all Chinese transnational migrations, the inter-regional one was the oldest. If treated as a poorly understood subject, one can only limit the comprehension of these early mass movements as carefully staffed transnational migration movements of betrayal. At first, they developed within Chinese territory, with the spread of ethnic Chinese, in the sparsely occupied territories of Southern China: "Historically, Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang on the coastal south China were the major migrant sending regions, and that is why frequently people could observe the five major dialect groups of ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia, i.e. Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka and Hainanese. Consequently, the first group of Chinese citizens who joined the transnational migration wave in late 1970s were all from these three Chinese coastal provinces, followed by student migrants from big cities such as Beijing and Shanghai. On the other hand, Chinese Dongbei or Northeast China has quietly come into view since mid 1980s as a new migrant sending region. Nevertheless, the new migrants from the three Dongbei provinces (Liaoning, Jilin and Heilongjiang) are quite different from their counterparts from Fujian and Zhejiang"¹⁰.

The provinces of these territorial circumferences were occupied, in the days of Imperial China, at first, mostly with other ethnicities than the Chinese one. Their ethnic composition was off-colour Chinese, mostly annexed by merchants, officialdoms from tributary states that paid homage to the Chinese Imperial authorities and other ethnicities from the tributary states. Their simmering down was usually a quite interesting ethnical mix. Other places like – North American, Australian and European geographical areas were chosen, with a different typeset in mind – the need to interact with other cultural settings, as a coterie for a different kind of development. China has managed to lock her walls from elements of other cultures and civilizations, that were bringing with them, diverging yokes and walks of life and civilization. The savy and perspicacity of differentiating from the culture and civilization chosen to transcend the terrestrial, common ken was

⁸ With reference to the early processes of inter-state interactions, on a global scale;

⁹ Li Peter, Li Eva Xiaoling, *Changes in Chinese Overseas Population, 1955 to 2007*, Canadian Review of Sociology, Vol. 48, No.2, May 2011;

¹⁰ Chin James K., *Chinese Transnational Migration in the Region: An Update*, Brief Report Prepared for the NTS-Asia Annual Convention, Marina Mandarin Singapore, 3rd-4th of November, 2009, <http://www.rsis-ntsasia.org/activities/conventions/2009-singapore/James%20Chin.pdf>, date of accession: 29th of July, accession time: 12:43 p.m.;

unaccountable, in the eyes of those in charge with formulating Chinese politics, as well as consistent breakthroughs of its culture and civilization. They did not see the departing of ethnic Chinese, from the walls of Imperial China, where Chinese culture and civilization were best protected, as something proposing of beneficial undertakings. The brew of ethnicities, despite these apprehensions did happen, encouraged or not, inspired or not with enough confidence. While other continents were chosen for the mirage of acquiescing to a different manner of entertaining life, life standards and gauging elements of different civilization, Asia was a spot check of the same pennant. Southeast Asia was fastened within the same yardstick¹¹. While other geographic areas allured immigrants for economic and industrializing desirability, Southeast Asia commonly enticed Chinese immigrants, as it did not differ according to the image under which the elements of culture and civilization. Even if the Indian inducing had a very strong connection with the Southeast Asian cultures and civilizations, China was a culture with a high sociability rating within the sub-region. Omens of China`s cultural links, through mass movements, with Southeast Asia are opined to have been happening ever since the XIXth century. Almost surely, the vaticinations of longer presence of Chinese ethnics in Southeast Asia can be ferreted out much earlier¹². Especially in Southeast Asia, the patent applications of the Sinosphere accompanied the exploratory case study of Chinese ethnic movements, with unremitting connecting experiences with the nations of Southeast Asia. The incessant cases of demographic change did not liable continual calls of important demographic shifts within the sub-region of Southeast Asia¹³.

Personal Adjourments

Any foregone conclusion would lead to the affirmative premises of a long established statistical presence of China in Southeast Asia and of Southeast Asia in China`s rounding off of targets to implement its culture and civilization. Never has China managed to consider that implementation will go all the way and that culminations of the cultural and civilizational borrowing will end complete in

¹¹ Chinese settlers in Southeast Asia did not languish other gauging elements of culture and civilization; They saw their displacement as a natural prolongation of their cultural and civilization environs;

¹² Due to important trade links, due to the officeholders of Chinese bureaucratism that conditioned the use of diplomatic and tributary brass and establishment with the Southeast Asian officials; For the majority of the time, the amass of interactions between China and the Southeast Asian officials were submissive, with China holding the greater stature of rank;

¹³ They happened simultaneously, sermonizing an unflagging Chinese presence in the sub-region of Southeast Asia; However, they did not have a political weight of a stronger political concern; The most important thing we can single out as important is the fact that the movements of the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia were not meant to soak up and sinicize the endemic population and nations of Southeast Asia; While preserving (partially, not absolutely!) a Chinese way of life and a multitude of spare components of the Chinese cultural testacy, the emigrants managed to be included into the local populations and land tenements of allegiance with both China and the new host countries; China was important for the baseline glare of their identities; The host countries became important for the additional limelight of cultural encounters and for the provision of another cultural and social distich; An exercise of loss of Chineseness, from the part of the succeeding generations of Chinese immigrants was geared notably with the demise of Imperial China.

Southeast Asia. Culture and civilization could only be purely appropriated within the architectural fabric of the imperial laboratories of thought, knowledge and norm-production. Like India, China was able to land-hold a cultural, security and foreign policy presence in Southeast Asia. Even if it was meant to be applied within a universal design, the Sinosphere was chiefly applied in Southeast Asia! Up to today, the measures of effectuation of the Sinosphere did not alter the content of pertinence of China in Southeast Asia.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF *HEGEMONY* IN ANTONIO GRAMSCI'S WORKS

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Abstract: *In this study the author aims at carrying out a brief analysis of the evolution of the concept of hegemony in Antonio Gramsci's works. As this contribution is going to show, the Sardinian theorist took over the term hegemony from the works of Gheorghe Valentinovici Plehanov, P. Axelrod, Y. Marov, V. I. Lenin, etc. Gramsci's original contribution resided in the fact that he transformed this term into a concept that underlay his entire theoretical system regarding the Risorgimento.*

Keywords: *hegemony, political hegemony, leadership, domination, proletarian dictatorship.*

Introduction

The debate on the *Risorgimento* developed throughout the entire time-span of the Italian state formation, continued during the Fascist years, and was still a lively topic after the end of World War II.

During the inter-war period, from a historiographical and ideological viewpoint, the *Risorgimento* theme was analysed by an impressive number of historians, publicists, men of culture, etc. During the inter-war, this topic that was extremely important in the peninsular theoretical area emerged in the works of four significant representatives of Italian culture: Adolfo Omodeo¹, Gioachino Volpe², Benedetto Croce³ and Antonio Gramsci⁴. The Sardinian theorist explained

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¹ At the University of Palermo, Adolfo Omodeo's master was Giovanni Gentile. He wrote several important works that focused on Christianity and the *Risorgimento*. In the field of Christian studies, the most important works published by the author are: *Storia delle origini cristiane* (1925) and *La mistica giovannea* (1930), while his most important works about the *Risorgimento* are: *L'Età del Risorgimento italiano* (1925) and *L'opera politica del conte di Cavour* (1942).

² Gioachino Volpe was the representative of the nationalist and monarchic group which, after the end of World War I, took hold of and supported Fascism. His most important work about the *Risorgimento* is *L'Italia in Cammino* (1927).

³ Benedetto Croce was the personality of that time who had a major influence on Antonio Gramsci. The manner in which Croce interpreted the *Risorgimento* in his analysis is different from that of the Italian left, who believed that Fascism is the natural next step after the bourgeois society and the liberal political regime. For this author, the Italian *Risorgimento* was a golden stage in the Italians' process of development and emancipation, and this phenomenon could not have taken place if there had been no French revolution in 1789. This view is present in one of his most important works, titled *La Storia d'Italia* (1928).

⁴ Antonio Gramsci was born in Sardinia in 1891. He studied at the University of Torino, at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, but he did not graduate. In 1910 he enrolled in the Socialist Party, and in August 1917 he became the regional secretary of its branch in Torino. On 1 May 1919 he set up the

this process that was fundamental for the rise and the formation of the Italian nation and state by introducing the concept of *hegemony*.

Hegemony is the key concept around which Antonio Gramsci developed the theoretical construction that explained the Risorgimento as a phenomenon, the disparities between the Italian North and South, and the gaps that divided the civilisations of these two peninsular geographical areas.

Gramsci's approach of the Risorgimento theme was not the by-product of a mere intellectual creation. For him, history was a means of fighting. In Palmiro Togliatti's words, Gramsci: was "a theorist of politics, a practitioner of politics, that is, a fighter"⁵. Gramsci's interest in history had a motivation that was different from that of a historian who was not politically engaged. The goal of his research was described as follows:

*"These essays should be written for a particular kind of audience, aiming to destroy conceptions that are old, scholastic, rhetorical, and absorbed passively by popular culture, so as to arise a scientific interest in the issues at hand, an effort that is necessary in order to present them as topics that are alive and operating even today, as always current moving forces".*⁶

An important element that should be brought into our discussion is the order of publication of the two contributions that attracted the specialists' interest and underlie Gramsci's works.

The first is an essay published in 1926, titled *Alcuni temi della questione meridionale*. This manuscript was recovered by Camilla Ravera, who handed it to Togliatti immediately after the Sardinian militant was arrested. The essay was published for the first time in the journal *Lo stato operaio*⁷. Yet, Gramsci's interest in this topic was older. A first presentation of his ideas was published in 1916, in an article titled "Il Mezzogiorno e la guerra". In this paper, Gramsci's southern theme can be analysed from two perspectives: as a heuristic paradigm and as a political orientation.

The second theoretical contribution was published posthumously, immediately after the Second World War (1949), and it is called *Il Risorgimento* (The Risorgimento). Gramsci specialists noticed that the 1926 essay had been written after the one published in 1949.

weekly journal *Ordine Nuovo* and in 1921 he was one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party, which was born out of a rupture that emerged within the Socialist Party. He was arrested at the orders of the Fascist government in November 1926, and in 1928 he was sentenced to 20 years in prison, a sentence that was reduced to 10 years later on. He died on 27 April 1937, 10 days after he was released from prison. The reflections that the Marxist theorist wrote while he was imprisoned, from 1929 to 1935 were published immediately after the end of World War II under the title *Quaderni del Carcere*.

⁵ Palmiro Togliatti, *Appunti preparatori della relazione al I convegno di studi gramsciani*, Roma, gennaio 1958, p.35.

⁶ Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, vol. III, edizione critica dell'Istituto Gramsci, a cura di Valentino Gerratana, Torino, Einaudi, 2007, p.1960.

⁷ The text was republished later in A. Gramsci, *La questione meridionale*, in F. De Felice e V. Parlato (a cura di), Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1974, pp.131-160 and in A. Gramsci, *La costruzione del Partito Comunista 1923-1926*, Torino, Einaudi, 1971, pp.137-158, Antonio Gramsci, *La questione meridionale*, in Marcello Montanari (a cura di), Bari, Palomar, 2007. The latest publishing of the text is to be found in Antonio Gramsci, *Antologia*, in Antonio A. Santucci (a cura di) with a preface by Guido Liguori, Roma, Editori Riuniti university press, 2012.

The Risorgimento was published owing to Togliatti's determination. Gramsci's theoretical view was taken over by the radical left, and, immediately after the end of World War II, was vividly promoted by the Italian Communist Party (IPC) through Togliatti, who was the party's secretary general.⁸ The interest in Gramsci's works was ambivalent: on the one hand, Gramsci was, as we have previously shown, a "political fighter" who died in a Fascist prison⁹, and, on the other, the Sardinian thinker was the most important Italian communist theorist of that time. This is why, when Togliatti presented to the members of the 5th ICP Congress (Rome, 1946) the initiative to create a "new party",¹⁰ the latter took large chunks from Gramsci's vision about the Risorgimento phenomenon. We can say that from an ideological viewpoint, the "new" far-left mass-based party, which aimed to attract the votes of millions of Italians,¹¹ based its criticism against the liberal society previous to World War I on Gramsci's vision about the Italian state's period of formation and organisation¹².

Of course, this lack of synchronisation in the publication of Gramsci's theoretical conceptions is due to the fact that an important part of his works was written in prison and published afterwards in *Quaderni del Carcere* (Prison Notebooks).

The Evolution of the concept of hegemony in Antonio Gramsci's works

It was not Gramsci who coined the term *hegemony*, but it was he who invented the concept of *hegemony*.

⁸ Palmiro Togliatti, (1893-1964) is seen as the historical leader of the Italian Communist Party. In 1921 he was one of the members who founded the ICP, which he led till his death. He was the representative of Italian communists in the Comintern until 1943 and in the Cominform until 1947. In 1944-1945 he was the vice-president of the Italian government, in 1945-1946 he was the minister of justice and later he was a member of the Constitutional Assembly.

⁹ Gramsci was arrested on 8 November 1926 even though he was a member of parliament and had parliamentary immunity. On 4 July 1927 the "Special Fascist Tribunal" sentenced him to 20 years, 4 months and 5 days in prison. On 19 July 1927 he arrived at the prison in Turi (Bari), where he began to write the *Quaderni del Carcere*. While he was in prison he developed arteriosclerosis, high blood pressure and gout, which worsened the condition he had contracted as a child, "Pott's disease". On 25 October Mussolini granted him conditional freedom, but he was fully released on 21 April 1937. As a result of his poor health, Gramsci died on the morning of 27 April, at the age of 46.

¹⁰ Palmiro Togliatti, *Rapporto al V Congresso del Partito comunista italiano*, in Idem, *Works 1944-1955*, vol. V, (a cura di Luciano Gruppi), Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1984, pp.183-187.

¹¹ ICP after the end of World War II can be seen as the most important mass-based party in Italy. From the viewpoint of its members, the ICP was the largest party. 10 years after its establishment it counted over 2.000.000 members. In comparison, the other two parties in the Italian political arena had a much smaller number of members. ICP (1946) - 2.068.272/ Italian Socialist Party (ISP) - 860.300/ Christian-Democracy (CD) - 602.652; ICP (1947) - 2.252.446/ ISP - 822.000/ DC - 790.771; ICP (1948) - 2.115.232/ISP - 531.031/ DC - 1.095.359; ICP (1949) - 2.027.271/ ISP - 430.258/ DC - 766.023; ICP (1950) - 2.112.593/ ISP - 70.000/ DC - 882.674; ICP (1951) - 2.097.830/ ISP- 720.000/ DC - 917.095; ICP (1952) - 2.093.540/ ISP- 750.000/ DC - 954.723; ICP (1953) - 2.134.285/ ISP - 780.000/ DC - 1.141.181; ICP (1954) - 2.145.317/ ISP - 754.000/ DC - 1.252.524; ICP (1955) - 2.090.006/ ISP - 770.000/ DC - 1.186.785; ICP (1956) - 2.053.353/ ISP - 710.000/ DC - 1.377.286; The data were taken from <http://www.cattaneo.org/it/archivi-menu/adele-menu.html> (accessed on 12.06.2013), field "Iscritti ai principali partiti italiani dal 1945 al 2004").

¹² Ioana Cristea (Drăgulin), *Antonio Gramsci și Risorgimento in Bibliotheca Historica, Philosophica et Geographica*, vol. XI, Collegium Mediense II, Comunicări Științifice, nr. 11, 2012, pp. 128 - 133.

The term *hegemony* derives from the Greek word *égesthai*, and means “to rule”, “to be ruled”, or “to be in charge of”. In the Hellenic area, the term *égheмония*, was used to convey that someone had supreme powers over an army. The *hegemon* was the leader, the ruler, the supreme commander.¹³

For the first time, the noun *hegemonia* and the adjective *hegemon* were used by Gramsci four times in an article published in the *Ordine Nuovo* journal, titled “La Russia, potenza mondiale” published on 14 August 1920¹⁴. We would like to stress that the use of this term in an article about Bolshevik Russia was not random.

It is important to identify the moment when this concept emerged for the first time in Gramsci's works because thus we are able to understand the meaning that he used initially and how it evolved in the subsequent articles and studies that he published.¹⁵

One of the first observations to be made when we talk about the concept of *hegemony* is that it was used in a versatile manner in *Quaderni del Carcere*¹⁶.

Between the last decade of the 19th century and 1917, the term *hegemony* was used within the Russian socialist movement with the terminology of *gegemoniya*. The latter emerged for the first time in the works that the Russian Marxist theorist Gheorghî Valentinovici Plehanov published between 1883 and 1884. Plehanov advocated that it was urgently needed for the proletariat to fight against business owners at the economic level and against Tsarism at the political level. In 1884, while analysing the Russian society, Plehanov stated that the bourgeoisie was still too weak to assume the fight against Tsarism. This is why it was compulsory for the proletariat to support the revolutionary actions of the bourgeoisie.¹⁷

Referring to the political power, Plehanov used the term *domination* in order to plea in favour of his idea that, in the event of a revolutionary movement, the proletariat should support the bourgeoisie. It was the only way in which the latter could take hold of *power*¹⁸. A decade later, the Russian Marxist theorist changed his mind, believing that the proletariat could have an independent leading part in the fight against tsarist absolutism. Later on this view was taken over by P. Axelrod, Y. Marov, V. I. Lenin and other Marxists. In a letter addressed to Plehanov, Lenin demanded for a political newspaper to be founded in order to prepare a “real hegemony” of the proletariat in Russia¹⁹.

After the October Revolution of 1917, the term ceased to be popular in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), but it survived in the documents of the Socialist International that analysed international events. At the first two World Congresses of the Third International (1919, Moscow and 1920, Petrograd),

¹³ A. Macciocchi, *Per Gramsci*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1974, p.254.

¹⁴ G. Ferrata, *2000 pagine di Gramsci*, vol I, Milano, Il Saggiatore, 1964, p.96.

¹⁵ Dario Ragazzini, *Società industriale e formazione umana nel pensiero di Antonio Gramsci*, prefazione di Mario Alighiero Manacorda, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1978, p.6.

¹⁶ G. Nardone, *Il pensiero di Gramsci*, Bari, De Donato, 1971, pp.127-128.

¹⁷ G.I.Plehanov, *Izbrannye Filosofskie Proizvedeniya*, Moscova, 1956, p.372 in Perry Anderson, *Ambiguità di Gramsci*, Bari, Laterza, 1978, p.22.

¹⁸ Idem, *Sochineniya* (ed.Ryazanov), vol. II, Moscow, 1923, pp. 55,63, 77; vol III, p.91, in Perry Anderson, *Ambiguità di Gramsci*, Bari, Laterza, 1978, p.23.

¹⁹ V.I.Lenin, *Complete works*, vol. XXXIV, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1958, pp.40, 41.

the Comintern adopted a series of theses in which they used the term *hegemony* several times. Thus, the term became international. The new meaning it received was that it was the proletariat's duty to exert its *hegemony* over other exploited groups, with the purpose of transforming them into class allies²⁰.

In 1922, during the Fourth Congress, the significance of the term *hegemony* was expanded:

*"The bourgeoisie has always had the compulsion to separate politics from the economy, understanding too well that if it succeeded in closing the proletarian masses into a corporate framework then there would be no threat to its own hegemony"*²¹.

There is a strong likelihood that Gramsci met the term *hegemony* in the documents published after this congress. We should not overlook the fact that he was a member of the ICP delegation to this congress and that he stayed in Moscow until 1923. We could suppose that it is here that he found the writings of Plehanov, Axelrod, Martov and Lenin²².

However, as he himself declared, Gramsci took the term from Lenin's works:

*"The theoretical-practical principle of hegemony is the particularly important contribution brought by Lenin to the theory of praxis"*²³.

Gramsci introduces the concept of *hegemony* when he analyses the *Risorgimento*, keeping a certain distance from the economic factor and the strengthening of the ideological factor.²⁴

Referring to the particular contribution brought by Lenin in the structuring of the concept of *hegemony*, Gramsci considered that Lenin's great merit was that he captured the extraordinary and decisive value of cultural and ideal struggle in the promotion of subordinate classes and the assessment of a new economic and social system. This is why Lenin's concept of *hegemony*, such as it was interpreted by Gramsci, should not be seen as the expression of *domination* but mostly as the affirmation of a superior capacity to interpret history and to provide solutions to the issues at hand²⁵.

In *Questione meridionale* the concept of *hegemony* emerges as an articulation of the proletariat's dictatorship when it would reach a position from which *it could rule and dominate*, but in *Quaderni del Carcere* this restrictive meaning disappears²⁶. This development is interesting and it was explained by Luciano Gruppi. When Gramsci says that "The theoretical-practical principle of hegemony is the particularly important contribution brought by Ilici to the theory

²⁰ Perry Anderson, op.cit., p.29.

²¹ ***, *IV congresso dell'Internazionale comunista. Tesi, manifesti, risoluzioni*, Roma, 1971, p.55.

²² Perry Anderson, *Ambiguità di Gramsci*, op.cit., p.30.

²³ Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, op.cit., vol.II, pp.1249-1250.

²⁴ Alberto Caracciolo, *Atti del Convegno tenuti a Roma*, Roma, Istituto Antonio Gramsci, 1958, p.90.

²⁵ Aldo Tortorella, "Egemonia", in Antonio Gramsci (a cura di Carlo Ricchini, Eugenio Manca, Luisa Melograni), *Le sue idee nel nostro tempo*, Roma, Editrice l'Unita, 1987, p.93.

²⁶ Ioana Cristea Drăgulin, Antonio Gramsci's *Landmarks in the analysis of the risorgimental phenomenon* [*Concepte fundamentale la Antonio Gramsci în analiza fenomenului risorgimental*], in *** *Colegium Mediense*, Scientific Communications, vol XII, Mediaș, 2013, p. 146.

of praxis”, the term used by Lenin is not that of *hegemony*, but of *direction*²⁷. This is why, Gruppi says, the meaning attributed by Gramsci to the concept of *hegemony*, taking over the one of *direction* from Lenin is that of *proletarian dictatorship*²⁸.

Taking over the meaning given by Lenin to the term of *direction*, Gramsci uses the concept of *hegemony* “taking into account the social basis of the proletariat's *hegemony*”. For that moment of analysis, the concept of hegemony represented “a form of proletarian dictatorship in which the working class leads the entire revolutionary movement, an action supported by the system of political alliances between the workers of the North and the peasants of the South”.²⁹

Norberto Bobbio claims that the meaning of the concept of *hegemony* as a *cultural direction* does not exclude the meaning of *political direction*. Moreover, *hegemony* in Gramsci's acceptance meaning has a much broader signification. It includes both the concept of *cultural direction* and that of *political direction*. Thus, Gramsci does not stop at the initiative to create a collective will but also aims at constructing and spreading a new view of the world³⁰.

Later on, the Sardinian thinker expanded the significance of the concept of *hegemony*, which, in its first acceptance, expressed the proletariat's role within a movement led by the bourgeoisie against the feudal regime, towards a broader meaning, which focuses on the mechanism of bourgeois domination over the proletariat in a capitalist society. This passage was based on a differentiated analysis of the bourgeois power structures in the Western area.³¹

Hegemony emerges as the result of a very clear historical reality, namely the existence of the southern problem in Italy. The concept is a synthesis of Gramsci's analysis of the Italian social structures, in which, according to a Marxist view, he identifies the specific roles played by intellectuals, peasants, workers, political forces, etc.³².

The concept of *hegemony* becomes, as Bobbio noticed, the link “between determined objective conditions and the actual *domination* of a particular *ruling group*: this link expresses within the civil society”³³.

This is why the concept of *hegemony* starts to refer to the capacity to understand the real, historically identifiable processes, in which social forces have been individualised and which must be involved in the revolutionary process³⁴.

We see that Gramsci uses the term *social forces*. For Gruppi, this term is very

²⁷ V.I.Lenin, "Due tattiche della social democrazia nella rivoluzione democratica", in *Opere scelte*, Roma, 1965, pp. 317-423.

²⁸ L. Gruppi, "Lenin e il concetto di egemonia", in "Lenin teorico e dirigente rivoluzionario", *Quaderni di Critica marxista*, no. 4, 1970, p. 206.

²⁹ Gheorghe Lencan Stoica, *Gramsci, Culture and Politics*, Bucharest, The Political Printing House, 1987, p.141.

³⁰ Norberto Bobbio, *Gramsci e la concezione della società civile*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 1976, p.39.

³¹ Perry Anderson, *Ambiguità di Gramsci*, op.cit., p.34.

³² Dario Ragazzini, *Società industriale e formazione umana nel pensiero di Antonio Gramsci*, op.cit., p.7.

³³ Norberto Bobbio, *Gramsci e la concezione della società civile*, op.cit., p.49.

³⁴ L. Gruppi, *Il concetto di egemonia la Gramsci*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1972, p.76.

important because it supported the development of Gramsci's theories. These *social forces* opened the way to alliances between various social strata in order to attempt to unify their social demands into an organic proposal that challenged the great social issues. It was the only way in which the *social forces* could transform from *subordinate groups* into *ruling groups*, as Gramsci shows:

*"The proletariat can become the ruling dominant class insofar as it manages to create a system of class alliances which would allow it to muster the vast majority of the working population against the bourgeois State and capitalism"*³⁵.

Here the meaning can be understood in its narrow meaning, namely of the proletariat, but, taking into account the specificity of Italy during the Risorgimento, the meaning is much broader and it also included, we may say compulsorily, in Gramsci's opinion, the rural population.

This is why *hegemony* is not synonymous with the concept of *proletarian dictatorship*. Here, the concept of *hegemony* has a broader meaning, as it also encompasses cultural aspects³⁶.

It is rather, as Gramsci specialists show, the capacity to *rule* that provides the *proletarian dictatorship* with the *social bases* it needs³⁷. For these reasons, the concept of *hegemony* cannot be reduced to the narrow meaning of "proletarian dictatorship" or to a mere "party dictatorship"³⁸.

Starting from the concepts of dominant class and ruling class, Gramsci believes that having a *political hegemony* is almost a must, even before "it manages to take hold of power"³⁹.

Another meaning of the concept of *hegemony* in Gramsci can be that of *direction* or *domination*⁴⁰ or it can have both these meanings at the same time⁴¹.

*"...the supremacy of social group manifests itself in two ways: as «domination» and as «intellectual and moral leadership». A social group is dominant with respect to its opposing groups when it tends to «destroy» or to subdue by force its opposing groups and it is the leader among its associate or allied groups"*⁴²

Gramsci's assertion about the relationship between groups is particularly interesting. The Sardinian author believes that the relationships between the various groups that form human societies are based on principles of force. Marxist thinking is also present here, because the *class struggle* imagined by Marx is seen by Gramsci through the lens of the concept of *hegemony*. The social area is a battlefield in which the various social groups or classes make use of violence. In the Marxist vein, Gramsci cannot imagine a bourgeois society based on the

³⁵ Antonio Gramsci, "Alcuni temi della questione meridionale", in *C.P.C.*, pp.140, 144-145.

³⁶ Gheorghe Lencan Stoica, op.cit., pp.143-144.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p.139.

³⁸ Aldo Tortorella, „Egemonia”, op.cit., p.93.

³⁹ Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, vol.I, op.cit., p.41.

⁴⁰ Dario Ragazzini, *Società industriale e formazione umana nel pensiero di Antonio Gramsci*, op.cit., p.11.

⁴¹ L. Gruppi, "Il concetto di egemonia", in "Prassi rivoluzionaria e storicismo in Gramsci", in *Critica marxista-Quaderni*, 1967, p. 3.

⁴² Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, vol. III, op.cit, p. 2010.

principle of distributiveness. For him, class conflict leads to a type of *political hegemony* in which *subordinate* classes or groups are subdued by force. This is the affirmation of the principle of *active revolution*. However, during the time he spent in Soviet Russia it is obvious that Gramsci was influenced when he introduced and then developed the term, the concept of *hegemony*.

The *Third Notebook* (Q 3) explains the mechanism whereby a *dominant* social group becomes the leader of its *associate* and *allied* groups. In order to explain this mechanism, Gramsci uses the Bolshevik expression the “proletariat's class alliance”. This is carried out together with other exploited classes or groups, and here it refers mainly to rural masses, with the purpose of fighting oppression.

The Sardinian theorist pleads in favour of alliances made up between the *dominant* group and its *associate* and *allied* groups. He is not the promoter of segregation from other groups because he believes that, in order to take hold of political power and to impose its *hegemony* the dominant group should make “concessions” and “sacrifices”. The proletariat, as the *dominant class* must establish this relationship with the other classes in order to impose its *hegemony*⁴³.

For Gramsci, the *New Economic Policy* (NEP) established by Lenin – in which the Marxist doctrine compromised with the market economy –, was an expression of “compromise”. Yet, the nuance brought by Gramsci is that this compromise must not flaw the essential elements of the doctrine.

*“The imposition of hegemony supposes, without any doubt, that one should take into account the interests and tendencies of the groups over which it exerts hegemony, in order to create a balance, a compromise, from the leading group.... but it is much more clearer that these cannot affect the essential elements of the leading group's interests because hegemony is ethical-political in nature”*⁴⁴.

Coming back to the Italian area, analysing the manner in which the *dominant class* has exerted its *political hegemony* after the end of World War I, Gramsci was particularly harsh and, from an ideological viewpoint, he focused on the principle of *class struggle*.

*“... The Italian dominant class did not even have the hypocrisy to hide its own dictatorship; it believed that the working people belonged to an inferior race, which could be governed in all rudeness, just as an African colony...”*⁴⁵.

This particularly harsh analysis of the bourgeois liberal regime demanded solutions of compromise at the level of political action. Starting from the theoretical analysis of the relationships established between the dominant group and the other groups, Gramsci applies this reasoning to the entire Italian society.

He believes that the use of violence by the proletariat and the rural classes is necessary and compulsory in the fight against the common enemy: the bourgeois-liberal regime. In the first years after World War I, Gramsci believed that, after the failure of the Risorgimento movement, the proletariat and the rural class needed to compromise in order to create a political movement strong enough

⁴³ Perry Anderson, *Ambiguità di Gramsci*, pp. 30, 31.

⁴⁴ Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, vol. III, op.cit., p.1591.

⁴⁵ Idem, (unsigned article), “Lo stato italiano”, in *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 7 February, 1920.

to be able to impose its *hegemony*. Only in this way they could achieve a “proletarian dictatorship” against the bourgeoisie and “proletarian hegemony” over the rural class⁴⁶.

*“If two forces need to unite in order to defeat a third ... this can only be achieved through compromise so that force be used against the others...”*⁴⁷

The motivation behind the choice of this path stems from the analysis of the Risorgimento period. In *Quaderni del Carcere*, Gramsci comes back frequently to the relationship between the Jacobins and the bourgeoisie. He says that:

*“...the Jacobins (...) transformed the bourgeoisie into the ruling hegemon class...”*⁴⁸

This short sentence is particularly interesting. One of the fixed points from which he started the analysis of the entire period of the Italian state formation was represented by the French Revolution of 1789. We might ask, what is the reason behind this fascination? Why do the Jacobins keep on appearing in his writings, we might say, quite obsessively? Gramsci elaborates his theories at a time when the Risorgimento as a phenomenon was over. We are talking about the first years after the end of World War I. In this short time-span, the public space filled with numerous political parties which produced social movements that questioned the bourgeois, ideological model (ICP and the National Fascist Party). This is why the Gramsci's image about the phenomenon is a reflexive one. Through the concept of *hegemony*, Gramsci “captures the complexity of the relationships between force and consensus existing in pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods (when one of the two aspects is prevalent in the process of institution or conservation of the historical block)”⁴⁹.

He started from an analysis about the nature of the Italian state and society specific to his time. Yet, in order to understand the result he had to go back to the roots. This leap in time allowed him to observe the historical lag between the Italian and the French area. Starting from this observation, the Sardinian theorist carried out a comparative analysis of the revolutionary movements and of the participating social forces. He draws a comparison of the unfolding and development from a medieval society towards the modern state starting from the French example. Why did he take the French model? This was because the Sardinian author was fascinated by the Jacobins. The explanation of this attitude had to do with the fact that through their political actions the Jacobins managed to change the feudal realities of France under Louis XVII. Through their revolutionary movements they managed to impose a major transformation of the entire French society, imposing, by their political program and actions in the public space, a rapid pace of modernisation. France walked the road to modernity in a short time, passing through traumatic periods which changed social realities for good.

Analysing the relationship between the two great political factions of that time which in Italian historiography are generally known under the name of

⁴⁶ Perry Anderson, *Ambiguità di Gramsci*, op.cit., p.32.

⁴⁷ Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del Carcere*, vol. III, op.cit., pp. 1612-1613.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp.44,51.

⁴⁹ Gheorghe Lencan Stoica, op.cit., p.144.

parties: the *Action Party*, also known as the radicals' party and the *Order Party* also known as the party representing the moderates, Gramsci observed that the latter managed to establish the political direction of the Risorgimento through a "spontaneous strong attraction over the entire mass of Italian intellectuals". Why did the moderates manage to establish this political direction? Because they were "a real, organic avant-garde of the elites while they were also a part of them".

This is one of the original contributions brought by Gramsci in the theoretical field as opposed to other Marxist thinkers. The manner in which the issue of attracting the intellectuals on the moderates' side was analysed eliminates the compulsory condition of the attraction that can be exerted by a *dominant power*, and, therefore, by a *dominant class* of the economic element. He explains the attraction exerted by the moderate movement among the elites by the fact that they organically belonged to a social group.

Conclusions:

As V. Gerratana, one of the most important specialists in Gramsci's theories, shows:

"...there is no doubt that in Quaderni there is a general theory of the concept of hegemony, (...) which has the function of an interpretative category that Gramsci uses in order to make an in-depth analysis of the modern state"⁵⁰.

This concept is particularly important for Gramsci's entire theoretical view. As we have shown in this theoretical study, the concept of *hegemony* is used to demonstrate the evolution of processes during the Risorgimento.

This term was not invented by Gramsci. Lenin, as many other socialists, had used this concept previously. As we have shown, the concept of *hegemony* is used by the two authors in favour of the ideological element at the expense of the economic one. However, if Lenin's concept of *hegemony* is linked and even assimilated with that of *proletarian dictatorship*, Gramsci uses the concept in order to support and legitimate the *proletariat's dictatorship*. It is an important nuance which distances Gramsci from classic Leninist theories. Moreover, in the analysis of the Risorgimento the concept changes its meaning. It emerges as a *power relationship* between the various reforming components moving within society when the events which led to the formation of the Italian state began. And this relationship is explained with the help of the concept of *hegemony* and of all the concepts that derived from it.

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⁵⁰ V. Gerratana, "La nuova strategia che si fa luce nei Quaderni", in *Rinascita*, 4 febbraio 1977, p.18.

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HYPOSTASES OF THE GLOBAL-LOCAL RELATION

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Abstract: *Globalization, the new technologies and the increased intercultural communication have favored the acculturation and hybridization processes of cultural models. Some theorists believe that the term „glocalization” is more appropriate to describe the configuration of current cultures, the global/local interpenetration, the combination between native elements and influences, between modern and traditional, between forms belonging to elite culture and products related to cultural.*

Keywords: *globalization, intercultural communication, glocalization, hybridization, amalgam culture.*

Globalization and its cultural issues

The interactions and interdependencies among societies have accrued in modern times up to the critical threshold where theorists have decided that the world has entered into a new age, for which different names have been suggested: postindustrial civilization, information society, globalization, post-modernity, knowledge-based society. Names differ, but they capture the same issue: the transition from modernity to post-modernity coincides with a cultural paradigm shift. The world has fundamentally changed in a relatively short historical period, under the pressure of combined forces, we cannot mention here. According to the opinion of a historian who works with far-stretched durations, in the spirit of Braudel, globalization and the new technologies have caused a „rupture” not only in relation to the nineteenth century, but also with human history as a whole, unfolding from the Neolithic up to present times, since these changes „represent the most profound revolution in society from the primitive age until now.”¹

It is a slightly hyperbolized assessment, but it relies on many grounds. Indeed, it is difficult to realize the gigantic nature of these changes. Let us consider that the use of electricity dates back to approx. 150 years, that only 45 years have passed since man set foot on the Moon and that 20 years ago personal computers and mobile phones have just made their entry. Today we cannot imagine life without them, without the Internet, the Facebook, the Google and bank cards or without the possibility of moving from one corner of the world to another. Globalization means relationships, links, networks, interconnections, interactive communication, transforming the world into a functional whole. It is the cumulative outcome of the of modernization processes, which led to an unprecedented increase in interactions among societies, cultures, countries,

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¹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Century of the Extremes*, Bucharest, Lieder Printing House, 1999, p. 15.

regions. John Tomlinson, the author of a synthesis on this topic, argues that there is an organic connection between modern culture trends and globalization. „At the heart of modern culture lies globalization; at the heart of globalization lie cultural practices.”² We are accustomed to regard globalization as a pre-eminently economic process; nonetheless economic and cultural practices are intertwined, in the same way as people's behaviours are guided by beliefs and values deeply rooted in their subjectivity. Thus, a vast literature has been piled up urging us to associate globalization with phenomena such as trade liberalization, expansion of multinational firms and weakening of nation-states, de-territorialisation of the capital and of economic elites, the global flow of financial transactions, labour migration from peripheral societies to the developed ones, access to information via new communication technologies, etc.

In this text, however, we are interested in the cultural issues of globalization, so it is natural to raise the question: What is the cultural correlative of these processes? What are the changes the new technologies and business practices bring about in the cultural universe? What happens inside the cultures, how their identity is altered when caught in the „net” of so many influences and interactions? As known, globalization has paradoxically led to the revival of local, ethnic and national identities, and the enhanced intercultural communication has stimulated the interest in knowing and explaining cultural differences. Moreover, a global market of symbolic goods has cropped up – grounded on and as an extension of the economic market – wherein ideas, theories, ways of thinking, works, values, beliefs and different images of the world meet and compete with each other. The new communication networks, the migration phenomenon reaching an unprecedented scale, the student mobility, the cultural tourism, the extension of multinational firms, the movement of specialists and businessmen from one side of the world to another have fuelled up the acculturation and hybridization processes of cultural models. Each and every social actor coming out of its cultural space, for various reasons, experiences the encounter with „the other” and helps to cement bridges among cultures, to conduct daily and successfully the intercultural dialogue. The success of this dialogue calls for accepting and understanding cultural differences, for overcoming ethnocentric attitudes and communication barriers, and „above all, for constantly striving to see things from the (cultural) viewpoint of the other.”³

In this context, cultures internalize and fuse into their inner structure various indigenous and external spiritual sources, local traditions and multiple influences. Under the cross-pressure of these global flows and networks, the cultures undergo changes inside their internal configuration, add up new features and elements, so that we can no longer separate the original elements from the ingredients borrowed. In fact, all cultures, be they past or present, are such syntheses in which heterogeneous elements are merged. But today, intercultural communication takes place on a different scale. The contacts among cultures have never had such a far-reaching surface and so an in-depth intensity. To restore the complex and

² John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture*, Timișoara, Amarcord Printing House, 2002, p. 9.

³ Richard Lewis, *Knowing Better the Peoples around the World*, Bucharest, Niculescu Printing House, 2005, p. 365.

heterogeneous configuration of cultural identities, we need a comparative and intercultural approach, considering cultures as „junctures” (meeting points) of a large network, as the cumulative outcome of interactions, influences, acculturations, interferences. Intercultural histories have become indispensable today when the scale of the major processes is not „the national”, but „the global”.⁴

Globalization or the mixture of worlds

The theories on globalization construe different images of this process. Some have focused on the idea of the network (interconnections, interdependences, remote interactions), others on the idea of amalgam (differences, hybridization, interferences, mixture, mosaic, „the bowl salad”, the new Babel). The latter image reveals the problematic nature of globalization. It shows a heterogeneous, inconsistent, uneven, motley world, with discrepancies, de-synchronizations, glaring economic gaps and disparities. Given the interference processes, the multiplied influences exercised on cultures, the intensive exchange of values, models and symbolic goods, the theorists have proposed new approaches and conceptualizations. Thus, to refer to the interferences of values and cultural practices, to culture hybridization, George Ritzer believes that the term „globalization” is the most appropriate, since it catches the „interplay” between global and local. This concept is useful to study the „the mixture of cultures caused by globalization and the emergence, by integrating the global and the local, of new and unique hybrid cultures which cannot be reduced neither to local culture, nor to global one.”⁵ And hybridization is seen as „a creative process giving birth to new cultural realities and a continuous heterogeneity.” The phenomenon is illustrated by the author with situations taken from the domain of consumption and entertainment, for instance: „the Argentines who listen to Asian rap interpreted by a South American band in a London club, whose owner if from Saudi Arabia.”⁶

Obviously, the new context of globalization provides a favourable environment for some key actors (states, transnational corporations, banking institutions, cultural industries) to expand their sphere of influence and domination, with the intention of achieving global hegemony. To express this tendency, the author of the thesis about „the mcdonaldization of society” coined a new word, the globalization (from the verb to grow). He refers „to the imperialist ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations etc., and the desire, if not their need to impose themselves on to their various geographical areas.”⁷ An effective tool of this trend is the planetary expansion of „the cathedrals of consumption” (shopping malls, fast food restaurants, casinos, hotels, etc.), whose predictable outcome is the uniformity of consumption practices, the levelling up of cultural differences, the devaluation and blurring of local identities.

Every culture is now the result of a unique combination between global and local, between many-sided influences and the creative energy of nations. In a

⁴ Jacques Demorgon, *L'histoire interculturelle des sociétés*, Editions Economica, Paris, 2002, p. 323.

⁵ George Ritzer, *The Globalization of Nothing. The Culture of Consumption and the Paradoxes of Affluence*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2010, p. 29.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 32-33.

schematic representation the global and the local would be the complementary terms of the world of today, two poles of an axis on which we can distribute cultural elements according to their nature and origin. Between the two poles there may be different situations, areas of resonance and agreement, others of interference and amalgamation, as there may be states of tensions or conflict. In fact, the relationship between global and local is similar in many respects to the known relationship between unity and diversity, universal and particular, whole and part. Compared to global -local equation, there are different approaches and attitudes, motivated theoretically and ideologically, according to the meanings that are given to those two terms. This is especially important when defining global (global issues, universal values) and what entities or instances they represent (international organizations, developed countries, transnational corporations, etc.). Or it is about the „forces of globalization”, such as „the global market”, impersonal objective forces (as some ideologists would say) that are compelling for all social actors.

In most cases it means the agreement between principles and action, the adjustment of global strategies to local situations, for instance „ the adjustment of farming techniques to match local conditions.”⁸ But in reality, the relationship between global and local reproduces the relationship between centre and peripheries. The classic example is of transnational corporations expanding a polluting business without taking into account the interests of the local community. Finally, the environmentalist slogan „think globally, act locally”) conveys a profoundly wrong message, believes Bauman, since it is an illusion that there would be „local solutions to global issues”, the latter can be „solved only by global actions” with the participation of all countries and the responsible factors.⁹ Of course, things are subject to interpretation and we cannot deal with them extensively in this context.

However, on the cultural level, the global-local relation has certain characteristics and is manifest through a series of paradoxes. The general rule is that a work with local roots can benefit from a global dissemination and a universal recognition, according to its intrinsic value, its expressivity and its significance. But the fact remains that both the central cultural areas, such as the big cities and also the outskirts show combinations of local and global, modern and traditional, domestic and foreign elements, forms belonging to elite culture and products related to *popular culture*. The latter phenomenon is widespread and consists mainly in the fact that „works of high, elite or canonical culture, are transferred and acclimatized in the popular registry”, thus meant for mass consumption.¹⁰ Objects, customs and practices from different backgrounds mix up and form unique alloys, hybrid configurations. As in a recent advertisement, we see a shepherd with his sheep on a mountain peak (local practice) extolling the

⁸ John Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, p. 275.

⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Identity*. Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi, Cambridge, CB2 IUR, UK, Polity Press, 2004, p. 88.

¹⁰ Monica Spiridon, *Popular Culture: Models, Landmarks, and Contemporary Practices*, Craiova, Scrisul românesc Foundation - PrintingHouse, 2013, p. 152.

virtues of mobile phone (an instrument of globalization), which is connected to the whole world.

The dominant image associated with this „brave new world” is that of amalgam, mosaic, mixture (or „inter-textuality”, as a method postmodern literature abuses of). Several decades ago, art critic René Berger argued that we live in a „universe-amalgam” which is reproduced into a „consciousness-amalgam” and a „culture – amalgam”. It is a world of reproductions, duplicates and simulacra, a world where values are mixed, where Gioconda becomes a brand for scarves or is reproduced on cheese boxes, so that we are witnessing „a phenomenon of widespread hybridization, whose technical means are about to lend it an unequalled power.”¹¹ In the same registry, illustrative of the thesis that we are witnessing a cultural hybridization and a „mixture of the world,” Bauman deals also with this telling example. He says that, in 1994, on a street in Berlin, a poster was displayed that expressed the mixture of identities in „modern liquidity”: „Your Christ is a Jew. Your car is Japanese. Your pizza is Italian. Your democracy - Greek. Your coffee - Brazilian. Your holiday - Turkish. Your numbers - Arabic. Your letters - Latin. Only your neighbour is a foreigner.”¹² The amalgam has virtues and risks. Recent theories about the decline of the Western world are based on alarming proportions of the ethnic and cultural mix, generated by massive waves of immigrants bringing with them beliefs, attitudes and cultural practices from non-Western societies. So far, the share of new arrivals „has not exceeded the threshold above which the persistence of the Western pattern might be called into question.”¹³ But tomorrow, wonders the author cited, „would the original pattern be strong enough not to be deformed and lend to others as well its underlying model?”¹⁴

Approaches regarding the impact of globalization on cultures

The impact of globalization and digital revolution on cultures has been interpreted through several paradigms. We mention some of them: a) the trend toward the uniformity of cultures, the levelling up and blurring of differences; b) the cultural neo-Imperialism (American, in this case), a new form of hegemony (alongside the economic one) of the center over the periphery through media culture; c) the emergence of a global culture, with no identity seal; d) a process of hybridization of cultures, as a result of multiple interactions among them; e) a redefinition of cultural identities under the pressure of new contexts , in versions that uniquely combine local and global aspects.

The first three approaches have in common the idea of uniformity and attenuation of cultural differences. The last two, which can be unified, seem to prevail in academic and scientific milieus, since they show wider explanatory virtues and are more appropriate to the realities of today's world. These approaches differ depending on the weight they give to global and local, to unity

¹¹ René Berger, *The Shifting Signs*, Bucharest, Meridiane Printing House, 1978, pp. 47-48.

¹² Zygmunt Bauman, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

¹³ Lucian Boia, *The End of the Western World? Towards Tomorrow's World*, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2013, p. 83.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 85-86.

and difference. The thesis of uniformity and cultural homogeneity is known and has been extensively problematized. From the interaction of different cultural patterns, through a process of imitation and generalized acculturation, there comes inevitably ascertain uniformity, an attenuation or loss of identity elements. However, standardization has affected especially the consumer culture, the industrialized entertainment, the media culture or the functional, exterior aspect of behaviours (clothing, fashion, everyday practices). In their deepest layers (values, mentalities, attitudes), cultures retain their differences and original creative nuclei.

The thesis regarding globalization as a process of Americanization, of spreading the American lifestyle has also a limited justification. Well-known are Ritzer's approaches about mcdonaldization of society and the recent ones about *grobalization* (mentioned above), as well as the position of another analyst who argues that „in fact globalization means Americanization, globalization has Mickey Mouse ears, it drinks Pepsi or Coca Cola , it feeds with Big Macs, it works with IBM laptops.”¹⁵ Let us not forget that globalization has now become something else than what it was in its initial phase. It is an objective process that, once unleashed, it acts independently of the genesis context. We must consider, however, the ability of different societies to develop appropriate competitive and creative responses and strategies, in terms of topicality, towards homogenizing the globalization flows. History will permanently preserve the relationship between unity and diversity, which is constitutive of human condition and the anthropologist Claude Levi -Strauss assures us that: „The diversity of human cultures is behind us, around us and in front of us.”¹⁶

Finally, the concept of global culture is also problematic and controversial, and its use in a non-critical sense by the newspapers causes much confusion. The question is whether we can speak, in proper and rigor-bound terms, about the emergence of a global culture. We can say that some aspects and elements have been partially standardized, but the concept of global culture sends us to the absurd notion that there would be a single system of values, beliefs, ideas and meanings. It is an unlikely scenario, because a global culture would mean „the emergence of a single culture which would include all the inhabitants of the world and would replace the various cultural systems existing so far.”¹⁷ We cannot speak of a global culture in which to merge, in a mythical sense, all the differences and identities that a millenary history consolidated. We can speak of a globalization of techniques and communication industries, but not of a „globalized communication,” of existing „global cultural industries, but not a world culture.”¹⁸ Communication technological supports have been globalized, but cultural contents „running on” these common supports are different and original (and sometimes they display anti-globalization messages).

¹⁵ Thomas Friedman, *Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Bucharest, Pro Printing House, 2001, p. 400.

¹⁶ Claude Levi-Strauss, Race and History, in vol. *Racism before Science*, Bucharest, The Political Printing House, 1982, p. 46.

¹⁷ John Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

¹⁸ Dominique Wolton, *L'autre mondialisation*, Paris, Flammarion, 2003, p. 24.

Different perceptions and positioning on the global – local axis

Globalization does not level up cultures; instead it interconnects them, inevitably hybridizes them and places them in a pluralistic and competitive groundwork, of a new global arena. However resistant the cultures would be to homogenization trends induced by economic interactions, it is clear that globalization has created a common framework where in they interact and communicate. Kuhn's thesis on the „incommensurability” of scientific paradigms warns us about cognitive difficulties and communication barriers we must overcome in our intercultural experiences. Recognizing the heterogeneity of values and languages that define our identity, the bottom-line of intercultural communication studies is that individuals may come out of their identity scaffolding and build a relational identity, through which the dialogue and communication with the Other are possible. „If I manage to communicate with someone else, we have to figure out reference framework that includes his world and mine as well”, „we have to postulate a universal horizon” which transcends the differences among us and allows us to understand each other.”¹⁹

The thesis according to which globalization produces a hybridization of cultures is generally accepted today and it has become a kind of common denominator for the theories on intercultural communication. But it also contains a principled assumption, namely that cognitive meanings accumulated and stored in a certain culture can be „translated” and understood in another culture, using a system of approximate equivalences, which implies overcoming ethnocentric attitudes and finding ways of life likely to ensure the cooperation of people belonging to different cultures. To illustrate that there are different perceptions on globalization, I shall call forth an imaginary experience, on which John Tomlinson questions the relationship between global and local in terms of culture. He says that „globalization can be measured by the degree to which overcoming physical distances is accompanied by overcoming cultural distances” among societies.²⁰ In the same way in which the experience to travel by air is familiar to us, we can wonder how much the culture from the boarding place is different from that at arrival point. Tomlinson cites a statement made by a known anthropologist, Nestor Garcia Canclini, who observed humorously that when traveling to other countries and cultures, „the anthropologist arrives in the city on foot, the sociologist by car and following the main road and the communication specialist by plane.”²¹

For the topic under discussion, it would be important to know what aspects are observed and compared by the individuals who belong to the three professional categories. The last category comprises not only communications specialists (working in the IT domain), but we should also introduce those who travel „business” class (diplomats, businessmen, managers, experts) who have contact only with airport terminals or five-star international hotels, where everything is standardized, while cultural differences are not visible. The sociologist has the chance to notice, however, these differences, especially if

¹⁹ Tvetan Todorov, *We and the Others*, Iași, Institutul European Printing House, 1999, p. 114.

²⁰ John Tomlinson, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

venturing also on side streets and will come upon local more down-to-earth aspects (roads, gas stations, repair shops, restaurants, police etc). The anthropologist who comes on foot will go deeper into the local reality, will observe and quantify cultural differences, visible on the streets, in homes, churches, stores, working places, local ceremonies, located beyond the security areas or business and travel spots.

Let us imagine that the representatives of the three categories return home and write up a report recording their observations and conclusions regarding their intercultural experience, focusing on cultural similarities and differences between their familiar environment and the one they just knew. Businessmen, managers, experts and advisors (or IMF representatives, for example) who have just moved into a habitat with functional aspects, in the aseptic terminals of the airports, hotels, luxury restaurants and protocol meetings (and who dealt in the meantime through mobile phones or the internet with many transactions) will conclude in their report that the world is globalizing, the similarities are more relevant than the differences, that we can speak of a uniform or global culture.

The sociologist, however, who is willing to confront study theories with the concrete reality, with its factual and existential disorder, will be more cautious in his conclusions, will record the tensions between global and local, standing, in point of epistemological position and attitude, midway between these points. Instead, the anthropologist, in the same way as the tourists with limited resources, trained on the participant observation, will directly interact with the locals and will identify for now with their situation, will understand the significance of local acts and practices. He will be a more profound hermeneutist and will write up closer to the contradictory synthesis between „global and local” in today's world.

Let us take a step further, still inside the convention of this imaginary experiment. Let us imagine what representations and evaluations would the representatives of the three categories make about us Romanians, in case they would come to Romania? What could they see, what aspects would catch their attention, on what facts, impressions and perceptions would they make their judgments? To be able to answer these questions we should step into their shoes, we should understand their expectation horizon and the paradigm they place themselves in, in other words, the a priori, cognitive and axiological endowment they have „at home” and which steers up their scale of assessing and interpreting their unique experience with Romanian realities.

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THE ANALYSIS OF THE INNOVATION STRATEGY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: *The innovation sphere is the core of structural changes in any economic system and characteristics of this sphere determine the speed and quality of economic transformations. Taking into consideration that the Republic of Moldova is negotiating about the EU accession, the innovation strategy ensures consistency, coherence and complementarity of policies at the national and community level. At the same time, the strategy supports the need to define innovative strategies and policies based on both national particularities of the Republic of Moldova and the geopolitical context it is in.*

Keywords: *the innovation strategy, economic development, innovation policies, the national economy, the international competitiveness.*

INTRODUCTION

The Innovative Strategy of the Republic of Moldova for the period 2013-2020 "**Innovations for Competitiveness**" is developed to support the implementation of the Program of the Government of the Republic of Moldova "*European Integration: Freedom, Democracy, Welfare. 2011-2014*". The strategy focuses on three specific objectives of the Program:

- 1) the technological development of enterprises, including small and medium enterprises (SMEs);
- 2) the development of support infrastructure for innovation activities;
- 3) providing conditions for creating a knowledge-based economy.

The strategy adopts a modern vision, according to which "innovations are new technologies and practices for the given community. They may not be unusual in absolute terms, but they may be new at the company or market level"². The vision is in harmony with the internationally recognized rigorous definition, according to which innovation is "the implementation of a product (good or service) or a process, new marketing or management method significantly improved at an enterprise, in workplace organization or enterprise relations with the external environment." Thus, innovations can be seen as a successful transformation of some new ideas into products or of some known ideas into new products. This approach fully reflects current realities and needs of the Moldavian society, the society that has good capacities to assimilate, copy, reproduce,

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¹ *The Welfare Programme of the RM Government 2011-2014: Liberty, Democracy, Welfare*, p.6.

² *The RM Innovative Strategy for 2013-2020 „Innovation for Competitiveness”*, p.4.

re-engineer and optimize existing innovations, but it still has little capacity to generate new innovations at the global level.

The results of the innovative activity in the Republic of Moldova

Moldavian economy becomes increasingly integrated into the global economy and therefore to plan policies one needs to compare **the innovation activity results** in the Republic of Moldova with those from other countries. Taking into account the country's aspirations of development and European integration, the comparison of Moldova's results with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) is appropriate. However, taking into consideration the geographical location and historical heritage, it is also useful to compare Moldova with the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). In fact, these two regional groups include the main countries with which Moldova competes to attract foreign investments. The important factors that serve to attract these investments are innovation skills of local companies, the qualification of human resources and the education system performance. Global Innovation Indexes 2012 (GII 2012) is one of the latest and most comprehensive sources that includes Moldova and allows international comparison of the innovation results. The analysis of the innovation activity within the present Strategy is interleaved with a series of indicators used in the European Union Innovation Indexes 2011 (Innovation Union Scoreboard), although not all indicators on which the European Union Innovation Indexes 2011 are based, can be calculated for the Republic of Moldova because of the lack of statistical data and their dubious quality. Some alternative indicators were calculated in the process of the present Strategy development, using the databases of the World Bank and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

The innovative activity results of GII 2012 are evaluated on the basis of two categories of indicators³:

- 1) **technological and knowledge results** cover the issues related to knowledge generation, diffusion and impact;
- 2) **creative products** include intangible creative products, creative goods and service and online creativeness.

International data show a relatively good situation of the Republic of Moldova to the aspect of knowledge and technological results generation, but this activity is polarized geographically, it generates little additional value and is wholly inward. Moldavian inventors show a very intense activity, the number of applications for patents related to the Moldavian economy volume is 3.2 times higher than in CEE countries and 1.7 times higher than in CIS countries (Table 1).

³ *The Global Innovation Index 2012*, INSEAD, 2013.

Table 1. knowledge and technology results, GII 2012 evaluation

	The CIS Average	The CEE	Moldova
The overall score "Knowledge and technology results"	28.5	36.0	38.9
<i>The score "Knowledge generation"</i>	30.8	32.2	54.7
Resident patent applications / billion GDP, USD	6.9	3.7	11.8
Patent applications of the PCT system / billion GDP, USD	0.2	0.5	0.1
Utility models residents / billion GDP, USD	6.6	2.0	19.1
Scientific and technological articles / billion GDP, USD	3.8	9.6	7.8
<i>The score "Knowledge Impact"</i>	30.3	47.2	34.9
The growth rate of GDP / employed, %	3.1	3.5	2.7
New companies / thousand population aged 15-64	1.4	4.3	1.3
Management Certificates ISO 9001 / billion GDP, USD	5.1	29.4	7.4
<i>The score "Knowledge spread"</i>	24.5	28.8	27.0
Receipts of royalties & license / thousand units GDP	0.3	1.2	0.8
Advanced technology exports (re-exports Net), % of total	1.3	7.2	2.2
Computer and information services exports, % of total service exports	27.0	31.3	33.8
Net investments in other countries' economy,% of GDP	1.2	-1.6	0.1

The source: GII 2012.

Almost 90% of national applications come from the applicants based in Chisinau. However, the economic value of many patents is questionable, as it is demonstrated by the small share of patents that have been in force for 5 years since the grant date (the facilities that were granted at the moment of registration and maintenance in force of these patents expire after 5 years)⁴. In other words, the ideas are not transformed into new products. There are almost no Moldavian inventors' patents registered at the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the European Patent Office (EPO). Thus, the number of Moldavian patent applications in the framework of the Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT) related to the GDP calculated at the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) is 2 times lower than the CIS average and 5 times lower than the average in CEE. At the same time, the Republic of Moldova is positioned quite well in terms of the number of published scientific and technological articles.

⁴ *The report on the activity of the Supreme Council for Science and Technological Development and the main scientific and development results in science and innovation during 2012, The Academy of Science of Moldova, Chişinău, AŞM PH 2013.*

However, taking into consideration the fragility and size of the Moldavian economy, it is clear that Moldova's international position in terms of knowledge generation and technological results would be much lower if they would use the population number, the number of researchers or companies to calculate indicators of innovation results. If the policies of encouraging innovative activity are not adopted, it may happen that the country will paradoxically slip to lower positions in international rankings of innovation as its economy will develop. This risk is suggested by the indicators of the generated knowledge economic impact and these indicators show a less favourable situation than in the case of knowledge generation. As confirmed by GII 2012 (Table 1), the growth rate of GDP relative to the labour force employed in Moldova is lower than in the two compared regions. The indicator of company appearance in Moldova is practically at the level of CIS countries, but it is 3 times lower than in CEE⁵. Similarly, Moldavian companies do not make enough efforts to get certificates of quality management ISO 9001: the level of these certificates penetration in our economy is higher than in the CIS, but it is four times lower than in CEE. This indicator reflects the relatively low intensity of organizational innovations in the Moldavian private sector.

As to the diffusion of knowledge generated by the private sector, the Republic of Moldova has mixed performances. On the one hand, the export share of technologically advanced goods (2.2% of the total Moldavian export) is quite high compared to the average of 1.3% in the CIS, but it is very low in comparison with 7.2% in CEE. On the other hand, the export share of computer and communication services (33.8% of the total volume of export services) is higher than in the CIS (27%) and CEE (31.3%), which proves a high competitive potential of this sector. The volume of innovations integrated in Moldavian exported goods and services seems to be still a fairly modest compared to the competitors from CEE, it is evidenced by the small amount of royalties and license payments received by Moldavian companies from abroad (which is 64% of CEE countries); however, this indicator is better than the average in the CIS countries.

Despite good skills in the field of information and communication technologies (ICT) these technologies do not have a defining role in setting up new business and organizational models in Moldova yet. This affirmation relates equally to both private and public sectors. According to the assessment performed by the International Telecommunication Union, the Republic of Moldova is about 10% below the CIS and CEE countries (Table 2)⁶.

The export of Moldavian creative goods is generally higher than the export in the two groups of countries as well as the share of the total export; however, the situation is reversed in the case of the creative services export. The share of the creative services export - such as advertising services, marketing, design and architecture, research and development, culture, etc. - the total export of Moldavian services (3.5%, see Table 2) is much lower than in the CIS (7%) or CEE (7.5%) groups. However, the level of creative goods and services domestic

⁵ Popa, A., *Research, development and Innovation in the Republic of Moldova*, Chişinău, Expert Grup, 2011.

⁶ *The Innovative Strategy of the RM during 2013-2020 „Innovations for Competitiveness”*, p.16.

consumption is very low: total expenditures for cultural and recreational products represent only 0.5% of the household consumption expenditures. It is 3.1% in the CIS countries and 6.8% - in CEE.

Table 2. creative products, GII 2012 evaluation

	The CIS Average	The CEE Average	Moldova
The overall score "Creative products"	22.2	37.6	42.5
The score "Intangible creative products"	26.9	39.0	61.9
Residents' trademarks of, units / billion GDP, USD	43.4	59.7	180.8
Trademarks under the Treaty of Madrid / billion GDP USD	0.4	1.5	3.9
The use of ICT when setting business models	44.3	50.2	42.0
The use of ICT when setting organization models	44.7	43.3	37.4
The score "Creative goods and services"	15.3	31.9	22.9
Consumption expenditures for leisure and culture,% of the total	3.1	6.8	0.5
National films that were produced / million population aged 15-69	1.6	3.1	0.4
Newspapers in commercial circuit / thousand population aged 15-69	59.8	136.6	147.4
The export of creative goods,% of the total goods export	0.7	2.4	4.6
The export of creative services,% of the total service export	7.0	7.9	3.5
The score "Online creativity"	19.7	40.7	23.5
Generic top-level domains / thousand population aged 15-69	2.9	22.3	2.0
National domains/ thousand population aged 15-69	23.5	48.0	23.0
Wikipedia monthly editions / million population aged 15-69	1811.2	5248.8	1482.0
YouTube video uploads / population aged 15-69	42.3	65.8	61.5

The source: GII 2012.

Moldavian companies invest a lot in the development and protection of intangible products. One should mention about the very intense trademark registration in the Republic of Moldova - 181 trademarks per 1 billion USD, GDP

compared to 59.7 in CEE and 43.4 - in the CIS. This indicator shows that Moldavian firms invest relatively much in local brands production and legal protection, which could have a strong impact on the future market development.

The positions of the Republic of Moldova are rather weak in terms of its online presence. The number of generic top-level web-domains per 1000 people is only 2.0 units in Moldova compared to 2.9 units per 1000 people in the CIS and 22.3 units per 1000 people in CEE⁷. This means a reduced presence of Moldavian companies and organizations on the Internet, which is an essential barrier in the national products promotion.

To conclude, the indicators of innovation results show that Moldova exceeds even the countries of CEE regarding innovative aspects - inventions, trademarks, creative goods, the export of informational and related services. At the same time, there are many aspects that need to recover a very large gap; the country is far from the CIS countries. However, the Republic of Moldova is one of the few countries in the world which, according to the Global Innovation Index 2012, obtained the greatest innovation efficiency index. This suggests that the Moldavian economy and society have the potential to produce satisfactory innovative results even under difficult economic conditions. Thus, Moldova is neither a leader nor a weak representative in the sphere of innovation. In fact, according to GII 2012, the Republic of Moldova is in the top of the countries "which learn to innovate". However, the Republic of Moldova could be much more successful if the inputs into innovation activities were more consistent and policy support were oriented towards the efficient use of scarce resources.

The purpose and premises of the strategy

The purpose of the Strategy is to ensure consistent horizontal policies that will help to improve the country's international competitiveness and to create a knowledge-based economy by developing the human capital, strengthening Moldavian companies' capacities to absorb, generate and spread innovations and by their closer inter-connection with universities and research centres⁸.

The success of Strategy implementation is conditioned by continuous efforts to strengthen the economic and institutional environment that is favourable to the entrepreneurship development in general. The strategy is based on the premise that they will continue and intensify reforms aimed at removing key constraints that limit entrepreneurship and innovation. They specifically rely on the fact that they will continue reforms aimed at⁹:

- Promoting entrepreneurship in general and both in rural and urban areas in particular;
- Reducing the administrative and regulatory burden in doing business, including the continuation of reforms aimed at reducing the cost of business launching and insolvency resolving;

⁷ Popa, A., *Research, development and innovation in the Republic of Moldova*, Chişinău, Expert Grup, 2011.

⁸ The Innovation Strategy of the RM during 2013-2020 'Innovations for Competitiveness Chişinău, 2012, p.25.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p.27.

- Minimizing opportunities for corrupt arrangements in interactions between companies and the state, and speeding bureaucracy productions;
- Increasing the government efficiency as a whole;
- Ensuring transparency in the sphere of state support;
- Providing and promoting fair competition;
- Strengthening the institutional environment for the protection of consumers' rights;
- Protecting property rights and free initiative;
- Adopting the Education Code and continuing education reforms, especially in the higher education;
- Increasing the funding of the education system and allocating resources within the sector more efficiently, with the major emphasis on teachers' salaries;
- Further developing the national science and making scientific careers more attractive to young people.

The impact and costs assessment of the strategy implementation

The implementation of the Strategy will accelerate the development of the innovative system in the Republic of Moldova, it will improve the innovation perception by the society, will facilitate the transformation of research results into innovative products and services and their marketing, will ensure a new quality of the economic growth, will develop the innovation culture and human capital, will help to improve the quality of life. The positive impact of the Strategy will be expressed by:

1. enhancing the competitiveness of the national economy through the economic exploitation of technological innovations of production, marketing and organization, both the original, generated in the country, and by absorbing the existing ones;
2. accelerating the pace of the economic growth and improving the quality;
3. increasing the export of goods and services with high added value, intensive ones regarding knowledge, skills and technology components;
4. increasing domestic and foreign investments in the economy and their diversification at the level of sectors, including the sectors with the high export potential;
5. enhancing work productivity and labour compensation;
6. creating new jobs;
7. enhancing regional development;
8. increasing the quality and relevance of research results;
9. strengthening institutional and human capacities of the national innovation system, as well as ensuring employees' adequate motivation and increasing the attractiveness for young people
10. improving the management of the national innovation system;
11. improving Moldova's research and innovation community presence in international programs and networks;
12. integrating Moldavian SMEs in European and global technology chains;
13. improving the quality of life and accelerated transitioning to the economy based on knowledge.

The financial costs of the strategy implementation were assessed for estimated costs at about 1.6 billion lei for the whole implementation period. With a few exceptions, it does not require the allocation of additional resources that are currently allocated for the research and innovation sphere, rather, a judicious allocation and distribution of existing and planned resources. Evaluated costs do not include institutional funding research institutes and restructured universities will receive through the process of institutional assessment. However, private funds will be attracted to the Strategy implementation, so that the burden on the state budget will not increase compared to the current situation.

CONCLUSIONS

By 2020, following the Strategy implementation, the country's economic development will be based on the national innovation system composed of competent and innovative companies connected in innovative partnerships with universities and research centres, both national and foreign ones. The economic impact of the innovation system will be reflected in new jobs, higher incomes and more competitive export. But this will be feasible only if the following principles will be ensured:

- the coordination of activities between local and central public administration bodies;
- the focus on the most important actions;
- the efficient use of the instruments provided by sponsors;
- public participation and popularization of the purpose, process and outcomes;
- the monitoring of the implementation process and regular public reporting;
- the flexibility during the implementation process - learning from experience and adjusting actions if necessary.

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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN LEGAL PROVISIONS REGARDING SELLERS' LIABILITY FOR NON-CONFORMITIES RELATED TO THE SALE OF GOODS AND ASSOCIATED GUARRANTEES

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Abstract: *In the last decades, humanity has known an unbelievable development, which expresses itself in many areas, especially industry and trade. These have an essential role, because they satisfy the needs of humans as consumers, whose interests can be accomplished not only by the accumulation of goods which comply with the sales agreement, but also by the correct compensation for the damages they have suffered. Since we operate with juridical instruments from the area of private law, the legislator should provide optimal mechanisms for achieving the balance between the interests of the producer and the seller, on the one hand, and those of the consumers, on the other. Unfortunately, the careful analysis of the positive law provisions (European and national) brings to our attention that the legal relations between parties are disproportionate, as the consumer is at the discretion of the producer and the seller.*

Keywords: *consumer protection, seller's liability for any lack of conformity, national law, European law, consumer's right to just compensation for the damages he has suffered.*

1. The necessity of reinforcing the consumers' right to be provided with damage repairing services in case of consumer goods and associated guarantees.

The national, regional and global development of industry and commerce imposes the achievement of a balance between producer and seller, on one side, and consumer on the other hand, such as the obligations resulting from the sales agreement concluded by them are *directly proportional (s.n.)*, and the consumers may enjoy goods which are appropriate for the price they cost. For this purpose, the states and international organisms at a regional level have focused their activity in order to create a series of legal institutions contributing to consumer protection, as well as to seller's liability for non-conformities of the goods sold.

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The EU accession forced the Romanian lawmaker to create efficient legal procedures for the achievement of the objectives established by the EU treaties and documents, especially the one regarding *the creation and functioning of the internal market (s.n.)*¹. Its existence is necessary because the free circulation of goods is one of the four fundamental freedoms,² and it can only be ensured with the help of efficient consumer protection measures³ that the Union enacts in the process of creating and ensuring the continuity of the internal market⁴. Such legal provisions appeared soon, proof that the European Parliament and the Council enacted Directive 1999/44/EC dated May 25th 1999 regarding certain aspects of the sales of goods and associated guarantees⁵, *which is actually a regress in the*

¹ According to Art. 26 Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, the Union adopts the measures **for the creation and functioning of the internal market (s.n.)**, covering an area without internal frontiers, in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capitals is ensured in accordance to the treaties' provisions.

It is notorious that the Lisbon Treaty changed the name of the Treaty Establishing the European Community to that of Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union and amended its provisions, a proof that the old single market is replaced by the internal market, which indicates a profound change in the profile of this international player. In order to support this thesis, we will quote the contents of Article 2 of the Treaty Establishing the European Community. According to it, "*The Community shall have as its task, by establishing a common market and an economic and monetary union and by implementing common policies or activities referred to in Articles 3 and 4, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious, balanced and sustainable development of economic activities, a high level of employment and of social protection, equality between men and women, sustainable and non-inflationary growth, a high degree of competitiveness and convergence of economic performance, a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment, the raising of the standard of living and quality of life, and economic and social cohesion and solidarity among Member States.*"

² Octavian Manolache, *EU Law*, fifth edition, Bucharest, Publishing House CH Beck, 2006, p. 223.

³ Protecting the health, safety and economic interests of consumers, promoting their right to information, education and organise themselves in order to safeguard their interests. (art. 169 paragraph 1 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union).

⁴ According to Art. 114, Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union:

"Except where otherwise provided in the Treaties, the following provisions shall apply for the achievement of the objectives set out in Article 26. The European Parliament and the Council shall, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure and after consulting the Economic and Social Committee, adopt the measures for the approximation of the provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States which have as their object the establishment and functioning of the internal market."

"The Commission, in its proposals envisaged in paragraph 1 concerning health, safety, environmental protection and consumer protection, will take as a base a high level of protection, taking account in particular of any new development based on scientific facts. Within their respective powers, the European Parliament and the Council will also seek to achieve this objective."

According to Art. 169, Paragraph 3 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, the European Parliament and the Council, deciding in accordance to the ordinary legislative procedure and after the consultation of the Economic and Social Committee, shall adopt the measures provided in Paragraph (2), Letter (b).

⁵ It was published in the European Union's Official Journal no. L 171, dated July 7th 1999. The most recent amendment of its provisions is due to Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council, dated October 25th 2011 regarding consumer rights, amending Directive 93/13/EEC of the Council and Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and of

field (s.n.), since its contents are inferior to those of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 regarding consumer protection⁶, the pre-January 1st 2007 format.

The European policy in the field of consumer protection determined the Romanian law maker to appropriate the rules established through the provisions of Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and of that of the Council, dated May 25th 1999 regarding certain aspects of selling consumer goods and associated guarantees⁷, tilting the scales in favor of producers and sellers. In order to prove this statement we shall analyse the evolution of the contents of Romanian and EU legal provisions governing the seller's liability for non-conformities in the case of consumer goods and associated guarantees.

2. Seller's liability for non-operation due to the faults of sold products, prior to the enactment of Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and Council.

The Romanian law maker had become aware of the fact that the industry generated not only operational products, but also non-operational ones. Due to the equality governing the private law legal relations, it deemed necessary to provide efficient legal instruments in order to protect consumers by enacting Governmental Ordinance 21/1992. According to the original provisions of Art. 12 of this norm, consumers could claim sellers to repair or replace the products free of charge, as well as to pay damages afferent to the loss suffered due to the faults with the product found within the validity term⁸. Interpreted in close connection to the provisions of Art. 13 and 14, they provided an interesting conclusion regarding the order in which consumers' subjective rights were to be exercised.

In order to prove this statement, we will remind the reader that the original provisions of Art. 13 of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 stated that the seller had to repair the faults of fast-moving consumer goods within their guarantees; but, whenever the duration of non-operation caused by faults within the guarantee exceeded 10% thereof, the seller had to *replace the product or reimburse the buyer completely, upon request (s.n.)*⁹. Although the possibility of replacing the product

the Council for the amendment of Directive 85/577/EEC of the Council and Directive 97/7/EC of the European Parliament and the Council.

⁶ Governmental Ordinance 21 dated August 21st 1992 regarding consumer protection was republished in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 208, dated March 28th 2007, as further amended.

⁷ The provisions of this Directive were transposed to Romanian law by Law 449/2003 regarding the sale of products and the warranties thereof. This law was published in the Official Journal of Romania Part I no. 812/November 18th 2003, republished in the Official Journal of Romania Part I no. 347/May 6th 2008, as further amended through the provisions of the Emergency Governmental Ordinance 174/2008 for the amendment and supplementation of several consumer protection norms.

⁸ Art. 12 of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 regarding consumer protection.

⁹ According to the provisions of Art. 14 Paragraph 1 of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 regarding consumer protection, in the case of products whose duration of non-operation caused by deficiencies that occurred during the guarantee exceeds 10% thereof, as well in the case of food, pharmaceuticals or cosmetics which show signs of deviation from the prescribed characteristics, the seller must replace or fully reimburse the buyer upon request.

These provisions of the Ordinance were revised and detailed by Governmental Decision no. 394/June 8th 1995 regarding the obligations of business operators (natural persons or legal entities)

was mentioned before the reimbursement, the seller could not impose the consumer one of these two options, as there had to be a balance between the obligations that the two parties had undertaken through the sales agreement. This theory was also confirmed by the provisions of Art. 14 Paragraph 2 of Governmental Decision 394 dated June 8th 1995¹⁰, providing that *the reimbursement of the updated price of the product shall be carried out upon the client's request also in case of repeated failures (at least three failures during the first half of the guarantee) or in case of failure of the already replaced product (s. n.)*.

In 1994, Law 11¹¹ was enacted for the amendment and enforcement of the provisions of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992, without affecting the profile of the liability for non-operation due to faults in the case of consumer goods. The following modification, which brought the latest news regarding the calculation of the value of the product¹², is due to the provisions of Governmental Ordinance 58/2000¹³, approved with amendments by Law 37/2001¹⁴. This new document confirmed a certain provision of Ordinance 58/2000 that established the notions of "unfair terms"¹⁵ and "abusive commercial practice"¹⁶, introduced the concept of "damage"¹⁷, expressly established, through Thesis III of Art 12, the producer's

who sell long-use consumer goods. According to the provisions of Art. 14 Paragraph 1, the long-use consumer goods which get out of order during guarantee, if they cannot be repaired or if the duration of non-operation caused by deficiencies that occurred during the warranty exceeds 10% thereof, shall be replaced by the seller or the buyer shall be fully reimbursed with the updated value of the product, upon request.

¹⁰ Governmental Decision 394/June 8th 1995 regarding the obligations of business operators (natural persons or legal entities) who sell long-use consumer goods was published in the Official Journal of Romania Part I no. 122/June 19th 1995, republished in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 10/January 27th 1997 and repealed by the provisions of Law 449/2003 regarding the sale of products and guarantees thereof.

¹¹ Law 11/March 7th 1994 regarding certain Governmental Ordinances issued under Law 81/1992 regarding the Government's authorization to issue ordinances and license the contracting and warranting of external loans was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 65/March 14th 1994.

¹² According to the new provisions, due to Governmental Ordinance 50/January 30th 2000, the reimbursement of the product or service price is carried out at its updated value.

¹³ Governmental Ordinance 58/January 30th 2000 for the amendment and supplementation of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 regarding consumer protection was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 43/January 31st 2000.

¹⁴ Law 37/January 16th 2002 regarding the approval of Governmental Ordinance 58/2000 for the amendment and supplementation of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 regarding consumer protection was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 91/February 2nd 2002.

¹⁵ According to the provisions of Art. 2, an "unfair" or "abusive" contractual provision is the one which has not been directly negotiated with the consumer and which by itself or together with other provisions from the agreement create a significant unbalance between the parties' rights and obligations, in the detriment of the consumer and contrary to good faith.

¹⁶ By *abusive commercial practice* we understand the restrictive or conditioned methods of sale which affect consumers' interests.

¹⁷ According to the provisions of Art. 2, by "damage" we understand the prejudice created to the consumer through the use of a hazardous or a faulty product, as well as the prejudice created by improper services provided to the consumer. The prejudice can be material, it can harm the physical integrity or health of the consumer as well as loss of life. In case of using a faulty product, a loss or a prejudice is the damaging or destruction of any goods, other than the faulty product, on the

liability to the seller¹⁸ and retouched on the provisions of Ordinance 21/1992¹⁹ regulating the seller's liability.

3. The enactment of the EU norm regarding seller's liability for non-conformities afferent to the sale of consumer goods and associated guarantees.

The moment when Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and Council was enacted, whose provisions were transposed into our law through the provisions of Law 449/2003²⁰, the name of the legal institution was changed to the seller's liability for non-conformities according to the sale of consumer goods.

Moreover, these norms apparently brought insignificant changes to the older format. What are these insignificant changes? For once, the order in which consumer's rights are to be exercised. According to the provisions of Art. 3, Paragraph 2 and 3 of the Directive, *the consumer has the right to receive, free of charge, repairing services or the replacement of the faulty product or an appropriate discount or to terminate the Agreement (s. n.)*²¹ according to the provisions of the EU law. Therefore, the consumer first claims repairing or replacement services and only afterwards requires the appropriate discount or the termination of the agreement, *in the cases clearly listed (s.n.)* by the provisions of art. 3 paragraph 5 of the same document²², of which we would like to highlight the provision in which *the consumer does not benefit from repairing services or replacement (s.n.). The conclusion? During the guarantee, the consumer is deprived of the possibility of requesting the reimbursement of the price or the termination of the agreement. In other words, the consumer cannot take back the price or part of the price paid, because the product which fails to rise to its contractual standards will be repaired or replaced over and over again.* This is the spirit of the EU norm, which will lead to the repeal of the provisions of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 and Governmental Decision 394/1995 which expressly stated the how the consumer could opt for a reimbursement.

condition that the good is destined to being privately used and has been used by the client accordingly, and the value of the damage is not lower than Ron 2,000,000.

¹⁸ Law 240/June 7th 2004 regarding producers' liability for damage generated by faulty products was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 552/June 22nd 2004 and republished in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 312/April 22nd 2008. It is the one transposing into the Romanian legislation the provisions of Directive 85/374/EEC dated July 25th 1985 regarding producer's liability, published in the Official Journal of the European Communities no. L210/07.08.1985, as further amended and supplemented by Directive 1999/34/EC of the European Parliament and Council, published in the Official Journal of the European Communities no. L 141/04.06.1999.

¹⁹ Art. 12, Art. 13 Paragraph 1 and Art. 15 Paragraph 2 of Governmental Ordinance no. 21/1992 regarding consumer protection.

²⁰ The modifications brought to this document through the provisions of Law 363/December 31st 2007 regarding the fight against unfair seller practices in their relationship with consumers and the harmonization of the regulations with the European consumer protection legislation, published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 899/December 28th 2007, are not relevant.

²¹ Art. 10 of Law 449 / 2003.

²² The EU provisions have as correspondent Art. 13 of Law 449/2003, stating the other possibilities: the seller not providing repairing services for the faulty product within a reasonable timeframe or repairing services that generate significant inconveniences for the consumer.

Subsequently, in order to supplement the measures necessary for consumer protection, the EU law maker enacted Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and Council dated October 25th 2011 regarding consumer rights, for the amendment of Directive 93/13/EEC of the Council and Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and Council and for the repeal of Directive 85/577/EEC of the Council and Directive 97/7/EC of the European Parliament and Council²³, allowing consumers to terminate, in certain cases, the agreements concluded remotely or those negotiated outside of the commercial areas²⁴ and, implicitly, to receive all the money that they had paid the seller²⁵. Yet, regardless of the nature of the concluded agreement, consumers had the "privilege" of the free repairing services or the free replacement of the product within the guarantee.

4. Transposing the EU law into the national legislation

Naturally, the provisions of Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and Council determined the enactment of Law 449/2003²⁶, whose provisions were to become effective as of January 1st 2007²⁷. In these conditions, the Romanian law maker had to take a series of measures with the effect of creating rules unfavourable to consumers. That is why, less than one month prior to Romania's accession to the European Union, the country enacted Law 476/2006²⁸, providing, among others, the introduction of a new article in the text of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992, namely article 14¹. Surprisingly, the first paragraph of this article was almost identical to Art. 14 Paragraph 1 of the Ordinance, which was to be repealed as of January 1st 2007. In order to ensure a period of transition from the current format to the implementation of the European format, the provisions of Art. 14¹ of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 were enforced for almost one year, namely until the enactment of Law 363/2007²⁹, whose provisions stipulated the republication of the

²³ It was published in the Official Journal of the European Union no. L 304/22.11.2011.

²⁴ According to the provisions of Art. 9 Paragraph 1 of Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and Council dated October 25th 2011, the consumer has the right to a period of 14 days to terminate an agreement concluded remotely or an agreement which was negotiated outside of the commercial area (except for the situations provided by Article 16), without having to justify the decision and without incurring any other costs than those provided by Art. 13 paragraph (2) and Art. 14.

²⁵ According to Art. 13 Paragraph 1 Thesis I of Directive 2011/83/EU of the European Parliament and Council dated October 25 2011, the seller pays back all sums that it had received as payment from the consumer, including, as the case may be, the costs of delivery, without unjustified delay and, in any case, not later than 14 days from the date in which it is informed by the consumer's decision of terminating the agreement according to article 11.

²⁶ Republished in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 347/May 6th 2008.

²⁷ Art. 27 Paragraph 1 of Law 449/2003, republished.

²⁸ Law 476/2006 for the amendment and supplementation of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 regarding consumer protection was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 1018/December 21st 2006.

²⁹ Law 363/December 21st 2007 regarding the fight against unfair seller practices in their relationship with consumers and the harmonization of the regulations with the European consumer protection legislation was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 899/December 28th 2007.

above-mentioned Ordinance as well as Law 449/2003³⁰. Unfortunately, the republishing of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 determined the renumbering of the articles, so that *art. 14¹ became art. 14 (s.n.)*, thus falling under the incidence of the provisions of Law 449/2003.

From this moment, the provisions of Art. 14 became devoid of meaning and it is easy to understand why the Emergency Governmental Ordinance 174/2008³¹ "harmonized" (s.n.) the provisions of Art. 14 of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992³² with those of Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and Council, thus placing the buyer's possibility of claiming the reimbursement of the product value from the seller in subsidiary.

5. Conclusions

There is no doubt that the provisions of the Directives regulating the seller's and the producer's liability completes each other. In these conditions, what was the reasoning that determined, at a European and national level, the hindrance of the consumers' possibility of being reimbursed for the price paid for goods which do not observe the provisions of the sales agreement, in favour of endless repairing or replacement? Are these legal procedures not specific to a consumer society which finds itself in the middle of a strong crisis, generated by excessive industrialization?

As the cases in which consumers wished to be reimbursed were not many and their settlement contributed to a tightening of the connection between them and sellers or producers, respectively, we believe it is necessary to reinstate legal instruments that actually allow the buyer to be fully reimbursed for the price paid.

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Directive 1999/44/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 on certain aspects of the sale of consumer goods and associated guarantees.

Directive 85/374/EEC dated July 25th 1985 regarding producer's liability.

³⁰ Law 449/2003 was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 347/May 6th 2008.

³¹ It was published in the Official Journal of Romania, Part I, no. 795/November 27th 2008.

³² According to the provisions of Art. 14 of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992, as further amended by the provisions of Emergency Governmental Ordinance 174/2008:

„In the case of products and services within the food industry, of products outside of the food industry for which the producer establishes a term of validity or a minimum date of durability and which may affect the life and health of consumers, and that deviate from the prescribed or declared characteristics, the seller/service provider must, upon request, replace them immediately, remake them or fully reimburse the buyer.”

Law 363/2007 regarding the fight against unfair seller practices in their relationship with consumers and the harmonization of the regulations with the European consumer protection legislation.

Law 476/2006 for the amendment and supplementation of Governmental Ordinance 21/1992 regarding consumer protection.

Law 240/2004 regarding producers' liability for damage generated by faulty products.

Law 449/2003 regarding the sale of products and the warranties thereof.

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